Dissertations
and
Miscellaneous Pieces
Relating to the
History and Antiquities,
The
Arts, Sciences, and Literature
of
Asia.
Vol. I.

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IT 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 of avarice and despotism, a spirit of enquiry hath gone forth, which,
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
had not exercised 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 achieved 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
Preface.

Gence hitherto locked up, it may be hoped, will delight and inform the enquirers after the History, 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 has 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
PREFACE.

Specimen of the talents of our countrymen inhabiting a distant quarter of the globe, employing themselves sedulously and honourably in extending the credit and establishing the reputation of Britons in new and unexplored regions of Science and Literature.
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Dissertations on the History and Antiquities, the Arts, Sciences, and Literature, of Asia.

Dissertation I.

On the Gods of Greece, Italy, and India; written in MDCCLXXXIV.

We 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
prove the likeness, we can scarce help believing, that some connection has immemorially 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, Phænico, 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, from the rational adoration of the only true God.

There 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,
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 volcanos 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 Odyssey and the various Argoautick 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 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 Mibh 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 it is to personify the most abstract notions, and to place a nymph or a genius in every grove and almost in every flower; hence Hygeia and Iaso, health and remedy, are the poetical daughters of Esculapius, who was either a distinguished physician, or medical skill personified; and hence Choris, 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 Psychér, or the Progress of the Soul; than which, to my taste, a more 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
plained by some Hindu scholars, "the first in-
clination 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 subtile
and recondite sense in the Vedanta philosophy,
where it signifies the system of perceptions,
whether of secondary or of primary qualities,
which the Deity was believed by Epicharmus,
Plato, and many truly pious men, to
raise by his omnipresent spirit in the minds of
his creatures, but which had not, in their op-
inion, any existence independent of mind.

In drawing a parallel between the Gods of
the Indian and European heathens, from what-
ever source they were derived, I shall remem-
ber, 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
poly-
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 Apollos, many Mercuries, with distinct attributes and capacities; nor shall I presume to suggest more, than that, in one capacity 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 CheRMES 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 fabric of our national religion is false; a conclusion which none of us, I trust, would wish to be drawn. I, who cannot 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 unbiased 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 Ganesa.

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, dux beecps, biformis,
O cute 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 Etruscan image found at Vulci with four faces; emblems of prudence and circumspection: thus is Ganesa, the God of Wisdom in Hindustan, 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 stiled 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 januae, 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 name, 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 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 Ganesa; a word composed of Isa, the governor or leader, and gan'a, or
or a company of deities, nine of which companies are enumerated in the Amarcöṣh. 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 Ganeś, and he is first invoked by the Brāhmans, who conduct the trial by ordeal, or perform the ceremony of the hōma, 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 own observation, that in the commodious and useful town which now rises at Dharmāranya 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
has the name of Gane'sa superscribed 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 Theis, 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 devour-
devouring years, in the form of children, and, sometimes, neircled 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; who traces 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 Pompey 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,
birth, kindred, offspring, character, occupations, and entire life of Saturn, without affenting 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 repopulated, was early blessed with numerous and flourishing descendants: if we produce, therefore, an Indian king of divine birth, eminent for his piety and benevolence, whose story seems evidently to be that of Noah disguised by Asiatic fiction, we may safely offer a conjecture, that he was also the same personage with Saturn. This was Menu, or Satyavrata, whose patronymick name was Vaivasvata, or Child of the Sun; and whom the Indians believe to have reigned over the whole world in the earliest age of their chronology, but to have resided in the country of Drauira, on the coast of the Eastern Indian Peninsula: the following narrative of the principal event in his life I have literally translated from the Bhāgavat; and it is the subject of the first Purāṇa, entitled that of the Matsya, or Fiśā.
Desiring the preservation of herds, and of Brāhmans, of genii and virtuous men, of the Vedas, 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 Hayagrīva came near him, and stole the Vedas, which had flowed from his lips. When Heri, the preserver of the universe, discovered this deed of the Prince of Dānavas, he took the shape of a minute fish, called sap'bar. A holy king, named Satyavrata, 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 Menus; by the name of Sṛadhdhe'va, or the God of Obsequies. One day, as he was making a libation in the river Critamāla, and held water in the palm of his hand, he perceived a small fish moving in
in it. The king of Dravira immediately dropped the fish into the river together with the water, which he had taken from it; when the sap'barî thus pathetically addressed the benevolent monarch: "How canst thou, O king, who showest affection to the oppressed, leave me in this river-water, where I am too weak to resist 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 preservation of the sap'barî, both from good-nature and from regard to his own soul; and, having heard its very supplicant 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 miserably 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 considerable
size. "This abode, O king, is not conve-
nient 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 SATYAVRA-
TA: "Here the horned tharks, and other
monsters of great strength will devour me;
thou shouldst not, O valiant man, leave me
in this ocean." Thus repeatedly deluded by
the fish, who had addressed 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 hun-
dred 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
servants, bearest the form of the natives of
the deep. Salutation and praise to thee, O
first male, the lord of creation, of pre-
servation, of destruction! Thou art the
C " highest
"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 amazement 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 preserve 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, accompanied by seven saints, encircled by pairs of all 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,
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 attend-
ants, I will remain on the ocean, O chief of
men, until a night of Brahma shall be com-
pletely ended. Thou shalt then know my true
greatness, rightly named the supreme God-
head; by my favour, all thy questions shall
be answered, and thy mind abundantly in-
structed." Here, 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 turn-
ing his face toward the North, sat medita-
ting 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 Brahman, having carried into
it the medicinal creepers, and conformed to
the directions of Heri. The saints thus ad-
dressed him: "O king, meditate on Cesava;
who will, surely, deliver us from
this danger, and grant us prosperity." The
God,
God, being invoked by the monarch, appeared again distinctly on the vast ocean in the form of a fish, blazing like gold, extending a million of leagues, with one stupendous horn; on which the king, as he had before been commanded by Heri, tied the ship 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 Purâna, which contained the rules of the Sânc'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, flew the demon Hayagriva, and recovered the sacred books. Satyavrata, instructed 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 Mâyâ, or delusion; and he who
who shall devoutly hear this important 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 whimsically 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 Purâna, from which the narrative is extracted, another deluge, which happened towards the close of the third age, when Yudhishth'ir was labouring under the persecution of his inveterate foe Duryodhan, and when Chrishna, who had recently become incarnate for the purpose of succouring the pious and of destroying the wicked, was performing wonders in the country of Mathura; but the second flood was merely local, and intended only to affect the people of Vrâja: they, it seems, had offended Indra, the God of the firmament, by their enthusiastic adoration of the wonderful child, "who lifted up the mountain Govardhana as if it had been a flower, and by sheltering all the herdsmen and shepherdeses 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 *Avatars,* or *Descents,* of the deity in his capacity of preserver; since of the four, which are declared to have happened in the *Satyayug,* 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 *Bear,* 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 mo-
ral, a metaphysical, and an astronomical allegory; and all three seem connected with the hieroglyphical sculptures of the old Egyptians. The fourth Avatār 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 Tṛtāyug, 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 Devāparyug, the incarnation of Crīshna 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 Caḷīyug, or the age of contention and baseness. As to Buddha, he seems to have been a reformer of the doctrines contained in the Vēdas; and though his good-nature led him to censure those ancient books, because they enjoined sacrifices of cattle, yet he is admitted as the ninth Avatār even by the Brāhmans of Cāst, and his praises are sung by the poet JayaDe'va: his character is in many respects very extraordinary; but as an account of it belongs rather to History than to Mythology,
logy; 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 *Apocalypse*) 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 *Grécan* 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 preced-
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 establish-
ment of great empires by the descendants of his
brother Ham; thirdly, the Mosaic, 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, begin-
ning with the vehement warnings given by the
Prophets to apostate Kings and degenerate na-
tions, but still subsisting and to subsist, until
all genuine prophesies shall be fully accom-
plished. The duration of the historical ages
must needs be very unequal and dispropor-
tionate; 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 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 ad-

dance, from an hundred thousand years in a
subdecuple ratio; and as the number of prin-
cipal Avatars in each decreases arithmetically
from four, so the number of years in each de-
creases
creases 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 Menus 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 Brâhmans 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 Vedas 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 flum-
flumber of Brahmal and the theft of the sacred books mean only, in simpler language, that the human race was become corrupt; but that the Vedas are very antient, 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 Purans and the Dharma Sutra. A similar comparison justifies me in pronouncing, that the excellent law-book ascribed to Swayambhuva Menu, though not even pretended to have been written by him, is more antient than the Bhagavat; but that it was composed in the first age of the world, the Brahmanus 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 Brahmal, 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 Manava Sutra, 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
than the scriptures of Moses, in which the simplicity, or rather nakedness, of the Hebrew dialect, metre, and style, must convince every unbiased man of their superior antiquity.

I leave etymologists, who decide everything, to decide whether the word Menu, or, in the nominative case, Menu, has any connection with Minos, the Lawgiver, and supposed son of Jove; 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 legislator was the first, not the seventh Menu, or Sattavrata, whom I suppose to be the Saturn of Italy: part of Saturn's character, indeed was that of a great lawgiver,

Qui genus inducit or dispersum monibus altis
Compositum, legesque dedit;

and we may suspect, that all the fourteen Mensus are reducible to one, who was called Nu 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
character of the Hindu God Yama, who was also a child of the Sun, and thence named Vaivasvata; he had too the same title with his brother Sraiddhadeva; another of his titles was Dharmaja, or King of Justice; and a third, Pitripeti, 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 Swarga, or the first heaven, or is driven down to Narak, 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 Calla, 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 Zera'tusht affirms 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
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 of Nymphae; 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 Hinduistan, 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 Gayā, we see images of Lacshmi, with full breasts and a cord twitted 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
whose supremacy, thunder, and libertinism, 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 Firmament 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, Amaravati; his palace, Vaijayanta; his garden, Nandana; his chief elephant, Airavat; 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 Meru, 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,
nu, 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 destroyimg 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 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 zugon 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
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 Vedantis, 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 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, Isa or Iswara, Rudra, Hara, Sambhu, and Mahadeva or Mahesha, 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 Nympaha, or Lotos, which was anciently revered in Egypt, as it is at present in Hindustan, Tibet, and Nepal: the Tibetans are said to embellish their temples and altars with it, and a native of Nepal 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;
abyss; but it was manifestly intended by a bad painter for a lotoe-leaf or for that of the Indian fig-tree; nor is the species of pepper, known in Bengal by the name of Tambilla, and on the coast of Malabar by that of Betel, held sacred, as he affirms, by the Hindus, or necessarily cultivated under the inspection of Brahmins; though as the vines are tender, all the plantations of them are carefully secured, and ought to be cultivated by a particular tribe of Sudras, who are thence called Tambulli'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 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 Brahas 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 dimi-
On the Gods of Greece,
nished 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, indiscernible, 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 mo-
tion: 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 nara', since they are the offspring 
of Nera (or i'swara); and thence was 
Nara'yana 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 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 mid
""the sublime ether, the eight points of the
world, and the permanent receptacle of
waters."

To this curious description, with which the
Manava Sêstra begins, I cannot refrain from
subjoining the four verses, which are the text of
the Bhûgavat, 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; su-
preme: afterwards 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 Delusion) as light, as darkness.
""As the great elements are in various be-
ings, 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 dictum are unequalled.

As to the creation of the world, in the opinion of the Ranaus, Ovid, who might naturally have 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 Orphean doctrine, preserved by Proclus, that "the abys and empyreum, the earth and sea, the Gods and Goddesses, were produced by Zeus or Jupiter." In this character he corresponds with Brahmac; and, perhaps, with that God of the Babylonians (if we can rely on the accounts of their ancient religion), who, like Brahmac, reduced the universe to order, and like Brahmac, 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 Brahmac
Brahma had five heads till one of them was cut off by Nārāyaṇ.

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 Juventas 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 Laksīnī, the wife of Viṣṇu, since the Hindu goddesses are believed to be the powers of their respective lords: as to Kuśāra, the Indian Plutus, one of whose names in Pauṣapati, he is revered, indeed, as a magnificent Deity, residing in the palace of Alacā, 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;
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 Brabmans 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 Vaishnavas; for the Saivas ascribe a part of preeminence 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, Biares, 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, Brah-

MA'
MA is believed to have presented the God of Destruction with fiery shafts. One of the many poems entitled Rāmāyana, the last book of which has been translated into Italian, contains an extraordinary dialogue between the crow Bhusunda, 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 Purānas bears his name and comprises his whole history. M. Sonnerat informs us, that Vishnu is represented in some places riding on the Garuda, which he supposes to be the Pondicherry Eagle of Brisson, especially as the Brāhmans of the Coast highly venerate that class of birds, and provide food for numbers of them at stated hours: I rather conceive the Garuda 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 Gaya, Vishnu is either mounted on this poetical bird, or attended by it, together with a little page; but, left 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 THE GODS OF GREECE,

councils on a lofty and brilliant mountain, to
the appropriated seat of Maha'de'va, whom
the Sarva's consider as the Chief of the Deities,
was mount Cailisa, every splinter of whose
rocks was an inextinguishable gem: his terrestrial
haunts are the snowy hills of Himéshya, or that
branch of them to the East of the Brahmaputra,
which has the name of Chandraśe'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
Trílo'chan, and known from Pausaniás,
not only that Trióphthalmos 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 conclude, that the identity
of the two Gods falls little short of being de-
monstrated.

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 Tinc in the feminine gender, is a
name of his consort, who will appear hereafter to
be Proserpine; indeed, if we can rely on a
Persian translation of the Bhágavat (for the
original is not yet in my possession), the sove-
reign of Pátula, or the Infernal Regions, is the
King of Serpents, named Se'shana'ga; for
Crishna
Crisnha 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 Brâhman's six sons, who had been slain in battle, might reanimate their respective bodies; and Seśhânaḍâ 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 lotus." 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 Mahâdeva, by which he is too visibly distinguished in the drawings and temples of Bengal. To destroy, according to the Vedântis of India, the Sûfis of Persia, and many Philosophers of our European schools, is only to generate and reproduce in another form; hence the God of De-
fruition 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 Lamphaceus, 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 Ithyphallic 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 Vagis or Badar's, and to have been afterwards improperly applied. Though, in an Essay on the Gods of India, where the Brahman 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 Devi, the Goddess of Wine, who arose, say the Hindus, from the ocean, when it was churned with the mountain Mandar:
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 Marinus, or Neptune, of the Romans, as resembling Mahādeva in his generative character; especially as the Hindu God is the husband of Bhavaṇī, whose relation to the waters is evidently marked by her image being restored to them at the conclusion of her great festival called Durgāsava: 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 Rambha' 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 trisula and the trident, the weapon of Siva and of Neptune, seems to establish this analogy; and the veneration paid all over
over India to the large buccinum, especially when it can be found with the spinal 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 Mahēśa', 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 Śiva is more eminently marked by these distinctions than those of Brahma' or Vishnu: she resembles the Isis Myrionymos, to whom an antique marble, described by Gruter, is dedicated; but her leading names and characters are Pa'r̥vati', Durga', Bhava'ni'.

As the Mountain-born Goddess, or Pa'r̥vati', 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 Cailāśa, and at the banquets of
of the Deities, uniformly the companion of her husband. One circumstance in the parallel is extremely singular: she is usually attended by her son CA'RTICE'YA, 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 CA'RTICE'YA, 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 Purānas, has a connection, I am persuaded, with the old SECANDER 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 wife and virtuous who paid them due
due adoration. As Pallas, they say, takes her name from vibrating a lance, and usually appears in complete armour, thus Curis, the old Latin 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 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 Sureswata of Sāru'pa'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 Bhāgavat: "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,
doubt, that the śwāra and śī of the Hindus are the Osiris and Isis of the Egyptians; though a distinct essay in the manner of Plu-
tarch would be requisite in order to demon-
strate 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 Calīdā'sā near two thousand years ago: “Water was the first work of the Creator; and Fire receives the oblation of clarified butter, as the law ordains; the Sacrifice is performed with solemnity; the two Lights of heaven distinguish time; the subtle Ether, which is the vehicle of sound, pervades the universe; the Earth is the natural parent of all increase; and by Air all things breathing are animated: may I'sā, 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'sā or the Ruler, from which word I'sā may be regularly formed, though I'sā 'r' be the usual name of his active Power, adored as the Goddess of Nature. I have not yet found in Sanskrit the wild, though poetical, tale of Io; but am persuaded, that, by means of the Purānas,
we shall in time discover all the learning of the Egyptians without deciphering 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 shewn 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 Israel, we must at least allow that circumstances have wonderfully coincided. Bhava'nt now demands our attention; and in this character I suppose the wife of Maha'deva to be as well the Juno Cinxia or Lucina of the Romans (called also by them Diana Solvestona, and by the Greeks Ilithyia) as Venus herself; not the Italian 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 As-sara's, or damsels of paradise; but Venus Urania, so luxuriantly painted by Lucretius, and so properly invoked by him at the opening of a poem on nature; 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,
Hermathena, and in those figures of 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 Hind-
uslan; 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 Goddes
of Fecundity were connected as Mara-de-
va and Bhava'ni: the God Ca'ma, indeed,
had May'a' and Casyapa, or Uranus, for
his parents, at least according to the Mytholo-
gists 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 Dipaca, the Inflamer, which
is erroneously written Dipuc; and I am now
convinced, that the sort of resemblance which
has been observed between his Latin and San-
scrit names, is accidental: in each name the
three first letters are the root, and between
them there is no affinity. Whether any Myth-
ologica connection subsisted between the
amara
cus, with the fragrant leaves of which Hymen bound his temples, and the tulasi of India, must be left undetermined: the botanical relation of the two plants (if amara
cus 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 Veda, they knew not " why;" but this custom has, I conceive, a relation to the doctrine, that water is a form of i'swara, and consequently of i'sa'ni', who is even represented by some as the patroness 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-goddesses, 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
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 goddesses 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 Saraswati; all three meet at Prayaga, thence called Triveni, or the three plaited locks; but Saraswati, according to the popular belief, sinks underground, and rises at another Triveni, near Hugh, where she rejoins her beloved Ganga. The Brahmaputra 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 incarnate deities of the first rank, Rama and Crishna, must now be introduced, and their several attributes distinctly explained. The first of them, I believe, was the Dedysos of the Greeks, whom they named Bromius, without
without knowing why, and Bugenes, when they represented him borned, 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, Tauiformis, 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, affirms 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 S’Ta from the giant Ra’van, king of Lanka, and to have commanded in chief a numerous and intrepid race of those large Monkeys, which our naturalists,
ralists, or some of them, have denominated Indian Satyrs; his General, the Prince of Satyrs, was named Hanumat, or with high cheekbones; 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, the series of rocks, to which the Muselmans or the Portuguese have given the foolish name of Adam's (it should be called Ra'ama's) bridge. Might not this army of Satyrs have been only a race of mountaineers, whom Ra'ama', 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 Brâhman, 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 Lâncā 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 Puranâs; 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 VALMIE, and his Râmâyân is an Epic Poem on the same subject, which, in unity of action, magnificence of imagery, and elegance of style, far surpasses the learned and elaborate work of NOXNUS, entitled Dionysiacs, 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 Dionysiacs with the Râmâyân, but am confident, that an accurate comparison of the two poems would prove Dionysos and
Ramá 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 Dionysos was born, and that Meru, though it generally means the north pole in the Indian geography, is also a mountain near the city of Naishbada or Nyśa, called by the Grecian geographers Dionysopolis, and universally celebrated in the Sanscrit poets; though the birth-place of Ra'ma is supposed to have been Ayodbhyā or Audh. That ancient city extended, if we believe the Brāhmans, over a line of ten Tojans, or about forty miles, and the present city of Lac'hnau, pronounced Lucnow, was only a lodge for one of its gates, called Lac'hnananadvāra, or the gate of Lacshman, a brother of Ra'ma. M. Sonnerat supposes Ayodbhyā 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 Buddha, who must have appeared many centuries after the conquest of Lacnā.

