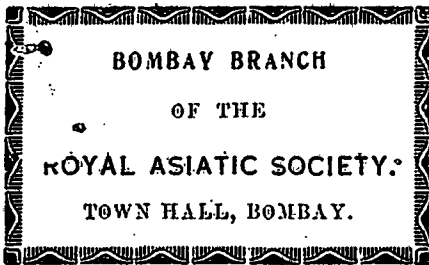




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T H E

A R T S, S C I E N C E S, A N D L I T E R A T U R E,

A S I A.



DISSERTATIONS  
AND  
MISCELLANEOUS PIECES  
RELATING TO THE  
HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES,  
THE  
ARTS, SCIENCES, AND LITERATURE.  
OF  
ASIA.

43933  
BY *an*

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~~—————~~

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M D C C X C I I I

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## P R E F A C E .

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**I**T is a consideration which cannot but afford the utmost pleasure to a reflecting mind, that the Arts and Sciences, which are rapidly advancing towards a state of perfection in EUROPE, are not confined to that quarter of the globe: In the East, where Learning seemed to be extinguished, and Civilization nearly lost, amidst the contention

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## P R E F A C E.

tion of avarice and despotism, a spirit of enquiry hath gone forth, which, aided by the ardour of Philosophy, promises to dissipate the gloom of ignorance, and to spread the advantages of knowledge through a region where its effects may be expected to be most favourable to the general interests of society.

To the exertions of one Gentleman, whose various excellencies panegyric might display in the warmest terms, without being charged with extravagance, the ENGLISH settlements in the EAST INDIES are indebted for an institution which has already exhibited specimens of profound research, of bold investigation, and of happy illustration, in various subjects of literature;—subjects which, until the present times, had not exercised the

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## P R E F A C E.

the faculties of EUROPEANS; but which, being produced to publick notice, will enlarge the bounds of knowledge, increase the stock of information, and furnish materials for future Philosophers, Biographers, and Historians.

THAT so much has been already atchieved by an infant Society, will be a subject of surprize to those who have not considered the powers of genius and industry to overcome obstacles. From what has already appeared at CALCUTTA, a judgment may be formed of what may hereafter be expected. The stores of Oriental Literature being now accessible to those who have ability to make a proper use of them, intelligence hitherto locked up, it may be hoped, will delight and inform the enquirers after the History,

Anti-

P R E F A C E.

Antiquities, Arts, Sciences and Literature of  
ASIA.

Two Volumes of the Society's Transactions have been already published; but these have been so sparingly distributed in GREAT BRITAIN that few have had the opportunity of being informed of their contents, or of judging of their value. This circumstance had induced the Editor to select the contents of the present volumes from them and the Asiatic Miscellany, for the amusement and instruction of the publick. They are such as will confer honour on their authors, and afford entertainment to their readers. They contain a noble specimen of the talents of our countrymen inhabiting a distant quarter of the globe, employing themselves sedulously  
and

P R E F A C E .

and honourably in extending the credit and establishing the reputation of BRITONS in new and unexplored regions of Science and Literature.

THE



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DISSE<sup>•</sup>R<sup>•</sup>TATIONS  
ON THE  
HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES,  
THE  
ARTS, SCIENCES, AND LITERATURE,  
OF  
*A S I A.*

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DISSERTATION I.  
ON THE  
GODS OF GREECE, ITALY, AND INDIA;  
WRITTEN IN MDCCLXXXIV.

**W**E cannot justly conclude, by arguments preceding the proof of facts, that one idolatrous people must have borrowed their deities, rites, and tenets from another; since Gods of all shapes and dimensions may be framed by the boundless powers of imagination, or by the frauds and follies of men, in countries never connected; but when features of resemblance, too strong to have been accidental, are observable in different systems of polytheism, without fancy or prejudice to colour them and improve the likeness, we can scarce help believing, that some connection has immemorably subsisted between the several nations who have adopted them:

it is my design in this essay to point out such a resemblance between the popular worship of the old *Greeks* and *Italians* and that of the *Hindus*; nor can there be room to doubt of a great similarity between their strange religions and that of *Egypt*, *China*, *Persia*, *Phrygia*, *Phenice*, *Syria*; to which, perhaps we may safely add some of the southern kingdoms and even islands of *America*; while the *Gothick* system, which prevailed in the northern regions of *Europe*, was not merely similar to those of *Greece* and *Italy*, but almost the same in another dress with an embroidery of images apparently *Asiatick*. • From all this, if it be satisfactorily proved, we may infer a general union or affinity between the most distinguished inhabitants of the primitive world at the time when they deviated, as they did too early deviate, from the rational adoration of the only true God.

THESE seem to have been four principal sources of all mythology. I. Historical, or natural, truth has been perverted into fable by ignorance, imagination, flattery, or stupidity; as a king of *Crete*, whose tomb had been discovered in that island, was conceived to have been the God of *Olympus*, and *MINOS*, a legislator of that country, to have been his son, and to hold a supreme appellate jurisdiction over departed souls; hence too probably flowed the tale of *CADMUS*, as *BOCHART* learnedly traces it; hence beacons or volcanoes became one-eyed giants and monsters vomiting flames; and two rocks, from their appearance to mariners in certain positions, were supposed to crush all vessels attempting to pass between them; of which idle fictions many other instances might be collected from the *Odyssy* and the various *Argonautick* poems. The less we say of *Julian* stars, deifications of princes or warriors, altars raised, with those of *APOLLO*, to the basest of men,  
and

and divine titles bestowed on such wretches as CAIUS OCTAVIANUS, the less we shall expose the infamy of grave senators and fine poets, or the brutal folly of the low multitude; but we may be assured, that the mad apotheosis of truly great men, or of little men falsely called great, has been the origin of gross idolatrous errors in every part of the pagan world. II. The next source of them appears to have been a wild admiration of the heavenly bodies, and, after a time, the systems and calculations of astronomers: hence came a considerable portion of *Egyptian* and *Grecian* fable; the *Sabian* worship in *Arabia*; the *Persian* types and emblems of *Mibr* or the sun, and the far-extended adoration of the elements and the powers of nature; and hence perhaps all the artificial Chronology of the *Chinese* and *Indians*, with the invention of demigods and heroes, to fill the vacant niches in their extravagant and imaginary periods. III. Numberless divinities have been created solely by the magic of poetry; whose essential business is to personify the most abstract notions, and to place a nymph or a genius in every grove and almost in every flower: hence *Hygieia* and *Jaso*, health and remedy, are the poetical daughters of *ÆSCULAPIUS*, who was either a distinguished physician, or medical skill personified; and hence *Chloris*, or verdure, is married to the *Zephyr*. IV. The metaphors and allegories of moralists and metaphysicians have been also very fertile in Deities; of which a thousand examples might be adduced from *PLATO*, *CICERO*, and the inventive commentators on *HOMER* in their pedigrees of the Gods, and their fabulous lessons of morality: the richest and noblest stream from this abundant fountain is the charming philosophical tale of *PSYCHE*, or the *Progress of the Soul*; than which, to my taste, a more beautiful,

beautiful, sublime, and well-supported allegory was never produced by the wisdom and ingenuity of man. Hence also the *Indian* MA'YA', or, as the word is explained by some *Hindu* scholars, "the first inclination of the Godhead to diversify himself (such is their phrase) by creating worlds," is feigned to be the mother of universal nature, and of all the inferior Gods; as a *Cashmirian* informed me when I asked him, why CA'MA, or *Love*, was represented as her son; but the word MA'YA', or *delusion*, has a more subtle and recondite sense in the *Vedánta* philosophy, where it signifies the system of *perceptions*, whether of secondary or of primary qualities, which the Deity was believed by EPICHRMUS, PLATO, and many truly pious men, to rise by his omnipresent spirit in the minds of his creatures, but which had not, in their opinion, any existence independent of mind.

IN drawing a parallel between the Gods of the *Indian* and *European* heathens, from whatever source they were derived, I shall remember, that nothing is less favourable to inquiries after truth than a systematical spirit, and shall call to mind the saying of a *Hindu* writer, "that whoever obstinately adheres to any set of opinions, may bring himself to believe that the freshest sandal-wood is a flame of fire:" this will effectually prevent me from insisting that such a God of *India* was the JUPITER of *Greece*; such, the APOLLO; such, the MERCURY: in fact, since all the causes of polytheism contributed largely to the assemblage of *Grecian* divinities (though BACON reduces them all to refined allegories, and NEWTON to a poetical disguise of true history), we find many JOVES, many APOLLONS, many MERCURIES, with distinct attributes and capacities; nor shall I presume to suggest more, than that, in one capacity

city or another, there exists a striking similitude between the chief objects of worship in ancient Greece or Italy and in the very interesting country which we now inhabit.

THE comparison which I proceed to lay before you, must needs be very superficial, partly from my short residence in *Hindustan*, partly from my want of complete leisure for literary amusements, but principally because I have no *European* book to refresh my memory of old fables, except the conceited, though not unlearned, work of POMEY, entitled *The Pantheon*, and that so miserably translated, that it can hardly be read with patience. A thousand more strokes of resemblance might, I am sure, be collected by any who should with that view peruse HESIOD, HYGINUS, CORNUTUS, and the other mythologists; or, which would be a shorter and a pleasanter way, should be satisfied with the very elegant *Syntagmata* of LILIUS GIRALDUS.

DISQUISITIONS concerning the manners and conduct of our species in early times, or indeed at any time, are always curious at least and amusing; but they are highly interesting to such as can say of themselves with CHREMES in the play, "We are men, and take an interest in all that relates to mankind:" They may even be of solid importance in an age when some intelligent and virtuous persons are inclined to doubt the authenticity of the accounts, delivered by MOSES, concerning the primitive world; since no modes or sources of reasoning can be unimportant which have a tendency to remove such doubts. Either the first eleven chapters of *Genesis*, all due allowances being made for a figurative Eastern style, are true, or the whole fabrick of our national religion is false; a conclusion which none of us, I trust, would wish to be drawn. I, who cannot help

help believing the divinity of the MESSIAH, from the undisputed antiquity and manifest completion of many prophecies, especially those of ISAIAH, in the only person recorded by history to whom they are applicable, am obliged of course to believe the sanctity of the venerable books, to which that sacred person refers as genuine: but it is not the truth of our national religion, as such, that I have at heart; it is truth itself; and if any cool unbiassed reasoner will clearly convince me that MOSES drew his narrative through *Egyptian* conduits from the primeval fountains of *Indian* literature, I shall esteem him as a friend for having weeded my mind from a capital error, and promise to stand among the foremost in assisting to circulate the truth, which he has ascertained. After such a declaration, I cannot but persuade myself, that no candid man will be displeased if, in the course of my work, I make as free with any arguments that he may have advanced, as I should really desire him to do with any of mine that he may be disposed to controvert. Having no system of my own to maintain, I shall not pursue a very regular method, but shall take all the Gods, of whom I discourse, as they happen to present themselves; beginning, however, like the *Romans* and the *Hindus*, with JANUS or GANESHA.

THE titles and attributes of this old *Italian* deity are fully comprised in two choriambick verses of Sulpitius; and a farther account of him from OVID would here be superfluous:

*Jane pater, Jane tuens, dirve biceps, biformis,  
O cate rerum sator, O principium deorum!*

“Father JANUS, all-beholding JANUS, thou divinity with two heads, and with two forms; O sagacious planter of all things, and leader of deities!”

HE was the God, we see, of *Wisdom*; whence he is represented on coins with *two*, and on the *Hetruscan* image found at *Falisci* with *four* faces; emblems of prudence and circumspection: thus is GANE'SA, the God of *Wisdom* in *Hindusian*, painted with an *Elephant's* head, the symbol of sagacious discernment, and attended by a favourite rat, which the *Indians* consider as a wise and provident animal. His next great character, (the plentiful source of many superstitious usages) was that, from which he is emphatically styled *the father*, and which the second verse before cited more fully expresses, *the origin and founder of all things*: whence this notion arose, unless from a tradition that he first built shrines, raised altars, and instituted sacrifices, it is not easy to conjecture; hence it came, however, that his name was invoked before any other God; that, in the old sacred rites, corn and wine, and, in later times, incense also, were first offered to JANUS; that the *doors* or *entrances* to private houses were called *Janua*, and any pervious passage or thoroughfare, in the plural number, *Jani*, or *with two beginnings*; that he was represented holding a rod, as guardian of ways; and a key, as *opening*, not gates only, but *all important works and affairs* of mankind; that he was thought to preside over the morning, or *beginning of day*; that, although the *Roman* year began regularly with *March*, yet the eleventh month, named *Januarius*, was considered as *first* of the twelve, whence the whole year was supposed to be under his guidance, and opened with great solemnity by the consuls inaugurated in his face, where his statue was decorated on that occasion with fresh laurel; and, for the same reason, a solemn denunciation of war, than which there can hardly be a more momentous national act, was made by the military consul's opening the gates of his

his temple with all the pomp of his magistracy. The twelve altars and twelve chapels of JANUS might either denote, according to the general opinion, that he leads and governs twelve months, or that, as he says of himself in OVID, all entrance and access must be made through him to the principal Gods, who were, to a proverb, of the same number. We may add, that JANUS was imagined to preside over infants at their birth, or the beginning of life.

THE *Indian* divinity has precisely the same character: all sacrifices and religious ceremonies, all addresses even to superior Gods, all serious compositions in writing, and all worldly affairs of moment; are begun by pious *Hindus* with an invocation of GANE'SA; a word composed of *isa*, the governor or leader, and *gan'a*, or a company of deities, nine of which companies are enumerated in the *Amarcôsb*. Instances of opening business auspiciously by an ejaculation to the JANUS of *India* (if the lines of resemblance here traced will justify me in so calling him) might be multiplied with ease. Few books are begun without the words *salutation to GANE'S*, and he is first invoked by the *Bráhmans*, who conduct the trial by ordeal, or perform the ceremony of the *bóma*, or sacrifice to fire. M. SONNERAT represents him as highly revered on the coast of *Coromandel*; "where the  
 " *Indians* (he says) would not on any account build  
 " a house without having placed on the ground an  
 " image of this deity, which they sprinkle with oil  
 " and adorn every day with flowers; they set up  
 " his figure in all their temples, in the streets, in  
 " the high roads, and in open plains at the foot  
 " of some tree; so that persons of all ranks may  
 " invoke him before they undertake any business,  
 " and travellers worship him before they proceed  
 " on their journey." To this I may add, from  
 my



my own observation, that in the commodious and useful town which now rises at *Dharmārāya* or *Gayā*, under the auspices of the active and benevolent THOMAS LAW, Esq; collector of *Rotas*, every new-built house, agreeably to an immemorial usage of the *Hindus*, has the name of GANE'SA subscribed on its door; and, in the old town, his image is placed over the gates of the temples.

WE come now to SATURN, the oldest of the pagan Gods, of whose office and actions much is recorded. The jargon of his being the son of Earth and of Heaven, who was the son of the Sky and the Day, is purely a confession of ignorance who were his parents or who his predecessors; and there appears more sense in the tradition said to be mentioned by the inquisitive and well-informed PLATO, "that both SATURN, or *Time*, and his consort CYBELE, or the *Earth*, together with their attendants, were the children of *Ocean* and THERIS, or, in less poetical language, "sprang from the waters of the great deep." CERES, the goddess of harvests, was, it seems, their daughter; and VIRGIL describes "the mother and nurse of all as crowned with turrets, in a car drawn by lions, and exulting in her hundred grand-sons, all divine, all inhabiting splendid celestial mansions." As the God of time, or rather as *Time* itself personified, SATURN was usually painted by the heathens holding a scythe in one hand, and in the other a snake with its tail in its mouth, the symbol of perpetual cycles and revolutions of ages: he was often represented in the act of devouring years, in the form of children, and, sometimes, encircled by the seasons appearing like boys and girls. By the *Latins* he was named SATURNUS; and the most ingenious etymology of that word is given by FESTUS the grammarian;

grammarians; who trace it, by a learned analogy to many similar names, *à satu*, from planting, because, when he reigned in *Italy*, he introduced and improved agriculture: but his distinguishing character, which explains, indeed, all his other titles and functions, was expressed allegorically by the stern of a ship or galley on the reverse of his ancient coins; for which OVID assigns a very unsatisfactory reason, "because the divine stranger arrived in a ship on the *Italian* coast;" as if he could have been expected on horse-back, or hovering through the air.

THE account, quoted by POMEY from ALEXANDER POLYHISTOR, casts a clearer light, if it really came from genuine antiquity, on the whole tale of SATURN; "that he predicted an extraordinary fall of rain, and ordered the construction of a vessel, in which it was necessary to secure men, beasts, birds, and reptiles from a general inundation."

Now it seems not easy to take a cool review of all these testimonies concerning the birth, kindred, offspring, character, occupations; and entire life of SATURN, without assenting to the opinion of BOCHART, or admitting it at least to be highly probable, that the fable was raised on the true history of NOAH; from whose flood a new period of *time* was computed, and a new series of ages may be said to have sprung; who rose fresh, and, as it were, newly born from the waves; whose wife was in fact the universal mother, and, that the earth might soon be re-peopled, was early blessed with numerous and flourishing descendants: if we produce, therefore, an *Indian* king of divine birth, eminent for his piety and beneficence, whose story seems evidently to be that of NOAH disguised by *Asiatick* fiction, we may safely offer a conjecture, that he was also the same personage  
with

with SATURN. This was MENU, or SATYAV-RATA, whose patronymick name was VAIVAS-WATA, or Child of the SUN; and whom the *Indians* believed to have reigned over the whole world in the earliest age of their chronology, but to have resided in the country of *Dravira*, on the coast of the Eastern *Indian* Peninsula: the following narrative of the principal event in his life, I have literally translated from the *Bhágavat*; and it is the subject of the first *Purána*, entitled that of the *Matsya*, or *Fish*.

‘ DESIRING the preservation of herds, and of  
 ‘ *Bráhmans*, of genii and virtuous men, of the  
 ‘ *Védas*, of law, and of precious things, the lord  
 ‘ of the universe assumes many bodily shapes; but,  
 ‘ though he pervades, like the air, a variety of  
 ‘ beings, yet he is himself unvaried, since he has  
 ‘ no quality subject to change. At the close of  
 ‘ the last *Calpa*, there was a general destruction  
 ‘ occasioned by the sleep of BRAHMA; whence  
 ‘ his creatures in different worlds were drowned  
 ‘ in a vast ocean. BRAHMA, being inclined to  
 ‘ slumber, desiring repose after a lapse of ages,  
 ‘ the strong demon HAYAGRÍVA came near him,  
 ‘ and stole the *Védas*, which had flowed from his  
 ‘ lips. When HERI, the preserver of the uni-  
 ‘ verse, discovered this deed of the Prince of  
 ‘ *Dánavas*, he took the shape of a minute fish,  
 ‘ called *sap’bari*. A holy king, named SATYAV-  
 ‘ RATA, then reigned; a servant of the spirit,  
 ‘ which moved on the waves, and so devout, that  
 ‘ water was his only sustenance. He was the  
 ‘ child of the Sun, and, in the present *Calpa*, is  
 ‘ invested by NARA’YAN in the office of *Menu*,  
 ‘ by the name of SRA’DDHADE’VA, or the God  
 ‘ of Obsequies. One day, as he was making a  
 ‘ libation in the river *Critamála*, and held water in  
 ‘ the palm of his hand, he perceived a small fish  
 ‘ moving

' moving in it. The king of *Dravira* immedi-  
 ' ately dropped the fish into the river together with  
 ' the water, which he had taken from it; when  
 ' the *sap'bari* thus pathetically addressed the bene-  
 ' volent monarch: "How canst thou, O king,  
 " who showest affection to the oppressed, leave me  
 " in this river-water, where I am too weak to re-  
 " sist the monsters of the stream, who fill me with  
 " dread?" He, not knowing who had assumed  
 ' the form of a fish, applied his mind to the pre-  
 ' servation of the *sap'bari*, both from good-nature  
 ' and from regard to his own soul; and, having  
 ' heard its very suppliant address, he kindly placed  
 ' it under his protection in a small vase full of  
 ' water; but, in a single night, its bulk was so  
 ' increased, that it could not be contained in the  
 ' jar, and thus again addressed the illustrious  
 ' Prince: "I am not pleased with living misera-  
 " bly in this little vase; make me a large mansion,  
 " where I may dwell in comfort." The king,  
 ' removing it thence, placed it in the water of a  
 ' cistern; but it grew three cubits in less than  
 ' fifty minutes, and said: "O king, it pleases me  
 " not to stay vainly in this narrow cistern: since  
 " thou hast granted me an asylum, give me  
 " a spacious habitation." He then removed it,  
 ' and placed it in a pool, where, having ample  
 ' space around its body, it became a fish of confi-  
 ' derable size. "This abode, O king, is not  
 " convenient for me, who must swim at large in  
 " the waters: exert thyself for my safety, and re-  
 " move me to a deep lake." Thus addressed, the  
 ' pious monarch threw the suppliant into a lake,  
 ' and when it grew of equal bulk with that piece  
 ' of water, he cast the vast fish into the sea. When  
 ' the fish was thrown into the waves, he thus  
 ' again spoke to SATYAVRATA: "Here the  
 " horned sharks, and other monsters of great  
 " strength

" strength will devour me ; thou shouldst not,  
 " O valiant man, leave me in this ocean." Thus  
 " repeatedly deluded by the fish, who had address-  
 " ed him with gentle words, the king said :  
 " Who art thou, that beguilest me in that assumed  
 " shape? Never before have I seen or heard of so  
 " prodigious an inhabitant of the waters, who,  
 " like thee, has filled up, in a single day, a lake  
 " an hundred leagues in circumference. Surely,  
 " thou art BHAGAVAT, who appearest before me ;  
 " the great HERI, whose dwelling was on the  
 " waves ; and who now in compassion to thy ser-  
 " vants, bearest the form of the natives of the  
 " deep. Salutation and praise to thee, O first  
 " male, the lord of creation, of preservation, of  
 " destruction ! Thou art the highest object, O  
 " supreme ruler, of us thy adorers, who piously  
 " seek thee. All thy delusive descents in this  
 " world give existence to various beings : yet I  
 " am anxious to know, for what cause that shape  
 " has been assumed by thee. Let me not, O lotos-  
 " eyed, approach in vain the feet of a deity,  
 " whose perfect benevolence has been extended to  
 " all ; when thou hast shown us to our amaze-  
 " ment the appearance of other bodies, not in  
 " reality existing, but successively exhibited."  
 " The lord of the universe, loving the pious man  
 " who thus implored him, and intending to pre-  
 " serve him from the sea of destruction, caused by  
 " the depravity of the age, thus told him how he  
 " was to act. " In seven days from the present  
 " time, O thou tamer of enemies, the three  
 " worlds will be plunged in an ocean of death ;  
 " but, in the midst of the destroying waves, a  
 " large vessel, sent by me for thy use, shall stand  
 " before thee. Then shalt thou take all medicinal  
 " herbs, all the variety of seeds, and, accompa-  
 " nied by seven saints, encircled by pairs of all  
 " brute

"brute animals, thou shalt enter the spacious ark,  
 "and continue in it, secure from the flood, on  
 "one immense ocean without light, except the  
 "radiance of thy holy companions. When the  
 "ship shall be agitated by an impetuous wind,  
 "thou shalt fasten it with a large sea-serpent on  
 "my horn; for I will be near thee: drawing  
 "the vessel, with thee and thy attendants,  
 "I will remain on the ocean, O chief of men,  
 "until a night of BRAHMA' shall be completely  
 "ended. Thou shalt then know my true great-  
 "ness, rightly named the supreme God-head; by  
 "my favour, all thy questions shall be answered,  
 "and thy mind abundantly instructed." HERI,  
 'having thus directed the monarch, disappeared;  
 'and SATYAVRATA humbly waited for the time,  
 'which the ruler of our senses had appointed.  
 'The pious king, having scattered toward the  
 'East the pointed blades of the grass *darbha*,  
 'and turning his face toward the North, sat me-  
 'ditating on the feet of the God, who had borne  
 'the form of a fish. The sea overwhelming its  
 'shores, deluged the whole earth; and it was  
 'soon perceived to be augmented by showers  
 'from immense clouds. He, still meditating on  
 'the command of BHAGAVAT, saw the vessel  
 'advancing, and entered it with the chiefs of  
 'Bráhmans, having carried into it the medicinal  
 'creepers, and conformed to the directions of  
 'HERI. The saints thus addressed him: "O  
 "king, meditate on CE SAVA; who will, surely,  
 "deliver us from this danger, and grant us prof-  
 "perity." The God, being invoked by the mo-  
 'narch, appeared again distinctly on the vast  
 'ocean in the form of a fish, blazing like gold,  
 'extending a million of leagues, with one stupen-  
 'dous horn; on which the king, as he had be-  
 'fore been commanded by HERI, tied the ship  
 'with

' with a cable made of a vast serpent, and happy  
 ' in his preservation, stood praising the destroyer  
 ' of MADHU. When the monarch had finished  
 ' his hymn, the primeval male, BHAGAVAT, who  
 ' watched for his safety on the great expanse of  
 ' water, spoke aloud to his own divine essence,  
 ' pronouncing a sacred *Purána*, which contained  
 ' the rules of the *Sánc'hya* philosophy: but it was  
 ' an infinite mystery, to be concealed within the  
 ' breast of SATYAVRATA; who, sitting in the vessel  
 ' with the saints, heard the principle of the soul,  
 ' the Eternal Being, proclaimed by the preserving  
 ' power. Then HERI, rising together with  
 ' BRAHMA from the destructive deluge, which  
 ' was abated, slew the demon HAYAGRIVA, and  
 ' recovered the sacred books. SATYAVRATA, in-  
 ' structed in all divine and human knowledge,  
 ' was appointed in the present *Calpa*, by the favour  
 ' of VISHNU, the seventh MENU, surnamed  
 ' VAIVASWATA: but the appearance of a horned  
 ' fish to the religious monarch was *Máyá*, or de-  
 ' lusion; and he who shall devoutly hear this im-  
 ' portant allegorical narrative, will be delivered  
 ' from the bondage of sin.'

THIS epitome of the first *Indian* History that is  
 now extant, appears to me very curious and  
 very important; for the story, though whimsi-  
 cally dressed up in the form of an allegory, seems  
 to prove a primeval tradition in this country of  
 the *universal deluge* described by MOSES, and fixes  
 consequently the *time*, when the genuine *Hindu*  
 Chronology actually begins. We find, it is true,  
 in the *Purán*, from which the narrative is extract-  
 ed, *another deluge*, which happened towards the  
 close of the *third* age, when YUDHISHTH'IR was  
 labouring under the persecution of his inveterate  
 foe DURYHODAN, and when CHRISHNA, who  
 had recently become incarnate for the purpose of  
 succouring

fuccouring the pious and of destroying the wicked, was performing wonders in the country of *Mat'burà*; but the second flood was merely *local*, and intended only to affect the people of *Vraja*: they, it seems, had offended INDRA, the God of the firmament, by their enthusiastic adoration of the wonderful child, “ who lifted up the mountain *Goverdhena* as if it had been a flower, and “ by sheltering all the herdsmen and shepherdesses “ from the storm, convinced INDRA of his supremacy.” That the *Satya*, or (if we may venture so to call it) the *Saturnian* age, was in truth the age of the *general* flood, will appear from a close examination of the ten *Avatárs*, or *Déscents*, of the deity in his capacity of preserver; since of the four, which are declared to have happened in the *Satya*yug, the *three first* apparently relate to some stupendous convulsion of our globe from the fountains of the deep, and the fourth exhibits the miraculous punishment of pride and impiety. First, as we have shown, there was, in the opinion of the *Hindus*, an interposition of Providence to preserve a devout person and his family (for all the *Pandits* agree, that his wife, though not named, must be understood to have been saved with him) from an inundation, by which all the wicked were destroyed; next, the power of the deity descends in the form of a *Boar*, the symbol of strength, to draw up and support on his tusks the whole earth, which had been sunk beneath the ocean; thirdly, the same power is represented as a *tortoise* sustaining the globe, which had been convulsed by the violent assaults of demons, while the Gods churned the sea with the mountain *Mandar*, and forced it to disgorge the sacred things and animals, together with the water of life, which it had swallowed. These three stories relate, I think, to the same event, shadowed by a moral,



moral, a metaphysical, and an astronomical allegory; and all three seem connected with the hieroglyphical sculptures of the old *Egyptians*. The fourth *Avatár* was a *lion* issuing from a bursting column of marble to devour a blaspheming monarch, who would otherwise have slain his religious son; and of the remaining six, not one has the least relation to a deluge: the three, which are ascribed to the *Tsétáyug*, when tyranny and irreligion are said to have been introduced, were ordained for the overthrow of tyrants, or, their natural types, giants with a thousand arms formed for the most extensive oppression; and, in the *Dwáparyug*, the incarnation of CRISHNA was partly for a similar purpose, and partly with a view to thin the world of unjust and impious men, who had multiplied in that age, and began to swarm on the approach of the *Caliyug*, or the age of contention and baseness. As to BUDDHA, he seems to have been a reformer of the doctrines contained in the *Védas*; and though his good-nature led him to censure those antient books, because they enjoined sacrifices of cattle, yet he is admitted as the ninth *Avatár* even by the *Bráhmans* of *Cásí*; and his praises are sung by the poet JAYADEVA: his character is in many respects very extraordinary; but as an account of it belongs rather to History than to Mythology, it is reserved for another Dissertation. The tenth *Avatár*, we are told, is yet to come, and is expected to appear mounted (like the crowned conqueror in the *Apocalyps*) on a white horse with a cimeter blazing like a comet to mow down all incorrigible and impenitent offenders, who shall then be on earth.

THESE four *Yugs* have so apparent an affinity with the *Grecian* and *Roman* ages, that one origin may be naturally assigned to both systems: the

first in both is distinguished as abounding in *gold*; though *Satya* mean *truth* and *probity*, which were found, if ever, in the times immediately following so tremendous an exertion of the divine power as the destruction of mankind by a general deluge; the next is characterised by *silver*, and the third by *copper*; though their usual names allude to proportions imagined in each between vice and virtue: the present, or *earthen*, age seems more properly discriminated than by *iron*, as in antient *Europe*; since that metal is not baser or less useful, though more common in our times, and consequently less precious than copper; while mere *earth* conveys an idea of the lowest degradation. We may here observe, that the true History of the World seems obviously divisible into *four* ages or periods; which may be called, first, the *Diluvian* or purest age; namely, the times preceding the deluge, and those succeeding it till the mad introduction of idolatry at *Babel*; next; the *Patriarchal*, or pure age; in which, indeed, there were mighty hunters of beasts and of men, from the rise of patriarchs in the family of SEM; to the simultaneous establishment of great empires by the descendants of his brother HAM; thirdly, the *Mosaick*, or less pure age, from the legation of MOSES, and during the time when his ordinances were comparatively well-observed and uncorrupted; lastly, the *Prophetical* or *impure*, age, beginning with the vehement warnings given by the Prophets to apostate Kings and degenerate nations, but still subsisting and to subsist, until all genuine prophecies shall be fully accomplished. The duration of the historical ages must needs be very unequal and disproportionate; while that of the *Indian Yugs* is disposed so regularly and artificially, that it cannot be admitted as natural or probable: men do not become reprobate

bate in a geometrical progression, or at the termination of regular periods; yet so well proportioned are the *Yugs*, that even the length of human life is diminished, as they advance, from an hundred thousand years in a subdecuple ratio; and as the number of principal *Avatárs* in each decreases arithmetically from four, so the number of years in each decreases geometrically, and all together constitute the extravagant sum of four million three hundred and twenty thousand years; which aggregate, multiplied by seventy-one, is the period in which every MENU is believed to preside over the world. Such a period, one might conceive, would have satisfied ARCHYTAS, the *measurer of sea and earth, and the numberer of their sands*, or ARCHIMEDES, who invented a notation that was capable of expressing the number of them; but the comprehensive mind of an *Indian* chronologist has no limits; and the reigns of fourteen MENUS are only a single day of BRAHMA', fifty of which days have elapsed, according to the *Hindus*, from the time of the Creation. That all this puerility, as it seems at first view, may be only an astronomical riddle, and allude to the apparent revolution of the fixed stars, of which the *Bráhmans* made a mystery, I readily admit, and am even inclined to believe; but so technical an arrangement excludes all idea of serious History. I am sensible how much these remarks will offend the warm advocates for *Indian* antiquity; but we must not sacrifice truth to a base fear of giving offence. That the *Védas* were actually written before the flood I shall never believe; nor can we infer from the preceding story, that the learned *Hindus* believe it; for the allegorical slumber of BRAHMA' and the theft of the sacred books mean only, in simpler language, that *the human race was become corrupt*; but that the *Védas* are very ancient,

and far older than other *Sanscrit* compositions, I will venture to assert from my own examination of them, and a comparison of their style with that of the *Puráns* and the *Dherma Sástra*. A similar comparison justifies me in pronouncing, that the excellent law-book ascribed to SWA'YÁMBHUVA MENU, though not even pretended to have been written by him, is more antient than the BHÁGAVAT; but that it was composed in the first age of the world, the *Bráhmans* would find it hard to persuade me; and the date, which has been assigned to it, does not appear in either of the two copies which I possess, or in any other that has been collated for me: in fact, the supposed date is comprised in a verse which flatly contradicts the work itself; for it was not MENU who composed the system of law, by the command of his father BRAHMA', but a holy personage or demigod, named BHRIGU, who revealed to men what MENU had delivered at the request of him and other saints or patriarchs. In the *Mánava Sástra*, to conclude this digression, the measure is so uniform and melodious, and the style so perfectly *Sanscrit* or *Polished*, that the book must be more modern than the scriptures of MOSES, in which the simplicity, or rather nakedness, of the *Hebrew* dialect, metre, and style, must convince every unbiaffed man of their superior antiquity.

I LEAVE etymologists, who decide every thing, to decide whether the word MENU, or in the nominative case, MENUS, has any connection with MINOS, the Lawgiver, and supposed son of JOYE: the *Cretans*, according to DIODORUS of *Sicily*, used to feign, that most of the great men who had been deified in return for the benefits which they had conferred on mankind, were born in their island; and hence a doubt may be raised, whether MINOS was really a *Cretan*. The *Indian* legislato<sub>r</sub>

legislator was the first, not the seventh MENU, or SATYAVRATA, whom I suppose to be the SATURN of *Italy*: part of SATURN'S character, indeed was that of a great lawgiver,

• *Qui genus indocile ac dispersum montibus altis  
Composuit, legesque dedit;*

and we may suspect, that all the fourteen MENUS are reducible to one, who was called NUH by the *Arabs*, and probably by the *Hebrews*, though we have disguised his name by an improper pronunciation of it. Some near relation between the seventh MENU and the *Grecian* MINOS may be inferred from the singular character of the *Hindu* God YAMA, who was also a child of the Sun, and thence named VAIVASWATA: he had too the same title with his brother SRA'DDHAVEVA; another of his titles was DHERMARAJA, or *King of Justice*; and a third, PITRIPATI, or *Lord of the Patriarchs*; but he is chiefly distinguished as *judge of departed souls*; for the *Hindus* believe, that when a soul leaves its body, it immediately repairs to *Yamapur*, or the city of YAMA, where it receives a just sentence from him, and either ascends to *Swerga*, or the first heaven, or is driven down to *Narac*, the region of serpents, or assumes on earth the form of some animal, unless its offence had been such, that it ought to be condemned to a vegetable, or even to a mineral, prison. Another of his names is very remarkable: I mean that of CALA, or *time*, the idea of which is intimately blended with the characters of SATURN and of NOAH; for the name CRONOS has a manifest affinity with the word *chronos*; and a learned follower of ZERATUSHT assures me, that in the books which the *Behdins* hold sacred, mention is made of an *universal inundation*, there named the deluge of TIME.

IT having been occasionally observed, that CERES was the poetical daughter of SATURN, we cannot close this head without adding, that the *Hindus* also have their *Goddeſs of Abundance*, whom they uſually call LACSHMI, and whom they conſider as the daughter (not of MENU, but) of BHRIGU, by whom the firſt Code of ſacred ordinances was promulgated: ſhe is alſo named PEDMA and CAMALA from the ſacred LOTOS or *Nymphæa*; but her moſt remarkable name is SRI, or, in the firſt caſe, SRI'S; which has a reſemblance to the *Latin*, and means *fortune* or *proſperity*. It may be contended, that, although LACSHMI may be figuratively called the CERES of *Hinduſtan*, yet any two or more idolatrous nations, who ſubſiſted by agriculture, might naturally conceive a Deity to preſide over their labours, without having the leaſt intercourse with each other; but no reaſon appears, why two nations ſhould concur in ſuppoſing that Deity to be a female: one at leaſt of them would be more likely to imagine, that the *Earth* was a Goddeſs, and that the God of abundance rendered her fertile. Beſides, in very ancient temples near *Gayá*, we ſee images of LACHSMI, with full breaſts and a cord twiſted under her arm like a *horn of plenty*, which look very much like the old *Grecian* and *Roman* figures of CERES.

THE fable of SATURN having been thus analysed, let us proceed to his deſcendants; and begin, as the Poet adviſes, with JUPITER, whoſe ſupremacy, thunder, and libertinifm, every boy learns from OVID; while his great offices of Creator, Preſerver, and Deſtroyer, are not generally conſidered in the ſystems of *European* mythology. The *Romans* had, as we have before obſerved, many JUPITERS, one of whom was only the *Fir-*  
*mament*

*mament personified, as ENNIUS clearly expresses it :*

*Aspice hoc sublime candens, quem invocant omnes Jovem.*

This JUPITER or DIESPITER, is the *Indian* God of the visible heavens, called INDRA, or the *King*, and DIVESPETIR, or *Lord of the Sky*, who has also the character of the *Roman* GENIUS, or Chief of the good spirits; but most of his epithets in *Sanscrit* are the same with those of the *Ennian* JOVE. His consort is named SACHI; his celestial city, *Amarávati*; his palace, *Vaijayanta*; his garden, *Nandana*; his chief elephant, *Airávat*; his charioteer, MATA'LI; and his weapon; *Vajra*, or the thunderbolt: he is the regent of winds and showers, and, though the East is peculiarly under his care, yet his *Olympus* is *Méru*, or the north pole allegorically represented as a mountain of gold and gems. With all his power he is considered as a subordinate Deity, and far inferior to the *Indian* Triad, BRAHMA', VISHNU, and MAHA'DEVA or SIVA, who are three *forms* of one and the same Godhead: thus the principal divinity of the *Greeks* and *Latians*, whom they called ZEUS and JUPITER with irregular inflexions DIOS and JOVIS, was not merely *Fulminator*, the Thunderer, but, like the destroying power of *India*, MAGNUS DIVUS, ULTOR, GENITOR; like the preserving power, CONSERVATOR, SOTER, OPITULUS, ALTOR, RUMINUS; and like the creating power, the *Giver of Life*; an attribute, which I mention here on the authority of CORNUTUS, a consummate master of mythological learning. We are advised by PLATO himself to search for the roots of *Greek* words in some barbarous, that is, foreign soil; but, since I look upon etymological conjectures as a weak basis for historical enquiries, I  
hardly

hardly dare suggest, that ZEV, SIV, and JOV, are the same syllable differently pronounced: it must, however be admitted, that the *Greeks* having no palatal *sigma*, like that of the *Indians*, might have expressed it by their *zeta*, and that the initial letters of *zugen* and *jugum* are (as the instance proves) easily interchangeable.

LET us now descend, from these general and introductory remarks, to some particular observations on the resemblance of ZEUS or JUPITER to the triple divinity VISHNU, SIVA, BRAHMA; for that is the order in which they are expressed by the letters A, U, and M, which coalesce and form the mystical word O'M; a word which never escapes the lips of a pious *Hindu*, who meditates on it in silence: whether the *Egyptian* ON, which is commonly supposed to mean the Sun, be the *Sanscrit* monosyllable, I leave others to determine. It must always be remembered, that the learned *Indians*, as they are instructed by their own books, in truth acknowledge only One Supreme Being, whom they call BRAHME, or THE GREAT ONE, in the neuter gender: they believe his Essence to be infinitely removed from the comprehension of any mind but his own; and they suppose him to manifest his power by the operation of his divine spirit, whom they name VISHNU, the *Pervader*, and NA'RA'YAN, or *Moving on the waters*, both in the masculine gender, whence he is often denominated the *First Male*; and by this power they believe that the whole order of nature is preserved and supported; but the *Védántis*, unable to form a distinct idea of brute matter independent of mind, or to conceive that the work of Supreme Goodness was left a moment to itself, imagine that the Deity is ever present to his work, and constantly supports a series of perceptions, which, in one sense, they call *illusory*, though they cannot  
but



but admit the *reality* of all created forms, as far as the happiness of creatures can be affected by them. When they consider the divine power exerted in *creating*, or in giving existence to that which existed not before, they call the Deity BRAHMA' in the masculine gender also; and when they view him in the light of *Destroyer*, or rather *Changer* of forms, they give him a thousand names, of which SIVA, I'SA OR I'SWARA, RUDRA, HARA, SAMBHU, and MAHA'DE'VA OR MAHE'SA, are the most common. The first operations of these three Powers are variously described in the different *Puranas* by a number of allegories, and from them we may deduce the *Ionian* Philosophy of *primeval water*, the doctrine of the Mundane Egg, and the veneration paid to the *Nymphæa*, or *Lotos*, which was anciently revered in *Egypt*, as it is as present in *Hindustan*, *Tibet*, and *Népal*: the *Tibetians* are said to embellish their temples and altars with it, and a native of *Népal* made prostrations before it on entering my study, where the fine plant and beautiful flowers lay for examination. Mr HOLWELL, in explaining his first plate, supposes BRAHMA' to be floating on a leaf of *betel* in the midst of the abyss; but it was manifestly intended by a bad painter for a lotos-leaf, or for that of the *Indian* fig-tree; nor is the species of pepper, known in *Bengal* by the name of *Támbúla*, and on the coast of *Malabar* by that of *Betel*, held sacred, as he asserts, by the *Hindus*, or necessarily cultivated under the inspection of *Bráhmans*; though as the vines are tender, all the plantations of them are carefully secured, and ought to be cultivated by a particular tribe of *Súdras*, who are thence called *Támbúli's*.

THAT *water* was the primitive element and first work of the Creative Power, is the uniform opinion of the *Indian* Philosophers; but, as they give

give so particular an account of the general deluge and of the Creation, it can never be admitted, that their whole system arose from traditions concerning the Flood only, and must appear indubitable, that their doctrine is in part borrowed from the opening of *Birásit* or *Genesis*, than which a sublimer passage from the first word to the last, never flowed or will flow from any human pen: "In the beginning GOD created the heavens and the earth.—And the earth was void and waste, and darkness was on the face of the deep, and the Spirit of GOD *moved upon* the face of the waters; and GOD said: *Let Light be*—and *Light was.*" The sublimity of this passage is considerably diminished by the *Indian* paraphrase of it, with which MENU, the son of BRAHMA, begins his address to the sages, who consulted him on the formation of the universe: "This world," says he, "was all darkness, undiscernible, undistinguishable, altogether as in a profound sleep; till the self-existent invisible GOD, making it manifest with five elements and other glorious forms, perfectly dispelled the gloom. He, desiring to raise up various creatures by an emanation from his own glory, first created the waters, and impressed them with a power of motion: by that power was produced a golden egg, blazing like a thousand suns, in which was born BRAHMA, self-existing, the great parent of all rational Beings. The waters are called *nára*, since they are the offspring of NERA (or ISWARA); and thence was NA'RYANA named, because his first *ayana*, or moving, was on them.

"THAT WHICH IS, the invisible cause, eternal, self-existing, but unperceived, becoming masculine *from neuter*, is celebrated among all creatures by the name of BRAHMA. That God, having

“ having dwelled in the Egg, through revolving  
 “ years, Himself meditating on Himself divided  
 “ it into two equal parts ; and from those halves  
 “ formed the heavens and the earth, placing in  
 “ the midst the subtile ether, the eight points of  
 “ thè world, and the permanent receptacle of  
 “ waters.”

To this curious description, with which the *Mánava Sástra* begins, I cannot refrain from sub-joining the four verses, which are the text of the *Bhágavat*, and are believed to have been pronounced by the Supreme Being to BRAHMA' : the following version is most scrupulously literal.

“ EVEN I was even at first, not any other thing ;  
 “ that, which exists, unperceived ; supreme : af-  
 “ terwards I AM THAT WHICH IS ; and he, who  
 “ must remain, am I.

“ EXCEPT the FIRST CAUSE, whatever may  
 “ appear, and may not appear, in the mind,  
 “ know that to be the mind's MA'YA', (or *Delu-  
 sion*) as light, as darkness.

“ As the great elements are in various beings,  
 “ entering, yet not entering (that is, pervading,  
 “ not destroying); thus am I in them, yet not in  
 “ them,

“ EVEN thus far may enquiry be made by him,  
 “ who seeks to know the principle of mind, in  
 “ union and separation, which must be EVERY  
 “ WHERE ALWAYS.”

WILD and obscure as these ancient verses must appear in a naked verbal translation, it will perhaps be thought by many, that the poetry or mythology of *Greece* or *Italy* afford no conceptions more awfully magnificent: yet the brevity and simplicity of the *Mosaic* diction are unequalled.

As to the creation of the world, in the opinion of the *Romans*, OVID, who might naturally have been

been expected to describe it with learning and elegance, leaves us wholly in the dark, *which of the Gods was the actor in it*: other Mythologists are more explicit; and we may rely on the authority of CORNUTUS, that the old *European* heathens considered JOVE (not the son of SATURN, but of the *Ether*, that is, of an unknown parent) as the great *Life-giver*, and *Father of Gods and Men*; to which may be added the *Oxyphean* doctrine, preserved by PROCIUS, that “the abyss and empyreum, the earth and sea, the Gods and Goddesses, were produced by ZEUS or JUPITER.” In this character he corresponds with BRAHMA'; and, perhaps, with that God of the *Babylonians* (if we can rely on the account of their ancient religion), who, like BRAHMA', reduced the universal order, and like BRAHMA', *lost his head*, with the blood of which new animals were instantly formed: I allude to the common story, the meaning of which I cannot discover, that BRAHMA' had five heads till one of them was cut off by NA'RA'YA'N.

THAT, in another capacity, JOVE was the *Helper and Supporter* of all, we may collect from his old *Latin* epithets, and from CICERO, who informs us, that his usual name is a contraction of *Juvans Pater*; an etymology, which shews the idea entertained of his character, though we may have some doubts of its accuracy. CALLIMACHUS, we know, addresses him as *the bestower of all good, and of security from grief*; and, *since neither wealth without virtue, nor virtue without wealth, give complete happiness*, he prays, like a wise poet, for both. An *Indian* prayer for riches would be directed to LACSHMI', the wife of VISHNU, since the *Hindu* goddesses are believed to be the powers of their respective lords: as to CUVE'RA, the *Indian* PLUTUS, one of whose names in *Paulastya*, he is revered, indeed, as a magnificent Deity, residing

siding in the palace of *Alacá*, or borne through the sky in a splendid car named *Pushpaca*, but is manifestly subordinate, like the other seven Genii, to the three principal Gods, or rather to the principal God considered in three capacities. As the soul of the world, or the pervading *mind*, so finely described by VIRGIL, we see JOVE represented by several *Roman* poets; and with great sublimity by LUCAN in the known speech of CATO concerning the *Ammonian* oracle, "JUPITER is, wherever we look, wherever we move." This is precisely the *Indian* idea of VISHNU, according to the four verses above exhibited; not that the *Bráhmans* imagine their male Divinity to be the *divine Essence* of the great one, which they declare to be wholly incomprehensible; but, since the power of *preserving* created things by a superintending Providence, belongs eminently to the Godhead, they hold that power to exist transcendently in the *preserving* member of the Triad, whom they suppose to be EVERY WHERE ALWAYS, not in substance, but in spirit and energy: here, however, I speak of the *Vaisnavas*; for the *Saivas* ascribe a sort of pre-eminence to SIVA, whose attributes are now to be concisely examined.

IT was in the capacity of Avenger and Destroyer, that JOVE encountered and overthrew the *Titans* and *Giants*, whom TYPHON, BRIAREUS, TITYUS, and the rest of their fraternity, led against the God of *Olympus*; to whom an Eagle brought *lightning* and *thunderbolts* during the warfare: thus, in a similar contest between SIVA and the *Daityas*, or children of DITI, who frequently rebelled against heaven, BRAHMA' is believed to have presented the God of Destruction with *fiery shafts*. One of the many poems entitled *Rámáyan*, the last book of which has been translated into *Italian*, contains an extraordinary dialogue between

tween the crow *Bhushunda*, and a rational Eagle, named GARUDA, who is often painted with the face of a beautiful youth and the body of an imaginary bird; and one of the eighteen *Puranas* bears his name and comprizes his whole history. M. SONNERAT informs us, that VISHNU is represented in some places riding on the GARUDA, which he supposes to be the *Pondicheri* Eagle of BRISSEAU, especially as the *Bráhmans* of the Coast highly venerate that class of birds, and provide food for numbers of them at stated hours: I rather conceive the *Garúda* to be a fabulous bird, but agree with him, that the *Hindu* God, who rides on it, resembles the ancient JUPITER. In the old temples at *Gayá*, VISHNU is either mounted on this poetical bird, or attended by it, together with a little page; but, lest an etymologist should find GANYMED in GARUD, I must observe, that the *Sanscrit* word is pronounced *Garura*; though I admit, that the *Grecian* and *Indian* stories of the celestial bird and the page appear to have some resemblance. As the *Olympian* JUPITER fixed his court and held his councils on a lofty and brilliant mountain, so the appropriated seat of MAHA'DE'VA, whom the *Saiwa's* consider as the Chief of the Deities, was mount *Cailása*, every splinter of whose rocks was an inestimable gem: his terrestrial haunts are the snowy hills of *Himálaya*, or that branch of them to the East of the *Brahmaputra*, which has the name of *Chandrasic'bara*, or the *Mountain of the Moon*. When, after all these circumstances, we learn that SIVA is believed to have *three* eyes, whence he is named also TRILO'CHAN, and know from PAUSANIAS, not only that *Triophthalmos* was an epithet of ZEUS, but that a statue of him had been found so early as the taking of *Troy* with a *third eye in his forehead*, as we see him represented by the *Hindus*; we must

must conclude, that the identity of the two Gods falls little short of being demonstrated.

IN the character of *Destroyer* also we may look upon this *Indian Deity* as corresponding with the *Stygian Jove*, or *PLUTO*; especially since *CA'LI*, or *Time* in the feminine gender, is a name of his consort, who will appear hereafter to by *PROSERPINE*: indeed, if we can rely on a *Persian* translation of the *Bhágavat*, (for the original is not yet in my possession), the sovereign of *Pátála*, or the *Infernal Regions*, is the *King of Serpents*, named *SE'SHANA'GA*; for *CRISHNA* is there said to have descended with his favourite *ARJUN* to the seat of that formidable divinity, from whom he instantly obtained the favour which he requested, that the souls of a *Bráhma*n's six sons, who had been slain in battle, might reanimate their respective bodies; and *SE'SHANA'GA* is thus described: "He had a  
 "gorgeous appearance, with a thousand heads,  
 "and on each of them a crown set with resplendent gems, one of which was larger and brighter than the rest; his eyes gleamed like flaming  
 "torches; but his neck, his tongues, and his  
 "body were black; the skirts of his habiliment  
 "were yellow, and a sparkling jewel hung in  
 "every one of his ears; his arms were extended,  
 "and adorned with rich bracelets, and his hands  
 "bore the holy shell, the radiated weapon, the  
 "mace for war, and the lotos." Thus *PLUTO* was often exhibited in painting and sculpture with a diadem and sceptre; but himself and his equipage were of the blackest shade.

THERE is yet another attribute of *MAHA'DE'VA*, by which he is too visibly distinguished in the drawings and temples of *Bengal*. To destroy, according to the *Védánti's* of *India*, the *Súfi's* of *Persia*, and many Philosophers of our *European* schools, is only to generate and reproduce in another

ther form : hence the God of *Destruction* is holden in this country to preside over *Generation* ; as a symbol of which he rides on a *white bull*. Can we doubt that the loves and feats of JUPITER GENITOR (not forgetting the *white bull* of EUROPA) and his extraordinary title of LAPIS, for which no satisfactory reason is commonly given, have a connection with the *Indian Philosophy* and *Mythology* ? As to the deity of *Lampfacus*, he was originally a mere scarecrow, and ought not to have a place in any mythological system ; and in regard to BACCHUS, the God of *Vintage* (between whose acts and those of JUPITER we find, as BACON observes, a wonderful affinity), his *Ithyphallick* images, measures, and ceremonies alluded probably to the supposed relation of Love and Wine ; unless we believe them to have belonged originally to SIVA, one of whose names is *Vágis* or *BA'GI'S*, and to have been afterwards improperly applied: Though, in an *Essay on the Gods of India*, where the *Bráhmans* are positively forbidden to taste fermented liquors, we can have little to do with BACCHUS, as God of Wine, who was probably no more than the imaginary president over the vintage in *Italy*, *Greece*, and the *Lower Asia*, yet we must not omit SURA'DE'VI, the Goddess of Wine, who arose, say the *Hindus*, from the ocean, when it was churned with the mountain *Mandar* : and this fable seems to indicate, that the *Indians* came from a country in which wine was antiently made and considered as a blessing ; though the dangerous effects of intemperance induced their early legislators to prohibit the use of all spirituous liquors ; and it were much to be wished that so wise a law had never been violated.

HERE may be introduced the JUPITER, *Marius*, or NEPTUNE, of the *Romans*, as resembling MAHA'DE'VA in his *generative* character ; especially



ally as the *Hindu* God is the husband of BHAVA'NI, whose relation to the *waters* is evidently marked by her image being restored to them at the conclusion of her great festival called *Durgotsava*: she is known also to have attributes exactly similar to those of VENUS *Marina*, whose birth from the sea-foam and splendid rise from the Conch, in which she had been cradled, have afforded so many charming subjects to antient and modern artists; and it is very remarkable, that the REMBHA of INDRA'S COURT, who seems to correspond with the popular VENUS, or Goddess of Beauty, was produced, according to the *Indian* Fabulists, from the froth of the churned ocean. The identity of the *trifida* and the *trident*, the weapon of SIVA and of NEPTUNE, seems to establish this analogy; and the veneration paid all over *India* to the large buccinum, especially when it can be found with the spiral line and mouth, turned from left to right, brings instantly to our mind the music of TRITON. The Genius of Water is VARUNA; but he, like the rest, is far inferior to MAHESA', and even to INDRA, who is the Prince of the beneficent genii.

THIS way of considering the Gods as individual substances, but as distinct persons in distinct characters, is common to the *European* and *Indian* systems; as well as the custom of giving the highest of them the greatest number of names: hence, not to repeat what has been said of JUPITER, came the triple capacity of DIANA; and hence her petition in CALLIMACHUS, that she might be *polyonymous* or *many-titled*. The consort of SIVA is more eminently marked by these distinctions than those of BRAHMA' or VISHNU: she resembles the Isis *Myrionymos*, to whom an antient marble, described by GRUTER, is dedicated; but her leading names and characters are PARVATI', DURGA', BHAVA'NI'.

As the *Mountain-born* Goddess, or PÁRVATÍ, she has many properties of the *Olympian* JUNO: her majestic deportment, high spirit, and general attributes are the same: and we find her, both on Mount *Cailása*, and at the banquets of the Deities, uniformly the companion of her husband. One circumstance in the parallel is extremely singular: she is usually attended by her son CARTICEYA, who rides on a peacock; and, in some drawings, his own robe seems to be spangled with eyes; to which must be added that, in some of her temples, a peacock, without a rider, stands near her image. Though CARTICEYA, with his six faces and numerous eyes, bears some resemblance to ARGUS, whom JUNO employed as her principal wardour, yet, as he is a Deity of the second class, and the Commander of celestial Armies, he seems clearly to be the ORUS of *Egypt* and the MARS of *Italy*: his name SCANDA, by which he is celebrated in one of the *Puránas*, has a connection, I am persuaded, with the old SCANDER of *Persia*, whom the poets ridiculously confound with the *Macedonian*.

THE attributes of DURGA', or *difficult of access*, are also conspicuous in the festival above-mentioned, which is called by her name; and in this character she resembles MINERVA, not the peaceful inventress of the fine and useful arts, but PALLAS, armed with a helmet and spear: both represent heroic *Virtue*, or Valour united with Wisdom; both slew Demons and Giants with their own hands; and both protected the wise and virtuous who paid them due adoration. As PALLAS, they say, takes her name from *vibrating* a lance, and usually appears in complete armour, thus CURIS, the old *Latian* word for a spear, was one of JUNO's titles; and so, if GIRALDUS be correct, was HOPLOSMIA, which at *Elis*, it seems, meant a female dressed in panoply  
or

or complete accoutrements. The *unarmed* MINERVA of the *Romans* apparently corresponds, as patroness of Science and Genius, with SERESWATI', the wife of BRAHMA', and the emblem of his principal *Creative Power*: both goddesses have given their names to celebrated grammatical works; but the *Sáreswata* of SARÚPA'CHA'RYA is far more concise as well as more useful and agreeable than the *Minerva* of SANCTIUS. The MINERVA of *Italy* invented the *flute*, and SERESWATI' presides over melody: the protectress of *Athens* was even, on the same account, surnamed MUSICE'.

MANY learned Mythologists, with GIRALDUS at their head, consider the peaceful MINERVA as the Isis of *Egypt*; from whose temple at *Sais* a wonderful inscription is quoted by PLUTARCH, which has a resemblance to the four *Sanscrit* verses above exhibited as the text of the *Bhágavat*: “ I  
 “ am all, that hath been, and is, and shall be;  
 “ and my veil no mortal hath ever removed.”  
 For my part I have no doubt, that the ISWARA and ISI' of the *Hindus* are the OSTRIS and ISIS of the *Egyptians*; though a distinct essay in the manner of PLUTARCH would be requisite in order to demonstrate their identity: they mean, I conceive, the *Powers of Nature* considered as Male and Female; and Isis, like the other goddesses, represents the active power of her lord, whose *eight* forms, under which he becomes visible to man, were thus enumerated by CALIDA'SA near two thousand years ago: “ *Water* was the first work of the Creator;  
 “ and *Fire* receives the oblation of clarified but-  
 “ ter, as the law ordains; the *Sacrifice* is perform-  
 “ ed with solemnity; the *two Lights* of heaven  
 “ distinguish time; the *subtile Ether*, which is the  
 “ vehicle of sound, pervades the universe; the  
 “ *Earth* is the natural parent of all increate; and

“ by *Air* all things breathing are animated : may  
 “ I SA, the *power* propitiously apparent in these  
 “ eight forms, bless and sustain you ! ” The *five*  
 elements therefore, as well as the Sun and Moon,  
 are considered as I SA or the *Ruler*, from which  
 word I SI may be regularly formed, though I SA  
 I be the usual name of his *active Power*, adored as  
 the Goddess of Nature. I have not yet found in  
*Sanscrit* the wild, though poetical, tale of Io ;  
 but am persuaded, that, by means of the *Puranas*,  
 we shall in time discover all the learning of the  
*Egyptians* without decyphering their hieroglyphics :  
 the bull of ISWARA seems to be APIS or AP, as he  
 is more correctly named in the true reading of a  
 passage in JEREMIAH ; and if the veneration  
 shown both in *Tibet* and *India* to so amiable and  
 useful a quadruped as the Cow, together with the  
*regeneration* of the LAMA himself, have not some  
 affinity with the religion of *Egypt* and the idolatry  
 of *Israël*, we must at least allow that circum-  
 stances have wonderfully coincided. BHAVA NI  
 now demands our attention ; and in this character  
 I suppose the wife of MAHA D VA to be as well the  
 JUNO *Cinxia* or LUCINA of the *Romans* (called  
 also by them DIANA *Solvixona*, and by the *Greeks*  
 ILITHYA) as VENUS herself ; not the *Idalian*  
 queen of laughter and jollity, who, with her  
 Nymphs and Graces, was the beautiful child of  
 poetical imagination, and answers to the *Indian*  
 REMBHA with her celestial train of *Apsarás*, or  
 damsels of paradise ; but VENUS *Urania*, so luxu-  
 riantly painted by LUCRITIUS, and so properly  
 invoked by him at the opening of a poem on na-  
 ture ; VENUS, presiding over *generation*, and, on  
 that account, exhibited sometimes of both sexes,  
 (an union very common in the *Indian* sculptures)  
 as in her *bearded* statue at *Rome*, in the images  
 perhaps called *Hermathena*, and in those figures of  
 her

her which had the form of a *conical marble*; “for the reason of which figure we are left,” says TACITUS, “in the dark:” the reason appears too clearly in the temples and paintings of *Hinduism*; where it never seems to have entered the heads of the legislators or people that any thing natural could be offensively obscene; a singularity, which pervades all their writings and conversation, but is no proof of depravity in their morals. Both PLATO and CICERO speak of EROS, or the heavenly CUPID, as the son of VENUS and JUPITER; which proves, that the monarch of *Olympus* and the Goddess of Fecundity were connected as MAHA'DEVA and BHAVANI: the God CA'MA, indeed, had MA'YA' and CASYAPA, or *Uranus*, for his parents, at least according to the Mythologists of *Cashmir*; but, in most respects, he seems the twin-brother of CUPID with richer and more lively appendages. One of his many epithets is *Dípaca*, the *Inflamer*, which is erroneously written *Dípuc*; and I am now convinced, that the sort of resemblance which has been observed between his *Latin* and *Sanskrit* names, is accidental: in each name the three first letters are the *root*, and between them there is no affinity. Whether any Mythological connection subsisted between the *amaracus*, with the fragrant leaves of which HYMEN bound his temples, and the *tulasí of India*, must be left undetermined: the botanical relation of the two plants (if *amaracus* be properly translated *marjoram*) is extremely near.

\* ONE of the most remarkable ceremonies in the festival of the *Indian Goddess* is that before-mentioned of casting her image *into the river*: the *Pandits*, of whom I inquired concerning its origin and import, answered, “that it was prescribed by the *Véda*, they knew not why;” but this custom has, I conceive, a relation to the doctrine,

doctrine, that *water* is a *form* of I'SWARA, and consequently of I'SA'N', who is even represented by some as the pátroress of that element, to which her figure is restored, after having received all due honours on *earth*, which is considered as another *form* of the God of Nature, though subsequent, in the order of Creation, to the primeval fluid. There seems no decisive proof of one original system among idolatrous nations in the worship of river-gods and river-goddeses, nor in the homage paid to their streams, and the ideas of purification annexed to them; since *Greeks, Italians, Egyptians, and Hindus* might (without any communication with each other) have adored the several divinities of their great rivers, from which they derived pleasure, health, and abundance. The notion of Doctor MUSGRAVE, that large rivers were supposed, from their strength and rapidity, to be conducted by Gods, while rivulets only were protected by female deities, is, like most other notions of Grammarians on the genders of nouns, overthrown by facts. Most of the great *Indian* rivers are feminine; and the three goddeses of the waters whom the *Hindus* chiefly venerate, are GANGA', who sprang, like armed PALLAS, from the head of the *Indian* JOVE; YAMUNA', daughter of the Sun, and SERESWATÍ: all three meet at *Prayága*, thence called *Trivéni*, or *the three plaited locks*; but SERESWATÍ, according to the popular belief, sinks under ground, and rises at another *Trivéni*, near *Húgli*, where she rejoins her beloved GANGA'. The *Bramapúira* is, indeed, a male river; and as his name signifies the son of BRAHMA', I thence took occasion to feign that he was married to GANGA', though I have not yet seen any mention of him, as a God, in the *Sanscrit* books.

Two

Two incarnate deities of the first rank, RA'MA and CRISHNA, must now be introduced, and their several attributes distinctly explained. The first of them, I believe, was the DYONYSOS of the *Greeks*, whom they named BROMIUS without knowing why, and BUGENES, when they represented him *horned*, as well as LYAIOS and ELEUTHERIOS, the Deliverer, and TRIAMBOS or DITHYRAMBOS, the Triumphant: most of those titles were adopted by the *Romans*, by whom he was called BRUMA, TAURIFORMIS, LIBER, TRIUMPHUS; and both nations had records or traditionary accounts of his *giving laws* to men and deciding their contests, of his improving navigation and commerce, and, what may appear yet more observable, of his conquering *India*, and other countries with an army of *Satyrs*, commanded by no less a personage than PAN; whom LILIUS GIRALDUS, on what authority I know not, asserts to have resided in *Iberia*, "when he had returned," says the learned Mythologist, "from the *Indian war*, in which he accompanied BACCHUS." It were superfluous, in a mere essay, to run any length in the parallel between this *European God* and the sovereign of *Ayodhya*, whom the *Hindus* believe to have been an appearance on earth of the *Preserving Power*; to have been a Conqueror of the highest renown, and the Deliverer of nations from tyrants, as well as of his consort SITA from the giant RA'VAN, king of *Lancá*, and to have commanded in chief a numerous and intrepid race of those large *Monkeys*, which our naturalists, or some of them, have denominated *Indian Satyrs*: his General, the Prince of Satyrs, was named HANUMAT, or *with high cheek-bones*; and, with workmen of such agility, he soon raised a bridge of rocks over the sea, part of which, say the *Hindus*, yet remains; and it is, probably,

probably, the series of rocks, to which the *Muselmans* or the *Portuguese* have given the foolish name of ADAM'S (it should be called RA'MA'S) bridge. Might not this army of Satyrs have been only a race of mountaineers, whom RA'MA, if such a monarch ever existed, had civilized? However that may be, the large breed of *Indian Apes* is at this moment held in high veneration by the *Hindus*, and fed with devotion by the *Bráhmans*, who seem, in two or three places on the banks of the *Ganges*, to have a regular endowment for the support of them: they live in tribes of three or four hundred, are wonderfully gentle (I speak as an eye-witness), and appear to have some kind of order and subordination in their little sylvan polity. We must not omit, that the father of *Hanumat* was the God of Wind, named PAVAN, one of the eight Genii; and as PAN improved the pipe by adding six reeds, and "played exquisitely on the cithern a few moments after his birth," so one of the four systems of *Indian* music bears the name of HANUMAT, or HANUMA'N in the nominative, as its inventor, and is now in general estimation.

THE war of *Lancá* is dramatically represented at the festival of RA'MA on the ninth day of the new moon of *Chaitra*; and the drama concludes (says HOLWELL, who had often seen it) with an exhibition of the fire-ordeal, by which the victor's wife SI'TA gave proof of her connubial fidelity: "the dialogue," he adds, "is taken from one of the Eighteen holy books," meaning, I suppose, the *Puránas*; but the *Hindus* have a great number of regular dramas at least two thousand years old, and among them are several very fine ones on the story of RA'MA. The first poet of the *Hindus* was the great VALMÍC, and his *Rámáyan* is an Epic Poem on the same subject, which, in unity of action, magnificence of imagery, and elegance of style,



style; far surpasses the learned and elaborate work of NONNUS, entitled *Dionysiaca*, half of which, or twenty-four books, I perused with great eagerness, when I was very young, and should have travelled to the conclusion of it, if other pursuits had not engaged me. I shall never have leisure to compare the *Dionysiacks* with the *Rámáyan*, but am confident, that an accurate comparison of the two poems would prove DIONYSOS and RA'MA to have been the same person: and I incline to think, that he was RA'MA, the son of CU'SH, who might have established the first regular government in this part of *Asia*. I had almost forgotten, that *Meros* is said by the *Greeks* to have been a mountain of *India*, on which their D ONYSOS was born, and that *Méru*, though it generally means the north pole in the *Indian* geography, is also a mountain near the city of *Najbada* or *Nysa*, called by the *Grecian* geographers *Dionysopolis*, and universally celebrated in the *Sanscrit* poems; though the birth-place of RA'MA is supposed to have been *Ayódhya* or *Audh*. That ancient city extended, if we believe the *Bráhmans*, over a line of ten *Yojans*, or about forty miles, and the present city of *Lac'hnav*, pronounced *Lucnow*, was only a lodge for one of its gates; called *Lacshmanadwára*, or the gate of LACSHMAN, a brother of RA'MA. M. SONNERAT supposes *Ayódhya* to have been *Siam*; a most erroneous and unfounded supposition! which would have been of little consequence, if he had not grounded an argument on it, that RA'MA was the same person with B UDDHA, who must have appeared many centuries after the conquest of *Lancá*.

THE second great divinity, CRISHNA, passed a life, according to the *Indians*, of a most extraordinary and incomprehensible nature. He was the son of DE'VACI by VASU'DEVA; but his birth was concealed

concealed through fear of the tyrant CANSA, to whom it had been predicted, that a child born at that time in that family would destroy him : he was fostered, therefore, in *Mat'burá* by an honest herdsman, surnamed ANANDA, or *Happy*, and his amiable wife YASO'DA', who, like another PALÉS, was constantly occupied in her pastures and her dairy. In their family were a multitude of young *Gópa's* or *cowherds*, and beautiful *Gópi's*, or *milk-maids*, who were his play-fellows during his infancy ; and, in his early youth, he selected *nine* damsels as his favourites, with whom he passed his gay hours in dancing, sporting, and playing on his flute. For the remarkable number of his *Gópi's* I have no authority but a whimsical picture, where *nine* girls are grouped in the form of an elephant; on which he sits and pipes ; and, unfortunately, the word *nava* signifies both *nine* and *new* or *young* ; so that, in the following stanza, it may admit of two interpretations :

*taranjápulínè navaballaví  
perisadá sáha célicutúhalát  
drutavilámwítacháruvihárinam  
herimaham hridayéna sadá vahé.*

“ I BEAR in my bosom continually that God,  
“ who, for sportive recreation, with a train of  
“ *nine* (young) dairy-maids, dances gracefully,  
“ now quick now slow, on the sands just left by  
“ the Daughter of the Sun.”

BOTH he and the three RA'MAS are described as youths of perfect beauty ; but the princesses of *Hindustán*, as well as the damsels of NANDA'S farm, were passionately in love with CRISHNA, who continues to this hour the darling God of the *Indian* women. The sect of *Hindus*, who adore him with enthusiastic, and almost exclusive, devotion, have broached a doctrine, which they maintain

maintain with eagerness, and which seems general in these provinces, that he was distinct from all the *Avatárs*, who had only an *ansa*, or portion of his divinity; while CRISHNA was the *person* of VISHNU himself in a human form: hence they consider the third RA'MA, his elder brother, as the eighth *Avatár* invested with an *emanation* of his divine radiance; and, in the principal *Sanácrit* dictionary, compiled about two thousand years ago, CRISHNA, VA'SADE'VA, GO'VINDA, and other names of the Shepherd God, are intermixed with epithets of NA'RA'YAN, or the Divine Spirit. All the *Avatárs* are painted with gemmed *Ethiopian*, or *Parthian*, coronets; with rays encircling their heads; jewels in their ears; two necklaces, one straight and one pendent, on their bosoms with dropping gems; garlands of well-disposed many-coloured flowers, or collars of pearls, hanging down below their waists; loose mantles of golden tissue or dyed silk, embroidered on their hems with flowers, elegantly thrown over one shoulder, and folded, like ribands, across the breast: with bracelets too on one arm, and on each wrist: they are naked to the waists, and uniformly with *dark azure flesh*, in allusion, probably, to the tint of that primordial fluid, on which NA'RA'YAN moved in the beginning of time; but their skirts are bright yellow, the colour of the curious pericarpium in the centre of the water-lily, where *Nature*, as Dr. MURRAY observes, *in some degree, discloses her secrets*, each seed containing, before it germinates, a few perfect leaves: they are sometimes drawn with that flower in one hand; a radiated elliptical ring, used as a missile weapon, in a second; the sacred shell, or left-handed buccinum, in a third; and a mace or battle-ax, in a fourth: but CRISHNA, when he appears, as he sometimes does appear,

among

among the *Avatárs*, is more splendidly decorated than any, and wears a rich garland of sylvan flowers, whence he is named VANAMÁLI, as low as his ankles, which are adorned with strings of pearls. Dark blue, approaching to *black*, which is the meaning of the word *Crishna*, is believed to have been his complexion; and hence the large bee of that colour is consecrated to him, and is often drawn fluttering over his head: that azure tint, which approaches to blackness, is peculiar, as we have already remarked, to VISHNU; and hence, in the great reservoir or cistern at *Cátmandu* the capital of *Nepal*, there is placed in a recumbent posture a large well-proportioned image of *blue* marble, representing NA'RA'YAN floating on the waters. But let us return to the actions of CRISHNA; who was not less heroic than lovely, and, when a boy, slew the terrible serpent *Cáliya* with a number of giants and monsters: at a more advanced age, he put to death his cruel enemy CANSA; and, having taken under his protection the king YUDHISHT'HIR and the other *Pándus*, who had been grievously oppressed by the *Curus*, and their tyrannical chief, he kindled the war described in the great Epic Poem, entitled the *Mahábhárat*, at the prosperous conclusion of which he returned to his heavenly seat in *Vaicont'ha*, having left the instructions comprized in the *Gítà* with his disconsolate friend ARJUN, whose grandson became sovereign of *India*.

IN this picture it is impossible not to discover, at the first glance, the features of APOLLO, surnamed *Nomios*, or the *Pastoral*, in *Greece*, and OPIFER, in *Italy*; who fed the herds of ADMETUS, and slew the serpent *Python*; a God, amorous, beautiful, and warlike: the word *Góvinda* may be literally translated *Nomios*, as *Césava* is *Crinitus*, or *with fine hair*; but whether *Gópála*, or the *herdsman*, has any

any relation to *Apollo*, let our Etymologists determine. Colonel VALLANCEY, whose learned inquiries into the ancient literature of *Ireland* are highly interesting, assures me, that *Crishna* in *Irish* means the SUN; and we find APOLLO and SOL considered by the *Roman* poets as the same deity. I am inclined, indeed, to believe, that not only CRISHNA or VISHNU, but even BRAHMA and SIVA, when united, and expressed by the mystical word O'M, were designed by the first idolaters to represent the Solar fire; but PHOEBUS, or the orb of the *Sun* personified, is adored by the *Indians* as the God SU'RYA; whence the sect who pay him particular adoration, are called *Sauras*: their poets and painters describe his car as drawn by seven green horses, preceded by ARUN, or the *Dawn*, who acts as his charioteer, and followed by thousands of Genii worshipping him and modulating his praises. He has a multitude of names, and among them twelve epithets or titles, which denote his distinct powers in each of the twelve months: those powers are called *Adityas*, or sons of ADITI by CASYAPA, the *Indian* URANUS; and one of them has, according to some authorities, the name of VISHNU, or *Pervader*. SU'RYA is believed to have descended frequently from his car in a human shape, and to have left a race on earth, who are equally renowned in the *Indian* stories with the *Heliadae* of *Greece*: it is very singular, that his two sons called ASWINAU or ASWINI' CUMARA'U, in the dual, should be considered as twin-brothers, and painted like CASTOR and POLLUX; but they have each the character of ÆSCULAPIUS among the Gods, and are believed to have been born of a nymph, who in the form of a mare, was impregnated with sun-beams. I suspect the whole fable of CASYAPA and his progeny to be astronomical; and cannot but imagine, that

that the *Greek* name CASSIOPEIA has a relation to it. Another great *Indian* family are called the *Children of the Moon*, or CHANDRA; who is a male Deity, and consequently not to be compared with ARTEMIS or DIANA; nor have I yet found a parallel in *India* for the Goddess of the *Clase*, who seems to have been the daughter of an *European* fancy, and very naturally created by the invention of *Bucolick* and *Georgick* poets: yet, since the *Moon* is a form of ISWARA, the God of Nature, according to the verse of CALIDA SA, and since ISANI has been shewn to be his consort or power, we may consider her, in one of her characters, as LUNA; especially as we shall soon be convinced, that, in the shades below, she corresponds with the HECATE of *Europe*.

THE worship of Solar, or Vestal, *Fire* may be ascribed, like that of OSIRIS and ISIS, to the second source of mythology, or an enthusiastic admiration of Nature's wonderful powers; and it seems, as far as I can yet understand the *Vedas*, to be the principal worship recommended in them. We have seen, that MAHA DEVA himself is personated by *Fire*; but, subordinate to him, is the God AGNI, often called PA VACA, or the *Purifier*, who answers to the VULCAN of *Egypt*, where he was a Deity of high rank; and his wife SWA HA resembles the younger VESTA, or VESTIA, as the *Eolians* pronounced the *Greek* word for a *hearth*: BHAVA NI, or VENUS, is the consort of the Supreme Destructive and Generative Power; but the *Greeks* and *Romans*, whose system is less regular than that of the *Indians*, married her to their *divine artist*, whom they also named HEPHAISTOS and VULCAN, and who seems to be the *Indian* VISWACARMAN, the *forger of arms* for the Gods, and inventor of the *agnyastra*, or *fiery shaft*, in the war between them and the *Daityas* or *Titans*.

It

It is not easy here to refrain from observing (and, if the observation give offence in *England*, it is contrary to my intention) that the newly discovered planet should unquestionably be named VULCAN; since the confusion of analogy in the names of the planets is inelegant, unscholarly, and unphilosophical: the name URANUS is appropriated to the firmament; but VULCAN, the slowest of the Gods, and, according to the *Egyptian* priests, the oldest of them, agrees admirably with an orb which must perform its revolution in a very long period; and, by giving it this denomination, we shall have seven primary planets with the names of as many *Roman* Deities, MERCURY, VENUS, TELLUS, MARS, JUPITER, SATURN, VULCAN.

It has already been intimated, that the MUSES and NYMPHS are the GO'PYA of *Math'urá*, and of *Góverdhan*, the *Parnassus* of the *Hindus*; and the lyric poems of JAYADE'VA will fully justify this opinion; but the *Nymphs* of *Musick* are the thirty RAGINI's or *Female Passions*, whose various functions and properties are so richly delineated by the *Indian* painters, and so finely described by the poets: but I will not anticipate what will require a separate Essay, by enlarging here on the beautiful allegories of the *Hindus* in their system of musical modes, which they call RA'GA's, or *Passions*, and suppose to be Genii or Demigods. A very distinguished son of BRAHMA, named NA'RED, whose actions are the subject of a *Purána*, bears a strong resemblance to HERMES or MERCURY; he was a wise legislator, great in arts and in arms, an eloquent messenger of the Gods, either to one another or to favoured mortals, and a musician of exquisite skill; his invention of the *Víná*, or *Indian* lute, is thus described in the poem entitled *Mághá*: "NA'RED, sat watching from  
"time

“ time to time his large *Víná*, which, by the impulse of the breeze, yielded notes that pierced successively the regions of his ear, and proceeded by musical intervals.” The law tract, supposed to have been revealed by NARED, is at this hour cited by the *Pandits*; and we cannot, therefore, believe him to have been the patron of *Thieves*; though an innocent theft of CRISHNA’S cattle, by way of putting his divinity to a proof, be strangely imputed, in the *Bhágavat*, to his father BRAHMA.

THE last of the *Greek* or *Italian* divinities, for whom we find a parallel in the Pantheon of *India*, is the *Stygian* or *Taurick* DIANA, otherwise named HECATE, and often confounded with PROSERPINE; and there can be no doubt of her identity with CALLI, or the wife of SIVA in his character of the *Stygian* JOVE. To this black Goddess, with a collar of golden skulls, as we see her exhibited in all her principal temples, *human sacrifices* were antiently offered, as the *Védas* enjoined; but, in the present age, they are absolutely prohibited, as are also the sacrifices of bulls and horses: kids are still offered to her; and, to palliate the cruelty of the slaughter, which gave such offence to BUDDHA, the *Bráhmans* inculcate a belief, that the poor victims rise in the heaven of INDRA, where they become the musicians of his band. Instead of the obsolete, and now illegal, sacrifices of a man, a bull, and a horse, called *Neramédha*, *Góméédha*, and *As’wamédha*, the powers of nature are thought to be propitiated by the less bloody ceremonies at the end of autumn, when the festivals of CALLI and LACSHMI are solemnized nearly at the same time: now, if it be asked how the Goddess of Death came to be united with the mild patroness of Abundance, I must propose another question, “ How came PROSERPINE to be represented in the  
European



“*European* system as the daughter of C<sup>R</sup>ES?” Perhaps both questions may be answered by the proposition of natural philosophers, that “the apparent destruction of a substance is the production of it in a different form.” The wild music of CA<sup>L</sup>I’s priests at one of her festivals; brought instantly to my recollection the *Scythian* measures of DIANA’s adorers in the splendid opera of IPHIGENIA in *Tauris*, which GLUCK exhibited at *Paris* with less genius, indeed, than art, but with every advantage that an orchestra could supply.

THAT we may not dismiss this assemblage of *European* and *Asiatic* divinities with a subject so horrid as the altars of HECATE and CA<sup>L</sup>I; let us conclude with two remarks, which properly, indeed, belong to the *Indian* Philosophy; with which we are not at present concerned.

FIRST, *Elysium* (not the place, but the bliss enjoyed there, in which sense MILTON uses the word) cannot but appear, as described by the poets, a very tedious and insipid kind of enjoyment: it is, however, more exalted than the temporary *Elysium* in the court of INDRA, where the pleasures, as in MUHAMMED’S paradise, are wholly sensual; but the *Mukti*, or *Elysian* happiness of the *Védánta* school, is far more sublime; for they represent it as a total absorption; though not such as to destroy consciousness, in the divine essence; but for the reason before suggested, I say no more of this idea of beatitude, and forbear touching on the doctrine of transmigration, and the similarity of the *Védánta* to the *Sicilian*, *Italic*; and old *Academick* schools.

SECONDLY, In the mystical and elevated character of PAN, as a personification of the *Universe*, according to the notion of lord BACON, there

arises a sort of similitude between him and CRISHNA considered as NA'RA'YAN. The *Grecian* God plays divinely on his reed, to express, we are told, ethereal harmony; he has his attendant Nymphs of the pastures and the dairy; his face is as radiant as the sky, and his head illuminéd with the horns of a crescent; whilst his lower extremities are deformed and shaggy, as a symbol of the vegetables which the earth produces, and of the beasts who roam over the face of it. Now we may compare this portrait, partly with the general character of CRISHNA, the Shepherd God, and partly with the description in the *Bhágavat* of the divine spirit exhibited *in the form of this Universal World*; to which we may add the following story from the same extraordinary poem. The Nymphs had complained to YAS'ODA', that the child CRISHNA had been drinking their curds and milk; on being reprovéd by his foster-mother for this indiscretion, he requested her to examine his mouth; in which, to her just amazement, she beheld the *whole universe* in all its plenitude of magnificence.

WE must not be surpriséd at finding, on a close examination, that the characters of all the Pagan deities, male and female, melt into each other, and at last into one or two; for it seems a well-founded opinion, that the whole crowd of Gods and Goddesses in antient *Rome*, and modern *Várânes*, mean only the powers of nature, and principally those of the SUN, expressed in a variety of ways and by a multitude of fanciful names.

THUS have I attempted to trace, imperfectly at present for want of ampler materials, but with a confidence continually increasing as I advanced, a parallel between the Gods adored in three very different nations, *Greece, Italy, and India*; but which

which was the original system, and which the copy, I will not presume to decide; nor are we likely, I believe, to be soon furnished with sufficient grounds for a decision: the fundamental rule, that *natural and most human operations proceed from the simple to the compound*, will afford no assistance on this point; since neither the *Asiatic* nor *European* system has any simplicity in it; and both are so complex, not to say absurd, however intermixed with the beautiful and the sublime, that the honour, such as it is, of the invention cannot be allotted to either with tolerable certainty.

SINCE *Egypt* appears to have been the grand source of knowledge for the *western*, and *India* for the more *eastern*, parts of the globe, it may seem a material question, whether the *Egyptians* communicated their Mythology and Philosophy to the *Hindus*, or conversely? But what the learned of *Memphis* wrote or said concerning *India* no mortal knows; and what the learned of *Várânes* have asserted, if any thing, concerning *Egypt*, can give us little satisfaction: such circumstantial evidence on this question as I have been able to collect, shall, nevertheless, be stated; because, unsatisfactory as it is, there may be something in it not wholly unworthy of notice; though after all, whatever colonies may have come from the *Nile* to the *Ganges*, we shall, perhaps, agree at last with Mr BRYANT, that *Egyptians*, *Indians*, *Greeks* and *Italians*, proceeded originally from one central place, and that the same people carried their religion and sciences into *China* and *Japan*: may we not add even to *Mexico* and *Peru*?

EVERY one knows that the true name of *Egypt* is *Mis'r*, spelled with a palatal sibilant both in *Hebrew* and *Arabick*: it seems in *Hebrew* to have been the proper name of the first settler in it;

and when the *Arabs* used the word for a great city, they probably mean a city like the capital of *Egypt*. Father MARCO, a *Ròman* Missionary, who, though not a scholar of the first rate, is incapable, I am persuaded, of deliberate falsehood, lent me the last book of a *Rámáyan*, which he had translated through the *Hindi* into his native language, and with it a short vocabulary of Mythological and Historical names, which had been explained to him by the *Pandits* of *Betáyà*, where he had long resided: one of the articles in his little dictionary was, “*Tirút*, a town and province in which the priests from *Egypt* settled;” and when I asked him what name *Egypt* bore among the *Hindus*, he said *Mis'r*, but observed, that they sometimes confounded it with *Abyssinia*. I perceived that his memory of what he had written was correct; for *Mis'r* was another word in his Index, “from which country, he said, came the *Egyptian* priests who settled in *Tirút*.” I suspected immediately that his intelligence flowed from the *Muselmans*, who call sugar-candy *Misrí* or *Egyptian*; but when I examined him closely, and earnestly desired him to recollect from whom he had received his information, he repeatedly and positively declared, that, “it had been given him by several *Hindus*, and particularly by a *Bráhman*, his intimate friend who was reputed a considerable *Pandit*, and had lived three years near his house.” We then conceived that the seat of his *Egyptian* colony must have been *Tiróbit*, commonly pronounced *Tirút*, and antiently called *Mit'bilà*, the principal town of *Janacades'a*, or north *Babàr*; but MAHEA'S *Pandit*, who was born in that very district, and who submitted patiently to a long examination concerning *Mis'r*, overset all our conclusions: he denied that the *Bráhmans* of his  
country

country were generally furnamed MISR, as we had been informed, and said, that the addition of MISRA to the name of VA'CHESPE'RI, and other learned authors, was a title formerly conferred on the writers of *miscellanies* or *compilers* of various tracts on religion or science, the word being derived from a root signifying *to mix*. Being asked, where the country of *Misr* was, "There are two," he answered, of that name; one of them *in the west*, under the dominion of *Muselmáns*, and "another which all the *Sástras* and *Puránas* mention, in a mountainous region to the *north* of *Ayódhyà*." It is evident, that by the first he meant *Egypt*; but what he meant by the second, it is not easy to ascertain. A country, called *Tirubut* by our geographers, appears in the maps between the north-eastern frontier of *Audb* and the mountains of *Népal*; but whether that was the *Tirút* mentioned to father MARCO by his friend of *Betíya*, I cannot decide. This only I know with certainty, that *Misra* is an epithet of two *Bráhmans* in the drama of SACONTALA', which was written near a century before the birth of CHRIST; that some of the greatest lawyers, and two of the finest dramatic poets, of *India* have the same title; that we hear it frequently in court added to the names of *Hindu* parties; and that none of the *Pandits*, whom I have since consulted, pretend to know the true meaning of the word, as a proper name, or to give any other explanation of it than that it is a *urname* of *Bráhmans in the west*. On the account given to Colonel KYD by the old *Rájà* of *Crisbnanagar*, "concerning traditions among the *Hindus*, "that some *Egyptians* had settled in this country," I cannot rely; because I am credibly informed, by some of the *Rájà's* own family, that he was not a man of solid learning, though he possessed curious books,

books, and had been attentive to the conversation of learned men: besides, I know that his son and most of his kinsmen have been dabblers in *Persian* literature, and believe them very likely, by confounding one source of information with another, to puzzle themselves and mislead those with whom they converse. The word *Mis'r*, spelled also in *Sanscrit* with a palatial sibilant, is very remarkable; and, as far as Etymology can help us, we may safely derive *Nilus* from the *Sanscrit* word *níla*, or *blue*; since DIONYSIUS expressly calls the waters of that river “an *azure* stream;” and, if we can depend on MARCO’s *Italian* version of the *Rámáyan*, the name of *Níla* is given to a lofty and sacred mountain with a summit of pure gold, from which flowed a river of clear, sweet, and fresh water. M. SONNERAT refers to a dissertation by Mr. SCHMIT, which gained a prize at the Academy of Inscriptions, “On an *Egyptian* Colony established in *India* :” it would be worth while to examine his authorities, and either to overturn or verify them by such higher authorities as are now accessible in those provinces. I strongly incline to think him right, and to believe that *Egyptian* priests have actually come from the *Nile* to the *Gangà* and *Yamunà*, which the *Bráhmans* most assuredly would never have left: they might indeed have come either to be instructed or to instruct; but it seems more probable that they visited the *Sarmans* of *India* as the sages of *Greece* visited them, rather to acquire than to impart knowledge; nor is it likely that the self-sufficient *Bráhmans* would have received them as their preceptors.

BE all this as it may, I am persuaded that a connection subsisted between the old idolatrous nations of *Egypt*, *India*, *Greece*, and *Italy*, long before

fore they migrated to their several settlements, and consequently before the birth of MOSES; but the proof of this proposition will in no degree affect the truth and sanctity of the *Mosaic* History, which, if confirmation were necessary, it would rather tend to confirm. The *Divine Legate*, educated by the daughter of a king, and in all respects highly accomplished, could not but know the mythological system of *Egypt*; but he must have condemned the superstitions of that people, and despised the speculative absurdities of their priests; though some of their traditions concerning the Creation of the Flood were grounded on truth. Who was better acquainted with the mythology of *Athens* than SOCRATES? Who more accurately versed in the Rabbinical doctrine than PAUL? Who possessed clearer ideas of all antient astronomical systems than NEWTON, or of scholastic metaphysics than LOCKE? In whom could the *Romish* Church have had a more formidable opponent than in CHILLINGWORTH, whose deep knowledge of its tenets rendered him so competent to dispute them? In a word, who more exactly knew the abominable rites and shocking idolatry of *Canaan* than MOSES himself? Yet the learning of those great men only incited them to seek other sources of truth, piety, and virtue, than those in which they had long been immersed. There is no shadow then of a foundation for an opinion that MOSES borrowed the first nine or ten chapters of *Genesis* from the literature of *Egypt*: still less can the adamantine pillars of our *Christian* faith be moved by the result of any debates on the comparative antiquity of the *Hindus* and *Egyptians*, or of any inquiries into the *Indian* Theology. Very respectable natives have assured me, that one or two missionaries have been absurd enough, in their zeal

zeal for the conversion of the *Gentiles*, to urge, “ that the *Hindus* were even now almost *Christians*, “ because their BRAHMA, VISHNU, and MAHE'SA, “ were no other than the *Christian Trinity* ;” a sentence in which we can only doubt whether folly, ignorance, or impiety predominates. • The three powers *Creative, Preservative, and Destructive*, which the *Hindus* express by the trilateral word O'M were grossly ascribed by the first idolaters to the *heat, light, and flame* of their mistaken divinity the Sun ; and their wiser successors in the East, who perceived that the Sun was only a created thing, applied those powers to its creator ; but the *Indian Triad*, and that of PLATO, which he calls the Supreme Good, the Reason, and the Soul, are infinitely removed from the holiness and sublimity of the doctrine which pious *Christians* have deduced from texts in the Gospel, though other *Christians*, as pious, openly profess their dissent from them. Each sect must be justified by its own faith and good intentions : this only I mean to inculcate, that the tenet of our Church cannot without profaneness be compared with that of the *Hindus*, which has only an apparent resemblance to it, but a very different meaning: One singular fact, however, must not be suffered to pass unnoticed. That the name of CRISHNA, and the general outline of his story, were long anterior to the birth of our Saviour, and probably to the time of HOMER, we know very certainly ; yet the celebrated poem entitled *Bhágavat*, which contains a prolix account of his life, is filled with narratives of a most extraordinary kind, but strangely variegated and intermixed with poetical decorations: the incarnate deity of the *Sanscrit* romance was cradled, as it informs us, among *Herdsmen*, but it adds, that he was educated among



among them, and passed his youth in playing with a party of milkmaids; a tyrant, at the time of his birth, ordered all new-born males to be slain; yet this wonderful babe was preserved by biting the breast instead of sucking the poisoned nipple of a nurse commissioned to kill him; he performed amazing, but ridiculous, miracles in his infancy, and, at the age of seven years, held up a mountain on the tip of his little finger; he saved multitudes partly by his arms and partly by his miraculous powers; he raised the dead by descending for that purpose to the lowest regions; he was the meekest and best-tempered of beings, washed the feet of the *Bráhmans*, and preached very nobly, indeed, and sublimely, but always in their favour; he was pure and chaste in reality, but exhibited an appearance of excessive libertinism, and had wives or mistresses too numerous to be counted; lastly, he was benevolent and tender, yet fomented and conducted a terrible war. This motley story must induce an opinion that the spurious Gospels, which abounded in the first age of *Christianity*, had been brought to *India*, and the wildest parts of them repeated to the *Hindus*, who ingrafted them on the old fable of *CÉSARA*; the *APOLLO* of *Greece*.

As to the general extension of our pure faith in *Hindústán*, there are at present many sad obstacles to it. The *Muselmáns* are already a sort of heterodox *Christians*; they are *Christians*, if *LOCKE* reasons justly, because they firmly believe the immaculate conception, divine character, and miracles of the *MESSIAH*; but they are heterodox in denying vehemently his character of *Són*, and his equality, as *God*, with the *Father*; of whose unity and attributes they

they entertain and express the most awful ideas; while they consider our doctrine as perfect blasphemy, and insist that our copies of the Scriptures have been corrupted both by *Jews* and *Christians*. It will be inexpressibly difficult to undeceive them, and scarce possible to diminish their veneration for MOH. MMED and ALI, who were both very extraordinary men, and the second a man of unexceptionable morals: the *Koràn* shines, indeed, with a borrowed light, since most of its beauties are taken from our Scriptures; but it has great beauties, and the *Muselmáns* will not be convinced that they were borrowed. The *Hindus*, on the other hand, would readily admit the truth of the Gospel; but they contend, that it is perfectly consistent with their *Sástras*: the Deity, they say, has appeared innumerable times, in many parts of this world and of all worlds, for the salvation of his creatures; and though we adore him in one appearance, and they in others, yet we adore, they say, the same God, to whom our several worships, though different in form, are equally acceptable, if they be sincere in substance. We may assure ourselves, that neither *Muselmáns* nor *Hindus* will ever be converted by any mission from the Church of *Rome*, or from any other Church; and the only human mode, perhaps, of causing so great a revolution will be to translate into *Sanscrit* and *Persian* such chapters of the Prophets, particularly of ISAIAH, as are indisputably Evangelical, together with one of the Gospels, and a plain prefatory discourse, containing full evidence of the very distant ages, in which the predictions themselves, and the history of the  

divine

divine person predicted, were severally made public; and then quietly to disperse the work among the well-educated natives; with whom if in due time it failed of producing very salutary fruit by its natural influence, we could only lament more than ever the strength of prejudice and the weakness of unassisted reason.

DISSERTATION II.

ON THE

LITERATURE OF ASIA.

BEING THE SECOND ANNIVERSARY DISCOURSE  
DELIVERED TO THE SOCIETY FEB. 1785.

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GENTLEMEN,

IF the Deity of the *Hindus*, by whom all their just requests are believed to be granted with singular indulgence, had proposed last year to gratify my warmest wishes, I could have desired nothing more ardently than the success of your institution; because I can desire nothing in preference to the general good, which your plan seems calculated to promote, by bringing to light many useful and interesting tracts, which, being too short for separate publication, might lie many years concealed, or, perhaps, irrecoverably perish: my wishes are accomplished, without an invocation to CA'MADHE'NU; and your Society, having already passed its infant state, is advancing to maturity with every mark of a healthy

healthy and robust constitution. When I reflect, indeed, on the variety of subjects, which have been discussed before you, concerning the history, laws, manners, arts, and antiquities of *Asia*, I am unable to decide whether my pleasure or my surprize be the greater; for I will not dissemble, that your progress has far exceeded my expectations: and though we must seriously deplore the loss of those excellent men, who have lately departed from this capital, yet there is a prospect still of large contributions to your stock of *Asiatick* learning, which, I am persuaded, will continually increase. My late journey to *Benares* has enabled me to assure you, that many of your members, who reside at a distance, employ a part of their leisure in preparing additions to your achievements; and, unless I am too sanguine, you will soon receive light from them on several topicks entirely new in the republic of letters.

It was principally with a design to open sources of such information, that I long had meditated an expedition up the *Ganges* during the suspension of my business; but, although I had the satisfaction of visiting two antient seats of *Hindu* superstition and literature, yet, illness having detained me a considerable time in the way, it was not in my power to continue in them long enough to pursue my inquiries; and I left them, as *ÆNEAS* is feigned to have left the shades, when his guide made him recollect *the swift flight of irrecoverable time*, with a curiosity raised to the height, and a regret not easy to be described.

WHOEVER travels in *Asia*, especially if he be conversant with the literature of the countries through which he passes, must naturally remark the superiority of *European* talents: the observation, indeed, is at least as old as *ALEXANDER*; and though we cannot agree with the sage precep-

tor of that ambitious Prince, that “the *Asiaticks* “are born to be slaves,” yet the *Athenian* poet seems perfectly in the right, when he represents *Europe* as a *sovereign Princess*, and *Asia* as her *Handmaid*: but if the *mittreiß* be transcendently majestic, it cannot be denied that the attendant has many beauties, and some advantages peculiar to herself. The ancients were accustomed to pronounce *panegyrics* on their own countrymen at the expence of all other nations, with a political view, perhaps, of stimulating them by praise, and exciting them to still greater exertions; but such arts are here unnecessary; nor would they, indeed, become a Society who seek nothing but truth unadorned by rhetoric; and although we must be conscious of our superior advancement in all kinds of useful knowledge, yet we ought not therefore to contemn the people of *Asia*, from whose researches into nature, works of art, and inventions of fancy, many valuable hints may be derived for our own improvement and advantage. If that, indeed, were not the principal object of your institution, little else could arise from it but the mere gratification of curiosity; and I should not receive so much delight from the humble share which you have allowed me to take in promoting it.

To form an exact parallel between the works and actions of the Western and Eastern worlds, would require a tract of no inconsiderable length; but we may decide on the whole, that reason and taste are the grand prerogatives of *European* minds, while the *Asiaticks* have soared to loftier heights in the sphere of imagination. The civil history of their vast empires, and of *India* in particular, must be highly interesting to our common country; but we have a still nearer interest in knowing all former modes of ruling *these inestimable provinces*,

*provinces*, on the prosperity of which so much of our national welfare, and individual benefit, seems to depend. A minute *geographical* knowledge, not only of *Bengal* and *Babar*, but, for evident reasons, of *all the kingdoms bordering on them*, is closely connected with an account of their many revolutions: but the *natural* productions of these territories, especially in the *vegetable* and *mineral* systems, are momentous objects of research not only to an *imperial*, but, which is a character of equal dignity, a *commercial* people.

If *Botany* may be described by metaphors drawn from the science itself, we may justly pronounce a minute acquaintance with *plants*, their *classes*, *orders*, *kinds*, and *species*, to be its *flowers*, which can only produce *fruit* by an application of that knowledge to the purposes of life, particularly to *diet*, by which diseases may be avoided, and to *medicine*, by which they may be remedied; for the improvement of the last mentioned art, than which none surely can be more beneficial to mankind, the virtues of *minerals* also should be accurately known. So highly has medical skill been prized by the ancient *Indians*, that one of the *fourteen Retna's*, or *precious things*, which their Gods are believed to have produced by churning the ocean with the mountain *Mandara*, was a *learned physician*. What their old books contain on this subject we ought certainly to discover, and that without loss of time; lest the venerable but abstruse language in which they are composed, should cease to be perfectly intelligible, even to the best educated natives, through a want of powerful invitation to study it. BERNIER, who was himself of the Faculty, mentions approved medical books in *Sanscrit*, and cites a few aphorisms, which appear judicious and rational; but we can expect nothing so important from the  
work

works of *Hindu* or *Muselman* physicians, as the knowledge, which experience must have given them, of *simple* medicines. I have seen an *Indian* prescription of *fifty-four*, and another of *sixty-six*, ingredients; but such compositions are always to be suspected, since the effect of one ingredient may destroy that of another; and it were better to find certain accounts of a single leaf or berry, than to be acquainted with the most elaborate compounds, unless they too have been proved by a multitude of successful experiments. The noble deobstruent oil, extracted from the *Eranda* nut, the whole family of *Balsams*, the incomparable stomachick root from *Columbo*, the fine astringent ridiculously called *Japan* earth, but in truth produced by the decoction of an *Indian* plant, have long been used in *Asia*; and who can foretel what glorious discoveries of other oils, roots, and salutary juices, may be made by your Society? If it be doubtful whether the *Peruvian* bark be *always* efficacious in this country, its place may, perhaps, be supplied by some indigenous vegetable equally antiseptic, and more congenial to the climate. Whether any treatises on *Agriculture* have been written by experienced natives of these provinces, I am not yet informed; but since the court of *Spain* expect to find useful remarks in an *Arabick* tract preserved in the *Escorial*, on *the cultivation of land in that kingdom*, we should inquire for similar compositions, and examine the contents of such as we can procure.

THE sublime science of Chymistry, which I was on the point of calling *divine*, must be added, as a key to the richest treasuries of nature; and it is impossible to foresee how greatly it may improve our *manufactures*, especially if it can fix those brilliant *dyes*, which want nothing of perfect beauty but a longer continuance of their splendour;

or



or how far it may lead to new methods of *fluxing and compounding metals*, which the *Indians*, as well as the *Chineses*, are thought to have practised in higher perfection than ourselves.

IN those elegant arts which are called *fine and liberal*, though of less general utility than the labours of the mechanic, it is really wonderful how much a single nation has excelled the whole world: I mean the ancient *Greeks*, whose *Sculpture*, of which we have exquisite remains both on gems and in marble, no modern tool can equal; whose *Architecture* we can only imitate at a servile distance, but are unable to make one addition to it, without destroying its graceful simplicity; whose *Poetry* still delights us in youth, and amuses us at a maturer age; and of whose *Painting and Musick* we have the concurrent relations of so many grave authors, that it would be strange incredulity to doubt their excellence. *Painting*, as an art belonging to the powers of the imagination, or what is commonly called *Genius*, appears to be yet in its infancy among the people of the East: but the *Hindu* system of *musick* has, I believe, been formed on truer principles than our own; and all the skill of the native composers is directed to the great object of their art, *the natural expression of strong passions*, to which *melody*, indeed, is often sacrificed; though some of their tunes are pleasing even to an *European* ear. Nearly the same may be truly asserted of the *Arabian* or *Persian* system; and, by a correct explanation of the best books on that subject, much of the old *Grecian* theory may probably be recovered.

THE *poetical* works of the *Arabs* and *Persians*, which differ surprisngly in their style and form, are here pretty generally known; and though tastes, concerning which there can be no disputing, are divided in regard to their merit, yet we

may safely say of them; what ABULFAZL, pronounced of the *Mahábhárat*, that, "although they abound with extravagant images and descriptions, they are in the highest degree entertaining and instructive." Poets of the greatest genius, PINDAR, ÆSCHYLUS, DANTE, PETRARCA, SHAKESPEARE, SPENCER, have most abounded in images not far from the brink of absurdity; but if their luxuriant fancies, or those of ABULOLA, FIRDAUSI, NIZA'MI, were pruned away at the hazard of their strength and majesty, we should lose many pleasures by the amputation. If we may form a just opinion of the *Sanscrit* poetry from the specimens already exhibited, (though we can only judge perfectly by consulting the originals), we cannot but thirst for the whole work of VYA'SA, with which a member of our Society, whose presence deters me from saying more of him, will in due time gratify the public. The poetry of *Mathurà*, which is the *Parnassian* land of the *Hindus*, has a softer and less elevated strain; but, since the inhabitants of the districts near *Agra*, and principally of the *Duab*, are said to surpass all other *Indians* in eloquence, and to have composed many agreeable tales and love-songs, which are still extant, the *Báshá*, or *vernacular idiom* of *Vraja*, in which they are written, should not be neglected. No specimens of genuine *Oratory* can be expected from nations, among whom the form of government precludes even the idea of *popular eloquence*; but the art of writing, in elegant and modulated periods, has been cultivated in *Asia* from the earliest ages: the *Véda's*, as well as the *Alkoran*, are written in measured prose; and the compositions of ISO-CRATES are not more highly polished than those of the best *Arabian* and *Persian* authors.

OF the *Hindu* and *Muselman* architecture there are yet many noble remains in *Babar*, and some in the vicinity of *Malda*; nor am I unwilling to believe, that even those ruins, of which you will, I trust, be presented with correct delineations, may furnish our own architects with new ideas of beauty and sublimity.

PERMIT me now to add a few words on the *Sciences*, properly so named; in which it must be admitted, that the *Asiatics*, if compared with our Western nations, are mere children. One of the most sagacious men in this age, who continues, I hope, to improve and adorn it, SAMUEL JOHNSON, remarked in my hearing, that, "if NEWTON had flourished in ancient *Greece*, he would have been worshipped as a divinity;" how zealous then would he be adored in *Hindustan*, if his incomparable writings could be read and comprehended by the *Pandits* of *Cashmir* or *Benares*! I have seen a mathematical book in *Sanscrit* of the highest antiquity; but soon perceived from the diagrams, that it contained only simple elements: there may, indeed, have been, in the favourable atmosphere of *Asia*, some diligent observers of the celestial bodies, and such observations as are recorded, should indisputably be made publick; but let us not expect any new *methods*, or the analysis of new *surves*, from the geometricians of *Iran*, *Turkistan*, or *India*. Could the works of ARCHIMEDES, the NEWTON of *Sicily*, be restored to their genuine purity by the help of *Arabick* versions, we might then have reason to triumph on the success of our scientific inquiries; or could the successive improvements and various rules of *Algebra* be traced through *Arabian* channels, to which CARDAN boasted that he had access, the modern History of *Mathematicks* would receive considerable illustration.

THE Jurisprudence of the *Hindus* and *Muselmans* will produce more immediate advantage; and if some standard *law tracts* were accurately translated from the *Sanscrit* and *Arabick*, we might hope in time to see so complete a Digest of *Indian Laws*, that all disputes among the natives might be decided without *uncertainty*, which is in truth a disgrace, though satirically called a *glory*, to the forensick science.

ALL these objects of inquiry must appear to you, Gentlemen, in so strong a light, that bare intimations of them will be sufficient; nor is it necessary to make use of *emulation* as an incentive to an ardent pursuit of them: yet I cannot forbear expressing a wish, that the activity of the *French* in the same pursuits may not be superior to ours, and that the researches of M. SONNERAT, whom the court of *Versailles* employed for seven years in these climates, merely to collect such materials as we are seeking, may kindle, instead of abating, our own curiosity and zeal. If you assent, as I flatter myself you do, to these opinions, you will also concur in promoting the object of them; and a few ideas having presented themselves to my mind, I presume to lay them before you, with an entire submission to your judgment.

No contributions, except those of the literary kind, will be requisite for the support of the Society; but if each of us were occasionally to contribute a succinct description of such manuscripts as he had perused or inspected, with their dates and the names of their owners, and to propose for solution such *questions* as had occurred to him concerning *Asiatick* Art, Science, and History, natural or civil, we should possess without labour, and almost by imperceptible degrees, a fuller catalogue of Oriental books than has hitherto been exhibited, and our correspondents would be ap-  
prised

prised of those points, to which we chiefly direct our investigations. Much may, I am confident, be expected from the communications of *learned natives*, whether lawyers, physicians, or private scholars, who would eagerly, on the first invitation, send us their *Mekámát* and *Risálahs* on a variety of subjects; some for the sake of advancing general knowledge, but most of them from a desire, neither uncommon nor unreasonable, of attracting notice, and recommending themselves to favour. With a view to avail ourselves of this disposition, and to bring their latent science under our inspection, it might be adviseable to print and circulate a short memorial, in *Persian* and *Hindi*, setting forth, in a style accommodated to their own habits and prejudices, the design of our institution; nor would it be impossible hereafter to give a medal annually, with inscriptions, in *Persian* on one side, and on the reverse in *Sanscrit*, as the prize of merit, to the writer of the best essay or dissertation. To instruct others in the prescribed duty of learned *Bráhmans*, and, if they be men of substance, without reward; but they would all be flattered with an honorary mark of distinction; and the *Mahomedans* have not only the permission, but the positive command, of their law-giver, *to search for learning even in the remotest parts of the globe.* It were superfluous to suggest, with how much correctness and facility their compositions might be translated for our use, since their languages are now more generally and perfectly understood than they have ever been by any nation of *Europe*.

## D I S S E R T A T I O N III.

O N T H E

## H I N D U ' S,

BEING THE THIRD ANNIVERSARY DISCOURSE  
DELIVERED TO THE SOCIETY, FEB. 2, 1786.

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**O**F all the works which have been published in our own age, or, perhaps, in any other, on the History of the Ancient World, and *the first population of this habitable globe*, that of Mr. JACOB BRYANT, whom I name with reverence and affection, has the best claim to the praise of deep erudition ingeniously applied, and new theories happily illustrated by an assemblage of numberless converging rays from a most extensive circumference: it falls, nevertheless, as every human work must fall, short of perfection; and the least satisfactory part of it seems to be that which relates to the derivation of words from *Asiatick* languages. Etymology has, no doubt, some use in historical researches; but it is a medium of proof so very fallacious, that, where it elucidates one fact, it obscures a thousand, and  
more

more frequently borders on the ridiculous than leads to any solid conclusion: it rarely carries with it any *internal* power of conviction from a resemblance of sounds or similarity of letters; yet often, where it is wholly unassisted by those advantages, it may be indisputably proved by *extrinsic* evidence. We know *à posteriori*, that both *fitz* and *hijo*, by the nature of two several dialects, are derived from *filius*; that *uncle* comes from *avus*, and *stranger* from *extra*; that *jour* is deducible, through the *Italian*, from *dies*; and *rossignol* from *luscinia*, or the *singer in groves*; that *sciuro*, *écureuil*, and *squirrel*, are compounded of two *Greek* words descriptive of the animal; which etymologies, though they could not have been demonstrated *à priori*, might serve to confirm, if any such confirmation were necessary, the proofs of a connection between the members of one great Empire; but, when we derive our *hanger*, or *short pendent sword*, from the *Persian*, because ignorant travellers thus mis-spell the word *khanjar*, which in truth means a different weapon, or *sandal-wood* from the *Greek*, because we suppose that *sandals* were sometimes made of it, we gain no ground in proving the affinity of nations, and only weaken arguments, which might otherwise be firmly supported. That *Cu*'s then, or, as it certainly is written in one ancient dialect, *Cu'τ*, and in others, probably, *CA*'s, enters into the composition of many proper names, we may very reasonably believe; and that *Algeziras* takes its name from the *Arabick* word for an *island*, cannot be doubted: but when we are told from *Europe*, that places and provinces in *India* were clearly denominated from those words, we cannot but observe, in the first instance, that the town, in which we now are assembled, is properly written and pronounced *Calcutà*; that both *Catà* and *Cút* unquei-

unquestionably mean *places of strength*, or, in general, any *inclosures*; and that *Gujaràt* is at least as remote from *Jezirah* in sound as it is in situation.

ANOTHER exception (and a third could hardly be discovered by any candid criticism) to the *Analysis of Ancient Mythology*, is, that the *method of reasoning and arrangement of topicks* adopted in that learned work are not quite agreeable to the title, but almost wholly *synthetical*; and though *synthesis* may be the better mode in pure *science*, where the principles are undeniable, yet it seems less calculated to give complete satisfaction in *historical* disquisitions, where every postulatam will perhaps be refused, and every definition controverted: this may seem a slight objection, but the subject is in itself so interesting, and the full conviction of all reasonable men so desirable, that it may not be lost labour to discuss the same or a similar theory in a method purely analytical; and, after beginning with facts of general notoriety or undisputed evidence, to investigate such truths as are at first unknown or very imperfectly discerned.

THE *five* principal nations, who have in different ages divided among themselves, as a kind of inheritance, the vast continent of *Asia*, with the many islands depending on it, are the *Indians*, the *Chinese*, the *Tartars*, the *Arabs*, and the *Persians*: who they severally were, whence and when they came, where they now are settled, and what advantage a more perfect knowledge of them all may bring to our *European* world, will be shewn, I trust, in *five* distinct essays; the last of which will demonstrate the connexion or diversity between them, and solve the great problem, whether they had any common origin, and whether that origin was



was *the same* which we generally ascribe to them.

I BEGIN with *India*, not because I find reason to believe it the true centre of population or of knowledge, but, because it is the country which we now inhabit, and from which we may best survey the regions around us; as, in popular language, we speak of the *rising sun*, and of his *progress through the Zodiac*, although it had long ago been imagined, and is now demonstrated, that he is himself the centre of our planetary system. Let me here premise, that, in all these inquiries concerning the history of *India*, I shall confine my researches downwards to the *Mohammedan conquests* at the beginning of the *eleventh century*, but extend them upwards, as high as possible, to the earliest authentic records of the human species.