The second great divinity, Crishna, passed a life, according to the Indians, of a most extraordinary
traordinary and incomprehensible nature. He was the son of De'vaci' by Vasud'eva; but his birth was concealed through fear of the tyrant Canasa, 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'hura by an honest herdsman, surnamed Ananda, or Happy, and his amiable wife Yasoda', who, like another Pales, was constantly occupied in her pastures and her dairy. In their family were a multitude of young Gopa's or cowherds, and beautiful Gopi's, or milkmaids, 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 Gopi'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 now or young; so that, in the following stanza, it may admit of two interpretations:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{taranijopali} & \text{e navavaloni} \\
\text{peri} & \text{sphah celi} \text{atuhali} \\
\text{dru} & \text{tvilamvishchaheriharinam} \\
\text{herimaham bridaya} & \text{e sudava} \text{bhi,}
\end{align*}
\]

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

Both he and the three Ra'amas are described 
as youths of perfect beauty; but the princess-
es of Hindustan, as well as the damsels of 
Nanda's farm, were passionately in love with 
Crisrion, who continues to this hour the dar-
ling 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 with eagerness, 
and which seems general in these provinces, that 
he was distinct from all the Avatârs, who had 
only an ania, or portion of his divinity; while 
Crisrion was the person of Visnòu himself in 
a human form; hence they consider the third 
Ra'ma, his elder brother, as the eighth Ava-
târ invested with an emanation of his divine ra-
diance; and, in the principal Sanscrit diction-
ary, compiled about two thousand years ago, 
Crisrion, 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 Avatârs are painted with gem-
med Ethiopian, or Parthian, coronets; with 
rays encircling their heads; jewels in their 
ears; two necklaces, one straight and one 
pendent,
ependent, 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 tissie or dyed silk, embroidered on their hems with flowers, elegantly thrown over one shoulder, and folded, like ribbands, 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'van 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 disclothes 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 Krishna, when he appears, as he sometimes does appear, among the Avakiri, is more splendidly decorated than any, and wears a rich garland of sylvan flowers, whence he is named Vanama'li, as low as his ankles, which are adorned with strings of pearls. Dark blue, approaching to black, which is the meaning of the word Krishna, is believed to have been his com-
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 Katmandu the capital of Nepal, there is placed in a recumbent posture a large well-proportioned image of blue marble, representing Nārāyaṇ floating on the waters. But let us return to the actions of Crishna; who was not less heroic than lovely; and, when a boy, flew the terrible serpent Cāliya 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 Yudhisthir and the other Pāndus, who had been grievously oppressed by the Curus, and their tyrannical chief, he kindled the war described in the great Epic Poem, entitled the Mūhābhārata, at the prosperous conclusion of which he returned to his heavenly seat in Vaiśenṭha, having left the instructions comprised in the Gītā 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 Ophir, in Italy; who fed the herds of Admetus, and flew the serpent Python; a God,
God, amorous, beautiful, and warlike: the word Gvizinda may be literally translated Nomios, as Céfava is Crinitus, or with fine hair; but whether Gëpala, or the herdsman, has any relation to Apollo, let our Etymologists determine. Colonel Vallancey, whose learned enquiries 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 Phoëbus, 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 Saurus: 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 Casvapa, the Indian Uranus; and one of them has, according to some authorities, the name of Vishnu.
VISHNU, or Pervader. Su̇r̄ya 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 Heliadai of Greece: it is very singular, that his two sons called Aswinau or Aswini'cuma'rau, 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 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 Chase, 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 Calidas, and since Isani has been shewn to be his comfort or power, we may consider her, in one of her characters, as Luna; especially as we shall soon
Soon be convinced, that, in the shades below; the 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 Pavaca, or the Purifier, who answers to the Vulcan of Egypt, where he was a Deity of high rank; and his wife Swaha 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 Viswakarman, the forger of arms for the Gods, and inventor of the agnyasfra, or fiery shaft, in the war between them and the Daityas or Titans. 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.
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 lowliest 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'urâ, and of Giverdhân, the Parnassus of the Hindus; and the lyric poems of Jayade'va will fully justify this opinion; but the Nymphs of Musikâ are the thirty Ra'gini'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 Purâna, 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 exquisitely skill; his invention of the *Vina*, or *Indian* lute, is thus described in the poem entitled *Magha*: "**Na'rod** fat watching from time to time his large *Vina*, 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 **Na'rod**, 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 *Crishta*’s cattle, by way of putting his divinity to a proof, be strangely imputed, in the *Bhagavat*, 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 *Cali’,* 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 *Vedas* enjoined; but, in the present age, they are absolutely prohibited, as are also the sacrifices of bulls and horses: *kids* are still
still offered to her; and, to palliate the cruelty of the slaughter, which gave such offence to Buddha, the Brahmans inculcate a belief, that the poor victims rise in the heaven of Indra, where they become the musician of his band. Instead of the obsolete, and now illegal, sacrifices of a man, a bull, and a horse, called Nerámedba, Gómédba, and Aswamédba, the powers of nature are thought to be propitiated by the less bloody ceremonies at the end of autumn, when the festivals of Ca'lti and Laçhmi 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 system as the daughter of Ceres?” 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'lti’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
ject so horrid as the altars of Hecate and Cali, 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 Mohammed’s paradise, are wholly sensual; but the Muhti, or Elysian happiness of the Vedanta 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 Vedanta to the Sicilian, Italick, 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 Krishna considered as Narayhan. 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
head illumined 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 Bhagavat 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 Yasoda', that the child Crishna had been drinking their curds and milk; on being reproved 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 surprised 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 Varanes, 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 ample materials, but with
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 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 Varro 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
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 Misr, 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 use the word for a great city, they probably mean a city like the capital of Egypt. Father Marco, a Roman 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 Ramóyan, 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 Beshya, where he had long resided: one of the articles in his little dictionary was, "Tirut, 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 Misr, but observed, that they sometimes confounded it with Abyssinia. I perceived that his memory of what he had written was
was correct; for Misr was another word in his Index, "from which country, he said, came "the Egyptian priests who settled in Tirut." I suspected immediately that his intelligence flowed from the Muselmans, who call sugar-candy Misri or Egyptian; but when I examined him closely, and earnestly desired him to re-collect 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 Brahman, 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 Tirbib, commonly pronounced Tirut, and antiently called Mitibili, the principal town of Janacadesa, or north Bahr; but Mahe'sa Pandit, who was born in that very district, and who submitted patiently to a long examination concerning Misr, overfet all our conclusions; he denied that the Brahman of his country were generally surnamed Misr, as we had been informed, and said, that the addition of Misra to the name of Va'chespeti, 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
where the country of Misir was, "There are two, he answered, of that name; one of them in the west, under the dominion of Muselmans, and another which all the Safsras and Puranas mention, in a mountainous region to the north of Ayodhyà." 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 Tirabut by our geographers, appears in the maps between the north-eastern frontier of Audh and the mountains of Nepal; but whether that was the Tirat mentioned to father Marco by his friend of Betya, I cannot decide. This only I know with certainty, that Misra is an epithet of two Bràhmans 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 surname of Bràhmans in the west. On the account given to Colonel Kyd by the old Ràjà of Crishnanagar, "concerning traditions among the Hindus, that some Egyptians had settled in"
systems than Newton, or of scholastic metaphysics than Locke? In whom could the Roman 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 for the conversion of the Gentiles, to urge, "that the Hindus were even now almost Christian, 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 triliteral word O'M, were
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 Krishna, 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 Bhāgavat, 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
that he was educated 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 Brahmans, 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 Cēsava, the Apollo of Greece.

As to the general extension of our pure faith in Hindustān, there are at present many sad ob-

stacles
ftacles to it. The Muselmans 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 Son, and his equality, as God, with the Father, of whose unity and attributes 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 Mohammed and Ali, who were both very extraordinary men, and the second a man of unexceptionable morals: the Koran shines, indeed, with a borrowed light, since most of its beauties are taken from our Scriptures; but it has great beauties, and the Muselmans 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 Sutras: 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,
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 Muschams 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 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 unafflicted reason.
Dissertation II.

On the

Literature of Asia.

Being the Second Anniversary Discourse Delivered to the Society. Feb. 1785.

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
maturity with every mark of a 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 surprise be the greater; for I will not dispense, 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 archives; 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 ancient 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 irrevocable time, with a curiosity roused 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 pass'd, 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 preceptor of that ambitious Prince, that "the Asiatics 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 mistress be transcendantly majestic, it cannot be denied that the attendant has many beauties, and some advantages peculiar to herself. The ancients were accustomed to pronounce pana- gyricks 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
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, 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
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; left 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
cites a few aphorisms, which appear judicious and rational; but we can expect nothing so important from the works of Hindu or Muselmany 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 antileptick, and more congenial to the climate. Whether any treatises on Agriculture have been written by experienced natives of these provinces,
vinces, 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 how far it may lead to new methods of fluxing and compounding metals, which the Indians, as well as the Chinese, 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 mature age.
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 compositers 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 surprisingly 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 lay of them, what Abulfazl, pronounces of the Mahabharat, that, "although they abound with extravagant images and descriptions, they are in the highest degree entertaining and instructive."
tive." Poets of the greatest genius, Pindar, Æschylus, Dante, Petrarca, Shakespeare, Spenser, 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 Vyasa, 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 Mathura, 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 Bshā, 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
but the art of writing, in elegant and modulated periods, has been cultivated in Asia from the earliest ages: the Veda's, as well as the Alkoran, are written in measured prose; and the compositions of Isocrates are not more highly polished than those of the best Arabian and Persian authors.

Of the Hindu and Musselman 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 zealously then would he be adored in Hindoostan, 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
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 curves, from the geometers 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 treatises 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 forensic 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 shou'd possess without labour, and almost by imperceptible degrees,
degrees, a fuller catalogue of Oriental books than has hitherto been exhibited, and our correspondents would be apprised 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 Mekâmsât and Risâlâhs 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 advisable 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 is the prescribed duty of learned Brâhmans, 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
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.
Dissertation III.

On the HINDUS,

Being the Third Anniversary Discourse Delivered to the Society Feb. 2, 1786.

Of 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 Asiatic languages. Etymology has, no doubt, some use in historical researches; but it is a medium of proof so very fallacious,
fallacious, that, where it elucidates one fact, it obscures a thousand, and 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 extrinsick evidence. We know a posteriori, that both fitz and bijo, by the nature of two several dialects, are derived from filius; that uncle comes from avus, and stranger from extra; that jaur is deducible, through the Italian, from dies; and rossignol from luscinia, or the finger in groves; that seiuro, 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 banger, or short-handent savour, from the Persian, because ignorant travellers thus mis-spell the word khonjar, 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
might otherwise be firmly supported. That Cu's then, or, as it certainly is written in one ancient dialect, Cu' r, and in others, probably, Ca's, enters into the composition of many proper names, we may very reasonably believe; and that Algezirah 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 Calicuta; that both Cōtā and Cūt unquestionably mean places of strength, or, in general, any inclosures; and that Gujarāt 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 to-picks 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 postulatum will perhaps be refused, and every definition contro-
verted; 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 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
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 Cashmir, and all the domains of the old Indoscythians, the countries of Népél and Butant, Cimrùp or Asam, together with Siam, Ava, Racan, and the bordering kingdoms, as far as the China of the
the Hindus or Sin 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 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 Punyabhumi, 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 Himalaya as lying to the north, and, to the west, those of Vindhyā, 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 Dwāraca; 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 Aīravati, 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 Jambudwipa, which the Tibetians also call the Land of Zambu; and the appella-
tion is extremely remarkable; for Jambu is the Sanscrit name of a delicate fruit called Jaman by the Muselmans, and by us rose-apple; but the largest and richest fruit 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, as I may say, maid- enly, and well nigh effeminate, of a countenance shy and somewhat estranged, 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 Asiatic manners, observes, in his elegant preliminary Dissertation, 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
"in different parts of India, yet the original inhabitants have lost very little of their original character." The ancients, in fact, give a description of them, which our early travellers confirmed, and our own personal knowledge of them nearly verifies; as you will perceive from a passage 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 locks
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 foil,
Wad'ed 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 sur-
pass 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 go-
vernment, wise in legislation, and eminent in
various knowledge: but, since their civil his-
tory beyond the middle of the nineteenth cen-
tury from the present time is involved in a
cloud of fables, we seem to possess only four
general media of satisfying our curiosity con-
cerning it; namely, first, their Languages and
Letters; secondly, their Philosophy and Reli-
gion; 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 Baṣrian Princes, have left us any
means of knowing with accuracy, what ver-

nacular 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 Bhāṣā, or living
tongue, of a very singular construction, the
purest dialect of which was current in the

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districts
districts round Agra, and chiefly on the poetical ground of Mathura; and this is commonly called the idiom of Vrāja. 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 Hindustani, 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 ground-work, but to blend with it a considerable number of exotic 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 Vedas was used in the great extent
of country which has before been delineated, as long as the religion of Brahmd 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 Cellick, 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 any question concerning the antiquities of Persia.

The characters, in which the languages of India were originally written, are called Nagari, from Nagar, a City, with the word Deva 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
ton in their form by the change of straight lines to curves, or conversely, than the Cufick alphabet has received in its way to India, are still adopted in more than twenty kingdoms and states, from the borders of Cashgar and Kboten, to Rama's bridge, and from the Sindhu to the river of Siam; nor can I help believing, although the polished and elegant Devanāgari may not be so ancient as the monumental characters in the caverns of Jarasandha, that the square Chaldaic 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 Caparab, of which you now possess a most accurate copy, seem to be compounded of Nāgari and Ethiopic 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
formerly, perhaps, in Egypt and Mexico, are quite of a distinct nature; but it is very remarkable, that the order of sounds in the Chinese grammars 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 Brähmans 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
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 Derfana Sāstra, comprise all the metaphysickers of the old Academy, the Stoa, the Lyceum; nor is it possible to read the Vedanta, 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; nor can we doubt, that Wod or Odin, 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 often 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, Giorgi, and Bailly, differ a little in
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 Cashmirians, who boast of his descent in their kingdom, assert that he appeared on earth about two centuries after Krishna, the Indian Apollo, who took so decided a part in the war of the Mahabharat; 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 Yudhishtir, neither of which words they could have articulated, I should not hastily deride his conjecture: certain it is, that Pandumandel is called by the Greeks the country of Pandion. We have therefore determined another interesting epoch, by fixing the age of Krishna near the three thousandth year from the present time; and as the three first Avatârs, 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 pre-
sent 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 heroic poems. He is represented as a descendant from Surya, or the Sun, as the husband of Sita’, and the son of a princess named Causelya’: it is very remarkable, that the Peruvians, whose Incas boasted of the same descent, styled their greatest festival Ramastoa; 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 religi-
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 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 antique 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 Varahavatir, 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 Canarab, the various temples and images of Buddha, and the idols which are continually dug up at Gayath, or in its vicinity. The letters on many of those monuments appear, as I have before intimated, partly of Indian, and partly
partly of Abyssinian or Ethiopick, origin; and all these indubitable facts may induce no ill-grounded opinion, that Ethiopia and Hindustan were peopled or colonized by the same extraordinary race; in confirmation of which it may be added, that the mountaineers of Bengal and Babar 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 Cu'sh: 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 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 Sāstrā, 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
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 Tancut, among whom probably the word Ser, 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 Sutra, or System of Ethics, 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 Buzerchumihir, or Bright as the Sun, the chief physician, and afterwards Vezir of the great Anushireva'n, and are extant under various names in more than twenty languages; but their original title is Hitopadesha, 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, Rhetoric,
rick, Mufick, 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 Purānas comprise a series of mythological Histories in blank verse from the Creation to the supposed incarnation of Buddha; and their Vedas, as far as we can judge from that compendium of them which is called Upanishtat, abound with noble speculations in metaphysics, and fine discourses on the being and attributes of God. Their most ancient medical book, entitled Charēca, 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 Cashmer, 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 Īscita, which may signify the Ionick Sect; nor is it improbable, that the names of the planets and Zodiacal 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,

5 first alyed the deep,
4 And wasted merchandize to coasts unknown,
4 Those, who digested first the starry choir,
4 Their motions mark'd, and call'd them by their names.

Of these cursory observations on the Hindus, which it would require volumes to expand and illustrate, this is the result: that they had an immemorial affinity with the old Persians, Ethiopians, and Egyptians, the Phenicians, Greeks, and Tuscanis, 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
from some central country, to investigate which will be the object of my future Discourses; and I have a fanguine 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

Arabs.

Being the Fourth Anniversary Discourse.
Delivered to the Society Feb. 15, 1787.

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 Assyrian river from Iran, 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 Kolzem: 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,
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 allwawwa 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 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
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 Maskat 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 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 majestic race should be as little known in detail
detail before the time of Dhu Yessen, as that of the Hindus before Vieramuditya; for, although the vast historical work of Alnuawaiṭ and the Murājuldbahab, or Golden Meadows, of Alama-
fiḍāt, contain chapters on the kings of Hinyan, 
Ghafan, and Hirah, with lists of them and 
sketches of their several reigns, and although gene-
alogical 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 con-
tradictions 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 re-
main 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 re-
volution at the beginning of the seventh cen-
tury, 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 lan-
guage, we are principally indebted to the uni-
versity
versity 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 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 Maidoni, 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 Schultens translated and explained, though he sent abroad but few of them, and has left his worthy grandson, from whom, perhaps, Maidoni 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 Ibn Arabshah, and shall make himself complete master of that sublime work, will under-
And 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 phrasés; 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, 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 (zamerdah for instance, which occurs in the Hamisah), 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 bilateral, so that
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 Suruj, the plural of Siraj, meaning both a lamp and the sun, the Sanscrit name of which is, in Bengal, pronounced Sirja; 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
mind such an ocean of words as their sacred lan-
guage 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 Asia, can read without
study an hundred couplets together in any col-
lection of ancient Arabian poems; and we are
told, that the great author of the Khamas 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 gram-
marians, and from books, of the highest re-
putation. It is by approximation alone, that a
knowledge of these two venerable languages
can be acquired; and, with moderate attention,
ought of them both may be known, to de-
light 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 coun-
try 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 com-
positions of Arabia were written, we know but
little; except that the Koran originally ap-
peared in those of Cufah, 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 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 Nagari, 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 Arabia, a people named Aribus or Arabes, and another called Sabae, is indeed remarkable, and may hereafter furnish me with observations of some importance, but not at all inconsistent with my present ideas.

II. Ir.
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 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 Ebar, 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 be-
tween 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 Nisen, or, as the Chinese call it, Japuen, 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, or wise, 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
have been general in that country; and we may safely pronounce, that before the Mohammedan revolution, the noble and learned Arabs were Thiefs, 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 Mohammed: 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 Almállakát, 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
counts 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 correct 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 Hadramut 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 decyphered 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 Khalsaab 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 Kuraißh; so that if the Arabian writers were much addicted to literary impositions, 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 Thamud 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 alkhams, in five parts, by which arrangement he defeated the troops of Himyar in an expedition against Sanád.

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
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The Căbab, or quadrangular edifice at Meccah, 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 Ismaiel, or one of his immediate descendants; but whether it was built as a place of divine worship, as a fortresse, 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 Reldand to have been the mansion of some antient Patriarch, and rever'd 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 infests, that the true name of Meccah is Măbeadah, or the Temple of the Moon; but, although we may smile at his etymology, we cannot but think it probable that the Căbab was originally designed for religious purposes. Three couplets are cited in an Arabick History of this building, which, from their extreme simplicity, have least appearance of imposture than other verses of the
same kind: they are ascribed to Asad, a Tobbá, 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 Ismailites with accuracy beyond the time of Adnan, from whom the imposter 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 univer-
verbal tradition of Yemen is, that Yorstan, 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 Ayodhyā, or Audh, as far as the isle of Sinbal or Sīlān. 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 Abulfeda, 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 difficult the royal poet acquired the surname of Almādīferpec 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

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words from the idiom of Hejaz. 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 Hejaz 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 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 Hamásfah, the Divan of Hudhail, and the valuable work of Obaidullah, than by turning over a hundred volumes.
volumes in prose, unless indeed those poems are cited by the historians as their authorities.

IV. The manners of the *Hejābi* Arabs, which have continued we know from the time of Solomon to the present age, were 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 Korān, 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 *Ravwism*, but suppose that they were collections of their common or customary law.
Writing was so little 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 proficiency 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 mullick, 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,
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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 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 surprised 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 Taxis, 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 Afsatich manners, and singularly impartial, represents the Arabs, even in
in the age of Feridun, as ‘disclaiming any
kind of dependance on that monarch, ex-
ulting in their liberty, delighting in elo-
quence, acts of liberality, and martial at-
chievements; 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 Alex-
ander had invaded their dominions, they
would, unquestionably, have made an obstinate,
and probably a successful, resistance.

But I have detained you too long, Gentle-
men, with a nation who have ever been my fa-
vourites, 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 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 ex-
pectations too high, they will not, I believe,
be disappointed; my own imperfect essays I
always except; but, though my other en-
gagements 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,
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.
DISCUSSION V.

ON THE

TARTARS.

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

At the close of my last address to you, Gentlemen, I declared my design of introducing to your notice a people of Asia, who appeared 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 Asiatic 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
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.

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 Ob by 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 Jaiban 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 Tesfo; 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
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 incrusted 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 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 Bokhara; on those of Tibet are the territories of
of Castughar, Khotun, Chegill, and Khátâ; 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 Khátâ, 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 Tangût, 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 country now under our consideration have ever distinguished themselves. Tūhiristan is, indeed, a word used by the Per-

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fians for the south-western part of Scythia, where the musk-deer is said to be common; and the name Tatar is by some considered as that of a particular tribe; by others, as that of a small river only; while Thràn, as opposed to Iran, seems to mean the ancient dominion of Afrîstâb 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 wonderfully 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
lightened by sciences brought from the most northern parts of Scythia, particularly from the banks of the Jénisea, 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 indeed necessary to render even tolerable a system which places an earthly paradise, the gardens of Hesperus, the islands of the Macares, the groves of Elysium if not of Eden, the heaven of India, the Persis, or fairy-land, of the Persian poets, with its city of diamonds and its country of Shudcâm, 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. Bailey 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 indubitably 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 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:
course: 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 Tai'mu'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,
left, are long subsequent to the time of Muhammed; nor is it possible to distinguish their genuine traditions from those of the Arabs, whose religious opinions they have in general adopted. At the beginning of the fourteenth century, Khwājah, surnamed Fad'lu'llah, a native of Kāzwīn, compiled his account of the Tartars and Mongals from the papers of one Pu'la'd, whom the great-grandson of Holacu had sent into Tatārijlān 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 Rashi'd, and from other materials, Abū'lgha'zī, King of Khwārzum, composed in the Mogul language his Genealogical History, which having been purchased from a merchant at Bokhārā 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 Korān, and proceeds to rank Turc, Chi'n,
Chi'n, Tartar, and Mongal, among the sons of Ya'fet. The genuine traditional history of the Tartars, in all the books that I have inspected, seems to begin with Oghuz, as that of the Hindus does with Ra'ma: they place their miraculous Hero and Patriarch four thousand years before Chengiz Khân, 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 Oghuz, and Atlas from Altai, or the Golden Mountain 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 Visde-lou, 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 Hyphumans, or Huns, began his reign, according to Visconti, 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 Hindus 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 Turcs 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 best authors inform us, able to write his dispatches; and Tai'mu's, 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 Dilberjín, which were used in Khütá.
Khátâ: "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 Khátâ 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 Dhanâgâri. The learned and eloquent Arab adds, "that the Tatârs of Khátâ write in the Dilberjin letters all their tales and histories; their journals, poems, and miscellaneous; their diplomas, records of state and justice, the laws of Chengiz, their public registers, and their compositions of every species." If this be true, the people of Khátâ 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 Ibnû Arabsha’âh 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 Jaghataâ, the people of Olgûr, as he calls them, have a
system of fourteen letters only, denominated from themselves Oighurs; and those are the characters which the Mongols are supposed, by some authors, to have borrowed. Abulghazi tells us only, that Chengiz employed the natives of Eighur as excellent 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 Tibetan, 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 Firdous; 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 Cu'sick; and the fine manuscript at Oxford, from which it was taken, is more probably a Mendeian work on some religious
licious 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'lgha'zi. What those dialects are, and whether they really sprang from a common stock, we shall probably learn from 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 Tartaristan; and we may collect from Abulghazri, 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 Abulghazri, that the Virats 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 Gotbick tree. The dialect of the Moguls, in which some histories of Taimur and his descendants were originally composed, is called in India, where a learned native set me right when I used another word, Ture; not that it is precisely the same with the Turkish of the Otomans, but the two idioms differ, perhaps,
less than Swedish and German, or Spanish and Portuguese, 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 gracefulfezs 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 Oghuzian 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 overlets 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, 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 Bahar, 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
turn 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 warriour 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 tygres as we now find in Bengal had formerly littered in the Siberian 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'loha'zi', that the primitive religion of human creatures, or the pure adoration of One Creator, prevailed in Tartary during the first generations from Ya'fret, but was extinct before the birth of Oghuz, who restored it in his dominions; that, some ages after him, the Mongals and the Tures 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 contrefled the evidence of their Prophet's legation. From old Grecian authorities we learn, that the Mussageteæ 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 Irissb, 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
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 relics of their deceased ancestors; now all this may be very true, without 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 Turemans, described by Ibn Arabsha'h, and by him called Tathars, are like most Arabian tribes, pastoral and war-like, 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 Brâhmans insist, that he was born in a forest near Gayâ; and many reasons may lead us to suspect, that his religion was carried from the west 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
ritual introduced by Zera tusht, a native of Rai in Persia, born in the reign of Gusht asf, whose son Pashuten is believed by the Persi'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.

Or any philosophy, except natural ethics, which the rudest society requires and experience reaches, 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 his country was in regard to manners and civil
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 Dabistan, 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 Guignes 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, heroic 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 Zamoëtis, 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 Yúsac, has
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 Taimur; 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 Avatars, 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 Bahar and at Benaras; 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 Majuj, 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 Semishid. It is related, that pyramids and tombs have been found in Tataristan, or Western Scythia, and some remnants of edifices in the lake Saifan; that vestiges of a deserted city have been recently discovered by the Russians near the Caffian sea, and the Mountain of Eagles; and that golden ornaments and utensils, figures of elks 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 Ishides; whence M. Bailly infers, with great reason, the high antiquity of that people: but the high antiquity of the Tartars, and 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 Eigbûr. 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 Eigbûris 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 Eigbûris, who are said to have been governed for a period of two thousand years by an I'decût, 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, Turcs, Mangals, and other savages to the north of Pekin, who seem in all ages, before Muhammad, 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 unlike Hebrew, was probably a Tibetan composition of the same kind with that which lay near the source of the Turkish, and of which Cossiano, 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 Mongols, 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 Manchew.
chou 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 Turuc, translated by Major Davy, was never written by Taimur himself, at least not as Caesar wrote his Commentaries, for one very plain reason. That no Tartarian king of his age could write at all; and in support of my opinion I had cited Ibn 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 greatnefs 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
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 Musselman, whom we all know, and who has enough both of greatness and of learning to decide the question both impartially and satisfactorily: the Newzebed Mozuffer Jung informed me of his own accord, that no man of sense in Hindustan 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 Emir, 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 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 Taimur as the author
author of two works in Turkish; but the credit of his information is overtlet 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 Alshir, first minister of Taimour'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 Tusuc, which he designed to republish with considerable additions, a particular account written, unquestionably, by Taimour 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 Elbur, Caschgar, Khata, 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
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 Tanchit, which by some is annexed to Tibet, and even among its old inhabitants, the Seres, we have no certain accounts of uncommon talents or great improvements; they were famed, indeed, for the faithful discharge of moral duties, for a pacific 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'llah 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 wagons drawn by their cattle from station to station; they were dextrous archers, excellent horsemen, bold comba-
tants, 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, manners, 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
ceed 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 Persians,

Being the Sixth Anniversary Discourse delivered to the Society Feb. 19, 1789.

Gentlemen,

I turn with delight from the vast mountains and barren deserts of Turan, 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 Iran,
Iran, as it is correctly denominated by the present natives of it, and by all the learned Muselmans who reside in those 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 Forot) 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 Cashgar, we discover its fountains and those of the Jaibun, down which we are conducted to the Caspian, which formerly perhaps it entered, though it lose itself now in the sands and lakes of Khwarezm: 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 the 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;
Empire; for we know that it was under the
dominion of Caikhousrau; and Diodorus,
we, find, affirms, that the kingdom of Troas
was dependent on Assyria, since Priam im-
plored and obtained succours from his Emperor
Teutames, whose name approaches nearer to
Taehmu'ras, than to that of any other Assyrian
Monarch. Thus may we look on Iran as the
noblest island (for so the Greeks and the 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 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

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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 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 majestic 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 Asiaticks, 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 Cambaksh, or Grantheg Desires, a title rather than a name; and Xerxes from Sh'ru'y, a Prince and Warrior in the Shâhnamâb, or from Sh'irsha'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 Iran 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
ture of Iran, 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 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 rustic traditions and fables, which furnished materials for the Shahnimah, and which are still supposed to exist in the Pahlavi language. The annals of the Pishdadi or Assyrian race must be considered as dark and fabulous; and those of the Cayani family, or the Medes and Persians, as heroic and poetical; though the lunar eclipses, said to be mentioned by Ptolemy, fix the time of Gushtasp, the Prince by whom Zera'tusht was protected. Of the Parthian Kings descended from Arshac or
or Arsaces, we know little more than the names; but the Sāsānids 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 Assyrian 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 Assyrian; 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 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 Irān 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 Moselmans and Gabrs, I had allowed the utmost natural duration to the reigns of eleven Pishdād Kams, without being able to add more than a hundred years to Newton's computation. It seems, indeed, unaccountably strange, that, although Abraham had found a regular monarchy in Egypt; although the

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kingdom
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 Mr. Muhammad Husain, one of the most intelligent Mussulmans in India, has at once dissipated the cloud, and cast a gleam of light on the primeval history of Iran, 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 Dabistan, and composed by a Mohammedan traveller, a native of Cashmir, named Mohsan, but distinguished by the assumed surname of Fai'n', or Perishable, begins with a wonderfully curious chapter on the religion of Hu'khang, 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 Iran, before the accession of Cayumers; that it was called the Mahabadian dynasty, for a reason which will soon be mentioned; and that many Princes, of whom seven or eight only are named in The Dabistan, and among them Mahbul, or Maha Bell, had raised their Empire to the zenith of human glory. If we can rely on this evidence, which to me appears unexceptionable, the Iranian 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 Iran 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 Irân, 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 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 judgement; 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 Anu'shi'rava'n, 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 Irân; that of the Court, thence named Derî, which was only a refined and elegant dialect of the Pârî, so called from the province of which Shirâz is now the capital; and that of the Learned, in which most books
books were composed, and which had the name of Pahlavi, either from the Heroes who spake 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 Pazend, or Comment on that work, was composed in Pahlavi, as a more popular idiom; but a learned follower of Zeratusht, 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, Avesta, as the words of the Vedas are Sanscrit, and the characters, Nagare; or as the old Saga’s and poems of Iceland were expressed in Runick letters. Let us however, in compliance with custom, give the name of Zend to the sacred language of Persia, until we can
can find, as we shall very soon, a fitter appellation for it. The Zend and the old Pahlavi are almost extinct in Iran; for among six or seven thousand Gabrs who reside chiefly at Yezd, and in Cirmán there are very few who can read Pahlavi, and scarce any who even boast of knowing the Zend; while the Parsi, which remains almost pure in the Sháhnámah, 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 Parsi nouns are pure Sanscrit, with no other change than such as may be observed in the numerous Chosha'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
clear analogy. We may hence conclude, that the Pārsī was derived, like the various Indian dialects, from the language of the Brāhmans; 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 Bahram, 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 Pārsī sprang from an Indian, and not from an Arabian flock. Considering languages as mere instruments of knowledge, and having strong reason to doubt the existence of genuine books in The Zend or Pahlavi (especially since the well-informed author of The Dabistan 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 Sanskrit, and the Pahlavi to Arabick. He had at my
my request translated into Pahlavi the fine inscription, exhibited in the Gulistan, on the diadem of Cyrus; and I had the patience to read the list of words from the Parsend, in the Appendix to the Farhangi Jelangi. This examination gave me perfect conviction, that the Pahlavi was a dialect of the Chaldaick; and of this curious fact I will exhibit a short proof.