INDIA then, on its most enlarged scale, in which the ancients appear to have understood it, comprises an area of near *forty degrees* on each side, including a space almost as large as all *Europe*; being divided on the west from *Persia* by the *Arachosian mountains*, limited on the east by the *Chinese* part of the farther peninsula, confined on the north by the wilds of *Tartary*, and extending to the south as far as the isles of *Java*. This trapezium, therefore, comprehends the stupendous hills of *Potyid* or *Tibet*, the beautiful valley of *Cashmír*, and all the domains of the old *Indo-scythians*, the countries of *Népál* and *Butánt*, *Cámrúp* or *Ajam*, together with *Siam*, *Ava*, *Racan*, and the bordering kingdoms, as far as the *China* of the *Hindus* or *Sín* of the *Arabian Geographers*; not to mention the whole western peninsula with the celebrated island of *Sinhala*, or *Lion-like men*, at its southern extremity. By *India*, in short, I mean that whole extent of country in which the primitive

primitive religion and languages of the *Hindus* prevail at this day with more or less of their ancient purity, and in which the *Nāgarī* letters are still used with more or less deviation from their original form.

THE *Hindus* themselves believe their own country, to which they give the vain epithets of *Medhyama*, or *Central*, and *Punyabbūmi*, or the *Land of Virtues*, to have been the portion of BHARAT, one of *nine* brothers, whose father had the dominion of the whole earth; and they represent the mountains of *Himālaya* as lying to the north, and, to the west, those of *Vindhya*, called also *Vindian* by the *Greeks*; beyond which the *Sindhu* runs in several branches to the sea, and meets it nearly opposite to the point of *Dwāracā*, the celebrated seat of their Shepherd God: in the *south-east* they place the great river *Saravatya*; by which they probably mean that of *Ava*, called also *Airāvati*, in part of its course, and giving perhaps its ancient name to the gulf of *Sabara*. This domain of *Bharat* they consider as the middle of the *Jambudwīpa*, which the *Tibetians* also call the *Land of Zambu*; and the appellation is extremely remarkable; for *Jambu* is the *Sanscrit* name of a delicate fruit called *Jāman* by the *Muselmans*, and by us *rose-apple*; but the largest and richest sort is named *Amrita*, or *Immortal*; and the *Mythologists* of *Tibet* apply the same word to a celestial tree bearing *ambrosial fruit*, and adjoining to *four* vast rocks, from which as many sacred rivers derive their several streams.

THE inhabitants of this extensive tract are described by Mr. LORD with great exactness, and with a picturesque elegance peculiar to our ancient language: "A people," says he, "presented themselves to mine eyes, clothed in linen garments somewhat low descending, of a gesture and  
" garb,

“ garb, as I may say, maidenly, and well nigh ef-  
 “ feminate, of a countenance shy and somewhat  
 “ eltranged, yet smiling out a glozed and bashful  
 “ familiarity.” Mr. ORME, the Historian of  
*India*, who unites an exquisite taste for every fine  
 art with an accurate knowledge of *Asiatick* man-  
 ners, observes, in his elegant preliminary Differ-  
 tation, that this “ country has been inhabited  
 “ from the earliest antiquity by a people, who  
 “ have no resemblance, either in their figure or  
 “ manners, with any of the nations contiguous to  
 “ them;” and that, “ although conquerors have  
 “ established themselves at different times in dif-  
 “ ferent parts of *India*, yet the original inhabi-  
 “ tants have lost very little of their original cha-  
 “ racter.” The ancients, in fact, give a descrip-  
 tion of them, which our early travellers confirm-  
 ed; and our own personal knowledge of them  
 nearly verifies; as you will perceive from a pas-  
 sage in the Geographical Poem of DIONYSIUS,  
 which the Analyst of Ancient Mythology has  
 translated with great spirit :

“ To th’ east a lovely country wide extends,  
 “ INDIA, whose borders the wide ocean bounds;  
 “ On this the sun, new rising from the main,  
 “ Smiles pleas’d, and sheds his early orient beams.  
 “ Th’ inhabitants are swart, and in their looks  
 “ Betray the tints of the dark hyacinth.  
 “ Various their functions; some the rock explore,  
 “ And from the mine extract the latent gold;  
 “ Some labour at the woof with cunning skill,  
 “ And manufacture linen; others shape  
 “ And polish iv’ry with the nicest care;  
 “ Many retire to rivers shoal, and plunge  
 “ To seek the beryl flaming in its bed,  
 “ Or glitt’ring diamond. Oft the jasper’s found  
 “ Green, but diaphanous; the topaz too,  
 “ Of ray serene and pleasing; last of all,  
 “ The lovely amethyst, in which combine  
 “ All the mild shades of purple. The rich soil,  
 “ Wash’d by a thousand rivers, from all sides  
 “ Pours on the natives wealth without control.”

THEIR sources of wealth are still abundant, even after so many revolutions and conquests; in their manufactures of cotton they still surpass all the world; and their features have, most probably, remained unaltered since the time of DIONYSIUS; nor can we reasonably doubt, how degenerate and abased soever the *Hindus* may now appear, that in some early age they were splendid in arts and arms, happy in government, wise in legislation, and eminent in various knowledge: but, since their civil history beyond the middle of the *nineteenth* century from the present time is involved in a cloud of fables, we seem to possess only *four* general media of satisfying our curiosity concerning it; namely, first, their *Languages* and *Letters*; secondly, their *Philosophy* and *Religion*; thirdly, the actual remains of their old *Sculpture* and *Architecture*; and fourthly, the written memorials of their *Sciences* and *Arts*.

I. It is much to be lamented, that neither the *Greeks* who attended ALEXANDER into *India*, nor those who were long connected with it under the *Bactrian* Princes, have left us any means of knowing with accuracy, what vernacular languages they found on their arrival in this Empire. The *Mohammedans*, we know, heard the people of proper *Hindustan*, or *India* on a limited scale, speaking a *Bhásbá*, or living tongue, of a very singular construction, the purest dialect of which was current in the districts round *Agrà*, and chiefly on the poetical ground of *Mat'burà*; and this is commonly called the idiom of *Vraja*. Five words in six, perhaps, of this language were derived from the *Sanscrit*, in which books of religion and science were composed, and which appears to have been formed by an exquisite grammatical *arrangement*, as the name itself implies, from some unpolished idiom; but the basis of the *Hindun-*  
*stáni*,

*stani*, particularly the inflexions and regimen of verbs, differed as widely from both those tongues, as *Arabick* differs from *Persian*, or *German* from *Greek*. Now the general effect of conquest is to leave the current language of the conquered people unchanged, or very little altered, in its groundwork, but to blend with it a considerable number of exotick names both for things and for actions; as it has happened in every country, that I can recollect, where the conquerors have not preserved their own tongue unmixed with that of the natives, like the *Turks* in *Greece*, and the *Saxons* in *Britain*; and this analogy might induce us to believe, that the pure *Hindi*, whether of *Tartarian* or *Chaldean* origin, was primeval in *Upper India*, into which the *Sanscrit* was introduced by conquerors from other kingdoms in some very remote age; for we cannot doubt that the language of the *Veda's* was used in the great extent of country, which has before been delineated; as long as the religion of *Brahma* has prevailed in it.

THE *Sanscrit* language, whatever be its antiquity, is of a wonderful structure; more perfect than the *Greek*, more copious than the *Latin*, and more exquisitely refined than either, yet bearing to both of them a stronger affinity, both in the roots of verbs and in the forms of grammar, than could possibly have been produced by accident; so strong indeed, that no philologer could examine them all three, without believing them to have sprung from some common source, which, perhaps, no longer exists: there is a similar reason, though not quite so forcible, for supposing that both the *Gothick* and the *Celtick*, though blended with a very different idiom, had the same origin with the *Sanscrit*; and the old *Persian* might be added to the same family, if this were the place for discussing

discussing any question concerning the antiquities of *Persia*.

THE *characters*, in which the languages of *India* were originally written, are called *Nágarí*, from *Nagar*, a City, with the word *Déva* sometimes prefixed, because they are believed to have been taught by the Divinity himself, who prescribed the artificial order of them in a voice from heaven. These letters, with no greater variation in their form by the change of straight lines to curves, or conversely, than the *Cusick* alphabet has received in its way to *India*, are still adopted in more than twenty kingdoms and states, from the borders of *Cashgar* and *Khoten*, to *Ráma's* bridge, and from the *Sindhu* to the river of *Siam*; nor can I help believing, although the polished and elegant *Dévanágarí* may not be so ancient as the monumental characters in the caverns of *Jarásandha*, that the square *Chaldaick* letters, in which most *Hebrew* books are copied, were originally the same, or derived from the same prototype, both with the *Indian* and *Arabian* characters: that the *Phenician*, from which the *Greek* and *Roman* alphabets were formed by various changes and inversions, had a similar origin, there can be little doubt; and the inscriptions at *Canárah*, of which you now possess a most accurate copy, seem to be compounded of *Nágarí* and *Ethiopick* letters, which bear a close relation to each other, both in the mode of writing from the left hand, and in the singular manner of connecting the vowels with the consonants. These remarks may favour an opinion entertained by many, that all the symbols of *sound*, which at first, probably, were only rude outlines of the different organs of speech, had a common origin: the symbols of *ideas* now used in *China* and *Japan*, and formerly, perhaps, in *Egypt* and *Mexico*, are quite of a distinct nature;

nature; but it is very remarkable, that the order of *sounds* in the *Chinese* grammar<sup>s</sup> corresponds nearly with that observed in *Tibet*, and hardly differs from that which the *Hindus* consider as the invention of their Gods.

II. OF the *Indian* Religion and Philosophy I shall here say but little; because a full account of each would require a separate volume: it will be sufficient in this dissertation to assume, what might be proved beyond controversy, that we now live among the adorers of those very deities, who were worshipped under different names in old *Greece* and *Italy*, and among the professors of those philosophical tenets, which the *Ionick* and *Attick* writers illustrated with all the beauties of their melodious language. On one hand we see the trident of NEPTUNE, the eagle of JUPITER, the satyrs of BACCHUS, the bow of CUPID, and the chariot of the *Sun*; on another we hear the cymbals of RHEA, the songs of the *Muses*, and the pastoral tales of APOLLO NOMIUS. In more retired scenes, in groves, and in seminaries of learning, we may perceive the *Bráhmans* and the *Sarmanes*, mentioned by CLEMENS, disputing in the forms of *logick*, or discoursing on the vanity of human enjoyments, on the immortality of the soul, her emanation from the eternal mind, her debasement, wanderings, and final union with her source. The *six* philosophical schools, whose principles are explained in the *Dersana Sástra*, comprise all the metaphysics of the old *Academy*, the *Stoa*, the *Lyceum*; nor is it possible to read the *Védánta*, or the many fine compositions in illustration of it, without believing, that PYTHAGORAS and PLATO derived their sublime theories from the same fountain with the sages of *India*. The *Scythian* and *Hyperborean* doctrines and mythology may also be traced in every part of these eastern regions;

regions; nor can we doubt, that WOD or ODEN, whose religion, as the northern historians admit, was introduced into *Scandinavia* by a foreign race, was the same with BUDDHA, whose rites were probably imported into *India* nearly at the same time, though received much later by the *Chinese*, who soften his name into FO'.

THIS may be a proper place to ascertain an important point in the Chronology of the *Hindus*; for the priests of BUDDHA left in *Tibet* and *China* the precise epoch of his appearance, real or imagined, in this empire; and their information, which had been preserved in writing, was compared by the *Christian* Missionaries and scholars with our own era. COUPLET, DE GUIGNES, GEORGI, and BAILLY, differ a little in their accounts of this epoch, but that of *Couplet* seems the most correct: on taking, however, the medium of the four several dates, we may fix the time of BUDDHA, or the *ninth* great incarnation of VISHNU, in the year *one thousand and fourteen* before the birth of CHRIST, or *two thousand seven hundred and ninety-nine* years ago. Now the *Cashmireans*, who boast of his descent in their kingdom, assert that he appeared on earth about *two* centuries after CRISHNA, the *Indian* APOLLO, who took so decided a part in the war of the *Mahábhárat*; and if an Etymologist were to suppose that the *Athenians* had embellished their poetical history of PANDION's expulsion and the restoration of ÆGEUS with the *Asiatick* tale of the PANDUS and YUDHISHTH'IR; neither of which words they could have articulated, I should not hastily deride his conjecture: certain it is, that *Pándumandel* is called by the *Greeks* the country of PANDION. We have therefore determined another interesting epoch, by fixing the age of CRISHNA near the *three thousandth* year from the present time; and



as the three first *Avatàrs*, or descents of VISHNU, relate no less clearly to an Universal Deluge, in which eight persons only were saved, than the *fourth* and *fifth* do to the punishment of impiety and the humiliation of the proud, we may for the present assume, that the *second*, or *silver*, age of the *Hindus* was subsequent to the dispersion from *Babel*; so that we have only a dark interval of about a *thousand* years, which were employed in the settlement of nations; the foundation of states or empires, and the cultivation of civil society. The great incarnate Gods of this intermediate age are both named RA'MA, but with different epithets; one of whom bears a wonderful resemblance to the *Indian* BACCHUS, and his wars are the subject of several heroick poems. He is represented as a descendant from SU'RYA, or the SUN, as the husband of SI'TA', and the son of a princess named CA'USELYA': it is very remarkable, that the *Peruvians*, whose *Incas* boasted of the same descent, stiled their greatest festival *Ramafstoa*; whence we may suppose, that *South America* was peopled by the same race, who imported into the farthest parts of *Asia* the rites and fabulous history of RA'MA. These rites and this history are extremely curious; and although I cannot believe with NEWTON, that antient mythology was nothing but historical truth in a poetical dress, nor, with BACON, that it consisted solely of moral and metaphysical allegories, nor, with BRYANT, that all the heathen divinities are only different attributes and representations of the Sun or of deceased progenitors, but conceive that the whole system of religious fables rose, like the *Nile*, from several distinct sources, yet I cannot but agree, that one great spring and fountain of all idolatry in the four quarters of the globe, was the veneration paid by men to the vast body of fire

fire which “ looks from his sole dominion like the “ God of this world ;” and another, the immoderate respect shewn to the memory of powerful or virtuous ancestors, especially the founders of kingdoms, legislators, and warriors, of whom the *Sun* or the *Moon* were wildly supposed to be the parents.

III. THE remains of *architecture* and *sculpture* in *India*, which I mention here as mere monuments of antiquity, not as specimens of antient art, seem to prove an early connection between this country and *Africa*: the pyramids of *Egypt*, the colossal statues described by PAUSANIAS and others, the sphinx, and the HERMES *Canis*, which last bears a great resemblance to the *Varáhavatár*, or the incarnation of VISHNU in the form of a *Boar*, indicate the style and mythology of the same indefatigable workmen who formed the vast excavations of *Canárah*, the various temples and images of BUDDHA, and the idols which are continually dug up at *Gayá*, or in its vicinity. The letters on many of those monuments appear, as I have before intimated, partly of *Indian*, and partly of *Abyssinian* or *Ethiopick*, origin ; and all these indubitable facts may induce no ill-grounded opinion, that *Ethiopia* and *Hindunstan* were peopled or colonized by the same extraordinary race ; in confirmation of which it may be added, that the mountaineers of *Bengal* and *Bahár* can hardly be distinguished in some of their features, particularly their lips and noses, from the modern *Abyssinians*, whom the *Arabs* call the children of CUSH : and the antient *Hindus*, according to STRABO, differed in nothing from the *Africans* but in the straightness and smoothness of their hair, while that of the others was crisp or woolly ; a difference proceeding chiefly, if not entirely, from the respective humidity or dryness of their  
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atmospheres: hence the people who *received the first light of the rising sun*, according to the limited knowledge of the antients, are said by APULEIUS to be the *Arii* and *Ethiopians*, by which he clearly meant certain nations of *India*; where we frequently see figures of BUDDHA with *curled hair*, apparently designed for a representation of it in its natural state.

IV. It is unfortunate, that the *Silpi Sástra*, or *Collection of Treatises on Arts and Manufactures*, which must have contained a treasure of useful information on *dyeing, painting, and metallurgy*, has been so long neglected, that few, if any, traces of it are to be found; but the labours of the *Indian loom and needle* have been universally celebrated; and *fine linen* is not improbably supposed to have been called *Sindon*, from the name of the river near which it was wrought in the highest perfection: the people of *Colchis* were also famed for this manufacture, and the *Egyptians* yet more, as we learn from several passages in scripture, and particularly from a beautiful chapter in EZEKIEL, containing the most authentic delineation of ancient commerce, of which *Tyre* had been the principal mart. Silk was fabricated immemorially by the *Indians*, though commonly ascribed to the people of *Serica* or *Tancùt*, among whom probably the word *Sèr*, which the *Greeks* applied to the *silk-worm*, signified *gold*; a sense which it now bears in *Tibet*. That the *Hindus* were in early ages a *commercial* people, we have many reasons to believe; and in the first of their sacred law-tracts, which they suppose to have been revealed by MENU many *millions* of years ago, we find a curious passage on the legal *interest* of money, and the limited rate of it in different cases, with an exception in regard to *adventures at sea*; an exception which the sense of mankind approves, and which

commerce absolutely requires, though it was not before the reign of CHARLES I. that our own jurisprudence fully admitted it in respect of maritime contracts.

WE are told by the *Grecian* writers, that the *Indians* were the wisest of nations; and in moral wisdom they were certainly eminent: their *Niti Sástra*, or *System of Ethicks*, is yet preserved, and the Fables of VISHNUSERMAN, whom we ridiculously call *Pilpay*, are the most beautiful, if not the most ancient, collection of apologues in the world: they were first translated from the *Sanscrit* in the *sixth* century, by the order of BUZERCHUMIHR, or *Bright as the Sun*, the chief physician, and afterwards *Vezir* of the great ANUSHIRVAN, and are extant under various names in more than twenty languages; but their original title is *Hitópadesa*, or *Amicable Instruction*; and as the very existence of ESOP, whom the *Arabs* believe to have been an *Abyssinian*, appears rather doubtful, I am not disinclined to suppose, that the first *moral fables* which appeared in *Europe*, were of *Indian* or *Ethiopian* origin.

THE *Hindus* are said to have boasted of *three* inventions, all of which, indeed, are admirable, the method of instructing by *apologues*, the *decimal scale* adopted now by all civilized nations, and the game of *Chefs*, on which they have some curious treatises; but if their numerous works on Grammar, Logick, Rhetorick, Musick, all which are extant and accessible, were explained in some language generally known, it would be found that they had yet higher pretensions to the praise of a fertile and inventive genius. Their lighter poems are lively and elegant; their Epick, magnificent and sublime in the highest degree; their *Puránas* comprise a series of mythological Histories in blank verse from the *Creation* to the supposed incarnation

carnation of BUDDHA : and their *Védas*, as far as we can judge from that compendium of them which is called *Upanishat*, abound with noble speculations in metaphysics, and fine discourses on the being and attributes of GOD. Their most ancient medical book, entitled *Chereca*, is believed to be the work of SIVA ; for each of the divinities in their *Triad* has at least one *sacred* composition ascribed to him ; but, as to mere human works on *History* and *Geography*, though they are said to be extant in *Cashmír*, it has not been yet in my power to procure them. What their *astronomical* and *mathematical* writings, contain, will not, I trust, remain long a secret : they are easily procured, and their importance cannot be doubted. The philosopher whose works are said to include a system of the universe founded on the principle of *Attraction* and the *Central* position of the sun, is named YAVAN ACHA'RYA, because he had travelled, we are told, into *Ionia* : if this be true, he might have been one of those who conversed with PYTHAGORAS ; this at least is undeniable, that a book on astronomy in *Sanscrit* bears the title of *Yavana Jatica*, which may signify the *Ionick Sect* ; nor is it improbable, that the names of the planets and *Zodical* stars, which the *Arabs* borrowed from the *Greeks*, but which we find in the oldest *Indian* records, were originally devised by the same ingenious and enterprising race, from whom both *Greece* and *India* were peopled ; the race, who, as DIONYSIUS describes them,

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- ' first assayed the deep,  
 ' And wafted merchandize to coasts unknown,  
 ' Those, who digested first the starry choir,  
 ' Their motions mark'd, and call'd them by their names.'

O these cursory observations on the *Hindus*, which it would require volumes to expand and illustrate,

illustrate, this is the result: that they had an immemorial affinity with the old *Persians*, *Ethiopians*, and *Egyptians*, the *Phenicians*, *Greeks*, and *Tuscans*, the *Scythians* or *Goths*, and *Celts*, the *Chinese*, *Japanese* and *Peruvians*; whence, as no reason appears for believing that they were a colony from any one of those nations, or any of those nations from them, we may fairly conclude that they all proceeded from some *central* country, to investigate which will be the object of my future Discourses; and I have a sanguine hope, that your collections during the present year will bring to light many useful discoveries; although the departure for *Europe* of a very ingenious member, who first opened the inestimable mine of *Sanscrit* literature, will often deprive us of accurate and solid information concerning the languages and antiquities of *India*.

DISSERTATION IV.

ON THE

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BEING THE FOURTH ANNIVERSARY DISCOURSE  
DELIVERED TO THE SOCIETY, FEB. 15, 1787.

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GENTLEMEN;

I HAD the honour last year of opening to you my intention, to discourse at our annual meetings on the *five* principal nations who have peopled the continent and islands of *Asia*; so as to trace, by an historical and philological analysis, the number of ancient stems from which those five branches have severally sprung, and the central region from which they appear to have proceeded: you may, therefore, expect, that, having submitted to your consideration a few general remarks on the old inhabitants of *India*, I should now offer my sentiments on some other nation, who, from a similarity of *language, religion, arts and manners*, may be supposed to have had an early connection

connection with the *Hindus*; but, since we find some *Asiatick* nations totally dissimilar to them in all or most of those particulars, and since the difference will strike you more forcibly by an immediate and close comparison, I design at present to give a short account of a wonderful people, who seem in every respect so strongly contrasted to the original natives of this country, that they must have been for ages a distinct and separate race.

For the purpose of these Discourses, I considered *India* on its largest scale, describing it as lying between *Persia* and *China*, *Tartary* and *Java*; and for the same purpose, I now apply the name of *Arabia*, as the Arabian Geographers often apply it, to that extensive peninsula, which the Red Sea divides from *Africa*, the great *Affyrian* river from *Iràn*, and of which the *Erythrean* Sea washes the base; without excluding any part of its western side, which would be completely maritime, if no isthmus intervened between the *Mediterranean* and the Sea of *Kolzom*: that country, in short, I call *Arabia*, in which the *Arabick* language and letters, or such as have a near affinity to them, have been immemorially current.

*ARABIA*, thus divided from *India* by a vast ocean, or at least by a broad bay, could hardly have been connected in any degree with this country, until navigation and commerce had been considerably improved: yet, as the *Hindus* and the people of *Yemen* were both commercial nations in a very early age, they were probably the first instruments of conveying to the western world the gold, ivory, and perfumes of *India*, as well as the fragrant wood, called *álluwwa* in *Arabick* and *aguru* in *Sanscrit*, which grows in the greatest perfection in *Anam* or *Cochinchina*. It is possible too, that a part of the *Arabian* idolatry might have been derived from the same source with



with that of the *Hindus*; but such an intercourse may be considered as partial and accidental only; nor am I more convinced, than I was fifteen years ago, when I took the liberty to animadvert on a passage in the History of Prince *Cantemir*, that the *Turks* have any just reason for holding the coast of *Yemen* to be a part of *India*, and calling its inhabitants *Yellow Indians*.

THE *Arabs* have never been entirely subdued; nor has any impression been made on them, except on their borders; where, indeed, the *Phenicians*, *Persians*, *Ethiopians*, *Egyptians*, and, in modern times, the *Othman Tartars*, have severally acquired settlements; but, with these exceptions, the natives of *Hejaz* and *Yemen* have preserved for ages the sole dominion of their deserts and pastures, their mountains and fertile vallies: thus, apart from the rest of mankind, this extraordinary people have retained their primitive manners and language, features and character, as long and as remarkably as the *Hindus* themselves. All the genuine *Arabs* of *Syria*, whom I knew in *Europe*, those of *Yemen*, whom I saw in the island of *Hinzuan*, whither many had come from *Masfat* for the purpose of trade, and those of *Hejaz*, whom I have met in *Bengal*, form a striking contrast to the *Hindu* inhabitants of these provinces: their eyes are full of vivacity, their speech voluble and articulate, their deportment manly and dignified, their apprehension quick, their minds always present and attentive; with a spirit of independence appearing in the countenances even of the lowest among them. Men will always differ in their ideas of civilization, each measuring it by the habits and prejudices of his own country; but if courtesy and urbanity, a love of poetry and eloquence, and the practice of exalted virtues, be a juster measure of perfect society, we have certain proof, that the  
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people of *Arabia*, both on plains and in cities, in republican and monarchical states, were eminently civilized for many ages before their conquest of *Persia*.

IT is deplorable, that the ancient history of this majestick race should be as little known in detail before the time of *Dhú Yezen*, as that of the *Hindus* before *Vicramáditya*; for although the vast historical work of *Alnuwairi* and the *Murújuldhabab*, or *Golden Meadows*, of *Almafúúdi*, contain chapters on the kings of *Himyar*, *Ghasán*, and *Hirab*, with lists of them and sketches of their several reigns, and although genealogical tables, from which chronology might be better ascertained, are prefixed to many compositions of the old *Arabian* Poets, yet most manuscripts are so incorrect, and so many contradictions are found in the best of them, that we can scarce lean upon tradition with security, and must have recourse to the same media for investigating the history of the *Arabs*, that I before adopted in regard to that of the *Indians*; namely; their *language*, *letters*, and *religion*, their ancient *monuments*, and the certain remains of their *arts*; on each of which heads I shall touch very concisely, having premised, that my observations will in general be confined to the state of *Arabia* before that singular revolution at the beginning of the *seventh century*, the effects of which we feel at this day, from the *Pyrenean* mountains and the *Danube*, to the farthest parts of the *Indian Empire*, and even to the *Eastern Islands*.

I. For the knowledge which any *European*, who pleases, may attain of the *Arabian* language, we are principally indebted to the university of *Leyden*; for, though several *Italians* have assiduously laboured in the same wide field, yet the fruit of their labours has been rendered almost useless by more commodious and more accurate works  
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printed in *Holland*; and, though POCOCK certainly accomplished much, and was able to accomplish any thing, yet the *Academical* ease which he enjoyed, and his theological pursuits, induced him to leave unfinished the valuable work of *Maidání*, which he had prepared for publication; nor, even if that rich mine of *Arabian* philology had seen the light, would it have borne any comparison with the fifty dissertations of *Hariri*, which the first ALBERT SCHÜLTONS translated and explained, though he sent abroad but few of them; and has left his worthy grandson, from whom, perhaps, *Maidání* also may be expected, the honour of publishing the rest: But the palm of glory in this branch of literature is due to GOLIUS, whose works are equally profound and elegant; so perspicuous in method, that they may always be consulted without fatigue, and read without languor, yet so abundant in matter, that any man, who shall begin with his noble edition of the Grammar, compiled by his master ERPENIUS, and proceed, with the help of his incomparable dictionary, to study his History of *Taimur*, by *Ibni Arabsháh*, and shall make himself complete master of that sublime work, will understand the learned *Arabick* better than the deepest scholar at *Constantinople* or at *Mecca*. The *Arabick* language, therefore, is almost wholly in our power; and as it is unquestionably one of the most antient in the world, so it yields to none ever spoken by mortals in the number of its words and the precision of its phrases; but it is equally true and wonderful, that it bears not the least resemblance, either in words or the structure of them, to the *Sanscrit*, or great parent of the *Indian* dialects; of which dissimilarity I will mention two remarkable instances: the *Sanscrit*, like the *Greek*, *Persian*, and *German*, delights in compounds, but in a much higher degree,

gree, and indeed to such excess, that I could produce words of more than twenty syllables, not formed ludicrously, like that by which the buffoon in ARISTOPHANES describes a feast, but with perfect seriousness, on the most solemn occasions, and in the most elegant works; while the *Arabick*, on the other hand, and all its sister dialects, abhor the composition of words, and invariably express very complex ideas by circumlocution; so that if a compound word be found in any genuine language of the *Arabian Peninsula* (*zenmerdah* for instance, which occurs in the *Hamásab*), it may at once be pronounced an exotic. Again; it is the genius of the *Sanscrit*, and other languages of the same stock, that the roots of verbs be almost universally *biliteral*, so that *five and twenty hundred* such roots might be formed by the composition of the fifty *Indian* letters; but the *Arabick* roots are as universally *triliteral*, so that the composition of the *twenty-eight Arabian* letters would give near *two and twenty thousand elements* of the language: and this will demonstrate the surprising extent of it; for although great numbers of its roots are confessedly lost, and some, perhaps, were never in use, yet if we suppose ten thousand of them (without reckoning *quadriliterals*) to exist, and each of them to admit only *five* variations, one with another, in forming *derivative nouns*, even then a perfect *Arabick* dictionary ought to contain *fifty thousand* words, each of which may receive a multitude of changes by the rules of grammar. The derivatives in *Sanscrit* are considerably more numerous: but a farther comparison between the two languages is here unnecessary; since, in whatever light we view them, they seem totally distinct, and must have been invented, by two different races of men; nor do I recollect a single word in common between them, except *Suru*, the plural of *Siraj*, meaning both a *lamp* and the *sun*,

the *Sanscrit* name of which is, in *Bengal*, pronounced *Súrja*; and even this resemblance may be purely accidental. We may easily believe with the *Hindus*, that *not even* *INDRA* himself and his heavenly bands, much less any mortal, ever comprehended in his mind such an ocean of words as their sacred language contains; and with the *Arabs*, that no man uninspired was ever a complete master of *Arabick*: in fact, no person, I believe, now living in *Europe* or *Asa*, can read without study an hundred couplets together in any collection of ancient *Arabian* poems; and we are told, that the great author of the *Kámùs* learned by accident from the mouth of a child, in a village of *Arabia*, the meaning of three words, which he had long sought in vain from grammarians, and from books, of the highest reputation. It is by approximation alone, that a knowledge of these two venerable languages can be acquired; and, with moderate attention, enough of them both may be known, to delight and instruct us in an infinite degree. I conclude this head with remarking, that the nature of the *Ethiopic* dialect seems to prove an early establishment of the *Arabs* in part of *Ethiopia*, from which they were afterwards expelled, and attacked even in their own country by the *Abyssinians*, who had been invited over as auxiliaries against the tyrant of *Yemen*, about a century before the birth of *Muhammed*.

OF the characters in which the old compositions of *Arabia* were written, we know but little; except that the *Koràn* originally appeared in those of *Gúfab*, from which the modern *Arabian* letters, with all their elegant variations, were derived, and which unquestionably had a common origin with the *Hebrew* or *Chaldaick*; but as to the *Himyarick* letters, or those which we see mentioned by the name of *Almusnad*, we are still in total darkness; the traveller *Niebuhr* having been unfortunately

fortunately prevented from visiting some ancient monuments in *Yemen*, which are said to have inscriptions on them: if those letters bear a strong resemblance to the *Nágarí*, and if a story current in *India* be true, that some *Hindu* merchants heard the *Sanscrit* language spoken in *Arabia* the *Happy*, we might be confirmed in our opinion, that an intercourse formerly subsisted between the two nations of opposite coasts, but should have no reason to believe, that they sprang from the same immediate stock. The first syllable of *Hamyar*, as many *Europeans* write it, might perhaps induce an Etymologist to derive the *Arabs* of *Yemen* from the great ancestor of the *Indians*; but we must observe, that *Hemyar* is the proper appellation of those *Arabs*; and many reasons concur to prove, that the word is purely *Arabick*: the similarity of some proper names on the borders of *India* to those of *Arabia*, as the river *Arabius*, a place called *Araba*, a people named *Aribes* or *Arabies*, and another called *Sabai*, is indeed remarkable, and may hereafter furnish me with observations of some importance, but not at all inconsistent with my present ideas.

II. It is generally asserted, that the old religion of the *Arabs* was entirely *Sabian*; but I can offer so little accurate information concerning the *Sabian* faith, or even the meaning of the word, that I dare not yet speak on the subject with confidence. This at least is certain, that the people of *Yemen* very soon fell into the common, but fatal error of adoring the Sun and the Firmament; for even the third in descent from *YOCKTAN*, who was consequently as old as *NAHOR*, took the surname of *ABDUSHAMS*, or *Servant of the Sun*; and his family, we are assured, paid particular honours to that luminary: other tribes worshipped the planets and fixed stars; but the religion of the poets  
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at least seems to have been pure Theism; and this we know with certainty, because we have *Arabian* verses of unsuspected antiquity, which contain pious and elevated sentiments on the goodness and justice, the power and omnipresence, of ALLAH, or THE GOD. If an inscription, said to have been found on marble in *Yemen*, be authentick, the ancient inhabitants of that country preserved the religion of EBER, and professed a belief in *miracles and a future state*.

WE are also told, that a strong resemblance may be found between the religions of the pagan *Arabs* and the *Hindus*; but though this may be true, yet an agreement in worshipping the sun and stars will not prove an affinity between the two nations: the *powers* of God represented as *female* deities, the adoration of *stones*, and the name of the Idol WUDD, may lead us indeed to suspect, that some of the *Hindu* superstitions had found their way into *Arabia*; and though we have no traces in *Arabian* History of such a conqueror or legislator as the great SESAC, who is said to have raised pillars in *Yemen* as well as at the mouth of the *Ganges*, yet since we know, that SA'CYA is a title of BUDDHA, whom I suppose to be WODEN, since BUDDHA was not a native of *India*, and since the age of SESAC perfectly agrees with that of SA'CYA, we may form a plausible conjecture that they were in fact the same person who travelled eastward from *Ethiopia*, either as a warrior or as a law-giver, about a thousand years before CHRIST, and whose rites we now see extended as far as the country of *Nison*, or, as the *Chinese* call it, *Fa-puen*, both words signifying the *Rising Sun*. SA'CYA may be derived from a word meaning *power*, or from another denoting *vegetable food*; so that this epithet will not determine whether he was a hero or a philosopher; but the title BUDDHA,  
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or *wife*, may induce us to believe that he was rather a benefactor than a destroyer of his species : if his religion, however, was really introduced into any part of *Arabia*, it could not have been general in that country ; and we may safely pronounce, that before the *Mohammedan* revolution, the noble and learned *Arabs* were *Theists*, but that a stupid idolatry prevailed among the lower orders of the people.

I FIND no trace among them, till their emigration, of any philosophy but *Ethicks* ; and even their system of morals, generous and enlarged as it seems to have been in the minds of a few illustrious chieftains, was on the whole miserably depraved for a century at least before *Muhammed* : the distinguishing virtues which they boasted of inculcating and practising, were a contempt of riches, and even of death ; but, in the age of the *Seven Poets*, their liberality had deviated into mad profusion, their courage into ferocity, and their patience into an obstinate spirit of encountering fruitless dangers : but I forbear to expatiate on the manners of the *Arabs* in that age, because the poems entitled *Almoállakát*, which have appeared in our own language, exhibit an exact picture of their virtues and their vices, their wisdom and their folly ; and shew what may be constantly expected from men of open hearts and boiling passions, with no law to control, and little religion to restrain them.

III. FEW monuments of antiquity are preserved in *Arabia*, and of those few the best accounts are very uncertain ; but we are assured, that inscriptions on rocks and mountains are still seen in various parts of the peninsula ; which, if they are in any known language, and if corrected copies of them can be procured, may be decyphered by easy and infallible rules.



THE first ALBERT SCHULTENS has preserved in his Antient Memorials of *Arabia*, the most pleasing of all his works, two little poems in an elegiack strain, which are said to have been found, about the middle of the seventh century, on some fragments of ruined edifices in *Hadramût* near *Aden*, and are supposed to be of an indefinite, but very remote, age. It may naturally be asked, In what characters were they written? Who deciphered them? Why were not the original letters preserved in the book where the verses are cited? What became of the marbles, which *Abdurrabman*, then governor of *Yemen*, most probably sent to the *Khalifah* at *Bagdad*? If they be genuine, they prove the people of *Yemen* to have been “herdsmen and warriors, inhabiting a fertile and well-watered country full of game, and near a fine sea abounding with fish, under a monarchical government, and dressed in green silk or vests of needlework,” either of their own manufacture, or imported from *India*. The measure of these verses is perfectly regular, and the dialect undistinguishable, at least by me, from that of *Kurajsh*; so that if the *Arabian* writers were much addicted to literary impostures, I should strongly suspect them to be modern compositions on the instability of human greatness, and the consequences of irreligion, illustrated by the example of the *Himyarick* princes; and the same may be suspected of the first poem quoted by SCHULTENS, which he ascribes to an *Arab* in the age of SOLOMON.

THE supposed houses of the people called *Thamûd* are also still to be seen in excavations of rocks; and, in the time of TABRIZI, the grammarian, a castle was extant in *Yemen*, which bore the name of ALADBAT. an old bard and warrior, who first, we are told, formed his army, thence

called *álkhamis*, in *five* parts, by which arrangement he defeated the troops of *Himyar* in an expedition against *Sanââ*.

OF pillars erected by *SESAC*, after his invasion of *Yemen*, we find no mention in *Arabian* histories; and, perhaps, the story has no more foundation than another told by the *Greeks* and adopted by *NEWTON*, that the *Arabs* worshipped *URANIA*, and even *BACCHUS* by name, which they say, means *great* in *Arabick*; but where they found such a word we cannot discover: it is true, that *Beccab* signifies a *great and tumultuous crowd*, and, in this sense, is one name of the sacred city commonly called *Meccab*.

THE *Cábah*, or *quadrangular* edifice at *Meccab*, is indisputably so antient, that its original use, and the name of its builder, are lost in a cloud of idle traditions. An *Arab* told me gravely, that it was raised by *ABRAHAM*, who, as I assured him, was never there: others ascribe it, with more probability, to *ISMAIL*, or one of his immediate descendants; but whether it was built as a place of divine worship, as a fortress, as a sepulchre, or as a monument of the treaty between the old possessors of *Arabia* and the sons of *KEDAR*, antiquaries may dispute, but no mortal can determine. It is thought by *RELAND* to have been *the mansion of some antient Patriarch*, and revered on that account by his posterity; but the room, in which we now are assembled, would contain the whole *Arabian* edifice; and if it were large enough for the dwelling-house of a Patriarchal family, it would seem ill adapted to the pastoral manners of the *Kedarites*: a *Persian* author insists, that the true name of *Meccab* is *Mahcadab*, or the *Temple of the Moon*; but, although we may smile at his etymology, we cannot but think it probable that the *Cábah* was originally designed for religious purposes.

poses. Three couplets are cited in an *Arabick* History of this building, which, from their extreme simplicity, have less appearance of imposture than other verses of the same kind: they are ascribed to ASAD, a *Tobbâ*, or king by *succession*, who is generally allowed to have reigned in *Yemen* an hundred and twenty-eight years before CHRIST'S birth, and they commemorate, without any poetical imagery,\* the magnificence of the prince in covering the holy temple with striped cloth and fine linen, and in making keys for its gate. This temple, however, the sanctity of which was restored by MUHAMMED, had been strangely profaned at the time of his birth, when it was usual to decorate its walls with poems on all subjects, and often on the triumphs of *Arabian* gallantry and the praises of *Grecian* wine, which the merchants of *Syria* brought for sale into the deserts.

FROM the want of materials on the subject of *Arabian* antiquity, we find it very difficult to fix the Chronology of the *Ismaelites* with accuracy beyond the time of ADNAN, from whom the impostor was descended in the *twenty-first* degree; and although we have genealogies of ALKAMAH and other *Himyarick* bards as high as the *thirtieth* degree, or for a period of *nine hundred* years at least, yet we can hardly depend on them so far as to establish a complete chronological system: by reasoning downwards, however, we may ascertain some points of considerable importance. The universal tradition of *Yemen* is, that YOKTAN, the son of EBER, first settled his family in that country; which settlement, by the computation admitted in *Europe*, must have been above *three thousand six hundred* years ago, and nearly at the time when the *Hindus*, under the conduct of RAMA, were subduing the first inhabitants of these regions, and extending the *Indian* empire from *Ayôdhyâ*,

or *Audh*, as far as the isle of *Sinhal* or *Silàn*. According to this calculation, NUUMAN, king of *Yemen*, in the *ninth* generation from EBER, was contemporary with JOSEPH; and if a verse composed by that prince, and quoted by ARULFEDA, was really preserved, as it might easily have been by oral tradition, it proves the great antiquity of the *Arabian* language and metre. This is a literal version of the couplet: ‘When thou, who art in power, conductest affairs with courtesy, thou attainest the high honours of those who are most exalted, and whose mandates are obeyed.’ We are told, that from an elegant verb in this distich the royal poet acquired the surname of *Almuââfer*, or the courteous. Now the reasons for believing this verse genuine, are its brevity, which made it easy to be remembered, and the good sense comprised in it, which made it become proverbial; to which we may add, that the dialect is apparently old, and differs in three words from the idiom of *Hejâz*. The reasons for doubting are, that sentences and verses of indefinite antiquity are sometimes ascribed by the *Arabs* to particular persons of eminence; and they even go so far as to cite a pathetic elegy of ADAM himself on the death of ABEL, but in very good *Arabick* and correct measure. Such are the doubts which necessarily must arise on such a subject, yet we have no need of ancient monuments or traditions to prove all that our analysis requires; namely, that the *Arabs*, both of *Hejâz* and *Yemen*, sprang from a stock entirely different from that of the *Hindus*, and that their first establishments in the respective countries where we now find them, were nearly coeval.

I CANNOT finish this article without observing, that when the king of *Denmark*’s ministers instructed the *Danish* travellers to collect *historical*  
books

books in *Arabick*, but not to busy themselves with procuring *Arabian poems*, they certainly were ignorant that the only monuments of old *Arabian History* are collections of poetical pieces, and the commentaries on them; that all memorable transactions in *Arabia* were recorded in verse; and that more certain facts may be known by reading the *Hamásab*, the *Diwan of Hudbail*, and the valuable work of *Obaidullah*, than by turning over a hundred volumes in prose, unless indeed those poems are cited by the historians as their authorities.

IV. THE manners of the *Héjází Arabs*, which have continued we know from the time of SOLOMON to the present age, where by no means favourable to the cultivation of *arts*; and as to *sciences*, we have no reason to believe that they were acquainted with any; for the mere amusement of giving names to stars, which were useful to them in their pastoral or predatory rambles through the deserts, and in their observations on the weather, can hardly be considered as a material part of astronomy. The only arts in which they pretended to excellence (I except horsemanship and military accomplishments), were *poetry* and *rhetorick*: that we have none of their compositions in prose before the *Korân*, may be ascribed, perhaps, to the little skill which they seem to have had in writing; to their predilection in favour of poetical measure, and to the facility with which verses are committed to memory; but all their stories prove that they were eloquent in a high degree, and possessed wonderful powers of speaking without preparation in flowing and forcible periods. I have never been able to discover what was meant by their book called *Rawásim*, but suppose that they were collections of their common or customary law. Writing was so little practised

practised among them, that their old poems, which are now accessible to us, may almost be considered as originally unwritten; and I am inclined to think, that SAMUEL JOHNSON'S reasoning on the extreme imperfection of unwritten languages, was too general; since a language that is only spoken may nevertheless be highly polished by a people who, like the ancient *Arabs*, make the improvement of their idiom a national concern, appoint solemn assemblies for the purpose of displaying their poetical talents, and hold it a duty to exercise their children in getting by heart their most approved compositions.

THE people of *Yemen* had possibly more *mechanical arts*, and, perhaps, more *science*; but although their ports must have been the emporia of considerable commerce between *Egypt* and *India*, or part of *Persia*, yet we have no certain proofs of their sufficiency in navigation or even in manufactures. That the *Arabs* of the Desert had musical instruments, and names for the different notes, and that they were greatly delighted with melody; we know from themselves; but their lutes and pipes were probably very simple, and their musick, I suspect, was little more than a natural and tuneful recitation of their elegiack verses and love-songs. The singular property of their language in shunning compound words, may be urged, according to BACON'S idea, as a proof that they had made no progress in *arts*, 'which require, says he, a variety of combinations to express the complex notions arising from them;' but the singularity may perhaps be imputed wholly to the genius of the language, and the taste of those who spoke it; since the old *Germans*, who knew no art, appear to have delighted in compound words, which poetry and oratory, one would conceive, might

might require as much as any meaner art whatsoever.

So great on the whole was the strength of parts or capacity, either natural or acquired from habit, for which the *Arabs* were ever distinguished, that we cannot be surpris'd when we see that blaze of genius which they displayed as far as their arms extended; when they burst, like their own dyke of *Arim*, through their ancient limits, and spread, like an inundation, over the great empire of *Iran*. That a race of *Tákis*, or *Courfers*, as the *Persians* call them, who drank the milk of camels and fed on lizards, should entertain a thought of subduing the kingdom of FERIDUN, was considered by the general of YEZDEGIRD'S army as the strongest instance of fortune's levity and mutability; but *Firdausi* a complete master of *Asiatick* manners, and singularly impartial, represents the *Arabs*, even in the age of FERIDUN, as 'disclaiming any kind of dependance on that monarch, exulting in their liberty, delighting in eloquence, acts of liberality, and martial achievements; and thus making the whole earth, says the poet, red as wine with the blood of their foes, and the air like a forest of canes with their tall spears.' With such a character they were likely to conquer any country that they could invade; and if ALEXANDER had invaded their dominions, they would, unquestionably, have made an obstinate, and probably a successful, resistance.

BUT I have detained you too long, Gentlemen, with a nation who have ever been my favourites, and hope, at our next anniversary meeting, to travel with you over a part of *Asia*, which exhibits a race of men distinct both from the *Hindus* and  
from

from the *Arabs*. In the mean time it shall be my care to superintend the publication of your Transactions; in which, if the learned, in *Europe* have not raised their expectations too high, they will not, I believe, be disappointed: my own imperfect essays I always except; but, though my other engagements have prevented my attendance on your Society for the greatest part of last year, and I have set an example of that freedom from restraint, without which no Society can flourish, yet as my few hours of leisure will now be devoted to *Sanscrit* literature, I cannot but hope, though my chief object be a knowledge of *Hindu* law, to make some discovery in other sciences, which I shall impart with humility, and which you will, I doubt not, receive with indulgence.



## D I S S E R T A T I O N V.

O N T H E

## T A R T A R S.

BEING THE FIFTH ANNIVERSARY DISCOURSE  
 DELIVERED TO THE SOCIETY, FEB. 21, 1788.

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**A**T the close of my last address to you, Gentlemen, I declared my design of introducing to your notice a people of *Asia*, who seemed as different in most respects from the *Hindus* and *Arabs*, as those two nations had been shewn to differ from each other; I mean the people whom we call *Tartars*: but I enter with extreme diffidence on my present subject, because I have little knowledge of the *Tartarian* dialects; and the gross errors of *European* writers on *Asiatick* literature have long convinced me, that no satisfactory account can be given of any nation, with whose language we are not perfectly acquainted. Such evidence, however, as I have procured by attentive reading and scrupulous inquiries, I will now lay before you, interspersing such remarks as I could not but make on that evidence, and submitting the whole to your impartial decision.

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CONFORMABLY to the method before adopted in describing *Arabia* and *India*, I consider *Tartary* also, for the purpose of this discourse, on its most extensive scale, and request your attention whilst I trace the largest boundaries that are assignable to it. Conceive a line drawn from the mouth of the *Oby* to that of the *Dnieper*, and, bringing it back eastward cross the *Euxine*, so as to include the peninsula of *Krim*, extend it along the foot of *Caucasus*, by the rivers *Cur* and *Aras*, to the *Caspian* lake, from the opposite shore of which, follow the course of the *Jaihún* and the chain of *Caucasian* hills as far as those of *Imaus*; whence continue the line beyond the *Chinese* wall to the *White Mountain* and the country of *Yesso*; skirting the borders of *Persia*, *India*, *China*, *Corea*, but including part of *Russia*, with all the districts which lie between the *Glacial* sea and that of *Japan*. M. DE GUIGNES, whose great work on the *Huns* abounds more in solid learning than in rhetorical ornaments; presents us, however, with a magnificent image of this wide region; describing it as a stupendous edifice, the beams and pillars of which are many ranges of lofty hills, and the dome, one prodigious mountain, to which the *Chinese* give the epithet of *celestial*, with a considerable number of broad rivers flowing down its sides. If the mansion be so amazingly sublime, the land around it is proportionably extended, but more wonderfully diversified; for some parts of it are incrustated with ice, others parched with inflamed air, and covered with a kind of lava; here we meet with immense tracts of sandy deserts and forest almost impenetrable; there, with gardens, groves, and meadows, perfumed with musks, watered by numberless rivulets, and abounding in fruits and flowers; and from east to west lie many considerable provinces, which appear as valleys in

in comparison of the hills towering above them, but in truth are the flat summits of the highest mountains in the world, or at least the highest in *Asia*. Near one fourth in latitude of this extraordinary region is in the same charming climate with *Greece, Italy, and Provence*; and another fourth in that of *England, Germany, and the northern parts of France*; but the *Hyperborean* countries can have few beauties to recommend them, at least in the present state of the earth's temperature; to the south, on the frontiers of *Iran* are the beautiful vales of *Soghd*, with the celebrated cities of *Samarkand* and *Bokhârâ*; on those of *Tibet* are the territories of *Cashghar, Khoten, Chegil, and Khâtâ*, all famed for perfumes, and for the beauty of their inhabitants; and on those of *China* lies the country of *Chin*, anciently a powerful kingdom; which name, like that of *Khâtâ*, has in modern times been given to the whole *Chinese* empire, where such an appellation would be thought an insult. We must not omit the fine territory of *Tancût*, which was known to the *Greeks* by the name of *Suica*, and considered by them as the farthest eastern extremity of the habitable globe.

SCYTHIA seems to be the general name which the ancient *Europeans* gave to as much as they knew of the country thus bounded and described; but, whether that word be derived, as *PLINY* seems to intimate, from *Sacai*, a people known by a similar name to the *Greeks* and *Persians*; or, as *BRYANT* imagines, from *Cuthia*; or, as *Colonel VALLANCEY* believes, from words denoting *navigation*; or, as it might have been supposed, from a *Greek* root implying *wrath* and *ferocity*; this at least is certain, that as *India, China, Persia, Japan*, are not appellations of those countries in the languages of the nations who inhabit them, so neither *Scythia* nor *Tartary* are names by which the inhabitants of the

the country now under our consideration have ever distinguished themselves. *Tátáristán* is, indeed, a word used by the *Persians* for the south-western part of *Scythia*, where the musk-deer is said to be common; and the name *Tátár* is by some considered as that of a particular tribe; by others, as that of a small river only; while *Túràn*, as opposed to *Iràn*, seems to mean the ancient dominion of *Afrásíáb* to the north and east of the *Oxus*. There is nothing more idle than a debate concerning the names, which after all are of little consequence, when our ideas are distinct without them. Having given, therefore, a correct notion of the country which I propose to examine, I shall not scruple to call it by the general name of *Tartary*, though I am conscious of using a term equally improper in the pronunciation and the application of it.

TARTARY then, which contained, according to *PLINY*, an innumerable multitude of nations, by whom the rest of *Asia* and all *Europe* has in different ages been over-run, is denominated, as various images have presented themselves to various fancies, the great hive of the northern swarms, the nursery of irresistible legions, and, by a stronger metaphor, the foundery of the human race; but *M. BAILLY*, a wonderful ingenious man, and a very lively writer, seems first to have considered it as the cradle of our species, and to have supported an opinion, that the whole ancient world was enlightened by sciences brought from the most northern parts of *Scythia*, particularly from the barks of the *Jenisea*, or from the *Hyperborean* regions: all the fables of old *Greece*, *Italy*, *Persia*; *India*, he derives from the north; and it must be owned, that he maintains his paradox with acuteness and learning. Great learning and great acuteness, together with the charms of a most engaging style, were

were indeed necessary to render even tolerable a system which places an earthly paradise, the gardens of *Hesperus*, the islands of the *Macæres*, the groves of *Élysium* if not of *Eden*, the heaven of INDIA, the *Peristún*, or fairy-land of the *Persian* poets, with its city of diamonds and its country of *Shádçàm*, so named from *Pleasure* and *Love*, not in any climate which the common sense of mankind considers as the seat of delights, but beyond the mouth of the *Oby* in the Frozen Sea, in a region equalled only by that, where the wild imagination of DANTE led him to fix the worst of criminals in a state of punishment after death, and of which he could not, he says, even think without shivering. A very curious passage in a tract of PLUTARCH on the figure in the moon's orb, naturally induced M. BAILLY to place *Ogygia* in the north, and he concludes that island, as others have concluded rather fallaciously, to be the Atlantis of PLATO, but is at a loss to determine, whether it was *Iceland* or *Greenland*, *Spitzberg* or *New Zembla*. Among so many charms, it was difficult, indeed, to give a preference; but our philosopher, though as much perplexed by an option of beauties as the shepherd of *Ida*, seems, on the whole, to think *Zembla* the most worthy of the golden fruit; because it is indisputably an island, and lies opposite to a gulph near the Continent, from which a great number of rivers descend into the ocean.

HE appears equally distressed among five nations, real and imaginary, to fix upon that which the *Greeks* named *Atlantes*; and his conclusion in both cases must remind us of the Showman at *Eton*, who, having pointed out in his box all the crowned heads of the world, and being asked by the school-boys, who looked through the glass, which was the Emperor, which the Pope, which  
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the Sultan, and which the Great Mogul, answered eagerly, "Which you please, young gentlemen, which you please." His letters, however, to VOLTAIRE, in which he unfolds his new system to his friend, whom he had not been able to convince, are by no means to be derided; and his general proposition, that arts and sciences had their source in *Tartary*, deserves a longer examination than can be given to it in this Discourse: I shall, nevertheless, with your permission, shortly discuss the question under the several heads that will present themselves in order.

ALTHOUGH we may naturally suppose, that the numberless communities of *Tartars*, some of whom are established in great cities, and some encamped on plains in ambulatory mansions, which they remove from pasture to pasture, must be as different in their features as in their dialects, yet among those who have not emigrated into another country, and mixed with another nation, we may discern a family likeness, especially in their eyes and countenance, and in that configuration of lineaments which we generally call a *Tartar* face; but, without making anxious inquiries, whether all the inhabitants of the vast region before described have similar features, we may conclude, from those whom we have seen, and from the original portraits of TAÍMU'R and his descendants, that the *Tartars*, in general, differ wholly in complexion and countenance from the *Hindus* and from the *Arabs*; an observation, which tends in some degree to confirm the account given by modern *Tartars* themselves, of their descent from a common ancestor. Unhappily their lineage cannot be proved by authentick pedigrees or historical monuments; for all their writings extant, even those in the *Mogul* dialect, are long subsequent to the time of MUHAMMED; nor is it possible to distinguish  
their

their genuine traditions from those of the *Arabs*, whose religious opinions they have in general adopted. At the beginning of the fourteenth century, *Khwájah*, surnamed *FAD'LU'LLAH*, a native of *Kázvin*, compiled his account of the *Tartars* and *Mongals* from the papers of one *PUL'A'D*, whom the great-grandson of *HOLACU'* had sent into *Tátáristán* for the sole purpose of collecting historical information; and the commission itself shews, how little the *Tartarian* Princes really knew of their own origin. From this work of *RASHÍ'D*, and from other materials, *ABU'LGHA'ZÍ*, King of *Khwárezm*, composed in the *Mogul* language his Genealogical History, which having been purchased from a merchant at *Bokhárá* by some *Swedish* officers, prisoners of war in *Siberia*, has found its way into several *European* tongues: it contains much valuable matter, but, like all *MUHAMMEDAN* histories, exhibits tribes or nations as individual sovereigns; and if *Baron DE TOTT* had not strangely neglected to procure a copy of the *Tartarian* history, for the original of which he unnecessarily offered a large sum, we should probably have found, that it begins with an account of the *Deluge*, taken from the *Korán*, and proceeds to rank *TURC*, *CHÍN*, *TARTA'R*, and *MONGAL*, among the sons of *YAFET*. The genuine traditional history of the *Tartars*, in all the books that I have inspected, seems to begin with *OGHU'Z*, as that of the *Hindus* does with *RA'MA*: they place their miraculous Hero and Patriarch four thousand years before *CHENCIZ KHÁN*, who was born in the year 1164, and with whose reign their historical period commences. It is rather surprising, that *M. BAILLY*, who makes frequent appeals to Etymological arguments has not derived *OGYGES* from *OGHU'Z*, and *ATLAS* from *Altai*, or the Golden Mountain

of

of *Tartary*: the *Greek* terminations might have been rejected from both words; and a mere transposition of letters is no difficulty with an Etymologist.

MY remarks in this address, Gentlemen, will be confined to the period preceding CHENGIZ; and although the learned labours of M. DE GUIGNES, and the Fathers VISDELOU, DEMAILLA, and GAUBIL, who have made an incomparable use of their *Chinese literature*, exhibit probable accounts of the *Tartars* from a very early age, yet the old historians of *China* were not only foreign, but generally hostile, to them; and for both those reasons, either through ignorance or malignity, may be suspected of misrepresenting their transactions: if they speak truth, the ancient history of the *Tartars* presents us, like most other histories, with a series of assassinations, plots, treasons, massacres, and all the natural fruits of selfish ambition. I should have no inclination to give you a sketch of such horrors, even if the occasion called for it; and will barely observe, that the first King of the *Hybunnús*, or *Huns*, began his reign, according to VISDELOU, about three thousand five hundred and sixty years ago, not long after the time fixed in my former Discourses for the first regular establishment of the *Hindús* and *Arabs* in their several countries.

I. OUR first inquiry, concerning the languages and letters of the *Tartars*, presents us with a deplorable void, or with a prospect as barren and dreary as that of their deserts. The *Tartars*, in general, had no literature (in this point all authorities appear to concur); the *Turks* had no letters; the *Huns*, according to PROCOPIUS, had not even heard of them; the magnificent CHENGIZ, whose empire included an area of near eighty square degrees, could find none of his own MONGALS, as the



the best authors inform us, able to write his dispatches ; and TAI'MU'R, a savage of strong natural parts, and passionately fond of hearing histories read to him, could himself neither write nor read. It is true, that IBNU ARABSHA'H mentions a set of characters, called *Dilberjîn*, which were used in *Khâtà* : " he had seen them," he says, " and found them to consist of forty-one letters, a distinct symbol being appropriated to each long and short vowel, and to each consonant hard or soft, or otherwise varied in pronunciation : " but *Khâtà* was in southern *Tartary*, on the confines of *India* : and, from his description of the characters there in use, we cannot but suspect them to have been those of *Tibet*, which are manifestly *Indian*, bearing a greater resemblance to those of *Bengal* than to *Dîvanâgari*. The learned and eloquent *Arab* adds, " that the *Tâtars* of *Khâtà* write in the *Dilberjîn* letters all their tales and histories ; their journals, poems, and miscellanies ; their diplomas, records of state and justice, the laws of CHENGIZ, their publick registers, and their compositions of every species." If this be true, the people of *Khâtà* must have been a polished and even a lettered nation ; and it may be true, without affecting the general position, that the *Tartars* were illiterate ; but IBNU ARABSHA'H was a professed rhetorician, and it is impossible to read the original passage, without full conviction that his object in writing it was to display his power of words in a flowing and modulated period. He says further, that in *Jaghataë*, the people of *Oïghûr*, as he calls them, have a system of fourteen letters only, denominated from themselves. *Oïghûrî* ; and those are the characters which the *Mongals* are supposed by some authors, to have borrowed. *Abûlg'hazi* tells us only, that CHENGIZ employed the natives of *Eïghûr* as excellent penmen,

penmen, but the *Chinese* assert that he was forced to employ them, because he had no writers at all among his natural-born subjects; and we are assured by many, that KUBLAIKHA'N ordered letters to be invented for his nation by a *Tibetian*, whom he rewarded with the dignity of Chief *Lama*. The small number of *Eighuri* letters might induce us to believe, that they were *Zend* or *Pahlavi*, which must have been current in that country, when it was governed by the sons of FERIDUN; and if the alphabet ascribed to the *Eighurians* by M. DES HAUTESRAYES be correct, we may safely decide, that in many of its letters it resembles both the *Zend* and the *Syriack*, with a remarkable difference in the mode of connecting them; but, as we can scarce hope to see a genuine specimen of them, our doubt must remain in regard to their form and origin. The page exhibited by HYDE as *Khatayan* writing, is evidently a sort of broken *Cusick*; and the fine manuscript at *Oxford*, from which it was taken, is more probably a *Mendeian* work on some religious subject, than, as he imagined, a code of *Tartarian* laws. That very learned man appears to have made a worse mistake in giving us for *Mongal* characters a page of writing, which has the appearance of *Japanese* or mutilated *Chinese* letters.

If the *Tartars* in general, as we have every reason to believe, had no written memorials, it cannot be thought wonderful, that their languages, like those of *America*, should have been in perpetual fluctuation, and that more than fifty dialects, as HYDE had been credibly informed, should be spoken between *Moscow* and *China*, by the many kindred tribes, or their several branches, which are enumerated by ABU'LGHAZI'. What those dialects are, and whether they really sprang from a common stock, we shall probably learn from

Mr.

Mr. PALLAS, and other indefatigable men employed by the *Russian Court*; and it is from the *Russians* that we must expect the most accurate information concerning their *Asiatick* subjects. I persuade myself, that if their inquiries be judiciously made and faithfully reported, the result of them will prove, that all the languages properly *Tartarian* arose from one common source; excepting always the jargons of such wanderers or mountaineers, as, having long been divided from the main body of the nation, must in a course of ages have framed separate idioms for themselves. The only *Tartarian* language of which I have any knowledge is, the *Turkish* of *Constantinople*, which is, however, so copious, that whoever shall know it perfectly, will easily understand, as we are assured by intelligent authors, the dialects of *Tátáristán*; and we may collect from ABU'LGHA'ZI, that he would find little difficulty in the *Calmac* and the *Mogul*. I will not offend your ears by a dry catalogue of similar words in those different languages; but a careful investigation has convinced me, that as the *Indian* and *Arabian* tongues are severally descended from a common parent, so those of *Tartary* might be traced to one ancient stem, essentially differing from the two others. It appears indeed, from a story told by ABU'LGHA'ZI, that *Viràts* and the *Mongals* could not understand each other; but no more, can the *Danes* and the *English*, yet their dialects beyond a doubt, are branches of the same *Gothick tree*. The dialect of the *Moguls*, in which some histories of TAI'MUR and his descendants were originally composed, is called in *India*, where a learned native set me right when I used another word, *Turci*; not that it is precisely the same with the *Turkish* of the *Othmánkús*, but the two idioms differ, perhaps, less than *Swedish* and *German*; or *Spanish* and *Portu-*

*tugese*, and certainly less than *Welsh* and *Irish*. In hope of ascertaining this point, I have long searched in vain for the original works ascribed to TAIMUR and BABER; but all the *Moguls* with whom I have conversed in this country, resemble the crow in one of their popular fables, who, having long affected to walk like a pheasant, was unable after all to acquire the gracefulness of that elegant bird, and in the mean time unlearned his own natural gait: they have not learned the dialect of *Persia*, but have wholly forgotten that of their ancestors.

A VERY considerable part of the old *Tartarian* language, which in *Asia* would probably have been lost, is happily preserved in *Europe*; and if the ground-work of the *Western Turkish*, when separated from the *Persian* and *Arabick*, with which it is embellished, be a branch of the lost *Oghúzian* tongue, I can assert with confidence, that it has not the least resemblance either to *Arabick* or *Sanscrit*, and must have been invented by a race of men wholly distinct from the *Arabs* or *Hindus*. This fact alone oversets the system of M. BAILLY, who considers the *Sanscrit*, of which he gives in several places a most erroneous account, as a fine monument of his primeval *Scythians*, the preceptors of mankind, and planters of a sublime philosophy even in *India*; for he holds it an incontestible truth, that a language which is dead, supposes a nation which is destroyed; and he seems to think such reasoning perfectly decisive of the question, without having recourse to astronomical arguments, or the spirit of ancient institutions: for my part, I desire no better proof than that which the language of the BRAHMANS affords, of an immemorial and total difference between the Savages of the mountains, as the old *Chinese* justly called the *Tartars*, and the studious, placid,

placid, contemplative inhabitants of these *Indian* plains.

II. THE geographical reasoning of M. BAILLY may, perhaps, be thought equally shallow, if not inconsistent in some degree with itself. "An adoration of the Sun and of the Fire, says he, must necessarily have arisen in a cold region; therefore, it must have been foreign to *India*, *Persia*, *Arabia*; therefore it must have been derived from *Tartary*." No man, I believe, who has travelled in winter through *Bahâr*, or has even passed a cold season at *Calcutta*, within the tropick, can doubt that the solar warmth is often desirable by all, and might have been considered as adorable by the ignorant, in these climates; or that the return of spring deserves all the salutations which it receives from the *Persian* and *Indian* poets; not to rely on certain historical evidence, that ANTARAH, a celebrated warrior and bard actually perished with cold on a mountain of *Arabia*. To meet, however, an objection, which might naturally be made to the voluntary settlement, and amazing population, of his primitive race in the icy regions of the north, he takes refuge in the hypothesis of M. BUFFON, who imagines that our whole globe was at first of a white heat, and has been gradually cooling from the poles to the equator; so that the *Hyperborean* countries had once a delightful temperature, and *Siberia* itself was even hotter than the climate of our temperate zones, that is, was in too hot a climate, by his first proposition, for the primary worship of the sun. That the temperature of countries has not sustained a change in the lapse of ages, I will by no means insist; but we can hardly reason conclusively from a variation of temperature to the cultivation and diffusion of science. If as many female elephants and tygresses as we now find in *Bengal* had formerly littered in the *Siberian* forests,

forests, and if their young, as the earth cooled, had sought a genial warmth in the climates of the south, it would not follow that other savages, who migrated in the same direction, and on the same account, brought religion and philosophy, language and writing, art and science, into the southern latitudes.

WE are told by ABU'LGHA'ZI', that the primitive religion of human creatures, or the pure adoration of One Creator, prevailed in *Tartary* during the first generations from YA'FET, but was extinct before the birth of OGHU'Z, who restored it in his dominions; that, some ages after him, the *Mongals* and the *Turcs* relapsed into gross idolatry; but that CHENGIZ was a Theist, and, in a conversation with the *Muhammedan* Doctors, admitted their arguments for the being and attributes of the Deity to be unanswerable, while he contested the evidence of their Prophet's legation. From old *Grecian* authorities we learn, that the *Mussagetæ* worshipped the Sun; and the narrative of an embassy from JUSTIN to the KHAKA'N, or Emperor, who then resided in a fine vale near the source of the *Irish*, mentions the *Tartarian* ceremony of purifying the *Roman Ambassadors*, by conducting them between two fires. The *Tartars* of that age are represented as adorers of the four elements, and believers in an invisible spirit, to whom they sacrificed bulls and rams. Modern travellers relate, that, in the festivals of some *Tartarian* tribes, they pour a few drops of a consecrated liquor on the statues of their Gods; after which an attendant sprinkles a little of what remains three times towards the south in honour of fire, towards the west and east in honour of water and air, and as often towards the north in honour of the earth, which contained the reliques of their deceased ancestors: now all this may be very true, without proving

proving a national affinity between the *Tartars* and *Hindus*; for the *Arabs* adored the planets and the powers of nature; the *Arabs* had carved images, and made libations on a black stone; the *Arabs* turned in prayer to different quarters of the heavens; yet we know with certainty, that the *Arabs* are a distinct race from the *Tartars*; and we might as well infer, that they were the same people, because they had each his *Nomades*, or wanderers for pasture; and because the *Turcmans*, described by IBNU ARABSHA'H, and by him called *Tátárs*, are like most *Arabian* tribes, pastoral and warlike, hospitable and generous, wintering and summering on different plains, and rich in herds and flocks, horses and camels; but this agreement in manners proceeds from the similar nature of their several deserts, and their similar choice of a free rambling life, without evincing a community of origin, which they could scarce have had without preserving some remnant at least of a common language.

MANY LAMAS, we are assured, or Priests of BUDDHA, have been found settled in *Siberia*; but it can hardly be doubted, that the *Lamas* had travelled thither from *Tibet*, whence it is more than probable, that the religion of the *Buddha's* was imported into Southern *Chinese Tartary*; since we know, that rolls of *Tibetan* writing have been brought even from the borders of the *Caspian*. The complexion of BUDDHA himself, which, according to the *Hindus*, was between white and ruddy, would perhaps have convinced M. BAILLY, had he known the *Indian* tradition, that the last great legislator and God of the East was a *Tartar*; but the *Chinese* consider him as a native of *India*; the *Bráhmims* insist, that he was born in a forest near *Gayá*; and many reasons may lead us to suspect, that his religion was carried from the west and

and the south to those eastern and northern countries, in which it prevails. On the whole, we meet with few or no traces in *Scythia* of *Indian* rites and superstitions, or of that poetical mythology with which the *Sanscrit* poems are decorated; and we may allow the *Tartars* to have adored the Sun with more reason than any southern people, without admitting them to have been the sole original inventors of that universal folly: we may even doubt the originality of their veneration for the four elements, which forms a principal part of the ritual introduced by ZERA'TUSHT, a native of *Rai* in *Persia*, born in the reign of GUSHTASE, whose son PASHU'TEN is believed by the *Pársi's* to have resided long in *Tartary*, at a place called *Cangidir*, where a magnificent palace is said to have been built by the father of CYRUS, and where the *Persian* prince, who was a zealot in the new faith, would naturally have disseminated its tenets among the neighbouring *Tartars*.

OF any philosophy, except natural ethicks, which the rudest society requires and experience teaches, we find no more vestiges in *Asiatick*, *Tartary* and *Scythia*, than in ancient *Arabia*; nor would the name of a philosopher and a *Scythian* have been ever connected if *Anacharsis* had not visited *Athens* and *Lydia* for that instruction which his birth-place could not have afforded him. But ANACHARSIS was the son of a *Grecian* woman, who had taught him her language, and he soon learned to despise his own. He was unquestionably a man of a sound understanding and fine parts; and among the lively sayings which gained him the reputation of a wit even in *Greece*, it is related by DIOGENES LAERTIUS, that when an *Athenian* reproached him with being a *Scythian*, he answered, 'My country is indeed a disgrace to me, but thou art a disgrace to thy country.'

What



What his country was in regard to manners and civil duties, we may learn from his fate in it; for when, on his return from *Athens*, he attempted to reform it by intruding the wise laws of his friend SOLON, he was killed in a hunting party with an arrow shot by his own brother, a *Scythian* chieftain. Such was the philosophy of M. BAILLY's ATLANTES, the first and most enlightened of nations! We are assured, however, by the learned author of the *Dabistán*, that the *Tartars* under CHENGIZ and his descendants were lovers of truth; and would not even preserve their lives by a violation of it. DE GUIGES ascribes the same veracity, the parent of all virtues, to the *Huns*; and STRABO, who might only mean to lash the *Greeks* by praising *Barbarians* as HORACE extolled the wandering *Scythians*, merely to satirize his luxurious countrymen, informs us, that the nations of *Scythia* deserved the praise due to wisdom, heroick friendship, and justice: and this praise we may readily allow them on his authority, without supposing them to have been the preceptors of mankind.

As to the laws of ZAMOLXIS, concerning whom we know as little as of the *Scythian* DEUCALION, or of ABARIS the *Hyperborean*, and to whose story even HERODOTUS gave no credit, I lament for many reasons, that if ever they existed they have not been preserved: it is certain that a system of laws, called *Tásác*, has been celebrated in *Tartary* since the time of CHENGIZ, who is said to have republished them in his empire, as his institutions were afterwards adopted and enforced by TAIMÚR; but they seem to have been a common or traditional law, and were probably not reduced into writing till CHENGIZ had conquered a nation who were able to write.

III. HAD the religious opinions and allegorical fables of the *Hindus* been actually borrowed from *Scythia*, travellers must have discovered in that country some antient monuments of them, such as pieces of grotesque sculpture, images of the Gods and *Avatárs*, and inscriptions on pillars or in caverns, analogous to those which remain in every part of the western peninsula, or to those which many of us have seen in *Behar* and at *Banáras*; but (except a few detached idols) the only great monuments of *Tartarian* antiquity are a line of ramparts on the west and east of the *Caspian*; ascribed indeed by ignorant *Muselmans* to YA'JU'J and MÁJÚJ, or *Gog and Magog*, that is to the *Scythians*, but manifestly raised by a very different nation, in order to stop their predatory inroads through the passes of *Caucasus*. The *Chinese* wall was built or finished on a similar construction, and for a similar purpose, by an Emperor who died only two hundred and ten years before the beginning of our era; and the other mounds were very probably constructed by the old *Persians*, though, like many works of unknown origin, they are given to SECANDER: not the *Macedonian*, but a more ancient hero, supposed by some to have been *Jemishid*. It is related, that pyramids and tombs have been found in *Tátáristán*, or *Western Scythia*, and some remnants of edifices in the lake *Saisan*; that vestiges of a deserted city have been recently discovered by the *Russians* near the *Caspian* sea, and the *Mountain of Eagles*; and that golden ornaments and utensils, figures of elk and other quadrupeds in metal, weapons of various kinds, and even implements for mining, but made of copper instead of iron, have been dug up in the country of the *Tshúdès*; whence M. BAILLY infers, with great reason, the high antiquity of that people; but the high antiquity of the *Tartars*, and their

their establishment in that country near four thousand years ago, no man disputes; we are enquiring into their ancient religion and philosophy, which neither ornaments of gold, nor tools of copper, will prove to have had an affinity with the religious rites and the sciences of *India*. The golden utensils might possibly have been fabricated by the *Tartars* themselves; but it is possible too that they were carried from *Rome* or from *China*, whence occasional embassies were sent to the Kings of *Eighur*. Towards the end of the tenth century, the *Chinese* Emperor dispatched an ambassador to a prince named *ERSLA'N*, which, in the *Turkish* of *Constantinople*, signifies a lion, who resided near the Golden Mountain, in the same station, perhaps, where the *Romans* had been received in the middle of the sixth century. The *Chinese* on his return home reported the *Eighuris* to be a grave people, with fair complexions, diligent workmen, and ingenious artificers, not only in gold, silver, and iron, but in jasper and fine stones; and the *Romans* had before described their magnificent reception in a rich palace adorned with *Chinese* manufactures: but these times were comparatively modern; and even if we should admit that the *Eighuris*, who are said to have been governed for a period of two thousand years by an *I'decut*, or sovereign of their own race, were, in some very early age, a literary and polished nation, it would prove nothing in favour of the *Huns*, *Tures*, *Mongals*, and other savages to the north of *Pekin*, who seem in all ages, before *MUHAMMED*, to have been equally ferocious and illiterate.

WITHOUT actual inspection of the manuscripts that have been found near the *Caspian*, it would be impossible to give a correct opinion concerning them; but one of them, described as written on blue silky paper in letters of gold and silver,  
not

not unlike *Hebrew*, was probably a *Tibetian* composition of the same kind with that which lay near the source of the *Irtish*, and of which *COSIANO*, I believe, made the first accurate version. Another, if we may judge from the description of it, was probably modern *Turkish*; and none of them could have been of great antiquity.

IV. FROM ancient monuments, therefore, we have no proof that the *Tartars* were themselves well instructed, much less that they instructed the world; nor have we any stronger reason to conclude from their general manners and character, that they had made an early proficiency in arts and sciences: even of poetry, the most universal and most natural of the fine arts, we find no genuine specimens ascribed to them, except some horrible war-songs, expressed in *Persian* by *ALI OF YEZD*, and possibly invented by him. After the conquest of *Persia* by the *Mongals*, their princes, indeed, encouraged learning, and even made astronomical observations at *Samarkand*; and, as the *Turks*, became polished by mixing with the *Persians* and *Arabs*, though their very nature, as one of their own writers confesses, had before been like an incurable distemper, and their minds clouded with ignorance. Thus also the *Mancheu* monarchs of *China* have been patrons of the learned and ingenious; and the Emperor *TIENLONG* is, if he be now living, a fine *Chinese* poet. In all these instances the *Tartars* have resembled the *Romans*; who, before they had subdued *Greece*, were little better than tigers in war, and *Fauns* or *Sylvans* in science and art.

BEFORE I left *Europe*, I had insisted, in conversation, that the *Tuzuc*, translated by Major *DAVY*, was never written by *TAIMUR* himself, at least not as *CÆSAR* wrote his *Commentaries*, for one very plain reason, That no *Tartarian* king of his  
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age could write at all; and in support of my opinion I had cited IBNU ARABSHA'H, who, though justly hostile to the savage by whom his native city *Damascus* had been ruined, yet praises his talents and the real greatness of his mind, but adds, "He was wholly illiterate; he neither read nor wrote any thing; and he knew nothing of *Arabick*, though of *Persian*, *Turkish*, and the *Mogul* dialect he knew as much as was sufficient for his purpose, and no more: he used with pleasure to hear histories read to him, and so frequently heard the same book, that he was able by memory to correct an inaccurate reader." This passage had no effect on the translator, whom great and learned men in *India* had assured, it seems, that the work was authentic; by which he means composed by the conqueror himself: but the great in this country might have been unlearned, or the learned might not have been great enough to answer any leading question in a manner that opposed the declared inclination of a *British* inquirer; and in either case, since no witnesses are named, so general a reference to them will hardly be thought conclusive evidence. On my part I will name a *Muselman*, whom we all know, and who has enough both of greatness and of learning to decide the question both impartially and satisfactorily: the *Nawwâb* MOZUFFER JUNG informed me of his own accord, that no man of sense in *Hindustân* believed the work to have been composed by TAIMUR, but that his favourite, surnamed HINDU SHA'H, was known to have written that book and others ascribed to his patron, after many confidential discourses with the *Emîr*, and perhaps nearly in the Prince's words as well as in his person; a story which ALI OF YEZD, who attended the court of TAIMUR, and has given us a flowery panegyrick instead of a history, renders

renders highly probable, by confirming the latter part of the *Arabian* account, and by total silence as to the literary productions of his master. It is true, that a very ingenious, but indigent, native, whom DAVY supported, has given me a written memorial on the subject, in which he mentions TAIMU'R as the author of two works in TURKISH; but the credit of his information is overset by a strange apocryphal story of a king of *Yemen* who invaded, he says, the *Emir's* dominions, and in whose library the manuscript was afterwards found, and translated by order of *Alisbir*, first minister of TAIMU'R's grandson; and Major DAVY himself, before he departed from *Bengal*, told me, that he was greatly perplexed by finding in a very accurate and old copy of the *Tuzuc*, which he designed to republish with considerable additions, a particular account written, unquestionably, by TAIMU'R of his own death. No evidence, therefore, has been adduced to shake my opinion, that the *Moguls* and *Tartars*, before their conquest of *India* and *Persia*, were wholly unlettered; although it may be possible that, even without art or science, they had, like the *Huns*, both warriors and law givers in their own country some centuries before the birth of CHRIST.

If learning was ever anciently cultivated in the regions to the north of *India*, the seats of it, I have reason to suspect, must have been *Eighur*, *Cashghar*, *Khatà*, *Chin*, *Tancut*, and other countries of *Chinese Tartary*, which lie between the thirty-fifth and forty-fifth degrees of northern latitude; but I shall, in another Discourse, produce my reasons for supposing that those very countries were peopled by a race allied to the *Hindus*, or enlightened at least by their vicinity to *India* and *China*; yet in *Tancut*, which by some is annexed to *Tibet*, and even among its old inhabitants, the  
Seres,

*Serés*, we have no certain accounts of uncommon talents or great improvements: they were famed, indeed, for the faithful discharge of moral duties, for a pacifick disposition, and for that longevity which is often the reward of patient virtues and a calm temper; but they are said to have been wholly indifferent, in former ages, to the elegant arts, and even to commerce; though FADLU'LEAH had been informed, that, near the close of the thirteenth century, many branches of natural philosophy were cultivated in *Cam-chew*, then the metropolis of *Serica*.

WE may readily believe those who assure us that some tribes of wandering *Tartars* had real skill in applying herbs and minerals to the purposes of medicine, and pretended to skill in magic; but the general character of their nation seems to have been this: they were professed hunters or fishers, dwelling on that account in forests or near great rivers, under huts or rude tents, or in wag-gons drawn by their cattle from station to station; they were dextrous archers, excellent horsemen, bold combatants, appearing often to flee in disorder for the sake of renewing their attack with advantage; drinking the milk of mares and eating the flesh of colts; and thus in many respects resembling the old *Arabs*, but in nothing more than in their love of intoxicating liquors, and in nothing less than in a taste for poetry and the improvement of their language.

THUS has it been proved, and in my humble opinion, beyond controversy, that the far greater part of *Asia* has been peopled, and immemorially possessed, by three considerable nations, whom, for want of better names, we may call *Hindus*, *Arabs*, and *Tartars*; each of them divided and subdivided into an infinite number of branches, and all of them so different in form and features, language, man-  
ners,

ners, and religion, that if they sprang originally from a common root, they must have been separated for ages : whether more than three primitive stocks can be found, or, in other words, whether the *Chinese*, *Japanese*, and *Persians*, are entirely distinct from them, or formed by their intermixture, I shall hereafter, if your indulgence to me continue, diligently inquire. To what conclusions those inquiries will lead, I cannot yet clearly discern ; but if they lead to truth, we shall not regret our journey through this dark region of ancient history, in which, while we proceed step by step, and follow every glimmering of certain light that presents itself, we must beware of those false rays and luminous vapours which mislead *Asiatick* travellers by an appearance of water, but are found, on a near approach, to be deserts of sand.



DISSERTATION VI.

ON THE

P E R S I A N S.

BEING THE SIXTH ANNIVERSARY DISCOURSE  
DELIVERED TO THE SOCIETY, FEB. 19, 1789.

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GENTLEMEN,

**I** TURN with delight from the vast mountains and barren deserts of *Túràn* over which we travelled last year with no perfect knowledge of our course, and request you now to accompany me on a literary journey through one of the most celebrated and most beautiful countries in the world; a country, the history and languages of which, both ancient and modern, I have long attentively studied, and on which I may without arrogance promise you more positive information, than I could possibly procure on a nation so disunited and so unlettered as the *Tartars*: I mean that which *Europeans* improperly call *Persia*, the name of a single province being applied to the whole Empire of *Iràn*, as it is correctly denominated by

the present natives of it, and by all the learned *Muselmans* who reside in these *British* territories. To give you an idea of its largest boundaries, agreeably to my former mode of describing *India*, *Arabia*, and *Tartary*, between which it lies, let us begin with the source of the great *Assyrian* stream *Euphrates*, (as the *Greeks*, according to their custom, were pleased to miscall the *Forat*) and thence descend to its mouth in the *Green Sea*, or *Persian Gulf*, including in our line some considerable districts and towns on both sides of the river; then coasting *Persia* properly so named, and other *Iranian* provinces, we come to the Delta of the *Sindhu* or *Indus*; whence ascending to the mountains of *Cashghar*, we discover its mountains and those of the *Jaihùn*, down which we are conducted to the *Caspian*, which formerly perhaps it entered, though it lose itself now in the sands and lakes of *Khvárezm*: we next are led from the sea of *Khozar*, by the banks of the *Cur*, or *Cyrus*, and along the *Caucasian* ridges, to the shore of the *Euxine*, and thence by several *Grecian* seas, to the point, whence we took our departure, at no considerable distance from the *Mediterranean*. We cannot but include the Lower *Asia* within this outline, because it was unquestionably a part of the *Persian*, if not of the old *Assyrian* Empire; for we know that it was under the dominion of *CAIKHÓUSRAU*; and *DIODORUS*, we find, asserts, that the kingdom of *Troas* was dependent on *Assyria*, since *PRIAM* implored and obtained succours from the Emperor *TEUTAMES*, whose name approaches nearer to *TAHMURAS*, than to that of any other *Assyrian* Monarch. Thus may we look on *Iran* as the noblest island (for so the *Greeks* and *Arabs* would have called it), or at least as the noblest peninsula, on this habitable globe; and if *M. BAILLY* had fixed

on it as the Atlantis of PLATO, he might have supported his opinion with far stronger arguments than any that he has adduced in favour of *New Zembla*. If the account, indeed, of the Atlantes be not purely an *Egyptian* or an *Utopian* fable, I should be more inclined to place them in *Iran*, than in any region with which I am acquainted.

It may seem strange, that the ancient history of so distinguished an Empire should be yet so imperfectly known; but very satisfactory reasons may be assigned for our ignorance of it: the principal of them are, the superficial knowledge of the *Greeks* and *Jews*, and the loss of *Persian* archives or historical compositions. That the *Grecian* writers, before XENOPHON, had no acquaintance with *Persia*, and that all their accounts of it are wholly fabulous, is a paradox too extravagant to be seriously maintained; but their connection with it in war or peace had, indeed, been generally confined to bordering kingdoms, under feudatory princes; and the first *Persian* Emperor whose life and character they seem to have known with tolerable accuracy, was the great CYRUS, whom I call, without fear of contradiction, CAIKHOSRAU; for I shall then only doubt that the KHOSRAU of FIRDAUSI' was the CYRUS of the first *Greek* historian, and the Hero of the oldest political and moral romance, when I doubt that LOUIS QUATORZE and LEWIS the Fourteenth were one and the same *French* King: it is utterly incredible, that two different Princes of *Persia* should each have been born in a foreign and hostile territory; should each have been doomed to death in his infancy by his maternal grandfather, in consequence of portentous dreams, real or invented; should each have been saved by the remorse of his destined murderer; and should each, after a similar education among herdsmen, as the son of

a herdsman, have found means to revisit his paternal kingdom, and have delivered it, after a long and triumphant war, from the tyrant who had invaded it; should have restored it to the summit of power and magnificence. Whether so romantic a story, which is the subject of an Epic Poem as majestick and entire as the *Iliad*, be historically true, we may feel perhaps an inclination to doubt; but it cannot with reason be denied, that the outline of it related to a single Hero, whom the *Asiatics*, conversing with the Father of *European* history, described according to their popular traditions by his true name, which the *Greek* alphabet could not express: nor will a difference of names affect the question; since the *Greeks* had little regard for truth, which they sacrificed willingly to the graces of their language, and the nicety of their ears; and, if they could render foreign words melodious, they were never solicitous to make them exact. Hence they probably formed CAMBYSES from CA'MBAKHS, or *Granting Desires*, a title rather than a name; and XERXES from SHIRUYI, a Prince and Warrior in the *Sháhnámah*, or from SHIRSHA'H, which might also have been a title; for the *Asiatick* Princes have constantly assumed new titles or epithets at different periods of their lives, or on different occasions; a custom, which we have seen prevalent in our own times both in *Iràn* and *Hindustan*, and which has been a source of great confusion even in the scriptural accounts of *Babylonian* occurrences. Both *Greeks* and *Jews* have, in fact, accommodated *Persian* names to their own articulation; and both seem to have disregarded the native literature of *Iràn*, without which they could at most attain a general and imperfect knowledge of the country. As to the *Persians* themselves, who were contemporary with the *Jews* and *Greeks*, they

they must have been acquainted with the history of their own times, and with the traditional accounts of past ages; but, for a reason which will presently appear, they chose to consider CAYUMERS as the founder of their empire; and, in the numerous distractions which followed the overthrow of DA'RA, especially in the great revolution on the defeat of YEZDEGIRD, their civil histories were lost, as those of *India* have unhappily been, from the solicitude of the priests, the only depositaries of their learning, to preserve their books of law and religion at the expence of all others: hence it has happened, that nothing remains of genuine *Persian* history before the dynasty of SA'SAN, except a few rustick traditions and fables, which furnished materials for the *Sháhnameh*, and which are still supposed to exist in the *Pahlavi* language. The annals of the *Pishdádí* or *Affyrian* race must be considered as dark and fabulous; and those of the *Cayání* family, or the *Medes* and *Persians*, as heroick and poetical; though the lunar eclipses, said to be mentioned by PTOLEMY, fix the time of GUSHTÁSP, the Prince by whom ZERA'TUSHT was protected. Of the *Parthian* Kings descended from ARSHAC or ARSACES, we know little more than the names; but the *Sásáns* had so long an intercourse with the Emperors of *Rome* and *Byzantium*, that the period of their dominion may be called an historical age.

In attempting to ascertain the beginning of the *Affyrian* Empire, we are deluded, as in a thousand instances, by names arbitrarily imposed. It had been settled by chronologers, that the first monarchy established in *Persia* was the *Affyrian*; and NEWTON, finding some of opinion, that it rose in the first century after the Flood, but unable by his own calculations to extend it farther back than seven

seven hundred and ninety years before CHRIST, rejected part of the old system and adopted the rest of it; concluding, that the *Assyrian* Monarchs began to reign about two hundred years after SOLOMON, and that in all preceding ages, the government of *Iràn* had been divided into several petty States and Principalities. Of this opinion I confess myself to have been; when, disregarding the wild chronology of the *Muselmàns* and *Gabrs*, I had allowed the utmost natural duration to the reigns of eleven *Pisbdádi* Kings, without being able to add more than a hundred years to NEWTON'S computation. It seems, indeed, unaccountably strange, that, although ABRAHAM had found regular monarchy in *Egypt*; although the kingdom of *Yemen* had just pretensions to very high antiquity; although the *Chinese* in the *twelfth* century before our era had made approaches at least to the present form of their extensive dominions; and although we can hardly suppose the first *Indian* Monarchs to have reigned less than three thousand years ago; yet *Persia*, the most delightful, the most compact, the most desirable country of them all, should have remained for so many ages unsettled and disunited. A fortunate discovery, for which I was first indebted to MÍR MUHAMMED HUSAIN, one of the most intelligent *Muselmàns* in *India*, has at once dissipated the cloud, and cast a gleam of light on the primeval history of *Iràn*, and of the human race, of which I had long despaired, and which could hardly have dawned from any other quarter.

THE rare and interesting tract on twelve different religions, entitled *The Dabistàn*, and composed by a *Mohammedan* traveller, a native of *Cashmír*, named MOHSAN, but distinguished by the assumed surname of FA'NÍ, or *Perishable*, begins with a wonder.

wonderfully curious chapter on the religion of HU'SHANG, which was long anterior to that of ZERA'TUSHT, but had continued to be secretly professed by many learned *Persians* even to the author's time; and several of the most eminent of them, dissenting in many points from the *Gabrs*, and persecuted by the ruling powers of their country, had retired to *India*, where they compiled a number of books, now extremely scarce, which MOHSAN had perused, and with the writers of which, or with many of them, he had contracted an intimate friendship. From them he learned, that a powerful monarchy had been established for ages in *Iràn*, before the accession of CAYUMERS; that it was called the *Mahábadian* dynasty, for a reason which will soon be mentioned; and that many Princes, of whom seven or eight only are named in *The Dabistán*, and among them MAHBUL, or MAHA' BELI, had raised their Empire to the zenith of human glory. If we can rely on this evidence, which to me appears unexceptionable, the *Irànian* Monarchy must have been the oldest in the world; but it will remain dubious, to which of the three stocks, *Hindu*, *Arabian*, or *Tartar*, the first Kings of *Iràn* belonged; or whether they sprang from a fourth race distinct from any of the others: and these are questions which we shall be able, I imagine, to answer precisely, when we have carefully inquired into the languages and letters, religion and philosophy, and incidentally into the arts and sciences, of the ancient *Persians*.

I. IN the new and important remarks which I am going to offer on the ancient languages and characters of *Iràn*, I am sensible, that you must give me credit for many assertions, which on this occasion it is impossible to prove; for I should ill-deserve your indulgent attention, if I were to  
abuse

abuse it by repeating a dry list of detached words, and presenting you with a vocabulary instead of a dissertation; but, since I have no system to maintain, and have not suffered imagination to delude my judgment; since I have habituated myself to form opinions of men and things from evidence, which is the only solid basis of civil, as experiment is of natural, knowledge; and since I have maturely considered the questions which I mean to discuss; you will not, I am persuaded, suspect my testimony, or think that I go too far, when I assure you, that I will assert nothing positively, which I am not able satisfactorily to demonstrate. When MUHAMMED was born, and ANUSHIRAVAN, whom he calls the *Just King*, sat on the throne of *Persia*, two languages appear to have been generally prevalent in the great Empire of *Iran*; that of the Court, thence named *Deri*, which was only a refined and elegant dialect of the *Parsi*, so called from the province of which *Sbi'az* is now the capital; and that of the Learned, in which most books were composed, and which had the name of *Pahlavi*, either from the *Heroes* who spoke it in former times, or from *Pablu*, a tract of land, which included, we are told, some considerable cities of *Irak*. The ruder dialects of both were, and I believe still are, spoken by the rusticks in several provinces; and in many of them, as *Herat*, *Zabul*, *Sistan*, and others, distinct idioms were vernacular, as it happens in every kingdom of great extent. Besides the *Parsi* and *Pahlavi*, a very ancient and abstruse tongue was known to the Priests and Philosophers, called the *language of the Zend*, because a book on religious and moral duties, which they held sacred, and which bore that name, had been written in it; while the *Paznd*, or Comment on that work, was composed in *Pahlavi*, as a more popular idiom; but a learned follower



follower of ZERA'TUSHT, named BAHMAN, who lately died at *Calcutta*, where he had lived with me as a *Persian* reader about three years, assured me, that the *letters* of his Prophet's book were properly called *Zend*, and the *language*, *Avestà*, as the words of the *Véda's* are *Sanscrit*, and the characters, *Nágarì*; or as the old *Saga's* and poems of *Iseland* were expressed in *Runic* letters. Let us however, in compliance with custom, give the name of *Zend* to the sacred language of *Persia*, until we can find, as we shall very soon, a fitter appellation for it. The *Zend* and the old *Pablavì* are almost extinct in *Iran*; for among six or seven thousand *Gabrs* who reside chiefly at *Yezd*, and in *Cirmàn* there are very few who can read *Pablavì*, and scarce any who even boast of knowing the *Zend*; while the *Pársì*, which remains almost pure in the *Sbáhnámah*, has now become, by the intermixture of numberless *Arabick* words, and many imperceptible changes, a new language, exquisitely polished by a series of fine writers in prose, and verse, and analogous to the different idioms gradually formed in *Europe* after the subversion of the *Roman Empire*: but with modern *Persians* we have no concern in our present enquiry, which I confine to the ages that preceded *The Mohammedan conquest*.

HAVING twice read the works of FIRDAUSI' with great attention, since I applied myself to the study of old *Indian* literature, I can assure you, with confidence, that hundreds of *Pársì* nouns are pure *Sanscrit*, with no other change than such as may be observed in the numerous *Cháshbá's*, or vernacular dialects, of *India*; that very many imperatives are the roots of *Sanscrit* verbs; and that even the moods and tenses of the *Persian* verb substantive, which is the model of all the rest, are deducible from the *Sanscrit* by an easy and clear analogy.

analogy. We may hence conclude, that the *Pársi* was derived, like the various *Indian* dialects, from the language of the *Brahmans*; and I must add, that in the pure *Persian* I find no trace of any *Arabian* tongue, except what proceeded from the known intercourse between the *Persians* and *Arabs*, especially in the time of *BAHRÁ'M*, who was educated in *Arabia*, and whose *Arabick* verses are still extant, together with his heroick line in *Deri*, which many suppose to be the first attempt at *Persian* versification in *Arabian* metre. But, without having recourse to other arguments, *the composition of words*, in which the genius of the *Persian* delights, and which that of the *Arabick* abhors, is a decisive proof, that the *Pársi* sprang from an *Indian*, and not from an *Arabian* stock. Considering languages as mere instruments of knowledge, and having strong reason to doubt the existence of genuine books in *The Zend* or *Pablavi* (especially since the well informed author of *The Dabistàn* affirms the work of *ZERA'TUSHT* to have been lost, and its place supplied by a recent compilation), I had no inducement, though I had an opportunity, to learn what remains of those ancient languages, but I often conversed on them with my friend *BAHMAN*, and both of us were convinced, after full consideration, that the *Zend* bore a strong resemblance to *Sanscrit*, and the *Pablavi* to *Arabick*. He had at my request translated into *Pablavi* the fine inscriptions, exhibited in the *Gulistàn*, on the diadem of *CYRUS*; and I had the patience to read the list of words from the *Pázend*, in the Appendix to the *Farhangi Jehángíri*. This examination gave me perfect conviction, that the *Pablavi* was a dialect of the *Chaldaick*; and of this curious fact I will exhibit a short proof.

By

By the nature of the *Chaldean* tongue most words ended in the first long vowel like *shemià*, Heaven; and that very word, unaltered in a single letter, we find in the *Pazend*, together with *lailià*, night, *meyà*, water, *nirà*, fire, *matrà*, rain, and a multitude of others, all *Arabick* or *Hebrew*, with a *Chaldean* termination. So *zamar*, by a beautiful metaphor from *pruning trees*, means in *Hebrew* to *compose verses*; and thence, by an easy transition, to *sing* them: and in *Pahlavi*, we see the verb *zamrúniten*, to *sing*, with its forms *zamrúnemi*, I *sing*, and *zamrúnid*, he *sang*; the verbal terminations of the *Persian* being added to the *Chaldaick* root. Now all those words are integral parts of the language, not adventitious to it, like the *Arabick* nouns and verbals engrafted on modern *Persian*; and this distinction convinces me, that the dialect of the *Gabrs*, which they pretend to be that of *ZIRA'TUSHT*, and of which *BAHMAN* gave me a variety of written specimens, is a late invention of their Priests, or subsequent at least to the *Muselman* invasion. For, although it may be possible, that a few of their sacred books were preserved, as he used to assert, in sheets of lead or copper at the bottom of wells, near *Tezd*, yet as the conquerors had not only a spiritual but a political interest in persecuting a warlike, robust, and indignant race of irreconcilable conquered subjects, a long time must have elapsed before the hidden scriptures could have been safely brought to light; and few who could perfectly understand them, must then have remained: but, as they continued to profess among themselves the religion of their forefathers, it became expedient for the *Mubeds* to supply the lost or mutilated works of their legislator by new compositions, partly from their imperfect recollection, and partly from such moral and religious knowledge as they gleaned, most probably,

probably, among the *Christians*, with whom they had an intercourse. One rule we may fairly establish in deciding the question, Whether the books of the modern *Gabris* were anterior to the invasion of the *Arabs*? When an *Arabick* noun occurs in them, changed only by the spirit of the *Chaldean* idiom, as *wertà* for *werd*, a rose; *daba* for *dhabab*, gold, or *demàn* for *zemàn*, time, we may allow it to have been ancient *Pablavi*; but when we meet with verbal nouns or infinitives evidently formed by the rules of *Arabian* grammar, we may be sure, that the phrases in which they occur are comparatively modern; and not a single passage which BAHMAN produced from the books of his religion would abide this test.

WE come now to the language of the *Zend*. And here I must impart a discovery which I lately made, and from which we may draw the most interesting consequences. M. ANQUETIL, who had the merit of undertaking a voyage to *India*, in his earliest youth, with no other view than to recover the writings of ZERA'TUSHT, and who would have acquired a brilliant reputation in *France*, if he had not sullied it by his immoderate vanity and virulence of temper, which alienated the goodwill even of his own countrymen, has exhibited in his work, entitled *Zendávestà*, two vocabularies in *Zend* and *Pablavi*, which he had found in an approved collection of *Rawáyát*, or *Traditional Pieces*, in modern *Persian*. Of his *Pablavi* no more needs be said, than that it strongly confirms my opinion concerning the *Chaldaick* origin of that language; but when I perused the *Zend* glossary, I was inexpressibly surpris'd to find, that six or seven words in ten were pure *Sanscrit*, and even some of their inflexions formed by the rules of the *Vyácaran*; as *yushmácam*, the genitive plural of *yushmad*. Now M. ANQUETIL most certainly, and the

the *Persian* compiler most probably, had no knowledge of *Sanscrit*; and could not, therefore, have invented a list of *Sanscrit* words: it is, therefore, an authentick list of *Sanscrit* words: it is, therefore, an authentick list of *Zend* words which had been preserved in books or by tradition; and it follows, that the language of the *Zend* was at least a dialect of the *Sanscrit*, approaching perhaps as nearly to it as the *Prácrít*, or other popular idioms, which we know to have been spoken in *India* two thousand years ago.

FROM all these facts it is a necessary consequence, that the oldest discoverable languages of *Persia* were *Chaldaick* and *Sanscrit*; and that, when they had ceased to be vernacular, the *Pahlavi* and *Zend* were deduced from them respectively; and the *Pársi* either from the *Zend*, or immediately from the dialect of the *Bráhmans*: but all had, perhaps, a mixture of *Tartarian*; for the best lexicographers assert, that numberless words in ancient *Persian* are taken from the language of the *Cimmerians*, or the *Tartars* of *Ripchák*: so that the three families, whose lineage we have examined in former Discourses, had left visible traces of themselves in *Irán*, long before the *Tartars* and *Arabs* had rushed from their deserts, and returned to that very country from which in all probability they originally proceeded, and which the *Hindus* had abandoned in an earlier age, with positive commands from their legislators to revisit it no more.

A CLOSE this head with observing, that no supposition of a mere political or commercial intercourse between the different nations will account for the *Sanscrit* and *Chaldaick* words which we find in the old *Persian* tongues; because they are, in the first place, too numerous to have been introduced by such means, and, secondly, are not the names of exotick animals, commodities, or arts,  
but

but those of material elements, parts of the body, natural objects and relations, affections of the mind, and other ideas common to the whole race of man.

IF a nation of *Hindus*, it may be urged, ever possessed or governed the country of *Iràn*, we should find in the very ancient ruins of the temple or palace now called *the Throne of JEMSHÍD*, some inscriptions in *Dévanágarí*, or at least in the characters on the stones at *Elephanta*, where the sculpture is unquestionably *Indian*, or in those on the *Staff of FÍRÚZ SHAH*, which exist in the heart of *India*; and such inscriptions we probably should have found, if that edifice had not been erected after the migration of the *Bráhmans* from *Iràn*, and the violent schism in the *Persian* religion, of which we shall presently speak: for, although the popular name of the building at *Istakhr*, or *Persepolis*, be no certain proof that it was raised in the time of JEMSHÍD, yet such a fact might easily have been preserved by tradition; and we shall soon have abundant evidence, that the temple was posterior to the reign of the *Hindu* Monarchs. The *cypresses*, indeed, which are represented with the figures in procession, might induce a reader of the *Shánámah* to believe, that the sculptures related to the new faith introduced by ZERÁTUSHT; but as a cypress is a beautiful ornament, and as many of the figures appear inconsistent with the reformed adoration of fire, we must have recourse to stronger proofs, that the *Takhti JEMSHÍD* was erected after CAYUMÉRS. The building has lately been visited, and the characters on it examined, by Mr. FRANKLIN; from whom we learn, that NIEBUHR has delineated them with great accuracy: but without such testimony I should have suspected the correctness of the delineation; because the *Danish* traveller has exhibited

exhibited two inscriptions in modern *Persian*, and one of them from the same place, which cannot have been exactly transcribed. They are very elegant verses of NÍZÁMÍ and SADI, on the *instability of human greatness*; but so ill engraved, or so ill copied, that if I had not had them nearly by art, I should not have been able to read them; and M. ROUSSEAU of *Isfahàn*, who translated them with shameful inaccuracy, must have been deceived by the badness of the copy, or he never would have created a new King WAKAM, by forming one word of JIM, and the particle prefixed to it. Assuming, however, that we may reason as conclusively on the characters published by NIEBUHR as we might on the monuments themselves, were they now before us, we may begin with observing, as CHARDIN had observed on the very spot, that they bear no resemblance whatever to the letters used by the *Gabrs* in their copies of the *Vendidàd*. This I once urged, in an amicable debate with BAHMAN, as a proof, that the *Zend* letters were a modern invention; but he seemed to hear me without surprise; and insisted that the letters to which I alluded, and which he had often seen, were monumental characters never used in books, and intended either to conceal some religious mysteries from the vulgar, or to display the art of the Sculptor, like the embellished *Cúfick* and *Nágarì* in several *Arabian* and *Indian* monuments. He wondered, that any man could seriously doubt the antiquity of the *Pablavì* letters; and, in truth, the inscription behind the horse of *Rustam*, which NIEBUHR has also given us, is apparently *Pablavì*, and might with some pains be decyphered. That character was extremely rude, and seems to have been written, like the *Roman* and the *Arabick*, in a variety of hands; for I remember to have examined a rare collection of old *Persian* coins in the  
 Museum

Museum of the great Anatomist WILLIAM HUNTER, and though I believe the legends to be *Pahlavi*, and had no doubt that they were coins of *Parthian* Kings, yet I could not read the inscriptions without wasting more time than I had then at command, in comparing the letters, and ascertaining the proportions in which they severally occurred. The gross *Pahlavi* was improved by ZERATUSHT, or his disciples, into an elegant and perspicuous character, in which the *Zendavestâ* was copied; and both were written from the right hand to the left like other *Chaldaick* alphabets, for they are manifestly both of *Chaldean* origin; but the *Zend* has the singular advantage of expressing all the long and short vowels, by distinct marks, in the body of each word, and all the words are distinguished by full-points between them; so that if modern *Persian* were unmixed with *Arabick*, it might be written in *Zend* with the greatest convenience, as any one may perceive by copying in that character a few pages of the *Shânámah*. As to the unknown inscriptions in the palace of JEMSHÍD, it may reasonably be doubted, whether they contain a system of letters which any nation ever adopted. In *five* of them, the letters, which are separated by points, may be reduced to forty, at least I can distinguish no more essentially different; and they all seem to be regular variations and compositions of a straight line and an angular figure like the head of a javelin, or a leaf (to use the language of botanists) *hearted and lanced*. Many of the *Runick* letters appear to have been formed of similar elements; and it has been observed, that the writings at *Persepolis* bear a strong resemblance to that which the *Irish* call *Ogham*. The word *Agam*, in *Sanscrit*, means *mysterious knowledge*; but I dare not affirm, that the two words had a common origin; and only  
mean



mean to suggest, that if the characters in question be really alphabetical, they were probably secret and sacerdotal; or a mere cypher, perhaps, of which the priests only had a key. They might, I imagine, be decyphered, if the language were certainly known; but in all the other inscriptions of the same sort, the characters are too complex, and the variations of them too numerous, to admit an opinion, that they could be symbols of articulate sound; for even the *Nāgarī* system, which has more distinct letters than any known alphabet, consists only of forty-nine simple characters, two of which are mere substitutions, and four of little use in *Sanścrit*, or in any other language; while the more complicated figures, exhibited by NIEBUHR, must be as numerous at least as the *Chinese* keys, which are the signs of ideas only, and some of which resemble the old *Persian* letters at *Istakhr*: the *Danish* traveller was convinced, from his own observation, that they were written from the left hand, like all the characters used by *Hindu* nations. But I must leave this dark subject, which I cannot illuminate, with a remark formerly made by myself, that the square *Chaldaick* letters, a few of which are found in the *Persian* ruins, appear to have been originally the same with the *Dévanāgarī*, before the latter were enclosed, as we now see them, in angular frames.

II. THE primeval religion of *Irān*, if we rely on the authorities adduced by MOHSANI FA'NI, was that which NEWTON calls the oldest (and it may justly be called the noblest) of all religions; “ a  
 “ firm belief that one Supreme God made the  
 “ world by his power, and continually governed  
 “ it by his providence; a pious fear, love, and  
 “ adoration of him; a due reverence for parents  
 “ and aged persons; a fraternal affection for the  
 “ whole human species: and a compassionate ten-  
 “ derness

“ dernefs even for the brute creation.” A system of devotion so pure and sublime could hardly, among mortals, be of long duration; and we learn from *The Dabistàn*, that the popular worship of the *Iránians*, under HU'SHANG, was purely *Sabian*; a word of which I cannot offer any certain etymology, but which has been deduced by grammarians from *Sabà*, a *host*, and particularly the *host of heaven*, or the *celestial bodies*, in the adoration of which the *Sabian* ritual is believed to have consisted. There is a description in the learned work just mentioned of the several *Persian* temples dedicated to the sun and planets, of the images adored in them, and of the magnificent processions to them on prescribed festivals, one of which is probably represented by sculpture in the ruined city of JEMSHI'D. But the planetary worship in *Persia* seems only a part of a far more complicated religion which we now find in these *Indian* provinces; for MOHSAN assures us, that, in the opinion of the best informed *Persians* who professed the faith of HU'SHANG, distinguished from that of ZERA'TUSHT; the first monarch of *Iràn* and of the whole earth was MAHA'BA'D, a word apparently *Sanscrit*, who divided the people into four orders, the *religious*, the *military*, the *commercial*, and the *servile*; to which he assigned names unquestionably the same in their origin with those now applied to the four primary classes of the *Hindus*. They added, that he received from the Creator, and promulgated among men, a *sacred book in a heavenly language*, to which the *Muselman* author gives the *Arabick* title of *Defátír*, or *Regulations*, but the original name of which he has not mentioned; and that *fourteen* MAHA'BA'Ds had appeared or would appear in human shapes for the government of this world. Now when we know that the *Hindus* believe in *fourteen* MENU'S, or celestial

tial personages with similar functions, the first of whom left a book of *regulations*, or *divine ordinances* which they hold equal to the *Véda*, and the language of which they believe to be that of the Gods, we can hardly doubt, that the first corruption of the purest and oldest religion was the system of *Indian* theology invented by the *Bráhmans*, and prevalent in those territories where the book of MAHA'BA'D, or MÈNU, is at this hour the standard of all religious the moral duties. The accession of CAYU'MERS to the throne of *Persia*, in the eighth or ninth century before CHRIST; seems to have been accompanied by a considerable revolution both in government and religion. He was most probably of a different race from the *Mahábádians* who preceded him, and began perhaps the new system of national faith which HU'SHANG, whose name it bears, completed; but the reformation was partial; for, while they rejected the complex polytheism of their predecessors, they retained the laws of MAHA'BA'D with a superstitious veneration for the sun, the planets, and fire; thus resembling the *Hindu* sects called *Sauras* and *Ságnicas*; the second of which is very numerous at *Banares*, where many *agnihótras* are continually blazing; and where the *Ságnicas*, when they enter on their sacerdotal office, kindle, with two pieces of the hard wood *Zemí*, a fire which they keep lighted through their lives for their nuptial ceremony, the performance of solemn sacrifices, the obsequies of departed ancestors, and their own funeral pile. This remarkable rite was continued by ZERA'TUSHT; who reformed the old religion by the addition of genii, or angels, presiding over months and days; of new ceremonies in the veneration shewn to fire; of a new work, which he pretended to have received from heaven; and, above all, by estab-

blishing the actual adoration of One Supreme Being. He was born, according to MOHSAN, in the district of Rai; and it was he, not, as AMMIANUS asserts his protector GUSHTASB, who travelled into *India*, that he might receive information from the *Bráhmans* in theology and ethicks. It is barely possible that PYTHAGORAS knew him in the capital of *Irak*; but the *Grecian* sage must then have been far advanced in years, and we have no certain evidence of an intercourse between the two philosophers. The reformed religion of *Persia* continued in force till that country was subdued by the *Muselmans*; and, without studying the *Zend*, we have ample information concerning it in the modern *Persian* writings of several who professed it. BAHMAN always named ZERATUSHT with reverence; but he was in truth a pure Theist, and strongly disclaimed any adoration of the *fire* or other elements; he denied that the doctrine of two coeval principles, supremely good and supremely bad, formed any part of his faith; and he often repeated with emphasis the verses of FIRDAUSI on the prostration of CYRUS and his paternal grandfather before the blazing altar: "Think not that they were adorers of fire, for that element was only an exalted object, on the lustre of which they fixed their eyes; they humbled themselves a whole week before God; and, if thy understanding be ever so little exerted, thou must acknowledge thy dependence on the Being supremely pure." In a story, SADI, near the close of his beautiful *Bústán*, concerning the idol of SO'MANA'GH, or MAHA-DE'VA, confounds the religion of the *Hindus* with that of the *Gabrs*, calling the *Bráhmans* not only *Moghs* (which might be justified by a passage in the *Mesnavi*), but even readers of the *Zend* and *Pázend*. Now, whether this confusion proceeded  
from

from real or pretended ignorance, I cannot decide; but am as firmly convinced that the doctrines of the *Zend* were distinct from those of the *Veda*, as I am that the religion of the *Bráhmans*, with whom we converse every day, prevailed in *Persia* before the accession of *CAYUMERS*, whom the *Parsi's*, from respect to his memory, consider as the first of men, although they believe in an *universal deluge* before his reign.