By the nature of the Chaldean tongue most words ended in the first long vowel like θεονια, Heaven; and that very word, unaltered in a single letter, we find in the Parsend, together with laitā, night, meydā, water, nirā, fire, mārū, 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 zamānīten, to sing, with its forms zamānīnemi, I sing, and zamānīnād, 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 verbs engrafted on modern Persian; and this distinction convinces me, that the dialect of the Gabrs, which they pretend to be that of Zerrusht, and of which Bahman gave me a variety of written specimens, is a late
invention of their Priests, or subsequent at least to the Musselman 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 Yezd, yet as the conquerors had not only a spiritual but a political interest in persecuting a warlike, robust, and indigant race of irreconcileable conquered subjects, a long time must have elapsed before the hidden scriptures could have been fairly 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, 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 Gubrs 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 word for sword, a rose; jaba for dhahab, gold, or deman for zaman, time, we may allow it to have been ancient Pahlavi;
Pahlavi; 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 Zarathustra, and who would have acquired a brilliant reputation in France, if he had not fulfilled it by his immoderate vanity and virulence of temper, which alienated the goodwill even of his own countrymen, has exhibited in his work, entitled Zendoversia, two vocabularies in Zend and Pahlavi, which he had found in an approved collection of Rawhyat, or Traditional Pieces, in modern Persian. Of his Pahlavi no more need 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 surprised to find, that six or seven words in ten were pure Sanscrit, and even some of their inflexions
flexions formed by the rules of the Vyācaran; as yuṣmācānum, the genitive plural of yuṣmād. Now M. Anquetil most certainly, and 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 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 Prācrit, 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 Parsi and Zend were deduced from them respectively; and the Parsi either from the Zend, or immediately from the dialect of the Brāhmans: but all had, perhaps, a mixture of Tartarian; for the best lexicographers affirm, that numberless words in ancient Persian are taken from the language of the Cimmerians, or the Tartars of Ripshak: so that the three families, whose lineage we have examined in former Discourses, had left visible traces of themselves in Iran, long before the Tartars and Arabs had rushed from their deserts, and returned
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.

I 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 exotic animals, commodities, or arts, 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 Iran, we should find in the very ancient ruins of the temple or palace now called the Throne of Jereshi'd, some inscriptions in Devanâgarî, or at least in the characters on the stones at Elephantæ, where the sculpture is unquestionably Indian, or in those on the Staff of Furuz Shâ'h, 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 Brabmans from Iran, and the
the violent schism in the Persian religion, of which we shall presently speak: for, although the popular name of the building at Ishakhr, or Persepolis, be no certain proof that it was raised in the time of Jemshi'd, 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 Shandmah to believe, that the sculptures related to the new faith introduced by Zera'tusht; but as a cypress is a beautiful ornament, and as many of the figures appear inconsistent with the re-formed adoration of fire, we must have recourse to stronger proofs, that the Takhti Jemshi'd was erected after Cahu'mers. 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 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 Nizamii 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 Isfahan, 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 Wakan, 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 Gabris in their copies of the Vendidad. 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 bear 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 Cufick and Nigard in several Arabian and Indian monuments. He wondered, that any man could seriously doubt the antiquity of the Pahlavi letters; and, in truth, the inscription behind the horse of Rustam, which Niebuhr has
has also given us, is apparently Pahlavi, 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 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 Zera'tush, or his disciples, into an elegant and perspicuous character, in which the Zendveshla 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 anyone may perceive by copying in that character a few pages of the Shâhânamah.
As to the unknown inscriptions in the palace of 
Jemshi'd, 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 
bé 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 
Runic 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 
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 lan-
guage were certainly known; but in all the 
other inscriptions of the same sort, the char-
acters 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 Nagati system, which has more distinct 
letters,
letters than any known alphabet, consists only of forty-nine simple characters, two of which are mere substitutions, and four of little use in Sanscrit, 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 Ifakkhr: 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 Devanagari, before the latter were enclosed, as we now see them, in angular frames.

II. The primeval religion of Iran, if we rely on the authorities adduced by Mohsanifangi, 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 tenderness 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 Dädistan*, that the popular worship of the *Iranis*, under *Hushang*, was purely *Sabian*; a word of which I cannot offer any certain etymology, but which has been deduced by grammarians from *Sabā*, 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 preferred festivals, one of which is probably represented by sculpture in the ruined city of *Jemshid*. 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 profess the faith of *Hushang*, distinguished from that of *Zerrātushth*, the first monarch of *Iran* and of the whole earth was *Mahâbâd*, a word apparently Sanskrit, 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
primary classes of the Hindus. They added, that he received from the Creator, and promul-
gated among men, a sacred book in a heavenly lan-
guage, to which the Muselman author gives the
Arabick title of Desa'tir, or Regulations, but the
original name of which he has not mentioned;
and that fourteen Mahabads had appeared or
would appear in human shapes for the govern-
ment of this world. Now when we know that
the Hindus believe in fourteen Menu's, or ce-
lestial personages with similar functions, the
first of whom left a book of regulations, or divine
ordinances, which they hold equal to the Veda,
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 re-
ligion was the system of Indian theology in-
vented by the Brabmans, and prevalent in those
territories where the book of Mahabad, or
Menu, is at this hour the standard of all religious
and moral duties. The accession of Cyrus 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 pro-
bably of a different race from the Mahabadians,
who preceded him, and began perhaps the new
system of national faith which Hushang, 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 Mahābaraḍ with a superstitious veneration for the sun, the planets, and fire; thus resembling the Hindu sects called Sauras and Sāgnicas; the second of which is very numerous at Bānares, where many agni-
boitras are continually blazing; and where the Sāgnicas, when they enter on their sacerdotal office, kindle, with two pieces of the hard wood Sami, a fire which they keep lighted through their lives for their nuptial ceremony, the performance of solemn sacrifices, the obse-
quies of departed ancestors, and their own fu-
neral pile. This remarkable rite was con-
tinued by Zeratūsht; who reformed the old religion by the addition of genii, or angels, pre-
siding over months and days; of new ceremo-
nies in the veneration shewn to fire; of a new work which he pretended to have received from heaven; and, above all, by establishing the ac-
tual adoration of One Supreme Being. He was born, according to Mohsan, in the district of 
Raj; and it was he, not, as Ammianus asserts, his protector Gushtasp, who travelled into 
India, that he might receive information from the Brāhmans in theology and ethicks. It is 
barely possible that Pythagoras knew him in the capital of Irak; but the Grecian sage must then
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 *Zeravâsh* 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 *Firdawsi* 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 *floury*, *Sadi*, near the close of his beautiful *Bâstân*, concerning the idol of *So'mana't'h*, or *Maha'devâ*, confounds the religion of the *Hindus* with that of the *Gabrs*, calling the *Brâhmans* not only *Moghs* (which might be justified by a passage in the *Mešnâvî*), but even readers
readers of the Zend and Pazend. Now, whether this confusion proceeded 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 Brâhmans, with whom we converse every day, prevailed in Persia before the accession of Caûmers, whom the Parsis, 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 Berossus, 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 Muselmans, who
sometimes avow it without reserve. The modern philosophers of this persuasion are called Sufis, 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 with the Eternal Spirit as the incumbrances of a mortal frame will allow; that, for this purpose, they should break all connection (or ta'lluk, as they call it) with extrinsic 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, whose fruit is hardly perceptible, and not link under a load like fruit-trees attached to a trellis; that if mere earthly charms have power to influence the soul, the idea of celestial 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
Love in a transcendent 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 Sults, which are mentioned in The Dabislan) is the wild and enthusiastic religion of the modern Persian poets, especially of the sweet Ha'fiz and the great Maulavi; such is the system of the Vedanti philosophers and best lyric 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 Hindo, and those at Persepolis, which are merely Sabian, if you concur with me in believing, that the Tahbi Jemshid was erected after the time of Cayumbers, when the Brabmans had migrated from Iran, and
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 Mani, 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 Iran long before the Assyrian, or Pishdadi, government; that it was in truth a Hindu monarchy, though if any chuse to call it Cusian, Casteen, or Seythian, 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 Ayidhya and Indraprastha;
presbya; that the language of the first Persian empire was the mother of the Sanscrit, and consequently of the Zend and Parsi, as well as of Greek, Latin, and Gothic; that the language of the Assyrians was the parent of Chaldaick and Pahlavi; and that the 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 Iran 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 Iran, which is bounded by Arabia, by Tartary, and by India; whilst Arabia lies contiguous to Iran 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 Brahmans could never have migrated from India to Iran, because they are expressly forbidden by their oldest existing laws to leave the region which they inhabit at this day; the

Arabs
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 Assyrian family. The three races therefore, whom we have already mentioned (and more than three we have not yet found), migrated from Iran, 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 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 Iran, 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 Chinese.

Being the Seventh Anniversary Discourse delivered to the Society Feb. 25, 1790.

Gentlemen,

Although we are at this moment considerably nearer to the frontier of China than to the farthest limit of the British dominions in Hindustan, 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
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, while the ocean separates its other sides from various Asiatick islands 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 Nisfon 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 Visdelou, 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 Chūm-kuì, or the Central Kingdom, representing it in their symbolic characters by a parallelogram exactly bisected: at other times they distinguish it by the words Tien-hia, or What is under Heaven, 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
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 fleeces of Imaus: and a fourth, at least as dogmatically pronounced as any of the preceding, is that of the Brahmins, who decide, without allowing any appeal from their decision, that the Chinese (for
(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, ex-
cept in dress and complexion. The next opinion is more connected with that of the Brahmins 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 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 he, 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 threw 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 aban-
don the ordinances of the Veda, and the company of Brâhmans, lived in a state of degradation; as the people of Pundraca and Odra, those of Dravira and Cam-
bhâja, the Turavanus and Sacas, the Phradas and Pulavanas, the Chinas and some other nations." A full comment on this text would here be superfluous; but since the testi-
mimony of the Indian author, who, though certainly not a divine personage, was as cer-
tainly a very ancient lawyer, moralist, and his-
torian, 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 Chinas of Menu settled in a fine country to the north-east of Gaur, and to the east of Câmarup and Népâl; 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 Siya himself; and entitled Sativangama: he read to me a whole chapter of it on the heterodox opinions of the China, 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 Casmir, his own country, he instantly placed his finger on the north-western provinces of China, where the China, he said, first established themselves; but he added, that Mahésina, 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 Calidasa were composed before the beginning of our era: now it is clear from internal and external evidence, that the Ramáyana and Mahábhrat were considerably older than the productions of that poet; and it appears from the style and metre of the Dberma Sústra, revealed by Menu, that it was reduced to writing long before the age of Válmic or Vyasa, the second of whom names it with applause;
applause: we shall not, therefore, be thought extravagant, if we place the compiler of those laws between a thousand and 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 Confu-ts'su 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 Xu'vam was in the infancy of their Empire, which
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 eighth century before the birth of Our Saviour, that a small kingdom was erected in the province of Shen-si, 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 Chin, and the dominion of its princes was gradually extended to the east and west. A king of Chin, who makes a figure in the Shâhnâmâ among the allies of Afrâsiyâb, was, I presume, a sovereign of the country just mentioned; and the river of Chin, 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 Mangkhân died in the middle of the thirteenth century, before the city of Chin, which was afterwards taken by Kublai; and that the poets of Iran perpetually allude to the districts around it which they celebrate, with Chegîl and Khos-
ten, for a number of musk-animals roving on their hills. The territory of Chin, 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 mis-call 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 Chinas 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 ancient 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
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 Asiatics) to have no idea. Instead, therefore, of enlarging separately on each of those heads, I shall briefly enquire, 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 Brahmans: 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
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 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 Chinar, 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
there were two sets of alphabetical characters; the one popular, like the various letters used in our Indian provinces; and the other sacrificial, like the Devanagari, especially that form of it which we see in the Vedas; besides which, they had two sorts of sacred sculpture; the one simple, like the figures of Buddha and the three Rama; and the other allegorical, like the images of Ganesa, 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 Guignes, that the complicated symbols of China were at first no more than Phenician 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 our 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
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 Mayā, 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 Move, and divided his epithet Amita into three syllables O-mi-to, annexing to them certain ideas of their 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
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 Fox of China; but the great progenitor of the Chinese is also named by them Fo-hi, where the second monosyllable signifies, it seems, a Vīśāṅ; now the ancestor of that military tribe whom the Hindus call the Chandravansa, 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 Yayāṭī sent in exile to the east of Hindustān, 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 Tirco, like the Indian king Yayāṭī, 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
ritory of Chin, 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 Premare, in 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'î, or Star of the Year. Now, in the mythological system of the Hindas, 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 Cumudanayaca, 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'ya or Saumya. It is true, that the learned Missionary explains the word Su'î 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 Il'a', whose
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 Moslem 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 dubiously; 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 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 low-lands 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
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 fabric of the visible world. From this belief they deduced a system of Ethics, which the philosopher sums up in a few words at the close of the Lûn-yû: "He," says Confucius, "who shall be fully persuaded, that the Lord of Heaven governs the Universe, who shall in all things shew 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 of the human race." But such a religion and such morality could never have been
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 these deities they offered victims on high places; and the following passage from the Shi-nin, or Book of Odes, is very much in the style of the Brâhmans: "Even they who perform a sacrifice with due reverence cannot perfectly assure themselves, that the divine spirits accept their oblations; and far less can they who adore the Gods with languor and oficinity clearly perceive their sacred illacies."

These are imperfect traces indeed, but they are traces of an affinity between the religion of Mênü and that of the Chinas, 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 Sâdâtha of the Hindus; and M. Bailly, after a learned investigation, concludes
concludes, that "even the puerile and absurd " stories of the Chinese fabulists contain a rem-" nant of ancient Indian history, with a faint " sketch of the first Hindu ages."

As the Baudhbas, indeed, were Hindus, it may naturally be imagined, that they carried into China many ceremonies practised in their own country; but the Baudhbas positively for-" bad the immolation of cattle; yet we know, " that various animals, even bulls and men, were "anciently sacrificed by the Chinese; besides "which we discover many singular marks of rel-" ation 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 num-"ber nine; in many similar facts and great "festivals, especially at the solstices and equi-"noxes; in the just mentioned obsequies, con-"sisting of rice and fruits, offered to the manes "of their ancestors; in the dread of dying child-"less, left 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 Brah-"man to trade, if he cannot otherwise support "life, absolutely forbids "his trafficking 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 as can possibly be obtained without a perfect acquaintance with the Chinese characters.

Kempfer has taken from M. Titysingh 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
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. Tittsingh 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
ON THE CHINESE.

adopted the whole system of Chinese literature with all its inconveniences and intricacies, if an immemorial connexion 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 Sācyā 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 Goddess with many arms, representing the powers of nature, in Egypt named Isis, and here Isā'nts' or Ist', whose image, as it is exhibited by the German traveller, all the Brahmans 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
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 clafs, and advanced farther eastward than the Chinese, have, like them, insensibly changed their features and characters by intermarriages with various Tartarian tribes, whom they found loosely scattered over their 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, Chineses 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
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.

Hinzuan (a name which has been gradually corrupted into Anzuan, 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 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 Hinsuan, 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,

*Lat. 12° 10'. 47° S. Long. 44° 25'. 5° E. by the Master,
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 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 English more accurately than could have been expected.

The next morning shewed us the island in all its beauty; and the scenery 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, writ-
ten 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 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
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 Matsamado lay on our left, remarkable at a distance for the tower of the principal Mosque, which was built by Hal'mah, a Queen of the island, from whom the present King is descended: a little on our right was a small town, called Bantani. Neither the territory of Nice, with its olives, date-trees, and cypresses, nor the isles of Hires, with their delightful orange-groves, appeared so charming to me as the view from the road of Himzian; 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, publick and private, and for the acquisition even of necessary know-
ledge
ledge in any degree of perfection, with how much pleasure and improvement might a great 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 dispersed, 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 hoarded; 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
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
but had defined the book and the robe for his superior. No high opinion could be formed of SAVYAD 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 Hinodan 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 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
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 Domini, has a very different character, being esteemed a man of worth, good sense, and learning; he had come the day before to Matsumido, 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 Musli'm, who spoke Arabick indifferently,
differently, 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 Harasab 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-glasses, 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 Domon, 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 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 Madr, stayed 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 Hinzian. 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 generally
nerally known, and since the title of Alau'ldin, or Eminence in Faith, might have offended his superiors, I thought it advisable 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 Ramadán, the Mohammedan Lent, and he was engaged in his devotions, or made them his excuse; but his eldest son fat by us, while we dined, together with Mu'sa, 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 ñinñà, of which I had read so much in Arabian poems, and which European botanists have ridiculously named Lawsonia. Mu'sa 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 ñinñà, or the same differently
differently prepared, might have produced that effect. The old men in Arabia used the famed ye to conceal their gray hair, while their daughters were dyeing their lips and gums black, to let 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 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 checks 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 osquitos;
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-feat, where our entertainment was closed by a sillabub, which the English had taught the Musselmans 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 pleasant excursion to Domoni, but we were happily disappointed. The servants at the Prince's door told us coolly, 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 Hambullah; the situation was naturally good but wild and desolate; and in Sa'lim's garden,
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 Matsamado to at our curry with Ban'a 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 Sayyad Ahmed only a morning visit. He sung a hymn or two in Arabic, and accompanied his drawling though pathetic psalmody with a kind of
of mandoline, which he touched with an awkward quill: the instrument was very imperfect, but seemed to give him delight. The names of the strings were written on it in Arabian or Indian figures, simple and compounded; but I could not think them worth copying. He gave Captain Williamson, 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 Mombasa, 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 Sa'lim, whose character I had not then discovered. I resolved for that purpose to stay on shore alone, our dinner with Ginet 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 chanted 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 expense of good-breeding, directed my attention to a passage in a Commentary on the Koran, 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!" Altho' 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,
them. "The commentator," said I, "was much to blame for passing so indiscriminately and hastily 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 *Apostles* 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 distinguished 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 themselves condemnable for cavilling at words, when they cannot object to the substance of our faith consistently with their own." The *Musselmans* had nothing to say in reply; and the conversation was changed.