WITH the religion of the old *Persians* their *philosophy* (or as much as we know of it) was intimately connected; for they were assiduous observers of the luminaries, which they adored and established, according to *MOHSAN*, who confirms, in some degree, the fragments of *BERÓSTUS*, a number of artificial cycles with distinct names, which seem to indicate a knowledge of the period in which the equinoxes appear to revolve; they are said also to have known the most wonderful powers of nature, and thence to have acquired the fame of magicians and enchanters. But I will only detain you with a few remarks on that metaphysical theology which has been professed immemorially by a numerous sect of *Persians* and *Hindus*, was carried in part into *Greece*, and prevails even now among the learned *Muse'mans*, who sometimes avow it without reserve. The modern philosophers of this persuasion are called *Súfis*, either from the *Greek* word for a *sage*, or from the *woollen* mantle which they used to wear in some provinces of *Persia*. Their fundamental tenets are, That nothing exists absolutely but God; that the human soul is an emanation from his essence, and, though divided for a time from its heavenly source, will be finally re-united with it; that the highest possible happiness will arise from its re-union; and that the chief good of mankind, in this transitory world, consists in as perfect an

*union*

*union* with the Eternal Spirit as the incumbrances of a mortal frame will allow; that, for this purpose, they should break all *connection* (or *tašilluk*, as they call it) with extrinſick objects, and paſs through life without *attachments*, as a ſwimmer in the ocean ſtrikes freely without the impediment of clothes; that they ſhould be ſtraight and free as the cypreſs, whole fruit is hardly perceptible, and not ſink under a load like fruit-trees *attached* to a trellis; that if mere earthly charms have power to influence the ſoul, the *idea* of celeftial beauty muſt overwhelm it in extatick delight; that, for want of apt words to expreſs the divine perfections and the ardour of devotion, we muſt borrow ſuch expreſſions as approach the neareſt to our ideas, and ſpeak of *Beauty* and *Love* in a tranſcendant and myſtical ſenſe; that, like a *reed* torn from its native bank, like *wax* ſeparated from its delicious honey, the ſoul of man bewails its diſunion with *melancholy muſick*, and ſheds burning tears, like the lighted taper, waiting paſſionately for the moment of its extinction, as a diſengagement from earthly trammels, and the means of returning to its Only Beloved. Such in part (for I omit the minuter and more ſubtile metaphyſicks of the *Suſis*, which are mentioned in *The Dabiſtàn*) is the wild and enthuaſtick religion of the modern *Perſian* poets, eſpecially of the ſweet HA'FIZ and the great *Maulawì*: ſuch is the ſyſtem of the *Védánti* philoſophers and beſt lyrick poets of *India*; and as it was a ſyſtem of the higheſt antiquity in both nations, it may be added to the many other proofs of an immemorial affinity between them.

III. ON the ancient *monuments* of *Perſian* ſculpture and architecture, we have already made ſuch obſervations as were ſufficient for our purpoſe; nor will you be ſurpriſed at the diverſity between the figures at *Elephanta*, which are manifeſtly  
*Hindu*,

*Hindu*, and those at *Persopolis*, which are merely *Sabian*, if you concur with me in believing, that the *Takhti Jenybid* was erected after the time of *CAYUMERS*, when the *Bráhmans* had migrated from *Iràn*, and when their intricate mythology had been superseded by the simpler adoration of the planets and of fire.

IV. As to the *sciences* or *arts* of the old *Persians*, I have little to say; and no complete evidence of them is found to exist. *MOHSAN* speaks more than once of ancient verses in the *Pahlavi* language; and *BAHMAN* assured me, that some scanty remains of them had been preserved. Their music and painting, which *NAZA'MI* celebrated, have irrecoverably perished; and in regard to *MA'NI*, the painter and impostor, whose book of drawings called *Artang*, which he pretended to be divine, is supposed to have been destroyed by the *Chinese*, in whose dominions he had sought refuge, the whole tale is too modern to throw any light on the questions before us concerning the origin of nations and the inhabitants of the primitive world.

THUS has it been proved, by clear evidence and plain reasoning, that a powerful monarchy was established in *Iràn* long before the *Affyrian*, or *Pishdadì*, government; that it was in truth a *Hindu* monarchy, though if any chuse to call it *Cusian*, *Casdean*, or *Scythian*, we shall not enter into a debate on mere names; that it subsisted many centuries; and that its history has been ingrafted on that of the *Hindus*, who founded the monarchies of *Ayódhya* and *Indraprestha*; that the language of the first *Persian* empire was the mother of the *Sanscrit*, and consequently of the *Zend* and *Parfi*, as well as of *Greck*, *Latin*, and *Gothick*; that the language of the *Affyrians* was the parent of *Chaldaick* and *Pahlavi*; and that the  
primary

primary *Tartarian* language also had been current in the same empire; although, as the *Tartars* had no books, or even letters, we cannot with certainty trace their unpolished and variable idioms. We discover therefore in *Persia*, at the earliest dawn of history, the three distinct races of men, whom I described on former occasions as possessors of *India*, *Arabia*, *Tartary*; and whether they were collected in *Iràn* from distant regions, or diverged from it, as from a common center, we shall easily determine by the following considerations.

LET us observe in the first place the central position of *Iràn*, which is bounded by *Arabia*, by *Tartary*, and by *India*; whilst *Arabia* lies contiguous to *Iràn* only, but is remote from *Tartary*, and divided even from the skirts of *India* by a considerable gulf; no country, therefore, but *Persia* seems likely to have sent forth its colonies to all the kingdoms of *Asia*. The *Bráhmans* could never have migrated from *India* to *Iràn*, because they are expressly forbidden by their oldest existing laws to leave the region which they inhabit at this day; the *Arabs* have not even a tradition of an emigration into *Persia* before MOHAMMED, nor had they indeed any inducement to quit their beautiful and extensive domains: and as to the *Tartars*, we have no trace in history of their departure from their plains and forests till the invasion of the *Medes*, who, according to etymologists, were the sons of MADAI; and even they were conducted by princes of an *Affyrian* family. The three races therefore, whom we have already mentioned (and more than three we have not yet found), migrated from *Iràn*, as from their common country. And thus the *Saxon* chronicle, I presume from good authority, brings the first inhabitants of *Britain* from *Armenia*; while a late  
very



very learned writer concludes, after all his laborious researches, that the *Goths* or *Scythians* came from *Persia*; and another contends with great force, that both the *Irish* and old *Britons* proceeded severally from the borders of the *Caspian*; a coincidence of conclusions from different media, by persons wholly unconnected, which could scarce have happened, if they were not grounded on solid principles. We may therefore hold this proposition firmly established, That *Iràn*, or *Persia* in its largest sense, was the true center of population, of knowledge, of languages, and of arts; which instead of travelling westward only, as it has been fancifully supposed, or eastward, as might with equal reason have been asserted, were expanded in all directions to all the regions of the world in which the *Hindu* race had settled under various denominations. But, whether *Asia* has not produced other races of men distinct from the *Hindus*, the *Arabs*, or the *Tartars*, or whether any apparent diversity may not have sprung from an intermixture of those three in different proportions, must be the subject of a future enquiry.

DISSERTATION VII.

ON THE

C H I N E S E.

BEING THE SEVENTH ANNIVERSARY DISCOURSE  
DELIVERED TO THE SOCIETY, FEB. 25, 1790.

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GENTLEMEN,

**A**LTHOUGH we are at this moment considerably nearer to the frontier of *China* than to the farthest limit of the *British* dominions in *Hindustán*, yet the first step that we shall take in the philosophical journey which I propose for your entertainment at the present meeting, will carry us to the utmost verge of the habitable globe known to the best geographers of old *Greece* and *Egypt*; beyond the boundary of whose knowledge we shall discern, from the heights of the northern mountains, an Empire nearly equal in surface to a square of fifteen degrees; an Empire, of which I do not mean to assign the precise limits, but which we may consider, for the purpose of this Dissertation, as embraced on two sides by *Tartary* and  
*India*

*India*, while the ocean separates its other sides from various *Asiatick* isles of great importance in the commercial system of *Europe*: annexed to that immense tract of land is the peninsula of *Corea*, which a vast oval basin divides from *Nifon* or *Japan*; a celebrated and imperial island, bearing in arts and in arms, in advantage of situation, but not in felicity of government, a pre-eminence among eastern kingdoms analogous to that of *Britain* among the nations of the west. So many climates are included in so prodigious an area, that while the principal emporium of *China* lies nearly under the tropick, its metropolis enjoys the temperature of *Samarkand*: such too is the diversity of soil in its fifteen provinces, that, while some of them are exquisitely fertile, richly cultivated, and extremely populous, others are barren and rocky, dry and unfruitful, with plains as wild or mountains as rugged as any in *Scythia*; and those either wholly deserted, or peopled by savage hordes, who, if they be not still independent, have been very lately subdued by the perfidy, rather than the valour, of a monarch, who has perpetuated his own breach of faith in a *Chinese* poem, of which I have seen a translation.

THE word *China*, concerning which I shall offer some new remarks, is well known to the people whom we call the *Chinese*; but they never apply it (I speak of the learned among them) to themselves, or to their country: themselves, according to Father VISDELLOU, they describe as the people of HAN, or of some other illustrious family, by the memory of whose actions they flatter their national pride; and their country they call *Chum-cue*, or the *Central Kingdom*, representing it in their symbolical characters by a parallelogram exactly bisected: at other times they distinguish it by the words *Tien-hia*, or *What is under Heaven*, meaning

meaning *all that is valuable on Earth*. Since they never name themselves with moderation, they would have no right to complain, if they knew that *European* authors have ever spoken of them in the extremes of applause or of censure: by some they have been extolled as the oldest and the wisest, as the most learned and most ingenious, of nations; whilst others have derided their pretensions to antiquity, condemned their government as abominable, and arraigned their manners as inhuman, without allowing them an element of science, or a single art, for which they have not been indebted to some more ancient and more civilized race of men. The truth perhaps lies, where we usually find it, between the extremes; but it is not my design to accuse or to defend the *Chinese*, to depress or to aggrandize them: I shall confine myself to the discussion of a question connected with my former Discourses, and far less easy to be solved than any hitherto started: “Whence came the singular people, who long had governed *China*, before they were conquered by the *Tartars*?” On this problem, the solution of which has no concern, indeed, with our political or commercial interests, but a very material connection, if I mistake not, with interests of a higher nature, four opinions have been advanced, and all rather peremptorily asserted, than supported by argument and evidence. By a few writers it has been urged, that the *Chinese* are an original race, who have dwelled for ages, if not from eternity, in the land which they now possess: by others, and chiefly by the missionaries, it is asserted, that they sprang from the same stock with the *Hebrews* and *Arabs*: a third assertion is, that of the *Arabs* themselves, and of M. PAUW, who hold it indubitable that they were originally *Tartars* descending in wild clans from the steeps of *Imaus*: and a fourth,

fourth, at least as dogmatically pronounced as any of the preceding, is that of the *Bráhmans*, who decide, without allowing any appeal from their decision, that the *Chînas* (for so they are named in *Sanscrit*) were *Hindus* of the *Cshatriya*, or military, class, who, abandoning the privileges of their tribe, rambled in different bodies to the north-east of *Bengal*; and forgetting by degrees the rites and religion of their ancestors, established separate principalities, which were afterwards united in the plains and valleys which are now possessed by them. If any one of the three last opinions be just, the first of them must necessarily be relinquished; but of those three, the first cannot possibly be sustained; because it rests on no firmer support than a foolish remark, whether true or false, that *Sem*, in *Chinese*, means *life* and *procreation*; and because a tea-plant is not more different from a palm, than a *Chinese* from an *Arab*: they are men, indeed, as the tea and the palm are vegetables; but human sagacity could not, I believe, discover any other trace of resemblance between them. One of the *Arabs*, indeed, an account of whose voyage to *India* and *China* has been translated by *RENAUDOT*, thought the *Chinese* not only handsomer (according to his ideas of beauty) than the *Hindus*, but even more like his own countrymen in features, habiliments, carriages, manners and ceremonies; and this may be true, without proving an actual resemblance between the *Chinese* and *Arabs*, except in dress and complexion. The next opinion is, more connected with that of the *Bráhmans* than *M. PAUW*, probably, imagined; for though he tells us expressly, that by *Scythians* he meant the *Turks* or *Tartars*, yet the dragon on the standard, and some other peculiarities, from which he would infer a clear affinity between the old *Tartars* and the *Chinese*, belonged

belonged indubitably to those *Scythians* who are known to have been *Goths*; and the *Goths* had manifestly a common lineage with the *Hindus*, if his own argument, in the Preface to his Researches, on the similarity of language be, as all men agree it is, irrefragable. That the *Chinese* were anciently of a *Tartarian* stock, is a proposition, which I cannot otherwise disprove for the present, than by insisting on the total dissimilarity of the two races in manners and arts, particularly in the fine arts of imagination, which the *Tartars*, by their own account, never cultivated: but if we shew strong grounds for believing that the first *Chinese* were actually of an *Indian* race, it will follow, that M. PAUW and the *Arabs* are mistaken: it is to the discussion of this new, and, in my opinion, very interesting point, that I shall confine the remainder of my Discourse.

In the *Sanscrit* Institutes of Civil and Religious Duties, revealed, as the *Hindus* believe, by MENU, the son of BRAHMA', we find the following curious passage: "Many families of the military class, having gradually abandoned the ordinances of the *Véda*, and the company of *Bráhmans*, lived in a state of degradation; as the people of *Pundraca* and *Odra*, those of *Dravira* and *Cambója*, the *Yavanas* and *Sucas*, the *Páradas* and *Pablavás*, the *Chínas* and some other nations." A full comment on this text would here be superfluous; but since the testimony of the *Indian* author, who, though certainly not a divine personage, was as certainly a very ancient lawyer, moralist, and historian. is direct and positive, disinterested and unsuspected, it would I think, decide the question before us, if we could be sure that the word *China* signified a *Chinese*, as all the *Pandits*, whom I have separately consulted, assert with one voice: they assure me, that the *Chínas* of MENU settled

settled in a fine country to the north-east of *Gaur*, and to the east of *Cámarúp* and *Népál*; that they have long been, and still are, famed as ingenious artificers; and that they had themselves seen old *Chinese* idols, which bore a manifest relation to the primitive religion of *India*, before *BUDDHA*'s appearance in it. A well-informed *Pandit* shewed me a *Sanscrit* book in *Cashmirian* letters, which he said, was revealed by *SIVA* himself, and entitled *Sactisangama*: he read to me a whole chapter of it on the heterodox opinions of the *Chinas*, who were divided, says the author, into near two hundred clans. I then laid before him a map of *Asia*; and when I pointed to *Cashmír*, his own country, he instantly placed his finger on the north-western provinces of *China*, where the *Chinas*, he said, first established themselves; but he added, that *Maháchina*, which was also mentioned in his book, extended to the eastern and southern oceans. I believe, nevertheless, that the *Chinese* Empire, as we now call it, was not formed when the laws of *MENU* were collected; and for this belief, so repugnant to the general opinion, I am bound to offer my best reasons. If the outline of history and chronology for the last two thousand years be correctly traced, (and we must be hardy scepticks to doubt it) the poems of *CA'LI'DA*'s were composed before the beginning of our era: now it is clear from internal and external evidence, that the *Rámáyan* and *Mahábbárat* were considerably older than the productions of that poet; and it appears from the style and metre of the *Dherma Sástra*, revealed by *MENU*, that it was reduced to writing long before the age of *VA'LMIC* or *VYA'SA*, the second of whom names it with applause: we shall not, therefore, be thought extravagant, if we place the compiler of those laws between a thousand and fifteen

fifteen hundred years before CHRIST; especially as BUDDHA, whose age is pretty well ascertained, is not mentioned in them; but in the twelfth century before our era, the *Chinese* Empire was at least in its cradle. This fact it is necessary to prove; and my first witness is CONFUCIUS himself. I know to what keen satire I shall expose myself by citing that philosopher, after the bitter sarcasms of M. PAUW against him and against the translators of his mutilated, but valuable, works; yet I quote, without scruple, the book entitled LU'N YU', of which I possess the original with a verbal translation. and which I know to be sufficiently authentick for my present purpose; in the second part of it CON-FU-TSU declares, that "although he, like other men, could relate, as mere lessons of morality, the histories of the first and second imperial houses, yet, *for want of evidence*, he could give no certain account of them." Now, if the *Chinese* themselves do not even pretend, that any historical monument existed, in the age of CONFUCIUS, preceding the rise of their third dynasty about eleven hundred years before the *Christian* epoch, we may justly conclude, that the reign of VU'VAM was in the infancy of their Empire, which hardly grew to maturity till some ages after that prince; and it has been asserted by very learned *Europeans*, that even of the third dynasty, which he has the fame of having raised, no unsuspected memorial can now be produced.

It was not till the eight century before the birth of Our Saviour, that a small kingdom was erected in the province of *Shen-sí*, the capital of which stood nearly in the *thirty-fifth* degree of northern latitude, and about *five* degrees to the west of *Si-gan*: both the country and its metropolis were called *Chín*, and the dominion of its princes



was gradually extended to the east and west. A king of *Chín*, who makes a figure in the *Sháh-náma* among the allies of AFRA'SÍYÁ'B, was, I presume, a sovereign of the country just mentioned; and the river of *Chín*, which the poet frequently names as the limit of his eastern geography, seems to have been the *Yellow River*, which the *Chinese* introduce at the beginning of their fabulous annals. I should be tempted to expatiate on so curious a subject; but the present occasion allows nothing superfluous, and permits me only to add, that MANGUKHÁ'N died in the middle of the thirteenth century, before the city of *Chín*, which was afterwards taken by KUBLAI; and that the poets of *Irán* perpetually allude to the districts around it which they celebrate, with *Chegi* and *Khoten*, for a number of musk-animals roving on their hills. The territory of *Chín*, so called by the old *Hindus*, by the *Persians*, and by the *Chinese* (while the *Greeks* and *Arabs* were obliged, by their defective articulation, to miscall it *Sin*), gave its name to a race of Emperors, whose tyranny made their memory so unpopular, that the modern inhabitants of *China* hold the word in abhorrence, and speak of themselves as the people of a milder and more virtuous dynasty; but it is highly probable that the whole nation descended from the *Chínas* of MENU, and mixing with the *Tartars*, by whom the plains of *Honan* and the more southern provinces were thinly inhabited, formed by degrees the race of men whom we now see in possession of the noblest empire in *Asia*.

In support of an opinion, which I offer as the result of long and anxious inquiries, I should regularly proceed to examine the language and letters, religion and philosophy, of the present *Chinese*, and subjoin some remarks on their antient monuments, on their science, and on their arts,

both liberal and mechanical: but their spoken language, not having been preserved by the usual symbols of articulate sounds, must have been for many ages in a continual flux; their letters, if we may so call them, are merely the symbols of ideas; their popular religion was imported from *India* in an age comparatively modern; and their philosophy seems yet in so rude a state, as hardly to deserve the appellation: they have no ancient monuments, from which their origin can be traced even by plausible conjecture; their sciences are wholly exotick, and their mechanical arts have nothing in them characteristic of a particular family; nothing which any set of men, in a country so highly favoured by nature, might not have discovered and improved. They have, indeed, both national music and national poetry; and both of them beautifully pathetick; but of painting, sculpture, or architecture, as arts of imagination, they seem (like other Asiaticks) to have no idea. Instead, therefore, of enlarging separately on each of those heads, I shall briefly inquire, how far the literature and religious practices of *China* confirm or oppose the proposition which I have advanced.

THE declared and fixed opinion of M. DE GUIGNES, on the subject before us, is nearly connected with that of the *Brâhmans*: he maintains, that the *Chinese* were emigrants from *Egypt*; and the *Egyptians*, or *Ethiopians* (for they were clearly the same people), had indubitably a common origin with the old natives of *India*, as the affinity of their languages, and of their instructions, both religious and political, fully evinces; but that *China* was peopled a few centuries before our era by a colony from the banks of the *Nile*, though neither *Persians* nor *Arabs*, *Tartars* nor *Hindus*, ever heard of such an emigration, is a paradox, which the

the bare authority even of so learned a man cannot support; and since reason grounded on facts can alone decide such a question, we have a right to demand clearer evidence and stronger arguments than any that he has adduced. The hieroglyphicks of *Egypt*, bear, indeed, a strong resemblance to the mythological sculptures and paintings of *India*, but seem wholly dissimilar to the symbolical system of the *Chinese*, which might easily have been invented (as they assert) by an individual, and might very naturally have been contrived by the first *Cbínas*, or out-cast *Hindus*, who either never knew, or had forgotten, the alphabetical characters of their wiser ancestors. As to the table and bust of *ISIS*, they seem to be given up as modern forgeries; but, if they were indisputably genuine, they would be nothing to the purpose; for the letters on the bust appear to have been designed as alphabetical; and the fabricator of them (if they really were fabricated in *Europe*) was uncommonly happy, since two or three of them are exactly the same with those on a metal pillar yet standing in the north of *India*. In *Egypt*, if we can rely on the testimony of the *Greeks*, who studied no language but their own, there were two sets of alphabetical characters; the one popular, like the various letters used in our *Indian* provinces; and the other sacerdotal like the *Dévanágari*, especially that form of it which we see in the *Véda*: besides which, they had two sorts of sacred sculpture; the one simple, like the figures of *BUDDHA* and the three *RA'MAS*; and the other allegorical, like the images of *GANE'SA*, or *Divine Wisdom*, and *ISA'NI*, or *Nature*, with all their emblematical accompaniments: but the real character of the *Chinese* appears wholly distinct from any *Egyptian* writing, either mysterious or popular; and as to the fancy of *M. DE GUID-*

NES, that the complicated symbols of *China* were at first no more than *Phœnician* monograms, let us hope; that he has abandoned so wild a conceit, which he started probably with no other view than to display his ingenuity and learning.

WE have ocular proof, that the few radical characters of the *Chinese* were originally (like astronomical and chymical symbols) the pictures or out-lines of visible objects, or figurative signs for simple ideas, which they have multiplied by the most ingenious combinations and the liveliest metaphors; but as the system is peculiar, I believe, to themselves and the *Japanese*, it would be idle and ostentatious to enlarge on it at present; and, for the reasons already intimated, it neither corroborates nor weakens the opinion which I endeavour to support. The same may as truly be said of their *spoken* language; for, independently of its constant fluctuation during a series of ages, it has the peculiarity of excluding four or five sounds which other nations articulate, and is clipped into monosyllables, even when the ideas expressed by them, and the written symbols for those ideas, are very complex. This has arisen, I suppose, from the singular habits of the people; for though their common tongue be so *musically* accented as to form a kind of recitative, yet it wants those *grammatical* accents, without which all human tongues would appear monosyllabick: thus *Amita*, with an accent on the first syllable, means, in the *Sanscrit* language, immeasurable; and the natives of *Bengal* pronounce it *Omito*; but when the religion of BUDDHA, the son of *Máyá*, was carried hence into *China*, the people of that country, unable to pronounce the name of their new God, called him *Foe*, the son of *Moye*, and divided his epithet *Amita* into three syllables O-MI-TO, annexing to them certain ideas of their  
own,

own, and expressing them in writing by three distinct symbols. We may judge from this instance, whether a comparison of their spoken tongue with the dialects of other nations can lead to any certain conclusion as to their origin; yet the instance which I have given supplies me with an argument from analogy, which I produce as conjectural only, but which appears more plausible the oftener I consider it. The BUDDHA of the *Hindus* is unquestionably the FOE of *China*; but the great progenitor of the *Chinese* is also named by them FO-HI, where the second monosyllable signifies, it seems, a *Victim*: now the ancestor of that military tribe whom the *Hindus* call the *Chandravanja*, or children of the MOON, was, according to their *Puranas* or legends, BUDDHA, or the genius of the planet *Mercury*, from whom, in the *fifth* degree, descended a prince named DRUHYA; whom his father YAYA'TI sent in exile to the east of *Hindustán*, with this imprecation, "May thy progeny be ignorant of the *Veda*!" The name of the banished prince could not be pronounced by the modern *Chinese*; and though I dare not conjecture, that the last syllable of it has been changed into YAO, I may nevertheless observe, that YAO was the *fifth* in descent from FO-HI, or at least the fifth mortal in the first imperial dynasty; that all *Chinese* history before him is considered, by the *Chinese* themselves, as poetical or fabulous; that his father TI-co, like the *Indian* king YAYA'TI, was the first prince who married several women; and that FO-HI, the head of their race, appeared, say the *Chinese*, in a province of the west, and held his court in the territory of *Chín*, where the rovers mentioned by the *India* legislator are supposed to have settled. Another circumstance in the parallel is very remarkable: according to Father DE PRÉMARE, in his

his Tract on *Chinese Mythology*, the mother of FO-HI was the *daughter of Heaven*, surnamed *Flower-loving*, and as the nymph was walking alone on the bank of a *river* with a similar name, she found herself on a sudden encircled by a *rainbow*; soon after which she became pregnant, and at the end of twelve years was delivered of a son radiant as herself, who among other titles, had that of SU'I, or *Star of the Year*. Now, in the mythological system of the *Hindus*, the nymph RO'HINI, who presides over the fourth lunar mansion, was the favourite mistress of SO'MA, or the *Moon*, among whose numerous epithets, we find *Cumudanáyaca*, or *delighting in a species of water-flower*, that blossoms at night; and their offspring was BUDHA, regent of a planet, and called also, from the names of his parents, RAUHINE'Y or SAUMYA. It is true, that the learned Missionary explains the word SU'I by JUPITER; but an exact resemblance between two such fables could not have been expected; and it is sufficient for my purpose that they seem to have a family likeness. The God BUDHA, say the *Indians*, married ILA, whose father was preserved in a miraculous ark from an universal deluge: now, although I cannot insist with confidence, that the *rainbow* in the *Chinese* fable alludes to the *Mosaick* narrative of the Flood, nor build any solid argument on the divine personage NIU-VA, of whose character, and even of whose sex, the historians of *China* speak very doubtfully; I may, nevertheless, assure you, after full enquiry and consideration, that the *Chinese*, like the *Hindus*, believe this earth to have been wholly covered with water, which, in works of undisputed authenticity, they describe as *flowing abundantly, then subsiding, and separating the higher from the lower age of mankind*; that the *division of time*, from which their poetical history begins, just preceded

preceded the appearance of FO-HI on the mountains of *Chin*, but that the great inundation, in the reign of YAO, was either confined to the lowlands of his kingdom, if the whole account of it be not a fable, or if it contain any allusion to the Flood of NOAH, has been ignorantly misplaced by the *Chinese* Annalists.

THE importation of a new religion into *China*, in the first century of our Era, must lead us to suppose, that the former system, whatever it was, had been found inadequate to the purpose of restraining the great body of the people from those offences against conscience and virtue which the civil power could not reach; and it is hardly possible that, without such restrictions, any government could long have subsisted with felicity; for no government can long subsist without equal justice, and justice cannot be administered without the sanctions of religion. Of the religious opinions entertained by CONFUCIUS and his followers we may glean a general notion from the fragments of their works translated by COUPLET: they professed a firm belief in the Supreme God, and gave a demonstration of his Being, and of his Providence, from the exquisite beauty and perfection of the celestial bodies, and the wonderful order of nature in the whole fabrick of the visible world. From this belief they deduced a system of Ethicks, which the philosopher sums up in a few words at the close of the *Lún-yü*: “He,” says CONFUCIUS, “who shall be fully persuaded, that  
 “ the Lord of Heaven governs the Universe, who  
 “ shall in all things chuse moderation, who shall  
 “ perfectly know his own species, and so act  
 “ among them, that his life and manners may conform to his knowledge of God, and Man, may  
 “ be truly said to discharge all the duties of a  
 “ sage, and to be far exalted above the common  
 “ herd

“herd of the human race.” But such a religion and such morality could never have been general; and we find, that the people of *China* had an ancient system of ceremonies and superstitions, which the government and the philosophers appear to have encouraged, and which has an apparent affinity with some parts of the oldest *Indian* worship: they believe in the agency of genii, or tutelary spirits, presiding over the stars and the clouds, over lakes and rivers, mountains, valleys, and woods, over certain regions and towns, over all the elements (of which, like the *Hindus*, they reckon *five*), and particularly over *fire*, the most brilliant of them: to those deities they offered victims on high places; and the following passage from the *Shi-cin*, or *Book of Odes*, is very much in the style of the *Bráhmans*: “Even they who perform a sacrifice  
 “with due reverence cannot perfectly assure them-  
 “selves, that the divine spirits accept their obla-  
 “tions; and far less can they who adore the  
 “Gods with languor and oscitancy clearly per-  
 “ceive their sacred illapses.”

THESE are imperfect traces indeed, but they are traces of an affinity between the religion of MENU and that of the *Chinás*, whom he names among the apostates from it. M. LE GENTIL, observed, he says, a strong resemblance between the funeral rites of the *Chinese* and the *Sráddha* of the *Hindus*; and M. BAILLY, after a learned investigation, concludes, that “even the puerile  
 “and absurd stories of the *Chinese* fabulists con-  
 “tain a remnant of ancient *Indian* history, with  
 “a faint sketch of the first *Hindu* ages.”

As the *Bauddhas*, indeed, were *Hindus*, it may naturally be imagined, that they carried into *China* many ceremonies practised in their own country; but the *Bauddhas* positively forbid the immolation of cattle; yet we know, that various animals,  
 even



even bulls and men, were anciently sacrificed by the *Chinese*; besides which we discover many singular marks of relation between them and the old *Hindus*: as in the remarkable period of *four hundred and thirty-two thousand*, and the cycle of *sixty*, years; in the predilection for the mystical number *nine*; in many similar fasts and great festivals, especially at the solstices and equinoxes; in the just-mentioned obsequies, consisting of rice and fruits, offered to the manes of their ancestors; in the dread of dying childless, lest such offering should be intermitted; and, perhaps, in their common abhorrence of *red* objects, which the *Indians* carried so far, that MENU himself, where he allows a *Bráhma*n to trade, if he cannot otherwise support life, absolutely forbids “his traffick-  
“ing in any sort of *red* cloths, whether linen or  
“woollen, or made of woven bark.”

ALL the circumstances which have been mentioned under the two heads of *literature* and *religion* seem collectively to prove (as far as such a question admits proof) that the *Chinese* and *Hindus* were originally the same people; but having been separated near four thousand years, have retained few strong features of their ancient consanguinity, especially as the *Hindus* have preserved their old language and ritual, while the *Chinese* very soon lost both; and the *Hindus* have constantly intermarried among themselves; while the *Chinese*, by a mixture of *Tartarian* blood from the time of their first establishment, have at length formed a race distinct in appearance both from *Indians* and *Tartars*.

A SIMILAR diversity has arisen, I believe, from similar causes, between the people of *China* and *Japan*; in the second of which nations we have now, or soon shall have, as correct and as ample  
instruction

instruction as can possibly be obtained without a perfect acquaintance with the *Chinese* characters.

KEMPFER has taken from M. LITSINGH the honour of being the first, and he from KEMPFER that of being the only *European*, who, by a long residence in *Japan*, and a familiar intercourse with the principal natives of it, has been able to collect authentic materials for the natural and civil history of a country *secluded*, as the *Romans* used to say of our own Island, from *the rest of the World*. The works of those illustrious travellers will confirm and embellish each other; and when M. LITSINGH shall have acquired a knowledge of *Chinese*, to which a part of his leisure in *Java* will be devoted, his precious collection of books in that language, on the laws and revolutions, the natural productions, the arts, manufactures, and sciences, of *Japan*, will be in his hands an inexhaustible mine of new and important information. Both he and his predecessor assert with confidence, and I doubt not with truth, that the *Japanese* would resent, as an insult on their dignity, the bare suggestion of their descent from the *Chinese*, whom they surpass in several of the mechanical arts, and, what is of greater consequence, in military spirit; but they do not, I understand, mean to deny, that they are a branch of the same ancient stem with the people of *China*; and, were that fact ever so warmly contested by them, it might be proved by an invincible argument, if the preceding part of this Discourse, on the origin of the *Chinese*, be thought to contain just reasoning.

IN the first place, it seems inconceivable, that the *Japanese*, who never appear to have been conquerors or conquered, should have adopted the whole system of *Chinese* literature with all its inconveniences and intricacies, if an immemorial connexion

nexion had not subsisted between the two nations; or, in other words, if the bold and ingenious race who peopled *Japan* in the middle of the thirteenth century before CHRIST, and about six hundred years afterwards established their monarchy, had not carried with them the letters and learning which they and the *Chinese* had possessed in common; but my principal argument is, that the *Hindu* or *Egyptian* idolatry has prevailed in *Japan* from the earliest ages; and among the idols worshipped, according to KEMPFER, in that country before the innovations of SA'CYA or BUDDHA, whom the *Japanese* also call AMIDA, we find many of those which we see every day in the temples of *Bengal*; particularly the Goddesses with many arms, representing the powers of nature, in *Egypt* named ISIS, and here ISA'NI' or ISI', whose image, as it is exhibited by the *German* traveller, all the *Bráhmans* to whom I shewed it immediately recognized with a mixture of pleasure and enthusiasm. It is very true, that the *Chinese* differ widely from the natives of *Japan* in their vernacular dialects, in external manners, and perhaps in the strength of their mental faculties; but as wide a difference is observable among all the nations of the *Gothic* family; and we might account even for a greater dissimilarity, by considering the number of ages during which the several swarms have been separated from the great *Indian* hive, to which they primarily belonged.

THE modern *Japanese* gave KEMPFER the idea of polished *Tartars*; and it is reasonable to believe, that the people of *Japan*, who were originally *Hindus* of the martial class, and advanced farther eastward than the *Chinas*, have, like them, insensibly changed their features and characters by intermarriages with various *Tartarian* tribes, whom

whom they found loosely scattered over the isles, or who afterwards fixed their abode in them.

HAVING now shewn, in five Discourses, that the *Arabs* and *Tartars* were originally distinct races, while the *Hindus*, *Chinese*, and *Japanese*, proceeded from another ancient stem, and that all the three stems may be traced to *Iran*, as to a common centre, from which it is highly probable, that they diverged in various directions about four thousand years ago, I may seem to have accomplished my design of investigating the origin of the *Asiatick* nations; but the questions which I undertook to discuss are not yet ripe for a strict analytical argument; and it will first be necessary to examine with scrupulous attention all the detached or insulated races of men, who either inhabit the borders of *India*, *Arabia*, *Tartary*, *Persia*, and *China*, or are interspersed in the mountainous and uncultivated parts of those extensive regions.

To this examination I shall, at our next Annual Meeting, allot an entire Discourse; and if, after all our inquiries, no more than *three* primitive races can be found, it will be a subsequent consideration, whether those three stocks had one common root, and, if they had, by what means that root was preserved amid the violent shocks which our whole globe appears evidently to have sustained.

DISSERTATION VIII.  
REMARKS  
ON THE  
ISLAND  
OF  
HINZUAN OR JOHANNA.

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*HINZUAN* (a name which has been gradually corrupted into *Anzuame*, *Anjuan*, *Juanny*, and *Johanna*) has been governed about two centuries by a colony of *Arabs*, and exhibits a curious instance of the slow approaches towards civilization which are made by a small community, with many natural advantages, but with few means of improving them. An account of this *African* island, in which we hear the language and see the manners of *Arabia*, may neither be uninteresting in itself, nor foreign to the objects of enquiry proposed at the institution of our Society.

ON

\* ON Monday the 28th of July 1783, after a voyage in the *Crocodile* of ten weeks and two days from the rugged islands of *Cape Verd*, our eyes were delighted with a prospect so beautiful, that neither a painter nor a poet could perfectly represent it, and so cheering to us, that it can justly be conceived by such only as have been in our preceding situation. It was the sun rising in full splendour on the isle of *Mayata* (as the seamen called it), which we had joyfully distinguished the preceding afternoon by the height of its peak, and which now appeared at no great distance from the windows of our cabin; while *Hitzúan*, for which we had so long panted, was plainly discernible a-head, where its high lands presented themselves with remarkable boldness. The weather was fair; the water smooth; and a gentle breeze drove us easily before dinner-time round a rock, on which the *Brilliant* struck just a year before, into a commodious road \*, where we dropped our anchor early in the evening: we had seen *Mobila*, another sister island, in the course of the day.

THE frigate was presently surrounded with canoes, and the deck soon crowded with natives of all ranks, from the high-born chief, who washed linen, to the half-naked slave, who only paddled. Most of them had letters of recommendation from *Englishmen*, which none of them were able to read, though they spoke *English* intelligibly; and some appeared vain of titles which our countrymen had given them in play, according to their supposed stations; we had lords, dukes, and princes on board, soliciting our custom, and importuning us for presents. In fact, they were too sensible to be proud of empty sounds, but justly imagined, that those

\* Lat. 12°. 10'. 47". S. Long. 44°. 25'. 5". E. by the Master.

ridiculous titles would serve as marks of distinction, and, by attracting notice, procure for them something substantial. The only men of real consequence in the island, whom we saw before we landed, were the Governor ABDULLAH, second cousin to the King, and his brother ALWI', with their several sons; all of whom will again be particularly mentioned: they understood *Arabick*, seemed zealots in the *Mohammedan* faith, and admired my copies of the *Alkoran*; some verses of which they read, whilst ALWI' perused the opening of another *Arabian* manuscript, and explained it in *Englisch* more accurately than could have been expected.

THE next morning shewed us the island in all its beauty; and the scene was so diversified, that a distinct view of it could hardly have been exhibited by the best pencil: you must, therefore, be satisfied with a mere description, written on the very spot, and compared attentively with the natural landscape. We were at anchor in a fine bay, and before us was a vast amphitheatre, of which you may form a general notion by picturing in your minds a multitude of hills infinitely varied in size and figure, and then supposing them to be thrown together, with a kind of artless symmetry, in all imaginable positions. The back ground was a series of mountains, one of which is pointed, near half a mile perpendicularly high from the level of the sea, and little more than three miles from the shore: all of them were richly clothed with wood, chiefly fruit-trees, of an exquisite verdure. I had seen many a mountain of a stupendous height in *Wales* and *Switzerland*, but never saw one before, round the bosom of which the clouds were almost continually rolling, while its green summit rose flourishing above them, and received from them an additional brightness.

Next

Next to this distant range of hills was another tier, part of which appeared charmingly verdant, and part rather barren; but the contrast of colours changed even this nakedness into a beauty: nearer still were innumerable mountains, or rather cliffs, which brought down their verdure and fertility quite to the beach; so that every shade of green, the sweetest of colours, was displayed at one view by land and by water. But nothing conduced more to the variety of this enchanting prospect than the many rows of palm-trees, especially the tall and graceful *Areca's*, on the shores, in the valleys, and on the ridges of hills, where one might almost suppose them to have been planted regularly by design. A more beautiful appearance can scarce be conceived, than such a number of elegant palms in such a situation, with luxuriant tops, like verdant plumes, placed at just intervals, and shewing between them part of the remoter landscape, while they left the rest to be supplied by the beholder's imagination. The town of *Matfamúdo* lay on our left, remarkable at a distance for the tower of the principal Mosque, which was built by *HALÍMAH*, a Queen of the island, from whom the present King is descended: a little on our right was a small town, called *Bantáni*. Neither the territory of *Nice*, with its olives, date-trees, and cypresses, nor the isles of *Hieres*, with their delightful orange-groves, appeared so charming to me as the view from the road of *Hinzúan*; which, nevertheless, is far surpassed, as the Captain of the *Crocodile* assured us, by many of the islands in the southern ocean. If life were not too short for the complete discharge of all our respective duties, public and private, and for the acquisition even of necessary knowledge in any degree of perfection, with how much pleasure and improvement might a great part



part of it be spent in admiring the beauties of this wonderful orb, and contemplating the nature of man in all its varieties!

WE hastened to tread on firm land, to which we had been so long disused, and went on shore, after breakfast, to see the town, and return the Governor's visit. As we walked, attended by a crowd of natives; I surprized them by reading aloud an *Arabick* inscription over the gate of a *Mosque*, and still more, when I entered it, by explaining four sentences, which were written very distinctly on the wall, signifying; "that the world  
" was given us for our own edification, not for  
" the purpose of raising sumptuous buildings;  
" life, for the discharge of moral and religious  
" duties, not for pleasurable indulgences; wealth,  
" to be liberally bestowed, not avariciously hoard-  
" ed; and learning, to produce good actions, not  
" empty disputes." We could not but respect the temple even of a false prophet, in which we found such excellent morality; we saw nothing better among the *Romish* trumpery in the church at *Madera*.

WHEN we came to ABDULLAH's house, we were conducted through a small court-yard into an open room, on each side of which was a large and convenient sofa, and above it a high bed-place in a dark recess, over which a chintz counterpane hung down from the ceiling: this is the general form of the best rooms in the island; and most of the tolerable houses have a similar apartment on the opposite side of the court, that there may be at all hours a place in the shade for dinner or for repose. We were entertained with ripe dates from *Yemen*, and the milk of cocoa-nuts; but the heat of the room, which seemed accessible to all who chose to enter it, and the scent of musk or civet,

with which it was perfumed, soon made us desirous of breathing a purer air; nor could I be detained long by the *Arabick* manuscripts which the Governor produced, but which appeared of little use, and consequently of no value, except to such as love mere curiosities: one of them, indeed, relating to the penal law of the *Mohammedans*, I would gladly have purchased at a just price; but he knew not what to ask, and I knew that better books on that subject might be procured in *Bengal*. He then offered me a black boy for one of my Alkorans, and pressed me to barter an *Indian* dress, which he had seen on board the ship, for a cow and calf; the golden slippers attracted him most, since his wife, he said, would like to wear them; and for that reason I made him a present of them; but had destined the book and the robe for his superior. No high opinion could be formed of SAYYAD ABDULLAH, who seemed very eager for gain, and very servile where he expected it.

OUR next visit was to SHAIKH SA'LIM, the King's eldest son; and if we had seen him first, the state of civilization in *Hinzûân* would have appeared at its lowest ebb; the worst *English* hackney in the worst stable is better lodged, and looks more princely than this heir apparent; but though his mien and apparel were extremely savage, yet allowance should have been made for his illness, which, as we afterwards learned, was an abscess in the spleen, a disorder not uncommon in that country, and frequently cured, agreeably to the *Arabian* practice, by the actual cautery. He was incessantly chewing pieces of the *Areca-nut* with shell-lime; a custom borrowed, I suppose, from the *Indians*, who greatly improve the composition with spices and betel-leaves, to which they formerly added camphor: all the natives of rank chewed it, but not, I think, to so great an excess. Prince  
SA'LIM

SALIM from time to time gazed at himself with complacency in a piece of broken looking-glass, which was glued on a small board; a specimen of wretchedness which we observed in no other house; but many circumstances convinced us that the apparently low condition of his Royal Highness, who was not on bad terms with his father, and seemed not to want authority, proceeded wholly from his avarice. His brother HAMDULLAH, who generally resides in the town of *Domom*, has a very different character, being esteemed a man of worth, good sense, and learning: he had come the day before to *Matsumudo*, on hearing that an *English* frigate was in the road; and I having gone out for a few minutes to read an *Arabick* inscription, found him on my return devouring a manuscript, which I had left with some of the company. He is a *Kadi* or *Mohammedan* judge; and as he seemed to have more knowledge than his countrymen, I was extremely concerned that I had so little conversation with him. The King, SHAIKH AHMED, has a younger son, named ABDULLAH, whose usual residence is in the town of *Wani*, which he seldom leaves, as the state of his health is very infirm. Since the succession to the title and authority of Sultan is not unalterably fixed in one line, but requires confirmation by the Chiefs of the island, it is not improbable that they may hereafter be conferred on Prince HAMDULLAH.

A LITTLE beyond the hole in which SALIM received us, was his *Haram*, or the apartment of his women, which he permitted us all to see, not through politeness to strangers, as we believed at first, but, as I learned afterwards from his own lips, in expectation of a present: we saw only two or three miserable creatures with their heads covered, while the favourite, as we supposed, stood behind a coarse curtain, and shewed her ankles

under it loaded with silver rings; which, if she was capable of reflection, she must have considered as glittering fetters rather than ornaments; but a rational being would have preferred the condition of a wild beast, exposed to perils and hunger in a forest, to the splendid misery of being wife or mistress to SA'LIM.

BEFORE we returned, ALWI' was desirous of shewing me his books: but the day was too far advanced, and I promised to visit him some other morning. The Governor, however, prevailed on us to see his place in the country, where he invited us to dine the next day: the walk was extremely pleasant from the town to the side of a rivulet, which formed in one part a small pool very convenient for bathing, and thence, through groves and alleys, to the foot of a hill; but the dining-room was little better than an open barn, and was recommended only by the coolness of its shade. ABDULLAH would accompany us on our return to the ship, together with two *Mufti's*, who spoke *Arabick* indifferently, and seemed eager to see all my manuscripts; but they were very moderately learned, and gazed with stupid wonder on a fine copy of the *Hamásáb* and on other collections of ancient poetry.

EARLY the next morning a black messenger, with a tawney lad as his interpreter, came from Prince SA'LIM; who, having broken his perspective-glass, wished to procure another by purchase or barter: a polite answer was returned, and steps taken to gratify his wishes. As we on our part expressed a desire to visit the King at *Domóní*, the Prince's messenger told us, that his master would, no doubt, lend us palanquins (for there was not an horse in the island), and order a sufficient number of his vassals to carry us, whom we might pay for their

their trouble, as we thought just : we commissioned him, therefore, to ask that favour, and begged that all might, be ready for our excursion before sun-rise, that we might escape the heat of the noon, which, though it was the middle of winter, we had found excessive. The boy, whose name was COMBO MADI' staid with us longer than his companion : there was something in his look so ingenuous, and in his broken *English* so simple, that we encouraged him to continue his innocent prattle. He wrote and read *Arabick* tolerably well, and set down at my desire the names of several towns in the island, which, He first told me, was properly called *Hinzúan*. The fault of begging for whatever he liked, he had in common with the Governor and other nobles ; but hardly in a greater degree : his first petition for some lavender-water was readily granted ; and a small bottle of it was so acceptable to him, that, if we had suffered him, he would have kissed our feet : but it was not for himself that he rejoiced so extravagantly ; he told us, with tears starting from his eyes, that his mother would be pleased with it, and the idea of her pleasure seemed to fill him with rapture : never did I see filial affection more warmly felt, or more tenderly and, in my opinion, unaffectedly expressed ; yet this boy was not a favourite of the officers, who thought him artful. His mother's name, he said, was FA'TIMA ; and he importuned us to visit her ; conceiving, I suppose, that all mankind must love and admire her ; we promised to gratify him ; and, having made him several presents, permitted him to return. As he reminded me of ALADDIN in the *Arabian* tale, I designed to give him that name in a recommendatory letter, which he pressed me to write, instead of ST. DOMINGO, as some *European* visitor had ridiculously called him ; but, since the allusion would not have been

been generally known; and since the title of *Alau'din*, or *Eminence in Faith*, might have offended his superiors, I thought it adviseable for him to keep his *African* name.

A VERY indifferent dinner was prepared for us at the house of the Governor, whom we did not see the whole day, as it was the beginning of *Ramadan*, the *Mohammedan Lent*, and he was engaged in his devotions, or made them his excuse; but his eldest son sat by us, while we dined together with MUSA, who was employed, jointly with his brother HUSAIN, as purveyor to the Captain of the frigate.

HAVING observed a very elegant shrub, that grew about six feet high in the court-yard, but was not then in flower, I learned with pleasure, that it was *hinnà*, of which I had read so much in *Arabian* poems, and which *European* botanists have ridiculously named *Lawsonia*. MUSA bruised some of the leaves, and, having moistened them with water, applied them to our nails, and the tips of our fingers, which in a short time became of a dark orange-scarlet. I had before conceived a different idea of this dye, and imagined, that it was used by the *Arabs* to imitate the natural redness of those parts in young and healthy persons, which in all countries must be considered as a beauty: perhaps a less quantity of *hinnà*, or the same differently prepared, might have produced that effect. The old men in *Arabia* used the same dye to conceal their gray hair, while their daughters were dyeing their lips and gums black, to set off the whiteness of their teeth; so universal in all nations and ages are personal vanity, and a love of disguising truth; though in all cases, the farther our species recede from nature, the farther they depart from true beauty; and men at least should disdain to use artifice or deceit for any purpose.

pose or on any occasion : if the women of rank at *Paris*, or those in *London* who wish to imitate them, be inclined to call the *Arabs* barbarians, let them view their own head-dresses and cheeks, in a glass, and, if they have left no room for blushes, be inwardly at least ashamed of their censure.

IN the afternoon I walked a long way up the mountains in a winding path amid plants and trees no less new than beautiful, and regretted exceedingly that very few of them were in blossom, as I should then have had leisure to examine them. Curiosity led me from hill to hill ; and I came at last to the sources of a rivulet, which we had passed near the shore, and from which the ship was to be supplied with excellent water. I saw no birds on the mountains but Guinea-fowl, which might have been easily caught : no insects were troublesome to me but mosquitos ; and I had no fear of venomous reptiles, having been assured that the air was too pure for any to exist in it ; but I was often unwillingly the cause of fear to the gentle and harmless lizard, who ran among the shrubs. On my return I missed the path by which I had ascended ; but having met some blacks laden with yams and plantains, I was by them directed to another, which led me round, through a charming grove of cocoa-trees, to the Governor's country-seat, where our entertainment was closed by a fillabub, which the *English* had taught the *Mujelmans* to make for them.

WE received no answer from SA'LIM ; nor, indeed, expected one, since we took for granted that he could not but approve our intention of visiting his father ; and we went on shore before sun rise, in full expectation of a pleatant excursion to *Domóni*, but we were happily disappointed. The servants at the Prince's door told us coolly, that

that their master was indisposed, and, as they believed, asleep; that he had given them no orders concerning his palanquins, and that they durst not disturb him. ALWI soon came to pay us his compliments, and was followed by his eldest son AHMED, with whom we walked to the gardens of the two Princes SA'LIM and HAMDULLAH; the situation was naturally good but wild and desolate; and in SA'LIM's garden, which we entered through a miserable hovel, we saw a convenient bathing-place, well built with stone, but then in great disorder; and a shed by way of summer-house, like that under which we dined at the Governor's, but smaller, and less neat. On the ground lay a kind of cradle, about six feet long, and little more than one foot in breadth, made of cords twisted in a sort of clumsy net-work, with a long thick bamboo fixed to each side of it: this we heard with surprize was a royal palanquin, and one of the vehicles in which we were to have been rocked on men's shoulders over the mountains. I had much conversation with AHMED, whom I found intelligent and communicative. He told me, that several of his countrymen composed songs and tunes; that he was himself a passionate lover of poetry and music, and that if we would dine at his house he would play and sing to us. We declined his invitation to dinner, as we had made a conditional promise if ever we passed a day at *Matsamudo* to sit at our curry with BA'NA' GIBU, an honest man, of whom we purchased eggs and vegetables, and to whom some *Englishmen* had given the title of Lord, which made him extremely vain; we could therefore make SAY-YAD AHMED only a morning visit. He sung a hymn or two in *Arabick*, and accompanied his drawling though pathetic psalmody with a kind of mandoline, which he touched with an awkward quill:



quill: the instrument was very imperfect, but seemed to give him delight. The names of the strings were written on it in *Arâbian* or *Indian* figures, simple and compounded; but I could not think them worth copying. He gave Captain WILJAMSON, who wished to present some literary curiosities to the library at *Dublin*, a small roll, containing a hymn in *Arabick* letters, but in the language of *Mombaz*, which was mixed with *Arabick*; but it hardly deserved examination, since the study of languages has little intrinsic value, and is only useful as the instrument of real knowledge, which we can scarce expect from the poets of *Mozambique*. AHMED would, I believe, have heard our *European* airs (I always except French melody) with rapture; for his favourite tune was a common *Irish* jig, with which he seemed wonderfully affected.

ON our return to the beach I thought of visiting old ALWI, according to my promise, and Prince SALIM, whose character I had not then discovered. I resolved for that purpose to stay on shore alone, our dinner with GIBU having been fixed at an early hour. ALWI shewed me his manuscripts, which chiefly related to the ceremonies and ordinances of his own religion; and one of them, which I had formerly seen in *Europe*, was a collection of sublime and elegant hymns in praise of MOHAMMED, with explanatory notes in the margin. I requested him to read one of them after the manner of the *Arabs*, and he chaunted it in a strain by no means unpleasing; but I am persuaded that he understood it very imperfectly. The room, which was open to the street, was presently crowded with visitors, most of whom were *Mufti's*, or *expounders of the law*: and ALWI desirous, perhaps, to display his zeal before them at the expence of good-breeding, directed my attention

to

to a passage in a Commentary on the KORA'N, which I found levelled at the *Christians*. The commentator, having related with some additions (but on the whole, not inaccurately) the circumstances of the temptation, puts this speech into the mouth of the tempter: "Though I am unable to delude thee, yet I will mislead by thy means more human creatures than thou wilt set right." "Nor was this menace vain," says the MOHAMMEDAN writer, "for the inhabitants of a region many thousand leagues in extent, are still so deluded by the devil, that they impiously call I'SA the son of God. Heaven preserve us," he adds, "from blaspheming Christians, as well as blaspheming Jews!" Although a religious dispute with those obstinate zealots would have been unseasonable and fruitless, yet they deserved, I thought a slight reprehension, as the attack seemed to be concerted among them. "The commentator," said I, "was much to blame for passing so indiscriminate and hasty a censure: the title which gave your legislator, and gives you such offence, was often applied in *Judea*, by a bold figure, agreeable to the *Hebrew idiom*, though unusual in *Arabick*, to *angels*, to *holy men*, and even to *all mankind*, who are commanded to call God *their father*; and in this large sense the *Apostle* to the *Romans* calls the elect the *children* of God, and the MESSIAH the *first-born among many brethren*; but the words *only-begotten* are applied transcendently and incomparably to him alone\*; and as for me, who believe the scriptures, which you also profess to believe, though you assert without proof that we have altered them, I cannot refuse him an appellation, though far surpassing our reason, by which he is distin-

\* Rom. viii. 29. See 1. John, iii. 1. 2. Barrow, 231, 232, 251.

"guished

“guished in the Gospel; and the believers in  
 “MUHAMMED, who expressly names him the  
 “MESSIAH, and pronounces him to have been  
 “born of a virgin, which alone might fully justify  
 “the phrase condemned by this author, are them-  
 “selves condemnable for cavilling at words; when  
 “they cannot object to the substance of our faith  
 “consistently with their own.” The *Muselmans*  
 had nothing to say in reply; and the conversation  
 was changed.

I WAS astonished at the questions which ALWI’  
 put to me concerning the late peace and the inde-  
 pendence of *America*; the several powers and re-  
 sources of *Britain* and *France*, *Spain* and *Holland*;  
 the character and supposed views of the EMPEROR;  
 the comparative strength of the *Russian*, *Imperial*,  
 and *Othman* armies, and their respective modes of  
 bringing their forces to action. I answered him  
 without reserve, except on the state of our posses-  
 sions in *India*; nor were my answers lost; for I  
 observed that all the company were variously af-  
 fected by them, generally with amazement, often  
 with concern; especially when I described to them  
 the great force and admirable discipline of the  
*Austrian* army, and the stupid prejudices of the  
*Turks*, whom nothing can induce to abandon their  
 old *Tartarian* habits; and exposed the weakness of  
 their empire in *Africa*, and even in the more  
 distant provinces of *Asia*. In return he gave me  
 clear but general information concerning the go-  
 vernment and commerce of his island: “his coun-  
 “try,” he said, “was poor, and produced few  
 “articles of trade; but if they could get money,  
 “which they now preferred to play-things,” these  
 were his words, “they might easily,” he added,  
 “procure foreign commodities, and exchange  
 “them advantageously with their neighbours in  
 “the islands and on the continent: thus with a little  
 “money,”

“ money,” said he, “ we purchase muskets, powder, balls, cutlasses, knives, cloths, raw cotton, and other articles brought from *Bombay*, and with those we trade to *Madagascar* for the natural produce of the country or for dollars, with which the *French* buy cattle, honey, butter, and so forth, in that island. With gold, which we receive from your ships, we can procure elephants teeth from the natives of *Mozambique*, who barter them also for ammunition and bars of iron; and the *Portuguese* in that country give us cloths of various kinds in exchange for our commodities. those cloths we dispose of lucratively in the three neighbouring islands; whence we bring rice, cattle, a kind of bread-fruit which grows in *Comara*, and slaves, which we buy also at other places to which we trade; and we carry on this traffic in our own vessels.”

HERE I could not help expressing my abhorrence of their *Slave Trade*, and asked him by what law they claimed a property in rational beings, since our CREATOR had given our species a dominion, to be moderately exercised, over the beasts of the field and the fowls of the air, but none to man over man. “ By no law, answered he, “ unless necessity be a law.” There are nations in *Madagascar* and in *Africa* who know neither GOD nor his PROPHET, nor MOSES, nor DAVID, nor the MESSIAH: those nations are in perpetual war, and take many captives, whom, if they could not sell, they would certainly kill. Individuals among them are in extreme poverty, and have numbers of children, who, if they cannot be disposed of, must perish through hunger, together with their miserable parents. By purchasing these wretches, we preserve their lives, and, perhaps, those of many others, whom

“ whom our money relieves. The sum of the  
 “ argument is this: If we buy them, they will  
 “ live—if they become valuable servants, they  
 “ will live comfortably; but if they are not sold,  
 “ they must die miserably.” “ There may be,”  
 said I, “ such cases, but you fallaciously draw a  
 “ general conclusion from a few particular in-  
 “ stances; and this is the very fallacy which, on a  
 “ thousand other occasions, deludes mankind. It  
 “ is not to be doubted that a constant and gainful  
 “ traffic in human creatures foment war, in  
 “ which captives are always made, and keeps up  
 “ that perpetual enmity which you pretend to be  
 “ the *cause* of a practice in itself reprehensible,  
 “ while in truth it is its *effect*. The same traffic  
 “ encourages laziness in some parents, who might  
 “ in general support their families by proper in-  
 “ dustry, and seduces others to stifle their natural  
 “ feelings. At most, your redemption of those  
 “ unhappy children can amount only to a personal  
 “ contract, implied between you, for gratitude  
 “ and reasonable service on their part—for kind-  
 “ ness and humanity on your’s; but can you  
 “ think your part performed by disposing of them  
 “ against their wills, with as much indifference as  
 “ if you were selling cattle; especially as they  
 “ might become readers of the KORA’N, and pil-  
 “ lars of your Faith?” “ The law, said he, for-  
 “ bids our selling them, when they are believers in  
 “ the PROPHET; and little children only are sold,  
 “ nor they often, or by all masters.” “ You who  
 “ believe in MUHAMMED, said I, “ are bound by  
 “ the spirit and letter of his laws to take pains that  
 “ they also may believe in him; and if you ne-  
 “ glect so important a duty for sordid gain, I do  
 “ not see how you can hope for prosperity in this  
 “ world, or for happiness in the next.” My old  
 friend and the MURTIS assented, and muttered a few  
 prayers

prayers, but probably forgot my preaching before many minutes had passed.

So much time had slipped away in this conversation, that I could make but a short visit to Prince SA'LIM: my view in visiting him was to fix the time of our journey to *Domóni* as early as possible on the next morning. His appearance was more savage than ever, and I found him in a disposition to complain bitterly of the English. "No acknowledgement," he said, "had been made for the kind attentions of himself and the chief men in his country to the officers and people of the *Brilliant*, though a whole year had elapsed since the wreck." I really wondered at the forgetfulness to which alone such a neglect could be imputed; and assured him, that I would express my opinion both in *Bengal* and in letters to *England*. "We have little," said he, "to hope from letters, for when we have been paid with them instead of money, and have shewn them on board your ships, we have commonly been treated with disdain, and often with imprecations." I assured him, that either those letters must have been written coldly and by very obscure persons, or shewn to very ill-bred men, of whom there were too many in all nations, but that a few instances of rudeness ought not to give him a general prejudice against our national character. "But you," said he, "are a wealthy nation, and we are indigent; yet though all our groves of cocoa-trees, our fruits, and our cattle are ever at your service, you always try to make hard bargains with us for what you chuse to dispose of, and frequently will neither sell nor give those things which we principally want." "To form," said I, a just opinion of *Englishmen*, you must visit us in our own island, or at least in *India*; here we are strangers and travellers: many of us have no  
 "design

“ design to trade in any country, and none of us  
 “ think of trading in *Hinzuán*, where we stop  
 “ only for refreshment. The clothes, arms, or  
 “ instruments which you may want are commonly  
 “ necessary or convenient to us; but if SAYYAD  
 “ ALWI or his sons were to be strangers in our  
 “ country, you shall have no reason to boast of  
 “ superior hospitality.” He then shewed me a se-  
 cond time a part of an old silk vest, with the star  
 of the Order of the Thistle, and begged me to ex-  
 plain the motto; expressing a wish that the Order  
 might be conferred on him by the KING of ENG-  
 LAND in return for his good offices to the *English*.  
 I represented to him the impossibility of his being  
 gratified, and took occasion to say, that there was  
 more true dignity in their own native titles than in  
 those of Prince, Duke and Lord, which had been  
 idly given them, but had no conformity to their  
 manners or the constitution of their Govern-  
 ment.

THIS conversation being agreeable to neither  
 of us, I changed it by desiring that the palanquins  
 and bearers might be ready next morning as early  
 as possible: he answered, that his palanquins were  
 at our service for nothing, but that we must pay  
 him ten dollars for each set of bearers; that it  
 was the stated price, and that Mr. HASTINGS had  
 paid it when he went to visit the King. This, as I  
 learned afterwards, was false; but in all events I  
 knew that he would keep the dollars himself, and  
 give nothing to the bearers, who deserved them  
 better, and whom he would compel to leave their  
 cottages and toil for his profit. “ Can you ima-  
 “ gine, I replied, that we would employ four and  
 “ twenty men to bear us so far on their shoulders  
 “ without rewarding them amply? But since they  
 “ are free men (so he had assured me), and not  
 “ your slaves, we will pay them in proportion to  
 “ their

“ their diligence and good behaviour ; and it be-  
 “ comes neither your dignity nor ours to make a  
 “ previous bargain.” I shewed him an elegant  
 copy of the *Korán*, which I destined for his father,  
 and described the rest of my present ; but he coldly  
 asked, if that was all Had he been King, a  
 purse of dry dollars would have given him more  
 pleasure than the finest or holiest manuscript.  
 Finding him, in conversing on a variety of subjects,  
 utterly void of intelligence or principle, I took my  
 leave, and saw him no more, but promised to let  
 him know for certain whether we should make our  
 intended excursion.

WE dined in tolerable comfort, and had occa-  
 sion, in the course of the day, to observe the man-  
 ners of the natives in the middle rank, who are  
 called BA'NAS, and all of whom have slaves con-  
 stantly at work for them. We visited the mother  
 of COMBOMA'DE, who seemed in a station but lit-  
 tle raised above indigence ; and her husband, who  
 was a mariner, bartered an *Arabick* Treatise on  
 Astronomy and Navigation, which he had read,  
 for a sea-compass, of which he well knew the  
 use.

IN the morning I had conversed with two very  
 old *Arabs* of *Yemen*, who had brought some arti-  
 cles of trade to *Hinzuán* ; and in the afternoon I  
 met another who had come from *Masfat* ; (where  
 at that time there was a civil war) to purchase, if  
 he could, an hundred stand of arms. I told them  
 all, that I loved their nation, and they returned  
 my compliments with great warmth, especially  
 the two old men, who were near fourscore, and  
 reminded me of ZOHAIK and HA'RETH.

So bad an account had been given me of the  
 road over the mountains, that I dissuaded my  
 companions from thinking of the journey, to  
 which the Captain became rather disinclined ; but



as I wished to be fully acquainted with a country which I might never see again, I wrote the next day to SA LIM, requesting him to lend me one palanquin, and to order a sufficient number of men; he sent me no written answer, which I ascribed rather to his incapacity than to rudeness: but the Governor, with ALWI and two of his sons, came on board in the evening, and said, that they had seen my letters; that all should be ready; but that I could not pay less for the men than ten dollars. I said, I would pay more, but it should be to the men themselves, according to their behaviour. They returned somewhat dissatisfied, after I had played at chess with ALWI'S younger son, in whose manner and address there was something remarkably pleasing.

BEFORE sun-rise, on the 2d of *August*, I went alone on shore, with a small basket of such provisions as I might want in the course of the day, and with some cushions to make the Prince's palanquin at least a tolerable vehicle; but the Prince was resolved to receive the dollars to which his men were entitled; and he knew that, as I was eager for the journey, he could prescribe his own terms. Old ALWI met me on the beach, and brought excuses from SA LIM, who, he said, was indisposed. He conducted me to his house, and seemed rather desirous of persuading me to abandon my design of visiting the King; but I assured him, that if the Prince would not supply me with proper attendants, I would walk to *Domóni* with my own servants and a guide.

“SHAIKH SA LIM,” he said, “was miserably avaritious; that he was ashamed of a kinsman with such a disposition; but that he was no less obstinate than covetous, and that without ten dollars paid in hand it would be impossible to procure bearers.” I then gave him three guineas,

which he carried or pretended to carry to SA'LIM, but returned without the change, alledging that he had no silver, and promising to give me on my return the few dollars that remained. In about an hour the ridiculous vehicle was brought by nine sturdy blacks, who could not speak a word of *Arabick*; so that I expected no information concerning the country through which I was to travel; but ALWI' assisted me in a point of the utmost consequence. "You cannot go," said he, "without an interpreter; for the King speaks only the language of this island; but I have a servant whose name is TUMU'NI, a sensible and worthy man, who understands *English*, and is much esteemed by the King: he is known and valued all over *Hinzuàn*. This man shall attend you; and you will soon be sensible of his worth."

TUMU'NI desired to carry my basket, and we set out with a prospect of fine weather, but some hours later than I had intended. I walked by the gardens of the two Princes to the skirts of the town, and came to a little village consisting of several very neat huts made chiefly with the leaves of the cocoa-tree; but the road a little farther was so stony, that I sat in the palanquin, and was borne with perfect safety over some rocks. I then desired my guide to assure the men, that I would pay them liberally; but the poor peasants, who had been brought from their farms on the hills, were not perfectly acquainted with the use of money, and treated my promise with indifference.

ABOUT five miles from *Matsamúdo* lies the town of *Wáni*, where SHAIKH ABDULLAH, who has already been mentioned, usually resides. I saw it at a distance, and it seemed to be agreeably situated. When I had passed the rocky part of the road I came to a stony beach, where the sea appeared to have

have lost some ground, since there was a fine sand to the left, and beyond it a beautiful bay, which resembled that of *Weymouth*, and seemed equally convenient for bathing; but it did not appear to me, that the stones over which I was carried had been recently covered with water. Here I saw the frigate, and taking leave of it for two days, turned from the coast into a fine country very neatly cultivated, and consisting partly of hillocks exquisitely green, partly of plains which were then in a gaudy dress of rick yellow blossoms: my guide informed me that they were plantations of a kind of vetch which was eaten by the natives. Cottages and farms were interspersed all over this gay champaign, and the whole scene was delightful; but it was soon changed for beauties of a different sort. We descended into a cool valley, through which ran a rivulet of perfectly clear water; and there finding my vehicle uneasy, though from the laughter and merriment of my bearers I concluded them to be quite at their ease; I bade them set me down, and walked before them all the rest of the way. Mountains clothed with fine trees and flowering shrubs presented themselves on our ascent from the vale, and we proceeded for half an hour through pleasant wood-walks, where I regretted the impossibility of loitering a while to examine the variety of new blossoms, which succeeded one another at every step, and the virtues as well as names of which seemed familiar to *TUMUNI*. At length we descended into a valley of greater extent than the former; a river or large wintry torrent ran through it, and fell down a steep declivity at the end of it, where it seemed to be lost among rocks. Cattle were grazing on the banks of the river, and the huts of the owners appeared on the hills: a more agreeable spot I had not before seen even in *Switzerland* or *Merionethshire*;

*shire*; but it was followed by an assemblage of natural beauties, which I hardly expected to find in a little island twelve degrees to the south of the Line. I was not sufficiently pleased with my solitary journey to discover charms which had not actual existence, and the first effect of the contrast between *St. Jago* and *Hinzuàn* had ceased. But, without any disposition to give the landscape a high colouring, I may truly say what I thought at the time, that the whole country which next presented itself as far surpassed *Ermenonville* or *Blenheim*, or any other imitations of nature which I had seen in *France* or *England*, as the finest bay surpasses an artificial piece of water.

Two very high mountains covered to the summit with the richest verdure, were at some distance on my right hand, and separated from me by meadows diversified with cottages and herds, or by vallies resounding with torrents and water-falls: on my left was the sea, to which there were beautiful openings from the hills and woods; and the road was a smooth path, naturally winding through a forest of spicy shrubs, fruit-trees, and palms. Some high trees were spangled with white blossoms equal in fragrance to orange flowers: my guide called them *Monongo's*, but the day was declining so fast that it was impossible to examine them. The variety of fruits, flowers, and birds, of which I had a transient view in this magnificent garden, would have supplied a naturalist with amusement for a month; but I saw no remarkable insect, and no reptile of any kind. The woodland was diversified by a few pleasant glades, and new prospects were continually opened; at length a noble view of the sea burst upon me unexpectedly, and having passed a hill or two we came to the beach, beyond which were several hills and cottages. We turned from the shore, and on the

next eminence I saw the town of *Domoni* at a little distance below us: I was met by a number of natives, a few of whom spoke *Arabick*, and thinking it a convenient place for repose, I sent my guide to apprize\* the King of my intended visit. He returned in half an hour with a polite message; and I walked into the town, which seemed large and populous. A great crowd accompanied me, and I was conducted to a house built on the same plan with the best houses at *Matfamúdo*. In the middle of the court yard stood a large *Monongo* tree, which perfumed the air: the apartment on the left was empty; and in that on the right sat the King on a sofa or bench covered with an ordinary carpet. He rose when I entered, and, grasping my hands, placed me near him on the right; but as he could speak only the language of *Hinzuan*, I had recourse to my friend *TUMUNI*, than whom a readier or more accurate interpreter could not have been found. I presented the King with a very handsome *Indian* dress of blue silk with golden flowers, which had been worn only at one masquerade, and with a beautiful copy of the *KORAN*, from which I read a few verses to him: he took them with great complacency, and said, "he wished I had come by sea, that he might have loaded one of my boats with fruit and some of his finest cattle. He had seen me," he said, "on board the frigate, where he had been according to his custom in disguise, and had heard of me from his son *SHAIK HAMDULLAH*." I gave him an account of my journey, and extolled the beauties of his country: he put many questions concerning mine, and professed great regard for my nation. "But I hear," said he, "that you are a magistrate, and consequently profess peace; why are you armed with a broadsword?" I was a man," I said, "before I was a magistrate;

“magistrate; and if it should ever happen that law could not protect me, I must protect myself.” He seemed about sixty years old, had a very cheerful countenance, and a great appearance of goodnature mixed with a certain dignity which distinguished him from the crowd of ministers and officers who attended him. Our conversation was interrupted by notice, that it was the time for evening prayer; and when he arose he said, “This house is yours, and I will visit you in it after you have taken some refreshment.” Soon after his servants brought a roast fowl, a rice pudding, and some other dishes, with papayas and very good pomegranates; my own basket supplied the rest of the supper. The room was hung with old red cloth, and decorated with pieces of porcelain and festoons of English bottles; the lamps were placed on the ground in large sea-shells; and the bed-place, was a recess, concealed by a chintz hanging, opposite to the sofa on which he had been sitting. Though it was not a place that invited repose, and the gnats were inexpressibly troublesome, yet the fatigues of the day procured me a comfortable slumber. I was waked by the return of the King and his train; some of whom were *Arabs*, for I heard one say, “*Huwa rákid*,” or, “he is sleeping:” there was an immediate silence, and I passed the night with little disturbance except from the unwelcome songs of the musquitos. In the morning I was equally silent and solitary; the house appeared to be deserted, and I began to wonder what was become of *TUMU NI*: he came at length, with a concern on his countenance, and told me, that the bearers had run away in the night; but that the King, who wished to see me in another of his houses, would supply me with bearers, if he could not prevail on me to stay till a boat could be sent for. I went  
imme-

immediately to the King, who I found sitting on a raised sofa in a large room, the walls of which were adorned with sentences from the KORAN in very legible characters: about fifty of his subjects were seated on the ground in a semicircle before him, and my interpreter took his place in the midst of them. The good old King laughed heartily when he heard the adventure of the night, and said, "You will now be my guest for a week, I hope; but seriously, if you must return soon, I will send into the country for some peasants to carry you." He then apologised for the behaviour of SHAIK SA'LIM, which he had heard from TUMU'NI, who told me afterwards he was much displeas'd with it; and would not fail to express his displeas'd: he concluded with a long harangue on the advantages which the *English* might derive from sending a ship every year from *Bombay* to trade with his subjects, and on the wonderful cheapness of their commodities, especially of their cowries. Ridiculous as the idea may seem, it showed an enlargement of the mind, a desire to promote the interest of his people, and a sense of the benefits arising from trade, which could only have been expected from a petty *African* chief, and which if he had been sovereign of *Yemen* might have been expanded into rational projects, proportioned to the extent of his dominions. I answered, that I was imperfectly acquainted with the commerce of *India*; but that I would report the substance of his conversation, and would ever bear testimony of his noble zeal for the good of his country, and to the mildness with which he governed it. As I had no inclination to pass a second night in the island, I requested leave to return without waiting for bearers: he seem'd very sincere in pressing me to lengthen my visit, but had too much *Arabian* politeness to be importunate.

We

We therefore parted; and at the request of TUMU'NI, who assured me that little time would be lost in shewing attention to one of the worthiest men in *Hinzuàn*, I made a visit to the Governor of the town, whose name was MUTCKKA: his manners were very pleasing, and he shewed me some letters from the officers of the *Brilliant*, which appeared to flow warm from the heart, and contained the strongest eulge of his courtesy and liberality. He insisted on filling my baskets with some of the finest pomegranates I had ever seen; and I left the town impressed with a very favourable opinion of the King and his Governor. When I reascended the hill attended by many of the natives, one of them told me in *Arabick*, that I was going to receive the highest mark of distinction that it was in the King's power to shew me; and he had scarce ended; when I heard the report of a single gun: SHAIKH AHMED had saluted me with the whole of his ordnance, I waved my hat, and said, "*Allah Achar*:" The people shouted, and I continued my journey, not without fear of inconvenience from excessive heat and the fatigue of climbing the rocks. The walk, however, was not on the whole unpleasant. I sometimes rested in the valleys, and forded all the rivulets, which refreshed me with their coolness, and supplied me with exquisite water to mix with the juice of my pomegranates, and occasionally with brandy. We were overtaken by some peasants, who came from the hills by a nearer way, and brought the King's present of a cow with her calf, and a she-goat with two kids: they had apparently been selected for their beauty, and were brought safe to *Bengal*. The prospects which had so greatly delighted me the preceding day had not yet lost their charms, though they wanted the recommendation of novelty; but I must confess, that the most delight-  
ful



ful object in that day's walk of near ten miles was the black frigate, which I discerned at sun-set from a rock near the Prince's gardens. Close to the town I was met by a native, who, perceiving me to be weary, opened a fine cocoa nut, which afforded me a delicious draught: he informed me, that one of his countrymen had been punished that afternoon for a theft on board the *Crocodile*; and added, that in his opinion the punishment was no less just, than the offence was disgraceful to his country. The offender, as I afterwards learned, was a youth of a good family who had married a daughter of old ALWI; but, being left alone for a moment in the cabin, and seeing a pair of blue morocco slippers, could not resist the temptation, and concealed them so ill under his gown that he was detected with the mainer. This proves that no principle of honour is instilled by education into the gentry of this island: even ALWI, when he had observed, that "in the month of *Ramadán* it was not lawful to paint with *hinna* or to tell "lies," and when I asked, whether both were lawful all the rest of the year? answered, that "lies were innocent, if no man was injured by "them." TUMUNI took his leave, as well satisfied as myself with our excursion: I told him before his master, that I transferred also to him the dollars which were due to me out of the three guineas; and that if ever they should part, I should be very glad to receive him into my service in *India*.

MR. ROBERTS, the master of the ship, had passed the day with SAYYAD AHMED; and had learned from him a few curious circumstances concerning the government of *Hinzuan*, which he found to be a monarchy limited by an aristocracy. The King, he was told, had no power of making war by his own authority; but if the  
assembly

assembly of nobles, who were from time to time convened by him, resolved on a war with any of the neighbouring islands, they defrayed the charges of it by voluntary contributions, in return for which they claimed as their own, all the booty and captives that might be taken. The hope of gain or the want of slaves is usually the real motive for such enterprizes, and ostensible pretexts are easily found: at that very time, he understood, they meditated a war, because they wanted hands for the following harvest. Their fleet consisted of sixteen or seventeen small vessels, which they manned with about two thousand five hundred islanders, armed with muskets and cutlasses, or with bows and arrows. Near two years before they had possessed themselves of two towns in *Mayáta*, which they still kept and garrisoned. The ordinary expences of the government were defrayed by a tax from two hundred villages; but the three principal towns were exempt from all taxes, except that they paid annually to the chief MUFTI, a fortieth part of the value of all their moveable property, and from that payment neither the king nor the nobles claimed an exemption. The kingly authority, by the principles of their constitution, was considered as elective, though the line of succession had not in fact been altered since the first election of a SULTAN. He was informed, that a wandering *Arab*, who had settled in the island, had by his intrepidity in several wars, acquired the rank of a chieftain, and afterwards of a king, with limited powers; and that he was the *grand-father* of SHAIKH AHMED: I had been assured that queen HALÍMAH was his *grandmother*; and that he was the *sixth* king; but it must be remarked, that the words *jedd* and *jeddab* in *Arabick* are used for a male and female *ancestor* indefinitely; and, with-

out

out a correct pedigree of AHMED's family, which I expected to procure but was disappointed, it would scarce be possible to ascertain the time when his fore-father obtained the highest rank in the government. In the year 1600, *Captain JOHN DAVIS*, who wrote an account of his voyage, found *Mayáta* governed by a king, and *Ansuame*, or *Hinzuàn*, by a queen, who shewed him great marks of friendship: he anchored before the town of *Demos* (does he mean *Domóni*?) which was as large, he says, as *Plymouth*; and he concludes from the ruins around it, that it had once been a place of strength and grandeur. I can only say, that I observed no such ruins. Fifteen years after, *Captain PEYTON* and *Sir THOMAS ROE* touched at the *Comara* islands; and from their several accounts it appears, that an old Sultaneſs then reſided in *Hinzuàn*, but had a dominion paramount over all the iſles, three of her ſons governing *Mobíla* in her name. If this be true, *SOHAILI* and the ſucceſſors of *HALI MAH* muſt have loſt their influence over the other iſlands; and, by renewing their dormant claim as it ſuits their convenience, they may always be furniſhed with a pretence for hoſtilities. Five generations of eldeſt ſons would account for an hundred and ſeventy of the years which have elapſed ſince *DAVIS* and *PEYTON* found *Hinzuàn* ruled by a Sultaneſs; and *AHMED* was of ſuch an age, that his reign may be reckoned equal to a generation: it is probable, on the whole, that *HALI MAH* was the widow of the firſt *Arabian* king, and that her moſque has been continued in repair by his deſcendants; ſo that we may reaſonably ſuppoſe two centuries to have paſſed, ſince a ſingle *Arab* had the courage and addreſs to eſtabliſh in that beautiful iſland a form of government, which, though bad enough

in itself, appears to have been administered with advantage to the original inhabitants. We have lately heard of civil commotions in *Hinzuàn*, which we may venture to pronounce, were not excited by any cruelty or violence of AHMED, but were probably occasioned by the insolence of an oligarchy naturally hostile to king and people. That the mountains in the *Comara* islands contain diamonds, and the precious metals; which are studiously concealed by the policy of the several governments, may be true, though I have no reason to believe it, and have only heard it asserted without evidence; but I hope that neither an expectation of such treasures, nor of any other advantage, will ever induce an *European* power to violate the first principles of justice, by assuming the sovereignty of *Hinzuàn*, which cannot answer a better purpose than that of supplying our fleets with seasonable refreshment; and although the natives have an interest in receiving us with apparent cordiality, yet, if we wish their attachment to be unfeigned and their dealings just, we must set them an example of strict honesty in the performance of our engagements. In truth, our nation is not cordially loved by the inhabitants of *Hinzuàn*, who, as it commonly happens, form a general opinion from a few instances of violence or breach of faith. Not many years ago an *European*, who had been hospitably received and liberally supported at *Matfamúdo*, behaved rudely to a young married woman, who, being of low degree, was walking veiled through a street in the evening: her husband ran to protect her, and resented the rudeness, probably with menaces, possibly with actual force; and the *European* is said to have given him a mortal wound with a knife or bayonet, which he brought, after the scuffle, from his lodging. This foul murder,

which

which the law of nature would have justified the magistrate in punishing with death, was reported to the king, who told the Governor (I used the very words of ALWI) that "it would be wiser to hush it up." ALWI mentioned a civil case of his own, which ought not to be concealed. When he was on the coast of *Africa* in the dominions of a very savage prince, a small *European* vessel was wrecked; and the prince not only seized all that could be saved from the wreck, but claimed the Captain and the crew as his slaves, and treated them with ferocious insolence. ALWI assured me, that when he heard of the accident, he hastened to the prince; fell prostrate before him, and by tears and importunity prevailed on him to give the *Europeans* their liberty; that he supported them at his own expence, enabled them to build another vessel, in which they sailed to *Hinzuan*, and departed thence for *Europe* or *India*: he shewed me the Captain's promissory notes for sums which to an *African* trader must be a considerable object, but which were no price for liberty, safety, and perhaps life, which his good, though disinterested, offices had procured. I lamented, that, in my situation, it was wholly out of my power to assist ALWI in obtaining justice; but he urged me to deliver an *Arabick* letter from him, inclosing the notes, to the Governor-General, who, as he said, knew him well; and I complied with his request. Since it is possible that a substantial defence may be made by the person thus accused of injustice, I will not name either him, or the vessel which he had commanded; but if he be living, and if this paper should fall into his hands;

hands, he may be induced to reflect how highly it imports our national honour, that a people whom we call savage, but who administer to our convenience, may have no just cause to reproach us with a violation of our contracts.

DISSERTATION IX.

• N T H E

CHRONOLOGY

• F T H E,

H I N D U S.

WRITTEN IN JANUARY 1788.

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**T**HE great antiquity of the *Hindus* is believed so firmly by themselves, and has been the subject of so much conversation among *Europeans*, that a short view of their chronological system, which has not yet been exhibited from certain authorities, may be acceptable to those who seek truth without partiality to received opinions, and without regarding any consequences that may result from their inquiries: the consequences, indeed, of truth cannot but be desirable, and no reasonable man will apprehend any danger to society from a general diffusion of its light; but we must not suffer ourselves to be dazzled by a  
false

false glare, nor mistake enigmas and allegories for historical verity. Attached to no system, and as much disposed to reject the *Mosaick* history, if it be proved erroneous, as to believe it if it be confirmed by sound reasoning from indubitable evidence, I propose to lay before you a concise account of *Indian* chronology, extracted from *Sanſcrit* books, or collected from conversations with *Pandits*, and to subjoin a few remarks on their system, without attempting to decide a question; which I shall venture to start, “Whether it is not  
“in fact the same with our own, but embellished  
“and obscured by the fancy of their poets and the  
“riddles of their astronomers?”

ONE of the most curious books in *Sanſcrit*, and one of the oldest after the *Vida's*, is a tract *On Religious and Civil Duties*, taken, as it is believed, from the oral instructions of MENÜ, son of BRAHMA', to the first inhabitants of the earth. A well-collated copy of this interesting law tract is now before me; and I begin my dissertation with a few couplets from the first chapter of it:  
“The sun causes the division of day and night,  
“which are of two sorts, those of men and those  
“of the Gods; the day for the labour of all  
“creatures in their several employments; the  
“night for their slumber. A month is a day and  
“night of the *Patriarchs*, and it is divided into  
“two parts; the bright half is *their* day for labo-  
“rious exertions, the dark half *their* night for  
“sleep. A year is a day and a night of the  
“Gods, and that is also divided into two halves;  
“the day is when the sun moves toward the  
“north, the night when it moves toward the  
“south. Learn now the duration of a night and  
“day of BRAHMA', with that of the ages respec-  
“tively and in order. Four thousand years of  
“*the Gods* they call the *Críta* (or *Satya*) age; and  
“its



“ its limits at the beginning and at the end *are*, in  
 “ like manner, as many hundreds. In the three  
 “ successive ages, together with their limits at the  
 “ beginning and end of them, are thousands and  
 “ hundreds diminished by one. This aggregate of  
 “ four ages, amounting to twelve thousand divine  
 “ years, is called an age of the Gods; and a  
 “ thousand such divine ages added together, must  
 “ be considered as a day of BRAHMA: his night  
 “ has also the same duration. The before-menti-  
 “ oned age of the Gods, or twelve thousand of  
 “ their years multiplied by seventy-one, form what  
 “ is named here below a *Manwantara*. There  
 “ are *alternate* creations and destructions of *worlds*  
 “ through innumerable *Manwantaras*: the Being  
 “ supremely desirable performs all this again and  
 “ again.”

SUCH is the arrangement of infinite time, which  
 the *Hindus* believe to have been revealed from  
 Heaven, and which they understand in a literal  
 sense: it seems to have intrinsic marks of being  
 purely astronomical; but I will not appropriate  
 the observations of others, nor anticipate those in  
 particular which have been made by two or three  
 of our Members, and which they will, I hope,  
 communicate to the Society. A conjecture,  
 however, of Mr. PATERSON has so much inge-  
 nuity in it, that I cannot forbear mentioning it  
 here, especially as it seems to be confirmed by  
 one of the couplets just cited: he supposes, that  
 as a *month* of mortals is a day and night of the  
*Patriarchs* from the analogy of its bright and dark  
 halves, so, by the same analogy, a day and night  
 of mortals might have been considered by the an-  
 cient *Hindus* as a month of the lower world; and  
 then a year of such months will consist only of  
 twelve days and nights, and thirty such years will  
 compose a lunar year of mortals; whence he sur-  
 mises, that the *four million three hundred and*

*twenty thousand* years, of which the four *Indian* ages are supposed to consist, mean only years of twelve days; and, in fact, that sum divided by *thirty*, is reduced to *an hundred and forty-four thousand*: now, *a thousand four hundred and forty* years are one *pada*, a period in the *Hindu* astronomy; and that sum multiplied by *eighteen*, amounts precisely to *twenty-five thousand nine hundred and twenty*, the number of years in which the fixed stars appear to perform their long revolution eastward. The last-mentioned sum is the product also of *an hundred and forty-four*, which, according to M. BAILLY, was an old *Indian* cycle, into *an hundred and eighty*, or the *Tartarian* period, called *Van*, and of *two thousand eight hundred and eighty* into *nine*, which is not only one of the lunar cycles, but considered by the *Hindus* as a mysterious number and an emblem of Divinity; because, if it be multiplied by any other whole number, the sum of the figures in the different products remains always nine, as the Deity, who appears in many forms, continues one immutable essence. The important period of *twenty-five thousand nine hundred and twenty* years is well known to arise from the multiplication of *three hundred and sixty* into *seventy-two*, the number of years in which a fixed star seems to move through a degree of a great circle; and although M. LE GENTIL assures us, that the modern *Hindus* believe a complete revolution of the stars to be made in *twenty-four thousand* years, or *fifty-four* seconds of a degree to be passed in one year, yet we may have reason to think, that the old *Indian* astronomers had made a more accurate calculation, but concealed their knowledge from the people under the veil of *fourteen MAN-WANTARAS*, *seventy-one* divine ages, compound cycles, and years of different sorts from those of BRAHMA to those of *Pátála*, or the *infernal regions*.

ons. If we follow the analogy suggested by MĒNU, and suppose only a day and night to be called a *year*, we may divide the number of years in a divine age, by *three hundred and sixty*, and the quotient will be *twelve thousand*, or the number of his *divine years* in one age: but, conjecture apart, we need only compare the two periods 4,320,000 and 25,920, and we shall find that, among their common divisors, are 6, 9, 12, &c., 18, 36, 72, 144, &c. which numbers, with their several multiples, especially in a decuple progression, constitute some of the most celebrated periods of the *Chaldeans, Greeks, Tartars*, and even of the *Indians*. We cannot fail to observe, that the number 432, which appears to be the basis of the *Indian* system, is a 60th part of 25,920, and, by continuing the comparison, we might probably solve the whole enigma. In the preface to a *Vārānes* almanack, I find the following wild stanza: “ A *thousand* great ages are a day of BRAHMA; “ a *thousand* such days are an *Indian* hour of “ VISHNU; *six hundred thousand* such hours make “ a period of RUDRA; and a million of *Rudra’s* “ (or *two quadrillions five hundred and ninety-two* “ *thousand trillions of lunar years*) are but a *second* “ to the Supreme Being.” The *Hindu* theologians deny the conclusion of the stanza to be orthodox: *time*, they say, *exists not at all with GOD*; and they advise the astronomers to mind their own business without meddling with theology. The astronomical verse, however, will answer our present purpose; for it shews, in the first place, that cyphers are added at pleasure to swell the periods; and if we take ten cyphers from a *Rudra*, or divide by ten thousand millions, we shall have a period of 259,200,000 years; which, divided by 60 (the usual divisor of *time* among the *Hindus*), will give 4,320,000, or a great age, which we

find subdivided in the proportion of 4, 3, 2, 1, from the notion of *virtue* decreasing arithmetically in the *golden, silver, copper, and earthen* ages. But should it be thought improbable that the *Indian* astronomers in very early times had made more accurate observations than those of *Alexandria, Bagdad, or Maraghab,* and still more improbable that they should have relapsed without apparent cause into error, we may suppose, that they formed their divine age by an arbitrary multiplication of 24,000 by 180, according to M. LE GENTIL, or of 21,600 by 200, according to the comment on the *Sûrya Siddhânta*. Now, as it is hardly possible that such coincidences should be accidental, we may hold it *nearly* demonstrated, that the period of a *divine age* was at first merely astronomical, and may consequently reject it from our present enquiry into the historical or civil chronology of *India*. Let us however proceed to the avowed opinions of the *Hindus*, and see, when we have ascertained their system, whether we can reconcile it to the course of nature and the common sense of mankind.

THE aggregate of their four ages they call a *divine age*, and believe that in every thousand such ages, or in every *day* of BRAHMA', *fourteen* MENUS are successively invested by him with the sovereignty of the earth: each MENU, they suppose, transmits his empire to his sons and grandsons during a period of seventy-one divine ages; and such a period they name *Manvâtara*: but since *fourteen* multiplied by *seventy-one* are not quite a *thousand*, we must conclude, that *six* *divine ages* are allowed for intervals between *Manvântaras*, or for the twilight of BRAHMA''s day. Thirty such days, or *Calpas*, constitute, in their opinion, a *month* of BRAHMA'; twelve such months one of his years; and an hundred such years his age; of which age they assert that fifty  
years

years have elapsed. We are now then, according to the *Hindus*, in the first day, or *Calpa*, of the first month of the fifty-first year of BRAHMA'S age, and in the twenty-eighth divine age of the seventh *Manwantara*; of which divine age the *three first* human ages have passed, and *four thousand eight hundred and eighty-eight* of the fourth.

IN the present day of BRAHMA the first MENU was surnamed SWAYAMBHUBA, or *Son of the Self-existent*; and it is He by whom the *Institutes of Religious and Civil Duties* are supposed to have been delivered: in his time the Deity descended at a *Sacrifice*, and by his wife SATARUPA he had two distinguished sons and three daughters. This pair was created for the multiplication of the human species, after that new creation of the world which the *Bráhmans* call PADMACALPIYA, or the *Lotos* creation.

IF it were worth while to calculate the age of MENU'S *Institutes* according to the *Bráhmans*, we must multiply four million three hundred and twenty thousand by six times seventy-one, and add to the product the number of years already past in the seventh *Manwantara*. Of the five MENU'S who succeeded him, I have seen little more than the names; but the *Hindu* writings are very diffuse on the life and posterity of the seventh MENU, surnamed VAIVASWATA, or *Child of the Sun*. He is supposed to have had ten sons, of whom the eldest was ICISHWACU, and to have been accompanied by seven *Rishi's*, or holy persons, whose names were, CASYAPA, ATRI, VASISHTHA, VISWAMITRA, GAUTAMA, JAMA-DAGNI, and BHARADWAJA; an account which explains the opening of the fourth chapter of the *Gita*: "This immutable system of devotion," says CRISHNA, "I revealed to VIVASWAT, or the Sun; VIVASWAT declared it to his Son MENU;"

"MENU

“ MENU explained it to ICISHWA'CU : thus the  
 “ Chief *Rishis* know this sublime *doctrine* delivered  
 “ from one to another.”

IN the reign of this *Sun-born* Monarch, the  
*Hindus* believe the whole earth to have been  
 drowned, and the whole human race destroyed by  
 a flood, except the pious Prince himself, the seven  
*Rishi's*, and their several wives ; for they suppose  
 his children to have been born after the Deluge.  
 This general *pralaya*, or destruction, is the subject  
 of the first *Purána*, or *Sacred Poem*, which con-  
 sists of fourteen thousand stanzas ; and the story  
 is concisely, but clearly and elegantly told in the  
 eighth book of the *Bhágawata*, from which I have  
 extracted the whole, and translated it with great  
 care, but will only present you here with an  
 abridgment of it. “ The demon HAYAGRÍVA  
 “ having purloined the *Védas* from the custody of  
 “ BRAHMA', while he was reposing at the close of  
 “ the sixth *Manwantara*, the whole race of men  
 “ became corrupt, except the seven *Rishi's*, and  
 “ SATYAVRATA, who then reigned in *Dravira*, a  
 “ maritime region to the south of *Carnáta* : this  
 “ Prince was performing his ablutions in the river  
 “ *Critimála*, when VISHNU appeared to him in the  
 “ shape of a small fish, and, after several augmen-  
 “ tations of bulk in different waters, was placed  
 “ by SATYAVRATA in the ocean, where he thus  
 “ addressed his amazed votary : “ In *seven* days  
 “ all creatures who have offended me shall be de-  
 “ stroyed by a deluge ; but thou shalt be secured  
 “ in a capacious vessel, miraculously formed ;  
 “ take therefore all kinds of medicinal herbs and  
 “ esculent grain for food, and, together with the  
 “ seven holy men, your respective wives, and  
 “ pairs of all animals, enter the ark without fear ;  
 “ then shalt thou know GOD face to face, and all  
 “ thy questions shall be answered.” Saying this,  
 “ he

“ he disappeared ; and after seven days the ocean  
 “ began to overflow the coasts, and the earth to  
 “ be flooded by constant showers, when SATYAV-  
 “ RATA, meditating on the Deity, saw a large  
 “ vessel moving on the waters : he entered it, hav-  
 “ ing in all respects conformed to the instructions  
 “ of VISHNU, who, in the form of a vast fish,  
 “ suffered the vessel to be tied with a great sea fer-  
 “ pent, as with a cable, to his measureless horn.  
 “ When the deluge had ceased, VISHNU slew the  
 “ demon and recovered the *Véda's* instructed SA-  
 “ TYAVRATA in divine knowledge, and appointed  
 “ him the seventh MENU by the name of VAIVAS-  
 “ WATA.”

LET us compare the two *Indian* accounts of the  
*Creation* and the *Deluge* with those delivered by  
 MOSES. It is not made a question in this tract,  
 Whether the first chapters of *Genesis* are to be un-  
 derstood in a literal, or merely in an allegorical  
 sense? The only points before us are, Whether  
 the creation described by the first MENU, which  
 the *Bráhmans* call that of the *Lotos*, be not the  
 same with that recorded in our Scripture; and  
 whether the story of the seventh MENU be not  
 one and the same with that of NOAH? I propose  
 the questions, but affirm nothing; leaving others to  
 settle their opinions, whether ADAM be derived  
 from *ádim*, which in *Sanscrit* means the *first*, or  
 MENU from NUH, the true name of the Patriarch;  
 whether the *Sacrifice* at which GOD is believed to  
 have descended, allude to the offering of ABEL;  
 and, on the whole, whether the two MENU'S can  
 mean any other persons than the great Progenitor,  
 and the Restorer of our species.

ON a supposition that VAIVASWATA, or *Sun-  
 born*, was the NOAH of Scripture, let us proceed  
 to the *Indian* account of his posterity, which  
 I extract from *The Puránári paprecásá*, or *The  
 Purána's*

*Purána's Explained*, a work lately composed in Sanscrit by RA'DHA'CA'NTA SARMAN, a Pandit of extensive learning and great fame among the Hindus of this province. Before we examine the genealogies of kings which he has collected from the *Purána's*, it will be necessary to give a general idea of the *Avátara's*, or *Descents*, of the Deity: the *Hindus* believe innumerable such descents or special interpositions of Providence in the affairs of mankind, but they reckon *ten* principal *Avátara's* in the current period of four ages; and all of them are described, in order as they are supposed to occur, in the following Ode of JAYA-DE'VA, the great Lyrick Poet of *India*.

1. "THOU recoverest the *Véda* in the water of  
" the Ocean of Destruction, placing it joyfully in  
" the bosom of an ark fabricated by thee, O CE-  
" SAVA, assuming the body of a *fish*: Be victori-  
ous, O HERI, Lord of the Universe!

2. "THE earth stands firm on thy immensely  
" broad back, which grows larger from the callus  
" occasioned by bearing that vast burthen, O CE-  
" SAVA, assuming the body of a *tortoise*: Be victo-  
rious, O HERI, Lord of the Universe!

3. "THE earth, placed on the point of thy tusk,  
" remains fixed like the figure of a black antelope  
" on the moon, O CE'SAVA, assuming the form of  
" a *boar*: Be victorious, O HERI, Lord of the  
" Universe:

4. "THE claw with a stupendous point, on the  
" exquisite lotos of thy lion's paw, is the black bee  
" that stung the body of the embowelled HIRA-  
" NYACASIPÚ, O CE'SAVA, assuming the form of  
" a *man-lion*: Be victorious, O HERI, Lord of  
" the Universe!

5. "BY thy power thou beguilest BALI, O  
" thou miraculous dwarf, thou purifier of men  
" with the water (of *Gangá*) springing from thy  
" feet,



“ feet, O CE'SAVA, assuming the form of a *dwarf*:  
 “ Be victorious, O HERI, Lord of the Uni-  
 “ verse!

6. “ THOU bathest in pure water, consisting of  
 “ the blood of *Cshatriya's*, the world, whose of-  
 “ fences are removed, and who are relieved from  
 “ the pain of other births, O CE'SAVA, assuming  
 “ the form of PARAS'U-RA'MA : Be victorious, O  
 “ HERI, Lord of the Universe!

7. “ WITH ease to thyself, with delight to the  
 “ Genii of the eight regions, thou scatterest on  
 “ all sides in the plain of combat the demon with  
 “ ten heads, O CE'SAVA, assuming the form of  
 “ RA'MA CHANDRA : Be victorious, O HERI,  
 “ Lord of the Universe!

8. “ THOU wearest on thy bright body a man-  
 “ tle shining like a blue cloud, or like the water  
 “ of *Yamunâ* tripping towards thee through fear of  
 “ thy furrowing *plough-share*, O CE'SAVA, assum-  
 “ ing the form of PALA-RA'MA : Be victorious,  
 “ O HERI, Lord of the Universe!

9. “ THOU blamest (oh wonderful!) the whole  
 “ *Vêda*, when thou seest, O kind-hearted, the  
 “ slaughter of cattle prescribed for sacrifice, O  
 “ CE'SAVA, assuming the body of BUDDHA : Be  
 “ victorious, O HERI, Lord of the Universe!

10. “ FOR the destruction of all the impure,  
 “ thou drawest thy cimeter like a blazing comet  
 “ (how tremendous!) O CE'SAVA, assuming the  
 “ body of CALCI : Be victorious, O HERI, Lord  
 “ of the Universe!

THESE ten *Avatâra's* are by some arranged ac-  
 cording to the thousands of divine years in each  
 of the four ages, or in an arithmetical proportion  
 from four to one, and if such an arrangement were  
 universally received, we should be able to ascer-  
 tain a very material point in the HINDU chrono-  
 logy; I mean the birth of BUDDHA, concerning  
 which

which the different *Pandits* whom I have consulted, and the same *Pandits* at different times, have expressed a strange diversity of opinion. They all agree that CALCI is yet to come, and that BUDDHA was the last considerable incarnation of the Deity; but the Astronomers at *Varânes* place him in the *third* age, and RA'DHA'CA'NT insists, that he appeared after the *thousandth* year of the *fourth*: the learned and accurate author of the *Dabistân*, whose information concerning the *Hindus* is wonderfully correct, mentions an opinion of the *Pandits* with whom he had conversed, that BUDDHA began his career *ten* years before the close of the third age: and Góverdhana of *Cashmir*, who had once informed me, that CRISHNA descended *two centuries* before BUDDHA, assured me lately, that the *Cashmírians* admitted an interval of *twenty-four* years (others allow only *twelve*) between those two divine persons. The best authority, after all, is the *Bhágawat* itself, in the first chapter of which it is expressly declared, that "BUDDHA, the son of JINA, would appear at *Cícata*, for the purpose of confounding the demons, *just at the beginning* of the *Caliyug*." I have long been convinced, that, on these subjects, we can only reason satisfactorily from *written* evidence, and that our forenicks rule must be invariably applied, to take the declarations of the BRA'HMANS most strongly against themselves, that is, against their pretensions to antiquity; so that on the whole we may safely place BUDDHA *just at the beginning* of the *present* age: but what is the *beginning* of it? When this question was proposed to RA'DHA'CA'NT, he answered: "Of a period comprising more than four hundred thousand years, the first two or three thousand may reasonably be called the *beginning*." On my demanding *written* evidence, he produced a book of some authority,

rity, composed by a learned *Góswámi*, and entitled *Bhágawatámrita*, or, *The Nectár of the Bhágawat*, on which it is a metrical comment; and the couplet which he read from it deserves to be cited: after the just-mentioned account of BUDDHA in the text, the commentator says,

“Asau vyaçtah calérabdasafahafradwitayè gatè,  
 “Murtih patálaverná'sya dwibhuja chicurójj'hità.

“HE became visible, the thousand-and-second-year-of-the-Cali-age being past; his body of a colour-between-white-and-ruddy, with two arms, without-hair on his head.”

*Cícata*, named in the text as the birth-place of BUDDHA, the *Góswámi* supposes to have been *Dhermáranya*, a wood near *Gayà*, where a colossal image of that ancient Deity still remains: it seemed to me of black stone; but, as I saw it by torch-light, I cannot be positive as to its colour, which may, indeed, have been changed by time.

THE *Bráhmans* universally speak of the *Bauddhas* with all the malignity of an intolerant spirit; yet the most orthodox among them consider BUDDHA himself as an incarnation of VISHNU: this is a contradiction hard to be reconciled, unless we cut the knot instead of untying it, by supposing with *GIORGI*, that there were two BUDDHAS, the younger of whom established the new religion, which gave so great offence in *India*, and was introduced into *China* in the first century of our era. The *Cashmirian*, before mentioned, asserted this fact, without being led to it by any question that implied it; and we may have reason to suppose, that *Buddha* is in truth only a general word for a *Philosopher*. The author of a celebrated *Sanscrit Dictionary*, entitled from his name *Amaracósha*, who was himself a *Bauddha*, and flourished

flourished in the first century before CHRIST, begins his vocabulary with nine words that signify *Heaven*, and proceeds to those which mean a *Deity in general*; after which come different *classes* of *Gods*, *Demi-gods*, and *Demons*, all by *generick* names, and they are followed by two very remarkable heads: first, (not the *general names of BUDDHA*, but) the names of a *Buddha-in-general*, of which he gives us eighteen, such as *Muni*, *Sástri*, *Muníndra*, *Vináyaca*, *Samantábhadrá*, *Dhermarája*, *Sugata*, and the like, most of them significative of *excellence*, *wisdom*, *virtue*, and *sanctity*; secondly, the names of a *particular Buddha-Muni*-who-descended-in-the-family-of-SA'CYA (those are the very words of the original), and his titles are, *Sácyamuni*, *Sácyasinha*, *Servári'basiddha*, *Saudhódani*, *Gautama*, *Arcabandhu*, or *Kinsman of the Sun*, and *Máyádévisuta*, or *Child of Máya*: thence the author passes to the different epithets of particular *Hindu Deities*. When I pointed out this curious passage to RA'DHA'CAN'T, he contended, that the first eighteen names were *general* epithets, and the following seven, *proper names*, or *patronymicks* of one and the same person; but RA'MA-LO'CHAN, my own teacher, who, though not a *Bráhman*, is an excellent scholar and a very sensible unprejudiced man, assured me, that *Buddha* was a *generick* word, like *Déva*, and that the learned author, having exhibited the names of a *Dévatà* in general, proceeded to those of a *Buddha* in general, before he came to particulars: he added; that *Buddha* might mean a *Sage* or a *Philosopher*, though *Buddha* was the word commonly used for a mere *wise man* without supernatural powers.

IT seems highly probable, on the whole, that the BUDDHA, whom JAYADE'VA celebrates in his Hymn, was the *Sácyasinha*, or *Lion of SA'CYA*,  
 who,

who, though he forbid the sacrifices of cattle, which the *Véda's* enjoin, was believed to be VISHNU himself in a human form, and that another *Buddha*, one perhaps of his followers in a later age, assuming his name and character, attempted to overturn the whole system of the *Bráhmans*, and was the cause of that persecution, from which the *Bauddhas* are known to have fled into very distant regions.° May we not reconcile the singular difference of opinion among the *Hindus* as to the time of BUDDHA'S appearance, by supposing that they have confounded the *Two Buddha's*, the first of whom was born a few years before the close of the last age, and the second, when above a thousand years of the present age had elapsed? We know, from better authorities, and with as much certainty as can justly be expected on so doubtful a subject, the real time, compared with our own era, when the ancient BUDDHA began to distinguish himself; and it is for this reason principally, that I have dwelled with minute anxiety on the subject of the last *Avatâr*.

THE *Bráhmans*, who assisted ABU'LEAZL in his curious but superficial account of his master's empire, informed him, if the figures in the *Ayini Acbâri* be correctly written, that a period of 2962 years had elapsed from the birth of BUDDHA to the 40th year of ACBAR'S reign, which computation will place his birth in the 1366th year before that of Our Saviour; but when the *Chinese* government admitted a new religion from *India* in the first century of our era, they made particular inquiries concerning the age of the old *Indian* BUDDHA, whose birth, according to COUPLET, they place in the 41st year of their 28th cycle, or 1036 years before CHRIST, and they call him, says he, FŒ = the son of MOÏE or MA'YA'; but M. DE GUIGNES, on the authority of four *Chinese* Historians, asserts,

asserts, that Fo was born about the year before CHRIST 1027, in the kingdom of *Cashmír*: GIORGI, or rather CASSIANO, from whose papers his work was compiled, assures us, that, by the calculation of the *Tibetians*, he appeared only 959 years before the *Christian* epoch; and M. BAILLY, with some hesitation, places him 1031 years before it, but inclines to think him far more ancient, confounding him, as I have done in a former tract, with the *first* BUDHA, or MERCURY, whom the *Goths* called WODEN, and of whom I shall presently take particular notice. Now, whether we assume the medium of the four last mentioned dates, or implicitly rely on the authorities quoted by DE GUIGNES, we may conclude, that BUDDHA was first distinguished in this country about a thousand years before the beginning of our era; and whoever, in so early an age, expects a certain epoch unqualified with *about* or *nearly*, will be greatly disappointed. Hence it is clear, that, whether the fourth age of the *Hindus* began about one thousand years before CHRIST, according to GOVERDHAN'S account of BUDDHA'S birth, or two thousand according to that of RA'DHA'CAN'T, the common opinion, that 4888 years of it are now elapsed, is erroneous. And here, for the present, we leave BUDDHA, with an intention of returning to him in due time; observing only, that if the learned *Indians* differ so widely in their accounts of the age when their ninth *Avatár* appeared in their country, we may be assured, that they have no certain chronology before him, and may suspect the certainty of all the relations concerning even *his* appearance.

THE received Chronology of the *Hindus* begins with an absurdity so monstrous, as to overthrow the whole system; for, having established their period of *seventy-one divine ages* as the reign of each

each

each *Menu*, yet thinking it incongruous to place a holy personage in times of *impurity*, they insist, that the *Menu* reigns only in every *golden age*, and disappears in the *three human ages* that follow it, continuing to dive and emerge like a water-fowl, till the close of his *Manwantara*. The learned author of the *Puránart'hapracása*, which I will now follow step by step, mentioned this ridiculous opinion with a serious face; but as he has not inserted it in his work, we may take his account of the seventh *Menu* according to its obvious and rational meaning, and suppose, that VAIVASWATA, the son of SURYA, the son of CASYAPA, or *Uranus* the son of MARICHI, or *Light*, the son of BRAHMA, which is clearly an allegorical pedigree, reigned in the last golden age, or, according to the *Hindus*, three million eight hundred and ninety-two thousand eight hundred and eighty-eight years ago. But they contend, that he actually reigned on earth *one million seven hundred and twenty-eight thousand years* of mortals, or *four thousand eight hundred years* of the Gods; and this opinion is another monster so repugnant to the course of nature and to human reason, that it must be rejected as wholly fabulous, and taken as a proof, that the *Indians* know nothing of their *Sunborn MENU*, but his name and the principal event of his life; I mean the *universal deluge*, of which the *three first Avatárs* are merely allegorical representations, with a mixture, especially in the *second*, of astronomical mythology.

FROM this MENU the whole race of men is believed to have descended; for the seven *Rishi's*, who were preserved with him in the ark, are not mentioned as fathers of human families; but since his daughter ILA' was married, as the *Indians* tell us, to the first BUDHA, or *Mercury*, the son of CHANDRA, or the *Moon*, a male Deity, whose father was ATRI, son of BRAHMA' (where again we meet

meet with an allegory purely astronomical or poetical), his posterity are divided into two great branches, called the *Children of the Sun* from his own supposed father, and the *Children of the Moon* from the parent of his daughter's husband: the lineal male descendants in both these families are supposed to have reigned in the cities of *Ayódhya*, or *Audh*, and *Pratishth'hana*, or *Vitóra*, respectively, till the *thousandth year of the present age*; and the names of all the princes in both lines having been diligently collected by RA'DHA'CA'NT from several *Purána's*, I exhibit them in two columns arranged by myself with great attention.

## S E C O N D   A G E .

## CHILDREN OF THE

S U N .	M O O N .
ICSHWA'CU,	BUDHA,
<i>Vicuc'bi,</i>	<i>Pururavas,</i>
Cucutst'ha,	Ayush,
Anéna,	Nahusha,
5. <i>Prit'bu,</i>	<i>Yayáti,</i>
Vifwagandhi,	<i>Puru,</i>
Chandra,	Janaméjaya,
Yuvanáswa,	Prachinwat,
Sráva,	Pravíra,
10. Vrihadafwa,	Menasyu,
Dhundhumára,	Chárupada,
Drid'háfwa,	Sudyu,
Heryafwa,	Bahugava,
Nicumbha,	Sanyáti,
15. Crifáfwa,	Ahanyáti,
Sénajit,	Raudráswa,
Yuvanáswa,	Ritéyush,
Mándhátri,	Ran'ináva,
Purucutfa,	Sumati,



S U N.	M O O N.
20. Tráfádayu.	Aiti. 20.
Anaranya,	<i>Dushjanti</i> .
Heryafwa,	<i>Bharata</i> ,
Praruna,	(Vitat'ha,
Trivindhana,	Manyu,
25. Satyavrata,	Vrihatshétra, 25.
Trifancu,	Hastin,
Harischandra,	◦ Ajamid'ha,
Róhita,	Ricsha,
Harita,	Samwarana,
30. Champa,	<i>Curu</i> , 30
Sudéva,	<i>Jabru</i> ,
Vijaya,	Surat'ha,
Bharuca,	Vidúrat'ha,
Vrica,	Sárvabhauma,
35. Báhuca,	Jayatféna, 35.
<i>Sagara</i> ,	Rádhica,
Afamanjas,	Ayutáyush,
Ansumat,	Acrodhana,
<i>Bhagírat'ha</i> ,	Dévátit'hi,
40. Sruja,	Ricsha, 40.
Nábha,	<i>Dilípa</i> ,
Sindhudwípa,	Pratípa,
Ayutáyush,	Sántanu,
Ritaperna,	<i>Vichitravírya</i> ,
45. Saudása,	Pándu, 45.
Afmaca,	<i>Yudhishthí</i> hir),
Múlaca,	
Dafarat'ha,	
Aídabidi,	
50. Viswafaha,	
C'hátw'anga,	
Dírghabáhu,	
<i>Raghu</i> ,	
Aja,	
55. <i>Dafarat'ha</i> ,	
RA'MA.	

It is agreed among all the *Pandits* that RAMA, their seventh incarnate divinity, appeared as king of *Ayódhyà* in the interval between the silver and the brazen ages; and, if we suppose him to have begun his reign at the very beginning of that interval, still three thousand three hundred years of the Gods, or a million one hundred and eighty-eight thousand lunar years of mortals will remain in the silver age, during which the fifty-five princes between VAIVASWATA and RAMA must have governed the world; but, reckoning thirty years for a generation, which is rather too much for a long succession of eldest sons, as they are said to have been, we cannot, by the course of nature, extend the second age of the Hindus beyond sixteen hundred and fifty solar years: if we suppose them not to have been eldest sons, and even to have lived longer than modern princes in a dissolute age, we shall find only a period of two thousand years; and if we remove the difficulty by admitting miracles, we must cease to reason, and may as well believe at once whatever the *Bráhmans* chuse to tell us.

In the Lunar pedigree we meet with another absurdity equally fatal to the credit of the Hindu system: as far as the twenty-second degree of descent from VAIVASWATA, the synchronism of the two families appears tolerably regular, except that the children of the Moon were not all eldest sons; for king YAYA'TI appointed the youngest of his five sons to succeed him in *India*, and allotted inferior kingdoms to the other four, who had offended him; part of the *Dacshin* or the South, to YADU; the ancestor of CRISHNA; the North, to ANU; the East, to DRUHYA; and the West, to TURVASU, from whom the *Pandits* believe, or pretend to believe, in compliment to our nation, that we are descended. But of the subsequent degrees in the lunar line they know so little, that, unable to

supply a considerable interval between BHARAT and VITAT'HA, whom they call his son and successor, they are under a necessity of asserting, that the great ancestor of YUDHISHT'HIR, actually reigned *seven and twenty thousand years*; a fable of the same class with that of his wonderful birth, which is the subject of a beautiful *Indian* drama: now, if we suppose his life to have lasted no longer than that of other mortals, and admit VITAT'HA and the rest to have been his regular successors, we shall fall into another absurdity; for then, if the generations in both lines were nearly equal, as they would naturally have been, we shall find YUDHISHT'HIR, who reigned confessedly at the close of the *brazen* age, nine generations older than RAMA, before whose birth the *silver* age is allowed to have ended. After the name of BHARAT, therefore, I have set an asterisk to denote a considerable chasm in the *Indian* History, and have inserted between brackets, as out of their places, his *twenty-four* successors, who reigned, if at all, in the following age immediately before the war of the *Mahábhárat*. The fourth *Avatár*, which is placed in the interval between the *first* and *second* ages, and the fifth, which soon followed it, appear to be moral fables grounded on historical facts: the *fourth* was the punishment of an impious monarch by the Deity himself *bursting from a marble column* in the shape of a *lion*; and the fifth was the humiliation of an arrogant Prince, by so contemptible an agent as a mendicant *dwarf*. After these, and immediately before BUDDHA, come three great warriors all named RAMA; but it may justly be made a question, whether they are not three representations of one person, or three different ways of relating the same history: the first and second RAMAS are said to have been contemporary; but whether all

or any of them mean RAMA the son of CU'SH, I leave others to determine. The mother of the second RAMA was named CAU'SHALYA', which is a derivative of CUSHALA, and though his father be distinguished by the title or epithet of DA'SARA-T'HA, signifying, that *his war-chariot bore him to all quarters of the world*, yet the name of CUSH, as the *Cáshmirians* pronounce it, is preserved entire in that of his son and successor, and shadowed in that of his ancestor VICUSHI; nor can a just objection be made to this opinion from the nasal *Arabian* vowel in the word *Rámah* mentioned by MOSES, since the very word *Arab* begins with the same letter which the *Greeks* and *Indians* could not pronounce, and they were obliged, therefore, to express it by the vowel which most resembled it. On this question; however, I assert nothing; nor on another, which might be proposed: "Whether the *fourth* and *fifth* *Avatárs* be not allegorical stories of the two presumptuous monarchs, "NIMROD and BELUS?" The hypothesis, that government was first established, laws enacted, and agriculture encouraged in *India* by RAMA, about *three thousand eight hundred* years ago, agrees with the received account of NOAH's death, and the previous settlement of his immediate descendants.

### T H I R D A G E .

#### CHILDREN OF THE

.S U N

M O O N.

*Cusha,*  
 • *Atit'hi,*  
*Nishadha,*  
*Nabhas,*

5. Pun-

S U N.		M O O N.	
5.	Pun'daríca,	Vitat'ha,	
	Cshémadhanwas,	Manyu,	
	Déváníca,	Vrihatchhétra,	
	Ahín'agu,	Hastin,	
	Páripátra,	Ajamíd'ha,	5.
10.	Ranach'hala,	Ricsha,	
	Vajranábha,	Samwarana,	
	Arca,	Curu,	
	Sugana,	Fabnu,	
	Vidhriti,	Surat'ha,	10.
15.	Hiranyanábha,	Vidúrat'ha,	
	Pushya,	Sáryabhauma,	
	Dhruvasandhi,	Jayatfēnā,	
	Sudersana,	Rádhica,	
	Agnivera,	Ayutáyush,	15.
20.	Sighra,	Acródhana,	
	Maru, supposed to } be still alive.	Dévatit'hi,	
	Prasufruta,	Ricsha,	
	Sandhi,	Delípa,	
	Amerfana,	Pratípa,	20.
25.	Mahafwat,	Sántanu,	
	Vifwabáhu,	Vichitravíya,	
	Prasénajit,	Pándu,	
	Tacshaca,	Tudhisht'hira,	
	Vrihadbala,		
30.	Vrihadrana, Y. B. } C. 3100.	Paríshit.	25.

HERE we have only *nine-and-twenty* Princes of the Solar line between RA'MA and VRIHADRANA exclusively; and their reigns, during the whole *brazen* age, are supposed to have lasted near *eight hundred and sixty-four thousand* years, a supposition evidently against nature; the uniform course of which allows only a period of *eight hundred and seventy*, or at the very utmost, of a *thousand*

*sand* years for *twenty-nine* generations. PARICSHIT, the great nephew and successor of YUDHISHT'HIR, who had recovered the throne from DURYO'DHAN, is allowed without controversy to have reigned in the interval between the *brazen* and *earthen* ages, and to have died at the setting-in of the *Caliyug*; so that if the *Pandits* of *Cashmir* and *Varanes* have made a right calculation of BUDDHA'S appearance, the present, or *fourth*, age must have begun about *a thousand* years before the birth of CHRIST, and consequently the reign of ISHWACU could not have been earlier than *four thousand* years before that great epoch; and even that date will perhaps appear, when it shall be strictly examined, to be near *two thousand* years earlier than the truth. I cannot leave the third *Indian* age, in which the virtues and vices of mankind are said to have been equal, without observing, that even the close of it is manifestly fabulous and poetical, with hardly more appearance of historical truth than the tale of *Troy*, or of the *Argonauts*; for YUDHISHT'HIR, it seems, was the son of DHERMA, the *Genius of Justice*; BNI'MA of PAVAN, or the *God of Wind*; ARJUN of INDRA, or the *Firmament*: NACUL and SAHADE'VA, of the two CUMARS, the CASTOR and POLLUX of *India*; and BHI'SHMA, their reputed great uncle, was the child of GANGA, or the GANGES, by SA'NTANU, whose brother DE'VA'PI is supposed to be still alive in the city of *Calapa*; all which fictions may be charming embellishments of an heroick poem, but are just as absurd in civil history, as the descent of two royal families from the Sun and the Moon.

## FOURTH AGE.

## CHILDREN OF THE

S U N.	M O O N.
Urucrya,	<i>Janaméjaya,</i>
Vatfavridha,	<i>Satánica,</i>
Prativyóma,	<i>Sahafránica,</i>
Bhánu,	<i>Aswamédhaja,</i>
5. Dévaca,	<i>Asímacrishna,</i> 5.
Sahadéva,	<i>Némichacra,</i>
Víra,	<i>Upta,</i>
Vrihadafwa,	<i>Chitrarat'ha,</i>
Bhánumat,	<i>Suc'hirat'ha,</i>
10. Praticáswa,	<i>Dhritimat,</i> 10.
Supratíca,	<i>Sushéna,</i>
Marudéva,	<i>Sunít'ha,</i>
Sunacshatra,	<i>Nrichacshuh,</i>
Pushcara,	<i>Suc'hinala,</i>
15. Antaricsha,	<i>Pariplava,</i> 15.
Sutapas,	<i>Sunaya,</i>
Amitrajit,	<i>Médhavin,</i>
Vrihadrája,	<i>Nripanjaya,</i>
Barhi,	<i>Derva,</i>
20. Critanjaya,	<i>Timi,</i> 20.
Rananjaya,	<i>Vrihadrat'ha,</i>
Sanjaya,	<i>Sudása,</i>
Slócyá,	<i>Satánica,</i>
Suddhóda,	<i>Durmadana,</i>
25. Lángalada,	<i>Rahínara,</i> 25.
Prafénajit,	<i>Dandapáni,</i>
Cshudraca,	<i>Nimi,</i>
Sumitra, Y. B. C. 2100.	<i>Cshémaca.</i>

IN both families, we see *thirty* generations are reckoned from YUDHISHT'HIR, and from VRIHADBALA his contemporary (who was killed, in the war of *Bbárat*, by ABHIMANYU, son of ARJUN,

ARJUN, and father of PARÍCSHIT), to the time when the *Solar* and *Lunar* dynasties are believed to have become extinct in the present divine age; and for these generations the *Hindus* allot a period of *one thousand* years only, or a *hundred* years for *three* generations; which calculation, though probably too large, is yet moderate enough, compared with their absurd accounts of the preceding ages: but they reckon exactly the same number of years for *twenty* generations only in the family of JARA SANDHA, whose son was contemporary with YUDHISHT'HIR, and founded a new dynasty of Princes in *Magadha*, or *Bahár*; and this exact coincidence of the time, in which the three races are supposed to have been extinct, has the appearance of an artificial chronology, formed rather from imagination than from historical evidence; especially as twenty kings, in an age comparatively modern, could not have reigned a thousand years.

I, NEVERTHELESS, exhibit the list of them as a curiosity; but am far from being convinced, that all of them ever existed: that, if they did exist, they could not have reigned more than *seven hundred* years. I am fully persuaded by the course of nature and the concurrent opinion of mankind.

#### KINGS OF MAGADHA.

Sahadéva,	Suchi,
Márajári,	Chéma,
Srutáfravaṣṭ,	Suvrata,
Ayutáyush,	Dhermafútra,
5. Nirámitra,	Srama,
Sunacshatra,	Drid'haféna,
Vrihetféna,	Sumati,
	Carmajit,



KINGS OF MAGADHA.

Carmajit,	Subala,	
Srutanjaya,	Sunáita,	
10. Vipra,	Satyajit,	20.

PURANJAYA, son of the twentieth king, was put to death by his minister SUNACA, who placed his own son PRADYO'TA on the throne of his master; and this<sup>o</sup> revolution constitutes an epoch of the highest importance in our present inquiry; first, because it happened according to the *Bhágawatámrita*, two years exactly before BUDDHA'S appearance in the same kingdom; next, because it is believed by the *Hindus* to have taken place *three thousand eight hundred and eighty-eight years ago*; or *two thousand one hundred years before CHRIST*; and lastly, because a regular chronology, according to the number of years in each dynasty, has been established from the accession of PRADYO'TA to the subversion of the genuine *Hindu* government; and that chronology I will now lay before you, after observing only, that RA'DHA'CA'NT himself says nothing of BUDDHA in this part of his work, though he particularly mentions the two preceding *Avatrára's* in their proper places.

KINGS OF MAGADHA.

	Y. B. C.
Pradyóta,	2100
Pálaca,	
Visác'hayúpa,	
Rájaca,	
Nandiverdhana, 5 reigns = 138 years,	
Sifunága,	1962
Cácaverná,	
Cshémadherman,	
	Cshétrajnya,

## KINGS OF MAGAUHA.

Cshètrajnya,  
 Vidhifára, 5.  
 Ajátafatru,  
 Darbhaca,  
 Ajaya,  
 Nandiverdhana,  
 Mahánandi, 10r = 360y.

NANDA,

1602

THIS prince, of whom frequent mention is made in the *Sanscrit* books, is said to have been murdered, after a reign of *a hundred years*, by a very learned and ingenious, but passionate and vindictive, *Bráhma*n, whose name was CHA'NACYA, and who raised to the throne a man of the *Maurya* race, named CHANDRAGUPTA: by the death of NANDA, and his sons, the *Cshatriya* family of PRADYO'TA became extinct.

## MAURYA KINGS.

Chandragupta,  
 Várisára,  
 Afócaverdhana,  
 Suyafas,  
 Defarat'ha, 5.  
 Sangata,  
 Sálifúca,  
 Sómafarma,  
 Satadhanwas,  
 Vrihadrat'ha, 10r = 137y.

Y. B. C.

1502

ON the death of the tenth *Maurya* king, his place was assumed by his Commander in Chief, PUSHPAMITRA, of the *Sunga* nation or family.

SUNGA

## SIINGA KINGS.

	Y. B. C.
Pushpamitra,	1365
Agnimitra,	
Sujyēsh't'ha,	
Vafumitra,	
Abhadraca, 5	
Pulinda,	
Ghósha,	
Vajramitra,	
Bhágavata,	
Dévabhúti, 10r = 112 y.	

THE last prince was killed by his minister VASUDEVA, of the *Canna* race, who usurped the throne of *Magadha*.

## CANNA KINGS.

	Y. B. C.
Vafudēva,	1253
Bhúmitra,	
Nóráyāna,	
Sufarman, 4r = 345 y.	

A *Súdra*, of the *Andhra* family, having murdered his master SUSAARMAN, and seized the government, founded a new dynasty of

## ANDHRA KINGS.

	Y. B. C.
Balin,	908
Crishna,	
Srisántacarna,	
Paurnamása,	
Lambódara,	
Vivilaca,	
Méghafwáta,	
Vátamána,	
Talaca,	

## ANDHRĀ KINGS.

Talaca,	
Sivaswāti,	10.
Purīshabhéru,	
Sunandana,	
Chacóracā,	
Bátaca,	
Gómatin,	15.
Purimat,	
Médaśiras,	
Siraścand'ha,	
Yajnyasri,	
Vijaya,	20.
Chandrabīja,	21 $\pi$ = 456 y.

AFTER the death of CHANDRABI'JA, which happened, according to the *Hindus*, 396 years before VICRAMA DITYA, or 457 B. C. we hear no more of *Magadha* as an independent kingdom; but RA'DHA'CA'NT has exhibited the names of seven dynasties, in which seventy-six princes are said to have reigned one thousand three hundred and ninety-nine years in *Avabhriti*, a town of the *Dacshin*, or *South*, which we commonly call *Deccan*: the names of the seven dynasties, or of the families who established them, are, *Abhira*, *Gardabhin*, *Canca*, *Yavana*, *Turushcara*, *Bhurunda*, *Maula*; of which the *Yavana*'s are by some, not generally, supposed to have been *Ionians*, or *Greeks*, but the *Turushcara*'s and *Maula*'s are universally believed to have been *Turcs* and *Moguls*; yet RA'DHA'CA'NT adds; "when the *Maula*' race was extinct, five princes, named *Bhúnanda*, *Bangira*, *Sifunandi*, *Yasónandi*, and *Pravíraca*, reigned an hundred and six years (or till the year 1053) in the city of *Cilacilà*," which, he tells me, he understands to be in the country of the *Mabáráshtira*'s,

*Maháráshtra's*, or *Mahráta's*: and here ends his *Indian Chronology*; for “after *PRAVIRACA*,” says he, “this Empire was divided among *Mléch'has*, or Infidels.”

THIS account of the *seven modern dynasties* appears very doubtful in itself, and has no relation to our present enquiry; for their dominion seems confined to the *Decan*, without extending to *Magadha*; nor have we any reason to believe, that a race of *Grecian Princes* ever established a kingdom in either of those countries: as to the *Moguls*, their dynasties still subsists, at least nominally; unless that of *Chengiz* be meant, and his successors could not have reigned in any part of *India* for the period of *three hundred years*, which is assigned to the *Maula's*; nor is it probable, that the word *Turc*, which an *Indian* could have easily pronounced and clearly expressed in the *Nágarí* letters, should have been corrupted into *Turushcara*. On the whole, we may safely close the most authentick system of *Hindu Chronology*, that I have yet been able to procure, with the death of *CHANDRABIJA*. Should any farther information be attainable, we shall, perhaps, in due time attain it, either from books or inscriptions in the *Sanscrit* language; but from the materials with which we are at present supplied, we may establish as indubitable the two following propositions; that the *three first ages* of the *Hindus* are chiefly *mythological*, whether their mythology was founded on the dark enigmas of their astronomers or on the heroick fictions of their poets; and, that the *fourth*, or *historical*, age cannot be carried farther back than about two thousand years before *CHRIST*. Even in the history of the present age, the generations of men and the reigns of kings are extended beyond the course of nature, and beyond the average resulting from the accounts of the

the *Bráhmans* themselves; for they assign to *an hundred and forty-two* modern reigns a period of *three thousand one hundred and fifty-three* years, or about *twenty-two* years to a reign, one with another; yet they represent only four *Canna* Princes on the throne of *Magadha* for a period of *three hundred and forty-five* years; now it is even more improbable, that four successive kings should have reigned *eighty-six years and three months* each, than that *NANDA* should have been king an *hundred* years, and murdered at last. Neither account can be credited; but, that we may allow the highest probable antiquity to the *Hindu* government, let us grant, that *three generations* of men were equal on an average to *an hundred* years, and that *Indian* Princes have reigned, one with another, *two and twenty*; then reckoning thirty generations from *ARJUN*, the brother of *YUDHISHTHIRA*, to the extinction of his race, and taking the *Chinese* account of *BUDDHA*'s birth from *M. DE GUIGNES*, as the most authentic medium between *ABU'LEAZL* and the *Tibctians*, we may arrange the corrected *Hindu* Chronology, according to the following table, supplying the word *about* or *nearly* (since perfect accuracy cannot be attained and ought not to be required), before every date.

	Y. B. C.
Abhmanyu, son of ARJUN,	2029
Pradyóta, — — —	1029
BUDDHA, — — —	1027
NANDA, — — —	699
Balin, — — —	149
VICRAMA DITYA — — —	56
DE'VAPA'LA, king of Gaur, —	23

If we take the date of *BUDDHA*'s appearance from *ABU'LEAZL*, we must place *ABHIMANYU*

2368 years before CHRIST, unless we calculate from the twenty kings of *Magadha*, and allow *seven hundred* years, instead of *a thousand*, between ARJUN and PRADYÓTA, which will bring us again very nearly to the date exhibited in the table; and, perhaps, we can hardly approach nearer to the truth. As to *Rájà NANDA*, if he really sat on the throne a whole century, we must bring down the *Andhra* dynasty to the age of VICRAMA'DITYA, who with his feudatories had probably obtained so much power during the reign of those princes, that they had little more than a nominal sovereignty, which ended with CHANDRABI'JA, in the *third* or *fourth* century of the *Christian* era; having, no doubt, been long reduced to insignificance by the kings of *Gaur*, descended from GO'PALA. But, if the author of the *Dabistàn* be warranted in fixing the birth of BUDDHA *ten* years before the *Caliyug*, we must thus correct the Chronological Table:

		Y. B. C.
BUDDHA,	—	1027
Parichhit,	—	1017
Pradyóta, (reckoning 20 or 30 } generations,		317 or 17
•		
Nanda,	—	Y. A. C. 13 or 313

THIS correction would oblige us to place VICRAMA'DITYA before NANDA, to whom, as all the *Pandits* agree, he was long posterior; and, if this be an historical fact, it seems to confirm the *Bhágawatámrita*, which fixes the beginning of the *Caliyug* about *a thousand* years before BUDDHA: besides that, BALIN would then be brought down at least to the sixth and CHANDRABI'JA to the tenth century after CHRIST, without leaving

room for the subsequent dynasties, if they reigned successively.

THUS have we given a sketch of *Indian* History through the longest period fairly assignable to it, and have traced the foundation of the *Indian* empire above *three thousand eighth undred* years from the present time; but, on a subject in itself so obscure, and so much clouded by the fictions of the *Bráhmans*, who, to aggrandize themselves, have designedly raised their antiquity beyond the truth, we must be satisfied with probable conjecture and just reasoning from the best attainable data: nor can we hope for a system of *Indian* Chronology to which no objection can be made, unless the astronomical books in *Sanscrit* shall clearly ascertain the places of the colures in some precise years of the historical age; not by loose traditions, like that of a coarse observation by *CHIRON*, who possibly never existed, for “he lived, says *NEWTON*, “in the golden age,” which must long have preceded the *Argonautick* expedition) but by such evidence as our own astronomers and scholars shall allow to be unexceptionable



A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE,

according to one of the HYPOTHESES intimated in  
the preceding Tract.

CHRISTIAN and MUSELMAN.	HINDU	Years from 1788 of our era.
ADAM,	MENU I. Age I.	5794
NOAH,	MENU II.	4737
Deluge,		4138
Nimrod,	Hiranyacasipu. Age II.	4006
Bel,	Bali,	3892
RAMA,	RAMA. Age III.	3817
Noah's death,		3787
	Pradyota,	2817
	BUDDHA. Age IV. .	2815
	Nanda,	2487
	Balin,	1937
	Vacramaditya,	1844
	Devapala,	1811
CHRIST,		1787
	Narayana-pala,	1721
	Saca,	1709
Walid,		1080
Mahmud,		786
Chengiz,		548
Taimur,		391
Babur,		276
Nadirshah,		49

DISSERTATION X.

SUPPLEMENT

TO THE

ESSAY ON INDIAN CHRONOLOGY.

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OUR ingenious associate Mr. SAMUEL DAVIS, whom I name with respect and applause, and who will soon, I trust, convince M. BAILLY, that it is very possible for an *European* to translate and explain the *Súrya Siddhánta*, favoured me lately with a copy, taken by his *Pandit*, of the original passage mentioned in his paper on the Astronomical Computations of the *Hindus*, concerning the places of the colures in the time of VARAHA, compared with their position in the age of a certain *Muni*, or ancient *Indian* philosopher; and the passage appears to afford evidence of two actual observations, which will ascertain the

the chronology of the *Hindus*, if not by rigorous demonstration, at least by a near approach to it.

THE copy of the *Várâhîsanhitâ*, from which the three pages, received by me, had been transcribed, is unhappily so incorrect (if the transcript itself was not hastily made) that every line of it must be disfigured by some gross error; and my *Pandit*, who examined the passage carefully at his own house, gave it up as inexplicable; so that if I had not studied the system of *Sanscrit* prosody, I should have laid it aside in despair: but though it was written as prose, without any sort of distinction or punctuation, yet, when I read it aloud, my ear caught in some sentences the cadence of verse, and of a particular metre, called *A'ryâ*, which is regulated (not by the number of syllables, like other *Indian* measures, but) by the proportion of *times*, or *syllabick moments*, in the four divisions, of which every stanza consists. By numbering those moments and fixing their proportion, I was enabled to restore the text of *VARA'HA*, with the perfect assent of the learned *Brâhmen* who attends me; and, with his assistance, I also corrected the comment written by *BHATTO'PALA*, who, it seems, was a son of the author, together with three curious passages which are cited in it. Another *Pandit* afterwards brought me a copy of the whole original work, which confirmed my conjectural emendations, except in two immaterial syllables, and except, that the first of the six couplets in the text is quoted in the commentary from a different work entitled *Panchasiddhânticâ*: five of them were composed by *VARA'HA* himself, and the third chapter of his treatise begins with them.

BEFORE I produce the original verses, it may be useful to give you an idea of the *A'ryâ* measure,

ture, which will appear more distinctly in Latin than in any modern language of *Europe*.

Tigridas, apros; thoas, tyrannos, pessima monstra, venemur:  
Dic hinnulus, dic lepus male quid egerint herbivori.

The couplet might be so arranged, as to begin and end with the cadence of an hexameter and pentameter, six *moments* being interposed in the middle of the long, and seven in that of the short hemistich:

Thoas; apros, tigridas nos *venemur*; pessimesque tyrannos:  
Dic tibi cervæ, lepus tibi *dic male quid egerit herbivorus*.

Since the *Arya* measure, however, may be almost infinitely varied, the couplet would have a form completely *Roman*, if the proportion of *syllabic instants*, in the long and short verses, were *twenty-four to twenty*, instead of *thirty to twenty-seven*:

Venor apros tigridasque, et, pessima monstra, tyrannos:  
Cervæ mali quid agunt herbivorusque lepus?

I now exhibit the five stanzas of VARA HA in *European* characters.

Asleshârdhâddachhînamuttaramayanani râvêrdhanishthâdyan  
Nûnan cadâchidâsidyênôctan pûrva sâstrêshu.  
Sâmpratamayanan savituh carcâcacâdyan mrigâditâschânyat:  
Uctâbhâvê vicritih pratyachâperichhânair vyactih.  
Dûrast'hâchihnavêdyâdudayê'stamayê'pivâ sahafrânsôh,  
Ch'hâyâprâvêsanirgamachihnairvâ mandâlê mahati.  
Apikâpyî mâcaramâred vinivrittô hanti sâparân yâmyân,  
Carcâcacâmâsanprâpêd vinivrittâschôttarân saindrin:  
Uttaramayanamatitya vyâvrittah chhêmâsâsya viddhicarah,  
Pracritist'hâstâpyêvan vicritigâtir bhayâcrîdushinânsuh.

OF the five couplets thus exhibited, the following translation is most scrupulously literal:

“ CERTAINLY the southern solstice was once in  
“ the middle of *Asleshâ*, the northern in the first  
“ degree of *Dhanishthâ*, by what is recorded in  
“ former *Sâstras*. At present one solstice is in the  
“ first degree of *Carcâta*, and the other in the first  
“ of *Macara*: that which is recorded not appear-  
“ ing,

“ing, a change *must have happened*; and the  
 “proof arises from ocular demonstrations; *that*  
 “*is*, by observing the remote object and its  
 “marks at the rising or setting of the sun, or by  
 “the marks, in a large *graduated* circle, of the  
 “shadow’s ingress and egress. The sun, by turn-  
 “ing back without having reached *Macara*, de-  
 “troys the south and the west; by turning back  
 “without having reached *Carcata*, the north and  
 “east. By returning, when he has just passed the  
 “winter solstitial point, he makes wealth secure  
 “and grain abundant, since he moves thus ac-  
 “cording to nature; but the sun, by moving un-  
 “naturally, excites terror.”

Now the *Hindu* Astronomers agree, that the  
 1st *January* 1790 was in the year 4891 of the  
*Caliyuga*. or their *fourth* period, at the beginning  
 of which, they say, the equinoctial points were in  
 the first degrees of *Mésba* and *Tulà*; but they are  
 also of opinion, that the vernal equinox oscillates  
 from the third of *Mina* to the twenty-seventh of  
*Mésba*, and back again in 7200 years, which they  
 divide into four *pádas*, and consequently that it  
 moves, in the two intermediate *pádas*, from the  
 first to the twenty-seventh of *Mésba* and back  
 again in 3600 years; the colure cutting their  
 ecliptick in the first of *Mésba*, which coincides  
 with the first of *Afwinì*, at the beginning of  
 every such oscillatory period. VARAHA, sur-  
 named MIHIRA, or the Sun, from his knowledge  
 of astronomy, and usually distinguished by the  
 title of *Achària*, or teacher of the *Véda*, lived  
 confessedly when the *Caliyuga* was far advanced;  
 and, since by actual observation he found the sol-  
 stitial points in the first degrees of *Carcata* and  
*Macara*, the equinoctial points were at the same  
 time in the first of *Mésba* and *Tulà*: he lived, there-  
 fore,

fore, in the year 3900 of the fourth *Indian* period, or 1291 years before 1st *January* 1790, that is, about the year 499 of our era. This date corresponds with the *ayanánfa*, or precession, calculated by the rule of the *Súryasiddhánta*; for  $19^{\circ} 21' 54''$  would be the precession of the equinox in 1291 years, according to the *Hindu* computation of  $54''$  annually, which gives us the origin of the *Indian* Zodiack nearly; but, by NEWTON's demonstrations, which agree as well with the phenomena, as the varying density of our earth will admit, the equinox recedes about  $50''$  every year, and has receded  $17^{\circ} 55' 50''$  since the time of VARA'HA, which gives us more nearly in our own sphere the first degree of *Mésba* in that of the *Hindus*. By the observation recorded in older *Sástras*, the equinox had gone back  $23^{\circ} 20'$ , or about 1680 years had intervened, between the age of the *Muni* and that of the modern astronomer: the former observation, therefore, must have been made about 2971 years before 1st *January* 1790, that is 1181 before CHRIST.

WE come now to the commentary, which contains information of the greatest importance. By former *Sástras* are meant, says BHATTÓPTALA, the books of PARA'SARA and of other *Munis*; and he then cites from the *Párasara Saṅhitā* the following passage, which is in modulated prose, and in a style much resembling that of the *Védas*.

SRAVISHTA'DYA'T paushn'ardhantan charah si'sirò; vasantah paushn'ardhát röhinyántan; saumyádyádáslésh'ardhántan gríshmah; právrídáslésh'ardhát hastántan; chitrády t jyesh't'hárd hántan sarat; hémantò jyesh't'hárdhát vaishn'avántan.

“ THE season of *Sifira* is from the first of “ *Dhanisht'bhá* to the middle of *Révati*; that of “ *Vasanta* from the middle of *Révati* to the end “ of *Róhini*; that of *Grishma* from the beginning “ of

“ of *Mrigráfiras* to the middle of *Aśléṣhà*; that  
 “ of *Verṣhà* from the middle of *Aśléṣhà* to the end  
 “ of *Haṣṭa*; that of *Sarad* from the first of *Chitrà*  
 “ to the middle of *Jyēṣṭhà*; that of *Hémanta* from  
 “ the middle of *Jyēṣṭhà* to the end of *Sravanà*.”

THIS account of the six *Indian* seasons, each of which is co-extensive with two signs, or four lunar stations and a half, places the solstitial points, as VARA'HA has asserted, in the first degree of *Dhanisṭhà*, and the middle, or  $6^{\circ} 40'$ , of *Aśléṣhà*, while the equinoctial points were in the tenth degree of *Bharani* and  $3^{\circ} 20'$  of *Viśac'hà*; but, in the time of VARA'HA, the solstitial colure passed through the 10th degree of *Punarvasu* and  $3^{\circ} 20'$  of *Ut'arāṣhàrà*, while the equinoctial colure cut the *Hindu* ecliptick in the first of *Ajwini* and  $6^{\circ} 40'$  of *Chitrà*, or the *Yôgà* and only star of that mansion, which, by the way, is indubitably the *Spike* of the *Virgin*, from the known longitude of which all other points in the *Indian* Zodiack may be computed. It cannot escape notice, that PARA'SARA does not use in this passage the phrase *at present*, which occurs in the text of VARA'HA; so that the places of the colures might have been ascertained *before* his time, and a considerable change might have happened in their true position without any change in the phrases by which the seasons were distinguished; as our popular language in astronomy remains unaltered, though the Zodiackal asterisms are now removed a whole sign from the places where they have left their names: it is manifest, nevertheless, that PARA'SARA must have written *within twelve centuries* before the beginning of our era, and that single fact, as we shall presently show, leads to very momentous consequences in regard to the system of *Indian* history and literature.

On

ON the comparison, which might easily be made, between the colures of PARASARA and those ascribed by EUDXUS to CIRON, the supposed assistant and instructor of the *Argonauts*, I shall say very little; because the whole *Argonautick* story (which neither was, according to HERODOTUS, nor, indeed, could have been, originally *Grecian*) appears, even when stripped of its poetical and fabulous ornaments, extremely disputable; and, whether it was founded on a league of the *Helladian* princes and states for the purpose of checking, on a favourable opportunity, the overgrown power of *Egypt*, or with a view to secure the commerce of the *Euxine* and appropriate the wealth of *Colchis*, or, as I am disposed to believe on an emigration from *Africa* and *Asia* of that adventurous race who had first been established in *Chaldea*; whatever, in short, gave rise to the fable, which the old poets have so richly embellished, and the old historians have so inconsiderately adopted; it seems to me very clear, even on the principles of NEWTON, and on the same authorities to which he refers, that the voyage of the *Argonauts* must have preceded the year in which his calculations led him to place it. BATTUS built *Cyrene*, says our great philosopher, on the site of *Ivafa*, the city of ANUÆUS, in the year 633 before CHRIST; yet he soon after calls EURIPYLUS, with whom the *Argonauts* had a conference, king of *Cyrene*, and in both passages he cites PINDAR, whom I acknowledge to have been the most learned as well as the sublimest, of poets. Now, if I understand PINDAR (which I will not assert, and I neither possess nor remember at present the *Scholia*, which I formerly perused) the fourth *Pythian Ode* begins with a short panegyrick on ARCESILAS of *Cyrene*: “where, says  
 “the bard, the priests, who sat near the golden  
 “eagles



“ eagles of Jove, prophesied of old, when APOL-  
 “ LO was not absent from his mansion, that BAT-  
 “ TUS, the colonizer of fruitful *Lybia*, having  
 “ just left the sacred isle (*Tbera*), should build a  
 “ city excelling in cars, on the splendid breast of  
 “ earth, and, *with the seventeenth generation*,  
 “ should refer to himself the *Tbercan* prediction,  
 “ of MEDEA, which that princess of the *Colchians*,  
 “ that impetuous daughter of *Ætes*, breathed  
 “ from her immortal mouth, and thus delivered to  
 “ the half-divine mariners of the warrior JASON.”

From this introduction to the noblest and most animated of the *Argonautick* poems, it appears, that *fifteen complete generations* had intervened between the voyage of JASON and the emigration of BATTUS; so that considering *three generations* as equal to *an hundred or an hundred and twenty years*, which NEWTON admits to be the *Grecian* mode of computing them, we must place that voyage at least *five or six hundred years* before the time fixed by NEWTON himself, according to his own computation, for the building of *Cyrene*; that is, *eleven or twelve hundred and thirty three years* before CHRIST; an age very near on a medium to that of *PARA'SARA*. If the poet means afterwards to say, as I understand him, that ARCESILAS, his contemporary, was the *eight* in descent from BATTUS, we shall draw nearly the same conclusion, without having recourse to the unnatural reckoning of *thirty-three or forty years* to a generation; for PINDAR was *forty years* old, when the *Persians*, having crossed the *Hellepont*, were nobly resisted at *Thermopylæ*, and gloriously defeated at *Salamis*: he was born, therefore, about the *sixty-fifth Olympiad*, or *five hundred and twenty years* before our era; so that, by allowing more naturally *six or seven hundred years* to *twenty-three generations*, we may at a medium place the voy-

age of JASON about one thousand one hundred and seventy years before Our Saviour, or about forty-five years before the beginning of the *Newtonian* chronology.

THE description of the old colures by EUDOXUS, if we implicitly rely on his testimony and on that of HIPPARCHUS, who was, indisputably, a great astronomer for the age in which he lived, affords, I allow, sufficient evidence of some rude observation about 937 years before the *Christian* epoch; and, if the cardinal points had receded from those colures  $36^{\circ} 9' 10''$  at the beginning of the year 1690, and  $37^{\circ} 52' 30''$  on the first of *January* in the present year, they must have gone back  $3^{\circ} 23' 20''$  between the observation implied by PAKASAR and that recorded by EUDOXUS; or, in other words, 244 years must have elapsed between the two observations: but, this disquisition having little relation to our principal subject, I proceed to the last couplets of our *Indian* astronomer VARAHA MIHIRA: which, though merely astrological and consequently absurd, will give occasion to remarks of no small importance. They imply, that, when the solstices are not in the first degrees of *Carcata* and *Macara*, the motion of the sun is contrary to nature, and being caused, as the commentator intimates, by some *utpāta*, or preternatural agency, must necessarily be productive of misfortune; and this vain idea seems to indicate a very superficial knowledge even of the system which *Varāha* undertook to explain; but he might have adopted it solely as a religious tenet, on the authority of GARGA, a priest of eminent sanctity, who expresses the same wild notion in the following couplet:

Yadā nivertatē' praptāh fravishtāmutterāyanē,  
 Atēhān dacthīnē' prāptastadavidyānmahadbhāyan.

“ WHEN

“ WHEN the sun returns, not having reached *Dhanishthâ* in the northern solstice, or not having reached *Ashlâ* in the southern, then let a man feel great apprehension of danger.”

PARASARA himself entertained a similar opinion, that any irregularity in the solstices would indicate approaching calamity; *Yadâprâptò vaishnavântam*, says he, *uidanmârgé prepadyaté, dâshîné, ashlââm vâ mahâb hayaya*, that is, “When having reached the end of *Scravanâ*, in the northern path, or half of *Ashlâ* in the southern, he still advances, it is a cause of great fear.” This notion possibly had its rise before the regular precession of the cardinal points had been observed; but we may also remark, that some of the lunar mansions were considered as inauspicious, and others as fortunate: thus MENU, the first Indian lawgiver, ordains, that certain rites shall be performed under the influence of a happy *Nakshatra*; and where he forbids any female name to be taken from a constellation, the most learned commentator gives *Ardra* and *Révati* as examples of ill-omened names, appearing by design to skip over others that must first have occurred to him. Whether *Dhanishthâ* and *Ashlâ* were inauspicious or prosperous I have not learned; but, whatever might be the ground of VARAHA’S astrological rule, we may collect from his astronomy, which was grounded on observation, that the solstice had receded at least 23°. 20’. between his time and that of PARASARA; for though he refers its position to the signs, instead of the lunar mansions, yet all the Pandits with whom I have conversed on the subject, unanimously assert, that the first degrees of *Mésha* and *Ashwinî* are coincident. Since the two ancient sages name only the lunar asterisms, it is probable, that the solar division of the Zodiac into twelve signs was not generally used in

their days; and we know, from the comment on the *Súrya Siddhánta*, that the lunar month, by which all religious ceremonies are still regulated, was in use before the solar. When M. BAILLY asks, "Why the *Hindus* established the beginning of the precession, according to their ideas of "it, in the year of CHRIST 499?" to which his calculations also had led him, we answer, Because in that year the vernal equinox was found by observation in the origin of their ecliptick; and since they were of opinion, that it must have had the same position in the first year of the *Caliyuga*, they were induced by their erroneous theory to fix the beginning of their fourth period 3600 years before the time of VARA'HA, and to account for PARA'SARA'S observation by supposing an *utpáta*, or *prodigy*.

To what purpose, it may be asked, have we ascertained the age of the *Munis*? Who was PARA'SARA? Who was GARGA? With whom were they contemporary, or with whose age may their's be compared? What light will these enquiries throw on the history of *India* or of mankind? I am happy in being able to answer those questions with confidence and precision.

ALL the *Bráhmens* agree, that only one PARA'SARA is named in their sacred records; that he composed the astronomical book before cited, and a law tract, which is now in my possession; that he was the grandson of VASISHT'HA, another astronomer and legislator, whose works are still extant, and who was the preceptor of RA'MA, king of *Ayódhyà*; that he was the father of VY-ÁSA, by whom the *Védas* were arranged in the form which they now bear, and whom CRISHNA himself names with exalted praise in the *Gítà*; so that by the admission of the *Pandits* themselves,

we find only three generations between two of the RA'MAS; whom they consider as incarnate *portions* of the divinity; and PARA'SARA might have lived till the beginning of the *Caliyuga*, which the mistaken doctrine of an oscillation in the cardinal points has compelled the *Hindus* to place 1920 years too early. This error, added to their fanciful arrangement of the four ages, has been the source of many absurdities; for they insist, that VALMIC, whom they cannot but allow to have been contemporary with RAMACHANDRA, lived in the age of VYA'SA, who consulted him on the composition of the *Mahábhárat*, and who was personally known to BALABAMA, the brother of CRISHNA. When a very learned *Bráhmén* had repeated to me an agreeable story of a conversation between VALMIC and VYA'SA, I expressed my surprise at an interview between two bards, whose ages were separated by a period of 864,000 years; but he soon reconciled himself to so monstrous an anachronism, by observing, that the longevity of the *Munis* was preternatural, and that no limit could be set to divine power. By the same recourse to miracles or to prophecy, he would have answered another objection equally fatal to his chronological system: it is agreed by all, that the lawyer YA'GYAWALCYA was an attendant on the court of JANACA, whose daughter SITÁ was the constant, but unfortunate wife of the great RAMA, the hero of VALMIC's poem; but that lawyer himself, at the very opening of his work, which now lies before me, names both PARA'SARA and VYA'SA among twenty authors, whose tracts form the body of original *Indian* law. By the way, since VASISHT'HA is more than once named in the *Mánavísanhitá*, we may be certain, that the laws ascribed to MENU, in whatever age they might have

have been first promulgated, could not have received the form in which we now see them above three thousand years ago.

THE age and functions of GARGA lead to consequences yet more interesting: he was confessedly the *puróhita*, or officiating priest, of CRISHNA himself, who, when only a herdsman's boy at *Mat'burà*, revealed his divine character to GARGA, by running to him with more than mortal benignity on his countenance, when the priest had invoked NA'RA'YAN. His daughter was eminent for her piety and her learning, and the *Bráhmans* admit, without considering the consequence of their admission, that she is thus addressed in the *Veda* itself: *Yata úrdhwan nò và samópi, GA'RGI, ésha ádityò dyàmúrdhànan tapati, dyà và bhúmin tapati, bhúmyà subbran tapati, locán tapati, antaran tapatyanantaran tapita*; or, "That Sun, O daughter of GARGA, than which nothing is higher, to which nothing is equal, enlightens the summit of the sky; with the sky enlightens the earth; with the earth enlightens the lower worlds; enlightens the higher worlds; enlightens other worlds; it enlightens the breast, enlightens all besides the breast." From these facts, which the *Bráhmans* cannot deny, and from these concessions, which they unanimously make, we may reasonably infer, that if VYA'SA was not the composer of the *Védas*, he added at least something of his own to the scattered fragments of a more ancient work, or perhaps to the loose traditions which he had collected; but whatever be the comparative antiquity of the *Hindu* scriptures, we may safely conclude that the *Mosaick* and *Indian* chronologies are perfectly consistent; that MENU, son of BRAHMA, was the *Adima*, or first, created mortal, and consequently our ADAM; that MENU,

child

child of the Sun, was preserved with *seven* others, in a *babitra*, or capacious ark, from an universal deluge, and must therefore be our NOAH; that HIRANYACASIPU, the giant *with a golden axe*, and *Vali* or *Bali*, were impious and arrogant monarchs, and, most probably, our NIMROD and BELUS; that the three RA'M S, two of whom were invincible warriors, and the third, not only valiant in war, but the patron of agriculture and *wine*, which derives an epithet from his name, were different representations of the *Grecian Bacchus*, and either the RA'MA of scripture, or his colony personified, or the Sun, first adored by his idolatrous family; that a considerable emigration from *Chaldea* into *Greece*, *Italy*, and *India*, happened about *twelve* centuries before the birth of Our Saviour; that SA'CYA, or SI'SAK, about two hundred years after VYA'SA, either in person or by a colony from *Egypt* imported into this country the mild heresy of the ancient *Bauddhas*; and that the dawn of true *Indian* history appears only three or four centuries before the *Christian* era, the preceding ages being clouded by allegory or fable.

As a specimen of that fabling and allegorizing spirit which has ever induced the *Bráhmens* to disguise their whole system of history, philosophy, and religion, I produce a passage from the *Bhágavat*, which, however strange and ridiculous, is very curious in itself, and closely connected with the subject of this Essay: it is taken from the fifth *Scandha*, or Section, which is written in modulated prose. "There are some," says the *Indian* author, "who, for the purpose of meditating intensely on the holy son of VASUDE'VA, imagine  
 "yon celestial sphere to represent the figure of  
 "that aquatick animal which we call *Sis'umára*;  
 "its head being turned downwards, and its body

“ bent in a circle, they conceive *Dhruvā*, or the  
 “ pole star, to be fixed on the point of its tail ;  
 “ on the middle part of the tail they see four  
 “ stars, *Prejāpati*, *Agni*, *Indra*, *Dherma*, and *ōn*  
 “ its base two others, *Dhātri* and *Vidhātri*: on its  
 “ rump are the *Septarshis*, or seven stars of the  
 “ *Sacata*, or *Wain*; on its back the path of the  
 “ Sun, called *Ajavit’hī*, or the *Series of Kids*; on  
 “ its belly the *Gangā* of the sky: *Punarvasu* and  
 “ *Pushya* gleam respectively on its right and left  
 “ haunches; *A’rdra* and *Aśléshā* on its right and  
 “ left feet or fins; *Abhijit* and *Uttarāshād’hā* in its  
 “ right and left nostrils; *Scravanā* and *Pūrvā-*  
 “ *shād’hā* in its right and left eyes; *Dhanishth’hā*  
 “ and *Mūla* on its right and left ears. Eight  
 “ constellations, belonging to the summer Sol-  
 “ stice, *Maghā*, *Pūrvaphalgunī*, *Uttarap’halgunī*,  
 “ *Hasta*, *Chitrā*, *Swātī*, *Viśāc’hā*, *Anurādhā*, may be  
 “ conceived in the ribs of its left side; and as many  
 “ asterisms, connected with the winter Solstice,  
 “ *Mrigasiras*, *Rōhinī*, *Critticā*, *Bharanī*, *Aświnī*,  
 “ *Révati*, *Uttarābhadrapadā*, *Pūrvābhadrapadā*,  
 “ may be imagined on the ribs of its right side in  
 “ an inverse order: let *Satabhishā* and *Jyēshth’hā* be  
 “ placed on its right and left shoulders. In its  
 “ upper jaw is *Agastya*, in its lower *Yama*; in its  
 “ mouth the planet *Mangāla*; in its part of gene-  
 “ ration, *Sanaischara*; on its hump, *Vrihaspati*;  
 “ in its breast, the Sun; in its heart, *Nārāyan*;  
 “ in its front, the Moon; in its navel, *Usanas*;  
 “ on its two nipples, the two *Aświnas*; in its as-  
 “ cending and descending breaths, *Budha*; on its  
 “ throat, *Rāhu*; in all its limbs, *Cētus*, or comets;  
 “ and in its hairs, or bristles, the whole multitude  
 “ of Stars.”

It is necessary to remark, that, although the  
*śisumārā* be generally described as the *seahog* or  
*porpoise*,



*porpoise*, which we frequently have seen playing in the *Ganges*, yet *súsmâr*, which seems derived from the *Sanscrit*, means in *Persian* a large lizard: the passage just exhibited may nevertheless relate to an animal of the cataceous order, and possibly to the dolphin of the ancients.

BEFORE I leave the sphere of the *Hindus*, I cannot help mentioning a singular fact: in the *Sanscrit* language, *Ricsha* means a constellation and a bear, so that *Maharcsha* may denote either a great bear, or a great asterism. Etymologists may, perhaps, derive the *Megas Arctos* of the *Greeks* from an *Indian* compound ill understood; but I will only observe, with the wild *American*, that a bear with a very long tail could never have occurred to the imagination of any one who had seen the animal. I may be permitted to add, on the subject of the *Indian Zodiack*, that, if I have erred in a former Essay, where the longitude of the lunar mansions is computed from the first star in our constellation of the Ram, I have been led into error by the very learned and ingenuous M. BAILLY, who relied, I presume, on the authority of M. LE GENTIL: the origin of the *Hindu Zodiack*, according to the *Sárya Siddhánta*, must be nearly  $\gamma$   $19^{\circ}$ .  $21'$ .  $54''$ . in our sphere, and the longitude of *Chitrâ*, or the Spike, must of course be  $199^{\circ}$ .  $21'$ .  $54''$ . from the vernal equinox; but, since it is difficult by that computation to arrange the twenty-seven mansions and their several stars, as they are delineated and enumerated in the *Retnamâlâ*; I must for the present suppose, with M. BAILLY, that the *Zodiack* of the *Hindus* had two origins, one constant and the other variable; and a farther inquiry into the subject must be reserved for a season of retirement and leisure.

## D I S S E R T A T I O N . XI.

ON THE

## INDIAN GAME OF CHESS.

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IF evidence be required to prove that Chess was invented by the *Hindus*, we may be satisfied with the testimony of the *Persians*; who, though as much inclined as other nations to appropriate the ingenious inventions of a foreign people, unanimously agree, that the game was imported from the west of *India*, together with the charming fables of VISHNUSARMAN, in the sixth century of our era. It seems to have been immemorially known in *Hindustan* by the name of *Chaturanga*, that is, the four *anga's* or *members*, of an army, which are said in the *Amaracósha* to be *hastyaswarat'hapádátam*, or *elephants, horses, chariots, and foot-soldiers*; and in this sense the word is frequently used by Epick poets in their descriptions of real armies. By a natural corruption of the pure *Sanscrit* word, it was changed by the old *Persians* into *Chatrang*: but the *Arabs*, who soon after

after took possession of their country, had neither the initial nor final letter of that word in their alphabet, and consequently altered it further into *Sbatranj*, which found its way presently into the modern *Persian*, and at length into the dialects of *Indiā*; where the true derivation of the name is known only to the learned. Thus has a very significant word in the sacred language of the *Bráhmans* been transformed by successive changes into *axedrez*; *scacchi*, *échecs*, *chefs*, and, by a whimsical concurrence of circumstances, given birth to the *English* word *check*, and even a name to the *Exchequer* of *Great Britain*. The beautiful simplicity and extreme perfection of the game, as it is commonly played in *Europe* and *Asia*, convince me, that it was invented by one effort of some great genius; not completed by gradual improvements, but formed, to use the phrase of *Italian* critics, *by the first intention*: yet of this simple game, so exquisitely contrived, and so certainly invented in *India*, I cannot find any account in the classical writings of the *Bráhmans*. It is, indeed, confidently asserted, that *Sanscrit* books on *Chefs* exist in this country, and, if they can be procured at *Banáres*, they will assuredly be sent to us: at present I can only exhibit a description of a very ancient *Indian* game of the same kind; but more complex, and, in my opinion, more modern, than the simple *Chefs* of the *Persians*. This game is also called *Chaturanga*, but more frequently *Chatúrājī*, or the *four Kings*, since it is played by four persons representing as many princes, two allied armies combating on each side: the description is taken from the *Bhawishya Purán*, in which YUDHISHT'HIR is represented conversing with VYA'SA, who explains at the king's request the form of the fictitious warfare and the principal rules of it: "Having marked  
 "eight squares on all sides," says the Sage,  
 "S 2 " place

“ place the *red* army to the east, the *green* to the south, the *yellow* to the west, and the *black* to the north : let the *elephant* stand on the left of the *king* ; next to him the *horse* ; then the *boat* ; and, before them all, four *foot-soldiers* ; but the *boat* must be placed in the *angle* of the board.”

From this passage it clearly appears, that an army, with its four *anga's*, must be placed on each side of the board, since an *elephant* could not stand, in any other position, on the *left* hand of each *king* ; and RA'DHA'CA'NT informed me, that the board consisted, like ours, of *sixty-four* squares, half of them occupied by the forces, and half vacant : he added, that this game is mentioned in the oldest law-books, and that it was invented by the wife of RA'VAN, King of *Lancà*, in order to amuse him with an image of war, while his metropolis was closely besieged by RA'MA in the second age of the world. He had not heard the story told by FIRDAUSI near the close of the *Sháhnámah*, and it was probably carried into *Persia* from *Cányacuvja* by BORZU, the *favourite physician*, thence called *Vaidyapriya*, of the great ANU'SHIRAVAN ; but he said, that the *Bráhmans* of *Gaur*, or *Bengal*, were once celebrated for superior skill in the game, and that his father, together with his spiritual preceptor, JAGANNA'T'H, now living at *Tribéni*, had instructed two young *Bráhmans* in all the rules of it, and had sent them to *Jayanagar* at the request of the late *Rájà*, who had liberally rewarded them. A *ship*, or *boat*, is substituted, we see, in this complex game for the *rat'h*, or armed *chariot*, which the *Bengalese* pronounce *rot'h*, and which the *Persians* changed into *rokh*, whence came the *rook* of some *European* nations ; as the *vierge* and *fol* of the *French* are supposed to be corruptions of *ferz* and *fil*, the *prime minister* and *elephant* of the *Persians* and *Arabs*. It were vain to seek an etymology

mology of the word *rook* of the modern *Persian* language; for, in all the passages extracted from FIRDAUSI and JA'MI, where *rokh* is conceived to mean a *hero*, or a *fabulous bird*, it signifies, I believe, no more than a *cheek* or a *face*: as in the following description of a procession in *Egypt*:  
 “ when a thousand youths, like cypresses, box-  
 “ trees, and firs, with locks as fragrant, cheeks  
 “ as fair, and bosoms as delicate, as lilies of the  
 “ valley, were marching gracefully along, thou  
 “ wouldst have said, that the new spring was *turn-*  
 “ *ing his face* (not as HYDE translates the words,  
 “ *carried on rokhs*) from station to station; and,  
 as to the battle of the *durwázdeh rokh*, which D'HERBELOF supposes to mean *douze preux chevaliers*, I am strongly inclined to think, that the phrase only signifies a combat of *twelve persons face to face*, or six on a side. I cannot agree with my friend RA'DHA'CA'NT, that a *ship* is properly introduced in this imaginary warfare instead of a *chariot*, in which the old *Indian* warriors constantly fought; for though the *king* might be supposed to sit in a *car*, so that the four *angá's* would be complete, and though it may often be necessary in a real campaign to pass rivers or lakes, yet no river is marked on the *Indian*, as it is on the *Chinese* chess-board, and the intermixture of ships with horses, elephants, and infantry embattled on a plain, is an absurdity not to be defended. The use of *dice* may, perhaps, be justified in a representation of war, in which *fortune* has unquestionably a great share, but it seems to exclude Chess from the rank which has been assigned to it among the sciences, and to give the game before us the appearance of *whist*, except that pieces are used openly, instead of cards which are held concealed: nevertheless we find, that the moves in the game described by VYA'SA were to a certain  
 certain

certain degree regulated by *chance*; for he proceeds to tell his royal pupil, that “if *cinque* be thrown, the *king* or a *pawn* must be moved; if *quatre*, the *elephant*; if *trois*, the *horse*; and if *deux*, the *boat*.”

He then proceeds to the moves: “the *king* passes freely on all sides but over *one* square only; and with the same limitation the *pawn* moves, but he advances straight forward, and kills his enemy through an angle; the *elephant* marches in all directions, as far as his driver pleases; the *horse* runs obliquely traversing three squares; and the *ship* goes over two squares diagonally.” The *elephant*, we find, has the powers of our *queen*, as we are pleased to call the *minister*, or *general*, of the *Persians*; and the *ship* has the motion of the piece to which we give the unaccountable appellation of *bishop*, but with a restriction which must greatly lessen his value.

THE bard next exhibits a few general rules and superficial directions for the conduct of the game: “the *pawns* and the *ship* both kill and may be voluntarily killed; while the *king*, the *elephant*, and the *horse* may slay the foe, but cannot expose themselves to be slain. Let each player preserve his own forces with extreme care, fearing his *king* above all, and not sacrificing a superior, to keep an inferior, piece.” Here the commentator on the *Purán* observes, that the *horse*, who has the choice of *eight* moves from any central position, must be preferred to the *ship*, who has only the choice of *four*; but this argument would not have equal weight in the common game, where the *bishop* and *tower* command a whole line, and where a *knight* is always of less value than a *tower* in action, or the *bishop* of that side on which the attack is begun. “It is by the overbearing power of the *elephant*, that the *king* fights

“ fights boldly; let the whole army, therefore,  
 “ be abandoned, in order to secure the *elephant*:  
 “ the *king* must never place one *elephant* before  
 “ another, according to the rule of GO'TAMA,  
 “ unless he be compelled by want of room, for  
 “ he would thus commit a dangerous fault; and  
 “ if he can slay one of two hostile *elephants*, he  
 “ must destroy that on his left hand.” The last  
 rule is extremely obscure; but, as GO'TAMA was  
 an illustrious lawyer and philosopher, he would  
 not have condescended to leave directions for the  
 game of *Chaturanga*, if it had not been held in  
 great estimation by the ancient Sages of *India*.

ALL that remains of the passage, which was copied for me by RA'DHA'CAN'T and explained by him, relates to the several modes in which a partial success or complete victory may be obtained by any one of the four players; for we shall see, that, as if a dispute had arisen between two allies, one of the *kings* may assume the command of all the forces, and aim at separate conquest. First;  
 “ When any one *king* has placed himself on the  
 “ square of another *king*, which advantage is called *Sinhāsana*, or *the throne*, he wins a stake;  
 “ which is doubled, if he kill the adverse monarch, when he seizes his place; and, if he  
 “ can seat himself on the throne of his ally, he  
 “ takes the command of the whole army.” Secondly; “ if he can occupy successively the  
 “ thrones of all the three princes, he obtains the  
 “ victory, which is named *Chaturáji*, and the  
 “ stake is doubled, if he kill the last of the three,  
 “ just before he takes possession of his throne, but  
 “ if he kill him on his throne, the stake is quadrupled.” Thus, as the commentator remarks, in a real warfare, a king may be considered as victorious, when he seizes the metropolis of his adversary; but if he can destroy his foe, he displays  
 greater

greater heroism, and relieves his people from any further solicitude. “ Both in gaining the *Sinhâ-sana* and the *Çhatûrâjî*, says VYA'SA, the king “ must be supported by the *elephants*, or by all “ the forces united.” Thirdly; “ When one “ player has his own *king* on the board, but the “ *king* of his partner has been taken, he may re- “ place his captive ally, if he can seize both the “ adverse *kings*; or, if he cannot effect their cap- “ ture, he may exchange his *king* for one of “ them, against the general rule, and thus redeem “ the allied *prince*, who will supply his place.” This advantage has the name of *Nripâcrishta*, or, *recovered by the king*; and the *Naucâcrishta* seems to be analogous to it, but confined to the case of *ships*. Fourthly; “ if a *pawn* can march to any “ square on the opposite extremity of the board, “ except that of the *king*, or that of the *ship*, he “ assumes whatever power belonged to that square; “ and this promotion is called *Sbatpada*, or the “ *six strides*.” Here we find the rule, with a singular exception, concerning the advancement of *pawns*, which often occasions a most interesting struggle at our common chess, and which has furnished the poets and moralists of *Arabia* and *Persia* with many lively reflections on human life. It appears, that “ this privilege of *Sbatpada* was not “ allowable in the opinion of GO'TAMA, when a “ player had three *pawns* on the board; but, “ when only one *pawn* and one *ship* remained, “ the *pawn* might advance even to the square of a “ *king* or a *ship*, and assume the power of either.” Fifthly; “ According to the *Râçhasa's*, or *giants* “ (that is, the people of *Lancâ*, where the game “ was invented), there could be neither victory “ nor defeat, if a *king* were left on the plain “ without force: a situation which they named “ *Câcacâst'ha*.” Sixthly; “ If three *ships* happen “ to



“ to meet, and the fourth *ship* can be brought up  
 “ to them in the remaining angle, this has the  
 “ name of *Vrihannaucà* ; and the player of the  
 “ fourth seizes all the others.” Two or three of  
 the remaining couplets are so dark, either from an  
 error in the manuscript or from the antiquity of  
 the language, that I could not understand the *Pan-*  
*dit's* explanation of them, and suspect that they  
 gave even him very indistinct ideas ; but it would  
 be easy, if it were worth while, to play at the  
 game by the preceding rules ; and a little practice  
 would, perhaps, make the whole intelligible.  
 One circumstance, in this extract from the *Puràn*,  
 seems very surprizing : all games of hazard are  
 positively forbidden by MENU, yet the game of  
*Chaturanga*, in which dice are used, is taught by  
 the great VY'ASA himself, whose law-tract appears  
 with that of GÓ'TAMA among the eighteen books  
 which form the *Dhermasástra* ; but as RA'DHA'-  
 CA'NT and his preceptor JAGANNA'T'H are both  
 employed by Government in compiling a Digest of  
*Indian* laws, and as both of them, especially the  
 venerable Sage of *Tribéni*, understand the game,  
 they are able, I presume, to assign reasons, why  
 it should have been excepted from the general pro-  
 hibition, and even openly taught by ancient and  
 modern *Bráhmans*.

## DISSERTATION XII.

ON THE

SECOND CLASSICAL BOOK

OF THE

C H I N E S E.

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THE vicinity of *China* to our *Indian* territories, from the capital of which there are not more than *six hundred miles* to the province of YU'NA'N, must necessarily draw our attention to that most ancient and wonderful Empire, even if we had no commercial intercourse with its most distant and maritime provinces ; and the benefits that might be derived from a more intimate connexion with a nation long famed for their useful arts and for the valuable productions of their country, are two apparent to require any proof or illustration. My own inclinations and the course of my studies lead me rather to consider at present their *laws*, *politicks*, and *morals*, with which  
 their

their general literature is closely blended, than their manufactures and trade; nor will I spare either pains or expence to procure translations of their most approved *law tracts*, that I may return to *Europe* with distinct ideas, drawn from the fountain-head, of the wisest *Asiatick* legislation. It will probably be a long time before accurate returns can be made to my inquiries concerning the *Chineſe Laws*; and, in the interval, the Society will not, perhaps, be displeas'd to know, that a translation of a most venerable and excellent work may be expected from *Canton* through the kind assistance of an inestimable correspondent.

ACCORDING to a *Chineſe* Writer, named LI YANG PING, the ancient characters used in his country were the outlines of visible objects earthly and celestial; but, as things merely intellectual could not be expressed by those figures, the gramarians of *China* contrived to represent the various operations of the mind by metaphors drawn from the productions of nature; thus the idea of roughness and of rotundity, of motion and rest, were convey'd to the eye by signs representing a mountain, the sky, a river and the earth; the figures of the sun, the moon, and the stars differently combined, stood for smoothness and splendour, for any thing artfully wrought, or woven with delicate workmanship; extension, growth, increase, and many other qualities, were painted in characters taken from clouds, from the firmament, and from the vegetable part of the creation; the different ways of moving, agility and slowness, idleness and diligence, were expressed by various insects, birds, fish, and quadrupeds: in this manner passions and sentiments were traced by the pencil, and ideas not subject to any sense were exhibited to the sight; until by degrees new combinations were

‘ were invented, new expressions added; the characters deviated imperceptibly from their primitive shape, and the *Chinese* language became not only clear and forcible, but rich and elegant in the highest degree.’

IN this language, so ancient and so wonderfully composed, are a multitude of books abounding in useful, as well as agreeable, knowledge; but the highest class consists of *Five* works; one of which, at least, every *Chinese* who aspires to literary honours must read again and again, until he possess it perfectly.

THE *first* is purely *Historical*, containing annals of the Empire from the *two thousand-three hundred-thirty seventh* year before CHRIST: it is entitled SHI KING, and a version of it has been published in *France*; to which country we are indebted for the most authentick and most valuable specimens of *Chinese* History and Literature, from the compositions which preceded those of HOMER, to the poetical works of the present Emperor, who seems to be a man of the brightest genius and the most amiable affections. We may smile, if we please, at the levity of the *French*, as they laugh without scruple at our seriousness; but let us not so far undervalue our rivals in arts and in arms, as to deny them their just commendation, or to relax our efforts in that noble struggle, by which alone we can preserve our own eminence.

THE Second Classical work of the *Chinese* contains *three hundred* Odes, or short Poems, in praise of ancient sovereigns and legislators, or descriptive of ancient manners, and recommending an imitation of them in the discharge of all publick and domestick duties: they abound in wise maxims, and excellent precepts, ‘ their whole doctrine, according to *Cun-fu-tsu*, in the *LU-NYU* or *Moral Discourses*, being reducible to this

‘ grand

' grand rule, that we should not even entertain a  
 ' thought of any thing base or culpable;' but the  
 copies of the SHI' KING, for that is the title of  
 the book, are supposed to have been much disfi-  
 gured since the time of that great Philosopher, by  
 spurious passages and exceptionable interpolations;  
 and the style of the Poems is in some parts too  
 metaphorical, while the brevity of other parts  
 renders them obscure; though many think even  
 this obscurity sublime and venerable, like that of  
 ancient cloysters and temples, '*shedding*, as MIL-  
 ' TON expresses it, *a dim religious light.*' There is  
 another passage in the LU' NY'U, which deserves to  
 be set down at length: ' Why, my sons, do you  
 ' not study the book of Odes? if we creep on the  
 ' ground, if we lie useless and inglorious, those  
 ' poems will raise us to true glory: in them we  
 ' see, as in a mirror, what may best become us,  
 ' and what will be unbecoming; by their influence  
 ' we shall be made social, affable, benevolent;  
 ' for, as musick combines sounds in just melody,  
 ' so the ancient poetry tempers and composes our  
 ' passions: the Odes teach us our duty to our pa-  
 ' rents at home, and abroad to our prince; they  
 ' instruct us also delightfully in the various pro-  
 ' ductions of nature.' ' Hast thou studied, said  
 ' the Philosopher to his son PEYU, the first of the  
 ' three hundred Odes on the nuptials of Prince  
 ' VE'NVA'M and the virtuous TAI SU? He who  
 ' studies them not, resembles a man with his face  
 ' against a wall, unable to advance a step in virtue  
 ' and wisdom.' Most of those Odes are near  
*three thousand* years old, and some, if we give cre-  
 dit to the *Chinese* annals, considerably older; but  
 others are somewhat more recent, having been  
 composed under the later Emperors of the *third*  
 family, called SHEU. The work is printed in  
*four* volumes; and, towards the end of the *first*,

we

we find the Ode, which COUPLET has accurately translated at the beginning of the TA'HIO, or *Great Science*, where it is finely amplified by the Philosopher: I produce the original from the SHI' KING itself, and from the book, in which it is cited, together with a double version, one verbal and another metrical; the only method of doing justice to the poetical compositions of the *Asiaticks*. It is a panegyrick on VUCU'N, Prince of *Guey* in the province of *Honang*, who died, near a century old, in the *thirteenth* year of the Emperor PING-VANG, *seven hundred and fifty-six* years before the birth of CHRIST, or *one hundred and forty-eight*, according to Sir ISAAC NEWTON, after the taking of *Troy*; so that the *Chinese* Poet might have been contemporary with HESIOD and HOMER, or at least must have written the Ode before the *Iliad* and *Odysssey* were carried into *Greece* by LYCURGUS.

THE verbal translation of the thirty-two original characters is this:

- <sup>1</sup> Behold yon <sup>2</sup> reach of <sup>4</sup> the river <sup>3</sup> KI;
- <sup>5</sup> Its green <sup>6</sup> reeds how <sup>7</sup> luxuriant! how <sup>3</sup> luxuriant!
- <sup>9</sup> Thus is our <sup>11</sup> Prince <sup>12</sup> adorned with <sup>10</sup> virtues;
- <sup>13</sup> As a <sup>14</sup> carver, as a <sup>15</sup> filer, of <sup>16</sup> ivory,
- <sup>17</sup> As a <sup>18</sup> cutter as a <sup>19</sup> polisher, of <sup>20</sup> gems.
- <sup>21</sup> O how <sup>22</sup> elate and <sup>22</sup> sagacious! O how <sup>22</sup> dauntless and <sup>22</sup> composed!
- <sup>23</sup> How <sup>24</sup> worthy of <sup>24</sup> fame! How <sup>24</sup> worthy of <sup>24</sup> reverence!
- <sup>25</sup> We have a <sup>27</sup> Prince <sup>28</sup> adorned with <sup>26</sup> virtues,
- <sup>29</sup> Whom to the <sup>30</sup> end of <sup>31</sup> time we can not <sup>32</sup> forget.'

#### THE PARAPHRASE.

Behold, where yon blue riv'let glides  
 Along the laughing dale;  
 Light reeds bedeck its verdant sides,  
 And frolick in the gale:







PLATO, of *China*, were added to illustrate and enforce it.

If the rest of the *three hundred Odes* be similar to the specimens adduced by those great moralists in their works, which the *French* have made publick, I should be very solicitous to procure our nation the honour of bringing to light the *second* classical book of the *Chinese*. The *third*, called YEKING, or the book of Changes, believed to have been written by Fo, the HERMES of the East, and consisting of eight lines variously disposed, is hardly intelligible to the most learned *Mandarins*; and CUN FU TSU himself, who was prevented by death from accomplishing his design of elucidating it, was dissatisfied with all the interpretations of the earliest commentators. As to the *fifth*, or LIKI, which that excellent man compiled from old monuments, it consists chiefly of the *Chinese* ritual, and of tracts on Moral Duties; but the *fourth*, entitled CHUNG CIEU, or *Spring and Autumn*, by which the same incomparable writer meant the *flourishing* state of an Empire under a virtuous monarch, and the *fall* of Kingdoms under bad governors, must be an interesting work in every nation. The powers, however, of an individual are so limited, and the field of knowledge is so vast, that I dare not promise more, than to procure, if any exertions of mine will avail, a complete translation of the SHI KING, together with an authentick abridgement of the *Chinese* laws, civil and criminal. A native of *Canton*, whom I knew some years ago in *England*, and who passed his first examinations with credit in his way to literary distinctions, but was afterwards allured from the pursuit of learning by a prospect of success in trade, has favoured me with the *Three Hundred Odes* in the original, together with the LU NYU', a faithful version of which was published

lished at *Paris* near a century ago; but he seems to think, that it would require three or four years to complete a translation of them; and Mr. Cox informs me, that none of the *Chinese*, to whom he has access, possess leisure and perseverance enough for such a task; yet he hopes, with the assistance of WHANG A-TONG, to send me next season some of the poems translated into *English*. A little encouragement would induce this young *Chinese* to visit *India*, and some of his countrymen would, perhaps, accompany him; but, though considerable advantage to the public, as well as to letters, might be reaped from the knowledge and ingenuity of such emigrants, yet we must wait for a time of greater national wealth and prosperity, before such a measure can be formally recommended by us to our patrons at the helm of government.

DISSERTATION XIII.

ON THE

ANTIQUITY

OF THE

INDIAN ZODIACK.

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I ENGAGE to support an opinion (which the learned and industrious M. MONTUCLA seems to treat with extreme contempt), that the *Indian* division of the Zodiack was not borrowed from the *Greeks* or *Arabs*, but, having been known in this country for time immemorial, and being the same in part with that used by other nations of the old *Hindu* race, was probably invented by the first progenitors of that race before their dispersion.

“ The *Indians*, he says, have two divisions of the  
“ Zodiack; one, like that of the *Arabs*, relating  
“ to the moon, and consisting of *twenty seven*

“ equal parts, by which they can tell very nearly  
 “ the hour of the night; another relating to the  
 “ sun, and like ours, containing twelve signs, to  
 “ which they have given as many names, corres-  
 “ ponding with those which we have borrowed  
 “ from the *Greeks*.” All that is true; but he  
 adds: “ It is highly probable that they received  
 “ them at some time or another by the interyenti-  
 “ on of the *Arabs*; for no man, surely, can per-  
 “ suade himself, that it is the ancient division of  
 “ the Zodiack formed, according to some au-  
 “ thors, by the forefathers of mankind, and still  
 “ preserved among the *Hindus*.” Now I under-  
 take to prove, that the *Indian Zodiack* was not bor-  
 rowed immediately or directly from the *Arabs* or  
*Greeks*; and since the solar division of it in *India*  
 is the same in substance with that used in *Greece*,  
 we may reasonably conclude, that both *Greeks* and  
*Hindus* received it from an older nation, who first  
 gave names to the luminaries of heaven, and from  
 whom both *Greeks* and *Hindus*, as their similarity  
 in language and religion fully evinces, had a com-  
 mon descent.

THE same writer afterwards intimates, that the  
 “ time when *Indian Astronomy* received its most  
 “ considerable improvement, from which it has  
 “ now, as he imagines, wholly declined, was  
 “ either the age when the *Arabs*, who established  
 “ themselves in *Persia* and *Sogdiana*, had a great  
 “ intercourse with the *Hindus*; or that when the  
 “ successors of CHENGIZ united both *Arabs* and  
 “ *Hindus* under one vast dominion.” It is not  
 the object of this essay to correct the historical er-  
 rors in the passage last cited, nor to defend the as-  
 tronomers of *India* from the charge of gross igno-  
 rance in regard to the figure of the earth and the  
 distances of the heavenly bodies; a charge, which  
 MONTUCLA very boldly makes on the authority,  
 I believe,

I believe, of Father SOUCIET: I will only remark, that, in our conversations with the *Pandits*, we must never confound the system of the *Jyautishicas*, or mathematical astronomers, with that of the *Pauránicas*, or poetical fabulists; for to such a confusion alone must we impute the many mistakes of *Europeans* on the subject of *Indian science*. A venerable mathematician of this province, named RA'MACHANDRA, now in his eightieth year, visited me lately at *Christnanagar*, and part of his discourse was so applicable to the inquiries which I was then making, that, as soon as he left me, I committed it to writing, “ The *Pauránics*,  
 “ he said, will tell you, that our earth is a plane  
 “ figure studded with eight mountains, and sur-  
 “ rounded by seven seas of milk, nectar, and  
 “ other fluids; that the part which we inhabit, is  
 “ one of seven islands, to which eleven smaller  
 “ isles are subordinate; that a God, riding on a  
 “ huge *elephant*, guards each of the eight regions;  
 “ and that a mountain of gold rises and gleams  
 “ in the centre; but we believe the earth to be  
 “ shaped like a *Cadamba* fruit, or spheroidal, and  
 “ admit only four oceans of salt water, all which  
 “ we name from the four cardinal points, and in  
 “ which are many great peninsulas with innume-  
 “ rable islands: they will tell you, that a dragon’s  
 “ head swallows the moon, and thus causes an  
 “ eclipse; but we know, that the supposed head  
 “ and tail of the dragon mean only the nodes, or  
 “ points formed by intersections of the ecliptick  
 “ and the moon’s orbit; in short, they have ima-  
 “ gined a system which exists only in their fancy;  
 “ but we consider nothing as true without such  
 “ evidence as cannot be questioned.” I could  
 not perfectly understand the old *Gymnosophist*,  
 when he told me, that the *Rásichakra*, or *Circle of Signs* (for so he called the *Zodiack*), was like a  
*Dhustúra* flower; meaning the *Datura*, to which  
 the

the *Sanscrit* name has been softened, and the flower of which is conical, or shaped like a funnel: at first I thought, that he alluded to a projection of the hemisphere on the plane of the colure, and to the angle formed by the ecliptick and equator; but a younger astronomer named *VINA YACA*, who came afterwards to see me, assured me that they meant only the circular mouth of the funnel, or the base of the cone, and that it was usual among their ancient writers to borrow from fruits and flowers their appellations of several plane and solid figures.

FROM the two *Erâhmans* whom I have just named, I learned the following curious particulars; and you may depend on my accuracy in repeating them, since I wrote them in their presence, and corrected what I had written, till they pronounced it perfect.

THEY divide a great circle, as we do, into three hundred and sixty degrees, called by them *ansas* or portions; of which they, like us, allot thirty to each of the twelve signs in this order:

<i>Mésha</i> , the Ram.	<i>Tulâ</i> , the Balance.
<i>Vriśha</i> , the Bull.	8. <i>Vriśbhica</i> , the Scorpion.
<i>Mit'huna</i> , the Pair.	<i>Dhanus</i> , the Bow.
4. <i>Carcata</i> , the Crab.	<i>Macara</i> , the Sea-Monster.
<i>Sinhâ</i> , the Lion.	<i>Cumbha</i> , the Ewer.
<i>Canyâ</i> , the Virgin.	12. <i>Mina</i> , the Fish.

THE figures of the twelve asterisms, thus denominated with respect to the sun, are specified by *SRI PETI*, author of the *Retnâmâlâ*, in *Sanscrit* verses; which I produce, as my vouchers, in the original, with a verbal translation:

Méśhâdayô nâma sanânarôpi,  
 Vinâgadâdhyaṃ mit'hunam nriyugmam,  
 Pradîpasasyé dadhati carâbhyâm  
 Nâvi st'hitâ vârinî canyâcaiva.  
 Tulâ tulâohrit pretimânâpânir  
 Dhanur dhanushmân hayawat rarângah,

Mrigânanah

Mrigánanah syón macaró't'ha cumbhah  
 Scandhé neró ric'tagha'tam dadhánah,  
 Anyanyapuch'hábhimuc'hó hi minah  
 Matsyadwayam swast'halachárinómi.

“THE *ram*, *bull*, *crab*, *lion*, and *scorpion*, have the figures of those five animals respectively: the *pair* are a damsel playing on a *Vinà* and a youth wielding a mace: the *virgin* stands on a boat in water, holding in one hand a lamp, in the other an ear of ricecorn: the *balance* is held by a weigher with a weight in one hand: the *bow*, by an archer, whose hinder parts are like those of a horse: the *sea-monster* has the face of an antelope: the *ewer* is a waterpot borne on the shoulder of a man, who empties it: the *fish* are two, with their heads turned to each other's tails; and all these are supposed to be in such places as suit their several natures.”

To each of the *twenty-seven* lunar stations, which they call *nacshatras*, they allow thirteen *anas* and one third, or *thirteen degrees twenty minutes*; and their names appear in the order of the signs, but without any regard to the figures of them:

<i>Aswinì.</i>	A'rdrà	Púrva p'halgunì.
<i>Bharanì.</i>	Punarvasu.	Uttara p'halgunì.
<i>Criticà.</i>	<i>Puṣya.</i>	Haṭṭa.
<i>Ròhini.</i>	9. <i>Aslèṭhà.</i>	<i>Chitrà.</i>
<i>Mìḡasras:</i>	<i>Maghà.</i>	Swàtì.
<i>Vìśac'hà.</i>	<i>Parvasā'dhà.</i>	Satābhishā.
<i>Anurādhà.</i>	<i>Uttarābhādhà.</i>	Púrva bhādrapādā.
18. <i>Jyēṣṭ'hà.</i>	<i>Sravanà.</i>	Uttarabhādrapādā.
<i>Mūla.</i>	<i>Dhanishṭhà.</i>	27. <i>Révātì.</i>

BETWEEN the twenty-first and twenty-second constellations, we find in the plate three stars called *Abhijit*; but they are the last quarter of the asterism immediately preceding, or the latter *Asbár*, as the word is commonly pronounced. A complete revolution of the moon, with respect to the stars,

stars, being made in twenty-seven days, odd hours, minutes, and seconds, and perfect exactness being either not attained by the *Hindus*, or not required by them, they fixed on the number twenty-seven, and inserted *Abhijit* for some astrological purpose in their nuptial ceremonies. The drawing, from which the plate was engraved\*, seems intended to represent the figures of the twenty-seven constellations, together with *Abhijit*, as they are described in three stanzas by the author of the *Retnamálá*;

1. Turagamuc'hasadricsham yónirúpam cshurábham,  
Saca'tasamam at'hairasyóttamángéna tulyam,  
Manigrihasara chacrábháni sálópamam bham,  
Sayanasadrisamanyachcháttra paryancarúpam,
2. Hállácárayutam cha maucticasamam  
chányat praválopamam,  
Dhrishyam tórana fannibham balinipham,  
fatcundalábham param;  
Crudhyatcéfarivicraména sadrisam,  
saryásamánam param,  
Anyad dentivilásavat st'hitamatah  
sringátacavyacti bham.
3. Trivikramábham cha mridangarúpam,  
Vrittam tatónyadyamalábhwayábham,  
Paryancarúpam murajánucáram,  
Ityévam aswádirbhachacrarúpam.

“ A HORSE'S head; *yóni* or *bhága*; a razor; a  
 “ wheeled carriage; the head of an antelope; a  
 “ gem; a house; an arrow; a wheel; another  
 “ house; a bedstead; another bedstead; a hand;  
 “ a pearl; a piece of coral; a festoon of leaves;  
 “ an oblation to the Gods; a rich ear-ring; the  
 “ tail of a fierce lion; a couch; the tooth of a  
 “ wanton elephant, near which is the kernel of  
 “ the *sringátaca* nut; the three footsteps of VISH-  
 “ NU; a tabor; a circular jewel; a two-faced  
 “ image; another couch; and a smaller sort of

\* The different compartments of the plate alluded to, are so minutely described in the subsequent page, that it is thought unnecessary to annex it.

“ tabor:



“ tabor : such are the figures of *A'swini* and the  
 “ rest in the circle of lunar constellations.”

THE *Hindu* draughtsman has very ill represented most of the figures ; and he has transposed the two *A'sháras* as well as the two *Bbadrapads* ; but his figure of *Abhijit*, which looks like our ace of hearts, has a resemblance to the kernel of the *trapa*, a curious water-plant described in a separate essay. In another *Sanscrit* book the figures of the same constellations are thus varied :

A horse's head.	A straight tail.	A conch.
<i>Yáni</i> or <i>bhaga</i> .	Two stars S. to N.	A winnowing fan,
A flame.	Two, N. to S.	Another.
A waggon.	A hand.	An arrow.
A car's paw.	A pearl.	A tabor.
One bright star.	Red saffron.	A circle of stars.
A bow.	A festoon.	A staff for burdens.
A child's pencil.	A snake.	The beam of a balance.
9. A dog's tail.	18. A boar's head.	27. A fish.

FROM twelve of the asterisms just enumerated are derived the names of the twelve *Indian* months in the usual form of patronymicks ; for the *Pauránics*, who reduce all nature to a system of emblematical mythology, suppose a celestial nymph to preside over each of the constellations, and feign that the God ΣΟΨΜΑ, or *Lunus*, having wedded twelve of them, became the father of twelve *Genii*, or months, who are named after their several mothers ; but the *Jyautishicás* assert, that, when their lunar year was arranged by former astronomers, the moon was at the full in each month on the very day when it entered the *nacshatra*, from which that month is denominated. The manner in which the derivatives are formed, will best appear by a comparison of the months with their several constellations :

A'swini.  
 Cártica.

4. Pausa.  
 Mágha.

Márgas.

Mârgasírâha.	P'hâlguna.
Chaitra.	A'shâra.
8. Vaifâc'ha:	Srâvana.
Jyaisht'hâ.	12. Bhâdra.

THE third month is also called *Agrabâyana* (whence the common word *Agran* is corrupted) from another name of *Mrigasiṅhas*.

NOTHING can be more ingenious than the memorial verses, in which the *Hindus* have a custom of linking together a number of ideas otherwise unconnected, and of chaining, as it were, the memory by a regular measure: thus by putting *teeth* for thirty-two, *Rudra* for eleven, *season* for six, *arrow* or *element* for five, *ocean*, *Vêda*, or *age*, for four, *RA'MA*, *fire*, or *quality*, for three, *eye*, or *CUMA'RA*, for two, and *earth* or *moon* for one, they have composed four lines, which express the number of stars in each of the twenty-seven asterisms:

Vahni trî ritwîshu gunêndu critâgnibhûta,  
 Bânâswinêtra sarâ bhûcu'yugâbhdhîâmâh,  
 Rudrâbhdhîâmâgunâvêdasatâ dwiyugma,  
 Dentâ budhairâbhihitâh cramasô bhatârâh:

THAT is: "three, three, six; five, three, one;  
 " four, three, five; five, two, two; five, one,  
 " one; four, four, three; eleven, four and  
 " three; three, four, a hundred; two, two,  
 " thirty-two: thus have the stars of the lunar  
 " constellations, in order as they appear, been  
 " numbered by the wife."

If the stanza was correctly repeated to me, the *two Ashâras* are considered as one asterism, and *Abhijit* as three separate stars; but I suspect an error in the third line, because *dwibâna*, or *two* and *five*, would suit the metre as well as *bâbirâma*; and because there were only three *Vêda's* in the  
 early

early age, when, it is probable, the stars were enumerated and the technical verse composed.

Two lunar stations, or *mansions*, and a quarter are co-extensive, we see, with one<sup>d</sup> sign; and nine stations correspond with four signs: by counting, therefore, thirteen degrees and twenty minutes from the first star in the head of the Ram, inclusively, we find the whole extent of *Ashwini*, and shall be able to ascertain the other stars with sufficient accuracy: but first let us exhibit a comparative table of both *Zodiacks*, denoting the mansions, as in the *Várânes* almanack, by the first letters or syllables of their names:

MONTHS.	SOLAR ASTERISMS.	MANSIONS.
A'swin	Mésh	$A + bh + \frac{c^9}{4}$
Cáctic	Vrish	$\frac{3c}{4} + rð + \frac{M}{2}$
A'graháyan	Mit'hun	$\frac{M}{2} + á + \frac{3^p}{4}$
Paush	Carcát 4.	$\frac{p}{4} + P + sl. 9.$
Mágh	Sinh	$m + PU + \frac{U}{4}$
P'hálguní	Canyà	$\frac{3U}{4} + h + \frac{ch}{2}$
Chaitr	Tulà	$\frac{4}{ch} + s + \frac{3^v}{2}$
Vaisác'h	Vrischic 8.	$\frac{v}{4} + a + \frac{j}{4} 18.$
Jaisht'h	Dhan	$mú + pù + \frac{u}{4}$
A'shár	Macar	$\frac{3u}{4} + S + \frac{dh}{2}$
Srávan	Cumbh	$\frac{4}{dh} + s + \frac{3pú}{2}$
Bhád'r	Mín 12.	$\frac{pú}{4} + u + r. 27.$

HENCE

HENCE we may readily know the stars in each mansion, as they follow in order :

LUNAR MANSIONS.	SOLAR ASTERISMS.	STARS.
Aṣwini.	Ram.	Three, in and near the head.
Bharani.	—	Three, in the tail.
Crítica.	Bull.	Six, of the Pleiads.
Rôhini.	—	Five, in the head and neck.
Mṛigashiras.	Pair.	{ Three, in or near the feet perhaps in the Galaxy.
A'rdra.	—	One, on the knee.
Punarvasu.	—	{ Four, in the heads, breast, and shoulder.
Puṣhya.	Crab	Three, in the body and claws.
Aśléṣhā.	Lion	Five, in the face and mane.
Maghā.	—	Five, in the leg and haunch.
Pūrvap'halguni.	—	Two; one in the tail.
Uttarap'halguni.	Virgin	Two, on the arm and zone.
Hasā.	—	Five, near the hand.
Chitrā.	—	One, in the spike.
Swāti.	Balance	One, in the N. Scale.
Vicāc'hā.	—	Four, beyond it.
Anurādhā.	Scorpion	Four, in the body.
Jyēṣṭ'hā.	—	Three, in the tail.
Mūla	Bow	{ Eleven, to the point of the arrow.
Pūrvāshāra.	—	Two, in the leg.
Uttarāshāra.	Sea-monster.	Two, in the horn.
Sṛavanā.	—	Three, in the tail.
Dhanishṭ'hā.	Ever	Four, in the aris.
Satabhiṣhā.	—	Many, in the stream.
Pūrvabhadrapadā.	Fish	Two, in the first fish.
Uttarabhadrapadā.	—	Two, in the cord.
Révati.	—	{ Thirty-two, in the second fish and cord.

WHEREVER the *Indian* drawing differs from the memorial verse in the *Retnamālā*, I have preferred the authority of the writer to that of the painter, who has drawn some terrestrial things with so little similitude, that we must not implicitly rely on his representation of objects merely celestial: he seems particularly to have erred in the stars of *Dhanishṭ'hā*.

FOR the assistance of those who may be inclined to re-examine the twenty-seven constellations with a chart before them, I subjoin a table of the degrees

grees to which the *nacshatras* extend respectively, from the first star in the asterism of *Aries*, which we now see near the beginning of the sign *Taurus*, as it was placed in the ancient sphere.

N.	D.	M.	N.	D.	M.	N.	D.	M.
I.	13°.	20′.	X.	133°.	20′.	XIX.	253°.	20′.
II.	26°.	40′.	XI.	146°.	40′.	XX.	266°.	40′.
III.	40°.	0′.	XII.	160°.	0′.	XXI.	280°.	0′.
IV.	53°.	20′.	XIII.	173°.	20′.	XXII.	293°.	20′.
V.	66°.	40′.	XIV.	186°.	40′.	XXIII.	306°.	40′.
VI.	80°.	0′.	XV.	200°.	0′.	XXIV.	320°.	0′.
VII.	93°.	20′.	XVI.	213°.	20′.	XXV.	333°.	20′.
VIII.	106°.	40′.	XVII.	226°.	40′.	XXVI.	346°.	40′.
IX.	120°.	0′.	XVIII.	240°.	0′.	XXVII.	360°.	0′.

The asterisms of the *first* column are in the signs of *Taurus*, *Gemini*, *Cancer*, *Leo*; those of the *second*, in *Virgo*, *Libra*, *Scorpio*, *Sagittarius*; and those of the *third*, in *Capricornus*, *Aquarius*, *Pisces*, *Aries*: we cannot err much, therefore, in any series of *three* constellations; for, by counting 13° 20′ forwards and backwards, we find the spaces occupied by the two extremes, and the intermediate space belongs of course to the middle-most. It is not meant, that the division of the *Hindu* Zodiac into such spaces is exact to a minute, or that *every* star of each asterism must necessarily be found in the space to which it belongs; but the computation will be accurate enough for our purpose, and no lunar mansion can be very remote from the path of the moon: how FATHER SOUCIET could dream, that *Vishâhâ* was is the Northern Crown, I can hardly comprehend; but it surpasses all comprehension, that M. BAILLY should copy his dream, and give reasons to support it; especially as four stars, arranged pretty much like those in the *Indian* figure, present themselves obviously near *the Balance* or *the Scorpion*. I have not the boldness to exhibit the individual stars in each mansion, distinguished in BAYER'S method by *Greek* letters; because,

though I have little doubt, that the five stars of *Astê-shà*, in the form of a wheel, are  $\alpha, \gamma, \zeta, \mu, \epsilon$  of *the Lion*, and those of *Mûla*,  $\gamma, \epsilon, \delta, \zeta, \phi, \tau, \sigma, \nu, \theta, \xi, \pi$ , of *the Sagittary*, and though I think many of the others equally clear, yet, where the number of stars in a mansion is less than three, or even than four; it is not easy to fix on them with confidence; and I must wait, until some young *Hindu* astronomer, with a good memory and good eyes, can attend my leisure on serene nights at the proper seasons, to point out in the firmament itself the several stars of all the constellations, for which he can find names in the *Sanscrit* language: the only stars, except those in the *Zodiack*, that have yet been distinctly named to me, are the *Septarshi*, *Dhruva*, *Arundhati*, *Viṣṇupad*, *Mâtrimandel*, and, in the southern hemisphere, *Agastya*, or *Canopus*. The twenty-seven *Yôga* stars, indeed, have particular names, in the order of the *nacshatras*, to which they belong: and since we learn, that the *Hindus* have determined *the latitude, longitude, and right ascension of each*, it might be useful to exhibit the list of them; but at present I can only subjoin the names of twenty-seven *Yôgas*, or divisions of the *Ecliptick*.

<i>Viṣcambha.</i>	<i>Ganda.</i>	<i>Parigha.</i>
<i>Prîti.</i>	<i>Vridhbi.</i>	<i>Siva.</i>
<i>Ayushmat.</i>	<i>Dhruva.</i>	<i>Siddha.</i>
<i>Saubhâgyâ.</i>	<i>Vyâghâta.</i>	<i>Sâdhya.</i>
<i>Sôbhana.</i>	<i>Herṣhana.</i>	<i>Subha.</i>
<i>Atiganda.</i>	<i>Vajra.</i>	<i>Sucra.</i>
<i>Sucarman.</i>	<i>Ajri.</i>	<i>Brahman.</i>
<i>Dhrûi.</i>	<i>Vyatipâta.</i>	<i>Indra.</i>
<i>Sûla.</i>	<i>Variyas.</i>	<i>Vaidbriti.</i>

HAVING shown in what manner the *Hindus* arrange the *Zodiacal* stars with respect to the sun and moon,

moon, let us proceed to our principal subject, *the antiquity of that double arrangement*. In the first place, the *Bhrámans* were always too proud to borrow their science from the *Greeks*, *Arabs*, *Moguls*, or any nation of *Mléchch'bas*, as they call those who are ignorant of the *Védas*, and have not studied the language of the Gods: they have often repeated to me the fragment of an old verse, which they now use proverbially, *na níchó yavanáparah*, or *no base creature can be lower than a Yavan*; by which name they formerly meant an *Ionian* or *Greek*, and now mean a *Mogul*, or, generally, a *Muselman*. When I mentioned to different *Pandits*, at several times and in several places, the opinion of *MONTUCLA*, they could not prevail on themselves to oppose it by serious argument; but some laughed heartily; others, with a sarcastick smile, said it was a *pleasant imagination*; and all seemed to think it a notion bordering on phrensy. In fact, although the figures of the twelve *Indian Signs* bear a wonderful resemblance to those of the *Grecian*, yet they are too much varied for a mere copy, and the nature of the variation proves them to be original, nor is the resemblance more extraordinary than that which has often been observed between our *Gothick* days of the week and those of the *Hindus*, which are dedicated to the same luminaries, and (what is yet more singular) revolve in the same order: *Ravi*, the Sun; *Sóma*, the Moon; *Mangala*, *Tuisco*; *Budha*, *Woden*; *Vrihaspati*, *Thor*; *Sucra*, *Freya*; *Sani*, *Sater*; yet no man ever imagined, that the *Indians* borrowed so remarkable an arrangement from the *Goths* or *Germans*. On the planets I will only observe, that *SUCRA*, the regent of *Venus*, is, like all the rest, a *male* deity, named also *USANAS*, and believed to be a sage of infinite learning; but *ZOHRAH*, the *NA'HÍD* of the *Persians*, is a goddess like the

FREYA

FREYA of our *Saxon* progenitors: the drawing, therefore, of the planets which was brought into *Bengal* by Mr. JOHNSON, relates to the *Persian* system; and represents the Genii supposed to preside over them, exactly as they are described by the poet HA'TIFI: "He bedecked the firmament with stars, and ennobled this earth with the race of men; he gently turned the auspicious new moon of the festival, like a bright jewel, round the angle of the sky; he placed the *Hindu* SATURN on the seat of that restive elephant, the revolving sphere, and put the rainbow into his hand, as a hook to coerce the intoxicated beast; he made silken strings of sun-beams for the lute of VENUS; and presented JUPITER, who saw the felicity of true religion, with a rosary of clustering Pleiads. The bow of the sky became that of MARS, when he was honoured with the command of the celestial host; for God conferred sovereignty on the Sun, and squadrons of stars were his army."

THE names and forms of the lunar constellations, especially of *Bbarani* and *Abhijit*, indicate a simplicity of manners peculiar to an ancient people; and they differ entirely from those of the *Arabian* system, in which the very first asterism appears in the dual number, because it consists only of two stars. *Menzil*, or the place of "alighting," properly signifies a *station* or *stage*, and thence is used for an ordinary day's *journey*; and that idea seems better applied than *manfion* to so incessant a traveller as the Moon. The *menázilu'l kamar*, or *lunar stages*, of the *Arabs* have *twenty-eight* names in the following order, the particle *al* being understood before every word:

• Sharatān. burāim.	Nathrah. Tarf.	Ghafr. Zubāniyah.	Dhābih. Bulaā.
			Thurayyā.



Thurayyâ.	Jabbah.	Iclil.	Suud.
Debarân.	Zubrah.	Kalb.	Akhbiya.
Hakâah.	Sarfah.	Saulah.	Mukdim.
Hanfah.	Awwâ.	Naâim.	Mûkhir.
7. Dhîrââ.	14. Simâc.	21. Beldâh?	28. Rîshâ.

Now, if we can trust the *Arabian* lexicographers, the number of stars in their several *menzils* rarely agrees with those of the *Indians*; and two such nations must naturally have observed, and might naturally have named, the principal stars, near which the moon passes in the course of each day, without any communication on the subject: there is no evidence, indeed, of a communication between the *Hindus* and *Arabs* on any subject of literature or science; for though we have reason to believe, that a commercial intercourse subsisted in very early times between *Yemen* and the western coast of *India*, yet the *Brâhmans*, who alone are permitted to read the six *Vêdângas*, one of which is the astronomical *Sâstra*, were not then commercial, and, most probably, neither could nor would have conversed with *Arabian* merchants. The hostile irruption of the *Arabs* into *Hindustân*, in the eighth century, and that of the *Moguls* under CHENG'Z, in the thirteenth, were not likely to change the astronomical system of the *Hindus*: but the supposed consequences of *modern* revolutions are out of the question; for, if any historical records be true, we know with as positive certainty, that AMARSINH and CALIDAS composed their works before the birth of CHRIST, as that MENANDER and TERENCE wrote before that important epoch: now the twelve *signs* and twenty-seven *mansions* are mentioned, by the several names before exhibited, in a *Sancrit* vocabulary by the first of those *Indian* authors, and the second of them frequently alludes to *Rôhini* and the rest by

U

name

name in his *Fatal Ring*, his *Children of the Sun*, and his *Birth of CUMARA*; from which poem I produce two lines, that my evidence may not seem to be collected from mere conversation :

Maittè mahérte sasalánc'h'anéna,  
Yógam gáraféttarap'hálganishu.

“ WHEN the stars of *Uttarap'halgun* had joined  
“ in a fortunate hour the faun-spotted moon.”

THIS testimony being decisive against the conjecture of M. MONTUCLA, I need not urge the great antiquity of MENU'S Institutes, in which the twenty-seven asterisms are called the daughters of DACSHA and the consorts of SOMA, or the Moon, nor rely on the testimony of the *Bráhmans*, who assure me with one voice, that the names of the *Zodiacal stars* occur in the *Vedas*; three of which I firmly believe, from internal and external evidence, to be more than *three thousand* years old.

HAVING therefore proved what I engaged to prove, I will close my essay with a general observation the result of NEWTON'S researches into the history of the primitive sphere, was, “ that the  
“ practice of observing the stars began in *Egypt* in  
“ the days of AMMON, and was propagated thence  
“ by conquest in the reign of his son SISAC, into  
“ *Afric, Europe and Asia*; since which time ATLAS  
“ formed the sphere of the *Lybians*; CHIRON that  
“ of the *Greeks*; and the *Chaldeans* a sphere of  
“ their own.” Now I hope, on some other occasions, to satisfy the publick, as I have perfectly satisfied myself, that “ the practice of observing  
“ the stars began, with the rudiments of civil so-  
“ ciety, in the country of those whom we call  
“ *Chaldeans*; from which it was propagated into  
“ *Egypt, India, Greece, Italy, and Scandinavia*,  
“ before the reign of SISAC or SA'CYA, who by  
“ conquest

“ conquest spread a new system of religion and  
“ philosophy from the *Nile* to the *Ganges*, about a  
“ thousand years before CHRIST; but that CHIRON  
“ and ATLAS were allegorical or mythological  
“ personages, and ought to have no place in the  
“ serious history of our species.”

## D I S S E R T A T I O N X I V .

T H E

D E S I G N O F A T R E A T I S E .

O N T H E

P L A N T S O F I N D I A .

**T**HE greatest, if not the only, obstacle to the progress of knowledge in these provinces, except in those branches of it which belong immediately to our several professions, is our want of leisure for general researches; and, as ARCHIMEDES, who was happily master of his time, had not space enough to move the greatest weight with the smallest force, thus we, who have ample space for our inquiries, really want *time* for the pursuit of them. “Give me a place to stand on, said the great mathematician, and I will move the whole earth:” *Give us time*, we may say, *for our investigations, and we will transfer to Europe all the sciences, arts, and literature of Asia.* “Not to have despaired,” however, was thought a degree of merit in the *Roman* general, even though he was defeated; and, having some hope, that others may occasionally find, more leisure, than it will

will ever, at least in this country, be my lot to enjoy, I take the liberty to propose a work, from which very curious information, and possibly very solid advantage, may be derived. °

SOME hundreds of plants, which are yet imperfectly known to *European* botanists, and with the virtues of which they are wholly unacquainted, grow wild on the plains and in the forests of *India*: the *Amarcôsh*, an excellent vocabulary of the *Sanscrit* language, contains in one chapter the names of about three hundred medicinal vegetables; the *Médimi* may comprise many more; and the *Dra-vyâbbidhâna*, or *Dictionary of Natural Productions*, includes, I believe, a far greater number; the properties of which are distinctly related in medical tracts of approved authority. Now the first step, in compiling a treatise on the plants of *India*, should be to write their true names in *Roman* letters, according to the most accurate orthography, and in *Sanscrit* preferably to any vulgar dialect; because a learned language is fixed in books, while popular idioms are in constant fluctuation, and will not, perhaps, be understood a century hence by the inhabitants of these *Indian* territories, whom future botanists may consult on the common appellations of trees and flowers. The childish denominations of plants from the persons who first described them, ought wholly to be rejected; for *Champaca* and *Hinna* seem to me not only more elegant, but far properer, designations of an *Indian* and an *Arabian* plant, than *Michelia* and *Lawsonia*; nor can I see without pain, that the great *Swedish* botanist considered it as the *supreme and only reward of labour* in this part of natural history, to preserve a name by hanging it on a blossom, and that he declared this mode of promoting and adorning botany worthy of being *continued with holy reverence*; though so high an honour,

honour, he says, *ought to be conferred with chaste reserve, and not prostituted for the purpose of conciliating the good will, or eternizing the memory, of any but his chosen followers; no, not even of saints.* His list of *an hundred and fifty* such names clearly shews, that his excellent works are the true basis of his just celebrity, which would have been feebly supported by the stalk of the *Linnaea*. From what proper name the *Plantain* is called *Musa*, I do not know; but it seems to be the *Dutch* pronunciation of the *Arabick* word for that vegetable, and ought not, therefore, to have appeared in his list, though, in my opinion, it is the only rational name in the muster-roll. As to the system of LINNÆUS, it is the system of Nature, subordinated indeed to the beautiful arrangement of *natural orders*, of which he has given a rough sketch, and which may hereafter, perhaps, be completed: but the distribution of vegetables into *classes*, according to the number, length, and position of the stamens and pistils, and of those *classes* into *kinds* and *species*, according to certain marks of discrimination, will ever be found the clearest and most convenient of methods, and should therefore be studiously observed in the work which I now suggest. But I must be forgiven, if I propose to reject the *Linnean* appellations of the twenty-four *classes*, because, although they appear to be *Greek* (and, if they really were so, that alone might be thought a sufficient objection), yet in truth they are not *Greek*, nor even formed by analogy to the language of *Grecians*; for *Polygamos*, *Monandros*, and the rest of that form, are both masculine and feminine; *Polyandria*, in the abstract, never occurs, and *Polyandrion* means a publick cemetery; *Diæcia* and *Diæcus* are not found in books of authority; nor, if they were, would they be derived from *dis*, but from *dia*, which would include the *Triæcia*: let me

me add, that the *twelfth* and *thirteenth* classes are ill distinguished by their appellations, independently of other exceptions to them, since the real distinction between them consists not so much in the number of their stamens, as in the *place* where they are inserted; and that the *fourteenth* and *fifteenth* are not more accurately discriminated by two words formed in defiance of grammatical analogy, since there are but *two* powers, or *two diversities of length*, in each of those classes. *Caly-copolyandros* might, perhaps, not inaccurately denote a flower of the *twelfth* class; but such a compound would still favour of barbarism or pedantry; and the best way to amend such a system of words is to efface it, and supply its place by a more simple nomenclature, which may easily be found. Numerals may be used for the *eleven* first classes, the former of two numbers being always appropriated to the *stamens*, and the latter to the *pistils*: short phrases, as, *on the calyx or calice, in the receptacle, two long, four long, from one base, from two, or many, bases, with anthers connected, on the pistils, in two flowers, in two distinct plants, mixed, concealed, or the like*, will answer every purpose of discrimination; but I do not offer this as a perfect substitute for the words which I condemn. The allegory of *sexes* and *nuptials*, even if it were complete, ought, I think, to be discarded, as unbecoming the gravity of men, who, while they search for truth, have no business to inflame their imaginations; and, while they profess to give descriptions, have nothing to do with metaphors: few passages in *Aloisia*, the most impudent book ever composed by man, are more wantonly indecent than the hundred-forty-sixth number of *Botanical Philosophy*, and the broad comment of the its grave author, who *dares*, like OCTAVIUS in his epigram, *to speak with Roman simplicity*; nor can

can the *Linnæan* description of the *Arum*, and many other plants, be read in *English* without exciting ideas, which the occasion does not require. Hence it is, that not well-born and well-educated woman can be advised to amuse herself with botany, as it is now explained, though a more elegant and delightful study, or one more likely to assist and embellish other female accomplishments, could not possibly be recommended.

WHEN the *Sanscrit* names of the *Indian* plants have been correctly written in a large paper-book, one page being appropriated to each, the fresh plants themselves, procured in their respective seasons, must be concisely, but accurately, *classed* and *described*; after which their several uses in medicine, diet, or manufactures, may be collected, with the assistance of *Hindu* physicians, from the medical books in *Sanscrit*, and their accounts either disproved or established by repeated experiments, as fast as they can be made with exactness.

By way of example, I annex the descriptions of five *Indian* plants, but am unable, at this season, to re-examine them, and wholly despair of leisure to exhibit others, of which I have collected the names, and most of which I have seen in blossom,

## I. M U C H U C U N D A.

Twenty, from One Base.

*Cal.* Five-parted, thick; leaflets, oblong.

*Cor.* Five petals, oblong.

*Stam.* From twelve to fifteen rather long, fertile; five shorter, sterile. In some flowers, the *unprolifick* stamens, longer.

*Pist.* Style cylindrick.

*Peric.* A capsule, with five cells, many-seeded.

*Seeds:* Roundish, compressed, winged.

*Leaves:*



*Leaves* : Of many different shapes.

*Uses* : The quality, refrigerant.

ONE flower, steeped a whole night in a glass of water, forms a cooling mucilage of use in virulent gonorrhœas. The *Muchucunda*, called also *Pichuca*, is exquisitely fragrant: its calyx is covered with an odoriferous dust; and the dried flowers in fine powder, taken like snuff, are said, in a *Sanscrit* book, almost instantaneously to remove a nervous head-ach.

*Note*, This plant differs a little from the *Pentapetes* of LINNÆUS.

## II. BILVA OR MALURA.

Many on the Receptacle, and One.

*Cal.* Four, or five, cleft, beneath.

*Cor.* Four, or five, petals; mostly reflex.

*Stam.* Forty, to forty-eight, filaments; anthers, mostly erect.

*Pist.* *Germ.* roundish; *Style*, smooth, short; *Stigma*, clubbed.

*Peric.* A spheroidal berry, very large; many-seeded.

*Seeds* : Toward the surface, ovate, in a pellucid mucus.

*Leaves* : Ternate; common petiole, long; leaflets, subovate; obtusely notched, with short petioles; some almost lanced,

*Stem* : Armed with sharp thorns.

*Uses* : The fruit nutritious, warm, cathartick; in taste, delicious; in fragrance, exquisite; its aperient and deterfive quality, and its efficacy in removing habitual costiveness, have been proved by constant experience. The mucus of the seed is, for some purposes, a very good cement.

*Note*,

*Note.* This fruit is called *Srip'hala*, because it sprang, say the *Indian* poets, from the milk of *Sri*, the goddess of abundance, who bestowed it on mankind at the request of *Iswara*, whence he alone wears a chaplet of *Bilva* flowers; to him only the *Hindus* offer them; and, when they see any of them fallen on the ground, they take them up with reverence, and carry them to his temple. From the first blossom of this plant that I could inspect, I had imagined that it belonged to the same class with the *Durio*, because the filaments appeared to be distributed in five sets; but in all that I have since examined, they are perfectly distinct.

### III. SRINGATAÇA.

Four and One.

*Cal.* Four-cleft, with a long peduncle, above.

*Cor.* Four petals.

*Stam.* Anthers, kidney-shaped.

*Pist.* *Germ.* roundish; *Style*, long as the filaments; *Stigma*, clubbed.

*Seed:* A *Nut* with four opposite angles (two of them *sharp* thorns) formed by the *Calyx*.

*Leaves:* Those which float on the water, are rhomboidal; the two upper sides unequally notched; the two lower, right lines. Their petioles, buoyed up by spindle-shaped spongy substances, not bladders.

*Root:* Knotty, like coral.

*Uses:* The fresh kernel, in sweetness and delicacy, equals that of the fibred. A mucus, secreted by minute glands, covers the wet leaves, which are considered as cooling.

*Note.* It seems to be the floating *Tropa* of LINNÆUS.

IV.

## IV. P U T I C A R A J A.

Ten and One.

*Cal.* Five-cleft.*Cor.* Five equal petals.*Peric.* A thorny legumen; two seeds.*Leaves:* Oval, pinnated.*Stem:* Armed.

*Uses:* The seeds are very bitter, and, perhaps, tonic; since one of them bruised and given in two doses, will, as the *Hindus* assert, cure an intermittent fever.

## V. M A D H U' C A.

Many, *not* on the Receptacle, and One.*Cal.* *Perianth* four, or five, leaved.*Cor.* One-petaled. *Tube* inflated, fleshy. *Border* nine, or ten, parted.*Stam.* *Anthers* from twelve to twenty-eight, erect, acute, subvillous.*Pist.* *Germ*, roundish; *Style*, long, awl-shaped.*Peric.* A *Drupe*, with two or three *Nuts*.*Leaves:* Oval, somewhat pointed

*Uses:* The tubes, esculent, nutritious; yielding, by distillation, an inebriating spirit, which, if the sale of it were duly restrained by law, might be applied to good purposes. A useful oil is expressed from the seed.

*Note,* It resembles the *Bassia* of KOENING.

SUCH would be the method of the work which I recommend; but even the specimen which I exhibit might, in skilful hands, have been more accurate. Engravings of the plants may be annexed; but I have more than once experienced, that the best anatomical and botanical prints give  
a very

a very inadequate, and sometimes a very false, notion of the objects which they were intended to represent. As we learn a new language, by reading approved compositions in it with the aid of a Grammar and Dictionary, so we can only study with effect the natural history of vegetables by analysing the plants themselves with the *Philosophia Botanica*, which is the *Grammar*, and the *Genera et Species Plantarum*, which may be considered as the *Dictionary*, of that beautiful language, in which nature would teach us what plants we must avoid as noxious, and what we must cultivate as salutary; for that the qualities of plants are *in some degree* connected with the *natural orders and classes* of them, a number of instances would abundantly prove.

DISSERTATION XV.

ON THE

SPIKENARD

OF THE

ANCIENTS.

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**I**T is painful to meet perpetually with words that convey no distinct ideas: and a natural desire of avoiding that pain excites us often to make inquiries, the result of which can have no other use than to give us clear conceptions. Ignorance is to the mind what extreme darkness is to the nerves: both cause an uneasy sensation; and we naturally love knowledge, as we love light, even when we have no design of applying either to a purpose essentially useful. This is intended as an apology for the pains which have been taken to procure a determinate answer to a question of no  
apparent

apparent utility, but which ought to be readily answered in *India*. “What is *Indian Spikenard*?” All agree, that it is an odoriferous plant, the best sort of which, according, to PTOLEMY, grew about *Ranganritica* or *Rangamati*, and on the borders of the country now called *Butan*: it is mentioned by DIOSCORIDUS, whose work I have not in my possession; but his description of it must be very imperfect, since neither LINNÆUS nor any of his disciples pretend to class it with certainty, and, in the latest botanical work that we have received from *Europe*, it is marked as *unknown*. I had no doubt, before I was personally acquainted with KOENIG, that he had ascertained it; but he assured me, that he knew not what the *Greek* writers meant by the nard of *India*: he had found, indeed, and described a sixth species of the nardus, which is called *Indian* in the Supplement to *Linnaeus*; but the *nardus* is a grass, which, though it bear a *Spike*, no man ever supposed to be the *true Spikenard*, which the great Botanical Philosopher himself was inclined to think a species of *Andropogon*, and places, in his *Materia Medica*, but with an expression of doubt, among his polygamous plants. Since the death of KOENIG I have consulted every botanist and physician with whom I was acquainted, on the subject before us; but all have confessed without reserve, though not without some regret, that they were ignorant what was meant by the *Indian Spikenard*.

In order to procure information from the learned natives, it was necessary to know the *name* of the plant in some *Asiatick* language. The very word *nard* occurs in the *SONG* of SOLOMON; but the name and the thing were both *exotick*: the *Hebrew* lexicographers imagine both to be *Indian*; but the  
word

word is in truth *Persian*. and occurs in the following distich of an old poet:

A'n chu bikhéft, in' chu nardest, an' chu shákheft, in' chu bār,  
A'n chu bikhū páyidarest, in' chu nazūl páyidār.

It is not easy to determine in this couplet, whether *nard* mean the *stem*, or, as ANJU explains it, the *pith*; but it is manifestly a part of a vegetable, and neither the *root*, the *fruit*, nor the *branch*, which are all separately named: the *Arabs* have borrowed the word *nard*, but in the sense, as we learn from the *Kámūs*, of a *compound medicinal unguent*. Whatever it signified in old *Persian*, the *Arabick* word *sumbul*, which, like *sumbalah*, means an *ear* or *spike*, has been long substituted for it; and there can be no doubt, that by the *sumbul* of *India* the *Muselmáns* understand the same plant, with the *nard* of PTOLEMY and the *Nardostachys*, or *Spikenard*, of GALEN; who, by the way, was deceived by the dry specimens which he had seen, and mistook them for *roots*.