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

I was
I was astonished at the questions which Al... put to me concerning the late peace and the independence of America; the several powers and resources of Britain and France, Spain and Holland; the character and supposed views of the Emperor; the comparative strength of the Russian, Imperial, and Ottoman armies, and their respective modes of bringing their forces to action. I answered him without reserve, except on the state of our possessions in India; nor were my answers loitered for; for I observed that all the company were variously affected 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 government and commerce of his island: "his country," 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," said he, "we purchase muskets, powder, balls, cutlasses, knives,"
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 Comora, 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
many captives, whom, if they could not sell,
they would certainly kill. Individuals among
them are in extreme poverty, and have num-
bers of children, who, if they cannot be dis-
posed of, must perish through hunger, toge-
ther with their miserable parents. By purchas-
ing these wretches we preserve their lives,
and, perhaps, those of many others, whom
our money relieves. The sum of the argu-
ment 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 fallacioufly draw a ge-
neral conclusion from a few particular in-
stances; and this is the very fallacy which,
on a thousand other occasions, deludes man-
kind. It is not to be doubted that a constant
and gainful traffic in human creatures foments
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 effe:-
The same traffic encourages laziness in some
parents, who might in general support their
families by proper industry, and seduces
others to stifle their natural feelings. At most,
your redemption of those unhappy children
can amount only to a personal contract, im-
plied between you, for gratitude and reason-
able
able service on their part—for kindness 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 Koran, and pillars of your Faith?" "The law," said he, forbids our selling them, when they are believers in the Prophet; and little children only are sold, nor they often, or by all matters." "You who believe in Muhammad," 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 neglect so important a duty for Fordid 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 Muftis assented, and muttered a few 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 Domoni 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 S year
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 impreca- tions." 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 to trade in any country, and none of us think of trading in Hindoos, where we stop only for refreshment. The clothes, arms, or instruments which
which you may want are commonly
necessary or convenient to us; but if Say-
Yad Alwi' or his sons were to be strangers
in our country, you should have no reason to
boast of superior hospitality." He then shewed
me a second time a part of an old silk vest, with
the star of the Order of the Thistle, and begged
me to explain the motto; expressing a wish that
the Order might be conferred on him by the
King of England in return for his good offices
to the English. I represented to him the im-
possibility of his being gratified, and took occa-
sion 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 Government.

This conversation being agreeable to neither
of us, I changed it by desiring that the palan-
quins and bearers might be ready next morning
as early as possible: he answered, that his pa-
lanquins 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

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he would compel to leave their cottages and toil for his profit. "Can you imagine, 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 diligence and good behaviour; and it becomes neither your dignity nor ours to make a previous bargain." I shewed him an elegant copy of the Korán, which I defined 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 occasion, in the course of the day, to observe the manners of the natives in the middle rank, who are called Ba'NAS, and all of whom have slaves constantly at work for them. We visited the mother of Comboma de, who seemed in a station but little 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 articles of trade to Hinzuan; and in the afternoon I met another who had come from Muskat (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 Zohair 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,
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 Domoni with my own servants and a guide.

"Shaikh Sa'im," 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'im, but returned without the change, alleging 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 Arabic; 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 Hinzuân. 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 nuts 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 Matsamudo lies the town of Wonâ, where Shaikh Abdullah, who has already been mentioned, usually resides.
faw 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 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 rich 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
ted 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 Tumuniq. 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; 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 Hinzuin 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,
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 Mononi 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
on the same plan with the best houses at Mat-
jamido. 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 Tumu'ni, than whom a reader or
more accurate interpreter could not have been
found. I presented the King with a very hand-
some Indian dress of blue silk with golden
flowers, which had been worn only at one mas-
quarade, and with a beautiful copy of the
Kora'n, 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 dif-
guise, and had heard of me from his son
Shaik Hamdullah." I gave him an ac-
count of my journey, and extolled the beauties
of his country; he put many questions con-
cerning 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 broad-sword?"
"I was a man," I said, "before I was a ma-
"gistrate;
"gift; and if it should ever happen that law
"could not protect me, I must protect my-
"self." He seemed about sixty years old, had
a very cheerful countenance, and a great appear-
ance of good nature, mixed with a certain digni-
ty 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 re-
freshment." Soon after his servants brought
a roast fowl, a rice pudding, and some other
dishes, with papayas and very good pomegra-
nates; 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 inex-
pressibly 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 rakid," or, "he is sleeping:" there
was an immediate silence, and I passed the night
with little disturbance except from the unwel-
come
come songs of the musquitos. In the morn-
ing 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 coun-
tenance, 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 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 Korâ'ın in very legible characters:
about fifty of his subjects were seated on the
ground in a semicircle before him, and my inter-
preter 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'lin, which he had
heard from Tumu'ni, who told me afterwards
he was much displeased with it, and would
not fail to express his displeasure; he con-
cluded with a long harangue on the advantages
which the English might derive from sending a
ship
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 seemed very sincere in pressing me to lengthen my visit, but had too much Arabian politeness to be importunate. We therefore parted; and at the request of Tunun, who assured me that little time would be lost in shewing attention to one of the worthiest men in Tinsuan, 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,
Brilliant, which appeared to flow warm from the heart, and contained the strongest eulogies 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 Akbar." 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
lighted me the preceding day had not yet lost their charms, though they wanted the recommendation of novelty; but I must confess, that the most delightful 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 flippers, 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 Ramadan it was not lawful to "paint with bimna or to tell her," 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." Tumuuni took his leave, as well satisfied as myself with our excursion:
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 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 oftentimes pretenses 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 Mayata, which they still kept and garrisoned. The ordinary
ordinary expences of the government were de-
frayed 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 ex-
emption. The kingly authority, by the prin-
ciples 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 wander-
ing arab, who had settled in the island, had, by
his intrepidity in several wars, acquired the rank
of a chiefstain, and afterwards of a king, with
limited powers; and that he was the grand-
father of shaikh ahmed: I had been assured
that queen halimah was his grandmother;
and that he was the sixth king; but it must be
remarked, that the words jedd and jeddah in
arabic are used for a male and female ancestor
indefinitely; and, without a correct pedigree
of ahmed's family, which I expected to pro-
cure but was disappointed, it would scarce be
possible to ascertain the time when his fore-
father obtained the highest rank in the govern-
ment. In the year 1660, captain john davis,
who wrote an account of his voyage, found
mayatta governed by a king, and ansuame, or
himtan, by a queen, who shewed him great
marks
marks of friendship: he anchored before the town of Demos (does he mean Domini?) 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 Sultan's residence was in Hinzuon, but had a dominion paramount over all the isles, three of her sons governing Mobila in her name. If this be true, Sohail 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 Hinzuon ruled by a Sultan's; 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 administerd with advantage to the original inhabitants. We have lately heard of civil commotions in Hinzudn, 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 Hinzudn, which cannot answer a better purpose than that of supplying our fleets with reasonable 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 Hinzudn, 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,
piece, who had been hospitably received and liberally supported at Matsamudo, 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 menace, 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 the law of nature would have justified the magistrate in punishing with death, was reported to the king, who told the Governor (I use 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 expense, enabled them to build another vessel, in which they sailed to Hinsuan, and departed thence for Europe or India: he
showed 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, 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.
THE 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 glare,
glare, nor mistake enigmas and allegories for historical verity. Attached to no system, and as much disposed to reject the Mosaiick 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 Vedas, is a tract On Religious and Civil Duties, taken, as it is believed, from the oral instructions of Menu, 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
The bright half is their day for laborious exertions, the dark half their night for sleep. A year is a day and 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 respectively and in order. Four thousand years of the Gods they call the Creta (or Satya) age; and 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-mentioned age of the Gods, or twelve thousand of their years multiplied by seventy-one, form what is named here below a Mānavantarā. There are alternate creations and destructions of worlds through innumerable Mānavantarās: 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
from Heaven, and which they generally un-
derstand in a literal sense: it seems to have in-
trin fick 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 Mem-
bers, and which they will, I hope, communi-
cate to the Society. A conjecture, however,
of Mr. Paterson has so much ingenuity in it,
that I cannot forbear mentioning it here, espe-
cially as it seems to be confirmed by one of
the couplets just cited: he suppos es, that as a
month of mortals is a day and night of the Pa-
triarchs from the analogy of its bright and
dark halves, so, by the same analogy, a day
and night of mortals might have been con-
idered by the ancient 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 surmises, 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 forty 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 Manwan-taras, seventy-one divine ages, compound cycles,
cycles, and years of different sorts from those of Brahma to those of Pâdâla, or the infernal regions. If we follow the analogy suggested by Menu, 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 40th part of 25,920, and, by continuing the comparison, we might probably solve the whole enigma. In the preface to a Varânas almanack, I find the following flanza: "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 Su-
"preme 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 4,310,000, 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 Maragbah, 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 *Surya Siddhanta*. Now, as it is hardly possible that such coincidences should be accidental, we may hold it nearly
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 a Manvantara: but since fourteen multiplied by seventy-one are not quite a thousand, we must conclude, that six divine ages are allowed for intervals between the Manvantaras, 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 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
divine age of the seventh Manvantara; 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 Swa'yambhuva, 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 Sataru'pa' 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 Brahmans call Padmacalpiya, or the Lotos creation.

If it were worth while to calculate the age of Menu's Institutes according to the Brahmans, 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 Manvantara. 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 Vaivasvata, or Child of the Sun. He is supposed to have had ten sons, of whom the eldest was Ieshwa'cu, and to have been accom-
ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE HINDUS.

accompanied by seven Rishi's, or holy persons, whose names were, Casyapa, Atri, Vasishtha, Viswamitra, Gautama, Jamadagni, and Bharadwa'ja; an account which explains the opening of the fourth chapter of the Gita: "This immutable system of devotion," says Chishna, "I revealed to Vivasvat, or the Sun; Vivasvat declared it to his Son Menu; Menu explained it to Ishwarcu: thus the Chief Rishi's 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 Purana, or Sacred Poem, which consists of fourteen thousand stanzas; and the story is concisely, but clearly and elegantly told in the eighth book of the Bhagawata, from which I have extracted the whole, and translated it with great care, but will only present you here with an abridgement of it. "The demon Hayagriva having purloined the Vedas from the custody of Brahma, while he was reposing at the"
close of the sixth Manvantara, the whole race of men became corrupt, except the seven Rishis, and Satyavrata, who then reigned in Drevina, a maritime region to the south of Carnata: this Prince was performing his ablutions in the river Cretamolda, when Vishnu appeared to him in the shape of a small fish, and, after several augmentations 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 destroyed 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 disappeared; and after seven days the ocean began to overflow the coasts, and the earth to be flooded by constant showers, when Satyavrata, meditating on the Deity, saw a large vessel moving on the waters: he entered it, having in all respects conformed to the instructions of Vishnu, who, in the form of a vast fish, suffered the vessel to be tied
tied with a great sea serpent, as with a cable, to his measureless horn. When the deluge had ceased, Vishnu flew the demon and recovered the Veda's, instructed Satyavrata in divine knowledge, and appointed him the seventh Meno by the name of Vaiivaswata.

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 understood in a literal, or merely in an allegorical sense? The only points before us are, Whether the creation described by the first Meno, which the Brahmans call that of the Lotos, be not the same with that recorded in our Scripture; and whether the story of the seventh Meno 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 adim, which in Sanscrit means the first, or Meno 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 Meno's can mean any other persons than the great Progenitor, and the Restorer of our species.

On a supposition that Vaiivaswata, or Sun-born, was the Noah of Scripture, let us proceed to the Indian account of his posterity, which
which I extract from The Puránári' paprecáša, or The 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 Avatára'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 Avatára'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 Jayade'va, the great Lyric 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 victorious, 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 victorious, 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
antelope on the moon, O Csavana, assuming the form of a *bear*: Be victorious, O Heri, Lord of the Universe!

4. “The claw with a stupendous point, on the exquisite lotus of thy lion’s paw, is the black bee that stung the body of the embowelled Hiranayaka-ppu, O Csavana, 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 Ganga) springing from thy feet, O Csavana, assuming the form of a *dwarf*: Be victorious, O Heri, Lord of the Universe!

6. “Thou bathest in pure water, consisting of the blood of Cbstriya’s, the world, whose offences are removed, and who are relieved from the pain of other births, O Csavana, assuming the form of Parasu-Rama: 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 Csavana, assuming the form of Ra’ama Chandra: Be victorious, O Heri, Lord of the Universe!

8. “Thou wearest on thy bright body a mantle shining like a blue cloud, or like the water of Yamuna tripping towards thee through
through fear of thy furrowing plough- share,
O Ce'sava, assuming the form of Pala-
Ra'ma: Be victorious, O Heri, Lord of the
Universe!

9. "Thou blamest (oh, wonderful!) the
whole Vedas, 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 Un-
iverse!

10. For the destruction of all the impure,
thou drawest thy cimeter like a blazing com-
met (how tremendous!) O Ce'sava, as-
suming the body of Calci: Be victorious,
O Heri, Lord of the Universe!

These ten Avatara's are by some arranged
according to the thousands of divine years
in each of the four ages, or in an arithmetical pro-
portion from four to one, and if such an ar-
range ment were universally received, we should
be able to ascertain a very material point in the
Hindu chronology; I mean the birth of Bud-
ha, concerning which the different Pandits
whom I have consulted, and the same Pandits
at different times, have expressed a strange diver-
sity of opinion. They all agree that Calci is
yet to come, and that Buddha was the last con-
siderable incarnation of the Deity; but the
Astronomers at Varahas place him in the third
age, and Ra'dha'ca'nt insists, that he ap-
peared
peared after the thousandth year of the fourth: the learned and accurate author of the Dabistān, 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 Ghiyerdhana of Cashmir, who had once informed me, that Krishna descended two centuries before Buddha, assured me lately, that the Cashmirians admitted an interval of twenty-four years (others allow only twelve) between those two divine persons. The best authority, after all, is the Bṛdgavat itself, in the first chapter of which it is expressly declared, that "Buddha, the son of Jina, would appear at Cate, for the purpose of confounding the demons, just at the beginning of the Caliyyug." I have long been convinced, that, on these subjects, we can only reason satisfactorily from written evidence, and that our forensic rule must be invariably applied, to take the declarations of the Brahmanas 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 Rādha-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, composed by a learned Gôswâmi, and entitled Bhâgawatamrita, or The Neâvar of the Bhâga- vat, 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 Bud- dha in the text, the commentator says,

"Avas vyâchah calerabdasahasadwitya gâtê,
Murtih patalavâ'ya dwibhujâ chicurojhitâ.

"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."

Ccata, named in the text as the birth-place of Buddha, the Gôswâmi supposes to have been Dhermaranya, a wood near Gaya, 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 Brâhmanas 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 untlying
unrying 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 Cafoimirian, 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 Amuracosta, who was himself a Bauddha, and 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, Demigods, and Demons, all by general 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, Safter, Munandra, Virjayaca, Samantabhudra, Dharmatraja, 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, Sacyamuni, Sacya...
funa, Servâr'thsiddha, Saudhêdâni, Gautama, Arcabundhu, or Kinsum of the Sun, and Mâyâdevîsûta, or Child of Maya: thence the author passes to the different epithets of particular Hindu Deities. When I pointed out this curious passage to Ra'dha'câ'nt, 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 Brahmân, is an excellent scholar and a very sensible unprejudiced man, assured me, that Buddha was a generic word, like Dêva, and that the learned author, having exhibited the names of a Dêvât in general, proceeded to those of a Buddhâ in general, before he came to particulars: he added, that Budda might mean a Sage or a Philosopher, though Budda was the word commonly used for a mere wise man without supernatural powers.

It seems highly probable, on the whole, that the Buddhâ, whom Jaya'de'va celebrates in his Hymn, was the Sâcyasînba, or Lion of Sâ'cya, who, though he forbade the sacrifices of cattle, which the Vêda's enjoin, was believed to be Vishnu himself in a human form, and that another Buddhâ, one perhaps of his followers in a later age, assuming his name and character, attempted to overstep the whole system
system of the Brâhmans, 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 Buddhas, 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 dwelt with minute anxiety on the subject of the last Avatar.

The Brâhmans, who assisted Abu'l-Fazl in his curious but superficial account of his master's empire, informed him, if the figures in the Ayini Acbar 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 1566th 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 India Buddha, whose birth, according
according to Couplet, they place in the 41st year of their 28th cycle, or 1036 years before Christ, and they call him, says he, Foe the son of Meye or Ma'ya; but M. De Guignes, on the authority of four Chinese Historians, affirms, that Fo was born about the year before Christ 1027, in the kingdom of Cashmir: Giorgi, or rather Cassiano, from whose papers his work was compiled, assures us, that, by the calculation of the Tibetans, 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
that of RA'NHA'CA'N'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 Avatar 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 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 Puramārthā-paṇḍita, 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 VALVASWATA, the son of SU'RYA, the son of CASYAPA, or Uranus the son of Marichi, or Light, the son of Brahma, which is clearly an alle-
allegorical pedigree, reign'd 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 reign'd 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 Avatars 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 descend'd; 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 I'na was marr'd, 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 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 hus-
band: the lineal male descendants in both these families are supposed to have reigned in the cities of Ayodhyā, or Aūdh, and Pratishṭhana, or Vībra, 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 Purānas, I exhibit them in two columns arranged by myself with great attention.

**SECOND AGE.**

**CHILDREN OF THE**

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<tr>
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<tr>
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ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE HINDUS.