A SINGULAR description of the *sumbul* by ABU'LEAZL, who frequently mentions it as an ingredient in *Indian* perfumes, had for some time almost convinced me, that the *true Spikenard* was the *Cétaca*, or *Pandanus* of our botanists: his words are, *Sumbul panj berg dáred, ceb dirázii an dab angostestu pabnái seb*: or, "The *sumbul* has "five leaves, ten fingers long, and three broad." Now I well knew, that the minister of ACBAR was not a botanist, and might easily have mistaken a thyrsus for a single flower: I had seen no blossom, or assemblage of blossoms, of such dimensions, except the male *Cétaca*; and though the *Persian* writer describes the female as a different plant, by the vulgar name *Cyóra*, yet such a mistake might naturally have been expected in such a work: but what most confirmed my opinion, was the

the exquisite fragrance of the *Cétaca* flower, which to my sense far surpassed the richest perfumes of *Europe* or *Asia*. Scarcely a doubt remained, when I met with a description of the *Cétaca* by FORSKOHL, whose words are so perfectly applicable to the general idea which we are apt to form of *Spikenard*, that I give you a literal translation of them: “ The *Pandanus* is an incomparable  
 “ plant, and cultivated for its odour, which it  
 “ breathes so richly, that one or two *Spike*, in  
 “ a situation rather humid, would be sufficient to  
 “ diffuse an odoriferous air for a long time through  
 “ a spacious apartment; so that the natives in ge-  
 “ neral are not solicitous about the living plants,  
 “ but purchase the Spikes at a great price.” I learned also, that a fragrant essential oil was extracted from the flowers; and I procured from *Banáres* a large phial of it, which was adulterated with sandal; but the very adulteration convinced me, that the genuine essence must be valuable; from the great number of thyrsi that must be required in preparing a small quantity of it. Thus had I nearly persuaded myself, that the true nard was to be found on the banks of the *Ganges*, where the *Hindu* women roll up its flowers in their long black hair after bathing in the holy river; and I imagined, that the precious alabaſter box mentioned in the Scripture, and the small onyx, in exchange for which the poet offers to entertain his friend with a cask of old wine, contained an essence of the same kind, though differing in its degree of purity, with the nard which I had procured: but an Arab of *Mecca*, who saw in my study some flowers of the *Cétaca*, informed me, that the plant was extremely common in *Arabia*, where it was named *Cádbi*; and several *Mahomedans* of rank and learning have since assured me, that the true name of the *Indian Sumbul* was not *Cétaca*, but *Jatámánsi*:

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This was important information; finding therefore, that the *Pandanus* was not peculiar to *Hindustán*, and considering that the *Sumbul* of *ABULFAZL* differed from it in the precise number of leaves on the thyrsus, in the colour, and in the season of flowering, though the length and breadth corresponded very nearly, I abandoned my first opinion, and began to inquire eagerly for the *Jatámánsi*, which grew, I was told, in the garden of a learned and ingenious friend, and fortunately was then in blossom. A fresh plant was very soon brought to me: it appeared on inspection to be a most elegant *Cyperus* with a polished three-sided culm, an umbella with three or four ensiform leaflets minutely serrated, naked proliferous peduncles, crowded spikes, expanded daggers; and its branched root had a pungent taste with a faint aromattick odour; but no part of it bore the least resemblance to the drug known in *Europe* by the appellation of *Spikenard*; and a *Muselmán* physician from *Dehli* assured me positively, that the plant was not *Jatámánsi*, but *Sud*, as it is named in *Arabick*, which the author of the *Tohfatul Múmenin* particularly distinguishes from the *Indian Sumbul*. He produced on the next day an extract from the Dictionary of Natural History, to which he had referred; and I present you with a translation of all that is material in it.

“ 1. *SUD* has a roundish olive-shaped root; externally black, but white internally, and so fragrant as to have obtained in *Persia* the name of *Subterranean Musk*: its leaf has some resemblance to that of a leek, but is longer and narrower, strong, somewhat rough at the edges, and tapering to a point. 2. *SUMBUL* means a *spike* or *ear*, and was called *nard* by the *Greeks*. There are three sorts of *Sumbul* or *Nardin*; but, when the words stand alone, it means the *Sumbul* of *India*, which is an herb without flower or fruit

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“ (he

“ (he speaks of the drug only), like the tail of an  
 “ ermine, or of a small weasel, but not quite so  
 “ thick, and about the length of a finger. It is  
 “ darkish, inclining to yellow, and very fragrant:  
 “ it is brought from *Hindustán*, and its medicinal  
 “ virtue lasts three years.” It was easy to procure  
 the dry *Jatámánsi*, which corresponded perfectly  
 with the description of the *Sumbul*; and though a  
 native *Muselmán* afterwards gave me a *Persian*  
 paper, written by himself, in which he represents  
 the *Sumbul* of *India*, the *Sweet Sumbul*, and the  
*Jatámánsi* as three different plants, yet the autho-  
 rity of the *Tohfatu'l Múmenín* is decisive, that  
 the *sweet Sumbul* is only another denomination of  
 nard, and the physician, who produced that au-  
 thority, brought, as a specimen of *Sumbul*, the  
 very same drug, which my *Pandit*, who is also a  
 physician, brought as a specimen of the *Jatá-  
 mánsi*: a *Brábmén* of eminent learning gave me a  
 parcel of the same sort, and told me that it was  
 used in their sacrifices; that, when fresh, it was  
 exquisitely sweet, and added much to the scent of  
 rich essences, in which it was a principal ingredi-  
 ent; that the merchants brought it from the  
 mountainous country to the north-east of *Bengal*;  
 that it was the entire plant, not a part of it, and  
 received its *Sanscrit* names from its resemblance to  
*locks of hair*; as it is called *Spikenard*, I suppose,  
 from its resemblance to a *Spike*, when it is dried,  
 and not from the configuration of its flowers,  
 which the *Greeks*, probably, never examined.  
 The *Persian* author describes the whole plant as  
 resembling the tail of an ermine; and the *Jatá-  
 mánsi*, which is manifestly the *Spikenard* of our  
 druggists, has precisely that form, consisting of  
 withered stalks and ribs of leaves, cohering in a  
 bundle of yellowish brown capillary fibres, and  
 constituting a spike about the size of a small finger.

We may on the whole be assured, that the *nardus* of PROLEMY, the *Indian Sumbul* of the *Persians* and *Arabs*, the *Jatámánsi* of the *Hindus*, and the *Spikenard* of our shops, are one and the same plant; but to what class and genus it belongs in the *Linnean* system, can only be ascertained by an inspection of the fresh blossoms. DR. PATRICK RUSSEL, who always communicates with obliging facility his extensive and accurate knowledge, informed me by letter, that “Spikenard is carried  
“over the Desert (from *India* I presume) to *Alep-*  
“*po*, where it is used in substance, mixed with  
“other perfumes, and worn in small bags, or in  
“the form of essence, and kept in little boxes or  
“phials, like *átar* of roses.” He is persuaded, and so am I, that the *Indian nard* of the ancients, and that of our shops, is one and the same vegetable.

THOUGH diligent researches have been made at my request on the borders of *Bengal* and *Behar*, yet the *Jatámánsi* has not been found growing in any part of the *British* territories. MR. SAUNDERS, who met with it in *Bután*, where, as he was informed, it is very common, and whence it is brought in a dry state to *Rangpúr*, has no hesitation in pronouncing it a species of the *Baccharas*; and since it is not possible that he could mistake the *natural* order and *essential character* of the plant, which he examined, I had no doubt that the *Jatámánsi* was composit and corymbiferous, with stamens connected by the anthers, and with female prolifick florets intermixed with hermaphrodites: the word *Spike* was not used by the ancients with botanical precision, and the *Stachys* itself is verticillated, with only two species out of fifteen, that could justify its generick appellation. I therefore concluded, that *the true Spikenard* was a *Baccharis*,

and that, while the philosopher had been searching for it to no purpose,

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the dull swain  
Trod on it daily with his clouted shoon ;

for the *Baccharis*, it seems, as well as the *Conyza*, is called by our gardeners, *Ploughman's Spikenard*. I suspected, nevertheless, that the plant which Mr. SAUNDERS described was not *Jatámánsi*, because I knew that the people of *Bután* had no such name for it, but distinguished it by very different names in different parts of their hilly country: I knew also, that the *Butias*, who set a greater value on the drug than it seems, as a perfume, to merit, where extremely reserved in giving information concerning it, and might be tempted, by the narrow spirit of monopoly, to mislead an inquirer for the fresh plant. The friendly zeal of Mr. PURLING will probably procure it in a state of vegetation; for, when he had the kindness, at my desire, to make inquiries for it among the *Bután* merchants, they assured him, that the living plants could not be obtained without an order from their sovereign the *Dévarája*, to whom he immediately dispatched a messenger with an earnest request, that eight or ten of the growing plants might be sent to him at *Rangpúr*: should the *Dévarája* comply with that request, and should the vegetable flourish in the plain of *Bengal*, we shall have ocular proof of its class, order, genus, and species; and, if it prove the same with the *Jatámánsi* of *Népál*, which I now must introduce to your acquaintance, the question, with which I began this essay, will be satisfactorily answered.

HAVING traced the *Indian Spikenard*, by the name of *Jatámánsi*, to the mountains of *Népál*, I requested my friend Mr. LAW, who then resided at *Gayá*, to procure some of the recent plants by  
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the means of the *Népalese* pilgrims; who being orthodox *Hindus*, and possessing many rare books in the *Sanfrit* language, were more likely than the *Bútias* to know the true *Jatámánsi*, by which name they generally distinguish it: many young plants were accordingly sent to *Gayá*, with a *Persian* letter specifically naming them, and apparently written by a man of rank and literature; so that no suspicion of deception or of error can be justly entertained. By a mistake of the gardener, they were all planted at *Gayá*, where they have blossomed, and at first seemed to flourish: I must, therefore, describe the *Jatámánsi* from the report of Mr. BURT, who favoured me with a drawing of it, and in whose accuracy we may perfectly confide; but, before I produce the description, I must endeavour to remove a prejudice, in regard to the *natural order* of the *Spikenard*, which they, who are addicted to swear by every word of their master LINNÆUS, will hardly abandon, and which I, who love truth better than him, have abandoned with some reluctance. *Nard* has been generally supposed to be a *grass*; and the word *Stachys* or *spike*, which agrees with the habit of that natural order, gave rise, perhaps, to the supposition. There is a plant in *Java*, which most travellers and some physicians call *spikenard*; and the Governor of *Chinfura*, who is kindly endeavouring to procure it thence in a state fit for examination, writes me word, that “ a *Dutch* author  
“ pronounces it a *grass like the Cypirus*, but insists  
“ that what we call the *spike* is the fibrous part  
“ above the root, as long as a man’s little finger,  
“ of a brownish hue inclining to red or yellow,  
“ rather fragrant, and with a pungent, but aromatick scent.” This is too slovenly a description to have been written by a botanist; yet I believe the latter part of it to be tolerably correct,  
and

and should imagine that the plant was the same with our *Jatámánsi*, if it were not commonly asserted, that the *Javan* spikenard was used as a condiment, and if a well-informed man, who had seen it in the island, had not assured me, that it was a sort of *Pimento*, and consequently a species of *Myrtle*, and of the order now called *Hesperian*. The resemblance before mentioned between the *Indian Sumbul* and the *Arabian Súd*, or *Cypirus*, had led me to suspect, that the true nard was a *grass* or a *reed*; and as this country abounds in *odoriferous grasses*, I began to collect them from all quarters. Colonel KYD obligingly sent me two plants with sweet-smelling roots; and as they were known to the *Pandits*, I soon found their names in a *Sanscrit* dictionary; one of them is called *gandhasat'há*, and used by the *Hindus* to scent the red powder of *Sapan* or *Bakkam* wood, which they scatter in the festival of the vernal season; the other as many names, and, among them, *nágaramastac* and *gónarda*, the second of which means *ruffling in the water*; for all the *Pandits* insist, that *nard* is never used as a noun in *Sanscrit*, and signifies, as the root of a verb, *to sound* or *to ruffle*. Soon after, Mr. BURROW brought me, from the banks of the *Ganges* near *Heridwár*, a very fragrant grass, which in some places covers whole acres, and diffuses, when crushed, so strong an odour, that a person, he says, might easily have smelt it, as ALEXANDER is reported to have smelt the nard of *Gedrosia*, from the back of an elephant: its blossoms were not preserved, and it cannot, therefore, be described. From Mr. BLANE of *Lucknow* I received a fresh plant, which has not flowered at *Calcutta*; but I rely implicitly on his authority, and have no doubt that it is a species of *Andropogon*: it has rather a rank aromatick odour, and, from the virtue ascribed to it of curing

curing intermittent fevers, is known by the *Sanscrit* name of *jwarāncusa*, which literally means a *fever-book*; and alludes to the *iron-book* with which elephants are managed. Lastly, Dr. ANDERSON, of *Madras*, who delights in useful pursuits and in assisting the pursuits of others; favoured me with a complete specimen of the *Andropogon Nardus*, one of the most common grasses on the Coast, and flourishing most luxuriantly on the mountains, never eaten by cattle, but extremely grateful to bees, and containing an essential oil, which, he understands, is extracted from it in many parts of *Hindustān*, and used as an *atar* or *perfume*. He adds a very curious philological remark, that, in the *Tamul* dictionary, most words beginning with *nār* have some relation to *fragrance*; as *nārukeradu* to yield an odour, *nārtum-pillu*, lemon-grass, *nārtei*, citron, *nārta manum*, the wild orange-tree, *nārum panei*, the *Indian Jasmine*, *nārum alleri*, a strong smelling flower, and *nārtu*, which is put for *nard* in the *Tamul* version of our Scriptures: so that not only the *nard* of the *Hebrews* and *Greeks*, but even the *copia narium* of HORACE, may be derived from an *Indian* root: to this I can only say, that I have not met with any such root in *Sanscrit*, the oldest polished language of *India*, and that in *Persian*, which has a manifest affinity with it, *nār* means a *pomegranate*, and *nārgil* (a word originally *Sanscrit*) a *cocoa-nut*, neither of which has any remarkable fragrance.

SUCH is the evidence in support of the opinion, given by the great *Swedish* naturalist, that the true *nard* was a gramineous plant and a species of *Andropogon*; but since no grass, that I have yet seen, bears any resemblance to the *Jatāmānsi*, which I conceive to be the *nardus* of the ancients, I beg leave to express my dissent, with some confidence as a philologer, though with humble diffidence as

a student in botany. I am not, indeed of opinion, that the *nardum* of the Romans was merely the essential oil of the plant, from which it was denominated, but am strongly inclined to believe, that it was a generick word, meaning what we now call *átar*, and either the *átar* of roses from *Cashmir* and *Persia*, that of *Cétacá*, or *Pandanus*, from the western coast of *India*, or that of *Aguru*, or aloe-wood, from *Asám* or *Cochinchina*, the process of obtaining which is described by *ABU'LEAZL*, or the mixed perfume called *ábír*, of which the principal ingredients were yellow sandal, violets, orange-flowers, wood of aloes, rose-water, musk, and true spikenard: all those essences and compositions were costly; and most of them being sold by the *Indians* to the *Persians* and *Arabs*, from whom, in the times of *OCTAVIUS* they were received by the *Syrians* and *Romans*, they must have been extremely dear at *Jerusalem* and at *Rome*. There might also have been a pure *nardine oil*, as *ATHENÆUS* calls it; but *nardum* probably meant (and *KOENIG* was of the same opinion) an *Indian* essence in general, taking its name from that ingredient which had, or was commonly thought to have, the most exquisite scent. But I have been drawn by a pleasing subject to a greater length than I expected, and proceed to the promised description of the true *nard*, or *Jatámánsi*, which, by the way, has other names in the *Amarcôsh*, the smoothest of which are *jatílá* and *lómáñá*, both derived from words meaning *hair*. *Mr. BURT*, after a modest apology for his imperfect acquaintance with the language of botanists, has favoured me with an account of the plant, on the correctness of which I have a perfect reliance, and from which I collect the following *natural characters*:

AGGREGATE



## . AGGREGATE.

*Cal.* Scarce any. *Margin*, hardly discernible.  
*Cord* One petal. *Tubg* somewhat gibbous.  
*Border* five cleft.  
*Stam.* Three *Anthers*.  
*Pist.* Germ beneath. One *Style* erect.  
*Seed* Solitary, crowned with a pappus. ..  
*Root* Fibrous.  
*Leaves* Hearted, fourfold; *radical* leaves petioled.

IT appears, therefore, to be the *Protean* plant VALERIAN, a sister of the Mountain and *Celtick* Nard, and of a species which I should describe in the *Linnean* style, VALERIANA JATA'MANSI *floribus triandris foliis cordatis quaternis, radicalibus petiolatis*. The radical leaves, rising from the ground and enfolding the young stem, are plucked up with a part of the root, and, being dried in the sun, or by an artificial heat, are sold as a drug; which from its appearance has been called *Spike-nard*; though, as the *Persian* writer observes, it might be compared more properly to the *tail of an ermine*: when nothing remains but the dry fibres of the leaves, which retain their original form, they have some resemblance to a *lock of hair*, from which the *Sanfrit* name, it seems, is derived. Two mercantile agents from *Bután* on the part of the *Dévarájá* were examined, at my request, by Mr. HARRINGTON, and informed him, that the drug which the *Bengalese* call *Jatámánsi*, “grew  
 “ erect above the surface of the ground, resemb-  
 “ ling in colour an ear of green wheat; that,  
 “ when recent, it had a faint odour, which was  
 “ greatly increased by the simple process of dry-  
 “ ing it; that it abounded on the hills, and even  
 “ on the plains, of *Bután*, where it was collected  
 “ and

“and prepared for medicinal purposes.” What its virtues are, experience alone can ascertain; but, as far as botanical analogy can justify a conjecture, we may suppose them to be antispasmodick; and in our provinces, especially in *Behar*, the plant will probably flourish; so that we may always procure it in a state fit for experiment. On the proposed enquiry into the virtues of this celebrated plant, I must be permitted to say, that although many botanists may have wasted their time in enumerating the qualities of vegetables, without having ascertained them by repeated and satisfactory experiments, and although *mere botany* goes no farther than technical arrangement and description, yet it seems indubitable, that the great end and aim of a botanical philosopher is, to discover and prove the several uses of the vegetable system, and, while he admits with HIPPOCRATES the *fallaciousness of experience*, to rely on experiment alone as the basis of his knowledge.

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MISCELLANEOUS PIECES  
RELATING TO THE  
HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES,  
THE  
ARTS, SCIENCES, AND LITERATURE,  
OF  
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AN ACCOUNT OF THE SCULPTURES AND RUINS,  
AT  
MAVALIPURAM\*.

BY WILLIAM CHAMBERS, ESQ.

**A**S amidst inquiries after the histories and antiquities of *Asia* at large, those of that division of it in which this Society resides may seem on many accounts to lay claim to a particular share of its attention, a few hints put down from recollection, concerning some monuments of *Hindoo* antiquity, which, though situated in the neighbourhood of *European* settlements on the *Choromandel* coast, have hitherto been little observed, may, it is conceived, be acceptable at least, as they may possibly give rise hereafter to more accurate observations, and more complete discove-

\* A place a few miles north of SADRAS, and known to Seamen by the name of THE SEVEN PAGODAS.

ries on the same subject. The writer of this account went first to view them in the year 1772, and curiosity led him thither again in 1776; but as he neither measured the distances nor sizes of the objects, nor committed to writing at the time the observations he made on them, he hopes to be excused if, after the lapse of so many years, his recollection should fail him in some respects, and his account fall far short of that precision and exactness which might have been expected had there then existed in *India* so powerful and incentive to diligent enquiry and accurate communication as the establishment of this Society must now prove.

THE MONUMENTS he means to describe appear to be the remains of some great city that has been ruined many centuries ago; they are situated close to the sea, between *Covelong* and *Sadras*, somewhat remote from the high road that leads to the different *European* settlements. And when he visited them in 1776, there was still a native village adjoining to them, which retained the antient name, and in which a number of *Bramins* resided that seemed perfectly well acquainted with the subjects of most of the sculptures to be seen there.

THE rock, or rather hill of stone, on which great part of these works are executed, is one of the principal marks for mariners as they approach the coast, and to them the place is known by the name of the *Seven Pagodas*, possibly because the summits of the rock have presented them with that idea as they passed: but it must be confessed, that no aspect which the hill assumes as viewed on the shore, seems at all to authorize this notion; and there are circumstances, which will be mentioned in the sequel, that would lead one to suspect that this name has arisen from some such number of Pagodas that formerly stood here, and in time have been buried in the waves. But, be that as

it

it may, the appellation by which the natives distinguish, it is of a quite different origin: in their language, which is the *Tamulic* (improperly termed *Malabar*), the place is called *Mávalipuram*, which in *Sanskrit*, and the languages of the more northern *Hindoos*, would be *Mahábalipúr*, or the City of the great *Bali*. For the *Tamulians* (or *Malabars*), having no *h* in their alphabet, are under a necessity of shortening the *Sanskrit* word *Mahá*, great, and write it *má* \*. They are obliged also for a similar reason to substitute a *v* for a *b*, in words of *Sanskrit*, or other foreign original, that begin with that letter, and the syllable *am* at the end is merely a termination, which, like *um* in *Latin*, is generally annexed to neuter substantives †. To this etymology of the name of this place it may be proper to add, that *Bali* is the name of an hero very famous in *Hindoo* romance, and that the river *Mávaligonga*, which waters the eastern side of *Ceylone*, where the *Tamulic* language also prevails, has probably taken its name from him, as, according to the orthography, it apparently signifies the *Ganges* of the great *Bali*.

THE rock or hill of stone above mentioned is that which first engrosses the attention on approaching the place; for as it rises abruptly out of a level plain of great extent, consists chiefly of one single stone, and is situated very near to the sea beach, it is such a kind of object as an inquisitive traveller would naturally turn aside to examine. Its shape is also singular and romantic, and,

\* They do indeed admit a substitute, but the abbreviation is most used.

† This explains also, why the *Sanskrit* word *Véd*, by which the *Hindoos* denominate the books of the law of their religion, is written by the *Tamulians* *Vélam*, which is according to the true orthography of their language, and its mistake of *European* travellers, as some have supposed; while the same word is called *Béa* by the *Bengalies*, who have in effect no *v* in their alphabet.—See Dow, Dissert. vol. I.

from a distant view, has an appearance like some antique and lofty edifice. On coming near to the foot of the rock from the north, works of imagery\* and sculpture crowd so thick upon the eye, as might seem to favour the idea of a petrified town, like those that have been fabled in different parts of the world by two credulous travellers †. Proceeding on by the foot of the hill on the side facing the sea, there is a pagoda rising out of the ground of one solid stone, about sixteen or eighteen feet high, which seems to have been cut upon the spot out of a detached rock that has been found of a proper size for that purpose. The top is arched, and the style of architecture according to which it is formed different from any now used in those parts. A little further on there appears upon an huge surface of stone, that juts out a little from the side of the hill, a numerous group of human figures in bas relief, considerably larger than life, representing the most remarkable persons whose actions are celebrated in the *Mahábhárit*, each of them in an attitude, or with weapons, or other insignia, expressive of his character, or of some one of his most famous exploits. All these figures are, doubtless, much less distinct than they were at first; for upon comparing these and the rest of the sculptures that are exposed to the sea air, with others at the same place, whose situation has afforded them protection from that element, the difference is striking, the former being everywhere much defaced, while the others are fresh as recently finished. This defacement is no-where more observable, than in the piece of sculpture

\* Among these, one object, though a mean one, attracts the attention on account of the grotesque and ridiculous nature of the design; it consists of two monkies cut out of one stone, one of them in a stooping posture, while the other is taking the insects out of his head.

† See SHAW'S Travels, p. 155. et seq.

which

which occurs next in the order of description. This is an excavation in another part of the east side of the great rock, which appears to have been made on the same plan and for the same purpose that Chowltries are usually built in that country, that is to say, for the accommodation of travellers. The rock is hollowed out to the size of a spacious room, and two or three rows of pillars are left, as a seeming support to the mountainous mass of stone which forms the roof. Of what pattern these pillars have originally been, it is not easy now to conjecture, for the air of the sea has greatly corroded them, as well as all the other parts of the cave. And this circumstance renders it difficult to discover, at first sight, that there is a scene of sculpture on the side fronting the entrance. The natives, however, point it out, and the subject of it is manifestly that of *Krishen* attending the herds of *Nund Ghose*, the *Admetus* of the *Hindoos*, from which circumstance *Krishen* is also called *Gopaul*, or the Cowherd, as *Apollo* was entitled *Nomius*.

THE objects that seem next to claim regard, are those upon the hill itself, the ascent of which, on the north, is, from its natural shape, gradual and easy at first, and is in other parts rendered more so, by very excellent steps cut out in several places, where the communication would be difficult or impracticable without them. A winding stair of this sort leads to a kind of temple cut out of the solid rock, with some figures of idols in high relief upon its walls, very well finished and perfectly fresh, as it faces the west, and is therefore sheltered from the sea air. From this temple again there are flights of steps that seem to have led to some edifice, formerly standing upon the hill; nor does it seem absurd to suppose, that this may have been a palace, to which this temple, as a place of worship, may have appertained. For besides the  
small

small detached ranges of stairs that are here and there cut in the rock, and seem as if they had once led to different parts of one great building, there appear in many places, small water channels cut also in the rock, as if for drains to a house, and the whole top of the hill is strewd with small round pieces of brick, which may be supposed from their appearance to have been worn down to their present form during the lapse of many ages. On ascending the hill by its slope on the north, a very singular piece of sculpture presents itself to view. On a plain surface of the rock, which may once have served as the floor of some apartment, there is a platform of stone, about eight or nine feet long, by three or four wide, in a situation rather elevated, with two or three steps leading up to it, perfectly resembling a couch or bed, and a lion very well executed at the upper end of it by way of pillow, the whole of one piece, being part of the hill itself. This the *Bramins*, inhabitants of the place, call the *bed of Dbermarajah* or *Judishter*, the eldest of the five brothers whose fortunes and exploits are the leading subject in the *Mahabhârit*. And at a considerable distance from this, at such a distance indeed as the apartment of the women might be supposed to be from that of the men, is a bath excavated also from the solid rock, with steps in the inside, which the *Bramins* call the bath of *Dropedy*, the wife of *Judishter* and his brothers. How much credit is due to this tradition, and whether this stone couch may not have been anciently used as a kind of throne rather than a bed, is matter for future inquiry. A circumstance, however, which may seem to favour this idea is, that a throne in the *Sanscrit* and other *Hindoo* languages is called *Singhâsen*, which is composed of the words *Sing* a lion, and *âsen* a seat.

THESE



THESE are all that appear on that part of the upper surface of the hill, the ascent to which is on the north: but on descending from thence you are led round the hill to the opposite side, in which there are steps cut from the bottom to a place near the summit, where is an excavation that seems to have been intended for a place of worship, and contains various sculptures of *Hindoo* Deities. The most remarkable of these, is a gigantic figure of *Vishnoo*, asleep on a kind of bed, with a huge snake wound about in many coils by way of pillow for his head, and these figures, according to the manner of this place, are all of one piece hewn from the body of the rock.

BUT though these works may be deemed stupendous, they are surpassed by others that are to be seen at the distance of about a mile, or a mile and an half, to the southward of the hill. They consist of two Pagodas of about thirty feet long by twenty feet wide, and about as many in height, cut out of the solid rock, and each consisting originally of one single stone. Near these also stand an elephant full as big as life, and a lion much larger than the natural size, but very well executed, each hewn also out of one stone. None of the pieces that have fallen off in cutting these extraordinary sculptures, are now to be found near or any where in the neighbourhood of them, so that there is no means of ascertaining the degree of labour and time that has been spent upon them, nor the size of the rock or rocks from which they have been hewn, a circumstance which renders their appearance the more striking and singular. And though their situation is very near the sea beach, they have not suffered at all by the corrosive air of that element, which has provided them with a defence against itself, by  
 X  
 throwing

throwing up before them a high bank that completely shelters them. There is also great symmetry in their form, though that of the Pagodas is different from the style of architecture according to which idol temples are now built in that country. The latter resembles the *Egyptian*, for the towers are always pyramidal, and the gates and roofs flat and without arches; but these sculptures approach nearer to the *Gothic* taste, being surmounted by arched roofs or domes that are not semicircular, but composed of two segments of circles meeting in a point at top. It is also observable that the lion in this group of sculptures, as well as that upon the stone couch above mentioned, are perfectly just representations of the true lion, and the natives there give them the name which is always understood to mean a lion in the *Hindoo* language, to wit, *Sing*; but the figure which they have made to represent that animal in their idol temples for centuries past, though it bears the same appellation, is a distorted monster totally unlike the original; insomuch that it has from hence been supposed, that the lion was not anciently known in this country, and that *Sing* was a name given to a monster that existed only in *Hindoo* romance. But it is plain that that animal was well known to the authors of these works, who in manners as well as arts seem to have differed much from the modern *Hindoos*.

THERE are two circumstances attending these monuments, which cannot but excite great curiosity, and on which future inquiries may possibly throw some light. One is, that on one of the Pagodas last mentioned, there is an inscription of a single line, in a character at present unknown to the *Hindoos*. It resembles neither the *Deyva-ndgre*, nor any of the various characters

acters connected with or derived from it, which have come to the writer's knowledge from any part of *Hindostan*. Nor did it, at the time he viewed it, appear to correspond with any character, *Asiatick* or *European*, that is commonly known. He had not then, however, seen the alphabet of the *Balic*, the learned language of the *Siamese*, a sight of which has since raised in his mind a suspicion, that there is a near affinity between them, if the character be not identically the same. But as these conjectures, after such a lapse of time, are somewhat vague, and the subject of them is perhaps yet within the reach of our researches, it is to be hoped that some method may be fallen upon of procuring an exact copy of this inscription.

THE other circumstance is, that though the outward form of the Pagodas is complete, the ultimate design of them has manifestly not been accomplished, but seems to have been defeated by some extraordinary convulsion of nature. For the western side of the most northerly one is excavated to the depth of four or five feet, and a row of pillars left on the outside to support the roof; but here the work has been stopped, and an uniform rent of about four inches breadth has been made throughout the solid rock, and appears to extend to its foundations, which are probably at a prodigious depth below the surface of the ground. That this rent has happened since the work begun, or while it was carrying on; cannot be doubted, for the marks of the mason's tools are perfectly visible in the excavated part on both sides of the rent, in such a manner as to show plainly, that they have been divided by it. Nor is it reasonable to suppose, that such a work would ever have been designed or begun, upon a rock that had previously been rent in two.

NOTHING less than an earthquake, and that a violent one, could apparently have produced such a fissure in the solid rock ; and that this has been the case in point of fact, may be gathered from other circumstances, which it is necessary to mention in an account of this curious place.

THE great rock above described is at some small distance from the sea, perhaps fifty or an hundred yards, and in that space the *Hindoo* village before mentioned stood in 1776. But close to the sea are the remains of a Pagoda built of brick, and dedicated to *Sib*, the greatest part of which has evidently been swallowed up by that element ; for the door of the innermost apartment, in which the idol is placed, and before which there are always two or three spacious courts surrounded with walls, is now washed by the waves ; and the pillar used to discover the meridian at the time of founding the Pagoda \*, is seen standing at some distance in the sea. In the neighbourhood of this building, there are some detached rocks, washed also by the waves, on which there appear sculptures, though now much worn and defaced. And the natives of the place declared to the writer of this account, that the more aged people among them remembered to have seen the tops of several Pagodas far out in the sea, which being covered with copper (probably gilt) were particularly visible at sun-rise, as their shining surface used then to reflect the sun's rays, but that now that effect was no longer produced, as the copper had since become incruited with mould and verdegriſe. "

\* See Voyage du M. Gentil, Vol. I. page 158.

THESE circumstances look much like the effects of a sudden inundation, and the rent in the rock above described makes it reasonable to conjecture, that an earthquake may have caused the sea to overflow its boundaries, and that these two formidable enemies may have joined to destroy this once magnificent city. The account which the *Bramins*, natives of the place, gave of its origin and downfall, partly it should seem on the authority of the *Mahabhârit*, and partly on that of later records, at the same time that it countenances this idea, contains some other curious particulars which may seem to render it worthy of attention. Nor ought it to be rejected on account of that fabulous garb in which all nations, but especially those of the East, have always clad the events of early ages.

“ HIRINACHEREN, said they, was a gigantic prince that rolled up the earth into a shapeless mass, and carried it down to the abyss, whither *Vishnoo* followed him in the shape of an hog, killed him with his tusks, and replaced the earth in its original situation. The younger brother of HIRINACHEREN was HIRINAKASSAP, who succeeded him in his kingdom, and refused to do homage to VISHNOO. He had a son named PRALHAUD, who at an early age openly disapproved this part of his father’s conduct, being under the tuition of SOKERACHARJ. His father persecuted him on this account, banished him, and even sought to kill him, but was prevented by the interposition of heaven, which appeared on the side of PRALHAUD. At length HIRINAKASSAP was softened, and recalled his son to his court, where, as he sat in full assembly, he began again to argue with him against the supremacy of VISHNOO, boasted that he himself was lord  
“ of

“ of all the visible world, and asked what  
 “ VISHNOO could pretend to more. PRALHAUD  
 “ replied, that VISHNOO had no fixed abode,  
 “ but was present every where.” “ Is he,” said  
 his father, “ in that pillar?” “ Yes,” returned  
 PRALHAUD. “ Then let him come forth” said  
 HIRINAKASSAP; “ and, rising from his seat,  
 “ struck the pillar with his foot; upon which  
 “ VISHNOO, in the *Narasinghab Awtâr*, that is  
 “ to say, with a body like a man, but an head  
 “ like a lion, came out of the pillar and tore  
 “ HIRINAKASSAP in pieces. VISHNOO then fixed  
 “ PRALHAUD on his father’s throne, and his  
 “ reign was a mild and virtuous one, and as such  
 “ was a contrast to that of his father. He left a  
 “ son named NAMACHEE, who inherited his  
 “ power and his virtues, and was the father of  
 “ BALEE, the founder of the once magnificent  
 “ city of *Mahâbalipoor*; the situation of which  
 “ is said to be described in a verse in the *Mahab-*  
 “ *harit*, the sense of which is literally this :

“ South of the *Ganges* two hundred *Yojen*  
 “ Five *Yojen* \* westward from the eastern sea.”

SUCH is the *Bramin* account of the *origin* of  
 this place. The *sequel* of its history, according to  
 them, is as follows :

“ THE son of BALEE was BANACHEREN, who  
 “ is represented as a giant with a thousand hands.

\* The *Yojen* is a measure often mentioned in the *Sanskrit*  
 books, and according to some accounts is equal to nine, according  
 to others twelve *English* miles. But at that rate the distance here  
 mentioned, between this place and the *Ganges*, is prodigiously  
 exaggerated and will carry us far south of *Ceylone*; this, how-  
 ever, is not surprising in an *Hindoo* poem; but from the second  
 line it seems pretty clear that this city at the time this verse was  
 composed must have stood at a great distance from the sea.

“ ANUREDH,

“ ANUREDH, the son of KRISHEN, came to his  
 “ court in disguise and seduced his daughter,  
 “ which produced a war, in the course of which  
 “ ANUREDH was taken prisoner, and brought to  
 “ *Mababalipoor*, upon which KRISHEN came in  
 “ person from his capital *Duárikab*, and laid siege  
 “ to the place. SIB guarded the gates and  
 “ fought for BANACHEREN, who worshipped him  
 “ with his thousand hands, but KRISHEN found  
 “ means to overthrow SIB, and having taken the  
 “ city cut off all BANACHEREN’s hands except  
 “ two, with which he obliged him to do him  
 “ homage. He continued in subjection to KRISHEN  
 “ till his death, after which a long period ensued,  
 “ in which no mention is any where made of  
 “ this place, till a Prince arose whose name was  
 “ MALECHEREN, who restored the kingdom to  
 “ great splendour, and enlarged and beautified the  
 “ capital. But in his time the calamity is said to  
 “ have happened by which the city was entirely  
 “ destroyed, and the cause and manner of it have  
 “ been wrapt up by the *Bramins* in the following  
 “ fabulous narration: MALECHEREN, say they,  
 “ in an excursion which he made one day alone  
 “ and in disguise, came to a garden in the envi-  
 “ rons of the city, where was a fountain so in-  
 “ viting, that two celestial nymphs had come  
 “ down to bathe there. The *Rajab* became en-  
 “ amoured of one of them, who condescended  
 “ to allow of his attachment to her, and she and  
 “ her sister nymph used thenceforward to have  
 “ frequent interviews with him in that garden.  
 “ On one of those occasions, they brought with  
 “ them a male inhabitant of the heavenly regions,  
 “ to whom they introduced the *Rajab*; and be-  
 “ tween him and MALECHEREN a strict friendship  
 “ ensued; in consequence of which he agreed, at  
 “ the *Rajab*’s earnest request, to carry him in dis-  
 “ guise

“guise to see the court of the divine **INDER**, a  
 “favour never before granted to any mortal.  
 “The *Rajah* returned from thence, with new  
 “ideas of splendour and magnificence, which he  
 “immediately adopted in regulating his court  
 “and his retinue, and in beautifying his seat of  
 “government. By this means *Mahábalipoor* be-  
 “came soon celebrated beyond all the cities of  
 “the earth, and an account of its magnificence  
 “having been brought to the Gods assembled at  
 “the court of **INDER**, their jealousy was so much  
 “excited at it, that they sent orders to the God  
 “of the sea to let loose his billows, and overflow  
 “a place which impiously pretended to vie in  
 “splendour with their celestial mansions. This  
 “command he obeyed, and the city was at once  
 “overflowed by that furious element, nor has it  
 “ever since been able to rear its head.”

SUCH is the mode in which the *Bramins* chuse  
 to account for the signal overthrow of a place  
 devoted to their wretched superstitions.

It is not, however, improbable, that the rest  
 of this history may contain, like the mythology  
 of *Greece* and *Rome*, a great deal of real mat-  
 ter of fact, though enveloped in dark and figu-  
 rative representations. Through the disguise of  
 these, we may discern some imperfect records of  
 great events, and of revolutions that have hap-  
 pened in remote times, and they perhaps merit  
 our attention the more, as it is not likely that  
 any records of ancient *Hindoo* history exist, but  
 in this obscure and fantastic dress. Their poets  
 seem to have been their only historians; as well  
 as divines, and whatever they relate, is wrapt up  
 in this burlesque garb, set off, by way of orna-  
 ment, with circumstances hugely incredible and  
 absurd, and all this without any date, and in no  
 other order or method than such as the poet's  
 fancy



fancy suggested and found most convenient. Nevertheless, by comparing names and grand events recorded by them, with those interspersed in the histories of other nations, and by calling in the assistance of ancient monuments, coins, and inscriptions, as occasion shall offer, some probable conjectures at least, if not important discoveries, may, it is hoped, be made on these interesting subjects. It is much to be regretted, that a blind zeal, attended with a total want of curiosity, in the *Mohammedan* governors of this country, have been so hostile to the preservation of *Hindoo* monuments and coins. But a spirit of enquiry among *Europeans* may yet perhaps be successful, and an instance which relates to the place above described, though in itself a subject of regret, leaves room to hope, that futurity may yet have in store some useful discoveries. The *Kauzy* of *Madras*, who had often occasion to go to a place in the neighbourhood of *Mohábalipoor*, assured the writer of this account, that within his remembrance, a ryot of those parts had found, in plowing his ground, a pot of gold and silver coins, with characters on them which no one in those parts, *Hindoo* or *Mohammedan*, was able to decipher. He added, however, that all search for them would now be vain, for they had doubtless been long ago devoted to the crucible, as, in their original form, no one there thought them of any value.

THE inscription on the Pagoda mentioned above, is an object, which, in this point of view, appears to merit great attention. That the conjecture, however, which places it among the languages of *Siam*, may not seem in itself chimerical, the following passages from some authors of repute are here inserted to shew, that the idea of a communication having formerly subsisted between  
that

that country and the coast of *Choromandel*, is by no means without foundation, nay that there is some affinity, even at this day, between the *Balic* and some of the *Hindoo* languages, and that the same mode of worship seems formerly to have prevailed in the *Deckan*, which is now used by the *Siamese*:

MONSIEUR DE LA LOUBERE, in his excellent account of *Siam*, speaks thus of the origin of the *Balic* language :

“THE *Siamese*,” says he, “do not mention any country where the *Balic* language, which is that of their laws and their religion, is at present in use. They suppose, indeed, on the report of some among them, who have been on the coast of *Choromandel*, that it bears some resemblance to some of the dialects of that country, but they at the same time allow, that the character in which it is written, is not known but among themselves. The secular Missionaries settled at *Siam* believe that this language is not entirely a dead one; because they have seen in their hospital a man from the neighbourhood of *Cape Comorin*, who mixed several *Balic* words in his discourse, declaring that they were in use in his country, and that he himself had never studied nor knew any other than his mother tongue. They at the same time mention, as matter of certainty, that the religion of the *Siamese* comes from those parts; as they have read in a *Balic* book that SOMMONACODOM, the idol of the *Siamese*, was the son of a King of *Ceylon*.\*”

THE

\* “Les Siamois ne nomment aucun pais ou la langue Bali, qui est celle de leurs loix et de leur religion, soit aujourd’huy en usage. Ils soupçonnent à la verité, sur le rapport de quelques-uns

THE language of the man mentioned in this passage, who came from the neighbourhood of *Cape Comorin*, could be no other than the *Tamulic*, but the words here alluded to may very possibly have been derivatives from the *Sanscrit*, common to both that and the *Balic*.

IN another part of the same work, where the author treats of the history of SOMMONACODOM at large, on the authority of the *Balic* books, he says :

“ THE father of SOMMONACODOM, according to the same *Balic* book, was a King of *Teve Lanca*, that is to say, of the famous *Ceylone* \*.”

HERE it is observable, that while the country of *Siam* seems to be utterly unknown, both to the natives of *Ceylone* and *Hindostan*, *Ceylone*, should nevertheless be so well known to the *Siamese*, and under the same appellation it bears in the *Sanscrit*. An epithet is also here prefixed to it, which seems to be the same as that used by the *Hindoos* in speaking of that island, for they also call it in *Sanscrit* *Déve Lanca* or the *Sacred Lanca*. From several passages in the same work it also appears, that the *Sanscrit* word *Mahá*,

“ uns d'entre eux, qui ont été à la côte de Coromandel, que la  
 “ langue Balic a quelque ressemblance avec quelqu'un des dialectes  
 “ de ce pais la : mais ils conviennent en même temps que les  
 “ lettres de la langue Balic ne sont connues que chez eux. Les  
 “ Missionnaires seculiers à Siam croyent que cette langue n'est pas  
 “ entierement morte ; parce qu'ils ont vu dans leur hospital un  
 “ homme des environs du Cap de Comorin, qui mettoit plu-  
 “ sieurs mots Balis dans son langage, assurant qu'ils étoient en  
 “ usage en son pais, et que lui n'avoit jamais étudié, et ne savoit  
 “ que sa langue maternelle. Ils donnent d'ailleurs pour certain  
 “ que la religion des Siamois vient de ces quartiers la, parce  
 “ qu'ils ont lu dans un livre Balic que Sommonacodom que les  
 “ Siamois adorent, étoit fils d'un Roy de l'isle de Ceylone.”

\* “ Le pere de Sommonacodom étoit, selon ce même livre  
 “ Bali, un Roy de Teve Lanca, c'est à dire un Roy de la celebre  
 “ Ceylan.”

which

which signifies *great*, is constantly used in the *Balic* language in the same sense. And the names of the days of the week are most of them the same in *Shanscrit* and in *Balic*, as may be seen in the following comparison of them.

<i>Shanscrit</i>	<i>Balic</i>	
Aditca-vâr,	Van Athit,	Sunday.
Soma-vâr,	Van * Tehân,	Monday.
Mungela-vâr,	Van Angkâan,	Tuesday.
Bouta-vâr,	Van Pout,	Wednesday.
Brahspati-vâr,	Van Prahout,	Thursday.
Soucra-vâr,	Van Souc,	Friday.
Sany-vâr,	Van Sâoa,	Saturday.

THE same author gives, in another place, an account of a pretended print of a foot on a rock, which is an object of worship to the *Siamese*, and is called *Prabât*, or the venerable foot. For *prâ* in *Balic*, he says, signifies *venerable*, which agrees with *prâper* and *pramesht* in *Shanscrit*, and *Bât* in the same tongue is a foot, as *Pad* in *Shanscrit*. After which he goes on to say :

“ WE know that in the island of Ceylone,  
 “ there is a pretended print of a human foot,  
 “ which has long been held in great veneration.  
 “ It represents, doubtless, the left foot, for the  
 “ *Siamese* say that SOMMONACODOM set his  
 “ right foot on their *Prabat*, and his left foot  
 “ at *Lanca* †.”

FROM

\* Here one *Hindoo* word is substituted for another, for *Tchân* in *Hindostany*, and *Tchander* in *Shanscrit*, signify the moon, as well as *Soma*.

† “ On fait que dans l'isle de Ceylan, il y a un pretendu vestige  
 “ de pié humain, que depuis long temps y est grande veneration.  
 “ 11

FROM KNOX's history of *Ceylone* it appears, that the impresson here spoken of is upon the hill called by the *Chingelays Hamalell*, by *European's Adam's Peak*; and that the natives believe it to be the foot-step of their great idol BUDDOU; between the worship of whom, as described by KNOX, and that of SOMMONACODOM, as related by M. DE LA LOUBERE, there is a striking resemblance in many particulars, which it may be proper here to enumerate.

1<sup>st</sup>. BESIDES the foot-steps above mentioned, there is a kind of tree (which from description appears to be the *Pipel* tree, so well known in *India*) which the *Chingslays* hold sacred to BUDDOU and the *Siamese* to SOMMONACODOM; inasmuch that the latter deem it meritorious to hang themselves upon it. The *Chingelays* called it *Bogabah*; for *gabah*, in their language, signifies a tree, and *bo* seems to be an abbreviation of BODOR BUDDOU; and the *Siamese* call it in *Balic*, *Prafi Mahá Pout*, which, according to DE LA LOUBERE'S interpretation, signifies the tree of the great *Pout* \*. This he supposes to mean MERCURY, for he observes that *Pout* or *Poot* is the name of that planet in the *Balic* term for *Wednesday*; and in another place, he says, *Pout* is one of the names of SOMMONACODOM. It is certain that *Wednesday* is called the day of BOD or BUDD in all the *Hindoo* languages, among which the *Tamulic*, having no *b*, begins the word with a *p*, which brings it very near the *Balic* mode of writing it. It is equally certain, that the days of the week in all these languages, are

" Il represente sans doute le pie gauche; car les Siamois disent que Sommonacodom posa le pie droit a leur *prabat*, et le pie gauche a Lanca."

\* " In vulgar *Siamese* they call it *Ton-pô*.

called

called after the planets in the same order as with us, and that BOD, BUDD, or POOD, holds the place of MERCURY. From all which it should appear, that POUT, which among the *Siamese* is another name for SOMMONACODOM, is itself a corruption of BUDDOU, who is the MERCURY of the *Greeks*. And it is singular that, according to M. DE LA LOUBERE, the mother of SOMMONACODOM is called in *Balic* MAHA-MANIA, OF THE GREAT MANIA, which resembles much the name of MAIA, the mother of MERCURY; at the same time that the *Tamulic* termination *en*, which renders the word *Pooden*, creates a resemblance between this and the WODEN of the *Gothic* nations, from which the same day of the week is denominated, and which; on that and other accounts, is allowed to be the MERCURY of the *Greeks*.

2dly. THE temples of SOMMONACODOM are called *Pihân*, and round them are habitations for the priests resembling a college, so those of BUDDOU are called *Vihâr*, and the principal priests live in them as in a college. The word *Vihâr*; or as the natives of *Bengal* would write it *Bihâr*, is *Sanscrit*; and FERISHTAH, in his history of *Bengal*, says, that his name was given by the *Hindoos* to the Province of *Behâr*, because it was formerly so full of *Bramins* as to be, as it were, one great *seminary of Learning*, as the word imports.

3dly. THE *Siamese* have two orders of priests; and so have the worshippers of BUDDOU. Both the one and the other are distinguished by a yellow habit, and by another circumstance which must be mentioned in the words of the respective authors. KNOX says of the BUDDOU priests; “ They have the honour of carrying the *Tallipot* with the broad end over their heads foremost, “ which

“ which none but the King does.” And M. DE LA LOUBERE says of the *Siamese* priests, “ To defend themselves from the sun they have the *Talapat*, which is their little umbrella in the form of a screen \*.”

THE word here used is common to most of the *Hindoo* languages, and signifies *the leaf of the Palmyra tree*. M. DE LA LOUBERE mentions it as a *Siamese* word, without seeming to know its origin or primary signification.

4thly. THE priests of BUDDOU, as well as those of SOMMONACODOM, are bound to celibacy, as long as they continue in the profession; but both the one and the other are allowed to lay it down and marry.

5thly. THEY both eat flesh, but will not kill the animal.

6thly. THE priests of either nation are of no particular tribe, but are chosen out of the body of the people.

THESE circumstances plainly shew, that this is a system of religion different from that of the *Véés*, and some of them are totally inconsistent with the principles and practice of the *Bramins*. And indeed it is manifest, from KNOX's whole account, that the religion of the *Chingelays* is quite distinct from that which prevails at this day among the *Hindoos*, nor does it appear that there is such a race of men as that of the *Bramins* among them. The only part in which there seems to be any agreement is in the worship of the *Debtabs*, which has probably crept in among them from their *Tamulian* neighbours, but that is carried on in a manner very different from the *Braminical* system, and appears to be held by the

\* “ Pour se garantir du soleil ils ont le *Talapat*, qui est leur petit parasol en forme d'écran.”

nation at large in very great contempt, if not abhorrence. KNOX's account of it is this: " Their temples (i. e. those of the *Debtabs*) are, " he says, called *Cowels*," which is the *Tamulic* word for *Pagoda*. He then goes on to say, " A man piously disposed builds a small house at " his own charge, which is the *temple*, and *himself* " *becomes priest thereof*. This house is seldom " called *God's House*, but most usually *Jacco* the " *Devil's*." But of the prevailing religion he speaks in very different terms, and describes it as carried on with much parade and splendour, and attended with marks of great antiquity. " The *Pagodas* or *teraples* of their *Gods*," says he, " are so many that I cannot number them. " Many of them are of rare and exquisite work, " built of hewn stone, engraven with images and " figures, but by whom and when I could not " attain to know, the inhabitants themselves " being ignorant therein. But sure I am they " were built by far more ingenious artificers than " the *Chingelays* that now are on the land. For " the *Portuguese* in their invasions have defaced " some of them, which there is none found that " hath skill enough to repair to this day." In another place he says, " Here are some antient " writings engraven upon rocks which puzzle all " that see them. There are divers great rocks in " divers parts in *Cande Uda*, and in the northern " parts. These rocks are cut deep with great " letters for the space of some yards, so deep that " they may last to the world's end. Nobody can " read them, or make any thing of them. I " have asked *Ma'obars* and *Gentoos*, as well as " *Chingelays* and *Moor*s, but none of them understood them. There is an antient temple, " *Goddiladenni* in *Yattanour*, stands by a place " where there are some of these letters." From



all which the antiquity of the nation and their religion is sufficiently evident; and from other passages it is plain, that the worship of BUDDOU in particular, had been from remote times a very eminent part of that religion; for the same author, speaking of the tree at *Anurodgburro*, in the northern part of the island, which is sacred to BUDDOU, says, "The due performance of this worship they reckon not a little meritorious: inasmuch that, as they report, ninety Kings have reigned there successively, where by the ruins that still remain, it appears they spared not for pains and labour to build temples and high monuments to the honour of this God, as if they had been born to hew rocks and great stones, and lay them up in heaps. These Kings are now happy spirits, having merited it by these labours." And again he says, "For this God above all other, they seem to have an high respect and devotion," &c.

AND from other authorities it will appear, that this worship has formerly been by no means confined to *Ceylone*, but has prevailed in several parts of *India* prior to that of the *Bramins*, nay that this has been the case even so late as the ninth and twelfth centuries of the *Christian Æra*.

IN the well-known *Anciennes Relations*\*, translated from the *Arabic* by that eminent Orientalist EUSEBIUS RENAUDOT, the *Arabian* traveller gives this account of the custom of dancing-women, which continues to this day in the *Decan*, but it is not known among the *Hindoo*s of *Bengal* or *Hindoostan* proper.

\* *Anciennes Relations des Indes et de la Chine; de deux Voyageurs Mohametans, qui y allerent dans le neuvieme Siecle. Paris, 1718, 8vo.*

“ THERE are in *India* public women, called “ *women of the idol*, and the origin of this custom is this: When a woman has made a vow for “ the purpose of having children, if she brings “ into the world a pretty daughter, she carries it “ to *BOD* so they call the idol which they adore; “ and leaves it with him \*.”

“ THIS is a pretty just account of this custom, as it prevails at this day in the *Decan*, for children are indeed devoted to this profession by their parents, and when they grow up in it, they are called in *Tamulic* *Devadâsi*, or *female slaves of the idol*. But it is evident they have changed their master since this *Arabian* account was written, for there is no idol of the name of *BOD* now worshipped there. And the circumstance of this custom being unknown in other parts of *India*, would lead one to suspect, that the *Bramins*, on introducing their system of religion into that country, had thought fit to retain this part of the former worship, as being equally agreeable to themselves and their new disciples.

THE same *Arabian* travellers give us an account of a very powerful race of *Hindoo* Kings, according to them indeed the most powerful in *India*, who then reigned on the *Malabar* Coast with the title of *Balhâra*. Their dominion appears to have extended over *Guzerat*, and the greatest part, if not the whole, of the ancient kingdom of *Vistiapoor*. For the *Arabian* geogra-

\* “ Il y a dans les Indes des femmes publiques, appelées femmes de l'idole; l'origine de cette coutume est telle: Lors qu'une femme a fait un vœu pour avoir des enfans, si elle met au monde une belle fille, elle l'apporte au *Bod*, c'est ainsi qu'ils appellent l'idole qu'ils adorent, auprès duquel elle la laisse, &c.” *Anc. Rel.* p. 109.

pher quoted by M. RENAUDOT, makes *Nabelvârah* the metropolis of these princes, which is doubtless *Nabervalah*; the ancient capital of *Guzerat*, though M. RENAUDOT seems not to have known that place; and the rest of the description sufficiently shews the great extent of their dominion southward. M. D'ANVILLE speaks of this race of Kings on the authority of the *Arabian* geographer EDRISI, who wrote in the twelfth century, according to whom it appears that their religion was, even so late as that period, not the *Braminical*, but that of which we are now speaking. M. D'ANVILLE'S words are these: "EDRISI acquaints us with the religion which this Prince professed in saying, that his worship was addressed to *Bodda*, who according to St. JEROME and CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, was the founder of the sect of the *Gymnosophists*, in like manner as the *Bramins* were used to attribute their institution to *Brahma* \*."

THE authority of CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS is also cited on the same subject by RELANDUS in his 11th Dissertation, where; treating of the language of *Ceylone*, he explains the word *Vehâr*, above spoken of, in these terms.

"*Vehâr* signifies a temple of their principal God BUDDOU, who, as CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS has long ago observed, was worshipped as a God by the *Hindoos* †."

\* "L'Edrisi nous instruit sur la religion que professoit ce Prince, en disant que son culte s'adressoit à *Bodda*, que selon St. JEROME et St. CLEMENT D'ALEXANDRIE avoit été l'instituteur des *Gymnosophistes*, comme les *Brachmanes* rapportoient à *Brahma* leur institut." Ant. Geog. de L'Inde, p. 94.

† "*Vehâr*, templum dei primarii Buddoe *super* quem Indos ut Deum venerari jam olim notavit CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS," Strom. lib. 1. p. 223. Rel. Dis: pars tertia, p. 85.

AFTER the above quotations, the following extract from the voyage of that inquisitive and ingenious traveller M. GENTIL, published in 1779, is given as a further and very remarkable illustration of this subject.

“ THIS system is also that of the *Bramins* of our time; it forms the basis of that religion which they have brought with them into the southern parts of the Peninsula of *Hindostan*, into *Madura*, *Tanjore*, and *Maissore*.

“ THERE was then in those parts of *India*, and principally on the Coast of *Choromandel* and *Ceylone*, a sort of worship, the precepts of which we are quite unacquainted with. The God *BAOUTH*, of whom at present they know no more in *India*, than the name, was the object of this worship; but it is now totally abolished, except that there may possibly yet be found some families of *Indians*, who have remained faithful to *BAOUTH*, and do not acknowledge the religion of the *Bramins*, and who are on that account separated from and despised by the other Casts.

“ I HAVE not indeed heard that there are any such families in the neighbourhood of *Pondichery*, but there is a circumstance well worthy of remark, which none of the travellers that have treated of the Coast of *Choromandel* and *Pondichery* seem to have noticed. It is this: That at a short league's distance to the south of this town, in the plain of *Virapatnam*, and pretty near the river, we find a statue of Granite very hard and beautiful. This statue, which is from three feet to three and a half in height, is sunk in the sand to the waist, and weighs, doubtless, many thousand weight; it is, as it were, abandoned in the midst of this extensive plain. I cannot give a better idea of  
“ it,

“ it, than by saying, that it exactly agrees with  
 “ and resembles the *Sommonacodom* of the *Siamese* ;  
 “ its head is of the same form, it has the same  
 “ features, its arms are in the same attitude, and  
 “ its ears are exactly similar. The form of this  
 “ divinity, which has certainly been made in the  
 “ country, and which in no respect resembles the  
 “ present idols of the *Gentoos*, struck me as I  
 “ passed this plain. I made various inquiries con-  
 “ cerning this singular figure ; and the *Tamulians*  
 “ one and all assured me that this was the God  
 “ BAOUTH, who was now no longer regarded,  
 “ for that his worship and his festivals had been  
 “ abolished ever since the *Brâmins* had made them-  
 “ selves masters of the people's faith \*.”

M. GENTIL

\* “ Ce système est aussi celui des Brames de nos jours ; il fait  
 “ la base de la religion qu' ils ont apportée dans le sud de la  
 “ presqu' île de l' Indoitan, le Madure, le Tanjaour, et le  
 “ Maïssour.

“ Il y avoit alors dans ces parties de l' Inde, et principale-  
 “ ment à la Côte de Coromandel et à Ceylan, un culte dont on  
 “ ignore absolument les dogmes : le Dieu Baouth, dont on ne  
 “ connoît aujourd'hui dans l' Inde que le nom, étoit l' objet de ce  
 “ culte ; mais il est tout-à-fait aboli, si ce n'est qu'il se trouve  
 “ encore quelques familles d' Indiens séparées et méprisées des  
 “ autres Castes, qui sont restées fideles à Baouth, et qui ne re-  
 “ connoissent point la religion des Brames.

“ Je n' ai pas entendu dire qu' il y ait de ces familles aux en-  
 “ virons de Pondichery ; cependant, une chose très digne de re-  
 “ marque, & à laquelle aucun des Voyageurs qui parlent de la  
 “ Côte de Coromandel & de Pondichery n' ont fait attention, est,  
 “ que l' on trouve à une petite lieue au sud de cette ville, dans la  
 “ plaine de Virapatnam, assez pres de la rivière, une statue de  
 “ Granit très dur & très beau : cette statue, d' environ trois  
 “ pieds à trois pieds & demi de hauteur, est enfoncée dans le  
 “ sable jusqu' à la ceinture, & pese sans doute plusieurs milliers ;  
 “ elle est comme abandonnée au milieu de cette vaste plaine : je  
 “ ne peux mieux en donner une idée, qu' en disant qu' elle est ex-  
 “ actement conforme & ressemblante à *Sommonacodom* des Sia-  
 “ mois ; c'est la même forme de tête, ce sont les mêmes traits  
 “ dans le visage, c'est la même attitude dans les bras, & les  
 “ oreilles sont absolument semblables. La forme de cette divi-  
 “ nité, qui certainement a été fait dans le pays, & qui ne ressem-  
 “ ble en rien aux divinités actuelles des Gentils, m' avoit frappé  
 “ lorsque je passai dans cette plaine. Je fis diverses informations

“ sur

M. GENTIL then goes on to say a good deal more upon this subject, in the course of which he supposes, that this Deity is the *Fo* of the *Chingse*, whose worship, by their own accounts, was brought from *India*. And indeed the abridgement of the name *Paut*, mentioned in a note of this paper, which the vulgar *Siamese* reduce to the single syllable *Po*, seems to countenance this opinion. But as this is foreign to our present purpose, and the above passages, it is hoped, are sufficient to establish what was proposed, it seems high time to take leave of this subject, with an apology for that prolixity which is inseparable from this kind of discussion.

17th June 1784.

“ sur cette figure singuliere, les Tamouls m’assurerent tous que  
 “ c’etoit Baouth, qu’ on ne regardoit plus ; que son culte & ses  
 “ fêtes etoient cessées depuis que les Etranges s’ etoient rendus les  
 “ maîtres de la croyance du peuple.”

A C C O U N T  
OF AN  
I N T E R V I E W  
BETWEEN  
TEESHOO LAMA and Lieut. SAMUEL TURNER.  
(WHO WAS APPOINTED ON AN EMBASSY TO TIBET),  
AT THE MONASTERY OF TERPALING:  
COMMUNICATED IN A LETTER FROM  
Lieutenant SAMUEL TURNER  
TO THE  
Honourable JOHN MACPHERSON, Esq.  
GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF BENGAL.

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PATNA, *March 2, 1784.*

**D**URING my residence in *Tibet*, it was an object I had much at heart to obtain an interview of the infant TEESHOO LAMA, but the Emperor of *China's* general orders, restricting his guardians to keep him in the strictest privacy, and prohibiting indiscriminately the admission of all persons to his presence, even his votaries, who should come from a distance, appeared to me an obstacle almost insurmountable: yet, however, the Rajah, mindful of the amity subsisting between the Governor and him, and unwilling, I believe, by any act to hazard its interruption, at length

length consented to grant me that indulgence. As the meeting was attended with very singular and striking circumstances, I could not help noting them with most particular attention; and though the repetition of such facts, interwoven and blended as they are with superstition, may expose me to the imputation of extravagance and exaggeration, yet I should think myself reprehensible to suppress them; and while I divest myself of all prejudice and assume the part of a faithful narrator, I hope, however tedious the detail I propose to enter into may be found, it will be received with candour, and merit the attention of those for whose perusal and information it is intended, were it only to mark a strong feature in the national character, of implicit homage to the great religious sovereign, and to instance the very uncommon, I may say almost unheard-of, effects of early tuition.

I SHALL, perhaps, be still more justified in making this relation, by adverting to that very extraordinary assurance the Rajah of TEESHOO LOOMBOO made me but a few days before my departure from his court, which, without further introduction, I will beg leave literally to recite.

AT an interview he allowed me, after having given me my audience of leave, said he, “ I had  
 “ yesterday a vision of our tutelary deity, and to  
 “ me it was a day replete with much interesting  
 “ and important matter. This guardian power,  
 “ who inspires us with his illuminations on every  
 “ momentous and great occasion, indulged me  
 “ with a divination, from which I have collected  
 “ that every thing will be well: set your heart at  
 “ rest, for tho’ a separation is about to take place  
 “ between us, yet our friendship will not cease to  
 “ exist; but through the favour of interposing  
 “ Providence you may rest assured it will increase,  
 “ and



“and terminate eventually in that which will be for the best.”

I SHOULD have paid less regard to so strange an observation but for this reason, that however dissonant from other doctrines their positions may be found, yet I judge they are the best foundation to build our reliances upon, and superstition combining with inclination to implant such friendly sentiments in their minds, will ever constitute, the opinion having once obtained, the strongest barrier to their preservation. Opposed to the prejudices of a people, no plan can reasonably be expected to take place: agreeing with them success must be the result.

ON the 3d of December 1783, I arrived at *Terpaling*, situated on the summit of a high hill, and it was about noon when I entered the gates of the Monastery, which was not long since erected for the reception and education of TEESHOO LAMA. He resides in a palace in the center of the Monastery, which occupies about a mile of ground in circumference, and the whole is encompassed by a wall. The several buildings serve for the accommodation of three hundred *Gylongs* appointed to perform religious service with TEESHOO LAMA, until he shall be removed to the Monastery and Musnud of *Teeshoo Loomboo*. It is unusual to make visits either here or in *Bootan* on the day of arrival: we therefore rested this day, only receiving and sending messages of compliment.

On the 4th in the morning, I was allowed to visit TEESHOO LAMA, and found him placed in great form upon his Musnud; on the left side stood his father and mother, on the other the officer particularly appointed to wait upon his person. The Musnud is a fabrick of silk cushions piled one upon the other until the seat is elevated

to the height of four feet from the floor; an embroidered silk covered the top, and the sides were decorated with pieces of silk of various colours suspended from the upper edge and hanging down. By the particular request of TEESHOO LAMA's father, Mr. SAUNDERS and myself wore the *English* dress.

I ADVANCED, and, as is the custom, presented a white pelong handkerchief, and delivered also into the LAMA's hands the Governor's present of a string of pearls and coral, while the other things were set down before him. Having performed the ceremony of the exchange of handkerchiefs with his father and mother, we took our seats on the right of TEESHOO LAMA.

A MULTITUDE of persons, all those ordered to escort me, were admitted to his presence, and allowed to make their prostrations. The infant LAMA turned towards them, and received them all with a cheerful and significant look of complacency. His father then addressed me in the *Tibet* language, which was explained to me by the interpreter, that TEESHOO LAMA had been used to remain at rest until this time of the day, but he had awoke very early this morning, and could not be prevailed on to remain longer in bed, for, added he, "the *English* Gentlemen were arrived, and he could not sleep." During the time we were in the room, I observed the LAMA's eyes were scarce ever turned from us, and when our cups were empty of tea, he appeared uneasy, and throwing back his head and contracting the skin of his brow, he kept making a noise, for he could not speak, until they were filled again. He took out of a golden cup, containing confections, some burnt sugar, and stretching out his arm made a motion to his attendants to give them to me. He then sent some in like manner to  
Mr.

Mr. SAUNDERS, who was with me. I found myself, though visiting an infant, under the necessity of saying something, for it was hinted to me, that notwithstanding he is unable to reply, it is not to be inferred that he cannot understand. However, his incapacity of answering excused me many words, and I just briefly said, That the Governor-General on receiving the news of his decease in *China*, was overwhelmed with grief and sorrow, and continued to lament his absence from the world until the cloud that had overcast the happiness of this nation by his re-appearance was dispelled, and then, if possible, a greater degree of joy had taken place than he had experienced of grief on receiving the first mournful news. The Governor wished he might long continue to illumine the world with his presence, and was hopeful that the friendship which had formerly subsisted between them would not be diminished, but rather that it might become still greater than before, and that by his continuing to shew kindness to my countrymen, there might be an extensive communication between his votaries and the dependants of the *British* nation. The little creature turned, looking stedfastly towards me with the appearance of much attention while I spoke, and nodded with repeated but slow movements of the head, as though he understood and approved every word, but could not utter a reply. The parents, who stood by all the time, eyed their son with a look of affection, and a smile expressive of heartfelt joy, at the propriety of the young LAMA's conduct. His whole regard was turned to us; he was silent and sedate, never once looking towards his parents, as if under their influence at the time; and with whatever pains his manners may have been formed so correct, yet I must own his behaviour on this occasion

sion appeared perfectly natural and spontaneous, and not directed by any action or sign of authority.

THE scene in which I was here brought to take a part was too new and extraordinary, however trivial, if not absurd, as it may appear to some, not to claim from me great attention and consequently minute remark.

TEESHOO LAMA is at this time about 18 months of age. He did not speak a word, but made most expressive signs, and conducted himself with astonishing dignity and decorum. His complexion is of that hue which in *England* we should term rather brown, but not without colour. His features good—small black eyes—an animated expression of countenance—and altogether I thought him one of the handsomest children I had ever seen. I had but little conversation with the father. He told me he had directions to entertain me three days on account of TEESHOO LAMA, and entreated me with so much earnestness to pass another on his own account, that I could not resist complying with his request. He then invited us for to-morrow to an entertainment he proposed to make at a small distance from the Monastery; which invitation having accepted, we took our leave and retired.

IN the course of the afternoon I was visited by two officers of the LAMA'S household, both of whom are immediately attendant on his person. They sat and conversed with me some time; enquired after Mr. BOGLE, whom both of them had seen; and then remarking how extremely fortunate it was the young LAMA'S having regarded us with very particular notice, observed on the very strong partiality of the former TEESHOO LAMA for the *English*, and that the present one often tried to utter the name of the *English*. I encouraged

couraged the thought, hopeful that they would teach the prejudice to strengthen with his increasing age; and they assured me that should he, when he begins to speak, have forgot, they would 'early' teach him to repeat the name of **HASTINGS**.

ON the morning of the 6th, I again waited on **TEESHOO LAMA** to present some curiosities I had brought for him from *Bengal*. He was very much struck with a small clock, and had it held to him, watching for a long time the revolutions of the moment-hand; he admired it, but with gravity and without any childish emotion. There was nothing in the ceremony different from the first day's visit. The father and mother were present. I staid about half an hour, and retired to return and take leave in the afternoon.

THE votaries of **TEESHOO LAMA** already begin to flock in numbers to pay their adorations to him. Few are yet admitted to his presence. Those who come esteem it a happiness if he is but shown to them from the window, and they are able to make their prostrations before he is removed. There came to-day a party of *Kilmaaks* (*Calmuc Tartars*) for purposes of devotion and to make their offerings to the **LAMA**. When I returned from visiting him, I saw them standing at the entrance of the square in front of the palace, each with his cap off, his hands being placed together elevated, and held even with his face. They remained upwards of half an hour in this attitude, their eyes fixed upon the apartment of the **LAMA**, and anxiety very visibly depicted in their countenances. At length, I imagine, he appeared to them; for they began altogether by lifting their hands, still closed, above their heads, then bringing them even with their faces, and after lowering them to their breasts,

breasts, then separating them: to assist them in sinking and rising, they dropt upon their knees and struck their heads against the ground. This with the same motions was repeated nine times. They afterwards advanced to deliver their presents, consisting of talents of gold and silver, with the products of their country, to the proper officer, who having received them, they retired apparently with much satisfaction.

UPON enquiry I learnt that offerings made in this manner are by no means unfrequent, and in reality constitute one of the most copious sources from which the LAMAS of *Tibet* derive their wealth.

No one thinks himself degraded by performing these humiliations. The persons I allude to, who came for this devout purpose, were attendant on a man of superior rank, that seemed to be more engrossed than the rest in the performance of the ceremony. He wore a rich satin garment lined with fox skins, and a cap with a tassel of scarlet silk flowing from the center of the crown upon the sides all round, and edged with a broad band of *Siberian* fur.

ACCORDING to appointment, I went in the afternoon to make my last visit to TEESHOO LAMA, I received his dispatches for the Governor General, and from his parents two pieces of satin for the Governor, with many compliments.

THEY presented me with a vest lined with lambskins, making many assurances of a long remembrance, and observing, that at his time TEESHOO LAMA is an infant and incapable of conversing, but they hoped to see me again when he shall have become of age. I replied, that by favour of the LAMA I might again visit this country; I looked forward with anxiety to the  
time

time when he should mount the Musnud, and should then be extremely happy in the opportunity of paying my respects. After some expressions and protestations of mutual regard, my visit was concluded: I received the handkerchiefs and took my leave; and am to pursue my journey towards *Bengal* to-morrow at the dawn of day.

AN  
A C C O U N T  
OF A  
J O U R N E Y T O T I B E T,  
MADE BY  
P O O R U N G E E R, A G O S S E Y N,  
AND OF  
HIS RECEPTION BY TEESHOO LAMA:  
COMMUNICATED IN A LETTER FROM  
*Lieutenant SAMUEL TURNER*  
TO THE  
Honourable JOHN MACPHERSON, Esq.  
GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF BENGAL.

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HONOURABLE SIR;

**H**AVING, in obedience to the instructions with which you were pleased to honour me, examined POORUNGEEER, the *Gosseyn*, who has at different times been employed in deputations to the late TEESHOO LAMA, formerly accompanied him to the court of *Pekin*, and who is lately again returned from *Tibet*, and having collected from him such an account of the journey he has just performed, and other information as he could give me relative to the countries he has left; I beg leave to submit it to you in the following narrative.

I<sup>n</sup>



IN the beginning of last year POORUNGEER having received dispatches from Mr. HASTINGS, a short time previous to his departure from *Bengal*, for TEESHOO LAMA and the Regent of TEESHOO LOOMBOO, immediately set about preparing for the distant journey he had engaged to undertake, which employed him until the beginning of the following month of March, when I beg leave to recal to your remembrance I had the honour to present him to you for his dismissal. He then commenced his journey from *Calcutta*, and early in the month of April had passed, as he relates, the limits of the Company's Provinces, and entered the mountains that constitute the kingdom of *Bootan*, where, in the prosecution of his journey, he received from the subjects of the DAIB RAJA the most ample and voluntary assistance to the frontier of his territory, nor met with any impediment to oppose his progress until he came upon the borders of *Tibet*. Here he was compelled to halt for near a fortnight by a heavy fall of snow, that commenced upon his arrival, and continued incessantly for the space of six days, covering the face of the country to so great a depth as totally to put a stop to all travelling, and render it impracticable for him to proceed until a thaw succeeded to open the communication. During the time of his confinement at *Phari*, he says, such was the severity of the cold, and the injurious effect so rapid a transition from a temperate climate had on the health of himself and his companions, that it left him little room to doubt, if an early change had not fortunately taken place and permitted his advance, that they must all have fallen victims to the inclemency of the weather.

HOWEVER, as early as it was possible for him to leave *Phari*, he proceeded by long stages on his

journey, and without encountering any farther difficulty, on the 8th of May following, reached *Teeshoo Lomboo*, the capital of *Tibet*. Immediately upon entering the Monastery, he went to the Durbar of the Regent PUNJUR INTINNEE NEMOHEIN to announce his arrival and the purpose of his commission. Quarters were then allotted for his residence; and an hour fixed for him to wait upon TEESHOO LAMA; who, he was informed, the following morning intended to leave the palace to occupy one of his gardens, situated on the plain within sight of the Monastery, where it was visible a considerable encampment had been formed. The LAMA quitted his apartment at the first dawn of day, and was lodged in the tents pitched for his accommodation before the sun had risen.

In the course of the mornings, at the hour appointed for his admision, POORUNGEER went down to the LAMA's tents. He heard, on entering the gates of the enclosure, that the young LAMA was taking his recreation in the garden, ranging about; which became with him a very favourite amusement. As it was at this time in *Tibet* the warmest part of the year, that he might enjoy the benefit of the air, his attendants had chosen a spot where the trees afforded a complete shade to place an elevated seat of cushions for the young LAMA, after his exercise, to rest upon. In this situation POORUNGEER found him, when summoned to his presence, attended by the Regent, his parents, SOOPOON CHOOMBOO, the cup-bearer; and the principal officers of the court. After making three obeisances at as remote a distance as it was possible, POORUNGEER approached, and presented to the LAMA, according to the custom of *Tibet*, a piece of white pelong, and then delivered the letters and presents with which

which he had been charged. The packages were all immediately opened before the LAMA, who had every article brought near to him, and viewed them separately one by one. The letter he took into his own hand, himself broke the seal, and taking from under the cover a string of pearls, which it enclosed, ran them over between his fingers, as they read their rosaries, and then with an arch air placed them by his side, nor would, while the narrator was in his presence, permit any one to take them up. POORUNGEER says, the young LAMA regarded him with a very kind and significant look, spoke to him in the *Tibet* language, and asked him if he had had a fatiguing journey. The interview lasted more than an hour, during all which time the LAMA sat with the utmost composure, not once attempting to quit his seat, nor discovering the least froward uneasiness at his confinement. Tea was twice brought in, and the LAMA drank a cup each time. When ordered to accept his dismissal, POORUNGEER approached the LAMA, and bowing before him, presented his head uncovered to receive his blessing, which the young LAMA gave by stretching out his hand and laying it upon his head. He then ordered him, for as long as he resided at *Teesboo Loomboo*, to come to him once every day.

THE following morning POORUNGEER waited upon the Rêgent at his apartments in the palace, to whom, after observing the customary forms of introduction, he delivered his dispatches. After this he visited SOOPOON CHOOMBOO, the LAMA's parents, and others to whom he was before known, and says, he experienced from all quarters the most cordial and kind reception; for they had been long used to consider him as an agent of the Government of *Bengal*. He found

no change whatever to have ensued in the Administration since his attendance upon me in *Tibet*. The country enjoyed perfect tranquillity, and the only event that had taken place of importance in their annals was the inauguration of the infant LAMA, which happened the preceding year; and as this constitutes a concern of the highest moment, whether considered in a political or religious point of view, being no less than the recognition in an infant form of their re-generated immortal Sovereign and ecclesiastical Supreme, I was induced to bestow more than common pains to trace the ceremonies that attended the celebration of such a great event, conceiving that the novelty of the subject might render the account curious, if even it should be found to contain no information of real utility. I shall therefore, without further apology, subjoin the result of my enquiries, premising only that my authority for the description is derived principally from POORUNGEER, and confirmed, with some additional particulars, by the concurring reports of a *Gossyen*, who was at the time himself present on the spot.

THE Emperor of *China* appears on this occasion to have assumed a very conspicuous part in giving testimony of his respect and zeal for the great religious Father of his faith. Early in the year 1784, he dismissed ambassadors from the court of *Pekin* to *Teesho* *Loombo*, to represent their sovereign in supporting the dignity of the High Priest, and do honour to the occasion of the assumption of his office. DALAI LAMA and the Viceroy of *Lassa*, accompanied by all the court, one of the *Chinese* Generals stationed at *Lassa*, with a part of the troops under his command, two of the four magistrates of the city, the heads of every Monastery throughout *Tibet*,  
and

and the Emperor's ambassadors, appeared at *Teesboo Loomboo* to celebrate this epocha in their theological institutions. The 28th day of the seventh moon, corresponding nearly, as their year commences with the vernal equinox, to the middle of October 1784, was chosen as the most auspicious for the ceremony of inauguration; a few days previous, to which the LAMA was conducted from *Terpaling*, the Monastery in which he had passed his infancy, with every mark of pomp and homage that could be paid by an enthusiastick people. So great a concourse as assembled either from curiosity or devotion was never seen before, for not a person of any condition in *Tibet* was absent who could join the suite. The procession was hence necessarily constrained to move so slow, that though *Terpaling* is situated at the distance of twenty miles only from *Teesboo Loomboo*, three days expired in the performance of this short march. The first halt was made at *Tsondue*; the second at *Summaar*, about six miles off, whence the most splendid parade was reserved for the LAMA's entry on the third day; the account of which is given me by a person who was present in the procession. The road, he says, was previously prepared by being whitened with a wash, and having piles of stones heaped up, with small intervals between, on either side. The retinue passed between a double row of priests, who formed a street extending all the way from *Summaar* to the gates of the palace. Some of the priests held lighted rods of a perfumed composition, that burn like decayed wood, and emit an aromatic smoke; the rest were furnished with the different musical instruments they use at their devotions, such as the gong, the cymbal, hautboy, trumpets, drums, and sea-shells, which were all sounded in union with the hymn they chanted.

chanted. The crowd of spectators were kept without the street, and none admitted on the high road but such as properly belonged to or had a prescribed place in the procession, which was arranged in the following order.

THE van was led by three military commanders or governors of districts at the head of 6 or 7000 horsemen armed with quivers, bows, and matchlocks. In their rear followed the ambassador, with his suite, carrying his diploma, as is the custom of *China*, made up in the form of a large tube, and fastened on his back. Next the *Chinese* General advanced with the troops under his command, mounted and accoutred after their way with fire-arms and sabres; then came a very numerous group bearing the various standards and insignia of state; next to them moved a full band of wind and other sonorous instruments; after which were led two horses richly caparisoned, each carrying two large circular stoves disposed like panniers across the horse's back, and filled with burning aromatic woods. These were followed by a senior priest, called a *Lama*, who bore a box containing books of their form of prayer and some favourite idols. Next nine sumptuary horses were led loaded with the LAMA's apparel; after which came the priests immediately attached to the LAMA's person for the performance of daily offices in the temple, amounting to about 700: following them were two men, each carrying on his shoulder a large cylindrical gold insignium embossed with emblematical figures (a gift from the Emperor of *China*). The *Dubunners* and *Soopoons*, who were employed in communicating addresses and distributing alms, immediately preceded the LAMA's bier, which was covered with a gaudy canopy, and borne by eight  
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of the sixteen *Chinese* appointed for this service. On one side of the bier attended the Regent, on the other the LAMA's father. It was followed by the heads of the different Monasteries, and as the procession advanced, the priests who formed the street fell in the rear and brought up the suite, which moved at an extremely slow pace, and about noon was received within the confines of the Monastery amidst an amazing display of colours, the acclamations of the crowd, solemn musick, and the chanting of their priests.

THE LAMA being safely lodged in the palace, the Regent and SOOPOON CHOOMBOO went out, as is a customary compliment paid to visitors of high rank on their near approach, to meet and conduct DALAI LAMA and the Viceroy of *Lassa*, who were on the way to *Teesboo Loomboo*. Their retinues encountered the following morning at the foot of *Painom* castle, and the next day together entered the Monastery of *Teesboo Loomboo*, in which both DALAI LAMA and the Viceroy were accommodated during their stay.

THE following morning, which was the third after TEESHOO LAMA's arrival, he was carried to the great temple, and about noon seated upon the throne of his progenitors; at which time the Emperor's ambassador delivered his diploma, and placed the presents with which he had been charged at the LAMA's feet.

THE three next ensuing days, DALAI LAMA met TEESHOO LAMA in the temple, where they were assisted by all the priests in the invocation and public worship of their Gods. The rites then performed completed, as I understand, the business of inauguration. During this interval all who were at the capital were entertained at the public expence, and alms were distributed without reserve. In conformity likewise to pre-  
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vious notice circulated every where for the same space of time, universal rejoicings prevailed throughout *Tibet*. Banners were unfurled on all their fortresses, the peasantry filled up the day with music and festivity, and the night was celebrated by general illuminations. A long period was afterwards employed in making presents and public entertainments to the newly-inducted LAMA, who at the time of his accession to the Musnud, or, if I may use the term, pontificate; of *Teesboo Loomboo*, was not three years of age. The ceremony was begun by DALAI LAMA, whose offerings are said to have amounted to a greater value, and his public entertainments to have been more splendid, than the rest. The second day was dedicated to the Viceroy of *Lassa*; the third to the *Chinese* General. Then followed the Culloong or Magistrates of *Lassa*, and the rest of the principal persons who had accompanied DALAI LAMA. After which the Regent of *Teesboo Loomboo*, and all that were dependent on that government, were severally admitted, according to pre-eminence of rank, to pay their tributes of obeisance and respect. As soon as the acknowledgements of all those were received who were admissible to the privilege, TEESHOO LAMA made, in the same order, suitable returns to each, and the consummation lasted forty days.

MANY importunities were used with DALAI LAMA to prolong his stay at *Teesboo Loomboo*, but he excused himself from encumbering the capital any longer with so numerous a concourse of people as attended on his movements; and deeming it expedient to make his absence as short as possible from the seat of his authority, at the expiration of forty days he withdrew with all his suite to *Lassa*, and the Emperor's ambassador received his



his dismissal to return to *China*; and thus terminated this famous festival.

WITH respect to the lately-established commercial intercourse, POORUNGEER informs me, that though so early, he found himself not the first person who had arrived at *Teesboo Loomboo* from *Bengal*. Many merchants had already brought their commodities to market, and others followed before he left it. He heard from no quarter any complaint of impediment or loss; and concludes, therefore, that all adventurers met the same easy access and ready aid as he himself had every where experienced. The markets were well stocked with *English* and *Indian* articles, yet not in so great a degree as to lower the value of commodities below the prices of the two or three last preceding years. Bullion was somewhat reduced in worth in comparison with the year 1783. A Pootree, or bulse, of gold dust, the same quantity that then sold for twenty-one Indermillees, was procurable of a purer quality for nineteen and twenty Indermillees. A talent of silver, which was then 500, was 450 Indermillees; so that the exchange was much in favour of the trader.

POORUNGEER, during his residence at *Teesboo Loomboo*, had very frequent interviews with the Regent and the ministers, and assures me he found the heartiest dispositions in them to encourage the commercial intercourse established under the auspices of the late Governor General, whose departure, however, the Regent regretted, as the loss of the first friend and ally he became connected with of, I believe it may be said, any foreign nation; in whom was acknowledged also the original means of opening the communication and of commencing a correspondence between  
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the Governments of *Bengal* and *Tibet*; and although it may be observed that, in consequence of his having from the beginning been used exclusively to address himself to, and acknowledge alone the agents of, Mr. HASTINGS; his attachments to the *English* nation had grown not without a great degree of personality; yet, free from an unworthy capriciousness of temper, he descended not to take advantage of the opening offered by his friend's departure to close the new connection. For such was the respect he had learnt to entertain for our national integrity of character, that, under the apparent conviction our views tended to no scheme of ambition, but were confined merely to objects of utility and curiosity, POORUNGEER assures me he expressed an anxious desire for continuing with the succeeding Governor General the exercise of those offices of friendship so long supported by his predecessor; and in the hope that his would be met with equal wishes, determined to invite you to join him in preserving the same intercourse of commerce and correspondence so essentially calculated for the benefit of both countries. In consequence of which the LAMA and the Regent addressed the letters POORUNGEER had the honor to deliver to you, translations of which having, in obedience to your directions, been applied for to your *Persian* translator, I now subjoin them.

*Copy of a Letter from TEESHOO LAMA.*

“ GOD be praised, that the situation of these  
 “ countries is in peace and happiness, and I am  
 “ always praying at the altar of the Almighty  
 “ for your health and preservation. This is not  
 “ unknown :

“ unknown: you are certainly employed in pro-  
 “ tecting and assisting the whole world, and you  
 “ promote the good and happiness of mankind.  
 “ We have made no deviation from the union and  
 “ unanimity which existed during the time of the  
 “ first of nobles Mr. HASTINGS and the deceased  
 “ LAMA, and may you also grant friendship to  
 “ these countries, and always make me happy  
 “ with the news of your health, which will be  
 “ the cause of ease to my heart and confirmation  
 “ to my soul. At this time, as friendly offer-  
 “ ings of union and unanimity, I send one hand-  
 “ kerchief, one ketoo of silver, and one piece of  
 “ cochin. Let them be accepted.”

*From the RAJAH of Teeshoo Loomboo.*

“ God be praised, that the situation of these  
 “ countries is in peace and happiness, and I am  
 “ always praying at the altar of the Almighty  
 “ for your health and preservation. This is not  
 “ unknown: I am constantly employed in pro-  
 “ moting the advantage of the subjects and the  
 “ service of the newly-seated LAMA, because the  
 “ newly-seated LAMA is not distinct from the de-  
 “ ceased LAMA, and the light of his countenance  
 “ is exalted. Grant your friendship to POORUN-  
 “ GEER *Goffeyn*.

“ MAINTAIN union and unanimity and af-  
 “ fection, like the first of nobles, and every day  
 “ make me happy with the news of your health  
 “ and prosperity, and bestow favours like the first  
 “ of nobles, and make me happy with letters,  
 “ which are causes of consolation. At this time,  
 “ as friendly offerings of union and affection and  
 “ unanimity, I send one handkerchief, three  
 “ tolah of gold, and one piece of cochin. Let  
 “ them be accepted.”

POORUN-

POORUNGEER, having received these dispatches in the beginning of October, after a residence of five months at *Teesboo Loomboo*, took leave of the LAMA and the Regent, and set out on his return, by the same route he came to *Bengal*. The weather at this season of the year being most extremely favourable for travelling, he experienced no delay or interruption in the course of his journey through *Tibet* and *Bootan*, but arrived at *Rungpore* early in December; whence he proceeded as expeditiously as possible to the Presidency; where, to his great mortification and concern, he finds upon his arrival his affairs involved in great distress; the little territory his adopted Chela was left in charge of, having during his absence been violently invaded by RAJA CHÜND, a neighbouring *Zemeendar*, and to the amount of fifty *begas* forcibly taken out of his hands. Prevalled on by his earnest repeated solicitations, I am induced to say for him, that in your justice and favour are his only hopes of relief from his embarrassments, and he humbly supplicates your protection in restoring and securing him in the possession of his invaded right. The liberty of this intercession I am confident to think would be forgiven; were it not in favour of one who has rendered to this Government various useful services; but as, though of trivial importance, it affords an authentic instance of the encroaching disposition of inferior *Zemeendars*, yet another circumstance it may not be improper to point out. The ground alluded to is a part of the land situated upon the western bank of the river opposite *Calcutta*, that was formerly granted under a *Sunnud* of this Government to TEESHOO LAMA, for the foundation of a temple of worship, and as  
a resort

a resort for such pilgrims of their nation as might occasionally make visits to the consecrated *Ganges*.

HAVING, in conformity to your desires, done my best endeavours literally to translate all the information POORUNGEER could give me, I have now only to apologize for the prolixity of the account, which I have been induced to be particularly minute in, as I conceived every circumstance, however trivial, might be in some degree interesting, that tends to illustrate any trait in the national character of a people we are but recently become acquainted with, and with whom in its extended views it has been an object of this Government to obtain a closer alliance.

I WILL not now presume to intrude longer on your time by adding any observations on conjectures deducible from the elevated importance your young ally seems rising to, in consequence of the signal respect paid him by the most exalted political characters known to his nation; but beg leave to repeat, that it is with infinite satisfaction I learn from the reports of POORUNGEER the flourishing state of the lately projected scheme of trade; to promote which, he assures me, not any thing had been wanting in facility of intercourse: that the adventurers who had invested their property had experienced perfect security in conducting their commerce, carried their articles to an exceeding good market, and found the rate of exchange materially in their favour.

THOSE advantages authorize the inference, that it will no doubt encourage more extensive enterprize; and permit me to add, I derive a confidence from the success of this infant essay, that inspires me with the strongest hopes, that the commission which your Honourable Board

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366 AN ACCOUNT OF A JOURNEY TO TIBET.

was pleased to commit to my charge, will eventually be productive of essential benefits to the political and commercial interests of the Company.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

SAMUEL TURNER

*Calcutta, Feb. 8, 1786.*

OBSER-

OBSERVATIONS AND INQUIRIES  
 CONCERNING THE  
 SEEKS\* AND THEIR COLLEGE,  
 AT PATNA, IN THE EAST-INDIES,  
 BY CHARLES WILKINS, Esq.

WRITTEN MARCH 1781.

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I FOUND the College of the *Seeks* situated in one of the narrow streets of *Patna*, at no very considerable distance from the Custom-house. I was permitted to enter the outward gate, but, as soon as I came to the steps which led up into the Chapel, or public hall, I was civilly accosted by two of the Society. I asked them if I might ascend into the hall: they said it was a place of worship open to me and to all men; but at the same time intimated that I must take off my shoes. As I consider this ceremony in the same light as uncovering my head upon entering any of our temples dedicated to the Deity, I did not hesitate to comply, and I was then politely conducted into the hall, and seated upon a carpet, in the midst of the assembly, which was so numerous as almost to fill the room. The whole building forms a square of about forty feet, raised from the ground about six or

\* A sect of people distinguished by that appellation from the Worshipers of BRAHMA and the followers of MAHOMMED.

eight steps. The hall is in the centre, divided from four other apartments by wooden arches, upon pillars of the same materials, all neatly carved. This room is rather longer than it is broad. The floor was covered with a neat carpet, and furnished with six or seven low desks, on which stood as many of the books of their law; and the walls, above the arches, were hung with *Europe* looking-glasses in gold frames, and pictures of *Mussulman* Princes and *Hindoo* Deities. A little room, which, as you enter, is situated at the left-hand end of the hall, is the chancel, and is furnished with an altar covered with a cloth of gold, upon which was laid a round black shield over a long broad sword, and, on either side, a *chowry* of peacock's feathers, mounted in a silver handle. The altar was raised a little above the ground, in a declining position. Before it stood a low kind of throne plated with silver; but rather too small to be useful; about it were several silver flower-pots and rose-water bottles, and on the left hand stood three small *Urns* which appeared to be copper, furnished with notches to receive the donations of the charitable. There stood also near the altar, on a low desk, a great book of a folio size, from which some portions are daily read in their divine service. It was covered over with a blue mantle, on which were printed, in silver letters, some select passages of their law.

AFTER I had had a long conversation with two of the congregation, who had politely seated themselves, on each side of me, on the carpet, and whom I found very intelligent, notice was given, that it was noon, and the hour of divine service. The congregation arranged themselves upon the carpet, on each side of the hall, so as to leave a space before the altar from end to end.

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The great book, desk, and all, was brought with some little ceremony from the altar, and placed at the opposite extremity of the hall. An old man, with a reverend silver beard, kneeled down before the desk with his face towards the altar; and on one side of him sat a man with a small drum, and two or three with cymbals. The book was now opened, and the old man began to chant to the time of the drum and the cymbals; and, at the conclusion of every verse, most of the congregation joined chorus in a response, with countenances exhibiting great marks of joy. Their tones were by no means harsh; the time was quick; and I learnt that the subject was a Hymn in praise of the Unity, the Omnipresence, and the Omnipotence, of the Deity. I was singularly delighted with the gestures of the old man: I never saw a countenance so expressive of infelt joy, whilst he turned about from one to another, as it were bespeaking their assents to those truths which his very soul seemed to be engaged in chanting forth. The Hymn being concluded, which consisted of about twenty verses, the whole congregation got up and presented their faces with joined hands towards the altar, in the attitude of prayer. A young man now stood forth; and, with a loud voice and distinct accent, solemnly pronounced a long prayer or kind of liturgy, at certain periods of which all the people joined in a general response, saying, *Wä Gooroo!* They prayed against temptation; for grace to do good; for the general good of mankind; and a particular blessing to the *Seeks*; and for the safety of those who at that time were on their travels. This prayer was followed by a short blessing from the old man, and an invitation to the assembly to partake of a friendly feast. The book was then closed and

restored to its place at the altar, and, the people being seated as before, two men entered bearing a large iron caldron, called a *Curray*, just taken from the fire, and placed it in the center of the hall upon a low stool. These were followed by others with five or six dishes, some of which were of silver, and a large pile of leaves sewed together with fibres in the form of plates. One of these plates was given to each of the company without distinction, and the dishes being filled from the caldron, their contents were served out till every one had got his share: myself was not forgotten; and, as I was resolved not to give them the smallest occasion for offence, I ate up my portion. It was a kind of sweetmeat, of the consistence of soft brown sugar, composed of flour and sugar mixed up with clarified butter, which is called *Ghee*. Had not the *Ghee* been rancid, I should have relished it better. We were next served with a few sugar-plums; and here ended the feast and the ceremonies of the day. They told me the religious part of the ceremony was daily repeated five times. I now took my leave, inviting some of the principal men amongst them, who were about to return to their own country through *Banares*, to pay me a visit.

In the course of the conversation I was engaged in with the two *Seeks* before the service, I was able to gather the following circumstances. That the founder of their faith was called *Náneek Sab*, who flourished about four hundred years ago at *Punjab*, and who, before his apostacy, was a *Hindoo* of the *Kshétry*, or military tribe; and that his body disappeared as the *Hindoos* and the *Mussulmans* were disputing for it; for upon their removing the cloth which covered it, it was gone. That he left behind him a book, composed by himself,

himself, in verse and the language of *Punjab*, but a character partly of his own invention; which teaches the doctrines of the faith he had established. That they call this character, in honour of their founder, *Gooroo-Mookhee*: from the mouth of the preceptor. That this book, of which chat standing near the altar, and several others in the hall, were copies, teaches that there is but one God, omnipotent and omnipresent, filling all space, and pervading all matter, and that he is to be worshipped and invoked; that there will be a day of retribution, when virtue will be rewarded and vice punished (I forgot to ask in what manner); that it not only commands universal toleration, but forbids disputes with those of another persuasion; that it forbids murder, theft, and such other deeds as are, by the majority of mankind, esteemed crimes against society; and inculcates the practice of all the virtues, but particularly an universal philanthropy, and a general hospitality to strangers and travellers. This is all my short visit would permit me to learn of this book. It is a folio volume, containing about four or five hundred pages.

THEY told me further, that some years after this book of *Náneek Sah* had been promulgated, another made its appearance, now held in almost as much esteem as the former. The name of the author has escaped my memory; but they favoured me with an extract from the book itself in praise of the Deity. The passage had struck my ear on my first entering the hall, when the students were all engaged in reading. From the similarity of the language to the *Hindoovee*, and many *Shanscrit* words, I was able to understand a good deal of it, and I hope, at some future period, to have the honour of laying a translation

of it before the Society. They told me I might have copies of both their books if I would be at the expence of transcribing them.

I NEXT enquired why they were called *Seeks*, and they told me it was a word borrowed from one of the commandments of their founder which signifies “*Learn thou* ;” and that it was adopted to distinguish the sect soon after he disappeared. The word, as is well known, has the same import in the *Hindoo*.

I ASKED them what were the ceremonies used in admitting a proselyte. A person having shewn a sincere inclination to renounce his former opinions, to any five or more *Seeks* assembled together, in any place, as well on the highway as in a house of worship, they send to the first shop where sweetmeats are sold, and procure a small quantity of a particular sort, which is very common, and as I recollect they call *Batafa*, and having diluted it in pure water, they sprinkle some of it on the body, and into the eyes of the convert, whilst one of the best instructed repeats to him, in any language with which he is conversant, the chief canons of their faith, exacting from him a solemn promise to abide by them the rest of his life. This is the whole of the ceremony. The new convert may then choose a *Gooroo*, or preceptor, to teach him the language of their scriptures, who first gives him the alphabet to learn, and so leads him on, by slow degrees, until he wants no further instruction. They offered to admit me into their Society; but I declined the honour; contenting myself with the alphabet, which they told me to guard as the apple of my eye, as it was a sacred character. I find it differs but little from the *Dewnager*: the number, order, and powers of the

the letters are exactly the same. The language itself is a mixture of *Persian*, *Arabic*, and some *Sanscrit*, grafted upon the provincial dialect of *Punjab*, which is a kind of *Hindoquee*, or, as it is vulgarly called by us, *Moors*.

ON THE  
TRIAL BY ORDEAL

AMONG THE

H I N D U S.

BY ALI IBRAHIM KHA'N, CHIEF MAGISTRATE AT  
BANARES.

COMMUNICATED BY WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.

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THE modes of trying offenders by an appeal to the Deity, which are described at large in the *Mitácsherá*, or comment on the *Dherma Sástra*, in the *Chapter of Oaths*, and other ancient books of *Hindu* law, are here sufficiently explained, according to the interpretation of learned *Pandits*, by the well-wisher to mankind, ALI IBRAHIM KHA'N.

THE word *Divya* in *Sanscrit* signifies the same with *parícshà* or *parikhyà* in *Bhâshà*, *kasam* in *Arabick*, and *saucand* in *Persian*; that is, an *oath*, or the form of invoking the Supreme Being to attest the truth of an allegation; but it is generally understood to mean the trial by *Ordeal*, or the form of appealing to the *immediate* interposition of the Divine Power.

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Now this trial may be conducted in *nine* ways : first, by the *balance* ; secondly, by *fire* ; thirdly, by *water* ; fourthly, by *poison* ; fifthly, by the *Cósha*, or water in which an *idbl* has been washed ; sixthly, by *rice* ; seventhly, by *boiling* oil ; eighthly, by *red-hot iron* ; ninthly, by *images*.

I. ORDEAL by the balance is thus performed. The beam having been previously adjusted, the cord fixed, and both scales made perfectly even, the person accused and a *Pandit* fast a whole day ; then, after the accused has been bathed in sacred water, the *hóma*, or *oblation*, presented to *Fire*, and the deities worshipped, he is carefully weighed ; and, when he is taken out of the scale, the *Pandits* prostrate themselves before it, pronounce a certain *mentrá* or *incantation*, agreeably to the *Sástras*, and, having written the substance of the accusation on a piece of paper, bind it on his head. Six minutes after, they place him again in the scale ; and, if he weigh more than before, he is held guilty ; if less, innocent ; if exactly the same, he must be weighed a third time ; when, as it is written in the *Mitácsherá*, there will certainly be a difference in his weight. Should the balance, though well fixed, break down, this would be considered as a proof of his guilt.

II. FOR the *fire-ordeal* an excavation, nine hands long, two spans broad, and one span deep, is made in the ground, and filled with a fire of *pippal* wood : into this the person accused must walk bare-footed ; and, if his foot be unhurt, they hold him blameless ; if burned, guilty.

III. WATER-ORDEAL is performed by causing the person accused to stand in a sufficient depth of water, either flowing or stagnant, to reach his navel ; but care should be taken that no ravenous animal be in it, and that it be not moved  
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by much air: a *Bráhmañ* is then directed to go into the water, holding a staff in his hand; and a foldier shoots three arrows on dry ground from a bow of cane; a man is next dispatched to bring the arrow which has been shot farthest: and after he has taken it up, another is ordered to run from the edge of the water; at which instant the person accused is told to grasp the foot or the staff of the *Bráhmañ*, who stands near him in the water, and immediately to dive into it. He must remain under water till the two men who went to fetch the arrows are returned; for, if he raise his head or body above the surface before the arrows are brought back, his guilt is considered as fully proved. In the villages near *Banáres*; it is the practice for the person who is to be tried by this kind of *Ordeal* to stand in water up to his navel, and then, holding the foot of a *Bráhmañ*, to dive under it as long as a man can walk fifty paces very gently: if, before the man has walked thus far, the accused rise above the water, he is condemned; if not, acquitted.

IV. THERE are two sorts of trial by *poison*. First, the *Pandits* having performed their *hóma*, and the person accused his ablution, two *retti's* and a half, or seven barley-corns, of *visbanagá*, a poisonous root, or of *sanc'hyá*, that is, white arsenick, are mixed in eight *máshas*, or sixty-four *retti's*, of clarified *butter*, which the accused must eat from the hand of a *Bráhmañ*: if the poison produce no visible effect, he is absolved; otherwise, condemned. Secondly, the hooded snake, called *nága*, is thrown into a deep earthen pot, into which is dropped a ring, a seal, or a coin: this the person accused is ordered to take out with his hand; and, if the serpent bite him, he is pronounced guilty; if not, innocent.



V. TRIAL by the *Cósha* is as follows: the accused is made to drink three draughts of the water, in which the images of the *Sun*, of *Dévi*, and other deities, have been washed for that purpose; and if, within fourteen days, he has any sickness or indisposition, his crime is considered as proved.

VI. WHEN several persons are suspected of theft, some dry rice is weighed with the sacred stone called *sálgrám*, or certain *stócas* are read over it; after which the suspected persons are severally ordered to chew a quantity of it: as soon as they have chewed it, they are to throw it on some leaves of *pippal*, or, if none be at hand, on some *b'úrja patra*, or bark of a tree from *Népál* or *Cashmír*. The man from whose mouth the rice comes dry or stained with blood, is holden guilty; the rest are quitted.

VII. THE ordeal by *hot oil* is very simple: when it is heated sufficiently, the accused thrusts his hand into it; and if he be not burned, is held innocent.

VIII. IN the same manner they make an *iron ball*, or the *head of a lance*, red-hot, and place it in the hands of the person accused; who, if it burn him not, is judged guiltless.

IX. To perform the ordeal by *dharmárch*, which is the name of the *stóca* appropriated to this mode of trial, either an image named *Dharma*, or the Genius of Justice, is made of silver, and another, called *Adharma*, of clay or iron, both of which are thrown into a large earthen jar, and the accused, having thrust his hand into it, is acquitted if he bring out the silver image, but condemned if he draw forth the iron: or, the figure of a deity is painted on white cloth, and another on black; the first of which they name *dharma*, and the second, *adharma*: these are severally

severally rolled up in cowdung, and thrown into a large jar without having ever been shewn to the accused; who must put his hand into the jar, and is acquitted or convicted, as he draws out the figure on white, or on black, cloth.

It is written in the Comment on the *Dherma Sástra*, that each of the four principal Casts has a sort of ordeal appropriated to it; that a *Bráhma*n must be tried by the *balance*, a *Cshatriya* by *fire*, a *Vaisya* by *water*, and a *Súdra* by *poison*; but some have decided, that any ordeal, except that by *poison*, may be performed by a *Bráhma*n, and that a man of any Cast may be tried by the *balance*: it has been determined, that a woman may have any trial except those by *poison* and by *water*.

CERTAIN months and days also are limited in the *Mitácsberà* for the different species of ordeal; as *Agraban*, *Pausb*, *Mágh*, *P'hálgun*, *Sráwan*, and *B'hádr* for that by *fire*; *A'swin*, *Cártic*, *Faisht*, and *A'shábh*, for that by *water*; *Pausb*, *Mágh*, and *P'hálgun*, for that by *poison*; and regularly there should be no *water ordeal* on the *Ashtemi*, or *eighth*, the *Cheturdasí*, or *fourteenth* day of the new or full moon, in the intercalary month, in the month of *B'hádr*, on *Sannaischer*, or *Saturday*, and on *Mangal*, or *Tuesday*: but whenever the Magistrate decides that there shall be an *Ordeal*, the regular appointment of months and days needs not be regarded.

THE *Mitácsberà* contains also the following distinctions: in cases of theft or fraud to the amount of a hundred gold mohrs, the trial by *poison* is proper; if eighty mohrs be stolen, the suspected person may be tried by *fire*; if forty, by the *balance*; if from thirty to ten, by the *image-water*; if two only, by *rice*.

AN inspired Legislator, named CA'TYA'YANA, was of opinion, that though a theft or fraud could be proved by witnesses, the party accused might be tried by *Ordeal*: he says too, that, where a thousand *pana's* are stolen, or fraudulently withheld, the proper trial is by *poison*; where seven hundred and fifty, by *fire*; where six hundred and sixty-six, and a fraction, by *water*; where five hundred, by the *balance*, where four hundred; by *hot oil*; where three hundred, by *rice*; where an hundred and fifty, by the *Cosha*; and where one hundred, by the *dharmarch*, or images of silver and iron.

THE mode of conducting the *Ordeal* by *red hot balls*, or *heads of spears*, is thus particularly described in the Commentary on YA'GYA-WELCYA.

AT day-break the place where the ceremony is to be performed, is cleared and washed in the customary form; and at sun-rise, the *Pandits*, having paid their adoration to GANESA, the God of Wisdom, draw nine circles on the ground with cow-dung, at intervals of sixteen fingers; each circle containing sixteen fingers of earth, but the ninth either smaller or larger than the rest: then they worship the Deities in the mode prescribed by the *Sastra*, present oblations to the *fire*, and having a second time worshipped the Gods, read the appointed *Mantra's*. The person to be tried then performs an ablution, puts on moist clothes, and, turning his face to the East, stands in the first ring, with both his hands fixed in his girdle: after this the presiding Magistrate and *Pandits* order him to rub some rice in the husk between his hands, which they carefully inspect; and if the scar of a former wound, a mole, or other mark appear on either of them, they stain it with a dye, that, after

after the trial, it may be distinguished from any new mark. They next order him to hold both his hands open and close together; and, having put into them seven leaves of the *trembling tree*, or *pippal*, seven of the *sami* or *jend*, seven blades of *darbba* grass, a little barley moistened with curds; and a few flowers, they fasten the leaves on his hand with seven threads of raw cotton. The *Pandits* then read the *stōcas* which are appointed for the occasion; and, having written a state of the case and the point in issue on a *Palmyra-leaf*, together with the *Mentra* prescribed in the *Vīda*, they tie the leaf on the head of the accused. All being prepared, they heat an iron-ball, or the head of a lance, weighing two *ser* and a half, or five pounds, and throw it into water; they heat it again, and again cool it in the same manner: the third time they keep it in the fire till it is red-hot; then they make the person accused stand in the first circle; and, having taken the iron from the fire and read the usual incantation over it, the *Pandits* place it with tongs in his hands. He must step gradually from circle to circle, his feet being constantly within one of them; and, when he has reached the eighth, he must throw the iron into the ninth, so as to burn some grass, which must be left in it for that purpose. This being performed, the Magistrate and *Pandits* again command him to rub some rice in the husk between both his hands, which they afterwards examine; and, if any mark of burning appear on either of them, he is convicted; if not, his innocence is considered as proved. If his hand shake through fear, and by his trembling any other part of his body is burned, his veracity remains unimpeached; but if he let the iron drop before he reach the eighth circle, and doubt arise in the minds of the spectators, whether

whether it had burned him, he must repeat the whole ceremony from the beginning.

IN the year of the MESSIAH 1783, a man was tried by the hot ball at *Benúres* in the presence of me ALI IBRÁHIM KHÁN, on the following occasion: A man had appealed one SANCAR of larceny, who pleaded that he was not guilty; and as the theft could not be proved by legal evidence, the trial by *Fire-ordeal* was tendered to the appellee, and accepted by him. This well-wisher to mankind advised the learned Magistrates and *Pandits* to prevent the decision of the question by a mode not conformable to the practice of the Company's Government, and recommended an oath by the water of the *Ganges* and the leaves of *tulasi* in a little vessel of brass, or by the book *Herivansa*, or the stone *Sálgrám*, or by the hallowed ponds or basons; all which oaths are used at *Benúres*. When the parties obstinately refused to try the issue by any one of the modes recommended, and insisted on a trial by the *hot ball*, the Magistrates and *Pandits* of the Court were ordered to gratify their wishes, and setting aside those forms of trial in which there could be only a distant fear of death, or loss of property, as the just punishment of perjury by the sure yet slow judgment of *Heaven*, to perform the ceremony of *Ordeal* agreeably to the *Dherma Sástra*; but it was not till after mature deliberation for four months, that a regular mandate issued for a trial by the *red-hot ball*; and this was at length granted for four reasons: first, because there was no other way of condemning or absolving the person accused: secondly, because both parties were *Hindus*, and this mode of trial was specially appointed in the *Dherma Sástra* by the ancient lawgivers: thirdly, because this *Ordeal* is practised in the dominions of the *Hindu RAJA's*: and fourthly,

fourthly, because it might be useful to enquire how it was possible for the heat of fire to be resisted, and for the hand that held it to avoid being burned. An order was accordingly sent to the *Pandits* of the Court and of *Benares* to this effect: "Since the parties accusing and accused are both *Hindus*, and will not consent to any trial but that by the *hot ball*, let the *Ordeal* desired be duly performed in the manner prescribed by the *Mitácshérá*, or Commentary on *Tágyawalcya*."

WHEN preparations were made for the trial, this well-wisher to mankind, attended by all the learned Professors, by the Officers of the Court, the *Sipábis* of CAPTAIN HOGAN'S battalion, and many inhabitants of *Benares*, went to the place prepared, and endeavoured to dissuade the appellant from requiring the accused to be tried by fire, adding, "if his hand be not burned, you shall certainly be imprisoned." The accuser, not deterred by this menace, persisted in demanding the trial: the ceremony, therefore, was thus conducted in the presence of me ALI IBRAHÍM KHAN.

THE *Pandits* of the Court and the City having worshipped the God of Knowledge, and presented their oblation of clarified butter to the fire, formed nine circles of cow-dung on the ground; and, having bathed the appellee in the *Ganges*, brought him with his clothes wet; when, to remove all suspicion of deceit, they washed his hands with pure water; then, having written a state of the case and the words of the *Mentru* on a *Palmyra-leaf*, they tied it on his head; and put into his hands, which they opened and joined together, seven leaves of *pippal*, seven of *jend*, seven blades of *darbba* grass, a few flowers, and some barley moistened with curds, which they fastened

fastened with seven threads of raw white cotton. After this they made the iron-ball red-hot, and taking it up with tongs, placed it in his hands : he walked with it step by step, the space of three gaz<sup>s</sup> and a half, through each of the seven intermediate rings, and threw the ball into the ninth, where it burnt the grass that had been left in it. He next, to prove his veracity, rubbed some rice in the husk between his hands ; which were afterwards examined, and were so far from being burned, that not even a blister was raised on either of them. Since it is the nature of fire to burn, the Officers of the Court, and people of *Benares*, near five hundred of whom attended the ceremony, were astonished at the event ; and this well-wisher to mankind was perfectly amazed. It occurred to his weak apprehension, that probably the fresh leaves and other things which, as it has been mentioned, were placed on the hands of the accused, had prevented their being burned ; besides that, the time was but short between his taking the ball and throwing it down : yet it is positively declared in the *Dherma Sástra*, and in the written opinions of the most respectable *Pandits*, that the hand of a man who speaks truth cannot be burned ; and ALI IBRA'HIM KH'AN certainly saw with his own eyes, as many others also saw with theirs, that the hands of the appellee in this cause were unhurt by the fire : he was consequently discharged ; but, that men might in future be deterred from demanding the trial by *Ordeal*, the appellor was committed for a week. After all, if such a trial could be seen once or twice by several intelligent men, acquainted with natural philosophy, they might be able to assign the true reason why a man's hand may be burned in some cases and not in others.

ORDEAL

ORDEAL by the vessel of *hot oil*, according to the Comment on the *Dharma Śāstra*, is thus performed: The ground appointed for the trial is cleared and rubbed with cow-dung, and the next day, at sun-rise, the *Pandit* worships GANĒ'SA, presents his oblations, and pays adoration to other Deities, conformably to the *Śāstra*: then, having read the incantation prescribed, he places a round pan of gold, silver, copper, iron, or clay, with a diameter of sixteen fingers, and four fingers deep; and throws into it one *ser*, or eighty *sicca* weight, of clarified butter or oil of *sesamum*. After this, a ring of gold, or silver, or iron, is cleaned and washed with water, and cast into the oil; which they proceed to heat, and when it is very hot put into it a fresh leaf of *pippala*, or of *bilwa*: when the leaf is burned, the oil is known to be sufficiently hot. Then, having pronounced a *mentra* over the oil, they order the party accused to take the ring out of the pan; and, if he take it out without being burned, or without a blister on his hand, his innocence is considered as proved; if not, his guilt.