SUN.
Māndhātri,
Purucutṣa,
20. Trafādasyu,
Anaranya,
Heryaśwa,
Praruna,
Trivindhana,
25. Satyavrata,
Trisāncu,
Harischandra,
Rōhita,
Harita,
30. Champa,
Sudēva,
Vijaya,
Bharuca,
Vrica,
35. Báhuca,
Sagarā,
Asamanjas,
Ansumat,
Bhāgirat'ha,
40. Sruta,
Nābha,
Sindhudwipa,
Ayutāyuṣh,
Ritaperma,
45. Saudāsa,
Asmaka,

MOON.
Rantināva,
Sumati,
Aiti,
20. Dushminanta.
Bharata,
(Vitat'ha,
Manyu,
Vrihatcētra,
25. Haftin,
Ajamid'ha,
Riec'h,
Samwarana,
Cura,
30. Jahnu,
Surat'ha,
Vidurat'ha,
Sārvabhauma,
Jayatfēna,
Rādhica,
40. Ayutāyuṣh,
Acrodhana,
Devātīr'hi,
Ric'h,
Dilipā,
Pratipā,
Sāntana,
Vīchitravīrya,
45. Pāndu,
Yudhījēh'īr),
Mūlaca,
ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE HINDUS.

704.

S U N.
Mūlaca,
Dāsarat'hā,
Aidabidi,
50. Viśvalāha,
C'hātv'ānga,
Dīrghabāhu,
Ragbu,
Aja,
55. Dāsarat'hā,
Rā'ma.

It is agreed among all the Pandits that Rā'ma, their seventh incarnate divinity, appeared as king of Ayodhya 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 Vaivas-wata and Rā'ma 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
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 Brāhmans 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 Vaivasvata, the synchronism of the two families appears tolerably regular, except that the children of the Moon were not all eldest sons; for king Yayati 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 Doṣhin 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 Vītāṭha, whom they call his son and successor, they are under a necessity of affirming, that the great ancestor of Yudhishṭhira, 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 Yudhishtira, who reigned confessedly at the close of the brazen age, nine generations older than Ra'ma, 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 Mahabharat. The fourth Avatar, 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 Ra'ma; 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
second Ra'mas 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 Ca'u'shalya, which is a derivative of Cushala, and though his father be distinguished by the title or epithet of Da'sarat'ha, signifying, that his war-chariot bore him to all quarters of the world, yet the name of Cush, as the Ca'shmrians pronounce it, is preserved entire in that of his son and successor, and shadowed in that of his ancestor Vicushti; nor can a just objection be made to this opinion from the nasal Arabian vowel in the word Ra'mah 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 Avatars 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.
THIRD AGE.

CHILDREN OF THE

SUN.

Cusha,
Atu'hi,
Nisbhadha,
Nabhas,

5. Pun'darica,
Chémadhanwas,
Dévánica,
Ahin'agu,
Páripátra,

10. Ranach'ála,
Vajranábha,
Arca,
Sugana,
Vidhríti,

15. Hiranyanábha,
Pushya,
Dhruvasandhi,
Sudérśana,
Agniverna,

20. Sighra,
Maru, supposed to be still alive,

MOON.

Vitat'ha,
Manyu,
Vrihatcchétra,
Haftin,
Ajamid'ha,
Ricsa,
Samwarana,
Curu,
Jabnu,
Surat'ha,
Vidúrat'ha,
Sárvabhauma,
Jayatśena,
Rádhica,
Ayutáyust,

25. Mahaswat,

{Acrodhana,
Dévatit'hi,
Ricsa,
Dilipa,
Pratipa,
Visvakarman,}
ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE HINDUS. 309

SUN.
Viswabhâhu,  
Prasenajit,  
Tacshaca,  
Vribhadhala,  

MOON.
Sántanu,  
Vichitravîlyâ,  
Pându,  
Yudhishtîbîra,  

30. Prihidrâna, Y. B. C. Parîcshît. 25  
3100.

Here we have only nine-and-twenty Princes of the Solar line between Ra'mà and Prihidrâna exclusively; and their reigns, during the whole brâzen 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 years for twenty-nine generations. Parîcshît, the great nephew and successor of Yudhishtîbîra, who had recovered the throne from Duryo'dhan, is allowed without controversy to have reigned in the interval between the brâzen and earthen ages, and to have died at the setting-in of the Calîyug; 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 Icshwa'cu 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; Bh'i'ma of Pavan, or the God of Wind; Arjun of Indra, or the Firmament; Nacul and Sahade'va, of the two Cuma'rs, the Castor and Pollux of India; and Bhishma, 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

SUN.
Uruciya, Vatsavriddha, Pratiyyóma,

MOON.
Janaméjaya, Satánica, Sahafránica, Bhánu,
SUN.
Bhānu,
5. Dévāca,
Sahadēva,
Víra,
Vrihadāśva,
Bhānumat,
10. Pratīcāsa,
Supratica,
Marudēva,
Sunacshatra,
Puṣhcarā,
15. Antaricśha,
Sutapas,
Amitrajit,
Vrihadrája,
Barhi,
20. Critanjāya!
Rananjaya,
Sānjaya,
Slócya,
Suddhódā,
25. Lāṅgalada,
Prafēnajit,
Cśudraca,

MOON.
Aswamēdhaja,
Asīmacrīśha, 5.
Nēmichacra,
Upta,
Chitrarat'ha,
Suchirat'ha,
Dhritimāt, 10.
Suśēna,
Sunīt'ha,
Nṛichācśhuḥ,
Suci'hinala,
Pariplava, 15.
Sunaya,
Mēdhāvin,
Nṛipanjāya,
Derva,
Timi, 20.
Vrihadrat'ha,
Sudāṇa,
Satānica,
Durmadana,
Rahīnara, 25.
Dandapāni,
Nimi,
Vrihadṛala,

In both families, we see thirty generations are reckoned from Yudhisht'hir, and from X 4
Vṛśabhāla, his contemporary (who was killed, in the war of Bhārat, by Abhimanuy, son of Arjuna, and father of Pariṣştir), 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 Jarāsandha, whose son was contemporary with Yudhishtīra, and founded a new dynasty of Princes in Magadha, or Babar; 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,
Márjári, Chéma,
Srutasravas, Suvrata,
Ayutáyuśh, Dhermasútra,
5. Niramitra, Sráma,
Sunacshastra, Drid'hasena,
Vrihersëna, Sumati,
Carmajit, Subala,
Srutanjaya, Sunita,
10. Vipra, Satyajit,

Puranjaya, son of the twentieth king, was put to death by his minister Sunaca, who placed his own son Pradyota on the throne of his master; and this revolution constitutes an epoch of the highest importance in our present inquiry; first, because it happened according to the Bhágawatámarita, 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 Pradyota to the subversion of the genuine Hindu government; and that chronology I will now
now lay before you, after observing only, that Radha'ca'nt himself says nothing of Buddha in this part of his work, though he particularly mentions the two preceding Avatāra's in their proper places.

KINGS of MAGADHA.

Pradyotā,
Pālaca,
Vifsac'hayūpa,
Rājaca,
Nandiverdhana, 5 reigns = 138 years,

Sisunāga, 1962
Cācāverna,
Cfhemadh Herman,
Cfhetrajnya,
Vidhisāra, 5
Ajatashatru,
Darbhaca,
Ajāya,
Nandiverdhana,
Mahānandi, 107 = 360 y.

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
and vindictive, Brāhmaṇa, 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 Čaṇḍarāṇya family of Pradyota became extinct.

MAURYA KINGS.

Chandragupta, 1502
Vārisāra,
Aśoçaverdhana,
Suyasias,
Devarat’ha, 5
Sangata,
Sālīśuca,
Somaśarman,
Satadhanwāsa,
Vrihadrat’ha, 10 r. = 1377.

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 KINGS.

Pushpamitra, 1365
Agnimitra,
Sūjuvyśīt’ha,
SUNDA KINGS.

Y. B. C.

Sujjéśtha, 1365
Vasumitra,
Abhadraca, 5
Pulinda,
Ghósha,
Vajramitra,
Bhágavata,
Dévabhúti, 10 r = 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.

Vasudéva, 1253
Bhúmitra,
Náráyana,
Susarman, 4 r = 345 y.

A Sudra, of the Andhra family, having murdered his master Susarman, and seized the government, founded a new dynasty of

ANDHRA KINGS.

Y. B. C.

Balin, 908
Críshna,
Srisántacarna,
ANDHRA KINGS.

Y. B.C.

Sriñántacarna, 908
Paurnamása,
Lambódara, 5.
Vivilaca,
Méghasvāta,
Vātamāna,
Talaca,
Śivaśvāti, 10.
Purīśabhēru,
Sunandana,
Chacóraca,
Bátaca,
Gómatin, 15.
Purīmat,
Mēdasiras,
Śiraścand'ha,
Yajnyaśri,
Vijaya, 20.
Chandrablīja, 21 r = 456 y.

After the death of Chandrablija, which happened, according to the Hindus, 396 years before Vīcrama'ditya, or 452 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
three hundred and ninety-nine years in Avabhriti, a town of the Daśhin, or South, which we commonly call Decan: 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'cā'nt adds: "when the Maula race was extinct, five Princes, named Bhūnanda, Bangira, Sīsunandi, Yasinandi, and Praviraca, reigned an hundred and six years (or till the year 1053) in the city of Cilacili," which, he tells me, he understands to be in the country of the Mahārāṣṭra's, or Mahārāṭa's: and here ends his Indian Chronology; for "after Praviraca," says he, "this Empire was divided among Mlech'bas, 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 Grecean Princes ever established a kingdom in either of those countries; as to the Moguls, their dynasty still subsists, at least nominally; unless that of Chengiz.
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 Ture, which an Indian could have easily pronounced and clearly expressed in the Nagari letters, should have been corrupted into Trusbecara. 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 Chandrabhitā. 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 Brāhmans themselves; for they assign to an hundred and forty-two modern reigns
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 Yudhisht'hira, 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'Lfaze and the Tibetians, 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.

Abhirmanyu, son of Arjun, 2029
Pradyota, ———- 1029
Buddha,
ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE HINDUS. 321

Y. B. C.
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'l Fazl, 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 Pradyota, 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 Rāja 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 Chandrabija, 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'pa'la. But, if the author of the Dabistan be warranted in fixing the birth of Buddha ten years before the Cailrug, we must thus correct the Chronological Table:

Y. B. C.
Buddha,
ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE HINDU.

Y. B. C.
Buddha, — — 1027
Parichsit, — — 1017
Pradyota, (reckoning 20 or 30 generations,) } 317 or 17

Y. A. C.
Nanda, — — 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 Bhagavatamrita, which fixes the beginning of the Cali-yug 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 eight hundred years from the present time; but, on a subject in itself so obscure, and so much clouded by the fictions of the Brahmans, who, to aggrandize themselves, have designedly raised their antiquity beyond the truth, we must be satisfied with probable conjecture and just reasoning
founding 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.
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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 Sūrya Siddhānta, 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 Varāha, 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 chronology of the Hindus, if not by rigorous demonstration, at least by a near approach to it.

The copy of the Varāhismānta, from which the three pages, received by me, had been transcribed, is unhappily so incorrect (if the tran-
script 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 Āryā, which is regulated (not by the number of syllables, like other Indian measures, but) by the proportion of times, or syllabic 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 Brāhmen who attends me; and, with his assent, I also corrected the comment written by Bhattotpala, 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 Panchasiddhantica: five of them were composed by Vara'ha himself,
self, 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 Aryan measure, which will appear more distinctly in Latin than in any modern language of Europe:

'Tigridas, apos, thoas, tyrannos, pessima monstra, venemur; Die hinnulus, dic lepus male quid egerint graminivori.

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, apos, tigridas nos venemur, pejoresque tyrannos: Die tibi cerva, lepus tibi dic male quid egerit herbivorus.

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

Vener apos tigridasque, et, pessima monstra, tyrannos:

Cerva mali quid agunt herbivorusque lepus f

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

AŚEŚHĀDHIHADACCHHINAMUTTAMAYANAN RAVĀRDHANISHITHHĀDYA
NUNAN CADCHHIDASIYÉNŌCTAN PŪRVA SATRÉHU,
SĀMPRATAMAYANAN SAVITUH CARCĀNCĀDYAN MṚGĀDITASCHĀNYAT:
UṬTĀNHAYE VICRITIHI PRATYACSHAPERICCHANAR VYAČTIH,
DURĀTT'HACHHIHNAVEDYĀDUDAYEŚ'THAMAYEŚ'PIVĀ TAHAFRĀNSFŪBH,

Y 4 Ch'hä-
Of the five couplets thus exhibited, the following translation is most scrupulously literal:

"Certainly the southern solstice was once in the middle of Aslebd, the northern in the first degree of Dhanistha, by what is recorded in former Sāstras. At present one solstice is in the first degree of Carcata, and the other in the first of Macara: that which is recorded not appearing, a change must have happened; and the proof arises from ocular demonstratons; 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 turning back without having reached Macara, destroys 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 according to nature; but the sun, by moving unnaturally, excites terror."

Now the Hindu Astronomers agree, that the 1st January 1790 was in the year 4891 of the
the Cali-yuga, or their fourth period, at the beginning of which, they say, the equinoctial points were in the first degrees of Mesba and Tula; but they are also of opinion, that the vernal equinox oscillates from the third of Mina to the twenty-seventh of Mesba and back again in 7200 years, which they divide into four padas, and consequently that it moves, in the two intermediate padas, from the first to the twenty-seventh of Mesba and back again in 3600 years; the colure cutting their ecliptick in the first of Mesba, which coincides with the first of Asvin, at the beginning of every such oscillatory period. Varaha, surnamed Mihira, or the Sun, from his knowledge of astronomy, and usually distinguished by the title of Acharya, or teacher of the Vedas, lived confessedly when the Cali-yuga was far advanced; and, since by actual observation he found the solstitial points in the first degrees of Carcata and Macara, the equinoctial points were at the same time in the first of Mesba and Tula: he lived, therefore, in the year 3600 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 ayanas a or precession, calculated by the rule of the Suryasiddhanta; for $19°21'54''$ 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
A SUPPLEMENT TO THE

the Indian Zodiac 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° 55' 50" since the time of Vara'hā, which gives us more nearly in our own sphere the first degree of Mēṣha in that of the Hindus. By the observation recorded in older Sāstras, the equinox had gone back 23° 20', or about 1580 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 Sāstras are meant, says Bhattotpala, the books of Pāraśara and of other Munis; and he then cites from the Pārāśara Sanhitā the following passage, which is in modulated prose, and in a style much resembling that of the Vēdās.

Sravishtādya't pausn'ārdhāntan charah śāirō; vaśantah paushnārdhāt rōhinyāntan; saumyādya'asārlēśhārdhāntan grīśmāh; prāvridāślēśhārdhāt haftāntan; chitrādyāt jyesh't'hārdhāntan sar; hēmanto jyesh't'hārdhāt vaiśh-n'āvant.
"The season of Sistra is from the first of "Dhanisht'hà to the middle of Révati; that of "Vasanta from the middle of Révati to the "end of Ròhini; that of Grśbma from the begin- "ning of Mrigásiras to the middle of "Aśleśhà; that of Vṛṣabha from the middle of "Aśleśhà to the end of Hašta; that of Sārad "from the first of Chitrà to the middle of "Jyēśh't'hà; that of Hémanta from the middle "of Jyēśh't'hà to the end of Sravana."

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 Dhanisht'hà, and the middle, or 6° 40', of Aśleśhà, while the equinoctial points were in the tenth degree of Bharani and 3° 20' of Visāc'hà; but, in the time of Vara'ha, the solstitial colure passed through the 10th degree of Punarvasu and 3° 20' of Uttarāśbárà, while the equinoctial colure cut the Hindu ecliptick in the first of Asvin and 6° 40' of Chitrà, or the Tégà 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 Zodiac may be computed. It cannot escape notice, that Para'sāra does not use in this passage the phrase at present, which occurs
curs in the text of Vera'na; 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 Zodiacal afterisms 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 the comparison, which might easily be made, between the colures of Para'sara and those ascribed by Eudoxus to Chiron, 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
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 Iraea, the city of Antæus, 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 of Jove, prophesied of "old, when Apollo was not absent from his "mansion,
mansion, that Battus, the colonizer of fruitful Lybia, having just left the sacred isle (Thera), should build a city excelling in cars, on the splendid breast of earth, and, with the seventeenth generation, should refer to himself the Therean prediction of Medea, which that princess of the Colchians, that impetuous daughter of Aetes, 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 Parashara. If the poet means afterwards to say, as I understand him, that Arcesilas, his contemporary, was the eighth in descent from Battus, we shall draw nearly the same conclusion, without having
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 Hellespont, were nobly resisted at Thermopylae, 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 voyage 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° 29' 10" at the beginning of the year 1690, and 37° 52' 30" on the first of January in the present year, they must have gone back 3° 23' 20" between the observation implied by Parasar and that recorded by Eudoxus; or, in other words, 244 years must have elapsed between the two observations: but, this disquisition having
having little relation to our principal subject, I proceed to the last couplets of our Indian astronomer Varā'ha Mihiρa: 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 Macura, the motion of the sun is contrary to nature, and being caused, as the commentator intimates, by some upāta, 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'prāptah traviśhātmuttarāyanē,  
Aslēḥān dachshinē'prāptaladdāvidyamahadbhayan.

"When the sun returns, not having reached "Dhanisitra'ba in the northern solstice, or not hav- "ing reached Aslēḥā in the southern, then "let a man feel great apprehension of danger."