A *Bráhma*n named RISHI'SWARA BHATTA accused one RA'MDAYA'L, a linen-painter, of having stolen his goods: RA'MDAYA'L pleaded not guilty; and, after much altercation, consented to be tried, as it had been proposed, by the *vessel of oil*. This well-wisher to mankind advised the *Pandits* of the Court to prevent, if possible, that mode of trial; but, since the parties insisted on it, an *Ordeal by hot oil*, according to the *Śāstra*, was awarded for the same reasons which prevailed in regard to the trial by the *ball*. The *Pandits* who assisted at the ceremony were, BHISH'MA BHATTA, NA'NA'PA'T'HAC, MANIRA'MA', *Páthaca*, MENIRA'MA BHATTA, SIVA, ANANTARA'MA BHATTA, CRIPA'RA'MA, VISHNUHERI,



NÚHERI, CHERISHNACHANDRA, RA'ME'NDRA, GOVINDARÁMA, HERICRISHNA BHATTA, CALIDÁSA: the three last were *Pandits* of the Court. When GANESA had been worshipped, and the *bómá* presented, according to the *Sástra*, they sent for this well-wisher to mankind; who, attended by the two *Dalróghas* of the *Diváni* and *Faujdarí* Courts, the *Cotwál* of the town, the other Officers of the Court, and most of the inhabitants of *Benáres*, went to the place of trial; where he laboured to dissuade RAMDAYAL and his father from submitting to the *Ordeal*; and apprized them, that if the hand of the accused should be burned, he would be compelled to pay the value of the goods stolen; and his character would be disgraced in every company. RAMDAYAL would not desist: he thrust his hand into the vessel, and was burned; The opinion of the *Pandits* was then taken; and they were unanimous, that, by the burning of his hand, his guilt was established, and he bound to pay RISHISWARA BHATTA the price of what he had stolen; but if the sum exceeded five hundred *asrafi's*, his hand must be cut off, by an express law in the *Sástra*; and a mulct also must be imposed on him according to his circumstances.

THE chief Magistrate therefore caused RAMDAYAL to pay RISHISWARA seven hundred rupees in return for the goods which had been stolen; but as amercements in such cases are not usual in the Courts of Judicature at *Benáres*, the mulct was remitted and the prisoner discharged.

THE record of this conviction was transmitted to *Calcutta* in the year of the MESSIAH 1783; and in the month of *April* 1784, the Governor General IMA'DU'DDAULAH JELA'

DET JANG BEHA'DER, having seen the preceding account of trials by *Ordeal*, put many questions concerning the meaning of *Sanscrit* words, and the cases here reported; to which he received respectful answers. He first desired to know the precise meaning of *hóma*, and was informed, that it meant the oblations made to please the Deities, and comprised a variety of things: thus in the *agni hóma*, they throw into the fire several sorts of wood and grass; as *palás wood*, *c'hadira wood*, *raéta chándan*, or red sandal, *pippal-wood sami*, and *cusha grass*, *dubha*, together with some sorts of grain, fruit, and other ingredients, as black *sesamum*, barley; rice, sugar-cane, clarified butter, almonds, dates, and gugal or bdellium.

To his next question, "how many species of *hóma* there were," it was answered, that different species were adapted to different occasions; but that, in the *Ordeals* by hot iron, and hot oil, the same sort of oblation was used. When he desired to know the meaning of the word *mentra*, he was respectfully told, that in the language of the *Pandits*, there were three such words, *mentra*, *yantra*, and *tantra*: that the first meant a passage from one of the *Védas*, in which the names of certain Deities occurred; the second, a scheme of figures, which they write with a belief that their wishes will be accomplished by it; and the third, a medical preparation, by the use of which all injuries may be avoided; for they are said to rub it on their hands, and afterwards to touch red-hot iron without being burned. He then asked, how much barley moistened with curds was put into the hands of the accused person; and the answer was, nine grains.

His other questions were thus answered: "that the leaves of *pippala* were spread about  
" in

“ in the hands of the accused, not heaped one  
 “ above another: that the man who performed  
 “ the *Fire-ordeal* was not much agitated, but  
 “ seemed in full possession of his faculties: that  
 “ the person tried by hot oil was at first afraid,  
 “ but persisted, after he was hurried, in denying  
 “ the theft; nevertheless, as he previously had  
 “ entered into a written agreement, that if his  
 “ hand should be hurt, he would pay the value of  
 “ the goods, the Magistrate for that reason  
 “ thought himself justified in compelling pay-  
 “ ment: that when the before-mentioned ingre-  
 “ dients of the *bóma* were thrown into the fire,  
 “ the *Pandits* sitting round the hearth sung the  
 “ *Shlokas* prescribed in the *Sastra*: that the form  
 “ of the hearth is established in the *Véda* and in  
 “ the *Dherma Sastra*; and this fire place is also  
 “ called *Védi*: that for the smaller oblations  
 “ they raise a little ground for the hearth, and  
 “ kindle fire on it; for the higher oblations, they  
 “ sink the ground to receive the fire, where they  
 “ perform the *bóma*; and this sacred hearth they  
 “ call *cunda*.” The Governor then asked, why  
 the trials by fire, by the hot ball, and the vessel  
 of oil, if there be no essential difference between  
 them, are not all called *Fire-ordeals*; and it was  
 humbly answered, that, according to some *Pan-*  
*dits*, they were all three different; whilst others  
 insisted, that the trial by fire was distinct from  
 that by the vessel, though the trial by the hot  
 ball and the head of a lance were the same; but  
 that, in the apprehension of his respectful servant,  
 they were all ordeals by fire.

*The INDIAN LAW of ORDEAL,  
verbally translated from YAGYAWALCYA.*

1. THE balance, fire, water, poison, the idol —these are the ordeals used here below for the proof of innocence, when the accusations are heavy, and when the accuser offers to hazard a mulct (if he should fail):

2. OR one party may be tried, if he please, by ordeal, and the other must then risque an amercement; but the trial may take place even without any wager, if the crime committed be injurious to the prince.

3. THE sovereign, having summoned the accused, while his clothes are yet moist from bathing, at sunrise, before he has broken his fast, shall cause all trials by ordeal to be conducted in the presence of *Bráhmans*.

4. THE balance is for women, children, old men, the blind, the lame, *Bráhmans*, and the sick; for the *Súdra*, fire or water, or seven barley-corns of poison.

5. UNLESS the loss of the accuser amount to a thousand pieces of silver, the accused must not be tried by the red-hot ball, nor by poison, nor by the scales; but if the offence be against the king, or if the crime be heinous, he must acquit himself by one of those trials in all cases.

6. HE who has recourse to the balance, must be attended by persons experienced in weighing, and go down into one scale, with an equal weight placed in the other; and a grove (with water in it) marked on the beam.

7. " THOU,

7. "THOU, O balance, art the mansion of truth; thou wast anciently contrived by Deities: declare the truth, therefore, O giver of success, and clear me from all suspicion.

8. "IF I am guilty, O venerable as my own mother, then sink me down; but if innocent, raise me aloft." Thus shall he address the balance.

9. If he sink, he is convicted, or if the scales be broken; but if the string be not broken, and he rise aloft, he must be acquitted.

10. ON the trial by fire, let both hands of the accused be rubbed with rice in the husk, and well examined: then let seven leaves of the *Afwatt'ba* (the religious fig-tree) be placed on them, and bound with seven threads,

11. "THOU, O fire, pervadest all beings! O cause of purity, who givest evidence of virtue and of sin, declare the truth in this my hand."

12. WHEN he has pronounced this, the priest shall place in both his hands an iron-ball, red-hot, and weighing fifty \* *pala's*.

13. HAVING taken it, he shall step gradually into seven circles, each with a diameter of sixteen fingers, and separated from the next by the same space.

14. IF, having cast away the hot ball, he shall again have his hands rubbed with rice in the husk, and shall show them unburned, he will prove his innocence. Should the iron fall during the trial, or should a doubt arise (on the regularity of the proceedings), he must be tried again.

\* A *pala* is four *carsha's*, and a *carsha*, eighty *raffica's*, or seeds of the *Gungà* creeper, each weighing above a grain and a quarter, or, correctly,  $1\frac{5}{8}$  gr.

15. "PRESERVE me, O VARUNA, by declaring the truth." Thus having invoked the God of waters, the accused shall plunge his head into the river or pool, and hold both thighs of a man, who shall stand in it up to his navel:

16. A swift runner shall then hasten to fetch an arrow shot at the moment of his plunging; and if, while the runner is gone, the priest shall see the head of the accused under water, he must be discharged as innocent.

17. "THOU, O poison, art the child of BRAHMA, steadfast in justice and in truth: clear me then from this heavy charge, and, if I have spoken truly, become nectar to me."

18. SAYING this, he shall swallow the poison *Sárrngá*, from the tree which grows on the mountain *Himálaya*; and, if he digest it without any inflammation, the prince shall pronounce him guiltless.

19. OR the priest shall perform rites to the image of some tremendous deity, and, having bathed the idol, shall make the accused to drink three handfuls of the water that has dropped from it:

20. IF, in fourteen days after, he suffer no dreadful calamity from the act of the deity or of the king, he must indubitably be acquitted.

ON THE

L I T E R A T U R E

OF THE

H I N D U S.

FROM THE SANSKRIT,

COMMUNICATED BY GOVERDHAN CAUL: WITH A  
SHORT COMMENTARY.

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T H E T E X T.

**T**HERE are eighteen *Vidyâ's*, or parts of true Knowledge, and some branches of Knowledge *falsely so called*; of both which a short account shall here be exhibited.

THE first *four* are the immortal *Vêda's* evidently revealed by GOD; which are entitled, in one compound word, *Rigyajuh Sâmât'harva*, or, in separate words, *Rich*, *Tajush*, *Sâman*, and *At'harvan*: the *Rigvêda* consists of *five* sections: the *Tajurvêda*, of *eighty-six*; the *Sâmavêda*, of a *thousand*; and the *At'harvavêda*, of *nine*; with eleven hundred *fac'ha's*, or branches, in various divisions

divisions and subdivisions. The *Véda's* in truth are infinite ; but were reduced by VYA'SA to this number and order : the principal part of them is that which explains the Duties of Man in a methodical arrangement ; and in the *fourth* is a system of divine ordinances.

FROM these are deduced the four *Upavédas*, namely, *Ayush*, *Gándharva*, *Dhanush*, and *S'há-patya* ; the first of which ; or *Ayurvéda*, was delivered to mankind by BRÁHMA, INDRA, DHANWANTARI, and *five* other Deities ; and comprizes the theory of Disorders and Medicines, with the practical methods of curing Diseases. The second, or *Musick*, was invented and explained by BHARATA : it is chiefly useful in raising the mind by devotion to the felicity of the Divine nature. The third *Upavéda* was composed by VISWAMÍTRA on the fabrication and use of arms and implements handled in war by the tribe of *Cshatriya's*. VISWACARMAN revealed the *fourth* in various treatises on *sixty-four* Mechanical Arts, for the improvement of such as exercise them.

SIX *Anga's*, or *Bodies* of Learning, are also derived from the same source : their names are, *Sicshà*, *Calpa*, *Vyácarama*, *Ch'handas*, *Jyótish*, and *Nirukti*. The *first* was written by PÁNINI, an inspired Saint, on the *pronunciation* of vocal sounds ; the *second* contains a detail of religious acts and ceremonies from the first to the last ; and from the branches of these works a variety of rules have been framed by A'SWALA'YANA, and others : the *third*, or the Grammar, entitled *Pániniya*, consisting of *eight* lectures or chapters (*Vridhbirádaji*, and so forth), was the production of three *Rishi's*, or holy men, and teaches the proper discriminations of words in construction ; but other less abstruse Grammars, compiled merely for popular use, are not considered as *Anga's* ;



*Anga's*: the *fourth*, or *Profody*, was taught by a *Muni*, named *PINGALA*, and treats of charms and incantations in verses aptly framed and variously measured, such as the *Gáyatri*, and a thousand others. *Astronomy* is the *fifth* of the *Védán-ga's*, as it was delivered by *SU'RYA*, and other divine persons: it is necessary in calculations of time. The *sixth*, or *Niructi*, was composed by *YA'SC* (so is the manuscript; but, perhaps, it should be *VYA'SA*) on the signification of difficult words and phrases in the *Véda's*.

LASTLY, there are four *Upánga's*, called *Purána*, *Nyáya*, *Mimánsà*, and *Dherma Sástra*. Eighteen *Purána's*, that of *BRÁHMA*, and the rest, were composed by *VYA'SA* for the instruction and entertainment of mankind in general. *Nyáya* is derived from the root *ní*, to *acquire* or *apprehend*; and, in this sense, the books on *apprehension*, *reasoning*, and *judgment*, are called *Nyáya*: the principal of these are the work of *GAUTAMA* in *five* chapters, and that of *CANA'DA* in *ten*; both teaching the meaning of sacred texts; the difference between just and unjust, right and wrong, and the principles of knowledge, all arranged under *twenty-three* heads. *Mimánsà* is also *two fold*; both showing what acts are pure or impure, what objects are to be desired or avoided, and by what means the soul may ascend to the First Principle: the *former*, or *Carma Mimánsà*, comprized in *twelve* chapters, was written by *JAIMINI*, and discusses questions of Moral Duties and Law; next follows the *Uppaná Cándá* in four lectures (*Sancarshana* and the rest), containing a survey of religious Duties; to which part belong the rules of *SA'NDI-LYA*, and others, on devotion and duty to *GOD*. Such are the contents of the *Púrva* or *former Mimánsà*. The *Úttara*, or *latter*, abounding in questions

questions on the Divine Nature and other sublime speculations, was composed by VYA'SA, in four chapters and sixteen sections; it may be considered as the brain and spring of all the *Anga's*; it exposes the heretical opinions of RA'MA'NUJA, MA'DHWA, VALLABHA, and other Sophists; and, in a manner suited to the comprehension of adepts, it treats on the true nature of G'NE SA, BHA'SCARA, or the Sun, NI'LACANTA, LACSHMI, and other forms of One Divine Being. A similar work was written by SRI SANCARA, demonstrating the Supreme Power, Goodness, and Eternity of God.

THE Body of *Law*, called *Smriti*, consists of eighteen books, each divided under three general heads, the duties of religion, the administration of justice, and the punishment or expiation of crimes: they were delivered, for the instruction of the human species, by MENU, and other sacred personages.

As to *Ethicks*, the *Véda's* contain all that relates to the duties of Kings; the *Purána's*, what belongs to the relation of husband and wife; and the duties of friendship and society (which complete the triple division) are taught succinctly in both: this double division of *Anga's* and *Upánga's* may be considered as denoting the double benefit arising from them in theory and practice.

THE *Bhárata* and *Rámáyana*, which are both *Epick Poems*, comprize the most valuable part of ancient History.

FOR the information of the lower classes in religious knowledge, the *Pásúpata*, the *Pancharátra*, and other works, fit for nightly meditation, were composed by SIVA, and others, in an hundred and ninety-two parts on different subjects.

WHAT

WHAT follow are not really divine, but contain infinite contradictions. *Sānc'hya* is two-fold, that with *IS'WARA* and that without *IS'WARA*: the former is entitled *Pátanjāla* in one chapter of four sections, and is useful in removing doubts by pious contemplation: the second or *Cápila*, is in six chapters on the production of all things by the union of *PRACRITI*, or *Nature*, and *PURUŠHA*, or the *First Male*: it comprizes also, in eight parts, rules for devotion, thoughts on the invisible power, and other topicks. Both these works contain a studied and accurate enumeration of natural bodies and their principles; whence this philosophy is named *Sānc'hya*. Others hold, that it was so called from its reckoning three sorts of pain.

THE *Mímānsā*, therefore, is in two parts; the *Nyāya*, in two; and the *Sānc'hya*, in two; and these six Schools comprehend all the doctrine of the Theists.

LAST of all appears a work written by *BUDHA*; and there are also six Atheistical systems of Philosophy, entitled *Yógáchāra*, *Saudhānta*, *Vaibhāshika*, *Mādhyamika*, *Digambara*, and *Chārvāc*; all full of indeterminate phrases, errors in sense, confusion between distinct qualities, incomprehensible notions, opinions not duly weighed, tenets destructive of natural equality, containing a jumble of Atheism and Ethicks; distributed, like our Orthodox books, into a number of sections, which omit what ought to be expressed, and express what ought to be omitted; abounding in false propositions, idle propositions, impertinent propositions; some assert, that the heterodox Schools have no *Upānga's*; others, that they have six *Anga's*, and as many *Sānga's*, or *Bodies*, and other *Appendices*.

SUCH is the analysis of universal knowledge, *Practical* and *Speculative*.

## THE COMMENTARY.

THIS first Chapter of a rare *Sanscrit* Book, entitled *Vidyâderśa*, or a *View of Learning*, is written in so close and concise a style, that some parts of it are very obscure, and the whole requires an explanation. From the beginning of it we learn, that the *Veda's* are considered by the *Hindus* as the fountain of all knowledge human and divine; whence the verses of them are said in the *Gîtâ* to be the *leaves* of that holy tree, to which the Almighty Himself is compared :

*ûrdhwa mûlam adhab śac'ham aswatt'ham prâhuravyayam  
chbandânśi yasya pernâni yastam vêda śa vêdavit.*

“ The wise have called the Incorruptible One  
“ an *Aśwatt'ba* with its roots above and its  
“ branches below; the leaves of which are the  
“ sacred measures; he who knows this tree,  
“ knows the *Vêda's*.”

ALL the *Pandits* insist, that *Aśwatt'ba* means the *Pippala* or *Religious Fig-tree* with heart-shaped pointed and tremulous leaves; but the comparison of heavenly knowledge, descending and taking root on earth, to the *Vat'a*, or great *Indian Fig-tree*, which has most conspicuously its roots on high, or at least has radicating branches, would have been far more exact and striking. •

THE *Vêda's* consist of three *Cân'da's* or *General Heads*; namely, *Carma*, *Jnyâna*, *Upâsanâ*, or *Works*, *Faith*, and *Worship*; to the first of which the Author of the *Vidyâderśa* wisely gives the preference,

ference, as MENU himself prefers *universal benevolence* to the *ceremonies* of religion :

*Japyénaiva tu sansiddhyédbráhmavó nátra sansayah :*  
*Curyádanyatnavá curyánmaitró bráhmañ uchyatè :*

that is: “ By silent adoration undoubtedly a *Bráhman* attains holiness; but every *benevolant man*, whether he perform or omit that ceremony, is justly styled a *Bráhman*.” This triple division of the *Véda*'s may seem at first to throw light on a very obscure line in the *Gítà* :

*Traigunyavishayah védà nistraigunya bhavárjuna :*

or, “ The *Véda*'s are attended with *three qualities*: be not thou a man of *three qualities*: “ O ARJUNA.”

BUT several *Pandits* are of opinion, that the phrase must relate to the three *guna*'s, or *qualities* of the mind, that of *excellence*, that of *passion*, and that of *darkness*; from the last of which a Hero should be wholly exempt, though examples of it occur in the *Véda*'s, where animals are ordered to be *sacrificed*, and where horrid incantations are inserted for the *destruction* of enemies.

IT is extremely singular, as Mr. WILKINS has already observed, that, notwithstanding the fable of BRAHMA'S *four* mouths, each of which uttered a *Véda*, yet most ancient writers mention only *three Véda*'s, in order as they occur in the compound word *Rigyajuhsama*; whence it is inferred, that the *At'harvan* was written or collected after the three first; and the two following arguments, which are entirely new, will strongly confirm this inference. In the eleventh book of

MENU, a work ascribed to the *first* age of mankind, and certainly of high antiquity, the *At'harvan* is mentioned by name, and styled the *Véda of Véda's*; a phrase which countenances the notion of DA RA' SHECU'H, who asserts in the preface to his *Upanishat*, that "the three first *Védas* are named separately, because the *At'harvan*; is a corollary from them all, and contains the quintessence of them." But this verse of MENU, which occurs in a modern copy of the work brought from *Bánáras*, and which would support the antiquity and excellence of the *fourth Véda*, is entirely omitted in the best copies, and particularly in a very fine one written at *Gayá*, where it was accurately collated by a learned *Bráhmañ*; so that, as MENU himself in other places names only three *Véda's*, we must believe this line to be an interpolation by some admirer of the *At'harvan*; and such an artifice overthrows the very doctrine which it was intended to sustain.

THE next argument is yet stronger, since it arises from *internal* evidence; and of this we are now enabled to judge by the noble zeal of Colonel POLIER in collecting *Indian* curiosities; which has been so judiciously applied and so happily exerted, that he now possesses a complete copy of the *four Véda's* in eleven large volumes.

ON a cursory inspection of those books it appears, that even a learner of *Sanscrit* may read a considerable part of the *At'harvavéda* without a dictionary; but that the style of the other *three* is so obsolete, as to seem almost a different dialect: when we are informed, therefore, that few *Bráhmans* at *Bánáras* can understand any part of the *Véda's*, we must presume, that none are

— meant, but the *Rich*, *Yajush*, and *Sáman*, with  
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an exception of the *At'harvan*, the language of which is comparatively modern; as the learned will perceive from the following specimen :

*Yatra brahmanidō yānti dicshayā tapasā sāha agnirmāntatra  
 nayatwagnirmédhān dedhātumē, agnayē swāhā. vīyurmān  
 tatra nayatu wāyuh prānān dedhātu mē, vīyurwē swāhā. sūryō  
 mān tatra nayatu chachshuh sūryō dedhātu mē, sūryāya swāhā;  
 chandrō mān tatra nayatu manaschandro dedhātu mē, chan-  
 drāya swāhā. sōmō mān tatra nayatu payah sōmō dedhātu mē,  
 sōmāya swāhā. Indrō mān tatra nayatu balamindrō dedhātu  
 mē, indrāya swāhā, āpō mān tatra nayatu imritammōpatijhta-  
 tu, adbhayah swāhā. yatra brahmanidō yānti dicshayā tapasā  
 sāhā, brahmā mān tatra nayatu brahma brahmā dedhātu mē,  
 brahmanē swāhā;*

that is, “ Where they, who know the Great  
 “ One, go, through holy rites and through  
 “ piety, thither may fire raise me! May fire  
 “ receive my sacrifices! Mysterious praise to  
 “ fire! May air waft me thither! May air in-  
 “ crease my spirits! Mysterious praise to air!  
 “ May the Sun draw me thither! May the sun  
 “ enlighten my eye! Mysterious praise to the  
 “ sun! May the Moon bear me thither! May the  
 “ moon receive my mind! Mysterious praise to  
 “ the moon! May the plant Sōma lead me  
 “ thither! May Sōma bestow on me its hallowed  
 “ milk! Mysterious praise to Sōma! May  
 “ INDRA, or the firmament, carry me thither!  
 “ May INDRA give me strength! Mysterious  
 “ praise to INDRA! May water bear me thither!  
 “ May water bring me the stream of immortality!  
 “ Mysterious praise to the waters! Where they,  
 “ who know the Great One, go, through holy  
 “ rites and through piety, thither may BRAHMA’  
 “ conduct me! May BRAHMA’ lead me to the  
 “ Great One! Mysterious praise to BRAHMA’.”

SEVERAL

SEVERAL other passages might have been cited from the first book of the *At'harvān*, particularly a tremendous *incantation* with consecrated *grass*, called *Darbha*, and a sublime Hymn to *Cāla*, or Time; but a single passage will suffice to show the style and language of this extraordinary work. It would not be so easy to produce a genuine extract from the other *Vēda's*: indeed, in a book, entitled *Sivavēdānta*, written in *Sanskrit*, but in *Cāshmirian* letters, a stanza from the *Tajurvēda* is introduced, which deserves for its sublimity to be quoted here; though the regular cadence of the verses, and the polished elegance of the language, cannot but induce a suspicion, that it is a more modern paraphrase of some text in the ancient Scripture:

natatrā sūryō bhāti nācha chandra tārācau, nēma vidyutō  
 bhāti cuta ēva  
 vahnih; tamēva bhāntam anubhāti servam, tasyā bhāśā serva-  
 midam vibhāti:

that is, "There the sun shines not, nor the moon and stars: these lightnings flash not in that place; how should even fire blaze there? God irradiates all this bright substance; and by its effulgence the universe is enlightened."

AFTER all, the books on divine Knowledge, called *Vēda*, or what is known, and *Srutī*, or what has been heard, from revelation, are still supposed to be very numerous; and the four here mentioned are thought to have been selected, as containing all the information necessary for man. MOHSANI FANI, the very candid and ingenious author of the *Dabistān*, describes in his first chapter a race of old *Persian* Sages, who appear from the whole of his account to have been *Hindus*; and we cannot doubt, that the book



of MAHA'BA'D, or MENU, which was written, he says, in a *celestial dialect*, means the *Véda*: so that, as ZERA'TUSHT was only a reformer, we find in *India* the true source of the ancient *Persian* religion. To this head belong the numerous *Tantra, Mantra, Agama, and Nigama, Sástra's*, which consist of *incantations* and other texts of the *Véda's*, with remarks on the occasions on which they may be successfully applied. It must not be omitted, that the *Commentaries* on the *Hindu* Scriptures, among which that of VASISHTHA seems to be reputed the most excellent, are innumerable; but, while we have access to the fountains, we need not waste our time in tracing the rivulets.

FROM the *Véda's* are immediately deduced the practical arts of *Chirurgery* and *Medicine, Musick* and *Dancing, Archery*, which comprizes the whole art of war, and *Architecture*, under which the system of *Mechanical* arts is included. According to the *Pandits*, who instructed ABU'L-FAZL, each of the *four* Scriptures gave rise to one of the *Upavéda's*, or *Sub-scriptures*, in the order in which they have been mentioned; but this exactness of analogy seems to favour of refinement.

INFINITE advantage may be derived by *Euro-peans* from the various *Medical* books in *Sanscrit*, which contain the names and descriptions of *Indian* plants and minerals, with their uses, discovered by experience, in curing disorders: there is a vast collection of them from the *Cberaca*, which is considered as a work of SIVA, to the *Róganirúpana* and the *Nidána*, which are comparatively modern. A number of books, in prose and verse, have been written on *Musick*, with specimens of *Hindu* airs in a very elegant notation; but the *Silpa Sástra*, or *Body of Treatises on Mechanical Arts*, is believed to be lost.

NEXT in order to these are the six *Védāngas* three of which belong to *Grammar*; one relates to religious ceremonies; a fifth to the whole compass of *Mathematicks*, in which the author of *Lilāvati* was esteemed the most skilful man of his time; and the sixth, to the explanation of obscure words or phrases in the *Veda's*. The grammatical work of PA NINI, a writer supposed to have been inspired, is entitled *Siddhānta Caumudi*, and is so abstruse, as to require the lucubrations of many years, before it can be perfectly understood. When *Cāshāt'ha Serman*, who attended Mr. WILKINS, was asked what he thought of the *Pāniniya*, he answered very expressively, that "it was a forest;" but, since *Grammar* is only an instrument, not the end, of true knowledge, there can be little occasion to travel over so rough and gloomy a path; which contains, however, probably some acute speculations in *Metaphysicks*. The *Sanscrit* Profody is easy and beautiful: the learned will find in it almost all the measures of the *Greeks*; and it is remarkable, that the language of the *Bráhmans* runs very naturally into *Sapphicks*, *Alcúicks* and *Iambicks*. Astronomical works in this language are exceedingly numerous: seventy-nine of them are specified in one list; and, if they contain the names of the principal stars visible in *India*, with observations on their positions in different ages, what discoveries may be made in *Science*, and what certainty attained in *antient Chronology*?

SUBORDINATE to these *Angá's* (though the reason of the arrangement is not obvious) are the series of *Sacred Poems*, the body of *Law*, and the six philosophical *Sastrás*; which the author of our text reduces to two, each consisting of two parts, and rejects a third, in two parts also, as not perfectly

fectly *orthodox*, that is, not strictly conformable to his own principles.

THE first *Indian* Poet was VĀLMĪCI, author of the *Rámáyana*, a complete Epick Poem on one continued, interesting, and heroick action; and the next in celebrity, if it be not superior in reputation for holiness, was the *Mahábhárata* of VY'ASA: to him are ascribed the sacred *Purána's*, which are called, for their excellencé, the *Eighteen*, and which have the following titles: BRAHME, or the *Great One*, PEDMA, or the *Lotos*, BRAHMAN'DA, or the *Mundane Egg*, and AGNI, or *Firē*, (these *four* relate to the *Creation*), VISHNU, or the *Pervader*, GARUD'A, or his *Eagle*, the Transformations of BRAHMA, SIVA, LINGA, NA'REDA son of BRAHMA', SCANDA son of SIVA, MARCANDEY'A, or the *Immortal Man*, and BHAWISHYA, or the *Prediction of Futurity* (these *nine* belong to the *attributes and powers* of the Deity), and *four* others, MATSYA, VARA'HA, CURMA, VA'MENA, or as many incarnations of the Great One in his character of *Preserver*; all containing antient traditions embellished by poetry or disguised by fable: the *eighteenth* is the BHÁ'GAWATA, or *Life of CRISHNA*, with which the same Poet is by some imagined to have crowned the whole series; though others, with more reason, assign them different composers.

THE system of *Hindu* Law, besides the fine work called MĒNUMRITI, or "what is remembered from MĒNU," that of YA'JNYAWALCYA, and those of *sixteen* other *Muni's*, with *commentaries* on them all, consists of many tracts in high estimation, among which those current in *Bengal* are an excellent treatise on *Inheritances* by Ji'MUTA VA'HANA, and a complete *Digest*, in *twenty-seven* volumes, compiled a few centuries ago by

RAGHUNANDAN the TRIBONIAN of *India*, whose work is the grand repository of all that can be known on a subject so curious in itself, and so interesting to the *British* government.

OF the Philosophical Schools it will be sufficient here to remark, that the first *Nyáyá* seems analogous to the *Peripatetick*, the second sometimes called *Vaiséshica* to the *Ionick*, the two *Mimánśa's*, of which the *second* is often distinguished by the name of *Védánta*, to the *Platonick*, the first *Sánc'hya* to the *Italick*, and the second, or *Pátanjala*, to the *Stoick*, Philosophy; so that GAUTAMA corresponds with ARISTOTLE; CANANDA, with THALES; JAÍMINI with SOCRATES; VYÁSA with PLATO; CAPÍLA with PYTHAGORAS; and PATANJALI with ZENO: but an accurate comparison between the *Grecian* and *Indian* Schools would require a considerable volume. The original works of those Philosophers are very succinct; but, like all the other *Sástras*, they are explained, or obscured by the *Upadersana* or *Commentaries* without end: one of the finest compositions on the Philosophy of the *Védánta* is entitled *Yóga Vásisht'ha*, and contains the instructions of the great VASISHTHA to his pupil, RA'MA, king of *Ayódhya*.

IT results from this analysis of *Hindu* Literature, that the *Véda*, *Upavéda*, *Védánga*, *Purána*, *Dherma*, and *Dersana*, are the *six* great *Sástra's*, in which all knowledge, divine and human, is supposed to be comprehended. And here we must not forget, that the word *Sástra*, derived from a root signifying *to ordain*, means generally an *Ordinance*, and particularly a *Sacred Ordinance*, delivered by inspiration: properly, therefore, this word is applied only to *sacred literature*, of which the text exhibits an accurate sketch.

THE *Súdra's*, or *fourth* class of *Hindus*, are not permitted to study the *six* proper *Sástra's* before enumerated; but an ample field remains for them in the study of *profane literature*, comprized in a multitude of *popular books*, which correspond with the several *Sástra's*, and abound with beauties of every kind. All the tracts on *Medicine* must indeed be studied by the *Vaidya's*, or those who are born Physicians; and they have often more learning, with far less pride, than any of the *Bráhmans*: they are usually Poets, Grammarians, Rhetoricians, Moralists; and may be esteemed in general the most virtuous and amiable of the *Hindus*. Instead of the *Véda's* they study the *Rájaníti*, or *Instruction of Princes*, and instead of *law*, the *Náisástra*, or general system of *Ethicks*: their *Sáhitia*, or *Cávyá Sastra*, consists of innumerable poems, written chiefly by the *Medical* tribe, and supplying the place of the *Purána's*, since they contain all the stories of the *Ramayana*, *Bhárata*, and *Bhagawata*: they have access to many treatises of *Aláncara*, or *Rhetorick*, with a variety of works in modulated prose; to *Upác'byana*, or *Civil History*, called also *Rájatarangini*; to the *Nátaca*, which answers to the *Gándharvavéda*, consisting of regular *Dramatick* pieces in *Sanscrit* and *Prácrit*: besides which they commonly get by heart some entire Dictionary and Grammar. The best Lexicon or Vocabulary was composed in verse, for the assistance of the memory, by the illustrious AMARASINHA; but there are *seventeen* others in great repute: the best Grammar is the *Mugdhabódha*, or the *Beauty of Knowledge*, written by a *Góswami*, named VO-PADEVA, and comprehending in two hundred short pages, all that a learner of the language can have occasion to know. To the *Cósha's*, or dictionaries,

onaries, are usually annexed very ample *Ticás's*, or *Etymological Commentaries*.

WE need say no more of the heterodox writings, than that those on the religion and philosophy of BUDDHA seem to be connected with some of the most curious parts of *Asiatick History*, and contain, perhaps, all that could be found in the *Páli*, or *sacred language* of the Eastern Indian peninsula. It is asserted in *Bengal*, that AMARASINHA himself was a *Bauddha*; but he seems to have been a theist of tolerant principles, and, like ABU'LFAZL, desirous of reconciling the different religions of *India*.

WHEREVER we direct our attention to *Hindu Literature*, the notion of *infinity* presents itself; and the longest life would not be sufficient for the perusal of near five hundred thousand stanzas in the *Purana's*, with a million more perhaps in the other works before mentioned; we may, however, select the best from each *Sástra*, and gather the fruits of science, without loading ourselves with the leaves and branches; while we have the pleasure to find, that the learned *Hindus*, encouraged by the mildness of our government and manners, are at least as eager to communicate their knowledge of all kinds, as we can be to receive it. Since *Europeans* are indebted to the *Dutch* for almost all they know of *Arabick*, and to the *French* for all they know of *Chinese*, let them now receive from our nation the first accurate knowledge of *Sanscrit*, and of the valuable works composed in it; but, if they wish to form a correct idea of *Indian religion and literature*, let them begin with forgetting all that has been written on the subject, by ancients or moderns, before the publication of the *Gítà*.

ON THE  
DESCENT OF THE AFGHANS

FROM THE

J E W S \*

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THE *Afghans*, according to their own traditions, are the posterity of MELIC TALUT (king SAUL), who, in the opinion of some, was a descendant of JUDAH the son of JACOB, and according to others, of BENJAMIN the brother of JOSEPH.

IN

\* This Article was communicated to Sir W. JONES by HENRY VANSITTART, Esq. with the following introductory Letter, dated CALCUTTA, March 3, 1784:

SIR,

“ HAVING some time ago met with a *Persian* abridgement, composed by *Maulavi* KHAIRU'DDI'N, of the *afsharu'l afaghinah*, or the secrets of the *Afghans*, a book written in the *Pushto* language by HUSAIN, the son of SA'BIR, the son of KHIZR, the disciple of *Hazrat SHAH KA'SIM Sulaimani*, whose tomb is in *Chunargur*, I was induced to translate it. Although it opens with a very wild description of the origin of that tribe, and contains a narrative, which can by no means be offered upon the whole as a serious and probable history, yet I conceive, that the knowledge of what a nation suppose themselves to be, may be interesting to a Society like this, as well as of what they really are: indeed the commencement of almost every history is fabulous; and the most enlightened nations, after they have arrived at that degree of civilization and importance,

“ which

IN a war which raged between the Children of *Israel* and the *Amalekites*, the latter, being victorious, plundered the *Jews*, and obtained possession of the Ark of the Covenant. Considering this the God of the *Jews*, they threw it into fire, which did not affect it. They afterwards attempted to cleave it with axes, but without success: every individual who treated it with indignity, was punished for his temerity. They then placed it in their temple, but all their idols bowed to it. At length they fastened it upon a cow, which they turned loose in the wilderness.

WHEN the Prophet SAMUEL arose, the Children of *Israel* said to him: "We have been totally subdued by the *Amalekites*, and have no King. Raise to us a King, that we may be

" which has enabled and induced them to commemorate their actions, have always found a vacancy at their outset, which invention or at best presumption, must supply. Such fictions appear at first in the form of traditions; and, having in this shape amused successive generations by a gratification of their national vanity, they are committed to writing, and acquire the authority of history.

" As a kingdom is an assemblage of component parts condensed by degrees, from smaller associations of individuals, to their general union, so history is a combination of the transactions not only of the different tribes, but even of the individuals of the nation of which it treats: each particular narrative in such a general collection must be summary and incomplete. Biography therefore, as well as descriptions of the manners, actions, and even opinions of such tribes, as are connected with a great kingdom, are not only entertaining in themselves, but useful; as they explain and throw a light upon the history of the nation.

" UNDER these impressions, I venture to lay before the Society the translation of an abridged history of the *Afghans*, a tribe at different times subject to, and always connected with, the kingdoms of *Persia* and *Hindostan*. Their language is called by them *Pukhto*; but this word is softened in *Persian* into *Pushto*.

" I am, SIR,

" With the greatest respect,

" Your most obedient humble servant,

" HENRY VANSITTART."

" enabled



“ enabled to contend for the glory of God.” SAMUEL said: “ In case you are led out to battle, “ are you determined to fight?” They answered: “ What has befallen us, that we should not fight “ against infidels? That nation has banished us “ from our country and children.” At this time the Angel GABRIEL descended, and delirveing a wand, said: “ It is the command of GOD, that “ the person whose stature shall correspond with “ this wand, shall be King of *Israel*.”

MELIC TA'LU'T was at that time a man of inferior condition, and performed the humble employment of feeding the goats and cows of others. One day a cow under his charge was accidentally lost. Being disappointed in his searches, he was greatly distressed, and applied to SAMUEL, saying, “ I have lost a cow, and do not possess the means “ of satisfying the owner. Pray for me, that I “ may be extricated from this difficulty.” SAMUEL perceiving that he was a man of lofty stature, asked his name. He answered TA'LU'T, SAMUEL then said: “ Measure TA'LU'T with the “ wand which the Angel GABRIEL brought.” His stature was equal to it. SAMUEL then said: “ GOD has raised TA'LU'T to be your King.” The Children of *Israel* answered: “ We are “ greater than our king. We are men of dignity, “ and He is of inferior condition. How shall He “ be our King?” SAMUEL informed them, they should know that GOD had constituted TA'LU'T their King, by his restoring the Ark of the Covenant. He accordingly restored it, and they acknowledged him their sovereign.

AFTER TA'LU'T obtained the kingdom, he seized part of the territories of JALU'T, or GOLI-AH, who assembled a large army, but was killed by DAVID. TA'LU'T afterwards died a martyr

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in a war against the Infidels; and God constituted DAVID King of the *Jews*.

MELIC TA'LU'T had two sons, one called BERKIA, and the other IRMIA, who served DAVID, and were beloved by him. He sent them to fight against the Infidels; and, by God's assistance, they were victorious.

THE son of BERKIA was called AFGHAN, and the son of IRMIA was named USBEC. Those youths distinguished themselves in the reign of DAVID, and were employed by SOLOMON, AFGHAN was distinguished by his corporal strength, which struck terror into Demons and Genii. USBEC was eminent for his learning.

AFGHAN used frequently to make excursions to the mountains; where his progeny, after his death, established themselves, lived in a state of independence, built forts, and exterminated the Infidels.

WHEN the select of creatures, MUHAMMED, appeared upon earth, his fame reached the AFGHANS, who sought him in multitudes under their leaders KHALID and ABDUL RASHID, sons of WALID. The Prophet honoured them with the most gracious reception, saying: "Come, O *Muluc*, or Kings;" whence they assumed the title of *Melic*, which they enjoy to this day. The Prophet, gave them his ensign, and said, that the faith would be strengthened by them,

MANY sons were born of KHALID, the son of WALID, who signalized themselves in the presence of the Prophet, by fighting against the Infidels. MUHAMMED honoured and prayed for them.

IN the reign of Sultan MAHMUD of *Ghaznah*, eight men arrived, of the posterity of KHALID the son of WALID, whose names were KALUN, ALUN, DAUD, YALUA, AHMED, AWIN, and GHA'ZI. The Sultan was much pleased with them,

them, and appointed each a commander in his army. He also conferred on them the offices of *Vazir*, and *Vakili Mutlak*, or regent of the Empire.

WHEREVER they were stationed, they obtained possession of the country, built Mosques, and overthrew the Temples of Idols. They increased so much, that the army of MAHMU'D was chiefly composed of *Afghans*. When HERHIND, a powerful prince of *Hindustan*, meditated an invasion of *Ghaznah*, Sultan MAHMU'D dispatched against him the descendants of KHA'LID with twenty thousand horse: a battle ensued; the *Afghans* made the attack; and, after a severe engagement, which lasted from day-break until noon, defeated HERHIND, killed many of the Infidels, and converted some to the *Mubammedan* faith.

THE *Afghans* now began to establish themselves in the mountains; and some settled in cities with the permission of the Sultan MAHMU'D. They framed regulations, dividing themselves into four classes, agreeably to the following description. The first is the *pure* class, consisting of those, whose fathers and mothers were *Afghans*. The second class consists of those, whose fathers were *Afghans*, and mothers of another nation. The third class contains those, whose mothers were *Afghan's*, and fathers of another nation. The fourth class is composed of the children of women, whose mothers were *Afghans*, and fathers and husbands of a different nation. Persons, who do not belong to one of the classes, are not called *Afghans*.

AFTER the death of Sultan MAHMU'D they made another settlement in the mountains. SHIHABUDDIN *Gauri*, a subsequent Sultan of *Ghaznah*, was twice repulsed from *Hindustan*. His *Vazir* assembled the people, and asked, if any of  
the

the posterity of KHA'LID were living. They answered: "Many now live in a state of independence in the mountains, where they have a considerable army." The *Vazir* requested them to go to the mountains, and by entreaties prevail on the *Afghàns* to come; for they were the descendants of companions of the Prophet.

THE inhabitants of *Ghaznah* undertook this embassy, and, by entreaties and presents, conciliated the minds of the *Afghàns*, who promised to engage in the service of the Sultan, provided he would himself come, and enter into an agreement with them. The Sultan visited them in their mountains; honoured them; and gave them dresses and other presents. They supplied him with twelve thousand horse, and a considerable army of infantry. Being dispatched by the Sultan before his own army, they took *Dehli*, killed ROY PAHTJURA the King, his Ministers and Nobles, laid waste the city, and made the infidels prisoners. They afterwards exhibited nearly the same scene in *Canauj*.

THE Sultan pleased by the reduction of those cities, conferred honours upon the *Afghàns*. It is said, that he then gave them the titles of *Patàn* and *Khan*: the word *Patàn* is derived from the *Hindi* verb *Paitnà*, to rush, in allusion to their alacrity in attacking the enemy. The *Patàns* have greatly distinguished themselves in the History of *Hindustàn*, and are divided into a variety of sects.

THE race of *Afghàns* possessed themselves of the mountain of SOLOMON, which is near *Kandabâr*, and the circumjacent country, where they have built forts: this tribe has furnished many Kings. The following monarchs of this race have sat upon the throne of *Dehli*: Sultan *Behlule*, *Afghàn LODI*, Sultan SCANDER, Sultan  
IBRA'

IBRA'HÍM, SHÍR SHA'H, ISLA'M SHA'H, ADIL SHÁH SUR. They also number the following Kings of *Gaur*: SOLAIMÁN *Sháh Gurzani*, BAYAZÍD *Sháh*, and KUTB *Sháh*, besides whom their nation has produced many conquerors of Provinces. The *Afghàns* are called *Solaimáni*, either because they were formerly the subjects of SOLOMON, King of the Jews, or because they inhabit the mountain of SOLOMON.

THE translation being finished, I shall only add, that the country of the *Afghàns*, which is a province of *Cabul*, was originally called *Rob*, and from hence is derived the name of the *Robillahs*. The city, which was established in it by the *Afghàns* was called by them *Paisbwer*, or *Paisbòr*, and is now the name of the whole district. The sects of the *Afghàns*, or *Patàns*, are very numerous. The principal are these: *Lodi*, *Lohani*, *Súr*, *Serwáni*, *Yúfuztbi*, *Bangish*, *Dilazani*, *Khatti*, *Yasin*, *Khail*, and *Baloje*. The meaning of *Zibi* is offspring, and of *Khail*, sect. A very particular account of the *Afghàns* has been written by the late HA'FIZ RAHMAT *Khàn*, a Chief of the *Robillahs*, from which the curious reader may derive much information. They are *Muselmans*, partly of the *Sunni*, and partly of the *Shiab* persuasion. They are great boasters of the antiquity of their origin, and reputation of their tribe; but other *Muselmans* entirely reject their claim, and consider them of modern, and even base extraction. However, their character may be collected from history. They have distinguished themselves by their courage, both singly and unitedly, as principals and auxiliaries. They have conquered for their own princes and for foreigners, and have always been considered the main strength of the army in which they have served. As they have been applauded for virtues,  
they

they have also been reproached for vices, having sometimes been guilty of treachery, and even acted the base part of Assassins.

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NOTE by SIR WILLIAM JONES.

THIS account of the *Afghans* may lead to a very interesting discovery. We learn from *ESDRAS*, that the Ten Tribes, after a wandering journey, came to a country called *Arjareth*; where, we may suppose, they settled: now the *Afghans* are said by the best *Persian* historians to be descended from the *Jews*; they have traditions among themselves of such a descent; and it is even asserted, that their families are distinguished by the names of *Jewish* tribes, although, since their conversion to the *Islám*, they studiously conceal their origin. The *Pushto* language, of which I have seen a dictionary, has a manifest resemblance to the *Chaldaick*; and a considerable district under their dominion is called *Hazáreb*, or *Hazáret*, which might easily have been changed into the word used by *ESDRAS*. I strongly recommend an inquiry into the literature and history of the *Afghans*.

P R O C E S S

OF MAKING

A T T A R,

OR

ESSENTIAL OIL OF ROSES.

BY LIEUT. COL. POLIER.

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**T**HE *Attar* is obtained from the roses by simple distillation, and the following is the mode in which I have made it.

A QUANTITY of fresh roses, for example forty pounds, are put in a still with sixty pounds of water, the roses being left as they are with their calyxes, but with the stems cut close. The mass is then well mixed together with the hands; and a gentle fire is made under the still: when the water begins to grow hot, and fumes to rise, the cap of the still is put on, and the pipe fixed; the chinks are then well luted with paste, and cold water put on the refrigeratory at top: the receiver is also adapted at the end of the pipe; and the fire is continued under the still, neither too violent nor too weak. When the impregnated water begins to come over, and the still is very hot, the fire is lessened

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lessened by gentle degrees, and the distillation continued, till thirty pounds of water are come over, which is generally done in about four or five hours; this rose-water is to be poured again on a fresh quantity (forty pounds) of roses, and from fifteen to twenty pounds of water are to be drawn by distillation, following the same process as before: the rose-water thus made and cohobated, will be found, if the roses were good and fresh, and the distillation carefully performed, highly scented with the roses. It is then poured into pans either of earthen ware or tinned metal, and left exposed to the fresh air for the night. The *attar*, or *essence*, will be found in the morning congealed, and swimming on the top of the water; this is to be carefully separated and collected, either with a thin shell or a skimmer, and poured into a phial. When a certain quantity has thus been obtained, the water and fœces must be separated from the clear essence, which, with respect to the first, will not be difficult to do, as the essence congeals with a slight cold, and the water may then be made to run off. If, after that, the essence is kept fluid by heat, the fœces will subside, and may be separated; but if the operation has been neatly performed, these will be little or none. The fœces are as highly perfumed as the essence, and must be kept. After as much of the essence has been skimmed from the rose-water as could be, the remaining water should be used for fresh distillations, instead of common water, at least as far as it will go.

THE above is the whole process of making genuine *attar* of roses. But as the roses of this country give but a very small quantity of essence, and it is in high esteem, various ways have been thought of to augment the quantity, though at the expence of the quality. In this country, it is  
usual



usual to add to the roses, when put in the still, a quantity of sandal-wood raspings, some more, some less (from one to five *tolabs*, or half ounces). The sandal contains a deal of essential oil, which comes over freely in the common distillation; and, mixing with the rose-water and essence, becomes strongly impregnated with their perfume: the imposition however cannot be concealed; the essential oil of sandal will not congeal in common cold, and its smell cannot be kept under, but will be apparent and predominate, spite of every art. In *Cashemire* they seldom use sandal to adulterate the *attar*; but I have been informed, to encrease the quantity, they distill with the roses a sweet-scented grass, which does not communicate any unpleasant scent, and gives the *attar* a clear high green colour: this essence also does not congeal in a slight cold, as that of roses. Many other ways of adulteration have been practised, but all so gross and palpable, that I shall say nothing of them.

THE quantity of essential oil to be obtained from the roses, is very precarious and uncertain, as it depends not only on the skill of the distiller, but also on the quality of the roses, and the favourableness of the season: even in *Europe*, where the chemists are so perfect in their business, some, as TACHENIUS, obtained only half an ounce of oil from one hundred pounds of roses.—HAMBERG obtained one ounce from the same quantity; and HOFFMAN above two ounces.

(*N. B.* The roses in those instances were stripped of their calyxes, and only the leaves used).

IN this country nothing like either can be had, and to obtain four *masbas* (about one drachm and half) from eighty pounds, which, deducting the calyxes, comes to something less than three drachms per hundred pounds of rose-leaves, the

season must be very favourable, and the operation carefully performed.

IN the present year 1787, I had only sixteen *tolabs*, or about eight ounces, of *attar* from fifty-four maunds, twenty-three seers (4366lb.) of roses produced from a field of thirty-three biggans, or eleven *English* acres, which comes to about two drachms per one hundred pounds.

THE colour of the *attar* of roses is no criterion of its goodness, quality, or country. I have had this year, *attar* of a fine emerald green, of a bright yellow, and of a reddish hue, from the same ground, and obtained by the same process, only of roses collected at different days.

THE calyxes do not in any shape diminish the quality of the *attar*; nor impart any green colour to it; though perhaps they may augment the quantity: but the trouble necessary to strip them must, and ought to, prevent its being ever put in practice.

## DESCRIPTION OF ASAM

BY MOHAMMED CAZIM.

TRANSLATED FROM THE PERSIAN

BY HENRY VANSITTART, ESQ.\*

ASAM, which lies to the north-east of *Bengal*, is divided into two parts by the river *Brabmaputra*, that flows from *Khatà*. The northern portion is called *Uttarcul*, and the southern *Dacshincul*. *Uttarcul* begins at *Gowabutty*, which is the boundary of his Majesty's territorial possessions, and terminates in mountains inhabited by a tribe called *Meeri Mechmi*. *Dacshincul* extends from the village *Sidea* to the hills of *Srinagar*. The most famous mountains to the northward of *Uttarcul*, are those of *Duleh* and *Landab*; and to the southward of *Dacshincul* are those of *Namrup* (*Cámrup*), situated four days journey above *Gbergong*, to which the *Rájá* retreated. There is another chain of hills, which is inhabited by a tribe called *Nanac*, who pay no revenue to

\* This account of *Asam* was translated for the Society, but afterwards printed by the learned translator as an appendix to his *Aálemgirnámah*. It is reprinted here, because our government has an interest in being as well acquainted as possible with all the nations bordering on the *British* territories.

the *Rájá*, but profess allegiance to him, and obey a few of his orders. But the *Zemleh* \* tribe are entirely independent of him, and, whenever they find an opportunity, plunder the country contiguous to their mountains. *Asám* is of an oblong figure: its length is about two hundred standard cofs, and its breadth, from the northern to the southern mountains, about eight days journey. From *Gowahutty* to *Ghergong* are seventy-five standard cofs; and from thence it is fifteen days journey to *Khoten*, which was the residence of *Peeran Wíseh* †, but is now called *Ava* ‡, and is the capital of the *Rájá* of *Pegu*, who considers himself of the posterity of that famous General. The first five days journey from the mountains of *Cámruþ*, is performed through forests, and over hills, which are arduous and difficult to pass. You then travel eastward to *Ava* thro' a level and smooth country. To the northward is the plain of *Khatà*, that has been before mentioned as the place from whence the *Brahmaputra* issues, which is afterwards fed by several rivers that flow from the southern mountains of *Asám*. The principal of these is the *Dhonet*, which has before occurred in this history. It joins that broad river at the village *Luckeigerch*.

BETWEEN these rivers is an island well inhabited, and in an excellent state of tillage. It contains a spacious, clear and pleasant country, extending to the distance of about fifty cofs.

\* In another copy this tribe are called *Dyflch*.

† According to *Khondemir*, *Peeran Wíseh* was one of the nobles of *Asiastab*, King of *Turàn*, contemporary with *Kaicaus*, second Prince of the *Kianian* Dynasty. In the *Ferhung Jehangeery* and *Borhoun Kateá* (two Persian Dictionaries), *Peeran* is described as one of the *Pehlowan* or heroes of *Turàn*, and General under *Afrafab*, the name of whose father was *Wíseh*.

‡ This is a palpable mistake. *Khoten* lies to the north of *Himálaya*; and *Piràn Físh* could never have seen *Ava*.

The cultivated tract is bounded by a thick forest, which harbours elephants, and where those animals may be caught, as well as in four or five other forests of *Asam*. - If there be occasion for them, five or six hundred elephants may be procured in a year. Across the *Dhonec*, which is the side of *Gbergong*, is a wide, agreeable, and level country, which delights the heart of the beholder. The whole face of it is marked with population and tillage; and it presents on every side charming prospects of ploughed fields, harvests, gardens, and groves. All the island before described lies in *Dacshincul*. From the village of *Setagereb* to the city of *Gbergong* is a space of about fifty coss, filled with such an uninterrupted range of gardens, plentifully stocked with fruit-trees, that it appears as one garden. Within them are the houses of the peasants, and a beautiful assemblage of coloured and fragrant herbs, and of garden and wild flowers blowing together. As the country is overflowed in the rainy season, a high and broad causeway has been raised for the convenience of travellers from *Salagereb* to *Gbergong*, which is the only uncultivated ground that is to be seen. Each side of this road is planted with shady bamboos, the tops of which meet, and are intertwined. Amongst the fruits which this country produces, are mangoes, plantains, jacks, oranges, citrons, limes, pine apples, and *punialeb*, a species of *amleh*, which has such an excellent flavour, that every person who tastes it prefers it to the plum. There are also cocoa-nut trees, pepper vines, *Areca* trees, and the *Sádij*\*, in great plenty. The sugar-cane excels in softness and sweetness, and is of three colours, red, black, and white.

\* The *Sádij* is a long aromatick leaf, which has a pungent taste, and is called in *Sanscrit*, *Téjapatra*. In our botanical books it bears the name of *Malabathrum*, or the *Indian Leaf*.

There

There is ginger free from fibres, and betel vines. The strength of vegetation and fertility of the soil are such, that whatever seed is sown, or slips planted, they always thrive. The environs of *Gbergong* furnish small-apricots, yams and pomegranates; but as these articles are wild, and not assisted by cultivation and engraftment, they are very indifferent. The principal crop of this country consists in rice and \* *masb*. *Ades* is very scarce, and wheat and barley are never sown. The silks are excellent, and resemble those of *China*; but they manufacture very few more than are required for use. They are successful in embroidering with flowers, and in weaving velvet and *tautbund*, which is a species of silk of which they make tents and † *kenauts*. Salt is a very precious and scarce commodity. It is found at the bottom of some of the hills, but of a bitter and pungent quality. A better sort is in common use, which is extracted from the plantain tree. The mountains inhabited by the tribe called *Nanac* produce plenty of excellent *Lignum Aloes*, which a society of the natives imports every year into *Afàm*, and barter for salt and grain. This evil-disposed race of mountaineers are many degrees removed from the line of humanity, and are destitute of the characteristical properties of a man. They go naked from head to foot, and eat dogs, cats, snakes, mice, rats, ants, locusts, and every thing of this sort which they can find. The hills of *Gámruòp*, *Sidea*, and *Luckeigereb*, supply a fine species of *Lignum Aloes*, which sinks in water. Several of the mountains contain musk-deer.

THE country of *Uttarcul*, which is on the northern side of the *Brahmaputra*, is in the highest state of cultivation, and produces plenty of

\* *Mash* is a species of grain, and *Ades* a kind of pea.

† *Kenauts* are walls made to surround tents.

pepper and *Areca*-nuts. It even surpasses *Dacshin-cul* in population and tillage; but, as the latter contains a greater track of wild forests, and places difficult of access, the rulers of *Asam* have chosen to reside in it for the convenience of controul, and have erected in it the capital of the kingdom. The breadth of *Uttarcul* from the bank of the river to the foot of the mountains, which is a cold climate, and contains snow, is various, but is no where less than fifteen coss, nor more than forty-five coss. The inhabitants of those mountains are strong, have a robust and respectable appearance, and are of a middling size. Their complexions, like those of the natives of all cold climates, are red and white; and they have also trees and fruits peculiar to frigid regions. Near the fort of *Jum Dereh*, which is on the side of *Gowahutty*, is a chain of mountains, called the country of *Dereng*, all the inhabitants of which resemble each other in appearance, manners, and speech, but are distinguished by the names of their tribes, and places of residence. Several of these hills produce musk, *kataus*\*, *bhoat*†, *perce*, and two species of horses, called *goont* and *tanyans*. Gold and silver are procured here, as in the whole country of *Asam*, by washing the sand of the rivers. This, indeed, is one of the sources of revenue. It is supposed, that twelve thousand inhabitants, and some say, twenty thousand, are employed in this occupation; and it is a regulation, that each of these persons shall pay a fixed

\* *Kataus* is thus described in the *Borhaun Kataca*: "This word, in the language of *Ram*, is a sea-cow; the tail of which is hung upon the necks of horses, and on the summit of standard. Some say that it is a cow which lives in the mountains of *Khatà*." It here means the mountain-cow, which supplies the tail that is made into *chowries*, and in *Sanscrit* is called *chàmara*.

† *Bhoat* and *perce* are two kinds of blanket.

revenue of a *tólà* of gold to the *Rájá*. The people of *Asam* are a base and unprincipled nation, and have no fixed religion. They follow no rule but that of their own inclinations, and make the approbation of their own vicious minds the test of the propriety of their actions. They do not adopt any mode of worship practised either by *Heathens* or *Mohammedans*; nor do they concur with any of the known sects which prevail amongst mankind. Unlike the Pagans of *Hindoostán*, they do not reject victuals which have been dressed by *Muselmans*; and they abstain from no flesh except human. They even eat animals that have died a natural death; but, in consequence of not being used to the taste of gee, they have such an antipathy to this article, that if they discover the least smell of it in their victuals, they have no relish for them. It is not their custom to veil their women; for even the wives of the *Rájá* do not conceal their faces from any person. The females perform work in the open air, with their countenances exposed and heads uncovered. The men have often four or five wives each; and publicly buy, sell, and change them. They shave their heads, beards, and whiskers, and reproach and admonish every person who neglects this ceremony. Their language has not the least affinity with that of *Bengal*\*. Their strength and courage are apparent in their looks; but their ferocious manners and brutal tempers are also betrayed by their physiognomy. They are superior to most nations in corporal force and hardy exertions. They are enterprising, savage, fond of war, vindictive, treacherous, and deceitful. The virtues of compassion, kindness, friendship, sincerity,

\* This is an error: young *Brahmens* often come from *Asam* to *Nadiyá* for instruction, and their vulgar dialect is understood by the *Bengal* teachers.

truth,



truth, honour, good faith, shame, and purity of morals, have been left out of their composition. The seeds of tenderness and humanity have not been sown in the field of their frames. As they are destitute of the mental garb of manly qualities, they are also deficient in the dress of their bodies. They tie a cloth round their heads and another round their loins, and throw a sheet upon their shoulder; but it is not customary in that country to wear turbans, robes, drawers, or shoes. There are no buildings of brick or stone, or with walls of earth, except the gates of the city of *Gbergong*; and some of their idolatrous temples. The rich and poor construct their habitations of wood, bamboos, and straw. The *Rájá* and his courtiers travel in stately litters; but the opulent and respectable persons amongst his subjects are carried in lower vehicles, called doolies. *Asam* produces neither horses\*, camels, nor asses; but those cattle are sometimes brought thither from other countries. The brutal inhabitants, from a congenial impulse, are fond of seeing and keeping asses, and buy and sell them at a high price; but they discover the greatest surprize at seeing a camel; and are so afraid of a horse, that if one trooper should attack an hundred armed *Asamians*, they would all throw down their arms and flee; or should they not be able to escape, they would surrender themselves prisoners. Yet should one of that detestable race encounter two men of another nation on foot, he would defeat them.

THE antient inhabitants of this country are divided into two tribes, the *Asamians* and the *Cultanians*. The latter excel the former in all occupations except war, and the conduct of hardy en-

\* As the Author has asserted that two species of horses, called *goont* and *tanyans*, are produced in *Dereng*, we must suppose that this is a different country from *Asam*.

terprises,

terprises, in which the former are superior. A body-guard of six or seven thousand *Asamians*, fierce as demons, of unshaken courage, and well provided with warlike arms and accoutrements, always keep watch near the *Rájá's* sitting and sleeping apartments; these are his loyal and confidential troops and patrol. The martial weapons of this country are the musquet, sword, spear, and arrow and bow of bamboo. In their forts and boats they have also plenty of cannon, *zerúzen*\*, and *ramchangee*, in the management of which they are very expert.

WHENEVER any of the *Rájás*, magistrates, or principal men, die, they dig a large cave for the deceased, in which they inter his women, attendants, and servants; and some of the magnificent equipage and useful furniture which he possessed in his lifetime, such as elephants, gold and silver, *bádcaß* (large fans), carpets, clothes, victuals, lamps, with a great deal of oil, and a torch-bearer; for they consider those articles as stores for a future state. They afterwards construct a strong roof over the cave upon thick timbers. The people of the army entered some of the old caves, and took out of them the value of ninety thousand rupees, in gold and silver. But an extraordinary circumstance is said to have happened, to which the mind of man can scarcely give credit, and the probability of which is contradicted by daily experience. It is this: All the Nobles came to the Imperial General, and declared, with universal agreement, that a golden betel-stand was found in one of the caves, that was dug eighty years before, which contained betel-leaf quite green and fresh; but the authenticity of this story rests upon report.

\* Swivels.

GHERGONG has four gates, constructed of stone and earth; from each of which the *Rájá's* palace is distant three cofs. The city is encompassed with a fence of bamboos, and within it high and broad causeways have been raised for the convenience of passengers during the rainy season. In the front of every man's house is a garden, or some cultivated ground. This is a fortified city, which incloses villages and tilled fields. The *Rájá's* palace stands upon the bank of the *Degoo*, which flows through the city. This river is lined on each side with houses, and there is a small market, which contains no shopkeepers except sellers of betel. The reason is, that it is not customary for the inhabitants to buy provisions for daily use, because they lay up a stock for themselves, which lasts them a year. The *Rájá's* palace is surrounded by a causeway, planted on each side with a close hedge of bamboos, which serves instead of a wall. On the outside there is a ditch, which is always full of water. The circumference of the inclosure is one cof and fourteen jereeb. Within it have been built lofty halls, and spacious apartments for the *Rájá*, most of them of wood, and a few of straw, which are called *chuppers*. Amongst these is a *díwán kbánah*, or public saloon, one hundred and fifty cubits long, and forty broad, which is supported by sixty-six wooden pillars, placed at an interval of about four cubits from each other. The *Rájá's* seat is adorned with lattice-work and carving. Within and without have been placed plates of brass, so well polished, that when the rays of the sun strike upon them, they shine like mirrors. It is an ascertained fact, that three thousand carpenters and twelve thousand labourers were constantly employed in this work, during two years before it was finished. When the *Rájá* sits in this chamber, or travels, instead of drums

and trumpets they beat the\* *dhól* and *dand*. The latter is a round and thick instrument made of copper, and is certainly the same as the drum †, which it was customary, in the time of the anti-ent kings, to beat in battles and marches.

THE *Rájá's* of this country have always raised the crest of pride and vain-glory, and displayed an ostentatious appearance of grandeur, and a numerous train of attendants and servants. They have not bowed the head of submission and obedience, nor have they paid tribute or revenue to the most powerful monarch; but they have curbed the ambition, and checked the conquests of the most victorious Princes of *Hindustán*. The solution of the difficulties attending a war against them, has baffled the penetration of heroes who have been stiled Conquerors of the World. Whenever an invading army has entered their territories, the *Asamians* have covered themselves in strong posts, and have distressed the enemy by stratagems, surprises, and alarms, and by cutting off their provisions. If these means have failed, they have declined a battle in the field, but have carried the peasants into the mountains, burnt the grain, and left the country empty. But when the rainy season has set in upon the advancing enemy, they have watched their opportunity to make excursions, and vent their rage; the famished invaders have either become their prisoners, or been put to death. In this manner powerful and numerous armies have been sunk in that whirlpool of destruction, and not a soul has escaped.

FORMERLY HUSAIN SHAH, a king of *Bengál*, undertook an expedition against *Asám*, and carried

\* The *dhól* is a kind of drum, which is beaten at each end.

† This is a kind of kettle-drum, and is made of a composition of several metals.

with him a formidable force in cavalry, infantry and boats. The beginning of this invasion was crowned with victory. He entered the country, and erected the standard of superiority and conquest. The *Rájá* being unable to encounter him in the field, evacuated the plains, and retreated to the mountains. HUSAIN left his son, with a large army, to keep possession of the country, and returned to *Bengal*. The rainy season commenced, and the roads were shut up by the inundation. The *Rájá* descended from the mountains, surrounded the *Bengal* army, skirmished with them, and cut off their provisions, till they were reduced to such straits, that they were all, in a short time, either killed or made prisoners.

In the same manner MOHAMMED *Sháh*, the son of TOGLUC *Sháh*, who was king of several of the provinces of *Hindustán*, sent a well-appointed army of a hundred thousand cavalry to conquer *Asám*; but they were all devoted to oblivion in that country of enchantment; and no intelligence or vestige of them remained. Another army was dispatched to revenge this disaster; but when they arrived in *Bengal*, they were panick-struck, and shrunk from the enterprize; because if any person passes the frontier into that district, he has not leave to return. In the same manner, none of the inhabitants of that country are able to come out of it, which is the reason that no accurate information has hitherto been obtained relative to that nation. The natives of *Hindustán* consider them as wizards and magicians, and pronounce the name of that country in all their incantations and counter-charms. They say, that every person who sets his foot there, is under the influence of witchcraft, and cannot find the road to return.

JEIDEJ SING \*, the *Rájá* of *Asâm*, bears the title of *Swergî*, or *Celestial*. *Swerg*, in the *Hindustân* language, means Heaven. That frantick and vain-glorious prince is so excessively foolish and mistaken, as to believe that his vicious ancestors were sovereigns of the heavenly host; and that one of them, being inclined to visit the earth, descended by a golden ladder. After he had been employed some time in regulating and governing his new kingdom, he became so attached to it, that he fixed his abode in it, and never returned.

IN short, when we consider the peculiar circumstances of *Asâm*: that the country is spacious, populous, and hard to be penetrated; that it abounds in perils and dangers; that the paths and roads are beset with difficulties; that the obstacles to the conquest of it are more than can be described; that the inhabitants are a savage race, ferocious in their manners, and brutal in their behaviour; that they are of a gigantic appearance, enterprising, intrepid, treacherous, well armed, and more numerous than can be conceived; that they resist and attack the enemy from secure posts, and are always prepared for battle; that they possess forts as high as heaven, garrisoned by brave soldiers, and plentifully supplied with warlike stores, the reduction of each of which would require a long space of time; that the way was obstructed by thick and dangerous bushes, and broad and boisterous rivers: when we consider these circumstances, we shall wonder that this country, by the aid of GOD, and the auspices of his Majesty, was conquered by the imperial army, and became a place for erecting the standard of the faith. The haughty and insolent heads of several of the

\* Properly *Jayadhwaia Sina*, or *the Lion with Banners of Conquest*.

detestable *Asamians*, who stretch the neck of pride, and who are devoid of religion, and remote from God, were bruised by the hoofs of the horses of the victorious warriors. The *Muselman* heroes experienced the comfort of fighting for their religion; and the blessings of it reverted to the sovereignty of his just and pious Majesty.

THE *Rájà*, whose soul had been enslaved by pride, and who had been bred up in the habit of presuming on the stability of his own government, never dreamt of this reverse of fortune; but being now overtaken by the punishment due to his crimes, fled, as has been before mentioned, with some of his nobles, attendants, and family, and a few of his effects, to the mountains of *Cámrúp*. That spot, by its bad air and water, and confined space, is rendered the worst place in the world; or rather it is one of the pits of hell. The *Rájà's* officers and soldiers, by his orders, crossed the *Ehonné*, and settled in the spacious island between that and the *Brahmaputra*, which contains numerous forests and thickets. A few took refuge in other mountains, and watched an opportunity of committing hostilities.

CA'MRU'P is a country on the side of *Dacshin-cul*, situated between three high mountains, at the distance of four days journey from *Gbergong*. It is remarkable for bad water, noxious air, and confined prospects. Whenever the *Rájà* used to be angry with any of his subjects, he sent them thither. The roads are difficult to pass, insomuch that a foot-traveller proceeds with the greatest inconvenience. There is one road wide enough for a horse; but the beginning of it contains thick forests for about half a col. Afterwards there is a defile, which is stony and full of water. On each side is a mountain towering to the sky.

THE

THE Imperial General remained some days in *Gbergong*, where he was employed in regulating the affairs of the country, encouraging the peasants, and collecting the effects of the *Rájà*. He repeatedly read the *Khotbeb*, or prayer, containing the name and titles of the prince of the Age, King of Kings, *ALEMGEER*, Conqueror of the World, and adorned the faces of the coins with the Imperial impression. At this time there were heavy showers, accompanied with violent wind, for two or three days; and all the signs appeared of the rainy season, which in that country sets in before it does in *Hindustàn*. The General exerted himself in establishing posts, and fixing guards, for keeping open the roads and supplying the army with provisions. He thought now of securing himself during the rains, and determined, after the sky should be cleared from the clouds, the lightning cease to illuminate the air, and the swelling of the water should subside, that the army should again be set in motion against the *Rájà* and his attendants, and be employed in delivering the country from the evils of their existence.

THE Author then mentions several skirmishes which happened between the *Rájà's* forces and the Imperial troops, in which the latter were always victorious. He concludes thus:

AT length all the villages of *Dacsbincul* fell into the possession of the Imperial army. Several of the inhabitants and peasants, from the diffusion of his Majesty's kindness, tenderness, and justice, submitted to his government, and were protected in their habitations and property. The inhabitants of *Uttarcul* also became obedient to his commands. His Majesty rejoiced, when he heard the news of this conquest, and rewarded the General with



with a costly dress, and other distinguishing marks of his favour.

THE Narrative, to which this is a Supplement, gives a concise history of the military expedition into *Asām*. In this description the Author has stopt at a period, when the Imperial troops had possessed themselves of the Capital, and were masters of any part of the plain country which they chose to occupy or over-run. The sequel diminishes the credit of the conquest, by showing that it was temporary, and that the *Rájà* did not forget his usual policy of harassing the invading army during the rainy season: but this conduct produced only the effect of distressing and disgusting it with the service, instead of absolutely destroying it, as his predecessors had destroyed former adventurers. Yet the conclusion of this war is far from weakening the panegyrick which the Author has passed upon the Imperial General, to whom a difference of situation afforded an opportunity of displaying additional virtues, and of closing that life with heroick fortitude, which he had always hazarded in the field with martial spirit. His name and titles were, *Mír JUMLEH*, *MOAZZIM Khán*, *Kháni Khánán*, *Sipáhi SA'LA'R*.

### R E M A R K.

THE preceding account of the *Asámians*, who are probably superior in all respects to the *Moguls*, exhibits a specimen of the black malignity and frantick intolerance with which it was usual, in the reign of *AURANGZÍB*, to treat all those whom the crafty, cruel, and avaricious Emperor was pleased to condemn as infidels and barbarians.

ON THE  
MANNERS, RELIGION, AND LAWS  
OF THE  
C U C I S,  
OR  
MOUNTAINEERS OF TIPRA.

COMMUNICATED IN PERSIAN,

BY JOHN RAWLINS, ESQ.

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**T**HE inhabitants of the mountainous districts to the east of *Bengal* give the name of PĀ-TIYĀN to the Being who created the Universe; but they believe, that a Deity exists in every Tree, that the Sun and Moon are Gods, and that, whenever they worship those subordinate divinities, PĀ-TIYĀN is pleased.

If any one among them put another to death, the Chief of the Tribe, or other persons, who bear no relation to the deceased, have no concern in punishing the murderer; but if the murdered person have a brother, or other heir, he may take blood for blood; nor has any man whatever a right to prevent or oppose such retaliation.

WHEN

WHEN a man is detected in the commission of theft or other atrocious offence, the Chieftain causes a recompense to be given to the complainant, and reconciles both parties; but the Chief himself receives a customary fine; and each party gives a feast of pork, or other meat, to the people of his respective tribe.

IN ancient times it was not a custom among them to cut off the heads of the women whom they found in the habitations of their enemies; but it happened once, that a woman asked another, why she came so late to her business of sowing grain: she answered, that her husband was gone to battle, and that the necessity of preparing food and other things for him had occasioned her delay. This answer was overheard by a man at enmity with her husband; and he was filled with resentment against her, considering, that as she had prepared food for her husband for the purpose of sending him to battle against his tribe, so in general, if women were not to remain at home, their husbands could not be supplied with provision, and consequently could not make war with advantage. From that time it became a constant practice, to cut off the heads of the enemy's women; especially if they happen to be pregnant, and therefore confined to their houses; and this barbarity is carried so far, that if a *Cúci* assail the house of an enemy, and kill a woman with child, so that he may bring two heads, he acquires honour and celebrity in his tribe, as the destroyer of two foes at once.

As to the marriages of this wild nation; when a rich man has made a contract of marriage, he gives four or five head of *gayáls* (the cattle of the mountains) to the father and mother of the bride, whom he carries to his own house: her parents then kill the *gayáls*, and, having prepared fer-

mented liquors and boiled rice with other eatables, invite the father, mother, brethren, and kindred of the bridegroom to a nuptial entertainment. When a man of small property is inclined to marry, and a mutual agreement is made, a similar method is followed in a lower degree; and a man may marry any woman, except his own mother. If a married couple live cordially together, and have a son, the wife is fixed and irremovable; but if they have no son, and especially if they live together on bad terms, the husband may divorce his wife, and marry another woman.

THEY have no idea of heaven or hell, the reward of good, or the punishment of bad, actions; but they profess a belief, that when a person dies, a certain spirit comes and seizes his soul, which he carries away; and that, whatever the spirit promises to give at the instant when the body dies, will be found and enjoyed by the dead; but that, if any one should take up the corpse and carry it off, he would not find the treasure.

THE food of this people consists of elephants, hogs, deer, and other animals; of which if they find the carcasses or limbs in the forests, they dry them and eat them occasionally.

WHEN they have resolved on war, they send spies, before hostilities are begun, to learn the stations and strength of the enemy, and the condition of the roads: after which they march in the night; and two or three hours before daylight, make a sudden assault with swords, lances, and arrows: if their enemies are compelled to abandon their station, the assailants instantly put to death all the males and females, who are left behind, and strip the houses of all their furniture; but, should their adversaries, having gained intelligence of the intended assault, be resolute enough to meet them in battle, and should they find them-

selves

selves over-matched, they speedily retreat and quietly return to their own habitations. If at any time they see a star very near the moon, they say, "To-night we shall undoubtedly be attacked by some enemy;" and they pass that night under arms with extreme vigilance. They often lie in ambush in a forest near the path where their foes are used to pass and repass, waiting for the enemy with different sorts of weapons, and killing every man or woman who happens to pass by: in this situation, if a leech, or a worm, or a snake should bite one of them, he bears the pain in perfect silence; and whoever can bring home the head of an enemy, which he has cut off, is sure to be distinguished and exalted in his nation. When two hostile tribes appear to have equal force in battle, and neither has hopes of putting the other to flight, they make a signal of pacifick intentions, and sending agents reciprocally, soon conclude a treaty; after which they kill several head of *gayáls*, and feast on their flesh, calling on the Sun and Moon to bear witness of the pacification: but if one side, unable to resist the enemy, be thrown into disorder, the vanquished tribe is considered as tributary to the victors; who every year receive from them a certain number of *gay-áls*, wooden dishes, weapons, and other acknowledgments of vassalage. Before they go to battle they put a quantity of roasted *álu's* (esculent roots like *potatoes*) and paste of rice-flour into the hollow of bambu's, and add to them a provision of dry rice with some leathern bags full of liquor: then they assemble, and march with such celerity, that in one day they perform a journey ordinarily made by letter carriers in three or four days, since they have not the trouble and delay of dressing, victuals. when they reach the place to be attacked, they surround it in the night, and at early dawn enter

enter it, putting to death both young and old, women and children; except such as they chuse to bring away captive: they put the heads, which they cut off, into leathern bags; and, if the blood of their enemies be on their hands, they take care not to wash it off. When, after this slaughter, they take their own food, they thrust a part of what they eat into the mouths of the heads, which they have brought away, saying to each of them: "Eat: quench thy thirst; and satisfy thy appetite: as thou hast been slain by my hand, so may thy kinsmen be slain by my kinsmen!" During their journey, they have usually two such meals; and every watch, or two watches, they send intelligence of their proceedings to their families: when any one of them sends word, that he has cut off the head of an enemy, the people of his family, whatever be their age or sex, express great delight, making caps and ornaments of red and black ropes; then filling some large vessels with fermented liquors, and decking themselves with all the trinkets they possess, they go forth to meet the conqueror, blowing large shells, and striking plates of metal, with other rude instruments of musick. When both parties are met, they show extravagant joy, men and women dancing and singing together; and, if a married man has brought an enemy's head, his wife wears a head-dress with gay ornaments, the husband and wife alternately pour fermented liquor into each other's mouths, and she washes his bloody hands with the same liquor which they are drinking: thus they go revelling, with excessive merriment, to their place of abode; and, having piled up the heads of their enemies in the court-yard of their chieftain's house, they sing and dance round the pile; after which they kill some *gayáls* and hogs with their spears, and having boiled the flesh,

make

make a feast on it, and drink the fermented liquor. The richer men of this race fasten the heads of their foes on a bambu, and fix it on the graves of their parents; by which act they acquire great reputation. He, who brings back the head of a slaughtered enemy, receives presents from the wealthy of cattle and spirituous liquor; and, if any captives are brought alive, it is the prerogative of those chieftains, who were not in the campaign, to strike off the heads of the captives. Their weapons are made by particular tribes; for some of them are unable to fabricate instruments of war.

IN regard to their civil institutions; the whole management of their household affairs belongs to the women; while the men are employed in clearing forests, building huts, cultivating land, making war, or hunting game and wild beasts. Five days (they never reckon by months or years) after the birth of a male child, and three days after that of a female, they entertain their family and kinsmen with boiled rice and fermented liquor; and the parents of the child partake of the feast; they begin the ceremony with fixing a pole in the courtyard; and then, killing a *gayál* or a hog with a lance, they consecrate it to their deity; after which all the party eat the flesh and drink liquor, closing the day with a dance and with songs. If any one among them be so deformed, by nature, or by accident, as to be unfit for the propagation of his species, he gives up all thought of keeping house, and begs for his subsistence, like a religious mendicant, from door to door, continually dancing and singing. When such a person goes to the house of a rich and liberal man, the owner of the house usually strings together a number of red and white stones, and fixes one end of the string on a long cane, so that the other end may hang

hang down to the ground; then, paying a kind of superstitious homage to the pebbles, he gives alms to the beggar; after which he kills a *gayál* and a hog, and some other quadrupeds, and invites his tribe to a feast: the giver of such an entertainment acquires extraordinary fame in the nation; and all unite in applauding him with every token of honour and reverence.

When a *Cúci* dies, all his kinsmen join in killing a hog and a *gayál*; and, having boiled the meat, pour some liquor into the mouth of the deceased, round whose body they twist a piece of cloth by way of a shroud: all of them taste the same liquor as an offering to his soul; and this ceremony they repeat at intervals for several days. Then they lay the body on a stage, and kindling a fire under it, pierce it with a spit and dry it; when it is perfectly dried, they cover it with two or three folds of cloth; and, enclosing it in a little case within a chest, bury it under ground. All the fruits and flowers, that they gather within a year after the burial, they scatter on the grave of the deceased; but some bury their dead in a different manner; covering them first with a shroud, then with a mat of woven reeds, and hanging them on a high tree. Some, when the flesh is decayed, wash the bones, and keep them dry in a bowl, which they open on every sudden emergence; and, fancying themselves at a consultation with the bones, pursue whatever measures they think proper; alledging, that they act by the command of their departed parents and kinsmen. A widow is obliged to remain a whole year near the grave of her husband, where her family bring her food; if she die within the year, they mourn for her; if she live, they carry her back to her house, where all her relations are entertained with the usual feast of the *Cúci's*.



IF the deceased leave three sons, the eldest and the youngest share all his property; but the middle son takes nothing; if he have no sons, his estate goes to his brothers, and, if he have no brothers, it escheats to the Chief of the tribe.

. N O T E .

A PARTY of *Cúci's* visited the late CHARLES CROFTES, Esq. at *J. farabàd* in the spring of 1776, and entertained him with a dance: they promised to return after their harvest, and seemed much pleased with their reception.

ON THE

B A Y A

OR

## INDIAN GROSS-BEAK,

BY ATHAR AL' KHAN, OF DEHLI.

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**T**HE little bird called *Bayà* in *Hindî*, *Berbera* in *Sanscrit*, *Bábûi* in the dialect of *Bengal*, *Cíbû* in *Persian*, and *Tenawwit* in *Arabick*, from his remarkably pendent nest, is rather larger than a sparrow, with yellow-brown plumage, a yellowish head and feet, a light-coloured breast, and a conick beak, very thick in proportion to his body. This bird is exceedingly common in *Hindustàn*: he is astonishingly sensible, faithful, and docile, never voluntarily deserting the place where his young were hatched, but not averse, like most other birds, to the society of mankind, and easily taught to perch on the hand of his master. In a state of nature he generally builds his nest on the highest tree that he can find, especially on the palmyra, or on the *Indian* fig-tree, and he prefers that which happens to overhang a well or a rivulet: he makes it of grass, which he weaves like cloth, and shapes like a large bottle, suspending it firmly on the branches, but so as to rock with the

the

the wind, and placing it with its entrance downwards to secure it from birds of prey. His nest usually consists of two or three chambers; and it is the popular belief, that he lights them with fire-flies, which he catches alive at night, and confines with moist clay, or with cow-dung; that such flies are often found in his nest, where pieces of cow-dung are also struck, is indubitable; but as their light could be of little use to him, it seems probable that he only feeds on them. He may be taught with ease to fetch a piece of paper, or any small thing that his master points out to him; it is an attested fact, that if a ring be dropped into a deep well, and a signal given to him, he will fly down with amazing celerity, catch the ring before it touches the water, and bring it up to his master with apparent exultation; and it is confidently asserted, that if a house or any other place be shown to him once or twice, he will carry a note thither immediately on a proper signal being made. One instance of his docility I can myself mention with confidence, having often been an eye-witness of it. The young *Hindu* women at *Banâres*, and in other places, wear very thin plates of gold, called *tica's*, slightly fixed by way of ornament between their eye-brows, and when they pass through the streets, it is not uncommon for the youthful libertines, who amuse themselves with training *Bayàs*, to give them a signal, which they understand, and send them to pluck the pieces of gold from the foreheads of their mistresses, which they bring in triumph to the lovers. The *Bayà* feeds naturally on grass-hoppers and other insects, but will subsist, when tame, on pulse macerated in water: his flesh is warm and drying, of easy digestion, and recommended in medical books, as a solvent of stone in the bladder or kidneys; but of that virtue there is no sufficient proof. The female lays many beautiful  
eggs

eggs resembling large pearls; the white of them, when they are boiled, is transparent, and the flavour of them is exquisitely delicate. When many *Bayà's* are assembled on a high tree, they make a lively din, but it is rather chirping than singing: their want of musical talents is, however, amply supplied by their wonderful sagacity, in which they are not excelled by any feathered inhabitants of the forest.

AN

A C C O U N T

OF THE

K I N G D O M O F N E P A L,

BY

FATHER GIUSEPPE, PREFECT OF THE  
ROMAN MISSION.

COMMUNICATED BY JOHN SHORE, ESQ.

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THE kingdom of *Népal* is situated to the north east of *Patna* at the distance of ten or eleven days' journey from that city. The common road to it lies through the kingdom of *Macwampur*; but the Missionaries and many other persons enter it on the *Bettia* quarter. Within the distance of four days' journey from *Népal* the road is good in the plains of *Hindustan*, but in the mountains it is bad, narrow, and dangerous. At the foot of the hills the country is called *Teriáni*; and there the air is very unwholesome from the middle of *March* to the middle of *November*; and people in their passage catch a disorder called in the language of that country *Aul*, which is a putrid

trid fever, and of which the generality of people who are attacked with it, die in a few days; but on the plains there is no apprehension of it. Although the road be very narrow and inconvenient for three or four days at the passes of the hills, where it is necessary to cross and recross the river more than fifty times, yet, on reaching the interior mountain before you descend, you have an agreeable prospect of the extensive plain of *Népál*, resembling an amphitheatre covered with populous towns and villages: the circumference of the plain is about two hundred miles, a little irregular and surrounded by hills on all sides, so that no person can enter or come out of it without passing the mountains.

THERE are three principal cities in the plain, each of which was the capital of an independent kingdom: the principal city of the three is situated to the northward of the plain, and is called *Cat'hmándú*: it contains about eighteen thousand houses; and this kingdom from south to north extends to the distance of twelve or thirteen days' journey as far as the borders of *Tibet*, and is almost as extensive from east to west. The king of *Cat'hmándú* has always about fifty thousand soldiers in his service. The second city to the southwest of *Cat'hmándú* is called *Lelit Pattan*, where I resided about four years; it contains near twenty-four thousand houses; the southern boundary of this kingdom is at the distance of four days' journey, bordering on the kingdom of *Macwanpur*. The third principal city to the east of *Lelit Pattan* is called *B'hátgán*; it contains about twelve thousand families, extends towards the east to the distance of five or six days' journey, and borders upon another nation; also independent, called *Cirátas*, who profess no religion. Besides these three principal cities, there are many other large and less consider-

considerable towns or fortresses, one of which is *Timi* and another *Cipoli*, each of which contains about eight thousand houses, and is very populous: all those towns both great and small are well built; the houses are constructed of brick, and are three or four stories high; their apartments are not lofty; they have doors and windows of wood well worked and arranged with great regularity. The streets of all their towns are paved with brick or stone, with a regular declivity to carry off the water. In almost every street of the capital towns there are also good wells made of stone, from which the water passes through several stone canals for the public benefit. In every town there are large square varandas well built, for the accommodation of travellers and the public: these varandas are called *Pali*, and there are also many of them as well as wells in different parts of the country for public use. There are also, on the outside of the great towns, small square reservoirs of water faced with brick, with a good road to walk upon, and a large flight of steps for the convenience of those who choose to bathe. A piece of water of this kind on the outside of the city of *Cat'hmándú* was at least two hundred feet long on each side of the square, and every part of its workmanship had a good appearance.

THE religion of *Népál* is of two kinds: the more antient is professed by many people who call themselves *Baryesu*; they pluck out all the hair from their heads; their dress is of coarse red wollen cloth, and they wear a cap of the same: they are considered as people of the religious order, and their religion prohibits them from marrying, as it is with the *Lamas* of *Tibet*, from which country their religion was originally brought; but in *Népál* they do not observe this rule, except at their discretion; they have large monasteries, in which

which every one has a separate apartment or place of abode; they observe also particular festivals, the principal of which is called *Yátrà* in their language, and continues a month or longer according to the pleasure of the king. The ceremony consists in drawing an idol, which at *Lelit Pattan* is called *BAGHERO\**, in a large and richly ornamented car, covered with gilt, copper: round about the idol stand the king and the principal *Baryesus*; and in this manner the vehicle is almost every day drawn through some one of the streets of the city by the inhabitants, who run about beating and playing upon every kind of instrument their country affords, which make an inconceivable noise.

THE other religion, the more common of the two, is that of the *Bráhmens*, and is the same as is followed in *Hindustàn*, with the difference, that in the latter country the *Hindus* being mixed with the *Mohammedans*, their religion also abounds with many prejudices, and is not strictly observed; whereas in *Népál*. where there are no *Muselmans* (except one *Cashmirian* merchant), the *Hindu* religion is practised in its greatest purity: every day of the month they class under its proper name, when certain sacrifices are to be performed and certain prayers offered up in their temples: the places of worship are more in number in their towns than, I believe, are to be found in the most populous and most flourishing cities of *Christendom*; many of them are magnificent according to their ideas of architecture, and constructed at a considerable expence; some of them have four or five square cupolas, and in some of the temples two or three of the extreme cupolas, as well as

\* I suppose a name of *Bhagavat* or *Crisbna*; but *Bhárga* is *Mahadeva*, and *Bajri* or *Vajri* means the *Thunderer*.



the doors and windows of them, are decorated with gilt copper.

- IN the city of *Lelit Pattan* the temple of BAG-HERO was contiguous to my habitation, and was more valuable, on account of the gold, silver and jewels it contained, than even the house of the king, besides the large temples there are also many small ones, which have stairs, by which a single person may ascend, on the outside all around them; and some of those small temples have four sides, others six, with small stone or marble pillars polished very smooth, with two or three pyramidal stories, and all their ornaments well gilt, and neatly worked according to their ideas of taste: and I think that, if *Europeans* should ever go into *Népál*, they might take some models from those little temples, especially from the two which are in the great court of *Lelit Pattan* before the royal palace: on the outside of some of their temples there are also great square pillars of single stones from twenty to thirty feet high, upon which they place their idols superbly gilt. The greatest number of their temples have a good stone staircase in the middle of the four squares, and, at the end of each flight of stairs, there are lines cut out of stone on both sides: around about their temples there are also bells, which the people ring on particular occasions, and when they are at prayers; many cupolas are also quite filled with little bells hanging by cords in the inside about the distance of a foot from each other, which make a great noise on that quarter where the wind conveys the sound. There are not only superb temples in their great cities but also within their castles.
- To the eastward of *Cat'hmándù*, at the distance of about two or three miles, there is a place called *Tolu*, by which there flows a small river, the water of which is esteemed holy according to their

their superstitious ideas, and thither they carry people of high rank, when they are thought to be at the point of death: at this place there is a temple, which is not inferior to the best and richest in any of the capital cities. They also have it on tradition, that, at two or three places in *Népál*, valuable treasures are concealed under ground: one of those places they believe is *Tolu*, but no one is permitted to make use of them except the king, and that only in cases of necessity. Those treasures, they say, have been accumulated in this manner: when any temple had become very rich from the offerings of the people, it was destroyed, and deep vaults dug under ground one above another, in which the gold, silver, gilt copper, jewels, and every thing of value were deposited. When I was in *Népál*, *GAINPREJAS*, king of *Gar'bmándú*, being in the utmost distress for money to pay his troops, in order to support himself against *PRIT'HWI'NA'RA'YAN*, ordered search to be made for the treasures of *Tolu*; and, having dug to a considerable depth under ground, they came to the first vault, from which his people took to the value of a lac of rupees in gilt copper, with which *GAINPREJAS* paid his troops, exclusive of a number of small figures in gold or gilt copper, which the people who had made the search had privately carried off: and this I know very well; because one evening as I was walking in the country alone, a poor man, whom I met on the road, made me an offer of a figure of an idol in gold or copper gilt, which might be five or six sicca weight, and which he cautiously preserved under his arm; but I declined accepting it. The people of *GAINPREJES* had not completely emptied the first vault, when the army of *PRIT'HWI'NA'RA'YAN* arrived at *Tolu*, possessed themselves of the place where the treasure was deposited, and closed

closed the door of the vault, having first replaced all the copper there had been on the outside.

To the westward also of the great city of *Leit Pattan*, at the distance of only three miles, is a castle called *Bānga*, in which there is a magnificent temple: no one of the missionaries ever entered into this castle, because the people who have the care of it, have such a scrupulous veneration for this temple, that no person is permitted to enter it with his shoes on; and the missionaries, unwilling to shew such respect to their false deities, never entered it. But when I was at *Népāl*, this castle being in the possession of the people of *Gorc'hà*, the commandant of the castle and of the two forts which border on the road, being a friend of the missionaries, gave me an invitation to his house, as he had occasion for a little physick for himself and some of his people: I then, under the protection of the commandant, entered the castle several times, and the people durst not oblige me to take off my shoes. One day, when I was at the commandant's house, he had occasion to go into the varanda, which is at the bottom of the great court facing the temple, where all the chiefs dependent upon his orders were assembled, and where also was collected the wealth of the temple; and, wishing to speak to me before I went away, he called me into the varanda. From this incident I obtained a sight of the temple, and then passed by the great court which was in front: it is entirely marble almost blue, but interspersed with large flowers of bronze well disposed to form the pavement of the great court-yard, the magnificence of which astonished me, and I do not believe there is another equal to it in *Europe*.

BESIDES the magnificence of the temples which their cities and towns contain, there are many other rarities. At *Carbmándú* on one side of the

royal garden there is a large fountain, in which is one of their idols called *Náráyan*. This idol is of blue stone, crowned and sleeping on a mattrafs also of the same kind of stone, and the idol and the mattrafs appear as floating upon the water. This stone machine is very large: I believe it to be eighteen or twenty feet long and broad in proportion, but well worked and in good repair.

IN a wall of the royal palace of *Cat'hmándú*, which is built upon the court before the palace, there is a great stone of a single piece, which is about fifteen feet long, and four or five feet thick; on the top of this great stone, there are four square holes at equal distances from each other; in the inside of the wall they pour water into the holes, and in the court side, each hole having a closed canal, every person may draw water to drink: at the foot of the stone is a large ladder, by which people ascend to drink; but the curiosity of the stone consists in its being quite covered with characters of different languages cut upon it. Some lines contain the characters of the language of the country; others the characters of *Tibet*, others *Persian*; others *Greek*, besides several others of different nations; and in the middle there is a line of *Roman* characters; which appears in this form, AVTOMNEW INTER LHIVERT; but none of the inhabitants have any knowledge how they came there, nor do they know whether or not any *European* had ever been in *Népál* before the missionaries, who arrived there only the beginning of the present century. They are manifestly two *French* names of seasons, with an *English* word between them.

THERE is also to the northward of the city of *Cat'hmándú* a hill called *Simbi*, upon which are some tombs of the *Lamas* of *Tibet*, and other people of high rank of the same nation: the monuments are

are constructed after various forms; two or three of them are pyramidal, very high, and well ornamented; so that they have a very good appearance, and may be seen at a considerable distance: round these monuments are remarkable stones covered with characters, which probably are the inscriptions of some of the inhabitants of *Tibet*, whose bones were interred there. The natives of *Népál* not only look upon the hill as sacred, but imagine it is protected by their idols; and, from this erroneous supposition, never thought of stationing troops there for the defence of it, although it be a post of great importance, and only at a short mile's distance from the city: but during the time of hostilities a party of PRIT'HWI'NA'RA'YAN'S troops being pursued by those of GAINPREJAS, the former, to save themselves, fled to this hill, and, apprehending no danger from its guardian idols, they possessed themselves of it and erected a fortification (in their own style) to defend themselves: in digging the ditches round the fort, which were adjoining to the tombs, they found considerable pieces of gold, with a quantity of which metal the corpses of the grandees of *Tibet* are always interred; and when the war was ended, I myself went to see the monuments upon the hills.

I BELIEVE that the kingdom of *Népál* is very ancient, because it has always preserved its peculiar language and independence; but the cause of its ruin is the dissension which subsists among the three kings. After the death of their sovereign the nobles of *Lelit Pattan* nominated for their king GAINPREJAS, a man possessed of the greatest influence in *Népál*; but some years afterwards they removed him from his government, and conferred it upon the king of *Bhatgán*; but he also a short time afterwards was deposed; and, after having put to death another king who succeeded him,

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him, they made an offer of the government to PRIT'HWINA'RAYAN, who had already commenced war. PRIT'HWINA'RAYAN deputed one of his brothers, by name DELMERDEN SA'H, to govern the kingdom of *Lelit Pattan*, and he was in the actual government of it when I arrived at *Nepál*; but the nobles perceiving that PRIT'HWINA'RAYAN still continued to interrupt the tranquillity of the kingdom, they disclaimed all subjection to him, and acknowledged for their sovereign DELMERDEN SA'H, who continued the war against his brother PRIT'HWINA'RAYAN; but some years afterwards, they even deposed DELMERDEN SA'H, and elected in his room a poor man of *Lelit Pattan*, who was of royal origin.

THE king of *Bhatgán*, in order to wage war with the other kings of *Nepál*, had demanded assistance from PRIT'HWINA'RAYAN; but seeing that PRIT'HWINA'RAYAN was possessing himself of the country, he was obliged to desist, and to take measures for the defence of his own possessions; so that the king of *Górc'hà*, although he had been formerly a subject of GAINPREJAS, taking advantage of the dissensions which prevailed among the other king's of *Nepál*, attached to his party many of the mountain chiefs, promising to keep them in possession, and also to augment their authority and importance; and, if any of them were guilty of a breach of faith, he seized their country as he had done to the kings of *Marecajis*, although his relations.

THE king of *Górc'hà* having already possessed himself of all the mountains which surround the plain of *Nepál*, began to descend into the flat country, imagining he should be able to carry on his operations with the same facility and success as had attended him on the hills; and, having drawn up his army before a town, containing about  
eight

eight thousand houses, situate upon a hill called *Cirtipur*, about a league's distance from *Cat'h-mándú*, employed his utmost endeavours to get possession of it: the inhabitants of *Cirtipur* receiving no support from the king *of Lelit Pattan*, to whom they were subject, applied for assistance to *GAINPREJAS*, who immediately marched with his whole army to their relief, gave battle to the army of the king of *Górc'hà*, and obtained a complete victory. A brother of the king of *Górc'hà* was killed on the field of battle; and the king himself, by the assistance of good bearers, narrowly escaped with his life by fleeing into the mountains: after the action, the inhabitants of *Cirtipur* demanded *GAINPREJAS* for their king, and the nobles of the town went to confer with him on the business; but, being all assembled in the same apartment with the king, they were all surprised and seized by his people. After the seizure of those persons, *GAINPREJAS*, perhaps to revenge himself of these nobles for having refused their concurrence to his nomination as king, privately caused some of them to be put to death; another by name *DANUVANTA*, was led through the city in a woman's dress, along with several others clothed in a ridiculous and whimsical manner at the expence of the nobles of *Lelit Pattan*. They were then kept in close confinement for a long time: at last, after making certain promises, and interesting all the principal men of the country in their behalf, *GAINPREJAS* set them at liberty.

THE king of *Górc'hà*, despairing of his ability to get possession of the plain of *Népál* by strength, hoped to effect his purpose by causing a famine, and with this design stationed troops at all the passes of the mountains to prevent any intercourse with *Népál*; and his orders were most rigorously obeyed,

obeyed, for every person who was found in the road with only a little salt or cotton about him was hung upon a tree; and he caused all the inhabitants of a neighbouring village to be ~~put to~~ death in a most cruel manner; even the women and children did not escape, for having supplied a little cotton to the inhabitants of *Népál*; and when I arrived in that country at the beginning of 1769, it was a most horrid spectacle to behold so many people hanging on trees in the road. However, the king of *Górc'hà* being also disappointed in his expectations of gaining his end by this project, fomented dissensions among the nobles of the three kingdoms of *Népál*, and attached to his party many of the principal ones, by holding forth to them liberal and enticing promises, for which purpose he had about two thousand *Brahmens* in his service. When he thought he had acquired a party sufficiently strong, he advanced a second time with his army to *Cirtipur*, and laid siege to it on the north-west quarter, that he might avoid exposing his army between the two cities of *Cat'hmandú* and *Lelit Pattan*. After a siege of several months, the king of *Górc'ha* demanded the regency of the town of *Cirtipur*, when the commandant of the town, seconded by the approbation of the inhabitants, dispatched to him by an arrow a very impertinent and exasperating answer. The king of *Górc'hà* was so much enraged at this mode of proceeding, that he gave immediate orders to all his troops to storm the town on every side: but the inhabitants bravely defended it, so that all the efforts of his men availed him nothing; and, when he saw that his army had failed of gaining the precipice, and that his brother named *SURU PARATNA* had fallen wounded by an arrow, he was obliged to raise the siege a second time, and to retreat with his army  
from



from *Cirtipur*. The brother of the king was afterwards cured of his wound by our Father MICHAEL ANGELO, who is at present in *Bettia*.

AFTER the action the king of *Gorc'hà* sent his army against the king of *Lamji*, (one of the twenty-four kings who reign to the westward of *Népál*), bordering upon his own kingdom of *Gorc'hà*: after many desperate engagements an accommodation took place with the king of *Lamji*, and the king of *Gorc'hà* collecting all his forces, sent them for the third time to besiege *Cirtipur*, and the army on this expedition was commanded by his brother SURUPARATNA. The inhabitants of *Cirtipur* defended themselves with their usual bravery, and after a siege of several months, the three kings of *Népál* assembled at *Cat'hmándú* to march a body of troops to the relief of *Cirtipur*: one day in the afternoon they attacked some of the *Tanas* of the *Gorc'hà*, but did not succeed in forcing them, because the king of *Gorc'hà*'s party had been reinforced by many of the nobility, who to ruin GAINPREJAS were willing to sacrifice their own lives. The inhabitants of *Cirtipur* having already sustained six or seven months siege, a noble of *Lelit Pattan* called DANUVANTA fled to the *Gorc'hà* party, and treacherously introduced their army into the town: the inhabitants might still have defended themselves, having many other fortresses in the upper parts of the town to retreat to; but the people at *Gorc'hà* having published a general amnesty, the inhabitants, greatly exhausted by the fatigues of a long siege, surrendered themselves prisoners upon the faith of that promise. In the mean time the men of *Gorc'hà* seized all the gates and fortresses within the town; but two days afterwards PRIT'HWINA'RA'YAN, who was at *Narvâcutá* (a long day's journey distant) issued an order

to

to SURU'PARATNA his brother to put to death some of the principal inhabitants of the town, and to cut off the noses and lips of every one, even the infants who were not found in the arms of their mothers; ordering at the same time all the noses and lips which had been cut off to be preserved, that he might ascertain how many souls there were, and to change the name of the town into *Naskatápúr*, which signifies the *town of cut-noses*. The order was carried into execution with every mark of horror and cruelty, none escaping but those who could play on wind instruments; although Father MICHAEL ANGELO, who, without knowing that such an inhuman scene was then exhibited, had gone to the house of SURU'PARATNA, interceded much in favour of the poor inhabitants: many of them put an end to their lives in despair; others came in great ~~bodies~~ to us in search of medicines, and it was most shocking to see so many living people with their teeth and noses resembling the skulls of the deceased.

AFTER the capture of *Cirtipur* PRIT'HWINA'RA'YAN dispatched immediately his army to lay siege to the great city of *Lelit Pattan*. The *Górc'hians* surrounded half the city to the westward with their *Tanas*, and, my house being situated near the gate of that quarter, I was obliged to retire to *Cath'mándú* to avoid being exposed to the fire of the besiegers. After many engagements between the inhabitants of the town of *Lelit Pattan* and the men of *Górc'hà*, in which much blood was spilled on both sides, the former were disposed to surrender themselves, from the fear of having their noses cut off, like those at *Cirtipur*, and also their right hands, a barbarity the *Górc'hians* had threatened them with, unless they would surrender within five days. One night all the *Górc'hians* quitted

quitted the siege of *Lelit Pattan* to pursue the *English* army, which, under the command of Captain KINLOCH, had already taken *Sidùli*, an important fort at the foot of the *Népál* hills, which border upon the kingdom of *Tirhùt*: but Captain KINLOCH not being able to penetrate the hills, either on the *Sidùli* quarter or by the pass at *Hareapur*, in the kingdom of *Macwampur*, the army of *Górc'hà* returned to *Népál* to direct their operations against the city of *Cat'hmándú*, where GAINPREJAS was, who had applied for succour to the *English*. During the siege of *Cat'hmándú* the *Bráhmens* of *Górc'hà* came almost every night into the city, to engage the chiefs of the people on the part of their king; and the more effectually to impose upon poor GAINPREJAS, many of the principal *Bráhmens* went to his house, and told him to persevere with confidence, that the chiefs of the *Górc'hà* army were attached to his ~~cause~~ and that even they themselves would deliver up their king PRITH'WÍNA'RA'YAN to his hands. Having by these artifices procured an opportunity of detaching from his party all his principal subjects, tempting them with liberal promises, according to their custom, one night the men of *Górc'hà* entered the city without opposition, and the wretched GAINPREJAS, perceiving he was betrayed, had scarce time to escape with about three hundred of his best and most faithful *Hindu'stáni* troops towards *Lelit Pattan*, which place however he reached the same night. •

THE king of *Górc'hà* having made himself master of *Cat'hmándú* in the year 1768, persisted in the attempt of possessing himself also of the city of *Lelit Pattan*, promising all the nobles, that he would suffer them to remain in the possession of their property, that he would even augment it; and because the nobles of *Lelit Pattan* placed a reliance

reliance on the faith of his promises, he sent his domestick priest to make this protestation. That if he failed to acquit himself of his promise, he should draw curses upon himself and his family even to the fifth past and succeeding generation; so that the unhappy GAINPREJAS and the king of *Lelit Pattan*, seeing that the nobility were disposed to render themselves subject to the king of *Górc'hà*, withdrew themselves with their people to the king of *B'hatgàn*. When the city of *Lelit Pattan* became subject to the king of *Górc'hà*, he continued for some time to treat the nobility with great attention, and proposed to appoint a viceroy of the city from among them. Two or three months afterwards, having appointed the day for making his formal entrance into the city of *Lelit Pattan*, he made use of innumerable stratagems to get into his possession the persons of the nobility, and in the end succeeded; he had prevailed upon them to permit their sons to remain at court as companions of his son; he had dispatched a noble of each house to *Navacút*, or *New Fort*, pretending that the apprehensions he entertained of them had prevented his making a publick entrance into the city; and the remaining nobles were seized at the river without the town, where they went to meet him agreeably to a prior engagement. Afterwards he entered the city, made a visit to the temple of BAGHERO adjoining to our habitation, and, passing in triumph through the city amidst immense numbers of soldiers who composed his train, entered the royal palace, which had been prepared for his reception: in the mean time parties of his soldiers broke open the houses of the nobility, seized all their effects, and threw the inhabitants of the city into the utmost consternation: after having caused all the nobles who were in his power to be put to death, or rather

rather their bodies to be mangled in a horrid manner, he departed with a design of besieging *B'hatgán*, and we obtained permission, through the interest of his son, to retire with all the *Christians* into the possessions of the *English*.

At the commencement of the year 1709, the king of *Górc'hà* acquired possession of the city of *B'hatgán*, by the same expedients to which he owed his former successes, and on his entrance with his troops into the city, *GAINPREJAS*, seeing he had no resource left to save himself, ran courageously with his attendants towards the king of *Górc'hà*, and, at a small distance from his palanquin, received a wound in his foot, which a few days afterwards occasioned his death. The king of *Lelit Pattan* was confined in irons till his death, and the king of *B'hatgán*, being very far advanced in years, obtained leave to go and die at *Banares*. A short time afterwards the mother of *GAINPREJAS* procured the same indulgence, having from old age already lost her eye-sight; but before her departure they took from her a necklace of jewels, as she herself told me, when she arrived at *Patna* with the widow of her grandson; and I could not refrain from tears, when I beheld the misery and disgrace of this blind and unhappy queen.

THE king of *Górc'hà*, having thus in the space of four years effected the conquest of *Népál*, made himself master also of the country of the *Cirátas* to the east of it, and of other kingdoms, as far as the borders of *Cóch Bibàr*. After his decease, his eldest son *PRATA'P SINH* held the government of the whole country; but scarcely two years after, on *PRATA'P SINH*'s death, a younger brother, by name, *BAHA'DAR SA'H*, who resided then at *Bettia* with his uncle *DELMERDEN SA'H*, was invited to accept of the government, and the beginning of his government was marked with many massacres.

massacres. The royal family is in the greatest confusion, because the queen lays claim to the government in the name of her son, whom she had by PRATAP SINH; and perhaps the oath violated by PRIT'HWINARA'YAN will in the progress of time have its effect. Such have been the successors of the kingdoms of *Népal*, of which PRIT'HWINARA'YAN had thus acquired possession.

ON  
TWO HINDU FESTIVALS,

AND THE

INDIAN SPHINX.

BY THE LATE COL. PEARSE, MAY 12, 1785.

I BEG leave to point out to the Society, that the *Sunday* before last was the Festival of BHAVA'NI', which is annually celebrated by the *Gôpas* and all other *Hindus* who keep horned cattle for use or profit: on this feast they visit gardens, erect a pole in the fields, and adorn it with pendants and garlands. The *Sunday* before last was our *first* of *May*, on which the same rites are performed by the same class of people in *England*, where it is well known to be a relique of ancient superstition in that country: it should seem, therefore, that the religion of the East and the old religion of *Britain* had a strong affinity. BHAVA'NI' has another festival; but that is not kept by any one set of *Hindus* in particular, and this is appropriated to one class of people: this is constantly held on the *ninth* of *Baisâc'h*; which does not always fall on our *first* of *May*, as it did this year. Those members of the Society who are acquainted with the rules which regulate the festivals,

festivals, may be able to give better information concerning this point: I only mean to point out the resemblance of the rites performed here and in *England*, but must leave abler hands to investigate the matter further, if it should be thought deserving of the trouble. I find, that the festival which I have mentioned, is one of the most ancient among the *Hindus*.

II. DURING the *Húli*, when mirth and festivity reign among *Hindus* of every class, one subject of diversion is to send people on errands and expeditions that are to end in disappointment, and raise a laugh at the expence of the person sent. The *Húli* is always in *March*, and the last day is the greatest holiday: all the *Hindus* who are on that day at *Jaganná'th*, are entitled to certain distinctions, which they hold to be of such importance, that I found it expedient to stay there till the end of the festival; and I am of opinion, and so are the rest of the officers, that I saved above five hundred men by the delay. The origin of the *Húli* seems lost in antiquity; and I have not been able to pick up the smallest account of it.

IF the rites of *MAYDAY* show any affinity between the religion of *England* in times past and that of the *Hindus* in these times, may not the custom of making *April-fools*, on the first of that month, indicate some traces of the *Húli*? I have never yet heard any account of the origin of the *English* custom; but it is unquestionably very ancient, and is still kept up even in great towns, though less in them than in the country: with us it is chiefly confined to the lower classes of people; but in *India* high and low join in it; and the late *SHUJA'UL DAULAH*, I am told, was very fond of making *Húli-fools*, though he was a *Musliman* of the highest rank. They carry it here so far, as to send letters making appointments in the names



names of persons, who, it is known, must be absent from their house at the time fixed on; and the laugh is always in proportion to the trouble given.

III. AT *Jagannát' b* I found the *Sphinx* of the *Egyptians*. MURA'RI Pandit, who was deputy *Faujdar* of *Balasòr*, attended my detachment on the part of the *Mahráttas*: he is now the principal *Faujdar*, and is much of the gentleman, a man of learning, and very intelligent. From him I learned, that the *Sphinx*, here called *Singh*, is to appear at the end of the world, and, as soon as he is born, will prey on an elephant: he is, therefore, figured seizing an elephant in his claws; and the elephant is made small, to show that the *Singh*, even a moment after his birth, will be very large in proportion to it.

WHEN I told MURA'RI, that the *Egyptians* worshipped a bull, and chose the God by a black mark on his tongue, and that they adored birds and trees, he immediately exclaimed, "Their religion then was the same with ours; for we also chose our sacred bulls by the same marks; we reverence the *hansa*, the *garura*, and other birds; we respect the *pippal* and *vata* among trees, and the *tulasi* among shrubs; but as for onions, (which I had mentioned) they are eaten by low men, and are fitter to be eaten than worshipped."

REMARK BY THE PRESIDENT.

WITHOUT presuming to question the authority of MURA'RI Pandit, I can only say, that several *Bráhmans*, now in *Bengal*, have seen the figure at *Jagannát' b*, where one of the gates is called *Sinbadwár*; and they assure me, that they always

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considered it as a mere representation of a *Lion* seizing a young elephant; nor do they know, they say, any sense for the word *Sinba* but a *Lion*, such as Mr. HASTINGS kept near his garden. The *Húli*, called *Hólácà* in the *Védas*, and *P'bahgútsava* in common *Sanscrit* books, is the festival of the vernal season, or *Naurúz* of the *Persians*.

## SHORT DESCRIPTION

OF

## CARNICOBAR,

BY MR. G. HAMILTON,

COMMUNICATED BY MR. ZOFFANY.

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THE island of which I propose to give a succinct account, is the northernmost of that cluster in the *Bay of Bengal*, which goes by the name of the *Nicobars*. It is low, of a round figure, about forty miles in circumference, and appears at a distance as if entirely covered with trees: however, there are several well-cleared and delightful spots upon it. The soil is a black kind of clay, and marshy. It produces in great abundance, and with little care, most of the tropical fruits, such as pine-apples, plantains, papayas, cocoa-nuts, and areca-nuts; also excellent yams, and a root called *cachu*. The only four-footed animals upon the island are hogs, dogs,

dogs, large rats, and an animal of the lizard kind, but large, called by the natives *tolonqui*; these frequently carry off fowls and chickens. The only kind of poultry are hens, and those not in great plenty. There are abundance of snakes of many different kinds, and the inhabitants frequently die of their bites. The timber upon the island is of many sorts, in great plenty, and some of it remarkably large, affording excellent materials for building or repairing ships.