Para'sara himself entertained a similar opinion, that any irregularity in the solstices would indicate approaching calamity; Yada-prāptā vaiśhnavāntam, says he, udanmaṅge prepadyate, dachshine, aslēḥbim va mabāb hāvaya, that is, "When having reached the end of Sravaṇā, in
in the northern path, or half of Aslesha 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 Nacsbatra; and where he forbids any female name to be taken from a constellation, the most learned commentator gives Ardrā and Rāvati as examples of ill-omened names, appearing by design to skip over others that must first have occurred to him. Whether Dhanisthā and Aslesha 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 Mesha and Aswini are coincident. Since the two ancient sages name only the lunar asterisms, it is probable, that the solar division of the zodiack into twelve signs was not generally used in their
days; and we know, from the comment on the Sūrya Siddhānta, 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 Cali-yuga, 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 upāta, 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 inquiries 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 Brāhmaṇs 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
that he was the grandson of Vasištṭha, another astronomer and legislator, whose works are still extant, and who was the preceptor of Raṃa, king of Ayodhyā; that he was the father of Vyaśa, by whom the Vedas were arranged in the form which they now bear, and whom Crīshṇa himself names with exalted praise in the Gītā; so that, by the admission of the Pandits themselves, we find only three generations between two of the Raṃas, whom they consider as incarnate portions of the divinity; and Parāśara might have lived till the beginning of the Calīyuga, 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 Vaḷmic, whom they cannot but allow to have been contemporary with Raṃachaṇḍra, lived in the age of Vyaśa, who consulted him on the composition of the Mahābhārata, and who was personally known to Balaraṇā, the brother of Crīshṇa. When a very learned Brāhmēn had repeated to me an agreeable story of a conversation between Vaḷmic and Vyaśa, I expressed my surprise at an interview between two bards, whose ages were separated by a period of 864,000 years; but he soon
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 Yā'gyāwalcya was an attendant on the court of Janaca, whose daughter Sītā' was the constant, but unfortunate wife of the great Ra'ma, the hero of Vā'lmic's poem; but that lawyer himself, at the very opening of his work, which now lies before me, names both Para'sāra and Vya'sa among twenty authors, whose tracts form the body of original Indian law. By the way, since Vasīṣṭ'hā is more than once named in the Manavanshubā, we may be certain, that the laws ascribed to Menu, in whatever age they might 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 purūbita, or officiating priest, of Crishna himself, who, when only a herdsman's boy at Mat'burā, 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'yān. His daughter
was eminent for her piety and her learning, and the Brähmans admit, without considering the consequence of their admission, that she is thus addressed in the Veda itself: \( Yata urdhwan \) \( na \) \( va samāpi, Gargi, \) \( ēsā ādityā \) \( dhūmarādhānān \) \( tapati, dyā \) \( va bhūmin tapati, bhūmyā \) \( subhram \) \( tapati, \) \( līcān tapati, \) \( antara \) \( tapatyāya \) \( antara \) \( tapati; \) or, "That Sun, O daughter of Garga, \" than which nothing is higher, to which no-
thing 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 Brähmans cannot deny, and from these concessions, which they unanimously make, we may reasonably infer, that if Vyāśa was not the composer of the Vēdas, 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 Mosleems and Indian chronologies are perfectly consistent; that Menu, son of Brāhma, was the Adīma, or first, created mortal, and consequently our Adam; that Menu, child of the Sun, was preserved with seven others, in a bābihra, or capacious
pacious ark, from an universal deluge, and must therefore be our Noah; that Hiranyaca-
sipu, 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'mas, 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 Baudhhas; 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 allegori-
zing spirit which has ever induced the Brāh-
mans to disguise their whole system of history, philosophy, and religion, I produce a passage from the Bhāgavat, 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 Vasudeva, imagine you celestial sphere to represent the figure of that "aquatrick animal which we call Sīśumāra; its "head being turned downwards, and its body "bent in a circle, they conceive Dhravā, or "the pole star, to be fixed on the point of its "tail; on the middle part of the tail they see "four stars, Prejópati, Agni, Indra, Dharma, "and on its base two others, Dhātri and Vid- "bhātri; on its rump are the Septardhā, or "seven stars of the Sacata, or Wain; on its "back the path of the Sun, called Ajavan, or "the Series of Kids; on its belly the Gango of "the sky: Punarvasu and Pushya gleam respect- "ively on its right and left haunches; "Ardra and Adiśā on its right and left feet or "fins; Abhijit and Uttarābhūdhā in its right "and left nostrils; Sravāna and Pūrvābhūdhā "in its right and left eyes; Dhanishtā and "Māla on its right and left ears. Eight con- "stellations, belonging to the summer Solstice, "Magha, Pūrvapalguni, Uttarapalguni, Has- "ta, Chitra, Swātā, Vistārā, Anurādhā, "may be conceived in the ribs of its left side; "and as many afterisms, connected with the "winter
winter Solstice, Mrigasiras, Rāhini, Crittica, Bharani, Aswini, Revati, Uttarabhadrapadā, Purvabhadrapadā, may be imagined on the ribs of its right side in an inverse order: let Satabhisāka and Jyotisthā be placed on its right and left shoulders. In its upper jaw is Agastyā, in its lower Yama; in its mouth the planet Mangala; in its part of generation, Sanaśchara; on its hump, Vrihaspati; in its breast, the Sun; in its heart, Narayana; in its front, the Moon; in its navel, Usanas; on its two nipples, the two Asvinas; in its ascending and descending breaths, Budha; on its throat, Rāhu; in all its limbs, Cetus, or comets; and in its hairs, or bristles, the whole multitude of Stars.

It is necessary to remark, that, although the Ssāmāra be generally described as the sea-bog or porpoise, which we frequently have seen playing in the Ganges, yet Sāmār, which seems derived from the Sanscrit, means in Persian a large lizard: the passage just exhibited may nevertheless relate to an animal of the cetaceous 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 Mabaresha may denote either a great bear, or a great asterism. Etymologically
Jogists may, perhaps, derive the Megas Arcnos 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 Zodiac, 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 ingenious M. Bailly, who relied, I presume, on the authority of M. Le Gentil: the origin of the Hindu Zodiac, according to the Surya Siddhanta, must be nearly 19° 21'. 54". in our sphere, and the longitude of Chitra, or the Spike, must of course be 199° 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 Retnamala, I must for the present suppose, with M. Bailly, that the Zodiac 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.
Dissertation XI.

On the Indian Game of Chess.

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 Amaracôsha to be hasyaswarat'hapâdâtan, or elephants, horses, chariots, and foot-soldiers; and in this sense the word is frequently used by
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 Chaturang; but the Arabs, who soon 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 Shatranj, which found its way presently into the modern Persian, and at length into the dialects of India, 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 Brâhmans been transformed by successive changes into axedrez, façebi, échecs, chefs, and, by a whimsical concurrence of circumstances, given birth to the English word echeek, 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 criticks, 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 Brâhmans. It is, indeed, confidently asserted, that Sanscrit books on Chess exist in this
this country, and, if they can be procured at Banades, 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 Chess of the Persians. This game is also called Chaturanga, but more frequently Chaturang, 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 Puran, in which Yudhishthir is represented conversing with Vyasa, 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, "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 Radha Can't informed me, that the board consisted, like ours, of sixty-four squares,
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 Luncā, 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 Shâhnâmeh, and it was probably carried into Persia from Cânyacuśja by Borzu, the favourite physician, thence called Vaidya-priya, of the great Anu'shirava'n; but he said, that the Brâhmans 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 Tribeni, had instructed two young Brâhmans in all the rules of it, and had sent them to Jaya-nagar at the request of the late Rājâ, 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 Bengal-ese pronounce ro't'h, and which the Persians changed into rokh, whence came the rook of some European nations; as the vierge and sol of the French are supposed to be corruptions of ferz and sil, the prime minister and elephant of the Persians and Arabs. It were vain to seek an etymology of the word rook in the modern Per-
fian language; for, in all the passages extracted from Firdausi and Ja’mi, where rokb 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 turning his face” (not as Hyde translates the words, carried on rokbs) from station to station;” and, as to the battle of the践waxdeh rokb, which D’Herbelot 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 five 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 anga’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
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 Vyasa were to a 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
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, securing 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 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;
secure; 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'ca'nt 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 Sinbāsana, 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 Chaturāṣṭi, 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
may be considered as victorious, when he seizes the metropolis of his adversary; but if he can destroy his foe, he displays greater heroism, and relieves his people from any further solicitude. "Both in gaining the Sinhāsana and the Chaturjy, says Vyaśa, 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 replace his captive ally, if he can seize both the adverse kings; or, if he cannot effect their capture, 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 Nripūcīśṭha, or, recovered by the king; and the Nauācīśṭha 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 Shatpada, 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
moralists of Arabia and Persia with many lively reflections on human life. It appears, that "this privilege of Shatpada 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 Râcshasa's, or giants (that is, the people of Lancë, 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 Câcachsh't'ha." Sixthly; "If three ships happen to meet, and the fourth ship can be brought up to them in the remaining angle, this has the name of Vribhan-nauca; 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 Pandit'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 Purâna, seems very surprizing: all games
games of hazard are positively forbidden by Menu; yet the game of Chaturanga, in which dice are used, is taught by the great Vyâ'sa himself, whose law-tract appears with that of Go'tama among the eighteen books which form the Dharma.sâstra; but as Râ'dhra'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 Tribeni, understand the game, they are able, I presume, to assign reasons, why it should have been excepted from the general prohibition, and even openly taught by ancient and modern Brâhmanas.
Dissertation XII.


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 more 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 too 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, politics, and morals, with which their general literature is closely blended, than their
their manufactures and trade; nor will I spare either pains or expense 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 displeased 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 grammarians 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 conveyed 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;
manship; 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 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 possesses 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 Shih King, and a version of it has been published in France; to which country we are indebted for the most authentic and most valuable
able 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-sfu-tfu, in the Lu'nyu or Moral Discourses, being reducible to this grand rule, that we should not even entertain a thought of any thing base or culpable; but the copies of the Shu King, for that is the title of the book, are supposed to have been much disfigured, since the time of that great Philosopher, by spurious passages and exceptionable interpolations; and the style of the Poems is in some parts
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 Milton expresses it, a dim religious light.* There is another passages in the Lu'nyu', 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 beff 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 parents at home, and abroad to our prince; they instruct us also delightfully in the various productions of nature.* 'Haft thou studied, said the Philosopher to his son Peyu, the first of the three hundred Odes on the nuptials of Prince Venyam 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 these Odes are near three thousand years old, and some, if we give credit to the Chinese annals, considerably
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 find the Ode, which COUPLIS has accurately translated at the beginning of the Ta'hib, 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 Asiatics. It is a panegyric on Vucun, Prince of Guyy in the province of Honang, who died, near a century old, in the thirteenth year of the Emperor Pingvung, 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 Odyssey were carried into Greece by Lycurgus.

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

Behold ye reach of the river Kt; 
Its green reeds how luxuriant! how luxuriant!
Thus is our Prince adorned with virtues;
As a carver, as a filder, of ivory,
As a cutter as a polisher, of gems.
O how elate and sagacious! O how dauntless and composed!
How worthy of fame! How worthy of reverence!
We have a Prince adorned with virtues,
Whom to the end of time we can not forget.

THE PARAPHRASE,

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

So shines our Prince! In bright array
The Virtues round him wait;
And sweetly smile th' auspicious day,
That rais'd Him o'er our State.

As pliant hands in shapes refin'd
Rich iv'ry carve and smoothe,
His Laws thus mould each ductile mind,
And every passion soothe.

As gems are taught by patient art
In sparkling ranks to beam,
With Manners thus he forms the heart,
And spreads a gen'r'al gleam.

What soft, yet awful dignity!
What meek, yet manly, grace!
What sweetnefs dances in his eye,
And blossoms in his face!
So shines our Prince! A sky-born crowd
Of Virtues round him blaze:
Ne'er shall Oblivion's murky cloud
Obscure his deathless praise.

The prediction of the Poet has hitherto been accomplished; but he little imagined, that his composition would be admired, and his Prince celebrated in a language not then formed, and by the natives of regions so remote from his own.

In the tenth leaf of the TA'HIO a beautiful comparison is quoted from another Ode in the SHI'KING, which deserves to be exhibited in the same form with the preceding:

* The peach-tree, how fair! how graceful!
* Its leaves, how blooming! how pleasant!
* Such is a bride, when she enters her bridegroom's house,
* And pays due attention to her whole family.

The simile may thus be rendered:

Gay child of Spring, the garden's queen,
You peach-tree charms the roving flocks.
Its fragrant leaves how richly green!
Its blossoms how divinely bright!

So softly smiles the blooming bride
By love and conscious Virtue led
O'er her new mansion to preside,
And placid joys around her spread.
The next leaf exhibits a comparison of a different nature, rather sublime than agreeable, and conveying rather censure than praise:

O how horridly impedes you southern mountain!
Its rocks in how vast, how rude a heap!
Thus loftily thou sittest, O minister of YN;
All the people look up to thee with dread.

Which may be thus paraphrased:

See, where yon crag's imperious height
The sunny highland crowns,
And, hideous as the brow of night,
Above the torrent frowns!

So scowls the Chief, whose will is law,
Regardless of our state;
While millions gaze with painful awe,
With fear allied to hate.

It was a very ancient practice in China to paint or engrave moral sentences and approved verses on vessels in constant use; as the words *Rene thyself daily* were inscribed on the bason of the Emperor Tang, and the poem of Kien Long, who is now on the throne, in praise of tea, has been published on a set of porcelain cups; and, if the description just cited of a selfish and insolent statesman were, in the same manner, constantly presented to the eyes and attention of rulers, it might produce some benefit
benefit to their subjects and to themselves; especially if the comment of Tssem Tsu, who may be called the Xenophon, as Cun Fu Tsu was the Socrates, and Mem Tsu the 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 Yeming, or the book of Changes, believed to have been written by Fo, the Hermes of the East, and consisting of right 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 Lixi, 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.
doms 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 authentic 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 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 Atong, 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
vantage 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.

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 Zodiac was not borrowed from the Greeks or Arabs, but, having been known in this country from 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 Zodiac; 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
they have given as many names, corresponding 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 intervention of the Arabs; for no man, surely, can persuade himself, that it is the ancient division of the Zodiac formed, according to some authors, by the forefathers of mankind, and still preserved among the Hindus." Now I undertake to prove, that the Indian Zodiac was not borrowed mediately 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 common 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 Perha 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 errors in the passage last cited, nor to defend the astronomers of India from the charge of gross ignorance 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, of Father Souciet: I will only remark, that, in our conversations with the Pandits, we must never confound the system of the Jyotishicas, or mathematical astronomers, with that of the Pauranicas, or poetical fabulists; for 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 Ramachandra, now in his eightieth year, visited me lately at Krishnanagar, 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 Pauranics, he said, will tell you, that our earth is a plane figure fruished with eight mountains, and surrounded 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
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 innumerable 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 imagined 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 Rājēchakra, or Circle of Signs (for so he called the Zodiac), was like a Dhusṭūra flower; meaning the Datura, to which 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
was usual among their ancient writers to borrow from fruits and flowers their appellations of several plane and solid figures.

From the two Brahman 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:

1. Mēshā, the Ram.
2. Vṛśā, the Bull.
3. Mīthuna, the Pair.
4. Ċartasa, the Crab.
5. Śiṅha, the Lion.
6. Čamā, the Virgin.
7. Tuḷā, the Balance.
8. Vṛśchika, the Scorpion.
9. Dhanu, the Bow.
10. Māca, the Sea-Monster.
11. Cumbha, the Ewer.
12. Mīnu, the Fish.

The figures of the twelve afterisms, thus denominated with respect to the sun, are specified by Śripeti, author of the Retnamālā, in Sanskrit verses; which I produce, as my vouchers, in the original, with a verbal translation:

Mēshādayō nāma samāśmipū,  
Vīṇāgadādhyam mit'hunam niyugman,  
Pradipasyāte dadhati karāhīyām  
Nāvi sthītā vārini cānaśvāvā.  
Tuḷā tuḷābhrit pretimānāpanic  
Dhanur dhanushmān hayawat parāṅgah,

Bb 3  
Mrigānanah
Mrigánamah syán macaró’cha cumbhah
Scardhé nèrò ríchagha’tam dadhánah,
Anyanyapuchch’hábhimuc’hó’hi minah
Matsyadwayam swast’hálachárinómí.

"The ram, bull, crab, lion, and scorpion,
have the figures of those five animals respectively: the pair are a damsel playing on a
Vind 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 nasibhatras, they allow thirteen
ansas 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:

Káthiri. Ādhistha. Chitrá.
Between the twenty-first and twenty-second constellations, we find in the plate three stars called *Abbijit*; but they are the last quarter of the asterism immediately preceding, or the latter *Ashur*, as the word is commonly pronounced. A complete revolution of the moon, with respect to the 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 *Abbijit* 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 *Abbijit*, as they are described in three stanzas by the author of the *Retnamālā*:

1. Turagamuc'hasādricsham yonīrūpam elhurābbham,
   Saca'tasaśam at'hainasyottamāṅgēna rulyam,
   Manigrihasara chacrābhāni sālōpasam bham,
   Sayanafadrisamanyachchātra paryancarūpam.

2. Haśrācārayutam cha maucitacasham
   chānyat pravālōpasam,
   Dhrifhyam tōrana sannibham balinibham,
   fateundalābham param.

* The different compartments of the plate alluded to, are so minutely described in the subsequent page, that it is thought unnecessary to annex it.
A horse's head; yini or bhaga; 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 fettroon 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 sringataca nut; the three footsteps of Vishnu; a tabor; a circular jewel; a two-faced image; another couch; and a smaller sort of tabor: such are the figures of Aswinī 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 Aśhāras as well as the two Bha-drapads; 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
OF THE INDIAN ZODIAC.

Yoni or bhaga. Two flars S. to N. A winnowing fan.
A flame. Two, N. to S. Another.
A waggon. A hand. An arrow.
One bright star. Red saffron. A circle of stars.
A bow. A seftoon. A staff for burdens.

FROM twelve of the asterisms just enumerated are derived the names of the twelve Indian months in the usual form of patronymicks; for the Paurânicas, 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 So'ma, or Lunus, having wedded twelve of them, became the father of twelve Genii, or months, who are named after their several mothers: but the Jyautishicas 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 naṣṭhātra, 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'swina. 4. Pausha.
Cârtica. Mâgha.
Mârgasîrsha. P'âlguna.
Chaitra.
The third month is also called A'grābhyānas (whence the common word Agran is corrupted) from another name of Mrigasiras.