THE natives are low in stature but very well made, and surprizingly active and strong; they are copper-coloured, and their features have a cast of the *Malay*; quite the reverse of elegant. The women in particular are extremely ugly. The men cut their hair short, and the women have their heads shaved quite bare, and wear no covering but a short petticoat, made of a sort of rush or dry grass, which reaches half-way down the thigh. This grass is not interwoven, but hangs round the person something like the thatching of a house. Such of them as have received presents of cloth petticoats from the ships, commonly tie them round immediately under the arms. The men wear nothing but a narrow strip of cloth about the middle, in which they wrap up their privates so tight that there hardly is any appearance of them. The ears of both sexes are pierced when young, and by squeezing into the holes large plugs of wood, or hanging heavy weights of shells; they contrive to render them wide and disagreeable to look at. They are naturally disposed to be good-humoured and gay, and are very fond of sitting at table with *Europeans*, where they eat every thing that is set before them; and they eat most enormously. They do not care much for wine, but will drink bumpers of arrack, as long as they can see. A great part  
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of their time is spent in feasting and dancing. When a feast is held at any village, every one, that chuses, goes uninvited, for they are utter strangers to ceremony. At those feasts they eat immense quantities of pork, which is their favourite food. Their hogs are remarkably fat, being fed upon the cocoa-nut kernel and sea-water; indeed all their domestic animals, fowls, dogs, &c. are fed upon the same. They have likewise plenty of small sea-fish, which they strike very dexterously with lances, wading into the sea about knee deep. They are sure of killing a very small fish at ten or twelve yards distance. They eat the pork almost raw, giving it only a hasty grill over a quick fire. They roast a fowl, by running a piece of wood through it, by way of spit, and holding it over a brisk fire, until the feathers are burnt off, when it is ready for eating, in their taste. They never drink water; only cocoa-nut milk and a liquor called *soura*, which oozes from the cocoa-nut-tree after cutting off the young sprouts or flowers. This they suffer to ferment before it is used, and then it is intoxicating, to which quality they add much by their method of drinking it, by sucking it slowly through a small straw. After eating, the young men and women, who are fancifully drest with leaves, go to dancing, and the old people surround them smoking *tobacco* and drinking *soura*. The dancers, while performing, sing some of their tunes, which are far from wanting harmony, and to which they keep exact time. Of musical instruments they have only one kind, and that the simplest. It is a hollow bamboo about two feet and a half long, and three inches in diameter, along the outside of which there is stretched from end to end a single string made of the threads of a split cane, and the place under the string is hollowed a little to prevent it from

from touching. This instrument is played upon in the same manner as a guitar. It is capable of producing but few notes; the performer makes it speak harmoniously, and generally accompanies it with the voice.

WHAT they know of physick is small and simple. I had once occasion to see an operation in surgery performed on the toe of a young girl, who had been stung by a scorpion or centipes. The wound was attended with a considerable swelling, and the little patient seemed in great pain. One of the natives produced the under jaw of a small fish, which was long, and planted with two rows of teeth as sharp as needles: taking this in one hand, and a small stick by way of hammer in the other, he struck the teeth three or four times into the swelling, and made it bleed freely: the toe was then bound up with certain leaves, and next day the child was running about perfectly well.

THEIR houses are generally built upon the beach in villages of fifteen or twenty houses each; and each house contains a family of twenty persons and upwards. These habitations are raised upon wooden pillars about ten feet from the ground; they are round, and, having no windows, look like bee-hives covered with thatch. The entry is through a trap-door below, where the family mount by a ladder, which is drawn up at night. This manner of building is intended to secure the houses from being infested with snakes and rats, and for that purpose the pillars are bound round with a smooth kind of leaf, which prevents animals from being able to mount; besides which, each pillar has a broad round flat piece of wood near the top of it, the projecting of which effectually prevents the further progress of such vermin as may have passed the leaf. The flooring is made with  
thin

thin strips of bamboos laid at such distances from one another, as to leave free admision for light and air, and the inside is neatly finished and decorated with fishing lances, nets, &c.

THE art of making cloth of any kind is quite unknown to the inhabitants of this island; what they have is got from the ships that come to trade in cocoa-nuts. In exchange for their nuts (which are reckoned the finest in this part of *India*) they will accept of but few articles; what they chiefly wish for is cloth of different colours, hatchets and hanger blades, which they use in cutting down the nuts. Tobacco and arrack they are very fond of, but expect these in presents. They have no money of their own, nor will they allow any value to the coin of other countries, further than as they happen to fancy them for ornaments; the young women sometimes hanging strings of dollars about their necks. However they are good judges of gold and silver, and it is no easy matter to impose baser metals upon them as such.

THEY purchase a much larger quantity of cloth than is consumed upon their own island. This is intended for the *Choury* market. *Choury* is a small island to the southward of theirs, to which a large fleet of their boats sails every year about the month of *November*, to exchange cloth for *canoes*; for they cannot make these themselves. This voyage they perform by the help of the sun and stars, for they know nothing of the compass.

IN their disposition there are two remarkable qualities. One is their entire neglect of compliment and ceremony; and the other, their aversion to dishonesty. A *Carnicobarian* travelling to a distant village upon business or amusement, passes through many towns in his way without perhaps speaking to any one: if he is hungry or tired he goes up into the nearest house, and helps himself

to

to what he wants, and sits till he is rested, without taking the smallest notice of any of the family, unless he has business or news to communicate. Theft or robbery is so very rare amongst them, that a man going out of his house never takes away his ladder, or shuts his door, but leaves it open for any body to enter that pleases, without the least apprehension of having any thing stolen from him.

THEIR intercourse with strangers is so frequent, that they have acquired in general the barbarous *Portuguese* so common over *India*. Their own language has a sound quite different from most others, their words being pronounced with a kind of stop, or catch in the throat, at every syllable. The few following words will serve to shew those who are acquainted with other *Indian* languages, whether there is any similitude between them.

A man,	<i>Kegonia.</i>	To eat,	<i>Gnia.</i>
A woman,	<i>Kecanna.</i>	To drink,	<i>Okk.</i>
A child,	<i>Chu.</i>	Yams,	<i>T'owla.</i>
To laugh,	<i>Ayelaur.</i>	To weep,	<i>Poing.</i>
A canoe,	<i>App.</i>	A pine apple,	<i>Frung.</i>
A house,	<i>Alhanum.</i>	To sleep,	<i>Loom loom.</i>
A fowl,	<i>Hayám.</i>	A dog,	<i>T'amani.</i>
A hog,	<i>Hown.</i>	Fire,	<i>T'amia.</i>
Fish,	<i>Ka.</i>	Rain,	<i>Koomra.</i>

THEY have no notion of a God, but they believe firmly in the devil, and worship him from fear. In every village there is a high pole erected with long strings of ground-rattans hanging from it, which, it is said, has the virtue to keep him at a distance. When they see any signs of an approaching storm, they imagine that the devil intends them a visit, upon which many superstitious ceremonies are performed. The people of every village



village march round their own boundaries, and fix up at different distances small sticks split at the top, into which split they put a piece of cocoa-nut, a wisp of tobacco, and the leaf of a certain plant: whether this is meant as a peace-offering to the devil, or a scarecrow to frighten him away, does not appear.

WHEN a man dies, all his live stock, cloth, hatchet, fishing lances, and in short every moveable thing he possessed is buried with him, and his death is mourned by the whole village. In one view this is an excellent custom, seeing it prevents all disputes about the property of the deceased amongst his relations. His wife must conform to custom by having a joint cut off from one of her fingers; and, if she refuses this, she must submit to have a deep notch cut in one of the pillars of her house.

I WAS once present at the funeral of an old woman. When we went into the house which had belonged to the deceased, we found it full of her female relations; some of them were employed in wrapping up the corpse in leaves and cloth, and others tearing to pieces all the cloth which had belonged to her. In another house hard by, the men of the village, with a great many others from the neighbouring towns, were sitting drinking *soura* and smoking tobacco. In the meantime two stout young fellows were busy digging a grave in the sand near the house. When the women had done with the corpse, they set up a most hideous howl, upon which the people began to assemble round the grave, and four men went up into the house to bring down the body: in doing this they were much interrupted by a young man, son to the deceased, who endeavoured with all his might to prevent them; but finding it in vain, he clung round the body, and was carried

carried to the grave along with it: there, after a violent struggle, he was turned away, and conducted back to the house. The corpse being now put into the grave, and the lashings, which bound the legs and arms, cut, all the live stock which had been the property of the deceased, consisting of about half a dozen hogs and as many fowls, was killed, and flung in above it; a man then approached with a bunch of leaves stuck upon the end of a pole, which he swept two or three times gently along the corpse, and then the grave was filled up. During the ceremony the women continued to make the most horrible vocal concert imaginable; the men said nothing. A few days afterwards, a kind of monument was erected over the grave, with a pole upon it, to which long strips of cloth of different colours were hung.

POLYGAMY is not known among them; and their punishment of adultery is not less severe than effectual. They cut, from the man's offending member, a piece of the foreskin proportioned to the frequent commission or enormity of the crime.

THERE seems to subsist among them a perfect equality. A few persons, from their age, have a little more respect paid to them; but there is no appearance of authority one over another. Their society seems bound rather by mutual obligations conferred and received; the simplest and best of all ties.

THE inhabitants of the *Andamans* are said to be *Cannibals*. The people of *Carnicobar* have a tradition among them, that several canoes came from *Andaman* many years ago, and that the crews were all armed, and committed great depredations, and killed several of the *Nicobarians*. It appears at first remarkable, that there should be such a wide difference between the manners of the

inhabitants of islands so near to one another; the *Andamans* being savage *Cannibals*; and the others, the most harmless and inoffensive people possible. But it is accounted for by the following historical anecdote, which I have been assured is matter of fact.

SHORTLY after the *Portuguese* had discovered the passage to *India* round the *Cape of Good Hope*, one of their ships, on board of which were a number of *Mozambique* negroes, was lost on the *Andaman* islands, which were till then uninhabited. The blacks remained in the island and settled it: the *Europeans* made a small shallop in which they sailed to *Pegu*. On the other hand, the *Nicobar* islands were peopled from the opposite main, and the coast of *Pegu*; in proof of which the *Nicobar* and *Pegu* languages are said, by those acquainted with the latter, to have much resemblance.

ON THE  
 C U R E  
 OF THE  
 E L E P H A N T I A S I S.

BY AT'HAR ALI KHAN OF DEHLI.

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

**A**MONG the afflicting maladies which punish the vices any try the virtues of mankind, there are few disorders of which the consequences are more dreadful or the remedy in general more desperate than the *jadhám* of the *Arabs* or *khóráh* of the *Indians*: it is also called in *Arabia dá l' áfad*, a name corresponding with the *Leontiasis* of the *Greeks*, and supposed to have been given in allusion to the grim distracted and *lion-like* countenances of the miserable persons who are affected with it. The more common name of the distemper is *Elephantiasis*, or, as *LUCRETIUS* calls it, *Elephas*, because it renders the skin, like that of an *Elephant*, uneven and wrinkled, with many tubercles and furrows; but this complaint must not be confounded with the *dáül'jíl*, or *swelled legs*, described by the *Arabian* physicians, and

and very common in this country. It has no fixed name in *English*, tho' HILLARY, in his *Observations on the Diseases of Barbadoes*, calls it the *Leprosy of the Joints* because it principally affects the extremities, which, in the last stage of the malady are distorted, and at length drop off: but, since it is in truth a distemper corrupting the whole mass of blood, and therefore considered by PAUL of *Aegineta* as an *universal ulcer*, it requires a more general appellation, and may properly be named the *Black Leprosy*; which term is in fact adopted by M. BOISSIEU de SAUVAGES and GORROEUS, in contradiction to the *White Leprosy*, or the *Beres* of the *Arabs* and *Leucé* of the *Greeks*.

THIS disease, by whatever name we distinguish it, is peculiar to hot climates, and has rarely appeared in *Europe*: the philosophical Poet of *Rome* supposes it confined to *the Banks of the Nile*; and it has certainly been imported from *Africa* into the *West-India* Islands by the black slaves, who carried with them their resentment and their revenge; but it has been long known in *Hindustan*, and the writer of the following Dissertation, whose father was Physician to NA'DIRSHAH, and accompanied him from *Persia* to *Dehli*, assures me that it rages with virulence among the native inhabitants of *Calcutta*. His observation, that it is frequently a consequence of the *venereal infection*, would lead us to believe, that it might be radically cured by *mercury*; which has, nevertheless, been found ineffectual, and even hurtful, as HILLARY reports, in the *West-Indies*. The juice of *hemlock*, suggested by the learned MICHAELIS, and approved by his medical friend RORDERER, might be very efficacious at the beginning of the disorder, or in the milder sorts of it; but, in the case of a malignant and inveterate

rate *judhám*, we must either administer a remedy of the highest power, or, agreeably to the desponding opinion of CELSUS, leave the patient to his fate, instead of teasing him with fruitless medicines, and suffer him, in the forcible words of ARETÆUS, to sink from inextricable slumber into death. The life of a man is, however, so dear to him by nature, and in general so valuable to society, that we should never despond, while a spark of it remains; and, whatever apprehensions may be formed of future danger from the distant effects of *arsenick*, even though it should eradicate a present malady, yet as no such inconvenience has arisen from the use of it in *India*, and as experience must ever prevail over theory, I cannot help wishing that this ancient *Hindu* medicine may be fully tried under the inspection of our *European* Surgeons, whose minute accuracy and steady attention must always give them a claim to superiority over the most learned natives; but many of our countrymen have assured me, that they by no means entertain a contemptuous opinion of the native medicines, especially in diseases of the skin. Should it be thought, that the mixture of sulphur must render the poison less active, it may be adviseable at first to administer orpiment, instead of the *chrystaline arsenick*.

On the CUR<sup>Y</sup> of the ELEPHANTIASIS, and  
 other DISORDERS of the BLOOD.

God is the all-powerful Healer.

IN the year of the MESSIAH 1783, when the worthy and respectable *Maúlavi* MÍR MUHAMMED HUSAIN, who excels in every branch of useful knowledge, accompanied Mr. RICHARD JOHNSON from *Lac'bnau* to *Calcutta*, he visited the humble writer of this tract, who had long been attached to him with sincere affection; and, in the course of their conversation, "One of the fruits of my late excursion," said he, "is a present for you, which suits your profession, and will be generally useful to our species: conceiving you to be worthy of it by reason of your assiduity in medical enquiries, I have brought you a prescription, the ingredients of which are easily found, but not easily equalled as a powerful remedy against all corruptions of the blood, the *judhám*, and the *Persian Fire*, the remains of which are a source of infinite maladies. It is an old secret of the *Hindu* Physicians; who applied it also to the cure of cold and moist distempers, as the palsy, distortions of the face, relaxation of the nerves, and similar diseases: its efficacy too has been proved by long experience; and this is the method of preparing it.

"TAKE of white *arsenick*, fine and fresh, one *tólá*; of picked black pepper six times as much: let both be well beaten at intervals for  
 " four

“ four days successively in an iron mortar, and  
 “ then reduced to an impalpable powder in  
 “ one of stone with a stone pebble, and thus  
 “ completely levigated, a little water being mix-  
 “ ed with them. Make pills of them as large as  
 “ tares or small pulse, and keep them dry in a  
 “ shady place\*.

“ ONE of those pills must be swallowed morn-  
 “ ing and evening with some *betel*-leaf, or, in  
 “ countries where *betel* is not at hand, with cold  
 “ water: if the body be cleansed from foulness  
 “ and obstructions by gentle catharticks and  
 “ bleeding before the medicine is administered,  
 “ the remedy will be the speedier.”

THE principal ingredient of this medicine is the *arsenick*, which the *Arabs* call *shucc*, the *Persians* *mergi mûsh*, or *moussé-bane*, and the *Indians*, *sanc'byá*; a mineral substance ponderous and *crystalline*: the *orpiment*, or *yellow arsenick* is the weaker sort. It is a deadly poison, and so subtil, that, when mice are killed by it, the very smell of the dead will destroy the living of

\* The lowest weight in general use among the *Hindus* is the *reti*, called in *Sanscrit* either *retticâ* or *ratticâ*, indicating *redness*, and *crishnalâ* from *crishna*, *black*: it is the *red* and *black* seed of the *gunjà*-plant, which is a creeper of the same class and order at least with the *glycyrrhiza*; but I take this from report, having never examined its blossoms. One *ratticâ* is said to be of equal weight with three barley-corns or four grains of rice in the husk; and eight *reti* weights, used by jewellers, are equal to seven carats. I have weighed a number of the seeds in diamond scales, and find the average Apothecary's weight of one seed to be a grain and five sixteenths. Now in the *Hindu* medical books ten of the *ratticâ*-seeds are one *mâshaca*, and eight *mâshaca*'s make a *tâlaca* or *tola*; but in the law-books of *Bengal* a *mâshaca* consists of sixteen *ratticâ*'s and a *tolaca* of five *mâshâ*'s; and according to some authorities five *reti*'s only go to one *mâshâ*, sixteen of which make a *tolaca*. We may observe, that the silver *reti*-weights used by the goldsmiths at *Banâres*, are twice as heavy as the seeds; and thence it is, that eight *reti*'s are commonly said to constitute one *mâshâ*, that is, eight silver weights, or sixteen seeds; eighty of which seeds, or 100 grains, constitute the quantity of arsenick in the *Hindu* prescription,

that



that species: after it has been kept about seven years, it loses much of its force; its colour becomes turbid; and its weight is diminished. This mineral is hot and dry in the fourth degree; it causes suppuration, dissolves or unites, according to the quantity given; and is very useful in closing the lips of wounds, when the pain is too intense to be borne. An unguent made of it with oils of any sort is an effectual remedy for some cutaneous disorders, and, mixed with rose-water, it is good for cold tumours and for the dropsy; but it must never be administered without the greatest caution: for such is its power, that the smallest quantity of it in powder, drawn, like *álcohol*, between the eyelashes, would in a single day entirely corrode the coats and humours of the eye; and fourteen *retis* of it would in the same time destroy life. The best antidote against its effects are the scrapings of leather reduced to ashes: if the quantity of arsenick taken be accurately known, four times as much of these ashes, mixed with water and drunk by the patient, will sheath and counteract the poison.

THE writer, conformably to the directions of his learned friend, prepared the medicine; and, in the same year, gave it to numbers, who were reduced by the diseases abovementioned to the point of death: GOD is his witness, that they grew better from day to day, were at last completely cured, and are now living (except one or two, who died of other disorders to attest the truth of this assertion. One of his first patients was a *Pársi*, named *MERUCHEK*, who had come from *Surat* to this city, and had fixed his abode near the writer's house: he was so cruelly afflicted with a confirmed lues, here called *the Persian Fire*, that his hands and feet were entirely

ulcerated and almost corroded, so that he became an object of disgust and abhorrence. This man consulted the writer on his case, the state of which he disclosed without reserve. Some blood was taken from him on the same day, and a cathartick administered on the next. On the third day he began to take the *arsenick-pills*, and, by the blessing of God, the virulence of his disorder abated by degrees, until signs of returning health appeared; in a fortnight his recovery was complete, and he was bathed, according to the practice of our Physicians: he seemed to have no virus left in his blood, and none has been since perceived by him.

BUT the power of this medicine has chiefly been tried in the cure of the *judám*, as the word is pronounced in *India*; a disorder infecting the whole mass of blood, and thence called by some *fisádi-khú*. The former name is derived from an *Arabick* root signifying, in general, *amputation*, *maiming*, *excision*, and, particularly, the *truncation* or *croston* of the *fingers*, which happens in the last stage of the disease. It is extremely contagious, and for that reason the Prophet said: *ferrú mina'lmejdhúmi camá teserrú mina l ásal*, or, “Flee from a person afflicted with the *judám*, as you would flee from a lion.” The author of the *Bah-bru'l-jawábir*, or *Sea of Pearls*, ranks it as an infectious malady with the *measles*, the *small-pox*, and the *plague*. It is also *hereditary*, and, in that respect, classed by medical writers with the *gout*, the *consumption*, and the *white leprosy*.

A COMMON cause of this distemper is the unwholesome diet of the natives, many of whom are accustomed, after eating a quantity of *fish*, to swallow copious draughts of *milk*, which fail not to cause an accumulation of yellow and black bile, which mingles itself with the blood and corrupts it:  
but

but it has other causes; for a *Bráhmén*, who had never tasted *fish* in his life, applied lately to the composer of this essay, and appeared in the highest degree affected by a corruption of blood; which he might have inherited, or acquired by other means. Those, whose religion permits them to eat *beef*, are often exposed to the danger of heating their blood intensely through the knavery of the butchers in the *Bázár*, who fatten their calves with *Baláwoer*; and those who are so ill-advised as to take *provocatives*, a folly extremely common in *India*, at first are insensible of the mischief, but; as soon as the increased moisture is dispersed, find their whole mass of blood inflamed and, as it were, adust; whence arises the disorder of which we now are treating. The *Persian*, or venereal, Fire generally ends in this malady; as one DEVI PRASA'D, lately in the service of Mr. VA SITTART, and some others, have convinced me by an unreserved account of their several cases.

It may here be worth while to report a remarkable case, which was related to me by a man who had been afflicted with the *juzám* near four years; before which time he had been disordered with the *Persian Fire*, and having closed an ulcer by the means of a strong healing plaister, was attacked by a violent pain in his joints: on this he applied to a *Cabirája*, or *Hindu* Physician, who gave him some pills, with a positive assurance, that the use of them would remove his pain in a few days; and in a few days it was, in fact, wholly removed; but a very short time after, the symptoms of the *juzám* appeared, which continually increased to such a degree, that his fingers and toes were on the point of dropping off. It was afterwards discovered, that

the pills which he had taken were made of cinnabar, a common preparation of the *Hindus*; the heat of which had first stirred the humours, which, on stopping the external discharge, had fallen on the joints, and then had occasioned a quantity of adust bile to mix itself with the blood and infect the whole mass.

Of this dreadful complaint, however caused, the first symptoms are a numbness and redness of the whole body, and principally of the face, an impeded hoarse voice, thin hair, and even baldness, offensive perspiration and breath, and whitlows on the nails. The cure is best begun with copious bleeding, and cooling drink, such as a decoction of the *nikiser*, or *Nymphaea*, and of violets, with some doses of manna: after which stronger catharticks must be administered. But no remedy has proved so efficacious as the pills composed of arsenick and pepper: one instance of their effect may here be mentioned and many more may be added, if required.

In the month of *February* in the year just mentioned, one *Sbaikh RAMAZANI*, who then was an upper-servant to the Board of Revenue, had so corrupt a mass of blood, that a black leprosy of his joints was approaching; and most of his limbs began to be ulcerated: in this condition he applied to the writer, and requested immediate assistance. Though the disordered state of his blood was evident on inspection, and required no particular declaration of it, yet many questions were put to him, and it was clear from his answers, that he had a confirmed *juzâm*: he then lost a great deal of blood, and, after due preparation, took the arsenick-pills. After the first week his malady seemed

seemed alleviated; in the second it was considerably diminished, and in the third so entirely removed, that the patient went into the bath of health, as a token, that he no longer needed a physician.

•••

ON THE

C U R E

OF

## PERSONS BITTEN BY SNAKES.

BY JOHN WILLIAMS, ESQ.

THE following statement of facts relative to the care of persons bitten by snakes; selected from a number of cases which have come within my own knowledge, require no prefatory introduction; as it points out the means of obtaining the greatest self-gratification the human mind is capable of experiencing—that of the preservation of the life of a fellow-creature, and snatching him from the jaws of death, by a method which every person is capable of availing himself of. Eau de Luce, I learn from many communications which I have received from different parts of the country, answers as well as the pure Caustick Alkali Spirit; and though, from its having some essential oils in its composition, it may not be so powerful, yet, as it must be given with water, it only requires to encrease the dose in proportion; and, so long as it retains its milky white colour, it is sufficiently efficacious.

FROM

FROM the effects of a ligature, applied between the part bitten and the heart, it is evident that the poison diffuses itself over the body by the returning venous blood; destroying the irritability, and rendering the system paralytick. It is therefore probable that the Volatile Caustick Alkali, in resisting the disease of the poison, does not act so much as a specifick in destroying its quality, as by counteracting the effect on the system, by stimulating the fibres; and preserving that irritability which it tends to destroy.

### C A S E I.

IN the month of *August* 1780, a servant of mine was bitten in the heel, as he supposed, by a snake; and in a few minutes was in great agony, with convulsions about the throat and jaws, and continual grinding of teeth: having a wish to try the effects of Volatile Alkali in such cases, I gave him about forty drops of Eau de Luce in water, and applied some of it to the part bitten; the dose was repeated every eight or ten minutes, till a small phial-full was expended: it was near two hours before it could be said he was out of danger. A numbness and pricking sensation was perceived extending itself up to the knee, where a ligature was applied so tight as to stop the returning venous blood, which seemingly checked the progress of the deleterious poison. The foot and leg, up to where the ligature was made, were stiff and painful for several days; and, which appeared very singular, were covered with a branny scale.

THE above was the first case in which I tried the effects of the Volatile Alkali, and apprehending that the essential oils in the composition of Eau de Luce, though made of the strong Caustick Volatile

latile Spirit, would considerably diminish its powers, I was induced, the next opportunity that offered, to try the effects of pure Volatile Caustick Alkali Spirit, and accordingly prepared some from Quicklime and the Sal Ammoniack of this country.

## C A S E II.

IN July 1782, a woman of the *Bráhmén* cast, who lived in my neighbourhood at *Ghunár*, was bitten by a *Cobra de Capello* between the thumb and fore-finger of her right hand: prayers and superstitious incantations were practised by the *Bráhméns* about her till she became speechless and convulsed, with locked jaws, and a profuse discharge of saliva running from her mouth. On being informed of the accident, I immediately sent a servant with a bottle of the Volatile Caustick Alkali Spirit, of which he poured about a tea-spoon-full, mixed with water down her throat, and applied some of it to the part bitten: the dose was repeated a few minutes after, when she was evidently better, and in about half an hour was perfectly recovered.

THIS accident happened in a small hut, where I saw the snake, which was a middle-sized *Cobra de Capello*: the *Bráhméns* would not allow it to be killed. In the above case, no other means whatever were used for the recovery of the patient than are here recited.

## C A S E III.

A WOMAN-SERVANT in the family of a gentleman at *Benares* was bitten in the foot by a *Cobra de Capello*: the gentleman immediately applied to me for some of the Volatile Caustick Alkali, which



which I fortunately had by me. I gave her about sixty drops in water, and also applied some of it to the part bitten: in about seven or eight minutes after, she was quite recovered. In the above case, I was not witness to the deleterious effect of the poison on the patient; but saw the snake after it was killed:

## C A S E IV.

IN July 1784, the wife of a servant of mine was bitten by a *Cobra de Capello* on the outside of the little toe of her right foot. In a few minutes she became convulsed, particularly about the jaws and throat, with a continued gnashing of the teeth. She at first complained of a numbness extending from the wound upwards, but no ligature was applied to the limb. About sixty drops of the volatile Caustick Spirit were given to her in water, by forcing open her mouth, which was strongly convulsed: in about seven minutes the dose was repeated; when the convulsions left her; and in three more she became sensible, and spoke to those who attended her. A few drops of the spirit had also been applied to the wound. The snake was killed and brought to me, which proved to be a *Cobra de Capello*.

## C A S E V.

As it is generally believed, that the venom of snakes is more malignant during hot dry weather than at any other season; the following case, which occurred in the month of July 1788, when the weather was extremely hot, no rain, excepting a slight shower, having fallen for many months, may not be unworthy notice.

A SERVANT

A SERVANT belonging to an officer at *Juanpoor* was bitten by a snake on the leg; about two inches above the outer angle. As the accident happened in the evening, he could not see what species of snake it was: he immediately tied a ligature above the part bitten, but was in a few minutes in such exquisite torture from pain, which extended up his body and to his head, that he soon became dizzy and senseless. On being informed of the accident, I sent my servant with a phial of the Volatile Caustick Alkali, who found him, when he arrived, quite torpid, with the saliva running out of his mouth, and his jaws so fast locked, as to render it necessary to use an instrument to open them and administer the medicine. About forty drops of the Volatile Caustick Spirit were given to him in water, and applied to the wound; and the same dose repeated a few minutes after. In about half an hour he was perfectly recovered. On examining the part bitten, I could discover the marks of three fangs: two on one side, and one on the other; and, from the distance they were asunder, I should judge it a large snake. More than ten minutes did not appear to have elapsed from the time of his being bitten till the medicine was administered. The wounds healed immediately, and he was able to attend to his duty the next day. Though the species of snake was not ascertained, yet I judge from the flow of saliva from the mouth, convulsive spasms of the jaws and throat, as well as from the marks of three fangs, that it must have been a *Cobra de Capello*; and, though I have met with five and six fangs of different sizes in snakes of that species, I never observed the marks of more than two having been applied in biting, in any other case which came within my knowledge

## C A S E VI.

IN *September* 1786, a seryant belonging to Captain S —, who was then at *Benares*, was bitten in the leg by a large *Cobra de Capello*. He saw the snake coming towards him, with his neck spread out in a very tremendous manner, and endeavoured to avoid him; but before he could get out of his way, the snake seized him by the leg, and secured his hold for some time, as if he had not been able to extricate his teeth. Application was immediately made to his master for a remedy, who sent to consult me; but, before I arrived, had given him a quantity of sweet oil, which he drank. So soon as I saw him, I directed the usual dose of Volatile Caustick Alkali to be given, which fortunately brought away the oil from his stomach, or it is probable that the stimulating effect of the Volatile Spirit would have been so much blunted by it, as to have become inefficacious: a second dose was immediately administered, and some time after a third. The man recovered in the course of a few hours. As oil is frequently administered as a remedy in the bite of snakes, I think it necessary to caution against the use of it with the Volatile Alkali, as it blunts the stimulating quality of the spirit, and renders it useless.

OF the numerous species of snakes which I have met with, not above six were provided with poisonous fangs; though I have examined many which have been considered by the natives as dangerous, without being able to discover any thing noxious in them.

THE following is an instance of the deleerious effect of the bite of a snake called by the natives *Krit*, a species of the *Boa*, which I have frequently met with in this part of the country.

## C A S E VII.

ON the 16th September 1788, a man was brought to me who had been bitten by a snake, with the marks of two fangs on two of his toes; he was said to have been bitten above an hour before I saw him: he was perfectly sensible, but complained of great pain in the parts bitten, with an universal languor. I immediately gave him thirty drops of Volatile Caustick Alkali Spirit in water, and applied some of it to the wounds: in a few minutes he became easier, and in about half an hour was carried away by his friends, with perfect confidence in his recovery, without having taken a second dose of the medicine, which indeed did not appear to have been necessary: but, whether from the effect of the bite of the snake, or the motion of the dooly on which he was carried, I know not; but he became sick at the stomach, threw up the medicine, and died in about a quarter of an hour after. The man said, that the snake came up to him, while he was sitting on the ground; and that he put him away with his hand once, but that he turned about and bit him as described: the snake was brought to me, which I examined; it was about two feet and an half long, of a lightish brown colour on the back, a white belly, and annulated from end to end, with 208 abdominal, and forty-six tail scuta. I have met with several of them from thirteen inches to near three feet in length: it had two poisonous fangs in the upper jaw, which lay naked, with their points without the upper lip. It does not spread its neck like the *Cobra de Capello*, when enraged; but is very active and quick in its motion.

I HAVE

I HAVE seen instances of persons bitten by snakes, who have been so long without assistance, that when they have been brought to me, they have not been able to swallow, from convulsions of the throat and fauce, which is, I observe, a constant symptom of the bite of the *Cobra de Capello*; and indeed I have had many persons brought to me who had been dead some time; but never knew an instance of the Volatile Cambrick Alkali failing in its effect, where the patient has been able to swallow it.

REMARKS

## R E M A R K S.

ON THE

## C I T Y · O F · T A G A R A .

BY LIEUT. FRANCIS WILFORD.

**T**HE expedition of ALEXANDER having mad the *Greeks* acquainted with the riches of *India*, they soon discovered the way by sea into that country, and having entered into a commercial correspondence with the natives, they found it so beneficial, that they attempted a trade thither.

PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS, king of *Egypt*, in order to render the means easy to merchants, sent one DIO·YSIUS into the Southern parts of *India*, to inquire into the nature of that country, its produce, and manufactures.

It was then *Tagara* began to be known to the *Greeks*, about two thousand and fifty years ago.

ARRIAN, in his *Périplus Maris Erythraei*, says it was a very large city, and that the produce of the country, at that early period, consisted chiefly of coarse *Dungarees* (*Othonium vulgare*), of which vast quantities were exported; *Mullins* of all sorts (*Sindones omnis generis*), and a kind of Cotton Stuff dyed of a whitish purple, and very much

much of the colour of the flowers of Mallows, whence called *Molochyna*.

ALL kinds of mercantile goods, throughout the *Deccan*, were brought to *Tagara*, and from thence conveyed on carts to *Baroach* (*Barygaza*).

ARRIAN informs us, that *Tagara* was about ten days journey to the eastward of another famous Mart, called *Plithana* or *Plúthana*.

THAT *Plúthana* was twenty days journey to the Southward of *Baroach*; also,

THAT the road was through the *Balagaut* mountains.

AND here we must observe, that the *Latin* translation of the *Periplus* by STUCKIUS is very inaccurate and often erroneous; as in the following passage, where ARRIAN speaking of *Tagara* says,

“Κατάγεται δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν ποταμῶν καὶ ἀνοδίας μεγίσταις εἰς τὴν Βαρυγάζαν;”

which STUCKIUS translates thus: “Ex his autem emporiis, per loca invia et difficillima, res Barygazam plauftris convehuntur.” But it should be, “Ex his autem emporiis, per maximos ascensus, res Barygazam deorsum feruntur.”

Κατάγω signifies *deorsum ferre* (to bring down) not *convehere*.

Ανοδία μεγάλη should be translated *per maximos ascensus*: Ανοδία or ἀνοδος in this place signifies *an ascent, a road over hills*; and this meaning is plainly pointed out by the words *κατάγεται* and *μεγίσταις*.

IN short, ἀνοδία μεγάλη is the true translation of the *Hindoo* word *Bala-gaut*, the name of the mountains through which the goods from *Tagara* to *Baroach* used to be conveyed.

\* Geographiæ veteris Scriptores Græci minores, Vol. I.

THIS passage in ARRIAN is the more interesting, as it fixes the time when the *Bala-gaut* mountains were first heard of in *Europe*.

THE bearing from *Tagara* to *Plúthana* is expressly mentioned by ARRIAN (*προς ἀνατολὴν*) but is left out by STÜCKIUS.

PLUTHANA is an important point to be settled, as it regulates the situation of *Tagara*.

IT still exists, and goes nearly by the same name, being called to this day *Pultanab*: it is situated on the Southern bank of the *Godjvery*, about two hundred and seventeen *British* miles to the Southward of *Baroach*.

THESE two hundred and seventeen miles being divided by twenty, the number of days travellers were between *Pultanab* and *Baroach* according to ARRIAN, give nearly eleven miles per day, or five fars, which is the usual rate of travelling with heavy loaded carts.

THE Onyx and several other precious stones are still found in the neighbourhood of *Pultanab*, as related by ARRIAN; being washed down by torrents from the hills, during the rains, according to PLINY.

ARRIAN informs us that the famous town of *Tagara* was about ten days journey to the eastward of *Pultanab*.

ACCORDING to the above proportion, these ten days (or rather somewhat less\*) are equal to about one hundred *British* miles; and consequently *Tagara* by its bearing and distance from *Pultanab*, falls at *Deogbir*, a place of great antiquity, and famous through all *India* on account of the *Pagodas* of *Eloura*. It is now called *Doulet-abad*, and about four fars N. W. of *Aurungabad*.

\* Ὡς ἡμερῶν δέκα, quasi dies decem.



PTOLEMY agrees very well with ARRIAN, with respect to distances and bearings, if we admit that he has mistaken *Baithana* or *Paithana* for *Plithana*; and this, I am pretty sure, is really the case, and may be easily accounted for, as there is very little difference between ΠΑΙΘΑΝΑ and ΠΛΙΘΑΝΑ in the Greek character.

*Paithana*, now *Pattan* \*or *Putten*, is about half way between *Tagara* and *Plithana*.

ACCORDING TO PTOLEMY, *Tagara* and *Pattan* were situated to the Northward of the *Baund-Ganga* (*Binda* or *Bynda* river) commonly called *Godavery*; and here PTOLEMY is very right.

IN Mr. BUSSY'S *march*, *Pattan* is placed to the Southward of the *Godavery*; but it is a mistake.

IT appears from ARRIAN'S *Periplus*, that, on the arrival of the *Greeks* into the *Deccan*, above two thousand years ago, *Tagara* was the *Metropolis* of a large district called *Ariaca*, which comprehended the greatest part of *Subah Aurungabad* and the Southern part of *Concan*; for the northern part of that district, including *Damaun*, *Callian*, the *Island of Sallset*, *Bombay*, &c. belonged to the *Rajah of Larikesh* or *Lar*, according to ARRIAN and EBN SAID AL MAGREBI.

It is necessary to observe here, that though the author of the *Periplus* is supposed to have lived about the year 160 of the present era, yet the materials he made use of in compiling his *Directory*, are far more ancient; for, in speaking of *Tagara*, he says that the *Greeks* were prohibited from landing at *Callian*, and other harbours on that coast. Now it is well known, that, after the conquest of *Egypt*, the *Romans* had monopolised the whole trade to *India*, and would allow

\* *Patina* Tab. Peutinger. *Patinna* Anonym. Ravenn.

no foreigner to enter the Red Sea; and consequently this passage has reference to an earlier period, previous to the conquest of *Egypt* by the *Romans*.

ABOUT the middle of the first century, *Tagara* was no longer the capital of *Ariaca*, *Rajah SALBAHAN* having removed the seat of the empire to *Pattan*.

PTOLEMY informs us, that *Paithana* or *Pattan* had been the residence of a prince of that country, whose name the *Greeks* have strangely disfigured: we find it variously spelt, in different MSS. of PTOLEMY, *Siripolemæus*, *Siropolemæus*, *Siroptolemæus*, &c.

YET when we consider, that, whenever *Pattan* is mentioned by the *Hindoo*, they generally add, it was the Residence of *Rajah SALBAHAN*, who in the dialect of the *Deccan* is called *Salibanam* or *Salibanam*, I cannot help thinking, that the *Greeks* have disfigured this last word *Salibanam* into *Saripalam*, from which they have made *Siripolemæus*, *Siropolemæus*, &c.

BICKERMAJIT ruled for some time over the Northern parts of the *Deccan* but the *Rajahs* headed by *SALBAHAN*, having revolted, they gave him battle, and he was slain. *Tagara* became again the *Metropolis* of *Ariaca*; at least it was so towards the latter end of the eleventh century, as it appears from a grant of some lands in *Concan*, made by a *Rajah* of *Tagara*: this grant still exists, and was communicated to the ASIATICK SOCIETY by General CARNAC.

WHEN the *Mussulmans* carried their arms into the *Deccan* about the year 1293, *Tagara*, or *Deogbir* was still the residence of a powerful *Rajah*, and remained so till the time of *SHAH-JEHAN*,

(Making use of the very words of PTOLEMY.)

when the districts belonging to it became a *Subah* of the *Mogul* Empire. Then *Tagara* was deserted, and *Kerkhi*, four Coss to the South-east of it, became the capital: this place is now called *Aurungabad*.

THUS was destroyed the ancient kingdom or *Rajahship* of *Tagara*, after it had existed, with little interruption, above two thousand years; that is to say, as far as we can trace back its antiquity.

IT may appear astonishing, that though the *Rajah* of *Tagara* was possessed of a large tract on the Sea Coast, yet all the trade was carried on by land.

FORMERLY it was not so: on the arrival of the *Greeks* into the *Decan*, goods were brought to *Callian* near *Bombay*, and then shipped off. However the *Rajah* of *Larikeh*, or *Lar* called *Sandanes*, according to *ARRIAN*, would no longer allow the *Greeks* to trade either at *Callian* or at the harbours belonging to him on that coast, except *Baroach*; and, whenever any of them were found at *Callian* or in the neighbourhood, they were confined and sent to *Baroach* under a strong guard. *ARRIAN*, being a *Greek* himself, has not thought proper to inform us, what could induce the *Rajah* to behave in this manner to the *Greeks*; but his silence is a convincing proof that they had behaved amiss; and it is likely enough they had attempted to make a settlement in the Island of *Salfet*, in order to make themselves independent, and facilitate their conquests into the *Decan*.

The fears of the *Rajah* were not groundless; for the *Greek* kings of *Bactriana* were possessed of the *Punjab* *Cabul*, &c. in the North of *India*.

THERE were other harbours, to the South of *Callian*, belonging to the *Rajah* of *Tagara*, but they were not frequented, on account of *Pirates*, who, according to *PLINY*, *ARRIAN*, and *PTOLEMY*, infested these countries, in the very same manner they do now.

AN

INDIAN GRANT OF LAND\*

IN Y. C. 1018,

LITERALLY TRANSLATED FROM THE SANSKRIT, AS  
EXPLAINED BY RA'MALO'CHAN PANDIT.

COMMUNICATED BY GEN. CARNAC.

---

O'M. VICTORY *and* ELEVATION!

S T A N Z A S.

**M**AY He, who in all affairs claim precedence  
in adoration; may that *Gannáyaca*, averting  
calamity, preserve you from danger!

2. MAY that SIVA constantly preserve you, on  
whose head shines (GANGA') the daughter of  
JAHNU resembling the pure crescent rising from  
the summit of SUMERU! (*a compound word of six-  
teen syllables*).

3. MAY that GOD, the cause of success, the  
cause of felicity, who keeps, placed even by him-

\* Found in digging foundations for some new works at the fort  
of *Tanna*, the Capital of *Salfet*. The Governor of *Bombay* in-  
formed General CARNAC, that none of the *Gujerat Bramins*  
could explain the inscriptions.

self on his forehead a section of the-moon-with-cool-beams, drawn-in-the-form-of-a-line-resembling-that-in-the-infinitely-bright-spike-of-a-fresh-blown *Cétaca* (who is) adorned-with-a-grove-of-thick-red-locks-tied-with-the-Prince-of-Serpents, be always present and favourable to you!

4. THE son of JI'MU TACE'TU ever affectionate, named JI'MU'TAVA'HANA, who, surely, preserved the Serpent) S'ANC'HACHU'DA from *Garúda* (the Eagle of VISHNU), was famed in the three worlds, having neglected his own body, as if it had been grass, for the sake of others.

5. (*Two couplets in rhyme.*) In his family was a monarch (named) CAPARDIN (or, with thick hair, a title of MAHA DEVA), chief of the race of SILARA, repressing the influence of his foes; and from him came a son, named PULASACTI, equal in encreasing glory to the sun's bright-circle.

6. WHEN that son of CAPARDIN was a newborn infant, through fear of him, homage was paid by all his collected enemies, with water held aloft in their hands, to the delight of his realm.

7. FROM him came a son, the only warrior on earth, named SRI VAPPUVANNA, a Hero in the theatre of battle.

8. His son, called S'RI JHANJHA, was highly celebrated, and the preserver of his country; he afterwards became the Sovereign of Gógni: he had a beautiful form.

8. FROM him came a son, whose- renown-was-far-extended-and-who-confounded-the-mind-with-his-wonderful-acts, the fortunate BAJJADA DEVA: he was a monarch, a gem in the diadem of the world's circumference; who used only the forcible weapon of his two arms readily on the plain of combat, and in whose bosom the Fortune of

Kings

Kings herself amorously played, as *in the bosom* of the foe of MURA (OR VISHNU).

9. LIKE JAYANTA, *son* to the foe of VRITTA (OR INDRA), like SHANMUC'MA (OR CARTICE'YA) *son* to PURA'RI (OR MAHA'DE'VA) then sprang from him a fortunate son, with a true heart, invincible;

10. WHO in liberality was CARNA before our eyes, in truth even YULHISHTHIRA, in glory blazing Sun, and the rod of CALA (OR YAMA, *judge of the infernal regions*) to his enemies;

11. BY whom the great counsellors, who were under his protection, and others near him, are preserved in this world: he is a conqueror, named with propriety SARANAGATA VAJRA-PANJARADEVA.

12. BY whom when this world was overshadowed with continual presents of gold, for his liberality he was named JAGADARTHI (OR *Enriching the World*) in the midst of the three regions of the universe.

13. THOSE Kings assuredly, whoever they may be, who are endued with minds capable of ruling their respective dominions, praise him for the greatness of his veracity, generosity, and valour; and to those princes who are deprived of their domains, and seek his protection, he allots a firm settlement: may he, the Grandfather of the RA'YA, be victorious! *he is* the spiritual guide of his counsellors, and they are his pupils. Yet farther—

14. HE, by whom the title of GO'MMA'YA was conferred on a person who attained the object of his desire; by whom the realm, shaken by a man named E'YAPADE'VA, was even made firm, and by whom, being the prince of *Mamalambuva* (I suppose, *Mamb'i*, or *Bombay*) security from fear was given to me broken *with affliction*; He was the

the King, named S'R' VIRUDANCA: how can he be otherwise painted? *Here six syllables are effaced in one of the Grants; and this verse is not in the other.*

15. His son *was* named BAJJABADEVA, a gem on the forehead of monarchs, eminently skilled in morality; whose deep thoughts all the people, clad in horrid armour, praise even to this day.

16. THEN was born his brother the prince ARICE'SARI (a lion among his foes), the best of good men; who, by overthrowing the strong mountain of his proud enemies, did the act of a thunder-bolt; having formed great designs even in his childhood, and having seen the Lord of the Moon (MAHA'DEVA) *standing* before him, he marched by his father's order, attended by his troops, and by valour subdued the world.

YET more——

17. HAVING raised up his *own* foe on his sharp sword, he so afflicted the women in the hostile palaces, that their forelocks fell disordered, their garlands of bright flowers dropped from their necks on the vases of their breasts, and the black lustre of their eyes disappeared.

18. A WARRIOUR, the plant of whose fame grows up over the temple of BRAHMAH'S Egg (the universe), from the repeated watering of it with the drops that fell from the eyes of the wives of his slaughtered foe.

AFTERWARDS by the multitude of his innate virtues (*then follows a compound word of an hundred and fiftytwo syllables*) the fortunate ARICE'SARI-DEVARAJA-LORD of the great-circle-adorned-with-all-the-company-of-princes-with-VAJRAPANJARA-of-whom-men-seek-the-protection-an-elephant's-hook-in-the-forehead-of-the-world-pleased-with-increasing-vice-a-Flamingo-bird-in-the-pool-decked-with-flowers-like-those-of-paradise-and-with-

A'DITYA.



A'DITYA-PANDITA-chief of the districts-of-the-world through the liberality of the lord-of the Western sea holder of innate-knowledge who bears a golden eagle-on-his-standard descended from the stock-of-JIMU'TAVAHAN king-of-the-race of Silára-Sovereign-of the City-of-Tagara-Supreme-ruler of exalted counsellors-assembled-when extended fame-had been attained (*the monarch* thus described) governs the whole-region of *Concanna* consisting of fourteen-hundred-villages-with-cities-and-other places-comprehended-in-many-districts-acquired-by-his-arm. Thus he supports the burden of thought concerning this domain The Chief Minister S'RI VA'SAPAIYA and the very-religiously-purified S'RI VARDHIYAPAIYA being at this time present, he, the fortunate ARICE'SARIFE'VARAJA Sovereign of the great circle, thus addresses even all who inhabit-the-city-S'RI-STHANACA (or the *Sanjion* of LACSHMI), his own-kinsmen-and-others-there-assembled-princes-counsellors-priests-ministers-superiors-inferiors-subject-to-his-commands, also the lords-of districts,-the-governors-of towns chiefs-of-villages-the-masters-of-families-employed-or-unemployed-servants-of-the-King-and-his-countrymen. Thus he greets all the-holy-men-and-others-inhabiting-the-city-of *Hanyamana*: reverence be to you, as it is becoming, with all the marks of respect, salutation, and praise!

## S T A N Z A.

WEALTH is inconstant; youth destroyed in an instant; and life placed between the teeth of CRITANTA (or YAMA before mentioned).

NEVERTHELESS neglect is shewn to the felicity of departed ancestors. Oh! how astonishing are the efforts of men!

AND

AND thus.—Youth is publickly swallowed-up-by-the-giantness Old-Age admitted into-its-inner-mansion; and the bodily-frame-is-equally-obnoxious-to-the-affault-of-death-of-age-and-the-misery-born-with-man-of-separation-between-united-friends-like-falling-from-heaven-into-the-lower-regions; riches and life are two things more-moveable-than-a-drop-of-water-trembling-on-the-leaf-of-a-lotos-shaken-by-the-wind; and the world is like-the-first-delicate-foliage-of-a-plantain-tree. Considering this in secret with a firm dispassionate understanding, and also the fruit of liberal donations mentioned *by the wise, I called to mind these.*

### S T A N Z A S.

1. IN the *Satya, Trétá* and *Dwáper* Ages, great piety was celebrated: but in this *Caliyuga* the *Muni's* have nothing to commend but liberality.

2. NOT so productive of fruit is learning, not so productive is piety, as liberality, say the *Muni's*, in this *Cali* Age. And thus was it said by the Divine *VYA SA.*

3. GOLD was the first offspring of Fire; the Earth is the daughter of *VISHNU*, and kine are the children of the Sun: the three worlds, therefore, are assuredly given by him, who makes a gift of Gold, Earth, and Cattle.

4. OUR deceased fathers clap their hands, our grandfathers exult: saying, “A donor of land is born in our family: he will redeem us.”

5. A DONATION of land to good persons, for holy pilgrimages, and on the (five) solemn days of the moon, is the mean of passing over the deep boundless ocean of the world.

WHILE

WHITE parasols and elephants mad with pride (the *insignia* of royalty) are the flowers of a grant of land: the fruit is INDRA, in heaven.

THUS, confirming the declarations of the-ancient-Muni's-learned-in-the-distinction-between-justice-and-injustice, for the sake of benefit to my mother, my father, and myself, on the fifteenth of the bright moon of *Cártica*, in the middle of the year *Pingala* (perhaps of the *Serpent*), when nine hundred and forty years save one are reckoned as past from the time of King SA'CA, or, in figures, the year 939, of the bright moon of *Cártica* 15 (that is 1708—939—769 years ago from Y. C. 1787) the moon being then full and eclipsed, I having bathed in the opposite sea resembling - the - girdles - round - the-waist-of-the-female-Earth, tinged-with-a-variety-of-rays-like-many - exceedingly - bright - rubies, pearls - and - other-gems, with-water-whose - mud-was-become-musk-through - the-frequent-bathing-of-the-fragrant-bosom-of - beautiful-Goddeffes-rising-up-after-having-dived-in-it; and having offered to the sun, the divine luminary, the-gem-of-one-circle-of-heaven, eye-of-the-three-worlds, Lord of-the-lotos, a dish embellished-with-flowers-of-various-sorts (this dish is filled with the plant *Darbha*, rice in the husk, different flowers, and sandal) have granted to him, who has viewed the preceptor of the Gods and of Demons, who has adored the Sovereign Deity the-husband-of-AMBICA' (or DÚRGA) has sacrificed, - caused-others-to-sacrifice, - has-read-caused-others-to-read, - and-has-performed-the-rest-of-the-six Sacerdotal) functions; who-is-eminently-skilled-in-the-whole-business-of - performing-sacrifices, who - has - held-up-the-root-and-stalk-of-the-sacred-lotos; who - inhabits - the-city-SRI-ST'HA NAÇA (or abode of Fortune) descended from JAMADAGNI; who-performs-due-rites-in-the-holy-stream; who  
distinctly-

distinctly-knows-the-mysterious-branches (of the *Védas*), the domestick priest, the reader, 'RÍ TICCAPAIYA, son of 'S'RÍ CHCH'HINTAPAIYA the astronomer, for-the-purpose-of-sacrificing-causing-others-to-sacrifice, reading-causing-others-to-read-and-discharging-the-rest-of-the-six-(Sacerdotal) duties, of performing the (daily service of) *Vaisvadeva* with offerings of rice, milk, and materials of sacrifice, and-of-compleating-with-due-solemnity - the - sacrifice - of - fire - of-doing-such-acts-as-must - continually - be-done, and such-as-must-occasionally - be - performed, of paying - due - honours to guests and strangers, and-of-supporting his-own-family, the village of *Chávinára*-standing-at-the-extremity-of-the-territory-of-*Vatsarága*, and the boundaries of which are, to the East the village of *Púngambà* and a water-fall from a mountain; to the South the villages of *Nágambá* and *Múládongricà*; to the West the river *Sámbarapallicà*; to the North the villages of *Sámbivé* and *Cát'yálaca*; and besides this the full (*district*) of *Tócabalà Pallicà*, the boundaries of which are to the East *Sídábali*; to the South the river *Mót'balá*; to the West *Cácád'va*, *Hallápallicà*; and *Bádavirdca*; to the North *Talávali Pallicà*; and also the Village of *Aulaciyá*, the boundaries of which (are) to the East *Tádága*; to the South *Góviní*; to the West *Charicà*; to the North *Calibalà-yachóli*: (that land) thus surveyed-on-the-four-quarters-and limited - to - its - proper-bounds, with-its-herbage-wood-and-water, and with-power-of-punishing-for-the-ten-crimes, except that before given as the portion of *Déva*, or of *Brahmà*; I have hereby released, and limited-by-the-duration-of-the-sun-the-moon-and-mountains, confirmed with-the-ceremony-of adoration, with a copious effusion of water, and with the highest acts-of-worship; and the same land shall be enjoyed by his lineal-and-collateral-heirs, or caused-to-be-enjoyed, nor shall

shall disturbance be given by any person whatever : since it has thus declared by great *Muni's* :

S T A N Z A S.

1. THE earth is enjoyed by many kings, by SA'GAR, and by others: to whomsoever the soil at any time belongs, to him at that time belong the fruits of it.

2. A SPEEDY gift is attended with no fatigue; a continued support, with great trouble; therefore even the *Rishi's* declare, that a continuance of support is better than a single gift.

3. EXALTED Emperors of good dispositions have given land, as RA MABHADRA advises again and again: this is the true bridge of justice for sovereigns: from time to time (O kings) that bridge must be repaired by you.

4. THOSE possessions here below, which have been granted in former times by sovereigns, given for the sake of religion-increase-of-wealth-or-of-fame, are exactly equal to flowers which have been offered to a Deity: what good man would resume such gifts?

THUS, confirming the precepts of ancient *Muni's*, all future kings must gather the fruit-of-observing-religious-duties; and let not the stain-of-the-crime-of-destroying-this-grant be borne henceforth by any-one: since, whatever prince, being supplicated, shall, through avarice, having his mind-wholly-surrounded-with-the-gloom-of-ignorance-contemptuously-dismiss-the-injured-suppliant; he, being guilty of five great and five small crimes, shall long in darkness inhabit Raurava, Mahaurava, Andha, Tamisra, and the other places of punishment. And thus it is declared by the divine VYA'SA :

## S T A N Z A S.

1. He who seizes land given-by-himself or by-another (sovereign), will rot among worms, himself a worm, in the midst of ordure.

2. THEY who seize granted-land are born again, living with great fear, in dry cavities of trees in the unwatered forests on the *Vinddbian* (mountains).

4. By seizing one cow, one vesture, or even one nail's breadth of ground, a king continues in hell till an universal destruction of the world has happened.

4. By (a gift of) a thousand gardens, and by (a gift of) a hundred pools of water, by (giving) a hundred *Jac* of oxen, a disseisor of (granted) land is not cleared from offence.

5. A GRANTOR of land remains in heaven sixty thousand years; a disseisor, and he who refuses to do justice, continues as many (years) in hell.

AND agreeably to this, in what is written by the hand of the Secretary, (the King) having ordered it, declares his own intention; as it is written by the command of me, sovereign of the Great Circle, the Fortunate ARICESARI DEVARAJA, son of the Sovereign of the Great Circle, the Fortunate, Invincible, DEVARAJA.

AND this is written, by order of the Fortunate King, by me JO'UBA, the brother's-son-of-s'RI N'A'GALAIYA, the great-Bard, dwelling-in-the royal palace; engraved-on-plates-of-copper by VE'DAPAIYA'S son MANA DHA'RA PAIYA. Thus (it ends).

WHATEVER

WHATEVER herein (may be) defective in-one-  
fyllable, or have-one-fyllable-redundant, all that  
is (nevertheless) complete evidence (of the grant.)  
Thus (ends the whole).

ROYAL GRANT OF LAND,

ENGRAVED ON A COPPER PLATE,

BEARING DATE TWENTY-THREE YEARS BEFORE CHRIST;

AND DISCOVERED AMONG THE RUINS AT

MONGUEER.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL SANSKRIT

BY CHARLES WILKINS, ESQ. IN 1781.

---

DEB PAUL DEB\*.

PROSPERITY!

**H**IS wishes are accomplished. He is  
steadfast in the cause of others. He walks  
in the paths of virtue. May the achievements of  
this fortunate Prince cause innumerable blessings  
to his people!

By displaying the strength of his genius, he  
hath discovered the road to all human acquire-

\* In this translation the *Sanskrit* names are written as they are  
pronounced in *Bengal*.

ments;



ments; for being a *Soogot*\*, he is Lord of the Universe.

**GOPAAL**, king of the World, possessed matchless good Fortune: he was Lord of two Brides; the Earth and her Wealth. By comparison of the learned, he was likened unto *Preeto*†, *Sogor*‡, and others, and it is credited.

WHEN his innumerable army marched, the heavens were so filled with the dust of their feet, that the birds of the air could rest upon it.

HE acted according to what is written in the *Shaastra* §, and obliged the different sects to conform to their proper tenets. He was blessed with a son, *Dhormo Paal*, when he became independent of his forefathers, who are in heaven.

His elephants moved like walking mountains, and the earth, oppressed by their weight and mouldered into dust, found refuge in the peaceful heavens.

HE went to extirpate the wicked and plant the good, and happily his salvation was effected at the

\* *Soogot*—signifies an Atheist, or follower of the Tenets of *Soogot* a Philosopher, who is said to have flourished at a place called *Keekat* in the province of *Behar*, one thousand years after the commencement of the *Kolee Joog*, or *Iron Age*; of which this is the 4882d Year. He believed in visible things only, or such as may be deduced from effects the cause of which is known: as from smoke the existence of fire, He wrote many books to prove the absurdity of the religion of the *Brahmens*; and some upon Astronomy and other sciences, all which are said to be now in being. He further held, that all our actions are attended by their own rewards and punishments in this life; and that all animals having an equal right to existence with Man, they should not be killed either for sport or food.

† *Preetoo*—was the son of *Benoo*, and *Raajaa* of a place called *Beetoor* near *Lucknow*. He flourished in the first Age of the World, and is said to have levelled the earth; and, having prepared it for cultivation, obliged the people to live in society.

‡ *Sogor*—the name of a *Raajaa* who lived in the second Age at *Ojoodho*, and is said to have dug the rivers.

§ *Shaastra*—book of divine ordinations: The word is derived from a root signifying to command.

same time: for his servants visited *Kedaar* \*, and drank milk according to the law; and they offered up their vows, where the *Ganges* joins the ocean, and at *Gokornaa* †, and other places ‡.

WHEN he had completed his conquests, he released all the rebellious Princes he had made captive, and each returning to his own country laden with presents, reflecting upon this generous deed, and longed to see him again; as mortals, remembering a pre-existence, wish to return to the realms of light.

THIS Prince took the hand of the daughter of *Porobol*, Raajaa of many countries, whose name was *Ronnaa Debee*; and he became settled.

THE people, being amazed at her beauty, formed different opinions of her. Some said it was *Lockee* § herself in her shape; others, that the earth had assumed her form; many said it was the Raajaa's fame and reputation; and others, that a household goddess had entered his palace. And her wisdom and virtue set her above all the ladies of the court.

THIS virtuous and praise-worthy Princess bore a son *Deb Paal Deb*, as the shell of the ocean produces the pearl:—

IN whose heart there is no impurity; of few words, and gentle manners; and who peaceably

\* *Kedaar*—a famous place, situated to the north of *Hindoostan*, visited, to this day, on account of its supposed sanctity.

† *Gokornaa*—a place of religious resort near *Punjab*.

‡ This and a few other passages appear inconsistent with the principles of a *Soogot*; to reconcile it therefore, it should be remarked, that as he was issuing his orders to subjects of a different persuasion, it was natural for him to use a language the best calculated to strike them with awe, and bind them to a performance of his commands. The *Pandit* by whose assistance this translation was made, when he was desired to explain this seeming contradiction, asked whether we did not, in our courts, swear a *Mussulman* upon the *Koran*, and a *Hindu* by the waters of the *Ganges*, although we ourselves had not the least faith in either.

§ *Lockee* the *Hindu* Goddess of Fortune.

inherited

inherited the kingdom of his father, as *Bodheesotwo* succeeded *Soogot*.

HE who, marching through many countries making conquests, arrived with his elephants in the forests of the mountains of *Beendhyo†*, where seeing again their long lost families, they mixed their mutual tears; and who going to subdue other Princes, his young horses meeting their females at *Komboge‡*, they mutually neighed for joy.

HE who has opened again the road of liberality, which was first marked out in the *Kreeto Joog§* by *Bolee||*; in which *Bhaargob¶*; walked in the *Trectaa Joog\*\**; which was cleansed by *Korno††* in the *Dwapor Joog‡‡*, and was again choked up in the *Kolee Joog§§*, after the death of *Sokodweefee§§*.

HE who conquered the earth from the source of the *Ganges* as far as the well known bridge which was constructed by the enemy of *Dosaafyo¶¶*;

\* *Bodheesotwo*—was the son of *Soogot*.

† *Beendhyo*—name of the mountains on the continent near *Ceylon*.

‡ *Komboge*—now called *Cambay*.

§ *Kreeto Joog*—the first Age of the World, sometimes called the *Suttee Joog*, or age of purity.

|| *Bolee*—a famous Giant of the first Age who is fabled to have conquered earth, heaven, and hell.

¶ *Bhaargob*—a *Brahmen*, who, having put to death all the princes of the earth, usurped the government of the whole.

\*\* *Trectaa Joog*—the second Age, or of three parts good.

†† *Korno*—a famous Hero in the third Age of the world. He was General to *Doorjodhon*, whose wars with *Joodisteer* are the subject of the *Moliubharat*, the grand Epick Poem of the *Hindoos*.

‡‡ *Dwapor Joog*—the third Age of the World.

§§ *Kolee Joog*—the fourth or present Age of the World, of which 4882 years are elapsed.

§§ *Sokodweefee*—an epithet of *Beekroma deetyo*, a famous *Raajaa*. He succeeded his brother *Sokaadeetyo*, whom he put to death.

¶¶ *Dosaafyo*—one of the names of *Raajon*, whose wars with *Raam* are the subject of a poem called the *Raamayan*.

from the river of *Luckeecool*\*, as far as the ocean of the habitation of *Boroon*†.

AT *Mood-go-gheeree*‡, where is encamped his victorious army; across whose river a bridge of boats is constructed for a road, which is mistaken for a chain of mountains; where immense herds of elephants, like thick black clouds, so darken the face of day, that people think it the season of the rains; whither the Princes of the North send so many troops of horse, that the dust of their hoofs spreads darkness on all sides; whither so many mighty Chiefs of *Jumbodweep*§ resort to pay their respects, that the earth sinks beneath the weight of the feet of their attendants; there *Deb Pall Deb* (who, walking in the footsteps of the mighty Lord of the great *Soogois*, the great Commander, *Raajaa* of *Mohaa Raajaas*, *Dhormo Paal Deb*, is himself mighty Lord of the great *Soogois*, a great Commander, and *Raajaa* of *Mohaa Raajaas*) issues his commands.—To all the inhabitants of the town of *Meseeka*, situated in *Krecmeelaa*, in the province of *Sree Nogor*||, which is my own property, and which is not divided by any land belonging to another; to all *Raathok* and *Raaje-pootroo*; to the¶ *Omaatyo*,

\* *Luckeecool*—now called *Luckeepoor*.

† *Boroon*—God of the Ocean.

According to this account the *Raajaa's* *Dominions* extended from the Cow's Mouth to Adam's Bridge in *Ceylon*, said to have been built by *Raam* in his wars with *Raabon*; from *Luckeepoor* as far as *Goozerat*.

‡ *Mood-go-gheeree*—now called *Mongueer*.

§ *Jumbodweep*—according to the *Hindoo* Geography, implies the habitable part of the Earth.

|| *Sree Nogor*—the ancient name of *Patna*.

¶ *Omaatyo*—Prime Minister. *Mohaa-kaarttaa kreeteeke*, Chief Investigator of all things. *Mo-haa-Dondo-Nayk*, Chief Officer of Punishments. *Mohaa-Pratee-haar*, Chief Keeper of the Gates. *Mohaa Saamonto*, Generalissimo. *Mohaa-Dow-Saathon-Saadhoneeko*, Chief Obviator of Difficulties. *Mohaa-Koomaaraa-Matyo*, Chief Instructor of Children. *Promaatree*, Kee-

tyo, *Mohaa-kaarttaa-kreeteeko*, *Mohaa-Dondo-Nayk*, *Mohaa-Proteehaar*, *Mohaa-Saamont Moo*, *baa-Dow-Saadbon-Saadboneeko*, *Mohaa-Koomaaraa-Matyo*; to the *Promaatree* and *Sorobhongo*; to the *Raajostaa-neeyo*, *Ooporeeko*, *Daasaaporaadheeko*, *Chowrod dho-ronneeko*, *Daandeeko*, *Donlopaseeko*, *Sowl-keeko*, *Gowlmeeko*, *Kyotrope*, *Praantopaalo*, *Kothtopaalo* and *Kaandaarokyo*; to the *Todaajooktoko* and the *Beeneejooktoko*; to the keeper of the elephants, horses and camels; to the keeper of the mares, colts, cows, buffaloes, sheep, and goats; to the *Dootopryfoneeko*, *Gomaa-Gomeeko*, and *Obheetworomaano*; to the *Beesypotee*, *Toropotee*, and *Toreeko*; to the different tribes, *Gowr*, *Maaioh*, *Khoso*, *Hoon*, *Kooleeko*, *Kornaato*, *Laasaato*, and *Bhoto*; to all others of our subjects who are not here specified; and to the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages, from the *Braabmon* and fathers of large families, to the tribes of *Medo*, *Onjhoroko*, and *Chondaalo*.

BE it known, that I have given the abovementioned town of *Meseeka*, whose limits include the fields where the cattle graze, above and below the surface, with all the lands belonging to it; together with all the *Mango* and *Modhoo* trees; all its waters and all their banks and verdure; all its rents and tolls, with all fines for crimes, and rewards for catching thieves. In it there shall be

per of the Records. *Sorobhongo*, Patrols. *Raajostaa-neeyo*, Vice Roy. *Ooporeeko*, Superintendent. *Daasaa-raadheeko*, Investigator of Crimes. *Chowrod-dho-ronneeko*, Thief Catcher. *Daandeeko*, Mace-Bearer. *Donlopaseeko*, Keeper of the Instruments of Punishment. *Sowl-keeko*, Collector of Customs. *Gowlmeeko*, Commander of a small party. *Kyotrope*, Supervisor of Cultivation. *Praantopaalo*, Guard of the Suburbs. *Kothtopaalo*, Commander of a Fort. *Kaandaarokyo*, Guard of the Wards of the City. *Todaajooktoko*, Chief Guard of the Wards. *Beeneejooktoko*, Director of Affairs. *Dootopryfoneeko*, Chief of the Spies. *Gomaa-Gomeeko*, Messengers. *Obheetworomaano*, Swift Messengers. *Beesypotee*, Governor of a City. *Toropotee*, Superintendent of the Rivers. *Toreeko*, Chief of the Boats.

no molestation, no passage for troops; nor shall any one take from it the smallest part. I give likewise every thing that has been possessed by the servants of the Raajaa. I give the Earth and Sky, as long as the Sun and Moon shall last: except however, such lands as have been given to God, and to the *Braahmans*, which they have long possessed and now enjoy. And that the glory of my father and mother and my own fame may be increased, I have caused this *Saason*\* to be engraved, and granted unto the great *Bottho Bheeko-raato Mecstro*, who has acquired all the wisdom of books and has studied the *Beeds*† under *Oshajono*; who is descended from *Cwpaomyobo*; who is the son of the learned and immaculate *Bottho Boraahoraato*, and whose grandfather was *Bottho Beeswo-raato*, learned in the *Beeds*, and expert in performing the *Jog*‡.

KNOW all the aforesaid, that as bestowing is meritorious, so taking away deserves punishment; wherefore leave it as I have granted it. Let all his neighbours and those who till the land, be obedient to my commands. What you have formerly been accustomed to perform and pay, do it unto him in all things. Dated in the thirty-third *Sombot* || and twenty-first day of the month of *Maarga*.

THUS speak the following *Slokes* § from the *Dhormo Onoosaason*:

\* *Saason*—signifies an Edict.

† *Beeds*—*Hindoo* Scriptures.

‡ *Jog*—Sacrifice.

|| *Sombot*—implies the *Æra* of Raajaa *Beekromadeetyo*. The *Braahmens*, throughout *Hindostan*, keep time according to the three following Epochs: The *Kalyobdo*, from the flight of *Kreesbno*, or commencement of the *Kolee Jog*, 4882 years. The *Sombot*, from the death of *Beekromadeetyo*, 1837 years. The *Sokaabdo*, from the death of Raajaa *Soko* 1703.

§ *Slokes*—stanzas, commonly, but erroneously, written *Ashlogues*.

1. "RAM hath required, from time to time of  
" all the Raajaas that may reign, that the bridge  
" of their beneficence be the same, and that they  
" do continually repair it.
- 2 " LANDS have been granted by *Sogor* and  
" many other Raajaas; and the fame of their  
" deeds devolves to their successors.
3. He who dispossesses any one of his property,  
" which I myself, or others have given, may he,  
" becoming a worm, grow rotten in ordure with  
" his forefathers.
4. " RICHES and the life of man are as transi-  
" ent as drops of water upon a leaf of the Lotos.  
" Learning this truth, O man! do not attempt  
" to deprive another of his reputation.

THE Raajaah, for the publick good; hath appointed his virtuous son, *Raajyo Paal*, to the dignity of *Jowho Raajaa*. He is in both lines of descent illustrious, and hath acquired all the knowledge of his father:

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#### REMARKS ON THE PRECEDING PAPER,

BY THE PRESIDENT.

SOME doubts having arisen in my mind concerning the preceding translation, I venture to propose them in the form of notes.

P. 512. l. 6. *from Dutton* This fortunate Prince—I nor the first couplet in honour of BUDDHA, one of whose names, in the *Amar-côsh*, is SUGATA? A follower of his sects would have been denominated a *Saugat*, in the derivative form. We must observe, that the *Bauddhs*, or *Saugats*, are called *Atheists* by the *Bráhmans*, whom they opposed; but it is mere invective; and this very Grant fully disproves the calumny by admitting a future state of rewards and punishments. SUGATA was a reformer; and every reformer must expect to be calumniated.

P. 513. l. 8. *When his innumerable army*) The third stanza in the original is here omitted, either by an oversight, or because the

the same image of *weeping elephants* occurs afterwards, and might have been thought superfluous in this place: nevertheless, I insert a literal translation of it.

“By whom, having conquered the earth as far as the ocean, it was left, as being unprofitably seized; so he declared: and his elephants weeping saw again in the forests their kindred whose eyes were full of tears.”

P. 514. l. 13. of many countries) The *Pandits* insist, that *Rāsh-trācūta* in the original is the name of a particular country.

P. 518. l. 15. from bottom. Dated in the 33d Sombot) That is year; for *Samvat* is only an abbreviation of *Samvatfara*. This date, therefore, might only mean the thirty-third year of the King's reign; but, since *VICRAMA'DITYA* was surnamed *the foe of SACA*, and is praised by that name in a preceding *Sanza*, we may safely infer, that the Grant was dated thirty-three years after the death of that illustrious Emperor, whom the king of *Gaura*, though a Sovereign Prince, acknowledged as lord paramount of *India*.



## M E M O R A N D U M S

• C O N C E R N I N G

## AN OLD BUILDING,

IN THE HADJIPORE DISTRICT, NEAR THE GUN-

• DUCK RIVER, &amp;c.

BY MR. REUBEN RURROW.

THE Pyramids of *Egypt* as well as those lately discovered in *Ireland* (and probably too the *Tower of BABEL*), seem to have been intended for nothing more than images of MAHA-DEO.

Two of the *Sakkara* Pyramids described by NORDEN, are like many of the small ones usually built of mud in the villages of *Bengal*: one of the Pyramids of *Dashour* drawn by POCOCK, is nearly similar to that I am going to mention, except in the acuteness of the angle: most of the *Pagodas* of the *Carnatic* are either complete or truncated Pyramids; and an old Stone Building without any cavity, which I saw in *Tambeah*, near the *Catabeda* river on the *Aracan Coast*, differed

ferred so little from a Pyramid that I did not suspect it was meant for the image of SEEVA, till I was told it by the natives.

THE largest building of the kind which I have yet seen in *India*, is about two days journey up the *Gunduck* River near a place called *Kesserah*: it goes by the name of "BHEEM SAIN'S DEWRY," but seems evidently intended for the well-known image of MAHADEO; having originally been a cylinder placed upon the frustum of a cone for the purpose of being seen at a distance. It is at present very much decayed, and it is not easy to tell whether the upper part of the cylinder has been globular or conical; a considerable quantity of the outside is fallen down, but it still may be seen a good distance up and down the River.

THE day I went from the River to view it was so uncommonly hot, that the walk and a fever together obliged me to trust to the measurements of a servant. For want of a better instrument, he took the circumference of the cylindrical part in lengths of a spear, and from that as a scale, and a sketch of the building taken at a distance, I deduced the following dimensions: what dependence there may be on his measures I cannot determine; but probably they are not very erroneous.

Diameter of the Cylindrical part, 64 feet.

Height of the Cylinder, 6

Height of the Conic frustum on }  
which the Cylinder is placed, } 93

Diameter of the Cone at the base, 363 .

BOTH the Cone and the Cylinder were of bricks; those of the last were of different sizes, many of them two spans long and one broad; others were of the common size, but thinner, and they

they were well burnt though bedded in mortar little better than mud: there did not appear any signs of the Cylinder's being hollow: the Conical part was overgrown with jungle, but I broke through it in several places, and found it every where brick.

I DO not recollect whether it be visible from the scite of the ancient city where the famous Pillar of *Singeab* stands, or not; but have a faint idea that it is. What the intention of these extraordinary columns may have been originally, is perhaps not so easy to tell. At first sight it would seem that they were for holding inscriptions, because those of *Bettiab*, *Debli*, and *Illababad*, have inscriptions (though in a character that has not been yet deciphered); but the Pillar of *Singeab* seems to have none whatever, for some *Bramins* told me they attended at the time it was dug to the foundation, near twenty feet under ground, by a gentleman of *Patna*, who had hopes to have found some treasures, and that there was not the least vestige of any inscription upon it. Probably those Pillars, *CLEOPATRA'S* Needle, and the *Devil's Bolts* at *Boroughbridge*, may all have the same religious origin.

PERHAPS the connection of time and place may apologize for the diversity of the subject in mentioning, that while I sat under the shade of a large tree near the Pyramid on account of the sultry heat, some of the people of the adjacent village came and played there with *Cowries* on a diagram, that was formed by placing five points in a circular order, and joining every pair of alternate points by a line, which formed a kind of pentagon. This brought to my recollection a circumstance told me by a gentleman in *England*, that an old piece of silver plate had been dug out of the earth with such a figure upon it. The  
use

use of it was totally unknown, as well as the age; and I was desired to find what geometrical properties the figure possessed. One I remember was, that if any number of points whatever were placed in a circular order, and each two alternate points joined, then the sum of all the salient angles of the figure would be equal to two right angles when the number of points was odd; but equal to four right angles when the number was even. EUCLID'S properties of the angles of the triangle and trapezium are particular cases of these; but I had no suspicion of the real intention of the figure till I saw the use here made of it. It seems, however, an argument in favour of the identity of the *Druids* and *Bramins*, as well as another well-known diagram usually called the "*Walls of Troy*," which was used originally in the *Hindoo* astrology. These figures, however, appear to have flowed from a much higher source, and to have relation to what LEIBNITZ had a distant idea of, in his *Analysis of Situation*, EUCLID in his *Porisms*, and GIRARD perhaps in his restitution of them: in fact, as the modern Algebraists have the advantage of transferring a great part of their labour from the head to the hands, so there is reason to believe that the *Hindoos* had *mechanical methods of reasoning geometrically*, much more extensive than the elementary methods made use of at present; and that even their games were deduced from, and intended perhaps to be examples of them: but this deserves to be treated more at length elsewhere.

THE same apology may perhaps excuse my mentioning here, that the idea of the *Nile's* deriving its floods from the melted snows, as well as the *Ganges*, appears to be rather imaginary: they seemed to be caused principally by the rains; for the high hills beyond the *Herdwar* apparently

retain

retain their snow all the year, and therefore the quantity melted could never produce the enormous swell of the *Ganges*; not to mention that the effect of a thaw seems different from what would arise from the mere difference of heat, and therefore might partly take place in winter and the dry season. That the rains are sufficient for the purpose without recurring to the hypothesis of melted snows, appears from the following fact. A little before I observed the aforesaid Pyramid, I had been a considerable distance up the *Gunduck*: the river was low for the time of the year, and the hills that skirt the borders of *Nepaul* were clear, and apparently not above fifteen coss distant. Soon after a heavy shower fell upon them for some hours, and the river soon after was filled to the very banks and continued so for many days, and large trees were torn up by the roots, and came driving down with such force by the torrent, that my boat was often endangered. Now on these hills there was actually no snow whatever; and as the rise was obviously caused by the rains, it may reasonably be concluded that the same effect has the same cause in other places.

OF THE

## M E T H O D

OF

## D I S T I L L I N G,

AS PRACTISED BY THE NATIVES AT CHATRA IN  
RÁMGUR, AND IN THE OTHER PROVINCES, PER-  
HAPS WITH BUT LITTLE VARIATION.

BY ARCHIBALD KEIR, ESQ.

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THE body of the Still they use, is a common, large, unglazed, earthen, water Jar, nearly globular, of about twenty-five inches diameter at the widest part of it, and twenty-two inches deep to the neck, which neck rises two inches more, and is eleven inches wide in the opening. Such, at least, was the size of the one I measured; which they filled about a half with fomented *Mábwah-flower*, that swam in the liquor to be distilled.

THE

THE Jar they placed in a Furnace, not the most artificial, though seemingly not ill adapted to give a great heat with but a very little fuel. This they made by digging a round hole in the ground, about twenty inches wide, and full three feet deep; cutting an opening in the front, sloping down to the bottom, on the sides perpendicular, of about nine inches wide, and fifteen long, reckoning from the circle where the Jar was to come, to serve to throw in the wood at, and for a passage to the air. On the side too, they cut another small opening, of about four inches by three, the Jar, when placed, forming one side of it, to serve as a chimney for the smoke to go out at. The bottom of the earth was rounded up like a cup. Having then placed the Jar in this, as far as it would go down, they covered it above, all round, with clay, except at the two openings, till within about a fifth of its height; when their furnace was completed.

IN this way, I reckon, there was a full third of the surface of the body of the Still or Jar exposed to the flame, when the fire came to be lighted; and its bottom not reaching to within two feet of where the fuel was, left a capacious hollow between them, whence the wood, that was short and dry, when lighted, being mostly converted into flame, and circulating on so great a surface of the Still, gave a much stronger heat than could else have been produced from so very little fuel; a consideration well worth the attention of a manufacturer, in our country more especially, where firing is so dear. There indeed, and particularly as coal is used, it would be better, no doubt, to have a grate; and that the air should enter from below. As to the benefit resulting from the body of the Still being of earthen ware, I am not quite so clear in it. Yet, as lighter substances

substances are well known to transmit heat more gradually and slowly than the more solid, such as metals; may not earthen vessels, on this account, be less apt to burn their contents, so as to communicate an empty-rheumatick taste and smell to the liquor that is distilled, so often, and so justly complained of, with us? At any rate, in this country, where pots are made so cheap, I should think them greatly preferable, as, at least, much less expensive than those which the gentlemen engaged in this manufacture most commonly employ: though of this they are best able to judge.

HAVING thus made their furnace, and placed the body of the Still in it, as above described, they to this luted on, with moistened clay, to its neck, at the opening, what they here call an *Adkur*; forming with it, at once, a cover for the body of the Still, with a suitable perforation in it to let the vapour rise through; and the under part of the alembick. The *Adkur* was made with two earthen pans, having round holes in their middles, of about four inches diameter; and their bottoms being turned opposite the one to the other, they were cemented together with clay, forming a neck of junction thus, of about three inches, with the small rising on the upper pan. The lowermost of these was more shallow, and about eleven inches wide, so as to cover exactly the opening at the neck of the Jar, to which they luted it on with clay. The upper and opposite of these was about four inches deep, and fourteen inches wide, with a ledge round its perforation in the middle, rising, as is already said, from the inner side of the neck, of about half an inch high, by which a gutter was formed to collect the condensed spirit as it fell down; and from this there was a hole in the pan to let it run off



off by; to which hole they occasionally luted on a small hollow *Bamboo*, of about two feet and a half in length, to convey it to the receiver below. The upper pan had also another hole in it, of about an inch square, at near a quarter of its circumference from the one below just spoken of, that served to let off the water employed in cooling; as shall be mentioned presently.

THEIR *Adkur* being thus fitted to the Jar, they completed the alembick by taking a copper pot, such as we use in our kitchens, of about five inches deep, eight wide at the mouth, and ten at the bottom, which was rather flattish; and turning its mouth downward, over the opening in the *Adkur*, luted it down on the inside of the Jar with clay.

FOR their cooler, they raised a seat, close upon, and at the back part of the furnace, about a foot higher than the bottom of the copper-pot; on this they placed a two or three gallon-pot, with a round hole, of about half an inch, in the side of it; and to this hole, before they lighted their fire, they luted on a short tube of a like bore; placing the pot, and directing its spout so as that, when filled with water, it threw a constant and uniform stream of it, from about a foot high, or near the centre of the bottom of the copper-pot; where it was diffused pretty completely over its whole surface; and the water falling down into the upper part of the pan of the *Adkur*, it thence was conveyed through the square hole already mentioned, by a trough luted on to it for that purpose, to a cooling reservoir a few feet from the furnace; from which they took it up again to supply the upper pot as occasion required.

As their stock of water, however, in this sort of circulation was much smaller than it seemingly ought to have been, being scarcely more than

six or eight gallons, it too soon became hot; yet in spite of this disadvantage, that so easily might have been remedied, and the shortness of the conducting tube, which had nothing but the common air to cool it, there ran a stream of liquor from the Still; and but very little vapour rising from it; beyond any thing I had even seen from stills of a much larger size, fitted with a worm and cooler. In about three hours time, indeed, from their lighting of the fire, they drew off full fifteen bottles of spirit; which is more, by a great deal, I believe, than could have been done in our way from a still of twice the dimensions.

THE conveniencies of a worm and cooler, which are no small expence either, I have myself often experienced; and if these could be avoided in so simple a way, that might easily be improved, the hints that are here offered may be of some use. The thin metal head is certainly well adapted, I think, to transmit the heat to the water, which is constantly renewed; and which, if cold, as it ought to be, must afford the fastest possible: whereas, in our way, the water being confined in a tub, that, from the nature of its porous substance, in a great degree rather retains than lets the heat pass away it soon accumulates in it, and becomes very hot, and, though renewed pretty often, never answers the purpose of cooling the vapour in the worm so expeditiously and effectually as is done by their more simple and less expensive apparatus. In this country more especially, where labour and earthen wares are so cheap, for as many *rupees* and less, twenty furnaces with stills and every thing belonging to them, independent of the copper-pots, might very well be erected, that would yield above a hundred

hundred gallons of spirits a-day; allowing each still to be worked only twice: so very cheap indeed is a rack here, to the great comfort of my miners, and of many thoughtless people beside, that for one single *peysa*, not two farthings sterling, they can get a whole *Cutch-a-fer* of it in the *Bazar*, or above a full *English* pint, and enough to make them completely intoxicated; objects often painful to be seen.

Of the superior excellence of metal in giving out heat from itself, and from vapour contained in it, we have a very clear proof, in what is daily performed on the Cylinder of the steam engine: for cold water being thrown on it when loaded, the contained vapour is constantly condensed; whence, on a vacuum being thus formed, and the weight of the atmosphere acting on the surface of the piston, attached to the arm of the balance, it is made to descend, and to raise the other arm that is fixed to the pump; while this, being somewhat heavier, immediately sinks again, which carries up the piston, while the Cylinder is again filled: and thus alternately by cooling and filling it, is the machine kept in motion: the power exerted in raising the pump-arm being always in proportion to the Diameter of the Cylinder, or to the surface of the piston, which is exactly fitted to it, and on which the pressure acts.

THE contrivance too, of having the under part of the Alembick, where the condensed vapour is collected, or upper part of what they call the *Atkur*, of earthen ware, of so great a thickness, and of course at so great a distance from the heat in the body of the still, is well imagined to keep the spirits the coolest possible when collected and running off.

By thus cooling and condensing the vapour likewise so suddenly as it rises, there is in a great measure a constant vacuum made, or as much as possible can be: but that both steam rises faster, and that water boils with much less heat, when the pressure is taken away from its surface, is an axiom in Chymistry too well known to need any illustration; it boiling in vacuum, when the heat is only ninety or ninety-five by Fahrenheit's Thermometer; whereas in the open air, under the pressure of the atmosphere, it requires no less than that of two hundred and twelve, ere it can be brought to the boiling point.

I MUST further observe, that the superior excellence of condensing the vapour so effectually and speedily in the Alembick to our method of doing it on a worm and cooler, is greatly on the side of the former; both from the reasons I have already adduced, and because of the small stream of vapour that can be only forced into the worm, where it is condensed gradually as it descends; but above all, from the nature of vapour itself, with respect to the heat contained in it, which of late has been proved by the very ingenious Dr. BLACK to be greater by far than, before his discoveries, was imagined. For vapour he has shewn to be in the state of a new fluid, where water is dissolved by heat; with the assistance perhaps, if I may be allowed a conjecture, of the air which it contains; and all fluids, as he has clearly demonstrated, on their becoming such, absorb a certain quantity of heat, which becomes what he very properly calls latent heat, it being heat not appearing either to the senses or to the Thermometer, while they remain in that liquid state; but showing itself immediately by its effects on whatever is near it, upon their changing their form

form from fluid to solid ; as on water becoming ice, or metals fixing, and the like. In the solution of Salts also, there is an absorption of heat, as we daily experience in the cooling of our liquors by dissolving Saltpetre in water ; and this he has found to be the case with water itself, and other fluids, when passing into a state of vapour by boiling. From the most accurate and judicious experiments, indeed, he infers, and with the greatest appearance of truth, that the heat thus concealed in vapour raised by boiling, from any given bulk of water, would be fully sufficient, if collected in a piece of iron of the like size, to make it perfectly red-hot. What then must be the effect of so much heat, communicated in our way of distilling to the worm, and to the water in the tub, will be sufficiently evident from what has been said, to prove I think, that we have hitherto employed a worse and more defective method than we might have done with respect to cooling at least, both in the making of spirits, and in other distillations of the like kind, where a similar mode is adopted.

THE poor ignorant *Indian*, indeed, while he with wonder surveys the vast apparatus of *European* distillers, in their immense large stills, worms, tubs, and expensive furnaces, and finds that spirits thus made by them are more valued, and sell much dearer than his own, may very naturally conclude, and will have his competitors join with him in opinion, that this must alone surely be owing to their better and more judicious manner of distilling with all those ingenious and expensive contrivances, which he can no wise emulate: but in this, it would appear, they are both equally mistaken ; imputing the effects, which need not be controverted perhaps, to a cause from which

which they by no means proceed; the superiority of their spirits not at all arising from the superior excellence of these stills and furnaces, nor from their better mode of conducting the distillation in any respect; but chiefly rather from their greater skill and care in the right choice, and proper management, of the materials they employ in fermentation; and above all, as I apprehend, from the vast convenience they have in casks, by which, and from their abilities in point of stock, they are enabled, and do in fact, in general keep their spirits for a certain time, whence they are mellowed and improved surprizingly both in taste and salubrity.

WITH respect to the latter improvement, I mention it more particularly here, and the more willingly also, as in general it seems to have been but too little attended to where a due attention to it might be of the greatest use. For of all things that have been found grateful to the human palate, there was none ever used, I believe, more hurtful to the body, and to the nerves especially, than fresh drawn ardent spirits; and this owing evidently to the principle of inflammability, of which with water they are mostly made up, being then in a more loose and detached state, less assimilated with the other principles than it afterwards becomes with time. By time indeed, it is gradually not only more assimilated, but at length changes its nature altogether; so as to become, what was at first so pernicious, a benign, cooling liquor: when the spirit is strong, the change, it is true, goes on more slow and imperceptibly; yet as a partial alteration is only wanted to mellow it for use, a few years keeping would be sufficient to answer the purpose here; and whether or no it could be possible to prevent any other from

from being sold than that which had been kept a certain time, is well worth the consideration of the Legislature.

THAT the great noxious quality of fresh drawn spirits, is chiefly owing to the cause I have assigned, a little attention, and comparing of the effects that are uniformly produced by the principle of inflammability, wherever it is met with in a loose and weakly combined state, as it is in them, will easily convince us of: whereas, when fully assimilated either in spirits, or with any other body, it becomes entirely inert, and useful, more or less, either for food or physick, according to what it happens to be united with. Thus we find it in putrid animal substances, where it lately formed part of a healthy body, being now detached, or but weakly united with air, exhibiting a most offensive, and pernicious poison: though this absorbed again by a living plant is presently changed into good and wholesome nourishment; to the vegetable immediately, and to any animal who may afterwards choose to eat it. In like manner Sulphur, which is a compound of this principle alone, united to a pure acid, the most destructive to all animal and vegetable substances, yet it being here perfectly inert also, may be taken into the body with safety; when, if loosened either by heat or by an alkaline salt uniting with the acid, its noxious quality is presently made perceivable to whoever comes within its reach.

MANY other instances of a like nature might easily be added, and some too more apposite perhaps than those I have here mentioned; but every one's own experience, with what I have already said, will sufficiently evince the propriety and utility of putting an entire stop, if possible,

to

to the sale of what ought to be so justly prohibited; and this, in its consequences, may even help to lead to other more effectual means of correcting, in a great measure, the cruel abuse of spirits in general, that has been long so loudly and so justly complained of, amongst the soldiers, lower *Europeans*, and our servants in this country; where the very worst and indeed poisonous sort of them is daily sold at so very cheap a rate.

ALL I need further add with respect to distillation, and on the superior advantages in the mode of conducting it here to that we have been in use to employ, for the raising of spirits, simple waters, and the like, is only to observe, I have no sort of doubt but that the intelligent Chymical Operators at home, if ever they should get a hint of it, will make no manner of scruple to use it also, and to improve upon it greatly by a few ingenious contrivances, which their knowledge and experience will so easily suggest. The principles on which it seems founded indeed, especially with regard to their way of cooling, are so striking and just, that in many other distillations besides those of spirits and waters, they may be employed, I apprehend, with very great profit and advantage. I shall now, however, confine myself to mention only the benefit that may result from a like process in the raising of the finer Aromatics, while the heat contrived, as in our way, besides impeding the distillation, must from its long action on such subtle bodies, probably injure them greatly in the essential quality on which their excellence depends; and upon this very account I am apt to imagine that the greater quantity obtained, and the superior quality of the *Oil of Roses* made in this country, to that



that made from *Roses* with us, is owing chiefly, in not entirely, to their better and more judicious manner of extracting it here. For, with us, the Still being made of metal may in the first instance, impart too great and too sudden a degree of heat; and next, the *Oil* continuing so long in the vapour, and that much compressed, may, in so delicate a subject, not only entirely almost unite it with the water, so as to render the separation impracticable, but may at the same time alter its essence so completely, as that it can no longer appear in the state it otherwise might have been found in, had the operation been better conducted, or in the way they do here. A very few trials however would much better certify this than all I can possibly say on the subject, or in fact than all the reasoning in the world. Therefore, as to my own particular opinion of the flavour and quality of the *Roses* at home being equal if not superior to that of those in this country, I may be entirely silent; the rules and reasoning in Chymistry, though serving greatly to enlarge and improve our understanding, being what of themselves can never be depended upon till confirmed by facts and experiments; where many things often turn out very different from what, from our best and most plausible arguments, we had the greatest reason to expect. Or, if it should be found to be really true, what I have often heard asserted, by those however who had it only from others, but not of their own particular knowledge, that, in distilling their *Oil* of *Roses* at the places where they make it the best, they use also with their *Roses* *Sandal-wood*, and some other Aromaticks, no *Roses* whatsoever, it is plain, could ever of themselves be made to afford a like *Oil*; nor without such an addition as they employ. A circumstance, by the bye, that  
 might

might possibly easily be certified by some one of the many ingenious correspondents of the Society, who may happen to reside where it is made; and a knowledge of the real truth of it would certainly be of use.

*Chatra*, Dec. 24. 1786.

ON THE

PANGOLIN

OF

BAHAR.

SENT BY MATTHEW LESLIE, ESQ.

THE singular animal which M. BUFFON describes by the name of *Pangolin*, is well-known in *Europe* since the publication of his Natural History and GOLDSMITH'S elegant abridgement of it; but if the figure exhibited by BUFFON was accurately delineated from the three animals the spoils of which he had examined, we must consider that which has been lately brought from *Caracdiab* to *Cbitra*, and sent thence to the Presidency, as a remarkable variety, if not a different species, of the *Pangolin*: ours has hardly any neck, and though some filaments are discernible between the scales, they can scarce be called bristles;

bristles; but the principal difference is in the tail, that of BUFFON'S animal being long, and tapering almost to a point, while that of ours is much shorter, ends obtusely and resembles in form and flexibility the tail of a lobster. In other respects, as far as we can judge from the dead subject, it has all the characters of BUFFON'S *Pangolin*; a name derived from that by which the animal is distinguished in Java, and consequently preferable to *Manis* or *Pholidotus*, or any other appellation deduced from an European language. As to the *scaly Lizard* the *scaled Armadillo*, and the *five-nailed Ant-eater*, they are manifestly improper designations of this animal; which is neither a *Lizard* nor an *Armadillo* in the common acceptation; and, though it be an *Ant-eater*, yet it essentially differs from the hairy quadruped usually known by that general description. We are told, that the *Malabar* name of this animal is *Alungu*: the natives of *Babár* call it *Bajár-cít*; or, as they explain the word, *Stone-vermin*; and in the stomach of the animal before us was found about a tea-cupful of small stones, which had probably been swallowed for the purpose of facilitating digestion; but the name alludes, I believe, to the hardness of the scales; for *Vajracíta* means in *Sanscrit* the *Diamond*, or *Thunderbolt*, reptile, and *Vajra* is a common figure in the *Indian* poetry for any thing excessively hard. The *Vajracíta* is believed by the *Pandits* to be the animal which gnaws their sacred stone, called *Sálgrámásílá*; but the *Pangolin* has apparently no teeth, and the *Sálgráms*, many of which look as if they had been worm-eaten, are perhaps only decayed in part by exposure to the air.

THIS animal had a long tongue shaped like that of aameleon; and, if it was nearly adult, as we may conclude from the young one found in it, the dimensions of it were much less than those

those which BUFFON assigns generally to his *Pangolin*: for he describes its length as six, seven, or eight feet including the tail, which is almost, he says, as long as the body, when it has attained its full growth; whereas ours is but thirty-four inches long from the extremity of the tail to the point of the snout, and the length of the tail is fourteen inches; but, exclusively of the head, which is five inches long, the tail and body are, indeed, nearly of the same length; and the small difference between them may show, if BUFFON be correct in this point, that the animal was young: the circumference of its body in the thickest part is twenty inches, and that of the tail only twelve.

WE cannot venture to say more of this extraordinary creature, which seems to constitute the first step from the quadruped to the reptile, until we have examined it alive, and observed its different instincts; but as we are assured, that it is common in the country round *Kbânpûr*, and at *Châitigâm*, where the native *Muselmans* call it the *Land-carp*, we shall possibly be able to give on some future occasion a fuller account of it. There are in our *Indian* provinces many animals, and many hundreds of medicinal plants, which have either not been described at all, or, what is worse, ill described by the naturalists of *Europe*; and to procure perfect descriptions of them from actual examination, with accounts of their several uses in medicine, diet, or manufactures, appears to be one of the most important objects of our institution.

ON THE  
DISSECTION OF THE PANGOLIN,

IN A

LETTER TO GEN. CARNAC FROM ADAM BURT, Esq.

COMMUNICATED BY GEN. CARNAC.

SIR,

**I**N compliance with your desire, I most willingly do myself the honour to present to you my observations and reflections on the dissection of the *Pangolin*, an animal which is distinguished in the FIRST VOLUME of the TRANSACTIONS of the ASIATICK SOCIETY, by a name which I do not at present remember; but probably the animal is of the same genus with the *Manis*, as described in the former edition of the ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA, or perhaps, not different from the *Pangolin* of BUFFON.

THERE are on each foot five claws, of which the outer and inner are small when compared with the other three. There are no distinct toes; but each nail is moveable by a joint at its root. This creature is extremely inoffensive. It has *no teeth*; and its feet are unable to grasp. Hence it would appear, that nature, having furnished it with a coat of mail for its protection, has, with some regard

regard to justice, denied it the powers of acting with hostility against its fellow creatures. The nails are well adapted for digging in the ground; and the animal is so dexterous in eluding its enemies by concealing itself in holes and among rocks, that it is extremely difficult to procure one.

THE upper jaw is covered with a cross cartilaginous ridge, which, though apparently not at all suited to any purposes of mastication, may, by increasing the surface of the palate, extend the sense of taste. The œsophagus admitted my forefinger with ease. The tongue at the bottom of the mouth is nearly about the size of the little finger, from whence it tapers to a point. The animal at pleasure protrudes this member a great way from the mouth. The tongue arises from the ensiform cartilage, and the contiguous muscles of the belly, and passes in form of a round distinct muscle from over the stomach, through the thorax, immediately under the sternum; and interior to the windpipe in the throat. When dissected out, the tongue could be easily elongated so as to reach more than the length of the animal exclusive of its tail. There is a cluster of salivary glands seated around the tongue as it enters the mouth. These will necessarily be compressed by the action of the tongue; so as occasionally to supply a plentiful flow of their secretion.

THE stomach is *cartilaginous*, analogous to that of the gallinaceous tribe of birds. It was filled with small stones and gravel, which in this part of the country are almost universally calcareous. The inner surface of the stomach was rough to the feel, and formed into folds, the interstices of which were filled with a frothy secretion. The guts were filled with a sandy pulp, in which, however, were interspersed a few distinct small stones.

stones. No vestiges of any animal or vegetable food could be traced in the whole *prima via*. The gall-bladder was distended with a fluid resembling in colour and consistence the dregs of beer.

THE subject was a female: its dugs were two, seated on the breast. The uterus and organs of generation were evidently those of a viviparous animal.

POSSIBLY struck with the phenomena which this quadruped exhibited, my imagination at once overleaped the boundaries by which science endeavours to circumscribe the productions and the ways of Nature; and believing with BUFFON, *que tout ce qui peut être est*, I did not hesitate to conjecture, that this animal might possibly derive its nourishment from mineral substances. This idea I accordingly hazarded in an address to Colonel KYD: the spirit of enquiry natural to that gentleman could be ill satisfied by ideas thrown out apparently at random; and he soon called on me to explain my opinion, and its foundation.

THOUGH we have perhaps no clear idea of the manner in which vegetables extract their nourishment from earth, yet the fact being so, it may not be unreasonable to suppose, that some animal may derive nutriment by a process somewhat similar. It appears to me, that facts produced by SPALLANZANI directly invalidate the experiments from which he has drawn the inference, that fowls swallow stones merely from stupidity; and that such substances are altogether unnecessary to those animals. He reared fowls, without permitting them ever to swallow sand or stones; but he also established the fact, that carnivorous animals may become frugivorous, and herbivorous animals may come to live on flesh. A wood-pigeon he brought to thrive on putrid meat. The experiment on fowls, then, only corroborates the proof,



proof, that we have it in our power by habits to alter the natural constitution of animals. Again, that eminent investigator of truth found, that fowls died when fed on stones alone; but surely that fact is far short of proving, that such substances are not agreeable to the original purposes of nature in the digestive process of these animals. When other substances shall have been detected in the stomach of this animal, my inference from what I have seen, must necessarily fall to the ground. But if, like other animals with muscular and cartilaginous stomachs, this singular quadruped consume grain, it must be surprising that no vestige of such food was found present in the whole alimentary canal, since in that thinly inhabited country the wild animals are free to feed without intrusion from man. Nor can it be inferred from the structure of the stomach, that this animal lives on ants or on insects. Animals devoured as food, though of considerable size and solidity, with a proportionally small extent of surface to be acted on by the gastric juice and the action of the stomach, are readily dissolved and digested by animals possessing not a cartilaginous, but a membranaceous, stomach, as for instance, a frog in that of a snake.

IN the stomach many minerals are soluble, and the most active things which we can swallow. Calcareous substances are readily acted on. Dr. PRIESTLEY has asked, "May not phlogistic matter be the most essential part of the food and support of both vegetable and animal bodies?" I confess, that Dr. PRIESTLEY's finding cause to propose the question, inclines me to suppose, that the affirmative to it may be true. Earth seems to be the basis of all animal matter. The growth of the bones must be attended with a constant supply, and in the human species there is a copious dis-

charge of calcareous matter thrown out by the kidneys and salivary glands. May not the quadruped in question derive phlogiston from earth; salt, from mineral substances? And as it is not deprived of the power of drinking water, what else is necessary to the subsistence of his corporeal machine?

• CONSIDERING the scaly covering of this animal, we may conceive, that it may be at least necessary for its existence, on that account, to imbibe a greater proportion of earth than is necessary to other animals. It may deserve consideration, that birds are covered with feathers, which in their constituent principles approach to the nature of horn and bone. Of these animals the gallinaceous tribe swallow stones; and the carnivorous take in the feathers and bones of their prey: the latter article is known to be soluble in the membranaceous stomachs; and hence is a copious supply of the earthy principles. In truth, I do not know that any thing is soluble in the stomach of animals, which may not be thence absorbed into their circulating system, and nothing can be so absorbed without affecting the whole constitution.

WHAT I have here stated is all that I could advance to the Colonel; but my opinion has been since not a little confirmed by observing the report of experiments by M. BRUQUATELI of *Pavia*, on the authority of M. CRELL, by which we learn, that some birds have so great a dissolvent power in the gastric juice as to dissolve in their stomachs flints, rock crystal, calcareous stones and shells.

I BEG only farther to observe, that some things in BUFFON's description of the *Pangolin*, not apparently quite applicable to this animal, might have been owing to his description being only from

from the view of a dried preparation, in which the organs of generation would be obliterated, and the bags shrivelled away so as to be imperceptible: ~~ene~~ that elegant philosopher could not have asserted, that "*tous les animaux quadrupeds qui sont couverts d'écailles, sont ovipares.*"

Excuse my prolixity, which is only in me the necessary attendant of my superficial knowledge of things. In ingenuofness, however, I hope that I am not inferior to any man: and I am proud to subscribe myself,

S I R,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

ADAM BURT.

GYA, Sept. 14, 1789.

DESCRIPTION

OF THE

LACSHA,

OR

FLACINSECT\*.

BY MR. W. ROXBURGH, SURGEON ON THE MADRAS  
ESTABLISHMENT.

COMMUNICATED BY DR. JAMES ANDERSON.

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<sup>Jan. 2, 1790.</sup>  
SOME pieces of very fresh-looking Lac, adhering to small branches of *Mimosa Cinerea*, were brought me from the mountains on the 20th of last month. I kept them carefully, and to-day, the 4th of *December*, fourteen days from the time they came from the hills, myriads of exceedingly minute animals were observed creeping about the Lac, and branches it adhered to, and

\* This discovery of Mr. ROXBURGH will bring LAC a Genus into the Class *Hemiptera* of LINNÆUS.

more

more still issuing from small holes over the surface of the cells; other small and perforated excrescences were observed with a glass amongst the perforations, from which the minute insects issued, regularly two to each hole, and crowned with some very fine white hairs. When the hairs were rubbed off, two white spots appeared. The animals, when single, ran about pretty briskly, but in general they were so numerous as to be crowded over one another. The body is oblong, tapering most towards the tail, below plain, above convex, with a double, or flat margin: laterally on the back part of the thorax are two small tubercles, which may be the eyes: the body behind the thorax is crossed with twelve rings: legs six: feelers (antennæ) half the length of the body, jointed, hairy, each ending in two hairs as long as the antennæ: rump, a white point between two terminal hairs, which are as long as the body of the animal. The mouth I could not see. On opening the cells, the substance that they were formed of cannot be better described, with respect to appearance, than by saying it is like the transparent amber that beads are made of: the external covering of the cells may be about half a line thick, is remarkably strong, and able to resist injuries: the partitions are much thinner: the cells are in general irregular squares, pentagons, and hexagons, about an eighth of an inch in diameter, and one quarter deep: they have no communication with each other: all those I opened during the time the animals were issuing, contained in one half, a small bag filled with a thick red jelly-like liquor replete with what I take to be eggs; these bags, or utriculi, adhere to the bottom of the cells, and have each two necks, which pass through perforations in the

external

external coat of the cells, forming the forementioned excrescences, and ending in some very fine hairs. The other half of the cells have a distinct opening, and contain a white substance, like some few filaments of cotton rolled together, and numbers of the insects themselves ready to make their exit: several of the same insects I observed to have drawn up their legs and to lie flat: they did not move on being touched, nor did they show any signs of life with the greatest irritation.

*December 5.* THE same minute hexapedes continue issuing from their cells in numbers; they are more lively, of a deepened red colour, and fewer of the motionless sort. To-day I saw the mouth: it is a flattened point about the middle of the breast, which the little animal projects on being compressed.

*December 6.* THE male insects I have found to-day: a few of them are constantly running among the females most actively: as yet they are scarce more, I imagine, than one to 5000 females, but twice their size. The head is obtuse; eyes black, very large; antennæ clavated, feathered, about  $\frac{2}{3}$  the length of the body: below the middle an articulation, such as those in the legs: colour between the eyes a beautiful shining green: neck very short: body oval, brown: abdomen oblong, the length of body and head: legs six: wings membranaceous, four, longer than the body, fixed to the sides of the thorax, narrow at their insertions, growing broader for  $\frac{2}{3}$  of their length, then rounded; the anterior pair is twice the size of the posterior: a strong fibre runs along their anterior margins: they lie flat like the wings of a common fly, when it walks or rests: no hairs from the rump: it springs most actively to a considerable distance on being touched:

touchèd: mouth in the under part of the head: maxillæ transverse. To-day the female insects continue issuing in great numbers, and move about as on the 4th.

• *December 7.* THE small red insects still more numerous, and move about as before: winged insects, still very few, continue active. There have been fresh leaves and bits of the branches of both *Minosa*, *Cinerea* and *Corinda* put into the wide mouthed bottle with them: they walk over them indifferently without showing any preference nor inclination to work nor copulate. I opened a cell whence I thought the winged flies had come, and found several, eight or ten, more in it, struggling to shake off their incumbrances: they were in one of those utriculi mention'd on the 4th, which ends in two mouths, shut up with fine white hairs, but one of them was open for the exit of the flies; the other would no doubt have opened in due time: this utriculus I found now perfectly dry, and divided into cells by exceeding thin partitions. I imagine, before any of the flies made their escape, it might have contain'd about twenty. In these minute cells with the living flies, or whence they had made their escape, were small dry dark-coloured compress'd grains, which may be the dried excrements of the flies.

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NOTE BY THE PRESIDENT.

THE *Hindus* have six names for *Lac*; but they generally call it *Lácshà* from the *multitude* of small insects,

insects, who, as they believê, discharge it from their stomachs, and at length destroy the tree on which they form their colonies: a fine *Pippala* near *Crisbnanagar* is now almost wholly destroyed by them.



R A N S L A T I O N

OF A

SANSKRIT INSCRIPTION,

COPIED FROM A STONE AT BOODDHA-GAYA.  
BY MR. WILMOT, 1785.

TRANSLATED BY CHARLES WILKINS, ESQ.

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IN the midst of a wild and dreadful forest, flourishing with trees of sweet-scented flowers, and abounding in fruits and roots; infested with Lions and Tigers; destitute of human Society, and frequented by the *Moones*, resided *Bood-dha*, the Author of Happiness, and a portion of *Narayan*. This Deity *Haree*, who is the Lord *Hareesj*, the possessor of all, appeared in this ocean of natural Beings at the close of the *Dawatara*, and beginning of the *Kalee Yog*: he who is omnipresent and everlastingly to be contemplated, the Supreme Being, the Eternal One, the Divinity worthy to be adored by the most praiseworthy

worthy of mankind, appeared here with a portion of his divine nature.

ONCE upon a time the illustrious *Amara*, renowned amongst men, coming here, discovered the place of the Supreme Being, *Bood-dha*, in the great forest. The wise *Amara* endeavoured to render the God *Bood-dha* propitious by superior service; and he remained in the forest for the space of twelve years, feeding upon roots and fruits, and sleeping upon the bare earth; and he performed the vow of a *Monoe*, and was without transgression. He performed acts of severe mortification, for he was a man of infinite resolution, with a compassionate heart. One night he had a vision and heard a voice saying, "Name what ever boon thou wantest." *Amara Deva* having heard this, was astonished, and with due reverence replied, "First, give me a visitation, and then grant me such a boon." He had another dream in the night, and the voice said, "How can there be an apparition in the *Kalee-Yoog*? The same reward may be obtained from the sight of an Image, or from the worship of an Image, as may be derived from the immediate visitation of a Deity." Having heard this, he caused an Image of the Supreme Spirit *Bod-dha* to be made, and he worshipped it, according to the law, with perfumes, incenses, and the like; and he thus glorified the name of that Supreme Being, the incarnation of a portion of *Veeschnoo*:  
 "Reverence be unto thee in the form of *Bood-dha*! Reverence be unto the Lord of the Earth! Reverence be unto thee, an incarnation of the Deity and the Eternal One! Reverence be unto thee, O God, in the form of the God of Mercy;—the dispeller of pain and trouble, the Lord of all things, the Deity who overcometh the sins of the *Kalee-Yoog*,  
 " the

“ the Guardian of the Universe, the Emblem  
 “ of Mercy towards those who serve thee — *OM!*  
 “ the possessor of all things in vital form! Thou  
 “ art *Brahma, Veshnoo, and Mahesa!* Thou art  
 “ Lord of the Universe! Thou art, under the  
 “ proper form of all things moveable and im-  
 “ moveable, the possessor of the whole! and thus  
 “ I adore thee. Reverence be unto the bestower  
 “ of salvation, and *Resheekéja*, the ruler of the  
 “ faculties! Reverence be unto thee (*Kéjavah*),  
 “ the destroyer of the evil Spirit *Kéjee!* O *Da-*  
 “ *mordara*, shew me favour! Thou art he who  
 “ resteth upon the face of the milky ocean, and  
 “ who lyeth upon the serpent *Síja*. Thou art  
 “ *Freeviekrama* (who at three strides encompassed  
 “ the earth)! I adore thee, who art celebrated  
 “ by a thousand names, and under various forms,  
 “ in the shape of *Bood-dba*, the God of Mercy!  
 “ Be propitious, O Most High God!”

HAVING thus worshipped the Guardian of man-  
 kind, he became like one of the just. He joy-  
 fully caused a holy Temple to be built of a won-  
 derful construction, and therein were set up the  
 divine foot of *Veshnoo*, for ever Purifier of the  
 sins of mankind, the images of the *Pandogs* and  
 the descents of *Veeeshnoo*, and in the like manner  
 of *Brahma*, and the rest of the Divinities.

THIS place is renowned; and it is celebrated  
 by the name of *Bood-dba-Gaya*. The forefathers  
 of him who shall perform the ceremony of the  
*Sradha* at this place shall obtain salvation. The  
 great virtue of the *Sradha* performed here, is to  
 be found in the book called *Vayoo-poorana*; an Epi-  
 tome of which hath by me been engraved upon  
 stone.

VEEKRAMADEETYA was certainly a king re-  
 nowned in the world. So in his court there were  
 nine learned men, celebrated under the epithet

at

at the *Nava-ratnanee*, or nine Jewels; one of whom was *Amara Deva* who was the King's Chief Counsellor, a man of great genius and profound learning, and the greatest favourite of his prince. He it certainly was who built the holy temple which destroyeth sin, in a place in *Jambudweep*, where, the mind being steady, it obtains its wishes, and in a place where it may obtain salvation, reputation, and enjoyment, even in the country of *Bharata*, and the province of *Keekata*, where the place of *Bood-dha*, Purifier of the sinful, is renowned. A crime of an hundred fold shall undoubtedly be expiated from a sight thereof, of a thousand fold from a touch thereof, and of a hundred thousand fold from worshipping thereof. But where is the use of saying so much of the great virtues of this place? Even the Hosts of Heaven worship with joyful service both day and night.

That it may be known to learned men, that he verily erected the house of *Bood-dha*, I have recorded, upon a stone, the authority of the place, as a self-evident testimony, on Friday the fourth day of the new moon in the month of *Maahboo*, when in the seventh mansion of *Ganisa*, and in the year of the *Era of Veekrumadectya* 1005.

AN  
 INSCRIPTION

ON A

PILLAR NEAR BUDDAL.

TRANSLATED FROM THE SANSKRIT,

BY CHARLES WILKINS, ESQ.

---

SOME time in the month of *November*, in the year 1780, I discovered, in the vicinity of the town of *Buddal*, near which the Company have a Factory, and which at that time was under my charge, a decapitated monumental column, which at a little distance has very much the appearance of the trunk of a cocoa-nut tree broken off in the middle. It stands in a swamp overgrown with weeds, near a small temple dedicated to *Hargowree*, whose image it contains.

It is formed of a single stone of a dirty grey complexion; and it has lost by accident a considerable part of its original height. I was told upon the spot, that it had, in the course of time,

funk

sunk considerably in the ground; but upon my digging about the foundation I found this was not the case. At a few feet above the ground is an Inscription engraved in the stone, from which I took two reversed impressions with printer's ink. I have lately been so fortunate as to decypher the character; and I have the honour to lay before the Society a translation of it.

• THE original character of this Inscription is very different from the modern form; but it so much resembles that on the plate found by Colonel WATSON at *Mongucer*, that I am induced to conclude it to be a work of the same period. The language is *Sanskreet*, and the whole is comprised in twenty-eight metrical verses of various measures.

CHARLES WILKINS.

July 14. 1785.

## I.

## PROSPERITY!

VEERA DEV was of the *Sandeelya* race\*; from him was descended *Panchal*; of whose generation, and of whom, was *Garga* born.

## • II.

HE, another *Sakra* †, was ruler but of one quarter, and had no authority in other regions. He, too, was defeated by *Ditya* † chiefs; but being a virtuous prince, he became supreme over every country without reserve; and his conduct was such, that he laughed *Vreehāspatee* § to scorn.

## • III.

EECHA || was his wife; and, like love, she was the mistress of his heart. She was admired for the native purity of her mind, and her beauty was like the light of the moon.

## IV.

IN his countenance, which was like the flower of the waters ¶, were to be traced the lines of

\* A tribe of *Brahmans* still extant.

† EENDRA, the God of the Heavens, who is supposed to be the Guardian of the East.

‡ Evil Spirits. EENDRA is said to have lost his kingdom, for a while, to the *Afoors* or Evil Spirits.

§ The Tutor of the Good Spirits and the Planet Jupiter.

|| Love, Desire.

¶ The Lotus.

four sciences \*. The three worlds were held in subjection by his hereditary high rank.

FROM these two was descended a *Brahman* like *Kamalayonce* †, and he took unto himself the name of *Sree Darbha-pance* :

## V.

WHOSE country (extending to *Reva-Janak* ‡ ; to the father of *Gowree* §, whose piles of rocks reek with the juice exuding from the heads of intoxicated elephants, and whose snow-white mountains are brightened by the sun's rays ; to the two oceans ;—to that whence *Aroon* || riseth from its bed, and to that wherein the sun sinketh in the west) the Prince *Sree Dev Pal* ¶, by his policy, rendered tributary ;

## VI.

AT whose gates (although the prospect, hidden by the dust arising from the multitude of marching force, was rendered clear from the earth being watered by constant and abundant streams flowing from the heads of lustful elephants of various breeds), stood, scarce visible, amongst the vast concourse of nobles flocking to his standard from every quarter, *Sree Dev Pal* in expectation of his submission.

\* Arms, Music, Mechanics, Physics.

† *Brahma*.

‡ Perhaps the *Narbadda*.

§ The snowy Mountains that part *India* from *Tartary*.  
GOWREE, one of the names of the *Parvattee*, the consort of *SEEV*.

|| The Charioteer of the Sun—the Aurora of the *Hindoos*.

¶ If this be the Prince mentioned in the Copper-plate found by Col. WATSON, he reigned at *Mongueer* above 1800 years ago.



## VII.

WHOSE throne that Prince (who was the image of EENDRA, and the dust of whose feet was impressed with the diadems of sundry potentates) himself ascended with a flash of glory, although he had formerly been wont to offer him large sums of *Peetas* \* bright as the lunar rays.

## VIII.

To him was born of the Princess *Sarkara*, the Brahman *Somefwar*, who was like *Som* † the offspring of *Atrée*, and a favourite of the Most High.

## IX.

HE adopted the manners of *Dhananjay* ‡, and did not exult over the ignorant and ill-favoured. He spent his riches amongst the needy. He neither vainly accepted adulation, nor uttered honey-words. His attendants were attached by his bounty; and because of his vast talents, which the whole universe could not equal, he was the wonder of all good men.

## X.

ANXIOUS for a home and an asylum, he took the hand of *Ranna* §, a Princess of his own likeness, according to the law, even as *Seev* the hand

\* A square Coin.

† The Moon

‡ One of the sons of *Pandoo*, commonly called *Arjoon*.

§ A Princess of this name is also mentioned in Colonel WATSON'S Plate.

of *Seeva* \*—even as *Haree* † the hand of *Lakshmee*.

### XI.

FROM this pair proceeded into life, bursting forth like *Gooha* ‡ with a countenance of a golden hue; the fortunate *Kedara Meefra*, whose actions rendered him the favourite of heaven.—The lofty diadem which he had attained shone with faultless splendour, kissing the vast circumference of the earth. His extensive power was hard to be limited; and he was renowned for boundless knowledge raised from his own internal source.

### XII.

THE ocean of the four sciences, which had been at a single draught drunk up, he brought forth again, and laughed at the power of *Agastya* §.

### XIII.

TRUSTING to his wisdom, the king of *Gowr* || for a long time enjoyed the country of the eradicated race of *Ootkal* ¶, of the *Hoons* †† of humbled pride, of the kings of *Draveer* ††† and *Goor-*

\* *Seeva* is the feminine of *Seev*.

† *Haree*, a name of *Veshnoo*.

‡ *Gooha*, a name of *Karteek*.

§ Who is said to have drunk up the ocean.

|| The kingdom of *Gowr* anciently included all the countries which now form the kingdom of *Bengal* on this side the *Brahmapootra*, except *Mongueer*.

¶ *Orixa*.

†† *Huns*.

††† A country to the south of the *Carnatick*.

*jar* \*, whose glory was reduced, and the universal sea-girt throne.

## XIV.

HE considered his own acquired wealth the property of the needy, and his mind made no distinction between the friend and the foe. He was both afraid and ashamed of those offences which condemn the soul to sink again into the ocean of mortal birth; and he despised the pleasures of this life, because he delighted in a supreme abode.

## XV.

To him, emblem of *Vreehaspatee* †, and to his religious rites, the Prince *Sree Soora Pal* (who was a second *Eendra*, and whose soldiers were fond of wounds) went repeatedly; and that long and happy companion of the world, which is girt with several oceans as with a belt, was wont, with a soul purified at the fountain of faith, and his head humbly bowed down, to bear pure water before him.

## XVI.

*VANWA*, of celestial birth, was his consort, with whom neither the fickle *Lakshmee*, nor *Satee* ‡ constant to her lord, were to be compared.

\* *Goozerat*.

† The Preceptor of the Good Spirits, and the Planet *Jupiter*.

‡ The Consort of *Seev*.

## XVII.

SHE, like another *Devakée* \*, bore unto him a son of high renown, who resembled the adopted of *Yasodba* † and husband of *Lakshmeé* ‡.

## XVIII.

THIS youth, by name *Sree Goorava Mcesra*, was acquainted with all the constellations. He resembled *Ram*, the son of *Jamadagnee* §. He was another *Ram*.

## XIX.

HIS abilities were so great, that he was solicitous to discover the essence of things, wherefore he was greatly respected by the Prince *Sree Narayan Pal*. What other honour was necessary?

## XX.

HIS policy (who was of no mean capacity, and of a reputation not to be conceived), following the sense of the *Veds*, was of boundless splendour, and, as it were, a descent of *Dharma*, the Genius of Justice. It was regulated by the example of those who trust in the power of speech over things future, who stand upon the connexion of family, who are in the exercise of paying due praise to the virtues of great men, and who believe in the purity of *Astrology*.

\* The real mother of *Kreesbna*.

† The foster-mother of *Kreesbna*.

‡ *Rookmeenee*, the Consort of *Kreesbna*. She is here called *Lakshmeé*, in compliance with the idea of her being a descent of that Goddess.

§ This is neither the conqueror of *Ceylon*, nor the brother of *Kreesbna*.

## XXI.

IN him was united a lovely pair *Lakshmee* and *Saraswater*, the disposers of fortune, and the Goddesses of Science, who seemed to have forsaken their natural enmity, and to stand together pointing at friendship.

## XXII.

HE laughed to scorn him who, in the assemblies of the learned, was intoxicated with the love of argument, and confounded him with profound and elegant discourses framed according to the doctrine of the *Sastras*; and he spared not the man who, because of his boundless power and riches, was overwhelmed with the pride of victory over his enemy in the field.

## XXIII.

HE had a womb, but it obstinately bore him no fruit. One like him can have no great relish for the enjoyments of life! He never was blessed with that giver of delight, by obtaining which a man goeth unto another almoner\*.

## XXIV.

HE who was, as it were, another *Valmееkee* † born in this dark age of impiety, amongst a dreadful and a cruel race of mortals, was a devout man who displayed the learning of the *Veds* in books of moral tales.

\* He had no issue to perform the *Sradh* for the release of his soul from the bonds of sin. By another almoner is meant the Deity.

† The first Poet of the *Hindoos*, and supposed author of the *Ramayan*.

## XXV.

His profound and pleasing language, like *Ganga*, flowing in a triple course\* and constant stream, purifieth and delighteth.

## XXVI.

He to whom, and to those of whose generation, men were wont to resort as it were to *Brabma*, waited so long in expectation of being a father, that, at length, he himself arrived at the state of a child.

## XXVII.

By him was recorded here; upon this lasting column, the superior beauty of whose shaft catcheth the eye of the beholder, whose aspiring height is as boundless as his own ideas, which is, as it were, a stake planted in the breast of *Kalee* †, and on whose top sits *Tarkshya* ‡, the foe of serpents and favourite bird of *Haree*, the line of his own descent.

## XXVIII.

*GAROOR*, like his fame, having wandered to the extremity of the world, and descended even unto its foundation, was exalted here with a serpent in his mouth.

THIS Work was executed by the Artist BEEN-DOO BHADRA.

\* He is supposed to have written in three languages.

† Time.

‡ Otherwise called *Garoor*.

## REMARKS ON THE PRECEDING PAPER.

BY THE PRESIDENT.

VERSE II. *a virtuous prince*—) Many stanzas in this Inscription prove that the *Sándilya* family were not *Princes*, but that some of them were *Prime Ministers* to the *Kings of Gaur*, or *Bengal*, according to this comparative Genealogy:

Kings.	Ministers*.
GO'PA'LA.	PA'NCHA'LA.
DHERMAPA'LA.	GARGA.
DE VAPA'LA. B. C. 23.	* DERBHAPA'NI.
RA'JYAPA'LA.	SOMESWARA.
SU'RAPA'LA.	* CE'DA'RAMIS'RA.
NA'RAYANAPA'LA. A. C. 67.	* GURAVAMIS'RR.

So that reckoning thirty years to a generation, we may date the pillar of GURAVAMIS'RA in the sixty-seventh year after CHRIST. A *Pandit*, named RA'DHA'CAN'TA, with whom I read the original, appeared struck with my remark on the two families, and adopted it without hesitation; but, if it be just, the second stanza must be differently interpreted. I suspect *Dharma*, the Genius of *Justice* or *Virtue*, to be the true reading instead of *dharmya*, or *virtuous*, and have no doubt, that *purò* must be substituted for *parò*: the sense will then be, that INDRA was ruler in the East only, and, though valiant, had been defeated even there by the *Daiyyas* or *Titans*, but that DHARMA was made sovereign over him in all quarters.

VERSE V. Whose country). The original is:

à révájanacánmatangajamadastimyachch'hilásanghatéh,  
 à gauripituriswaréndraciranaihpushyatitinnógiréh,  
 mártan'dástamayódayárun'ajalád á vár'iráñulwayát,  
 nityà yasya bhuvan chacára caradán sñi dévapáñd uripah.

The father of *Réva* is the *Mahéndra* mountain in the south, in which that river has its source; as the father of GAURI' is the *Himálaya* in the north, where IS'WARA, who has a moon on his forehead, is believed often to reside: hence RA'DHA CAN'TA proposed a conjectural emendation, which would have done honour to SCALIGER or BENTLEY. Instead of *indra*, which is a name of the sun, he reads *indu*, or the moon, by changing only a small straight line into a small curve; and then the stanza will run thus:

By

BY whose policy the great Prince DE VAPA'LA made the earth tributary, from the father of RĒVĀ, whose piles-of-rocks-are-moist-with-juice-from-the-hears-of-lascivious-elephants, to the father-of-GAURI, whose-white-mountains-are-brightened-with-beams-from-the-moon-of-ISVĀRI;—and as far as the-two-oceans-whose-waters-are-red-with-the-rising-and-with-the-setting-Sun.

The words connected by hyphens are compounds in *Sanſcrit*.

VERSE VI. *ſubmiſſion*). I underſtand *avaſara* in this place to mean the *leiſure* of the Miniſter from publick affairs, for which even the King waited at the head of his army.

VERSE VII. *ſums of Pectas*). The common ſenſe of *pī'ha* is a *chair*, *ſeat*, or *throne*; and in this ſenſe it occurs in the thirteenth verſe. *Ud'upachch'habipū'ham*, or *with-a-seat-bright-as-the-moon*, appears to be the compound epithet of *āsanam*, or *chair of ſtate*, which though the King had often given to his Miniſter, yet, abaſhed by his wiſdom, and apprehenſive of his popularity, he had himſelf aſcended his throne *with fear*.

VERSE X. The tenth ſtanza is extremely difficult, as it contains many words with two meanings, applied in one ſenſe to the Miniſter CE'DA'RA MIS'RA, but, in another, to CARTICE'YA, the *Indian Mars*: thus, in the firſt hemiſtich, *śic'hin* means *fire* or a *peacock*, *śichā*, a *bright flame*, or a *creſt*, and *śā'ṣi*, either *power* or a *ſpear*. As the verſe is differently underſtood, it may be a deſcription of the *Brāhmen* or of the *Deity*.

VERSE XII. The *Brāhmen*s of this province inſiſt, that by the four *Vidyā's*, or branches of *knowledge*, are meant the four *Vēda's*, not the *Upavēda's*, or *Medicine*, *Archeſtry*, *Muſick*, and *Mechanicks*; and they cite two diſtichs from the *Agnipurāna*, in which eighteen *Vidyā's* are enumerated, and, among them, the four *Vēdas*; three only of which are mentioned in the *Amarcōḥ* and in ſeveral older books. In this verſe alſo RA'DHA'CA'NT has diſplayed his critical ſagacity; inſtead of *nālu* he reads *tālu*, and, if his conjecture be right, we muſt add, “*even when he was a boy.*”

VERSE XVI. *conſtant to her lord*). RA'DHA'CA'NT reads *anapatyayā*, or *childleſs*, for *anupatyayā*; SATI' having borne no *children*, till ſhe became regenerate in the perſon of PA'RVATI'.

VERSE XXIII: it obſtinately bore him no fruit). The original ſtanza is uncommonly obſcure: it begins with the words *jōnir-bubhūva*, the two firſt ſyllables of which certainly mean *a womb*; but ſeveral *Pandits*, who were conſulted apart, are of opinion, that *jō* is the relative, of which ſome word in the maſculine gender, ſignifying *ſpeech*, is the antecedent, though not expreſſed: they explain the whole ſtanza thus—“*That ſpeech*, which came forth (*nirbābhūva*) inconsiderately, of which *there was* no fruit, *he was* a man who ſpoke nothing of that kind for his own gratification: *he was* a man alſo, by whom no preſent-of-playthings was ever given, which the ſuppliant having received goes to another *more bountiful giver.*” If the relative had been *jan* in the *neuter* gender, I ſhould have acquieſced in the tranſlation offered by the *Pandits*; but the ſuppreſſion of ſo material a word as *ſpeech*, which, indeed, is commonly *feminine* in *Sanſcrit*, appears unwarrantably harſh according to *European* ideas of conſtruction.



VERSE XXVI. If the preceding interpretation be just, the object of the Pillar was to perpetuate the names of GURAVA MIS'RA and his ancestors; and this verse must imply, that he expected to receive from his own sons the pious offices which he had performed to his forefathers.

## DESCRIPTION

OF A

CAVE NEAR GYÁ.

BY JOHN HERBERT HARRINGTON, ESQ.

**A** KNOWLEDGE of the antiquities of *Hindustan* forming one of the several objects proposed by the institution of our Society, with the hope of communicating something acceptable on this head, I took the opportunity of a late excursion up the country to see the *Cave* which Mr. HODGKINS a few years since attempted to visit, at the desire, I believe of the late Governor-General, but was assassinated in his way to it by the followers of one of the rebellious Allies of CHYT SING. On my describing it to the President, whom I had the pleasure to accompany, I was encouraged by him to think that a particular account of it would be curious and useful; and in consequence made a second visit to it from  
Gyá

Gyá, when I took the following measurements, and, by the means of my *Moonstee*, a copy of the Inscription on it, which I had despaired of presenting to you, but in its original language (a *Pandit* at *Benúres* having attempted in vain to get it read, during these last three months, till the kind assistance of Mr. WILKINS enabled me to add the accompanying translation and remarks to what would otherwise have given little satisfaction.

THE hill, or rather rock, from which the cavern is dug, lies about fourteen miles North of the ancient city of Gyá, and seems to be one of the south eastern hills of the chain of mountains called by *RENNEL* *Caramsbah*, both being a short distance to the west of the *Phulgó*.

It is now distinguished by the name of *Nágurjence*: but this may perhaps be a modern appellation; no mention of it being made in the Inscription. Its texture is a kind of Granite, called by the *MOHUMMEDAN* natives *Sung Kháreh*, which composes the whole rock, of a moderate height, very craggy and uneven, and steep in its ascent.

THE *Cave* is situated on the southern declivity, about two thirds from the summit: a tree immediately before it prevents its being seen from the bottom. It has only one narrow entrance, from the south, two feet and a half in breadth, six feet high, and of thickness exactly equal. This leads to a room of an oval form, with a vaulted roof, which I measured twice, and found to be forty-four feet in length from east to west, eighteen feet and an half in breadth, and ten feet and a quarter in height at the centre. This immense cavity is dug entirely out of the solid rock, and is exceedingly well polished, but without any ornament. The same stone extends much farther than the excavated

excavated part, on each side of it, and is altogether, I imagine, full a hundred feet in length. The inhabitants near know nothing of its history or age, but I learnt from the Chief of a neighbouring village, that a tradition is extant of a MOHUMMEDAN, named MINHA'J-U-DEEN, having performed his *Chee'eh*, or forty days devotion, in this cavern; and that he was co-temporary with MUKHDOOM SHERF-U-DEEN, a venerable *Welee*, who died in *Behár* in the 500th year of the *Hijree*; and he even went so far as to aver that he himself was descended from MINHA'J-U-DEEN, and had records at *Patna* of his family's genealogy to the present time. What credit is due to this I will not pretend to say; but the room is certainly now frequented by MOHUMMEDANS, and has been for some time, as there are the remains of an old mosque close before it, and within a raised terrace, such as the MOHUMMEDAN devotees are used to construct for their religious retirement. There are two inscriptions, one on each side of the interior part of the entrance; the impressions of both which my *Monsee* took off in the course of three days, with much trouble, and sufficient accuracy to enable Mr. WILKINS to understand and explain the whole of one, though many *Pandits*, I was informed, who had seen the original engraving, had attempted in vain to decypher it. The other, which consists of one line only, is unfortunately of a different character, and remains still unintelligible.

THE following letter and remarks, which Mr. WILKINS has favoured me with, make it unnecessary for me to say any thing of the contents of the Inscription: I can only regret with him that the date is yet undiscovered; as what is now but a gratification of curiosity might then have been a valuable clue to the illustration of obscure events

events in ancient history. There are, however, several other *Caves* in the adjoining hills, which I likewise visited, but had not time to take the Inscriptions: and from these, I hope a date will be discovered.

WERE any other testimony besides the Inscription wanted to shew that these *Caves* were religious temples, the remains of three defaced images near another which I visited, called *Curram Choffar*, would be sufficient proof of it. A third, the name of which I could not learn, has its entrance very curiously wrought with Elephants and other ornaments, of which, I hope in a short time to present a drawing to the Society.

## L E T T E R

FROM

CHARLES WILKINS, ESQ.

TO THE SECRETARY.

DEAR SIR,

HAVING been so fortunate as to make out the whole of the very curious Inscription you were so obliging as to lend me, I herewith return it, and also a copy of my translation, which is as literal as the idioms would admit it to be.

THE first lines of the first verse allude to the story of *Bhawanee's* killing the evil spirit *Mabeeshasoor*, who in the disguise of a Buffalo, as the name imports, had fought with *Eendrá*, and his celestial bands, for a hundred years, defeated him, and usurped his throne. The story is to be found at large in a little book called *Chandee*.

The

The vanquished spirits, being banished the Heavens and doomed to wander the Earth, after a while, assemble, with their Chief *Eendrá* at their head, and resolve to lay their grievances before *Veeshnoo* and *Seev*. Conducted by *Brahma*, they repair into the presence of those Deities, who heard their complaints with compassion; and their anger was so violent against *Maheshafoor*, that a kind of flame issued from their mouths, and from the mouths of the rest of the principal Gods, of which was formed a Goddess of inexpressible beauty with ten arms, and each hand holding a different weapon. This was a transfiguration of *Bhawance* the consort of *Seev*, under which she is generally called *Diorga*. She is sent against the usurper. She mounts her lion, the gift of the mountain *Heemalay* (snowy), and attacks the Monster, who shifts his form repeatedly; till at length the Goddess planteth her foot upon his head, and cuts it off with a single stroke of her sword. Immediately the upper part of a human body issues through the neck of the headless Buffalo and aims a stroke, which being warded off by the lion with his right paw, *Doorga* puts an end to the combat by piercing him through the heart with a spear. I have in my possession a statute of the Goddess with one foot on her lion, and the other on the Monster, in the attitude here lastly described.

THE want of a date disappointed my expectations. I had some hopes that it was contained in the single line, which you informed me was taken from another part of the *Cave*; but, although I have not yet succeeded in making out the whole, I have discovered enough to convince me that it contains nothing but an invocation. If you should be so fortunate as to obtain correct

rest copies of the rest of the Inscriptions that are to be found in the *Caves* of those mountains, I make no doubt but that we shall meet with some circumstance or other, that will guide us to a discovery of their antiquity.

I have the pleasure to subscribe myself,

DEAR SIR,

Your very sincere friend,

And obedient humble servant,

CHARLES WILKINS.

*Calcutta, 17th March, 1785.*



## TRANSLATION .

OF A

## SANSKRIT INSCRIPTION.

WHEN the foot of the Goddess \* was, with its tinkling ornaments, planted upon the head of *Maheshasoor* †, all the bloom of the new-blown flower of the fountain ‡ was dispersed with disgrace, by its superior beauty. May that foot, radiant with a fringe of refulgent beams issuing from its pure bright nails, endue you with a steady and an unexampled devotion, offered up with fruits, and shew you the way to dignity and wealth!

The illustrious *Yagna Varma* was a prince whose greatness consisted in free-will offerings. His reputation was as unfulled as the Moon. He was renowned amongst the Martial Tribes; although he was, by descent, by wisdom, courage, charity, and other qualities, the foreleader of the royal

\* *Bhawanee*, the wife of *Seev*.

† The name of an Evil Spirit.

‡ Epithet of the Lotus.

line; yet, from the natural humility of his temper, he disturbed not the powerful ocean.

His auspicious son, *Sardoola Varma*, a Prince whose magnificence flowed, as it were, from the tree of imagination \*, displayed the ensign of royalty in sacrifices, and the world was subdued by his infinite renown. He gratified the hopes of relations, friends, and dependants; and honour was achieved from the deed of death † near the uprising ocean.

By his pious son, called *Ananta Varma* because of his infinite renown, the holy abode of us contemplative men, who are always studious for his good and employed in his service, hath been increased and rendered famous as long as the earth, the sun and moon, and starry heaven shall endure; and *Katayanee* † having taken sanctuary, and being placed, in this cavern of the wonderful *Veendya* § mountains.

THE holy Prince gave unto *Bhawanee*, in perpetuity, the village ——— || and its hilly lands, by whose lofty mountain-tops the sunny beams are cast in shade: Its filth and impurities are washed away by the precious stores of the *Mohanada* ¶, and it is refreshed by the breezes from the waving *Preyangoos* †† and *Bakoolas* †† of its groves.

\* In the original *Kalpa-taroo*, a fabulous tree which yielded every thing that was demanded.

† He was probably carried to *Ganga-Sagar* to die.

‡ One of the names of *Doorga* or *Bowanee*.

§ The name of the chain of Mountains which commences at *Chunar*.

|| The name, which consisted of two long syllables, is wanting in the original.

¶ Probably the river called the *Mahonah* in RENNED'S Map of South *Bahar*.

†† Probably the *Champa*.

‡‡ *Moulferee*.

# TWO INSCRIPTIONS

FROM THE

## VINDHYA MOUNTAINS.

TRANSLATED FROM THE SANSKRIT,

BY CHARLES WILKINS, ESQ.

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FIRST INSCRIPTION, IN A CAVERN, CALLED THE  
GROT OF THE SEVEN RISHI'S NEAR GAYA.

I. **A** NANTA VARMA, master of the hearts  
of the people, who was the good son of  
*Sree* SARDOOLA, by his own birth and great vir-  
tues classed amongst the principal rulers of the  
earth, gladly caused this statue of KREESHNA of  
unfulfilled renown, confirmed in the world like his  
own reputation, and the image of KANTEEMA-  
TEE \* to be deposited in this great mountain-  
cave.

\* RADHA, the favourite Mistress of KREESHNA.

2. SRE SARDOO. A. of established fame, jewel of the diadems of kings, emblem of time to the martial possessors of the earth, to the submissive the tree of the fruit of desire, a light to the Military Order, whose glory was not founded upon the feats of a single battle, the ravisher of female hearts, and the image of SMARA \* became the ruler of the land.

3. WHEREVER Sree SARDOOLA is wont to cast his own discordant fight towards a foe, and the fortunate star, his broad eye, is enflamed with anger between its expanded lids, there falls a shower of arrows from the ear-drawn string of the bow of his son, the renowned ANANTA VARMA, the bestower of infinite happiness.

SECOND INSCRIPTION, IN A CAVE BEHIND NAGARJENI.

1. THE auspicious Sree YAJNA VARMA, whose movement was as the sportive elephants in the season of lust, was like MANOO †, the appointer of the military station of all the chiefs of the earth.—By whose divine offerings, the God with a thousand eyes ‡ being constantly invited, the emaciated Pootomee §, for a long time sullied the beauty of her cheeks with falling tears.

\* KAMA DEVA, the Cupid of the Hindoos.

† The first legislator of the Hindoos.

‡ Eendra, a divination of the Heavens.

§ The wife of Eendra.

2. ANANTA VARMA by name, the friend of strangers; renowned in the world in the character of valour; by nature immaculate as the lunar beams, and who is the offspring of Sree SARDoola:—By him this wonderful statute of BHOOTAPATEE and of DEVEE, the maker of all things visible and invisible, and the granter of boons, which hath taken sanctuary in this cave, was caused to be made. May it protect the universe!

3. THE string of his expanded bow, charged with arrows, and drawn to the extremity of the shoulder, bursteth the circle's centre. Of spacious brow, propitious distinction, and surpassing beauty, he is the image of the moon with an undiminished countenance. ANANTA VARMA to the end! Of form like SMARAT in existence, he is seen with the constant and affectionate standing with their tender and fascinated eyes constantly fixed upon him.

4. FROM the machine his bow, reproacher of the crying Koorara †, bent to the extreme, he is endued with force; from his expanded virtue he is a provoker; by his good conduct his renown reacheth to afar; he is a hero by whose coursing steeds the elephant is disturbed, and a youth who is the feat of sorrow to the women of his foes. He is the director, and his name is ANANAS.

\* *Seeva*, or *Mahadeva*, and his consort in one image, as a type of the deities, *Genitor* and *Genitrix*.

† The *Hindo Cupid*.

‡ A bird that is constantly making a noise before rain.

§ This word signifies *External* or *Infinite*.

THE

## TRANSLATION OF AN INSCRIPTION

IN THE

## MAGA LANGUAGE,

ENGRAVED ON A SILVER PLATE FOUND IN A CAVE  
NEAR ISLA'MABA'D.

COMMUNICATED BY JOHN SHORE, ESQ.

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ON the 14th of *Mágha* 904, *Chándi. Láb Rájà*\*, by the advice of *Bowangari Rauli*, who was the director of his studies and devotions, and in conformity to the sentiments of twenty-eight other *Raulis*, formed the design of establishing a place of religious worship; for which purpose a cave was dug, and paved with bricks, three cubits in depth, and three cubits also in diameter, in which were deposited one hundred and twenty brazen images of small dimensions, denominated *Tahmúdas*; also, twenty brazen images

Perhaps, *Sándilyah.*

larger

larger than the former, denominated *Lángúda*; there was likewise a large image of stone called *Lángúdagári*, with a vessel of brass in which were deposited two of the bones of *T'hácúr*: on a silver plate were inscribed the *Hauca*, or the mandates of the Deity; with that also styled *Taumab Chickfowna Tabma*, to the study of which twenty-eight *Paulis* devote their time and attention; who, having celebrated the present work of devotion with festivals and rejoicings, erected over the cave a place of religious worship for the *Magas* in honour of the Deity.

GOD sent into the world BUDDHA AVATAR to instruct and direct the steps of angels and of men; of whose birth and origin the following is a relation: When BUDDHA AVATAR descended from the region of souls in the month of *Mágh*, and entered the body of MAHA MA'YA, the wife of SOOTAH DANNAH, *Rájà* of *Cailàs*, her womb suddenly assumed the appearance of clear transparent crystal, in which BUDDHA appeared, beautiful as a flower, kneeling and reclining on his hands. After ten months and ten days of her pregnancy had elapsed, MAHA MA'YA solicited permission from her husband the *Rájà* to visit her father, in conformity to which the roads were directed to be repaired and made clear for her journey; fruit-trees were planted; water-vessels placed on the road-side; and great illuminations prepared for the occasion. MAHA MA'YA then commenced her journey, and arrived at a garden adjoining to the road, where inclination led her to walk and gather flowers; at this time, being suddenly attacked with the pains of child-birth, she laid hold on the trees for support, which declined their boughs at the instant for the purpose of concealing her person, while she was delivered of the child; at which juncture BRAHMA himself

himself attended with a golden vessel in his hand, on which he laid the child, and delivered it to INDRA, by whom it was committed to the charge of a female attendant; upon which the child alighting from her arms, walked seven paces, whence it was taken up by MAHAMAYA and carried to her house; and on the ensuing morning news were circulated of a child being born in the Rájá's family. At this time TAPASWI Muni, who, residing in the woods, devoted his time to the worship of the Deity, learned by inspiration that BUDDHA was come to life in the Rájá's palace: he flew through the air to the Rájá's residence, where, sitting on a throne, he said, "I have repaired hither for the purpose of visiting the child." BUDDHA was accordingly brought into his presence: the Muni observed two feet fixed on his head, and, divining something both of good and bad import, began to weep and to laugh alternately. The Rájá then questioned him with regard to his present impulse, to whom he answered, "I must not reside in the same place with BUDDHA, when he shall arrive at the rank of Avatár: this is the cause of my present affliction, but I am even now affected with gladness by his presence, as I am hereby absolved from all my transgressions." The Muni then departed: and, after five days had elapsed, he assembled four Pandits for the purpose of calculating the destiny of the child; three of whom divined, that as he had marks on his hands resembling a wheel, he would at length become a Rájá Chacraverti; another divined, that he would arrive at the dignity of Avatár.

THE boy was now named SA'CYA, and had attained the age of sixteen years; at which period it happened, that the Rájá CHUHIDAN had a daughter named VASUTA'RA, whom he had engaged



engaged not to give in marriage to any one till such time as a suitor should be found who could brace a certain bow in his possession, which hither many *Raja's* had attempted to accomplish without effect. SA'CYA now succeeded in the attempt, and accordingly obtained the *Raja's* daughter in marriage, with whom he repaired to his own place of residence.

ONE day, as certain mysteries were revealed to him, he formed the design of relinquishing his dominion; at which time a son was born in his house whose name was RAGHU. SA'CYA then left his palace with only one attendant and a horse, and, having crossed the river GANGA, arrived at *Balucali*, where, having directed his servant to leave him and carry away his horse, he laid aside his armour.

WHEN the world was created, there appeared five flowers, which BRAHMA deposited in a place of safety: three of them were afterwards delivered to the three *T'bacurs*, and one was presented to SA'CYA, who discovered, that it contained some pieces of wearing apparel, in which he clothed himself, and adopted the manners and life of a mendicant. A traveller one day passed by him with eight bundles of grass on his shoulders, and addressing him, saying: "A long period of time has elapsed since I have seen the *T'bacur* ; but now since I have the happiness to meet him, I beg to present him an offering consisting of these bundles of grass." SA'CYA accordingly accepted of the grass, and reposed on it. At that time there suddenly appeared a golden temple containing a chair of wrought gold, and the height of the temple was thirty cubits, upon which BRAHMA alighted, and held a canopy over the head of SA'CYA: at the same time IN-

DRA descended with a large fan in his hand, and  
NAGA,

NA'GA, the *Rájà* of serpents, with shoes in his hand, together with the four tutelar deities of the four corners of the universe; who all attended to do him service and reverence. At this time likewise the chief of *Asurs* with his forces arrived, riding on an elephant, to give battle to SA'CYA, upon which BRAHMA' INDRA, and the other deities, deserted him and vanished SA'CYA, observing that he was left alone, invoked the assistance of the Earth; who, attending at his summons, brought an inundation over all the ground, whereby the *Asur* and his forces were vanquished, and compelled to retire.

AT this time five holy scriptures descended from above, and SA'CYA was dignified with the title of *BUDHA Avatâr*. The scriptures confer powers of knowledge and retrospection, the ability of accomplishing the impulses of the heart, and of carrying into effect the words of the mouth. SA'CYA resided here, without breaking his fast, twenty-one days, and then returned to his own country where he presides over *Rájà's*, governing them with care and equity.

WHOEVER reads the *Cáric*, his body, apparel, and the place of his devotions, must be purified; he shall be thereby delivered from the evil machinations of demons and of his enemies; and the ways of redemption shall be open to him *BUDHA Avatâr* instructed a certain *Rauli* by name *ANGULI MA'LA* in the writings of the *Cáric*, saying, "Whoever shall read and study them, his soul shall not undergo a transmigration," and the scriptures were thence called *Anguli Málà*. There were likewise five other books of the *Cáric* denominated. *Vachanam*, which if one peruse, he shall be thereby exempted from poverty and the machinations of his enemies; he shall  
also

also be exalted to dignity and honours, and the length of his days shall be protracted: the study of the *Cáric* heals afflictions and pains of the body, and whoever shall have faith therein, heaven and bliss shall be the reward of his piety.



# A P P E N D I X:

CONTAINING

A HYMN TO CAMDEO. By SIR WILLIAM JONES.  
A HYMN TO NARAYENA. BY THE SAME.

AN ACCOUNT OF EMBASSIES AND LETTERS BETWEEN THE EMPEROR OF CHINA AND SULTAN SHAHROKH. TRANSLATED BY SIR WILLIAM CHAMBERS.

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE MARRATTA STATE; THE PRODUCTIONS AND PECULIARITIES OF THE COUNTRY; AND OF THE CUSTOMS AND MANNERS OF THE MARRATTAS. BY THE SAME:

SELECTED FROM THE

*ASIATIC MISCELLANY.*



# A P P E N D I X.

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A

## H Y M N T O C A M D E O.

BY SIR WILLIAM JONES.

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### THE ARGUMENT.

THE *Hindú* God to whom the following poem is addressed, appears evidently the same with the *Grecian* EROS and the *Roman* CUPIDO; but the *Indian* description of his person and arms, his family, attendants, and attributes, his new and peculiar beauties.

ACCORDING to the mythology of *Hindúán*, he was the son of MAYA, or the general attracting power, and married to RETTY or *Affection*; and his bosom friend is BESSENT or *Spring*: he is represented as a beautiful youth, sometimes conversing with his mother and consort in the midst of his gardens and temples; sometimes riding by moon-light on a parrot or lory, and attended by dancing-girls or nymphs, the foremost of whom bears his colours, which are a fish on a red ground. His favourite place of resort is a large tract of country round AGRA, and principally the plains of *Matra*, where KRISHEN also and the nine GOPIA, who are clearly the *Apollo* and *Muses* of the *Greeks*, usually spend the night with musick and dance. His bow of sugar-cane or flowers, with a string of bees, and his five arrows, each pointed with an *Indian* blossom of a heating quality,

lity, are allegories equally new and beautiful. He has <sup>several</sup> twenty-three names, most of which are introduced in the Hymn: that of *Cám* or *Cáma* signifies *desire*, a sense which it also bears in ancient and modern *Persian*; and it is possible, that the words *Dipuc* and *Cupid*, which have the same signification may have the same origin; since we know that the old *Hetruscans*, from whose great part of the *Roman* language and religion was derived, and whose system had a near affinity with that of the *Persians* and *Indians*, used to write their lines alternately forwards and backwards, as furrows are made by the plough: and though the two last letters of *Cupido* may be only the grammatical termination, as in *libido* and *capedo*, yet the primary root of *cupio* is contained in the three first letters. The seventh stanza alludes to the bold attempt of this deity to wound the great God *Mahadeo*, for which he was punished by a flame consuming his corporeal nature and reducing him to mental essence; and hence his chief dominion is over the *minds* of mortals, or such deities as he is permitted to subdue.

• THE HYMN.

WHAT potent God from AGRA's orient bowr's  
 Floats through the lucid air, whilst living flowr's  
 With sunny twine the vocal arbours breathe,  
 And gales enamour'd heav'nly fragrance breathe?  
 Hail pow'r unknown! for at thy beck  
 Vales and groves their bosoms deck,  
 And ev'ry laughing blossom dresses  
 With gems of dew his musky vestes.  
 I feel, I fell thy genial flame divine,  
 And hallow thee and kiss thy shrine.

“ Know'st thou not me ? ” Celestial sounds I hear !  
 “ Know'st thou not me ? ” Ah, spare a mortal ear !  
 “ Behold ” — My swimming eyes entranc'd I raise,  
 But oh ! they shrink before th' excessive blaze.  
 Yes, son of MAYA, yes, I know  
 Thy bloomy shafts and cany bow,  
 Cheeks with youthful glory beaming,  
 Locks in braids ethereal streaming.  
 Thy scaly standard, thy mysterious arms,  
 And all thy pains and all thy charms.

God of each lovely sight, each lovely sound,  
 Soul-kindling, world-inflaming, starry-crown'd,  
 Eternal CAMA ! Or doth SMARA bright,  
 Or proud ANANGA give thee more delight ? •

Whate'er



Whate'er thy seat, whate'er thy name  
 Seas, earth, and air thy reign proclaim :  
 Wreathy smiles and roseate pleasures  
 Are thy richest, sweetest treasures.  
 All animals to thee their tribute bring,  
 And hail thee universal king.

Thy consort mild, AFFECTION ever true,  
 Graces thy side, her vest of glowing blue,  
 And in her train twelve blooming girls advance,  
 Touch golden strings and knit the mirthful dance.  
 Thy dreadful implements they bear  
 And waft them in the scented air,  
 Each with pearls her neck adorning  
 Brighter than the tears of morning.  
 Thy crimson ensign, which before them flies,  
 Decks with her stars the sapphire skies.

God of the flow'ry shafts and flow'ry bow,  
 Delight of all above and all below !  
 Thy lov'd companion, constant from his birth,  
 In heav'n clep'd BESSENT, and gay SPRING on earth,  
 Weaves thy green robe and flaunting bow'rs,  
 And from thy clouds draws balmy showers,  
 He with fresh arrows fills thy quiver  
 (Sweet the gift and sweet the giver)  
 And bids the many-plum'd warbling throng  
 Burst the pent blossoms with their song.

He bends the luscious cane, and twists the string  
 With bees how sweet ! but ah, how keen their sting !  
 He with five flow'rets tips thy ruthless darts,  
 Which through five senses pierce enraptur'd hearts :  
 Strong CHUMPA, rich in od'rous gold,  
 Warm AMER, nurs'd in heav'nly mould,  
 Dry NAGRESER in silver smiling,  
 Hot KITICUM our sense beguiling,  
 And last, to kindle fierce the scorching flames,  
 LOVESHAFTE, which Gods bright BELA name.

Can men resist thy pow'r, when KRISHEN yields,  
 KRISHEN, who still in МАТРА's holy fields  
 Tunes harps immortal, and to strains divine  
 Dances by moon-light with the GOPIA nine ?  
 But, when thy daring arm untam'd  
 At MAHADEO a love-shaft aim'd,  
 Heav'n shook, and, smit with stony wonder,  
 Told his deep dread in bursts of thunder,

Whilst on thy beautiful limbs an azure fire  
Blaz'd forth, which never must expire.

O thou for ages born, yet ever young,  
For ages may thy BRAMIN'S lay be sung!  
And when thy Lord spreads his em'rald wings  
To waft thee high above the row of Kings,  
Whilst o'er thy throne the moon's pale light  
Pours her soft radiance through the night,  
And to each floating cloud discovers  
And haunts of bliss or joyless lovers,  
Thy mildest influence to thy Bard impart,  
To warm, but not consume his heart.

HYMN TO NARAYENA.

BY SIR WILLIAM JONES.

THE ARGUMENT.

A COMPLETE introduction to the following Ode would be no less than a full comment on the VAYDS and PURANS of the HINDUS, the remains of *Egyptian* and *Persian* theology, and the tenets of the *Ionick* and *Italic* schools; but this is not the place for so vast a disquisition. It will be sufficient here to premise, that the inextricable difficulties attending the *vulgar notion of material substances*, concerning which

“ We know this only, that we nothing know.”

induced many of the wisest among the ancients, and some of the most enlightened among the moderns, to believe, that the whole Creation was rather an *energy* than a *work*, by which the Infinite being who is present at all times and in all places, exhibits to the minds of his creatures a set of perceptions, like a wonderful picture or piece of music, always varied, yet always uniform; so that all bodies and their qualities exist, indeed, to every wise and useful purpose, but exist only as far as they are *perceived*; a theory no less pious than sublime, and as different from any principle of Atheism, as the brightest sunshine differs from the blackest midnight. This illusive operation of the Deity the *Hindu* Philosophers call *MAYA*, or *Deception*; and the word occurs in this sense more than once in the commentary on the *Rig Vayd*, by the great *VASISHTHA*, of which Mr. HALHEAD has given us an admirable specimen.

THE *first* stanza of the Hymn represents the sublimest attributes of the Supreme Being, and the three forms in which they most clearly appear to us, *Power*, *Wisdom*, and *Goodness*, or, in the language of *ORPHEUS* and his disciples, *Love*. The *second* comprises the *Indian* and *Egyptian* doctrine of the Divine Essence and Archetypal Ideas; for a distinct account of which

the reader must be referred to a noble description in the Sixth Book of PLATO'S *Republick*; and the fine explanation of that passage in an elegant discourse by the Author of CYRUS, from whose learned work what has been borrowed for the conclusion of this piece. The *third and fourth* are taken from the Institutes of MENU, and the eighteenth *Puran* of VYASA, entitled *Srey Bhagawat*, part of which has been translated into *Persian*, not without elegance, but rather too paraphrastically. From BREHME, or the Great Being, in the *neuter* gender, is derived BREHMA, in the *masculine*; and the second word is appropriated to the Creative Power of the Divinity.

THE Spirit of God, called NARAYENA, or Moving on the Water, has a multiplicity of other epithets in *Sanskrit*, the principal of which are introduced, expressly, by all the stanzas, the *fifth* stanza; and two of them contain the names of the Beings who are feigned to have sprung from the ear of MANU; for thus the Divine Spirit is intitled, when considered as the Preserving Power; the *sixth* ascribes the perception of secondary qualities by our senses to the immediate influence of MAYA; and the *seventh* imputes to her operation the *primary* qualities of Extension and Solidity.

## THE HYMN.

SPIRIT of Spirits, who, through ev'ry part  
Of space expanded and of endless time,  
Beyond the stretch of law'ring thought sublime,  
Bads uproar into beauteous order start,  
Before Heaven was, Thou art:  
Ere spheres beneath us roll'd or spheres above,  
Ere earth in firmamental ether hung,  
Thou sat'st alone; till, through thy mystick Love,  
Things unexisting to existence sprung,  
And grateful descant sung.  
What first impell'd thee to exert thy might?  
Goodness unlimited. What glorious light  
Thy pow'r directed? Wisdom without bound,  
What prov'd it first? Oh! guide my fancy right;  
Oh! rise from cumbrous ground  
My soul in rapture drown'd,  
That fearless it may soar on wings of fire;  
For Thou, who only know'st, Thou only canst inspire.  
Wrapt in eternal solitary shade,  
Th' impetereable gloom of light intense,  
Impervious, inaccessible, immense,

Ere

Ere spirits were infus'd or forms diffus'd,  
 BREHM his own mind survey'd,  
 As mortal eyes (thus finite we compare  
 With infinite) in smoothest mirrors gaze:  
 Swift, at his look, a shape supremely fair  
 Leap'd into being with a boundless blaze,  
 That fifty suns might dare.

Primeval, MAYA was the Goddess nam'd,  
 Who to her sire, with Love divine inflam'd,  
 A caress gave with rich ideas fill'd,  
 From which this gorgeous Universe he fram'd:  
 Then, when th' Almighty will'd  
 Unnumber'd worlds to build,  
 His Unity diversified he sprang,  
 While gay Creation laugh'd, and procreant Nature rang.

First an all-potent all-pervading sound  
 Bade flow the waters—and the waters flow'd,  
 Bubbling in their measureless abode,  
 Diffusive, multitudinous, profound,  
 Above, beneath, around:

Then o'er the vast expanse primordial wind  
 Breath'd gently till a lucid bubble rose,  
 Which grew in perfect shape an Egg renam'd:  
 Created substance no such lustre shows,  
 • Earth no such beauty knows.

Above the warring waves it danc'd estate,  
 Till from its burbling shell with lovely state  
 A form cerulean flutter'd o'er the deep,  
 Brightest of beings, greatest of the great:  
 Who not as mortals sleep,  
 Their eyes in dewy sleep,  
 But heav'nly-pensive on the Lotos lay,  
 That blossom'd at his touch and shed a golden ray.

Hail, primal blossom! hail empyreal gem!  
 KEMEL, or PEDMA, or whate'er high name  
 Delight thee, say, what four-form'd Godhead came,  
 With graceful stole and beamy diadem,  
 Forth for thy verdant stem?

Full-gifted BREHMA! Rapt in solemn thought  
 He stood, and round his eyes fire-darting threw:  
 But, whilst his viewless origin he sought,  
 One plain he saw of living waters blue,  
 Their spring nor saw nor knew.

Then, in his parent stalk again retir'd,  
 With restless pain for ages he inquir'd  
 • What were his pow'rs, by whom, and why conferr'd:  
 With doubts perplex'd, with keen impatience fir'd,

He rose and rising heard  
 Th' unknown and knowing Word,  
 "BREHMA" no more in vain research persist :  
 "My veil thou canst not move—Go ; bid all worlds exist."

Hail, self-existent, in celestial speech

NARAYEN, from thy wavy cradle nam'd :

Or VENAMALY may I sing unblam'd,

With flow'ry braids, that to thy sandals reach,

Whose beauties who can teach ?

Or high PEITUMBER clad in yellow robes

Than sun beams brighter in meridian glow,

That weave their heav'n-spun light o'er circling globes :

Unwearied, lotos-eyed, with dreadful bow,

Diré Evil's constant foe !

Great PEDMANABHA, o'er thy cherish'd world

The pointed *Cheera*, be thy fingers whirl'd,

Fierce KYTABH shall destroy and MEDHU grip,

To black despair and deep destruction hurl'd

Such views my senses dim,

My eyes in darkness swim :

What eye can bear thy blaze, what utterance tell

Thy deeds with silver trump or many-wreathed shell ?

Omniscient Spirit, whose all-ruling pow'r

Bids from each sense bright emanations beam ;

Glow in the rainbow, sparkles in the stream,

Smiles in the bud, and listens in the flow'r

That crowns each verdal bow'r,

Sighs in the gale, and warbles in the throat

Of every bird that hails the loomy spring,

Or tells his love in many a liquid note,

Whilst envious artists touch the rival string,

Till rocks and forests ring ;

Breathes in rich fragrance from the sandal grove,

Or where the precious musk-deer playful rove :

In dulcet juice from clust'ring fruit distills,

And burns salubrious in the tasteful clove :

Soft banks and verd'rous hills

Thy present influence fills ;

In air, in floods, in caverns, woods, and plains,

Thy will inspirits all, thy sov'reign MAYA reigns.

Blue crystal vault, and elemental fires,

That in th' ethereal fluid blaze and breathe ;

Thou, tossing main, whose snaky branches wreat

This pensil orb with intertwisting gyres ;

Mountains, whose radiant spires

Presumptuous rear their summits to the skies,

And blend their emerald hue with sapphire light;  
 Smooth meads and lawns, that glow with varying dyes  
 Of dew-bespangled leaves and blossoms bright,  
 Hence! vanish from my sight  
 Delusive pictures! unsubstantial shows  
 My soul absorb'd One only Being knows,  
 Of all perceptions One abundant source,  
 Whence ev'ry object ev'ry moment flows:  
 Suns hence derive their force,  
 Hence planets learn their course;  
 But ruins and fading worlds I view no more:  
 God only I perceive; God only I adore.

( 600. )

AN

A C C O U N T

OF

EMBASSIES AND LETTERS

THAT PASSED BETWEEN THE

EMPEROR OF CHINA AND SULTAN SHAHROKH  
SON OF AMIR TIMUR.

EXTRACTED FROM THE MALTA US SADEIN OF  
ABDUR REZAK,

AND TRANSLATED BY

WILLIAM CHAMBERS, ESQ\*.

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### THE TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

THE ensuing Extracts are made from a work which is not entirely unknown in *Europe*. M. D'HERBELOT makes particular mention of it under the article *Schahrokh*, and expresses a hope of seeing it one day translated by M. GALLAND; but no such translation has ever appeared.

THE following account taken from the HABIS US SIER of *Khondemir*, shows in what degree of esteem the Author and his work have been held in *Asia*,

\* NOW SIR WILLIAM CHAMBERS.

“ KAMAL



KAMAL UD DIN ABDUL REZAK was a Son of JELAL UD DIN ISHAK of *Samarcand*, and was born at *Herat* on the 12th of *Shaban* 816 or (6th *November* A. D. 1413). His father ISHAK resided at the court of Sultan SHAHROKH, in quality of Kazy and Imam, and sometimes consulted on points of law, and desired to read *learned* treatises in his Majesty's presence. ABDUR REZAK, after his father's death, in the year 841 (A. D. 1437), wrote a comment on AZD UD DIN YAHIA's Treatise of *Arabic* prepositions and Pronouns, and dedicated it to Sultan SHAHROKH; on occasion of which he had the honour to kiss his Majesty's hand. In the latter part of that prince's reign, he went as his ambassador to the King of *Biyanagur* (*Vijapore*), and experienced various extraordinary incidents and difficulties on that journey; but at length returned to *Khorasan* in safety. After the death of Sultan SHAHROKH, he was successively admitted to the presence of MIRZA ABDUL LATIF, MIRZA ABDULLAH, and MIRZA ABUL KASIM; and in the first *Jumad* of 877 (or *October* 1472), under the reign of Sultan ABU SAID, he was appointed Superintendent of the *Khankah* of MIRZA SHAHROKH, where he continued to the time of his death, which happened in the latter *Jumad* of the year 877 (answering to part of *July* and *August* 1482.)

AMONG the excellent productions of his pen is that useful work the *Matt' us Sadein*, which is in every one's hand, and is universally known, where he has given a general history of events from the time of Sultan ABU SAID BAHADAR KHAN, down to the assassination of MIRZA SULTAN ABU SAID GURKAN.\*

ABU SAID BAHADAR KHAN was the ninth in succession from CHENGEZ KHAN, of those that reigned over *Persia* at large. His death happened in the year of the *Hidjerah* 736, or A. D. 1335; and MIRZA SULTAN ABU SAID GURKAN was killed in the *Hidjerah* year 873, or A. D. 1468: so that this history takes in a period of more than 130 solar years, of which the last fifty were in the lifetime of the author. And as his father held an eminent station at court before him, it is plain he had the best means of information respecting events for several years preceding; which gives sufficient weight to what he says on the subject of these Embassies. This testimony is also confirmed by that of a cotemporary writer, SHERF UD DIN ALY YEZDY, who, in his *Supplement to the Zaffer-Namah*†, mentions most of these Embassies, and gives us all the Letters, except the first from the Emperor of *China*, which, as it assumes a style of superiority that could not be agreeable to SHAHROKH MIRZA, SHERF UD DIN, who wrote his book under the auspices of that Prince, and dedicated it to him, might have his reasons for omitting.

\* This word, and others thus distinguished in the following Extracts, are such as are implied but not expressed in the Original.

† A work of which *Mons. de la-Croix* translated a part, but not the Supplement.

BUT, apart from the authenticity of the history, the Letters themselves seem to have strong marks of being genuine, both in the matter they contain, and in the style in which they are written. Of the first every one may form his opinion; the latter must be submitted to the judgment of those who peruse them in the original language. They will perceive, that while those from Sultan SHAHROKH are penned with that purity and propriety of diction which might be expected from a *Persian* Monarch, those from the Emperor of *China* are expressed in such quaint and awkward terms, as might be supposed to come from a *Mogul* Interpreter translating each word of a *Chinese* letter at the peril of his life. But the simplicity and unaffected brevity of the *Chinese* original, seems to have been such as could not suffer any material injury from a servile translation, and much of the national character is visible in these productions.

IT may be proper to mention here, who the two Monarchs were that carried on this correspondence.

SULTAN SHAHROKH, or, as he is commonly called by the historians, SHAHROKH MIRZA, was the fourth son of the famous TIMUR, and youngest of the two that survived him. At the time of his father's death, which happened on the 17th *Shaban*, 807 (or 17th *February* 1405), he was at *Haert*, the capital of *Khorasan*; to the government of which he had been appointed nine years before. Finding, on that event, that the people of that extensive province were strongly attached to him, he was solemnly inaugurated, and founded a new kingdom at that city in the succeeding month. Before two years were expired, he added the rich province of *Mazinderan* to that of *Khorasan*; and in two years more the impolitic conduct of his nephew, KHALIL SULTAN, put him in peaceable possession of the capital city of *Samarcan*, and all the countries north of the *Oxus* that were then subject to it. Within the same period he also extended his empire southward on the side of *Sijst*, or *Sijstan*, of which he took the principal strong holds in person; and this was the expedition from which he was just returned when the first embassy arrived. In 816 of the *Hidjerah* or (A. D. 1413), he added *Farfistan* to his former acquisitions; and in the *Hidjerah* year 819 (or A. D. 1416), he possessed himself of *Kerman*. His only opponents after that were, KARA YUSUF the TURKUMAN, and his sons, the last of whom he vanquished in a pitched battle on the plains of *Salafs*, in *Azerbaijan* (*Azerbaijan*), in 832 (A. D. 1428); which event left him the undisturbed possession of an empire composed of the following extensive territories;—*Khorasan*, the centre of his dominions; *Maverunnaher* and *Turkistan*, north of the *Oxus*; *Balkh* and *Badakhshan*, to the north-east; *Zabulistan* to the south-east; *Sijst*, *Kerman*, and *Farfistan* to the south; and *Irak*, *Mazenderan* and *Azerbaijan* to the west. All which he continued to govern with great reputation till his death, which happened in the month of *Zilhidjah* 850 (or *February* 1447), after he had lived 71, and reigned 43 lunar years.

THE *Chinese* Emperor, who in these Extracts calls himself DAYMING, was the third prince of the dynasty of *Ming*, and ascended the throne in the year 1403, five years before the first of these

these Embassies. It was the founder of the dynasty, the father of this prince, that drove the Tartars of the race of CHENGIZ KHAN entirely out of *China*, after which he kept his court at *Peking*, where he first established himself; but the above Emperor, his son, removed it back to *Peking*, in the seventh year of his reign. He is said to have been generous, and an encourager of learning; but was dreaded on account of some cruelties with which he began his reign. He died A. D. 1426, after he had governed *China* 23 years.

AN

A C C O U N T

OF

EMBASSIES, LETTERS, &c.

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FROM THE ANNALS OF THE HIDJERAH YEAR 811. (COMMENCING 24th MAY, A. D. 1408.)

WHEN the King (*i. e.* SHAHROKH MIRZA) returned from his expedition to *Seistan*, ambassadors, who had been sent by the Emperor of *China* to condole with him *on the death of his father*, arrived with a variety of presents, and represented what they had to say on the part of their monarch. The King, after shewing them many favours and civilities, gave them their dismissal.

FROM THE ANNALS OF THE HIDJERAH YEAR 815  
(COMMENCING 12th MAY, A. D. 1412.)

ABOUT this time ambassadors from DAYMING KHAN, Emperor of *Chin* and *Máchin*, and all those

those countries, arrived at *Herat*. His Majesty (*i. e.* SHAHROKH MIRZA) immediately orders on this occasion, that the city and the bazars should be decorated, and that the merchants should adorn their shops with all possible art and elegance. The Lords of the Court also went out to meet them, to signify that they regarded their coming as an auspicious event, and conducted them into the city with the utmost honour and ceremony. It was a day of rejoicing, like the day of youth, and a gayety as on a night of nuptial festivity. His Majesty ordered the royal gardens to be decked like the gardens of Paradise, and sent his martial and lion-like yeşavals to assign every one his proper mansion. After which his Majesty himself, irradiated with a splendour like the sun, ascended his throne as that glorious luminary when in the zenith of his course, and bestowed upon the chief of his lords, and on the ambassadors, the happiness of kissing his hand. The latter, after offering him their presents, delivered their message. The purport of what they said on that occasion, and the letter they brought from the Emperor of *China*, was as follows:

## LETTER FROM THE EMPEROR OF CHINA.

“ THE great Emperor DAY-MING sends this  
 “ letter to the country of *Samarcand* to SHAH-  
 “ ROKH BAHADUR.

“ As we consider that the Most High GOD has  
 “ created all things that are in heaven and earth,  
 “ to the end that all his creatures may be happy,  
 “ and that it is in consequence of his sovereign  
 “ decree that we are become Lord of the face  
 “ of the earth, we therefore endeavour to ex-  
 “ ercise

“ exercise rule in obedience to his commands; and  
 “ for this reason we make no partial distinctions  
 “ between those that are near, and those that are  
 “ afar off, but regard them all with an eye of  
 “ equal benevolence.

“ WE have heard, before this, that thou art  
 “ a wise and an excellent man, highly distinguish-  
 “ ed above others, that thou art obedient to the  
 “ commands of the Most High God, that thou  
 “ art a father to thy people and thy  
 “ art good and beneficent towards all; which has  
 “ given us much satisfaction. But it was  
 “ singular pleasure we observed, that when we  
 “ sent an ambassador with Kimhâs, and Torkos,  
 “ and a dress, thou didst pay all due honour to  
 “ our command, and didst make a proper dis-  
 “ play of the favour thou hadst received, inso-  
 “ much that small and great rejoiced at it. Thou  
 “ didst also forthwith dispatch an ambassador to  
 “ do us homage, and to present us the rarities,  
 “ horses, and choice manufactures of that coun-  
 “ try. So that with the strictest regard to truth  
 “ we can declare, that we have deemed thee  
 “ worthy of praise and of distinction.

“ THE government of the *Moguls* was some  
 “ time ago extinct, but thy father TIMUR FUMA  
 “ was obedient to the commands of the Most  
 “ High God, and did homage to our great Em-  
 “ peror TAY ZUY, nor did he omit to send am-  
 “ bassadors with presents. He (*the emperor*) for  
 “ this reason granted protection to the men of  
 “ that country, and enriched them all. We  
 “ have now seen that thou art a worthy follower  
 “ of thy father, in his noble spirit, and in his  
 “ measures; we have therefore sent DUJI-CHUN-  
 “ BAYAZKASAY, and HARARA SUCHU, and  
 “ DAN-CHING SADA-SUN KUNCHI, with congra-  
 “ tulations, and a dress, and Kimhâs, and Tor-  
 “ kos,

“kos, &c. that the truth may be known. We shall hereafter send persons whose office it will be to go and return successively, in order to keep open a free communication, that merchants may traffick and carry on their business to their wish.

“SHAHUL SULTAN is thy brother's son; it is necessary that thou treat him with kindness, in consideration of his rights as being the son of so near a relation. We trust that thou wilt pay attention to our sincerity and to our advice in these matters. This is what we make known to thee!”

ANOTHER letter was sent with the presents, and contained a particular account of them; besides one calculated to serve as a pass, which was to remain with the ambassadors. Each was written in the *Persian* language and character, as well as in the *Turkish* language with the *Mogul* character, and likewise in the language and character of *China*.

His Majesty attended to the letter, and apprehended its meaning with his usual penetration; and after he had understood the objects of the embassy, gave his assent to them all, and then gave orders that the lords should entertain the ambassadors.

WHEN the affairs of the *Chinese* ambassadors were settled, they had an audience of leave, and set out on their return. SHEIKH MOHAMMED BAKSHY accompanied them as Envoy on the part of his Majesty; and as the Emperor of *China* had not yet assented to the *Mussulman* Faith, nor regulated his conduct by the law of the *Koran* his Majesty, from motives of friendship, sent him a letter of good advice in *Arabic* and *Persian*, conceiving, that perhaps the Emperor might be prevailed upon to embrace the faith.

## THE ARABIC LETTER.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD.

“ THERE is no GOD but GOD, and MOHAM-  
 “ MED is his Apostle.”

“ MOHAMMED, the Apostle of GOD, hath  
 “ said, “ As long as ever there shall remain a  
 “ people of mine that are steady in keeping the  
 “ commandments of God, the man that per-  
 “ secutes them shall not prosper, nor shall their  
 “ enemy prevail against them, until the day of  
 “ judgment.

“ WHEN the most High God proposed to  
 “ create ADAM and his race, he said, “ I have  
 “ been a treasure concealed, but I chuse now to  
 “ be known. I therefore create human creatures,  
 “ that I may be known.” It is then evident  
 “ from hence, that the wisdom of the *Supreme*  
 “ Being, whose power is glorious, and whose  
 “ word is sublime, in the creation of the human  
 “ species, was this, that the knowledge of him  
 “ and of the true faith might shine forth and be  
 “ propagated. For this purpose also he sent his  
 “ Apostle to direct men in the way, and teach  
 “ them the true religion, that it might be ex-  
 “ alted above all others, notwithstanding the op-  
 “ position of the Associates; and that the law  
 “ and the commandments, and the rites concern-  
 “ ing clean and unclean, might be known. And  
 “ he granted us the sublime and miraculous *Ko-*  
 “ *ran* to silence the unbelievers, and cut short  
 “ their tongues when they dispute and oppose  
 “ the truth; and it will remain by his sovereign  
 “ favour



favour and far extending grace, unto the last day.

“ HE hath also established by his power in every age and period puissant sovereigns, and masters of numerous armies, in all parts of the world from east to west, to administer justice and exercise clemency, and to spread over the nations the wings of security and peace; to direct them to obey the obvious commands of God, and to avoid the evils and excesses which he has forbidden; to raise high among them the standards of the glorious law, and to take away heathenism and infidelity from the midst of them, by promoting the belief of the unity.

“ THE Most High God, therefore, constrains us, by his past mercies and present bounties, to labour for the establishment of the rules of his righteous and indispensable law; and commands us, under a sense of thankfulness to him, to administer justice and mercy to our subjects in all cases, agreeably to the prophetic code and the precepts of MUSTAFA. He requires us also to found mosques and colleges, alms-houses, and places of worship, in all parts of our dominions, that the study of the sciences and of the laws, and the moral practice which is the result of those studies, may not be discontinued.

“ SEEING then that the permanence of temporal prosperity, and of dominion in this lower world, depends on an adherence to truth and goodness, and on the extirpation of heathenism and infidelity from the earth, with a view to future retribution, I cherish the hope that your Majesty and the nobles of your realm will unite with us in these matters, and will join us in establishing the institutions of the

“ sacred law. I trust also that your Majesty will  
 “ continue to send hither ambassadors, and ex-  
 “ press messengers, and will strengthen the foun-  
 “ dations of affection and friendship, by keeping  
 “ open a free communication between the two  
 “ empires; that travellers and merchants may  
 “ pass to and fro unmolested, our subjects in all  
 “ our cities may be refreshed with the fruits of  
 “ this commerce, and that means of support may  
 “ abound among all ranks of people.  
 “ PEACE be to him that follows the right  
 “ path, for GOD is ever gracious to those that  
 “ serve him!”

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 THE PERSIAN LETTER.

“ To the Emperor DAY-MING, the Sultan  
 “ SHAHROKH sends boundless peace!

“ THE Most High God having, in the depth  
 “ of his wisdom, and in the perfection of his  
 “ power, created ADAM, was pleased in *successive*  
 “ *times* to make of his sons prophets and apol-  
 “ tles, whom he sent among men to summon  
 “ them to obey the truth. To some of those  
 “ prophets also, as to ABRAHAM, MOSES, DAVID,  
 “ and MOHAMMED, he gave *particular* books, and  
 “ taught *each of them* a law commanding the peo-  
 “ ple of the time in which they lived, to obey  
 “ that law, and to remain in the faith of each  
 “ respectively. All these Apostles of God, called  
 “ upon men to embrace the religion of the unity,  
 “ and

and the worship of the true God, and forbade  
 “ the adoration of the sun, moon, and stars, of  
 “ kings and idols; and though each of them  
 “ had a special *and distinct* dispensation, they were  
 “ nevertheless all agreed in the doctrine of the  
 “ unity of the Supreme Being. At length, when  
 “ the apostleship and prophetick office devolved  
 “ on our Apostle MOHAMMED MUSTAFA (on  
 “ whom be mercy and peace from God), the  
 “ other systems were abolished, and he became  
 “ the apostle and prophet of the latter time. It  
 “ behoves all the world, therefore, lords, kings,  
 “ and viziers, rich and poor, small and great,  
 “ to embrace this religion, and forsake the sys-  
 “ tems and persuasions of past ages. This is the  
 “ true and the right faith, and this is *Islamism*.

“ SOME years before the present period, CHEN-  
 “ GEZ KHAN sallied forth, and sent his sons into  
 “ different countries and kingdoms. He sent  
 “ JOY KHAN into the parts about *Saray, Krim*  
 “ (or *Crimea*, and the *Deshte Kaschák*, where  
 “ some of the Kings *his successors*, such as UZ-  
 “ BEK, and JANI KHAN and URUS KHAN, pro-  
 “ fessed the *Mussulman* faith, and regulated their  
 “ conduct by the law of MOHAMMED, HULAKU  
 “ KHAN was appointed to preside over the cities  
 “ of *Khorasán* and *Irák*, and the parts adjacent,  
 “ and some of his sons who succeeded to the go-  
 “ vernment of those countries, having admitted  
 “ the light of the *Mohammedan* faith into their  
 “ hearts, became in like manner professors of  
 “ *Islamism*, and were so happy as to be converted  
 “ to it before they died. Among these were the  
 “ King GAZAN, so remarkable for the sincerity  
 “ of his character, ALJAY-TU-SULTAN also, and  
 “ the fortunate monarch ABU-SAID BAHADUR,  
 “ till at length the sovereignty devolved on my

“ father AMIR TIMUR (whose dust I venerate \*)  
 “ He through your empire made the religion  
 “ of MOHAMMED the standard of all his mea-  
 “ sures, so that in the times of his government  
 “ the professors of *Islamism* were in the most prof-  
 “ perous condition. And now that by the good-  
 “ ness and favour of Divine Providence, the  
 “ kingdom's of *Khorasan Irák*, and *Maverrun-*  
 “ *nabcr*, are come into my possession, I govern  
 “ according to the dictates of the holy law of  
 “ the Prophet, and its positive and negative pre-  
 “ cepts; and the *Tergu* and institutions of CHEN-  
 “ GEZ KHAN are abolished.

“ As then it is sure and certain that salvation  
 “ and deliverance in eternity, and sovereignty  
 “ and prosperity in the world, are the effect of  
 “ faith and *Islamism*, and the favour of the Most  
 “ High, it is our duty to conduct ourselves with  
 “ justice and equity towards our subjects; and  
 “ I have hope that by the goodness and favour of  
 “ God, your Majesty also will in those countries  
 “ make the law of MOHAMMED, the Apostle of  
 “ God, the rule of your administration, and  
 “ thereby strengthen the cause of *Islamism*; that  
 “ this world's few days of sovereignty may in the  
 “ end be exchanged for an eternal kingdom, and  
 “ the old adage be verified, “ May thy latter  
 “ end be better than thy beginning!”

“ AMBASSADORS from those parts, lately ar-  
 “ rived here, have delivered us your Majesty's  
 “ presents, and brought us news of your wel-  
 “ fare, and of the flourishing state of your domi-  
 “ nions. The affection and friendship which  
 “ subsisted between our respective fathers, is re-  
 “ vived by this circumstance; as indeed it is  
 “ proverbial, that “ a mutual friendship of fa-

\* Literally, “May his grave be perfumed.”

"nders creates a relationship between their sons."  
 " In return, we have dispatched MOMAMMED  
 " BARSHY as our ambassador from hence, to ac-  
 " quaint your Majesty with our welfare. And  
 " we are persuaded that henceforward a free  
 " communication will be maintained between  
 " the two countries, that merchants may pass  
 " and repass in security, which at the same time  
 " that it contributes to the prosperity of king-  
 " doms, is what raises the character of princes  
 " both in a political and in a religious view.  
 " May the grace of charity, and the practice of  
 " the duties of amity, ever accompany those who  
 " profess to walk in the right path ! FINIS."

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FROM THE ANNALS OF THE HIDJERAH YEAR 820  
 (COMMENCING 17. FEB. A. D. 1417.)

DAY-MING KHAN, Emperor of *China*, hav-  
 ing again sent ambassadors to his Majesty, they  
 arrived in the month of *Rabia ul Awwal* (May  
 1417): the chief of them were BIEACHIN, and  
 TUBA-CHIN, and JAT-BACHIN, who came attend-  
 ed by three hundred-horse, and brought with  
 them an abundance of rarities and presents, such  
 as Shonkars, Damasks, Kimkhâ-stuffs, vessels of  
 China-ware, &c. They also brought royal pre-  
 sents for each of the Princes and the Agas. With  
 them came a letter, the contents of which con-  
 sisted

fisted generally of an enumeration of past favours  
 and civilities and of expressions of confidence  
 in the future continuance of his Majesty's friend-  
 ship. The points more particularly insisted on  
 were, that both parties should strive to remove  
 all constraint arising from distance of place, and a  
 diversity of manners, and to open wide the doors  
 of agreement and union, that the subjects and  
 merchants of both kingdoms might enjoy a free  
 and unrestrained intercourse with each other, and  
 the roads be kept open and unmolested. More-  
 over, as on occasion of the first embassy from  
*China*, the AMIR SEYYID AHMED TERKHAN had  
 sent the Emperor a white horse, that animal had  
 it seems, proved particularly agreeable to him,  
 and he now sent that Lord a number of things  
 in return, together with a picture of the horse  
 drawn by *Chinese* painters; with a groom on each  
 side holding his bridle. The ambassadors were  
 handsomely entertained, and at length, as on  
 former occasions, received their dismissal, when  
 the King sent ARDASHER TAVACHY back with  
 them to *China*.

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FROM THE ANNALS OF THE HIDJERAH YEAR 822

(COMMENCING 27. JANUARY 1419.)

IN the annals of the year 820 it was mention-  
 ed that DAY-MING KHAN, Emperor of *China*,  
 sent ambassadors, that year to the Court of his  
 Majesty as his capital of *Herat* who dispatched

ARDASHER

ARDASHER TAVACHY with them when they went back to China. ARDASHER at his time returned from thence, and gave his Majesty an account of that country, and of the approach of a new embassy. About the end of Ramzan (October 1419), the ambassadors BIMN CHIN and JAN-MACHIN arrived at Herat, and presented to the King the presents and rarities they had brought, and a letter from the Emperor of China, a copy of which is here subjoined, written in their manner, which is this: they write the name of their monarch on the first line, and begin the others at some distance below, and when, in the course of the letter, they come to the name of GOD, they leave off and begin a new line with that, and they follow the same method in writing the name of a sovereign prince. The letter, therefore, which was sent on the present occasion is here inserted, having been copied word for word from the original in the manner above described.

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AN EXACT COPY OF THE LETTER FROM CHINA.

“ The great Emperor DAY-MING sends this  
 “ letter to—  
 “ —SULTAN SHAHRÖKH. • We conceive  
 “ that—  
 “ —THE Most High has made you knowing  
 “ and wise, and perfect, that the kingdom of the  
 “ *Muslims* may be well governed, and it is ow-  
 “ ing

“ ing to this that the men of that kingdom are  
 “ become prosperous.

“ YOUR Majesty is of an enlightened mind,  
 “ skilful, accomplished, and judicious, and su-  
 “ perior to all the *Islamises*. You honour and  
 “ obey the commands of —

“ —THE Most High, and you reverence  
 “ the things that relate to him, which is the way  
 “ to enjoy his protection.

“ WE on a former occasion, sent AMIR SEYRA-  
 “ LIDA with others as our ambassadors, who ar-  
 “ rived at —

“ —YOUR Majesty's Court, and you were  
 “ pleased to receive them with much honour and  
 “ ceremony, which LIDA and the rest represent-  
 “ ed to us, so that it has all been made clear and  
 “ manifest, and fully known to us. Your am-  
 “ bassadors BEG BUKA and the others also arriv-  
 “ ed here with LIDA and the rest, on their re-  
 “ turn, and delivered at this Court all the pre-  
 “ sents of tigers, *Arabian* horses, lynxes, and  
 “ other things which you sent to us. We view-  
 “ ed them all. You have on this occasion dis-  
 “ played the sincerity of your affection, and we  
 “ are exceedingly sensible of your kindness. The  
 “ western country, which is the seat of *Islamism*,  
 “ has from old time been famous for producing  
 “ wise and good men, but it is probable that none  
 “ have been superior to —

“ —YOUR Majesty. Well may we afford pro-  
 “ tection and encouragement to the men of that  
 “ country, for we deem it consonant to the will  
 “ of Heaven that we should do so. Indeed, how  
 “ should not —

“ —THE Most High be well pleased with  
 “ those men who practice mutual affection, where  
 “ one heart reflects the sentiments of another,  
 “ as mirrour opposed to mirrour, and that thought

“ at



“ at a distance! In the eye of friendship, generosity and civility are precious above all things, but even in these also there is something more particularly so. We now send UCHANGKU and others in company with your ambassadors DEE-BUKA and the rest, who will deliver to—

“ ——YOUR Majesty our presents, consisting of seven Sûngkûrs, each of which we have flown with our own hands, and Kimkhâs, &c. Though Sûngkûrs are not produced in this our Empire of *China*, they are constantly brought us as rarities from the sea-coasts, so that we have always enow; but in that country of yours, *it seems*, they are scarce. We have sent you choice ones, such as might be deemed worthy the great soul of—

“ ——YOUR Majesty. In themselves, to be sure, they are of little value, but as they are tokens of our affection, we trust they will be acceptable to—

“ ——YOUR Majesty. Henceforth, it is requisite that the sincerity of our friendship be increased, and that ambassadors and merchants be always passing and repassing *between us* without interruption, to the end that our subjects may all live in plenty, ease and security. *We may then assuredly hope that—*

“ ——THE Most High will make us experience more of his goodness and mercy.

“ THIS is what we have thought proper to write to you.”

EACH time that letters *from the Emperor of China* were thus brought to his Majesty, there were three; and each was written in three different sorts of character; *that is to say*, first, in the vulgar character in which we now write, and in the *Persian*

*Persian* language; secondly, in the *Mogul* character, which is that of the *Yegúrs*, and in the *Turkish* language; and thirdly, in the *Chinese* character and language: but the purport was exactly the same in all. There was another, which contained a particular account of the things sent, whether living creatures or other rarities, and was written in like manner in these three languages and characters. And there was likewise a letter to answer the purpose of a pass, which was written like the rest in these three languages and characters. The dates of months and years inserted in each were those of the Emperor's reign.

S H O R T / A C C O U N T

OF THE

M A R A T T A S T A T E,

WRITTEN IN PERSIAN BY A MUNSHY, WHO ACCOMPANIED COLONEL UPTON ON HIS EMBASSY TO POONAH.

TRANSLATED BY W. CHAMBERS, ESQ.

CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE SUPREME COURT OF JUDICATURE AT FORT WILLIAM IN BENGAL.

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**T**HE first person who appears to have signalized himself at the head of this State was SEVA or SEVAJEE, the son of SAMBHA, who was a descendant of the Rajah RAMACE of Oodeipoor. He maintained a long war with AURENGZEBE, who having, with great difficulty, overcome him, and seized his person, carried him with him to  
*Debly,*

*Dehly*, and there had him closely confined; but SEVAJEE, by procuring the intercession of one of the Begums, who was of the *Oodeipoor* family, found means, after some time, to have the severity of his confinement relaxed, and then, having watched his opportunity, made his escape in the dress of a *Sanassee Fakeer*, and travelled undetected in a large company of that profession into the province of *Bengal*. His escape being known, orders were issued throughout all parts of the kingdom to apprehend him; and a Nazerbauz, or Emiffary, having introduced himself into this body of *Fakeers* with that view, actually discovered SEVAJEE among them; but instead of keeping his own counsel, called out, with an air of triumph, "I am sure SEVAJEE is amongst you." Ere the Nazim of *Bengal*, however, could be apprized of the discovery, and issue the warrants for his arrest, SEVA took care to move off in the night, and reached the territories of the *Decan* in safety. There by his *Vackeels*, whom he still contrived to maintain at the court of TANAH SHAH, he made himself known to that Prince, was sent for by him immediately, and loaded with civilities and compliments: this was in the day time, and SEVAJEE retired to his lodging. But at night, when TANAH SHAH sent for him again, SEVAJEE returned him for answer, "That in all *Hindoostan* he had seen three special Blockheads:—First, AJRENGZEBE, that with so much labour and pains had secured his person, and could not keep him when he had him: Secondly, The emiffary in *Bengal* who discovered him, and yet failed in apprehending him; and, Thirdly, The Shah himself, into whose presence, SEVA observed his own feet had carried him that morning, and yet he had not the sense to secure him. And now,"

continued

continued he, "think not that a bird that has flown out of the cage will be so easily caught again, or that I too am a fool to fall into the snare you have laid for me." He fled from *Heiderabad* the same moment, and made his way good to *Sattarah*, where he collected his scattered forces, prepared himself for war, and set on foot the same disturbances in the empire that had cost AURENGZEBE so much to suppress before. It is said, that when he left *Heiderabad*, he had nothing of value about him but a ring, worth about two rupees and a half; and that having sold it, he continued to live upon the amount till he reached *Sattarah*, where he entered on the possession of a kingdom. AURENGZEBE was now obliged to march into the *Decan* a second time; and, after long wars and much stratagem, he at length got SEVA into his power again: but AURENGZEBE was then become old and infirm, and the Begum who was the patroness of SEVAJEE interceded for him with such success, that she not only procured him pardon for all his past offences, but got him reinstated in his kingdom, with a Firmaun to collect the *Chouth* on the *Decan*, and other provinces over which he should prevail. This Firmaun of AURENGZEBE the *Marattas* say they are still possessed of, and that the *Chouth* allowed them in it is at the rate of ten per cent. on the revenue.

WHEN Rajah SEVA died, his son Rajah SAHOO succeeded him in his kingdom, and enlarged it by considerable conquests. The declining state of the empire during the reign of MOHAMM D SHAH, gave him an opportunity of levying the *Chouth* on several provinces; and the extraordinary aggrandizement of his power has rendered his name famous to this day. When he grew old, he summoned before him all his principal chiefs and

and generals, in order to ascertain their abilities and prowess; for among his own relations he saw none that he thought worthy to succeed him in the full exercise of that power which he possessed. Amidst all those, therefore, that came before him on this occasion, the person that appeared most eminent in worth and dignity was BAUJEE Row, a Bramin, and native of the province of *Gokun*. On being questioned by Rajah SAHOO concerning the power and influence he possessed in the realm, BAUJEE ROW told him, that he had 25,000 horse then actually ready for the field, and could raise as many more in a very short space of time. Rajah SAHOO, therefore, selected him from among the rest, invested him with the office and title of PAISHWAH, or Leader of all the *Maratta* Chiefs, and granted him an allowance of ten *per cent.* on all the *Maratta* revenue, as well as ten *per cent.* on all the *Chouth* that should be collected, for his own private expences, besides what he was to receive for the pay of the troops, &c. in token of which elevation he girt him round with a golden sash, and ordered all the other generals to be obedient to his orders and authority.

The *Marattas*, then, consider Rajah SAHOO as having been a sharer with the Emperor of *Debly* in the whole Kingdom of *Hindoostan*, and therefore of imperial dignity. The Paishwah they consider as a Viceroy, or Regent, with unlimited powers, and the Ministers of the Paishwah as the Viziers or Prime Minister of other kingdoms.

AT present RAM Rajah is a prisoner at large in the fort of *Sattarab*. He is descended from

\* The writer seems here to have mistaken the name of the son for that of the father. The person here described must have been BISSONAUTH BALAUJEE, whose eldest son was called BAUJEE ROW, as indeed is mentioned by this writer himself in the sequel.

the brother of Rajah SAHOO, and the *Maratta* chiefs account him the proper master of the *Kilgah*, without which no Paishwah can be appointed; and his name is also inserted in the Paishwah's seal.

BAUJEE ROW and CHEMNAUJEE APPAH were the sons of BISSONAUTH\*. CHEMNAUJEE APPAH had one son, whose name was SODASHEVAH; but he has been *more commonly* called BHAW SAHAB. He was killed in the battle with the *Abdaules*, but his wife still lives; her name is PAKABATTY BAREE, and she has a great share in the politics of the Paishwah's court.

BAUJEE ROW had three sons, viz. BAULAUJEE PUNDET, vulgarly called NANNAH, RAGONAUTH ROW, and SHAMSHAIR BEHAUDER †, who was born of MUSSAMMAH MASTAUNY.

BAULAUJEE PUNDET had three sons: BISSWASS ROW, the eldest, was killed in the battle with the *Abdaules*; the second was MAUDHEVEROW, who governed as Paishwah for twelve years, and died. He was an excellent Chief. The third was MARRAYEN ROW, who was assassinated by means of the intrigues of RAGONAUTH ROW, and by the hands of SHEIKH YUSUPH GARDIA, SOMAIR SING, &c. MANDHEVEROW, the son of NARRAYEN ROW, a child of two years, is now on the Musnud as Paishwah.

\* This is plainly the BISSONAUTH BALAUJEE mentioned in the preceding note, and confirms what is there observed.

† He was also called JANNORAH.

ACCOUNT OF THE ASSASSINATION OF NARRAYEN ROW, AND THE FIRST RISE OF THE DISTURBANCES BETWEEN RAGONAETH ROW AND HIS OPPONENTS.

**M**AUDHEVEROW, the elder brother of NARRAYEN ROW, governed as Paishwah twelve years, and by his amiable conduct gave universal satisfaction to those under his authority. Even his uncle RAGONAETH ROW he took care to soothe and pacify, though at the same time he kept him a kind of prisoner at large in the castle\*. But NARRAYEN ROW, who was then only nineteen years old, had no sooner been seated on the Musnud, than he ordered RAGONAETH ROW into strict confinement †, spoke of him privately in insulting and injurious terms, and used all means to mortify and humble him.—RAGONAETH ROW, no longer able to bear such treatment, concerted measures with SOMAIR SING JEMATDAR and YUSUPH KHAN GARDIE, men not of the *Marratta* nation, and who had been raised and patronized by former Paishwahs. As there had hitherto been no instance of treasons or conspiracies in the *Marratta* state, the palace of the Paishwah was not at all secured, either by watchmen, guards, or any force. SOMAIR SING and YUSUPH KHAN therefore, with their respective corps, entered the castle on pre-

\* By the castle he means the palace of the Paishwah at *Poonah*.

† His confinement in NARRAYEN ROW's time was, if any thing, more easy, which indeed may be presumed from his negotiations with the murderers of that prince; for if it had been *strict*, in the sense here intended, such people could not have found means to concert these measures with him.



tence of coming to demand their pay\*, and surrounded the palace of NARRAYEN ROW; after which, entering the house, they came to the apartment where RAGONAETH ROW † and the young prince were together, and immediately prepared themselves to assassinate the latter. NARRAYEN ROW, *seeing the situation he was in*, threw himself in tears at the feet of his uncle, crying out, in the most affecting manner, “ I seek no greatness; I want no government: you are my father’s brother, and I your brother’s son; grant me but my life, and be yourself Pashwah.” Upon this RAGONAETH ROW apparently said a great deal to forbid them; but they ‡, not crediting *the sincerity of his commands*, proceeded to their work, and killed NARRAYEN ROW. They afterwards beset RAGONAETH ROW for two days in the castle for the four lacks of rupees he had engaged to give them: but at length MOOROOBAH PHER NEVEES §, a man of great distinction at Poonah, and the son of the secretary of the civil department, paid them two lacks in ready money, out of his own private purse, and having settled the mode of payment of the rest, delivered RAGONAETH ROW from this dilemma. There was then a general meeting of the Maratta Chiefs, to appoint a successor to NARRAYEN

\* On pretence of going to roll-calling. SOMAIR SING and KHEREG SING were two officers that had the charge of the palace itself.

† RAGONAETH ROW was in the palace, but in an apartment of his own; and NARRAYEN ROW, on the alarm, ran thither to him.

‡ TULAUJEE, a Khidmatdar of NARRAYEN ROW, was the person that killed him.

§ PHER, or PHED NEVEES, is the Chief Secretary of the Civil Department. The word *Phed* is a Maratta word signifying a Durbar, or Catchery, the place where all the business of the civil department is transacted; and *Nevees* is a Persian word signifying Secretary.

Row; and as there was no one left of the family of BAULAJEE ROW, except RAGONAETH ROW, they found themselves under a necessity, without farther consideration, of placing him upon the Musnud. Some time after this he assembled all his forces, and marched to make war on the NAVAUB NIZAM ALY KHAN. SAKHARAM BAUBOO and BAULAUJEE PUNDET took leave of him on the march, and returned to the city of *Poonah* to carry on the affairs of government, while the other Chiefs accompanied RAGONAETH ROW on his expedition. At the expiration of eight months, GANGAW BAUEE, the widow of NARRAYEN ROW, who was pregnant at the time of her husband's death, was delivered of a son. Upon this event \*, SAKHARAM BAUBOO (who had formerly served RAGONAETH ROW as his Dewan and is a subtle old politician), BAULAJEE PHER NEVEES, and others, amounting in all to twelve of the principal men in the government, consulted together; and having taken her and her child, MAUDHEVEROW, into the fort of *Poorender*, which is nine coss † distant from *Poonah*, with a sufficient stock of necessaries, they there secured themselves. The fortress of *Poorender* is seated on a rock two miles high, and is exceedingly strong. The names of these twelve Chiefs, who are famous for the appellation of the Twelve Brothers, are as follow:

1. SAKHARAM BAUBOO.
2. BAULAUJEE PUNDET, vulg. NANAH PHER NEVEES.

\* The writer is here mistaken in the order of events. GANGAW BAUEE was not delivered till after the revolution, though, being in the third month of her pregnancy, they secured her, and took RAM RAJA out of his confinement at *Sattarah*, to serve as a state-engine, till her delivery should afford them another.

† It is eleven coss distant from *Poonah*.

3. MOOROBAH PHER NEVEES, first cousin to PAULAUJEE PUNDET.

4. TRIMBEC MAMAH, called so because he was mamoo, or uncle by the mother's side, of BHAW SAHAB, alias SADASHEVAH ROW, alias SUDA-BAH.

5. SAUBAUJEE BHONSALAH, son of RAGHOJEE BHONSALAH.

6. MEER MOOSAH KHAN \*, Dewan to the NAWAB NIZAM ALY KHAN.

7. HARREE PUNDET PHADKIAH (from PHADKAR, a family name).

8. VAUMAN ROW, the brother of GOWPAWL ROW.

9. MALHAR ROW RASTAH, of the cast of the *Shroffs* †; he was uncle of NARRAYEN ROW by the mother's side.

10. BHOWN ROW PRITTEE NIDREE, chief Pridhaun, or Vizier.

11. NAUROO APPAH, the Soubahdar of the city of *Poonah* and its dependencies.

12. NAUROO BAUBJEE ‡, who has the superintendance of all the forts.

THESE Chiefs, after consulting together, agreed in opinion, that RAGONAETH ROW, in the murder of his nephew, had been guilty of such an act of treachery as had not its equal in all the *Maratta* history; and that as there was a son of NARRAYEN ROW surviving §, he alone had the

\* Called also RUKKUN UD. DOWLAH.

† This is a mistake: he is a *Bramin*.

‡ He has the superintendance of three or four forts — The *Marattas* have hundreds of forts in their possession which were never placed under the inspection of one officer. He is also called NAUROO PUNDET.

§ Here the writer has been misinformed; for this son was not born when they plotted the revolution. They consulted the astrologers, and were assured by them that GANGAW BAUBE would have a son; and their dependence on that promise was so firm, that they proceeded as they would have done if a son had actually been born.

proper title to the Paishwahshi. This point once settled, they wrote letters to the Chiefs that had accompanied RAGONAETH ROW on his expedition; and this measure had such an effect, that most of them withdrew from him by degrees, a part retiring to their own governments, and the rest joining the standard of the son of NARRAYEN ROW. RAGONAETH ROW, on seeing the ruin that hung over him, ceased from his hostilities \* against NIZAM ALI KHAN, and betook himself to TUKKOJEE HOLKER, MAHADJEE SENDHEEAH, and the other Chiefs who reside at their jagheers in *Udgein*, and the neighbouring districts. His fortune, however, had now forsaken him, and they refused him their assistance, alledging, that though they professed an absolute subjection to the authority of the Paishwah; yet as his family was now immersed in feuds and dissensions, they would by no means interfere by lending their aid to either party, but would sit neuter till the quarrel should be decided, and would then pay homage to him who should be fixed on the Musnud of the Paishwahship.

THE country of *Udgein* lies to the north-east of *Poonah*, at the distance of an hundred and thirty kerray cofs †.

RAGONAETH ROW, unable to prevail, returned from thence, had an engagement with TRIMBEC ROWMAMAH †, in which the latter was slain, and then went to *Surat*, where he solicited suc-

\* The fact is, that he had already made peace with the *Nizam*, and was within five days march of the *Carnatic* when the news of the revolution reached his camp.

† A kerray cofs is equal to two of the common measure.

‡ The writer mistakes the order of the events: RAGONAETH ROW first conquered TRIMBEC, and then proceeded to *Udgein*.

cours from the *English*. The gentlemen there being under the orders of the Governor and Council of *Bombay*, consulted them on the occasion, and they both determined to assist RAGONAETH ROW with three battallions of sepoy, and a train of artillery. At that time the *Maratta* Chiefs that were on the side of RAGONAETH ROW were, MANAUJEE PHANKERAH\*, GOVENDEROW KAYEKVAUR (the brother of FATEH SING KAYEKVAUR, who was with the other party), and some other Chiefs of inferior note. Those of the other side were, HARREE PUNDET PHADKIAH, BALWANT APPAH†, &c. with their quotas, making in all a body of about 25,000 horse. Both armies meet on the north side the *Narbadah*, within thirty cofs of *Surat*, and had a severe engagement; but the loss on both sides was about equal. When, however, letters of prohibition were received from the Governor-General and Council of *Bengal*, both parties ceased from hostilities, and remained inactive.—And now that Colonel JOHN UPTON has concluded a peace with the Ministers of MAUDHEVEROW, the son of the deceased NARRAYEN ROW, the gentlemen of *Bombay* have remanded their troops from succouring RAGONAETH ROW; but RAGONAETH ROW, on the other hand, refuses to trust himself in the *Maratta* countries, as he thinks his life would be in danger if he should do so. He wishes rather to go to *Calcutta*, or *Benares*; and in his last letter to the Colonel he says he will go to *Europe*.

\* His name is MANAJEE SAINDHEEAH; but they give him the title of PHANKERAH, which is equivalent to FEARNUGHT in *English*.

† His name is KRISHNA ROW. His father's name was BALWANT.

## PARTICULARS RELATIVE TO RAGONAUTH ROW.

RAGONAUTH ROW (who is commonly called RAGHOBAN) is a Chieftain of great eminence, and the only survivor of note in the family of BAUJEE ROW. He formerly signalized himself by very considerable military achievements; for it was he that wrested the half of *Guzerat* from the hand of DAUMAUIEE KAYEKVAUR, and that afforded such important assistance to the NAVAUB GAUZY UD DEEN KHAN in the war with the *Jauts*, in the time of AHMED SHAH. It was he, too, that marched at the head of 100,000 horse against the son of ABDAULEE SHAW, drove him from *Labore*, and planted the *Marratta* standards as far as the shore of the *Attock*. The ABDAULEE SHAW was then engaged in a war on the side of *Khbrafan*; but the year following he entered *Hindoستان* with a large army to chastise the *Marattas*, at a time when the NAVAUB GAUZY UD DEEN KHAN was in the country of the *Jauts*, and under their protection. On receiving news of this event, the Paishwah, BAULAUIEE PUNDET, told his son\*, RAGONAUTH Row, that he expected he would take upon him the charge of this expedition also against the *Abdaulees*; to which RAGONAUTH Row replied, that he was not averse to it if he would grant him a supply of twenty Lack † of Rupees for the pay of his troops. But his cousin SADASHE-

\* "His brother," it should be.

† Others say "Sixty Lack."

VAH being present, observed, that the *Marrattas* were a privileged people; that wherever they went, the country and its revenue might be considered as their own; and then asked; RAGONAETH ROW what grounds he had for so extraordinary a demand? To this RAGONAETH replied by making him an offer of the commission, which SADASHIEVAH Row accepted; and having taken the command of an army of 90,000 horse, he first moved with this force against SALAUBET JENG, the brother of the present NAVAUB NIZAM ALY KHAN. But that Prince having been reduced to great straits since the death of the late NAVAUB NASIR JENG, had but a small body of horse to oppose them; and having been surrounded by the *Marattas* on all sides, he was obliged to give up to them the forts of *Burbaunpoor* and *Affair*, with a country of sixty-five Lack of Rupees *per annum*, besides considerable sums of ready money. Thus enriched, SADASHIEVAH Row took his way towards *Hindostan*\*; and on his arrival in the neighbourhood of *Dehly*, laid claim † to the empire and the throne: but his pride was offensive to the Most High, by whose providence it happened that he was, in a short time, hemmed in between two formidable armies, that of the ABDAULEE SEYAW attacking him in front, and that of the NAVAUB SHUJAA UD DOWLAH and the *Robillas* falling at the same time upon his rear. Here ensued that famous battle, of which those who were eye witnesses report, that it was the greatest ever fought in *Hindostan*: for the *Marattas* being beset with enemies in front and rear, saw no possibility of

\* Meaning from the *Decan* to *Hindostan* Proper.

† He did not pretend to sit on the throne himself, but set up

JAVAN-BACHT.

flight,

flight, and therefore resolved to sell their lives as dear as they could. Eighty *Marratta* Chiefs that rode on elephants were killed on the spot; but concerning SADASHEVAH Row himself there are different accounts, some asserting that he was killed in the engagement, and others as confidently affirming that he escaped alone from the field of battle; and that having reached *Poonah*, disguised as a private soldier, he waited privately on BAULAUJ E Row, who, in wrath for what had happened, ordered him secretly to prison in the fort of *Poorendher*; and there, say they, he lives to this day; and yet it is pretended that this is so carefully concealed, that PARABATTY BAUHEE, his wife, who is still living at *Poonah*, and even bears a part in the councils of the *Marratta* Chiefs, knows nothing of the matter; which surely gives this story a great air of improbability; for how can it be credited that so considerable a man should thus be shut up in prison, and the circumstances not transpire?

AFTER these events MALHAR Row marched to the side of *Hindoostan*, and fixed his quarters a long time at *Kaulhee*, whence he afterwards moved to *Korajehanabad*, to succour SHUJAA UD DOWLAH; but General CARNAC engaged him there, and gave him a total defeat. MALHAR Row is since dead, and has been succeeded by his son TUKKOJEE HOKER, and his wife AHALKEAH BAUEE, in the possession of the *Seobah* of *Endour*, which was his jagheer. They have 50,000 horse at their command, and are of the *Dunker* cast.

THE next army the *Marrattas* sent into *Hindoostan* was that commanded by MEHDEJEE SENDHEEAH and BEESAUIJEE PUNDIT, who placed SAHA AULUM upon the throne of *Dehly*; a chief of boasting to the *Marrattas*, who say



say the Emperor of *Hindoſtan* owes his kingdom entirely to them. But it is well known, that when Colonel CHAMPION marched to *Mehendee Ghaut*, after his ſucceſs againſt the *Robillas*, he engaged this very SENDHEEAH, and put him and the whole *Marratta* army to flight; ſo that having croſſed the *Ganges* and *Jumna* with great precipitacion, they have never from that time ventured over either of thoſe rivers again. At preſent, indeed, RAGONAETH Row's revolution hath produced ſuch diſperſion among the *Marratta* Chiefs, and thrown their affairs into ſuch confuſion, that Rajah HIMMUT BEHAUDER, Rajah DHANANEEAH the Rajah of GOHUD, and others, have united to take advantage of this criſis, and now collect the revenues of all the countries between *Kaulpee* and *Narwer*. The *Marratta* Chiefs, however, meditate an invaſion into thoſe parts, whenever matters ſhall be perfectly ſettled. in relation to RAGONAETH Row.

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OF THE PRODUCTIONS AND PECULIARITIES OF  
THE MARRATTA COUNTRY.

THE kinds of grain chiefly produced in this country are *javár*, *bájerá* \*, &c. Rice grows

\* Theſe are different kinds of pulſe.

in the *Kokun* Province\*, and is also brought from the *Sosbah* of *Khandaisse*; it is sold for ten or twelve seer for a rupee, and wheat flour, also, bears the same price. Grain is in general very dear, and there is but little trade in other commodities. Silk is brought hither from *Bengal*. Of linen manufactures there is abundance; but they are not to be compared with those of *Bengal*. Pearls are here a great article of merchandize; they are brought from *Mocho* and *Juddah*. The fruits of the country are grapes, pomegranates, water-melons, mangoes, and pears.

Of manufactures, here are only some of white cloth, chintz, *Burbaunpoor* turbants, &c. but *Europe* goods, such as broad cloths, &c. and silk, opium, and *Bengal* cloths, are imported hither from *Bombay*, and dispersed on all sides as far as *Dehly*.

EXCELLENT horses † are to be had here in great abundance, but the market-price is high. In every province, and in every place dependent on the *Marattas*, there are stables and herds ‡ of

\* The *Kokun* rice is like that commonly used in *Bengal*, and is indeed generally sold at 12 or 13 seer for a rupee; but the *Khandaisse* rice, called in *Hindostan* *pattny chauvel*, which is the only species brought from that province, is generally used by the higher ranks of people, and is seldom at a lower price than six or seven seer per rupee. It is a long and small-grained rice, like that used for pillaus by *Musselmen* of high rank on the *Coromandel* coast.

† The horses most esteemed by the *Marrattas* are those bred on the banks of the river *Bheema*, which runs into the *Kristna*, about thirty coss west of *Bidder*, in the province of *Bhaulky*. They are of a middling size and strong, but are, at the same time, a very handsome breed, generally of a dark bay with black legs, and are called, from the place which produces them, *Bleemertedy* horses. Some of them bear a price as high as 5000 rupees upon the market. Mares are commonly the dearest.

‡ These herds are called in the *Marratta* language *Jhundy*, and are composed of the horses of several individuals, who send them to feed on the open plains as long as they have no immediate occasion for them. But those that are the property of the *Paishwah* are called as well as the places where they are kept, *Pangah*.

horses;

horses; and in most places there are herds the property of the Paishwah. The principal men also have all herds of horses on their respective jagheers, and enlist horsemen, who serve on them in time of war, of whom the bodies of horse called *Bargeer* are composed. Accompanied by these the Chiefs offer their services to government; and each of them has from a thousand to two thousand horses of his own. In a word, stout men and good horses are the chief boast of this country: besides these it has but little to show but rocky hills and stony ground. The soil, indeed, in some places, is black, which creates an excessive quantity of mud in the rainy season, and the roads at that time are rendered also in most parts impassable by the torrents that come down from the hills.

THE city of *Poonah* hath nothing extraordinary to recommend it: it is about three or four coss in circuit; but there are no gardens to be seen here like those of *Bengal* or *Benares*\*, and the houses of the principal people are like the houses of the *Mahaujins*.—Few of them have any extent of building or ground, and fewer still are adorned with courts, parterres, rivulets, or fountains. The inhabitants are, nevertheless, most of them

\* There are, it seems, a few gardens to the east and to the south of *Poonah*. Among the latter, that of *Moorophernevees* is the best; but even that has few or none of the ornaments here mentioned. On the north and west of the city runs a small river called the *Moolamootha*, but it is full of rocks, and not navigable. NARRAYEN ROW began to build a bridge over this river, which was intended to be open during the rains, and shut during the hot months, in order to preserve water for the use of the town; but he was killed before it was finished, and it has not since been carried on. This idea was suggested by a dreadful season of drought, which happened under his reign, during which a cudgereepot of water was at one time sold in *Poonah* for half a rupee. This excessive scarcity, however, did not continue above ten or fifteen days.

wealthy,

wealthy, and merchants, and the best part of the offices and employments are held by *Brahmans*.

As to beauty and complexion, the people of this country resemble those of *Punjaub* \*; few are to be seen of a very dark colour. The women of all ranks, both rich and poor, go unveiled; and those of distinction go in palankeens without curtains. The wives of soldiers ride about on horseback. Curtain-selling † is very common in this country.

MANY *Brahmans* † sell their own daughters, and girls that they have brought up, for a great price.

OTHER castes §, besides *Brahmans*, bring up fowls in their houses, and eat the eggs; but the *Brahmans* eat neither flesh nor fish.

Cows are not allowed to be killed in any of the countries dependent on the *Marrattas*. *Mussulmans* are here but very few in number, and the influence of *Islam* at a low ebb,—But idolatry flourishes, and here are idol temples in abundance.

\* From other accounts it should appear, that the people of *Punjaub* are of a very different feature and make from the *Marrattas*; and that there are more people of a dark colour among the latter than would be understood from this description of them.

† By this he means prostitution.

‡ A *Marratta Brahman* to whom this was read discovered great indignation at this assertion, and denied that they ever sell their own daughters, or bring up girls for sale, though he acknowledged it was not unusual among the inferior castes.

§ The fact is, that not only the *Brahmans* abstain from fish and flesh, but all the different divisions of the *Vies*, or *Banian* cast, are equally abstemious, while the *Chettri* and *Sudder* indulge in both.

THE CUSTOMS AND MANNERS OF THE  
MARRATTAS.

SOME of the *Marratta* customs appeared excellent to me. One was the good understanding and union that has in general subsisted among their Chiefs, insomuch that no instance of treachery had ever occurred among them till RAGONAUT Row made himself infamous on that account. Another was, the attention and respect paid by the Paishwah, and all the great men, to people of the military profession; so that in the public Durbar the Paishwah is used to receive the compliments of every single Jammatdar of horse, himself standing till nine o'clock in the morning, and embracing them by turns\*. At taking leave, also, he gives them betel standing: and whoever comes to wait upon him, whether men of rank

\*According to the present custom distinctions are made in this matter, which were not formerly observed; for the Paishwahs used to embrace all that came without discrimination, till advantage was taken of this custom by BAPUJEE NAIR, who having a grudge at SADESHVAM BHOW (commonly called BHOW SAHEB), at the time that he held the office of First Minister to the fourth Paishwah DALAUJEE ROW (called also NANAH SAHEB), attempted to stab him with his cutteah when he went to embrace him. From that time a regulation has taken place, according to which none but people of distinction, and they unarmed, are permitted to embrace the Paishwah, or others of his family.

or otherwise, he receives \* their salams, or embraces them standing.

ANOTHER ordinance current among them is, that if an eminent Chieftain, who commands even an hundred thousand horse, be sent into some other country with his forces, and happens there to be guilty of some offence, in consequence of which he receives a summons from the Paishwah, far from thinking of resistance, he instantly obeys, and repairs to the presence in person with all expedition. The Paishwah then pardons him if the offence be small; if otherwise, he is imprisoned for some months, or kept in a state of disgrace till it is thought proper to admit him again to favour.

A THIRD is, that if an eminent Chief goes upon an expedition which subjects him to great expences, such as his own jagheer is not sufficient to supply, and he is obliged on that account to run in debt to the *Mobaim*, though the sum should amount to even ten or twelve lack, it is all freely allowed him; and though the government have demands upon him to the amount of lacks of rupees, yet if, in such circumstances, he pleads the insufficiency of his means to discharge those arrears, he is excused without hesitation, nor has he any thing to apprehend from being called to account by the Dewan, the Khanfaman, or other state Officers. The Chiefs are all their own masters, and expend † what

\* This, it should seem, is too generally expressed; but the custom does still subsist on one particular occasion, to wit, on the day on which the army marches on any expedition, the Paishwah then stands at the door of his tent, and, after delivering the golden standard to the General who has been appointed to the command, receives in that posture the compliments of the troops of every rank and denomination.

† This must be understood with some limitation. They do, indeed, often lavish great sums when on service, and that not merely on the soldiery, but on feasts given to Brahmans, presents to singers, dancers, &c. and on their return these sums are generally

what sums they please; so that a general satisfaction prevails among them, and they are always ready at a call with their quota of troops, and march with alacrity upon whatever service they are ordered to take. At present SAKHARAM BABOO causes great discontents among the Chiefs, by canvassing their accounts, and making demands on the Jagheedars, in a manner very different from the usage of former Paishwahs; hence numbers are disaffected, and time must discover what it is that Providence designs to bring about by that means.

ANOTHER custom is, that when one of their Chiefs that held employments, or jagheers, &c. dies, his son; though of inferior abilities, or an infant, succeeds \* immediately to the employment, the business of which is conducted by deputy till he becomes of age, and the monthly stipend, or jagheer, &c. is given to his family and relations. Nor are the effects of deceased persons ever seized and appropriated by Government, in the manner that has been practised under the Emperors of *Hindoostan*.

To the south-west of *Poonah*, at the distance of fifty cofs, is the fort of *Sattarah*.

*Bombay* is about fifty cofs distant due west.

*Surat* and *Guzerat* are to the north-west about 130 cofs distant.

*Aurungabad* stands east of *Poonah* about 70 cofs.  
*Bombay*

rally allowed them under the head of *dherrem*, or charitable disbursements. But they are so far from being without any check in their expences, that the officer named the *Karkun* is sent with each Chieftain expressly for that purpose.

\* This is also liable to some exceptions; for though great attention is paid to the claims of representatives of great families, when those representatives are themselves men of merit and ability, yet when it happens otherwise, the jagheers and employments are at length usually taken from them and given to persons from whom the State has better expectations.

*Bombay, Salsct, Bassen, &c.* stand on the shore of the salt sea towards the west.

And the country of *Kohun*, which belongs to the *Marrattas*, lies south-west of *Poonab*.

*KOKUN* is a fine country, and produces rice and other such things in abundance, with which it supplies *Poonab*. The *Paishwah* and the other Chiefs are mostly *Kokun* Brahmins. This province is called a *Soobah*. The Brahmins of *Poonab* may be divided into two sorts; the *Déy* Brahmins, who are those of *Aurungabad* and those parts: the other those of *Kokun*.

To the south and east are also many countries under the government of the *Marrattas*, extending from the parts adjacent to *Poonab* to the boundaries of the *Carnatic* \*, and *Rameser* (which is a place of worship of the *Hindoos*, as famous as that of *Kassy*, at 300 coss distance from *Poonab*) and *Panalah*, a jagheer of the *Ebonsalahs*, and to the boundary of *Nellor*, &c. the country of HEIDER NAIG.

To the east and north are situated the *Circar* of *Asair*, *Burhaunpoor*, and the *Soobah* of *Khandaisse*, at the distance of eighty coss from *Poonab*.

\* The *Carnatic* must by no means be understood here in the confined sense in which the *English* receive it. The country governed by MAHOMMED ALY KHAN is only part of the *Carnatic* properly so called, and should always be termed the *Carnatic Paucen Ghaut*, i. e. "that *Carnatic* which is below the *Passes*." In the name *Carnatic*, standing singly, is to be comprehended all the countries lying south of *Merch* and *Bidder*, which composed the ancient kingdom of *Viziapoor*. In fact, the name of *Carnatic Paucen Ghaut* appears to have been given to MAHOMMED ALY KHAN'S country by the *Moors*; for the *Marrattas* allow that appellation to a very small part of it, and denominate the whole *Soobah* of *Arcot Dravid-des*, while the *Malabars*, natives of the country, call it *Soromandelam*, from whence our *Coromandel*.

What he says here with respect to the extent of the *Marratta* dominions southward, applies only to the possession they once had of the country of *Tanjore*, and the tribute they collected from the *Tondemans*.

AND



AND to the north and west are the half of the country of *Guzerat*, the Pergunnah of *Broanch* &c. which are in the possession of the *Marratta* *Paishwah*.

BESIDES all these countries, the Pergunnah, of *Bhélfa*, the Soobah, of *Endour*\*, the Soobah of *Pagén*, the Pergunnah of *Seronje*, the Soobah of *Kalpy*† were all made over to the *Marrattas* in jagheers, by GAUZY UD DEEN KHAUN, in consideration of the support and assistance afforded him by the *Marratta* forces, and they still remain in their possession. The above Mahals are included in the jagheers of TUKKOJEE HOLKER and SENDHEEAH; that is to say, there are about 50,000 or 60,000 horse appointed on the side of *Hindoostan*, which those two Chiefs pay out of the produce of those countries, and transmit the balance to the *Paishwah*.

THE actual revenue derived from all the countries dependent on the *Marrattas* is about twelve Crore, from which when we deduct the jagheers, and the expence of the troops stationed on the side of *Hindoostan* Proper, there will remain about five Crore at the disposal of the *Paishwah*; and out of this he has to pay all those troops who receive their allowances in ready money, and to defray the charges of the forts, which are, large and small, in number about seven hundred; so that there is never a balance of so much as

\* *Endour* is a Pergunnah.

† *Kalpy* is not a Soobah, but a Pergunnah. To these must be added the Pergunnah of *Dhar*‡ the fort of which, bearing the same name, is very famous for its strength, and is said to have been built by the celebrated Rajah ВНОJ, who made it his capital. It is situated at the distance of about twenty-four *Bengal* cofs from the city of *Udgein*.

one Crore of rupees in ready money remaining in the treasury of the Paishwah\*.

THE full number of the troops is about two hundred thousand horse and foot! but, including the garrisons of the forts and other places, we may reckon it four hundred thousand.

THE *Marrattas* are always at war with HEIDER NAIG, or the Navaub NIZAM ALY KHAN, or others. Their country is never in perfect tranquillity, and hence it is exceeding desolate and waste.

THEY are at present at peace with the Navaub NIZAM ALY KHAN BEHAUDER, but their country is in much confusion on account of their dissensions with RAGONAUT ROW; advantage of which has been taken by the Zemindars on the hills on every side, and by HEIDER NAIG. On the side of *Hindoostan* the *Gosayn* Rajah HIMMUT BEHAUDER, and the Rajah of *Gohud*, &c. have seized the Soobah of *Kalpy*\*, &c. and the Circar of *Gualier* †; and HEIDER NAIG has also possessed himself of some of their countries

\* This, it seems, is true at present; but MAUDVEROW, it is said, had two Crore of Rupees in his treasury at the time of his death, most of which fell afterwards into the hands of RAGONAETH ROW, and was dissipated by him on his accession to the government, and his expedition towards the *Car-natic*.

† It ought to be written "The Pergunnah of *Kalpy*." Rajah HIMMUT BEHAUDER did indeed take *Kalpy*, in the time and under the orders of SUJAH UD DOWLAH, but was soon driven out of it again by the *Marratta* forces, under the command of VITHEL SIVADEO, NAUROO SUNKER, GOVIND PUNERT, &c.

† The Rajah of *Gohud* got possession of the open country, and a few mud forts in the Circar of *Gualier*, but was never able to get possession of the fort of that name till the *English* took it for him.

on his side; but as soon as they can promise themselves security with respect to RAGONAETH. Now, their armies will issue forth on every side.

T H E E N D.



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