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, Veda, 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 afterisms:

Vahni tri ritwifhu gunendu cirtāgnibhūta,
Bānāswinetraka bhucu' yugābdhirāmāl,
Rudrabhirāmagumavēdasata dwiyugma,
Dentā budhairābhīhitāh cramāsā bhatārah.

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 wise.”
If the stanza was correctly repeated to me, the two *Asparsas* are considered as one asterism, and *Abhijit* as three separate stars; but I suspect an error in the third line, because *dvibhāma*, or *two and five*, would suit the metre as well as *bāhirāma*; and because there were only three *Veda's* in the 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 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 *Aswinī*, and shall be able to ascertain the other stars with sufficient accuracy: but first let us exhibit a comparative table of both *Zodiacs*, denoting the mansions, as in the *Varanes* almanack, by the first letters or syllables of their names:

**MONTHS**
### Solar Mansions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Asterisms</th>
<th>Mansions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aświn</td>
<td>Méth</td>
<td>$A + bh + \frac{c}{4}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cártic</td>
<td>Vríaḥ</td>
<td>$\frac{36}{4} + r + \frac{12}{4}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A'grabáyan</td>
<td>Mic'hun</td>
<td>$\frac{3}{3} + a + \frac{9}{4}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pauḥ</td>
<td>Carcát 4.</td>
<td>$\frac{1}{4} + p + \frac{3}{4}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mágh</td>
<td>Sinh</td>
<td>$m + PU + \frac{U}{4}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P'hálgun</td>
<td>Canyā</td>
<td>$\frac{3U}{4} + \frac{4h}{4}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaitr</td>
<td>Tulā</td>
<td>$\frac{1}{4} + s + \frac{3}{4}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaisac'h</td>
<td>Vrischíc 8.</td>
<td>$a + j\frac{18}{4}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaiśh't'h</td>
<td>Dhan</td>
<td>$mù + pù + \frac{u}{4}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A'śhár</td>
<td>Macar</td>
<td>$\frac{3u}{4} + S + \frac{3h}{4}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Srávan</td>
<td>Cumbh</td>
<td>$\frac{1}{4} + s + \frac{3}{4}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhádr</td>
<td>Mín 12.</td>
<td>$\frac{1}{4} + u + i\frac{2}{4}$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Hence

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lunar Mansions</th>
<th>Solar Asterisms</th>
<th>Stars</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aświn</td>
<td>Ram.</td>
<td>Three, in and near the head.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bharanī</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Three, in the tail.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criticā</td>
<td>Bull.</td>
<td>Six, of the Pleiads.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Róhini</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Five, in the head and neck.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrigasītras</td>
<td>Pair.</td>
<td>Three, in or near the feet, perhaps in the Galaxy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A'rdra</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>One, on the knee.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Lunar**
OF THE INDIAN ZODIAC.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lunar Mansions</th>
<th>Solar Asterisms</th>
<th>Stars</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Punarvasu</td>
<td>Crab</td>
<td>Four, in the heads, breast, and shoulder.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pushya</td>
<td>Lion</td>
<td>Three, in the body and claws.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asleha</td>
<td></td>
<td>Five, in the face and mane.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magha</td>
<td></td>
<td>Five, in the leg and haunch.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purvap'halguni</td>
<td>Virgin</td>
<td>Two; one in the tail.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uttara'halguni</td>
<td></td>
<td>Two, on the arm and zone.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hastra</td>
<td></td>
<td>Five, near the hand.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chitra</td>
<td></td>
<td>One, in the spike.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swasti</td>
<td>Balance</td>
<td>One, in the N. Scale.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visac'ha</td>
<td>Scorpion</td>
<td>Four, beyond it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anuradha</td>
<td></td>
<td>Four, in the body.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jyeshth'ha</td>
<td></td>
<td>Three, in the tail.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mula</td>
<td>Bow</td>
<td>Eleven, to the point of the arrow.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purvaphara</td>
<td></td>
<td>Two, in the leg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uttarakshara</td>
<td>Sea-monster</td>
<td>Two, in the horn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sravanah</td>
<td></td>
<td>Three, in the tail.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhanishta'ha</td>
<td>Ewer</td>
<td>Four, in the arm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satabhishta</td>
<td></td>
<td>Many, in the stream.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purvabhadrapada</td>
<td>Filth</td>
<td>Two, in the first fifth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uttarakshadrapada</td>
<td></td>
<td>Two, in the cord.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revati</td>
<td></td>
<td>Thirty-two, in the second fifth and cord.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Wherever the Indian drawing differs from the memorial verse in the Rettamalâ, 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 Dhanishta'ha.
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 to which the *nachhatras* 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N. D. M.</th>
<th>N. D. M.</th>
<th>N. D. M.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>J. 31° 20'</td>
<td>X. 13° 20'</td>
<td>XIX. 23° 20'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. 26° 40'</td>
<td>XI. 14° 40'</td>
<td>XX. 25° 40'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. 40° 0'</td>
<td>XII. 16° 0'</td>
<td>XXI. 27° 0'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. 63° 20'</td>
<td>XIII. 17° 20'</td>
<td>XXII. 29° 20'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. 66° 40'</td>
<td>XIV. 18° 40'</td>
<td>XXIII. 30° 40'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI. 80° 0'</td>
<td>XV. 20° 0'</td>
<td>XXIV. 32° 0'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII. 93° 20'</td>
<td>XVI. 21° 20'</td>
<td>XXV. 33° 20'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII. 106° 40'</td>
<td>XVII. 23° 40'</td>
<td>XXVI. 34° 40'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX. 120° 0'</td>
<td>XVIII. 25° 0'</td>
<td>XXVII. 36° 0'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
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 Soctier could dream, that Vįśāc'bā was in 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 Aslėśhā, in the form of a wheel, are α, β, γ, δ, ε, of the Lion, and those of Mūla, γ, δ, ε, ζ, η, θ, ι, κ, λ, ξ, 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,
Zodiack, that have yet been distinctly named to me, are the Septarshi, Dhruva, Arundhati, Yishnapad, Matrimandel, and, in the southern hemisphere, Agastya, or Canopus. The twenty-seven Yoga stars, indeed, have particular names, in the order of the nakshatras, 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 Yogas, or divisions of the Ecliptick.

| Vishambha   | Ganda       | Parigha   |
| Priti       | Vriddhi     | Siva      |
| Ayubhat    | Dhruva      | Siddha    |
| Saubbhaya   | Vrughita    | Sibbya    |
| Sobbana     | Hersbana    | Subha     |
| Atiganda    | Vajra       | Sucra     |
| Succarman   | Asriff      | Brabman   |
| Dhriti      | Vyatipata   | Indra     |
| Sulra       | Varlyas     | Vaidhriti |

Having shown in what manner the Hindus arrange the Zodiacal stars with respect to the sun and moon, let us proceed to our principal subject, the antiquity of that double arrangement. In the first place, the Brabmans were always too proud to borrow their science from the Greeks, Arabs, Moguls, or any nation of Molcheh'bas,
as they call those who are ignorant of the Vedas, 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 nīchā yavaṇātparāb*, 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 Muslim. 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 sarcastic 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 Greelain, 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: *Rāvi*, the Sun; *Soma*, the Moon; *Mangala*, Tuisco; *Budha*, Woden; *Vrihaspati*, Thor; *Sura*, 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'hi'd of the Persians, is a goddess like the 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 ankle 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 Bharanî and Abbijit, 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 afterism 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 mansion to so incessant a traveller as the Moon. The menzızil'l kamar, or lunar stages, of the Arabs have twenty-eight names in the following order, the particle al being understood before every word:


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.
cation 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 Brāhmans, who alone are permitted to read the six Vēdingas, one of which is the astronomical Sūtra, were not then commercial, and, most probably, neither could nor would have conversed with Arabian merchants. The hostile irruption of the Arabs into Hindustān, in the eighth century, and that of the Moguls under Chênghiz, 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 Cālīda 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 Sanscrit vocabulary by the first of those Indian authors, and the second of them frequently alludes to Rōhini and the rest by name in his Fatal Ring, his Children of the Sun, and his Birth of Cuma'ra; from which poem I pro-
I produce two lines, that my evidence may not seem to be collected from mere conversation:

Maitre mukhurte sasaláchhanána,
Yógam gataśúttarap’halganyánu.

"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 comforts of So’ma, 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 Védas; 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..."
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 society, 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 Sacya, who by 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."
Dissertation XIV.
The Design of a Treatise
On the Plants of India.

The 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
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 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 Amarcosh, an excellent vocabulary of the SANSKRIT language, contains in one chapter the names of about three hundred medicinal vegetables; the Medini may comprise many more; and the DRAVIDABHIDBAHA, 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 Sanskrit 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
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, 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 Linnaeus. 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,
nion, it is the only rational name in the muster-roll. As to the system of LINNAEUS, it is the system of Nature, subordinate 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 Linnaean 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 Polyandrien means a publick cemetery; Diescia and Diescus are not found in books of authority; nor, if they were, would they be derived from dis, but from dia, which would include the Triecia: let 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. Calycopolyandras 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,
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 the *Botanical Philosophy*, and the broad comment of its grave author, who *dares*, like *Octavius* in his epi-
gram, *to speak with Roman simplicity*; nor can the *Linnean description* of the *Arum*, and many other plants, be read in *English* without exciting ideas, which the occasion does not re-
quire. Hence it is, that no 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 assiift 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 manu-
factures, may be collected, with the assistance of *Hindu* physicians, from the medical books in *Sanscrit*.
Sanskrit, 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. MUCHUCUNDA.

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 unprolific stamens, longer.
Pfll. Style cylindrick.
Peric. A capsule, with five cells, many-seeded.
Seeds: Roundish, compressed, winged.
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
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 Linnaeus.

II. BILVA OR MA'LU'RA.

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, cathartic; in taste, delicious; in fragrance, exquisite: its aperient and detereive 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 Sri'p'halā, 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 Bīva 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. SRINGA'TACA.

Four and One.

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

Cor. Four petals.


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,
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 silberd. A mucus, secreted by minute glands, covers the wet leaves, which are considered as cooling.

**Note:** It seems to be the floating *Trapa* of *Linnaeus*.

**IV. PUTICARAJA.**

**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. MADHUCA.**

**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 Koenig.

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 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.

D d
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.
IT 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 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 Rangamritca or Rangamati, and on the borders of the country.
country now called Bután: it is mentioned by Dioscorides, whose work I have not in my possession; but his description of it must be very imperfect, since neither Linnaeus 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 is in truth Persian, and occurs in the following distich of an old poet:

An chu bikheft, in chu nardest, án chu fishekheft, in chu bár, 
An chu bikhi páyidárest, in chu nard páyidár.

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 Kámit, of a compound medicinal unguent. Whatever it signified in old Persian, the Arabick word sambul, which, like sambalab, means an ear or spike, has long been substituted for it; and there can be no doubt, that by the sambul of India the Múselmáns 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 sambul by Abulfazl, who frequently mentions it as an

Dd 3 ingredient
ingredient in Indian perfumes, had for some time almost convinced me, that the true Spikenard was the Cetaca, or Pandanus of our botanists; his words are, Sumbul panj berg dāred, ebi dirāsī an dāb angoshtesu pābnāi ebi; 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 Cetaca; and though the Persian writer describes the female as a different plant, by the vulgar name Cyira, yet such a mistake might naturally have been expected in such a work: but what most confirmed my opinion, was the exquisite fragrance of the Cetaca flower, which to my sense far surpassed the richest perfumes of Europe or Asia. Scarce a doubt remained, when I met with a description of the Cetaca 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 Spikes, 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 general 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 Banaras 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 Cētaca, informed me, that the plant was extremely common in Arabia, where it was named Clutter; and several Mahomedans of rank and learning, have since assured me, that the true name of the Indian Sumbul was not Cētaca, but Jattamānti. This was important information; finding therefore, that the Pandanus was not
not peculiar to *Hindustan*, and considering that the *Sumbul* of *Abu' Infall* 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 *jatamāns*, 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 *Cypirus* with a polished three-sided culm, an umbrella with three or four ensiform leaflets, minutely serrated, naked proliferous peduncles, crowded spikes, expanded daggers; and its branchy root had a pungent taste with a faint aromatic smell; but no part of it bore the least resemblance to the drug known in Europe by the appellation of *Spikenard*; and a *Mufelmān* physician from *Dehli* assured me positively, that the plant was not *jatamāns*, but *Sud*, as it is named in *Arabick*, which the author of the *Tohfatul Mumennin* 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 Nardan; but, when the word stands alone, it means the Sumbul of India, which is an herb without flower or fruit (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 Hindustan, and its medicinal virtue lasts three years." It was easy to procure the dry 'Jatamansi', which corresponded perfectly with the description of the Sumbul; and though a native Muselman afterwards gave me a Persian paper, written by himself, in which he represents the Sumbul of India, the Sweet Sumbul, and the Jatamansi as three different plants, yet the authority of the Tofsatul Mumenin is decisive, that the sweet Sumbul is only another denomination of nard, and the physician, who produced that authority, brought, as a specimen of Sumbul, the very same drug, which my Pandit, who is also a physician, brought as a specimen of the Jatamansi:
Jatāmāṇi: a Brāhmaṇ 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 ingredient; 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 Persians author describes the whole plant as resembling the tail of an ermine; and the Jatāmāṇi, which is manifestly the Spikenard of our drugists, 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 Ptolemy, the Indian Sumbul of the Persians and Arabs, the Jatāmāṇi 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
ways 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 Aleppo, " where it is used in sub stance, mixed with " other perfumes, and worn in small bags, or " in the form of essence, and kept in little boxes " or phials, like \( \text{\textdeg} \) 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 \( \text{\textdeg} \) 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 Rangpur, has no hesitation in pronouncing it a species of the Baccharis; 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 \( \text{\textdeg} \) was composite and corymbose, with stamens connected by the anthers, and with female prolific 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
could justify its generic appellation. I therefore concluded, that the true Spikenard was a Baccharis, and that, while the philosophic philosopher had been searching for it to no purpose,

Trod on it daily with his clouted shoes,

for the Baccharis, it seems, as well as the Cunyza, is called by our gardeners, Ploughman's Spikenard. I suspected, nevertheless, that the plant which Mr. SAUNDERS described was not *Jatamansi*, 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, were 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 eigh-
or ten of the growing plants might be sent to him at Rangpur; should the Devaréjá 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 Jatámáns of Nepal, 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 Jatámáns, to the mountains of Nepal, I requested my friend Mr. Law, who then resided at Gayá, to procure some of the recent plants by the means of the Nepalese pilgrims; who being orthodox Hindus, and possessing many rare books in the Sanskrit language, were more likely than the Butias to know the true Jatámáns, 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 Jatámáns from the report of Mr. Burt, who favoured me with a drawing of
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 græs; and the word ἤχυς 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 Chinsura, who is kindly endeavouring to procure it thence in a state fit for examination, writes me word, that "a Dutch author pro-
nounces it a græs like the Cypricus, but insists that what we call the spike is the fibrous part above the root, as long as a man's little fin-
ger, 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 should imagine that the plant was the same with our Jatamansi, if it were not commonly asserted, that the Javan spikenard was used as a condiment, and if a well-
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 Sud, 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 gandbasat'hi, 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 has many names, and, among them, nágaramaśi and gīnarda, the second of which means rustling 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 rustle. Soon after, Mr. Burrow brought me, from the banks of the Ganges near Heridewar, 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 Gedrois, from the back of an elephant; its blossoms were
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 aromaticick odour, and, from the virtue ascribed to it of curing intermittent fevers, is known by the Sanscrit name of jwarâncusa, 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 essiential oil, which, he understands, is extracted from it in many parts of Hindustan, and used as an ñtar or perfume. He adds a very curious philological remark, that, in the Tamul dictionary, most words beginning with nâr have some relation to fragrance; as nârûkeradu to yield an odour, nârtum pillu, lemon-grass, nârtëi, citron, nârtà manum, the wild orange-tree, nârum panei, the Indian Jâsmin, nârum alleri, a strong smelling flower, and nârtu, which is put for nard in the Tamul version.
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 nargil (a word
originally Sanscrit) a cocoa-nut, neither of
which has any remarkable fragrance.

Such is the evidence in support of the opi-
ion, given by the great Swedish naturalist, that
the true nard was a gramineous plant and a
species of Andropogon; but since no grafs,
that I have yet seen, bears any resemblance to
the Jatamansi, which I conceive to be the nar-
dus 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 essen-
tial oil of the plant, from which it was deno-
minated, but am strongly inclined to believe,
that it was a generick word, meaning what we
now call ἀταρ, and either the ἀταρ of roses from
Cashmir and Persia, that of Cētaca, or Pandan-
us, from the western coast of India, or that
of Aguru, or aloe-wood, from Asam or Cochin-
china, the process of obtaining which is de-
scribed by Abu'lezzi, or the mixed perfume
called ábir, of which the principal ingredients
were
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 Jatamansi, which, by the way, has other names in the Amarchib, the smoothest of which are jatila and lumafla, 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.**

Cal. Scarce any. Margin, hardly discernible.
Cor. One petal. Tube 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 petaled.

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'ma'nsi 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 Sanscrit name, it seems, is derived. Two mercantile agents from Butan on the part of the Dówrágà were examined, at my request, by Mr. Harington, and informed him, that the drug which the Bengalese call Jatémansì, "grew erect above..."
the surface of the ground, resembling in colour an ear of green wheat; that, when recent, it had a faint odour, which was greatly increased by the simple process of drying it; that it abounded on the hills, and even on the plains, of Butan, where it was collected 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.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.