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Fragments of a Petrified Tree near Treevikera in the Carnatic

Root of a Petrified Tree
AN ACCOUNT OF THE PETRIFICATIONS NEAR THE VILLAGE OF TREEVIKERA IN THE CARNATIC.

BY CAPTAIN JOHN WARREN,

OF H. M. 33D REGIMENT OF FOOT.

THE petrifications, which are to be seen near the village of Treevikera, have long since been known in India; but as I do not find that any regular account of them has yet been given to the public, I am induced to believe that the following description of their appearance, and of the place where they lie, may prove acceptable to the Asiatick Society. I must preface however what I have to say, by stating that the details here offered to their notice were mostly communicated to me, in the language in which I repeat them after him, by a gentleman high in the Company’s Civil Service, who had visited Treevikera several months before me; and that
ACCOUNT OF PETRIFACIONS

I have done little more than to collate, by immediate inspection, what he has very correctly described. Some few additional remarks have occurred, which I have annexed to his paper; but these, though they have extended, have seldom corrected his narrative.

The village of Treevikera is situated on the north bank of the Arriacoopum or Villenore river, about fifteen miles in a direction west by north of the city of Pondicherry, and four miles beyond the old Fort of Woldoor, formerly belonging to the French, but now in a state of ruin.

Treevikera is at present composed of a few scattered huts; although, from the appearance of the pagoda at that place, the interior of which is all built of stones, from the size of the tower over its gateway eight stories high, (the lower one of which is entirely of blue granite), from the large stone tank which lies close to the pagoda, and covers several acres of ground, and the size of the principal streets, which can still be traced; from these remains, I say, we may conclude that in former times Treevikera was a place of great extent and importance. The inscriptions in Sanscrit upon the walls, now scarcely legible; and the mouldered condition of many of the stones, indicate the great antiquity of these buildings. The destructive hand of Haider Ali Khan, however, has accelerated the ravages of time: for many parts of the pagoda were injured, and several of the statues mutilated, by his army, as it retired from Porto Novo towards Mysore, in the year 1781.

To the eastward of the village, at a distance of a quarter of a mile, rises a hill, or rather a hillock; one of a chain consisting of ten or a dozen similar elevations, none exceeding forty or fifty feet in perpendicular height. These hills vary in size, and run in a line from north to south; the whole extending over about one mile and a half of ground.
Their surface in general exhibits a dark red appearance on the heights, and a sandy colour in the low grounds; an effect produced by the periodical rains, which have formed, in many places, deep channels through the sides of the hills, driving the sand into the hollows, and leaving exposed to the view, their ruddy stratum, which every where has a very rugged appearance. The sub-stratum, in most places, seems to be a species of lime mixed with red earth, of so soft a quality as to be easily broken by any iron instrument.

On the declivity, and on the west side of this hill, about two feet and a half below its summit, a petrified tree appears, lying in a horizontal position on the surface of the ground, with about two thirds of its root entirely bare.

Of the body of this tree (which has been divided into three pieces by the stone-cutters) twenty feet still remain; the root being seven feet in diameter; the trunk, at the bottom, three feet; in the middle part, two feet; and at top one and a quarter foot in diameter.

Another tree lies at a small distance from the above, and five feet below the summit of the hill; this is almost buried in the stratum, the surface only being visible. Some parts of this tree are as hard as flint, and others so soft as to be reduced to dust by the slightest pressure. Another tree, not far off, is forty feet in length. All these petrifications lie horizontally, and none of their branches can be discovered, even detached, or in the vicinity of the parent stem. These must have withered away before the process of petrification had taken place; for the knots at the insertion of the branches with the trunk are very visible in most of the trees.
ACCOUNT OF PETRIFICATION

The number of petrifications, which are to be seen, in every direction, in this broken ground (about fifteen or twenty) is too great to admit a minute description of every subject. The fragments of one particular tree, however, attracted sufficiently my notice, to induce me to give some account of it at this place: I say of a tree, because although the parts that remain are very remote from one another, yet the natives affirm that they did belong to the same individual.

The middle part of the trunk seems to have been detached from the extremities, by a water-course or deep rut, which forming under it, deprived its centre of support: and as all these trees are generally broken across, at intervals of three, and four feet, (as would be the case, were a long stone pillar to be let fall suddenly on its side) it followed, that when these divisions lost their support, they rolled off, or fell down; and if of a good texture and colour, they may have been carried away by the stone-cutters. One of these fragments lies a little on one side, and below the upper part of the tree; but the top and the root, which were most firmly fixed into the ground, kept fast in their place. These pieces lie evidently in the same, or in parallel lines.

Measuring from whence the top is inserted into the stratum, down to the extremity of the root, it was sixty feet in length; its diameter at the upper insertion was two feet, at the piece fallen down, three feet. At the bottom of the trunk, four and half feet, and at the root, at its broadest place, about eight, or nine feet; a prodigious size, if these fragments really once did belong to the same tree.

Another curious appearance was that of a tree, about thirty feet long, which traversed the summit of one of the hillocks, in an oblique direction;
so as to let a considerable part of both its extremities be seen, on each side of the mound.

I shall observe of the last eminence to the southward (which is separated about a quarter of a mile from the rest) that it exhibits the most remarkable assemblage of petrifactions. I discovered, within the circumference of about one hundred yards, no less than ten trees of a large size, lying in different directions, excepting three of them which were parallel to each other, with a proportion of their roots out of the ground; some almost complete, although the bodies were generally enveloped with the stratum.

Although it was reported to me that there were no trees seen at a distance from the rising grounds above described, yet I noticed part of one, just appearing at the surface of the earth, in the plain, about half way between the hills and the village. Moreover a French officer (who now resides at Pondicherry) showed me a piece of petrified wood, which he had himself separated from a large block, which lies in the bed of the Arriacoppum river, at a distance of about seven or eight miles from Treemikera. In the same manner we may believe that a great many more petrified trees lie hid under ground, which have yet never been exposed to light in that state.

I have generally remarked of these petrifactions, that they are more perfect at the root, and in those parts which are buried under ground, than where they lie exposed to the air. The petrified root, in most places, is as hard as flint: it takes a much finer polish than any part of the stem, and assumes a more variegated appearance, in its veins and colours: like the flint, it easily strikes fire, and breaks short where it is briskly stricken.
ACCOUNT OF PETRIFACIONS

THE jewellers prefer those fragments which, when broken from the tree, appear in the interior of a brown and purple colour, occasionally striped with grey or white veins. The more prevalent the purple or pink, the more the stone is valued. When polished and well selected, it assumes a great variety of colours, resembling most frequently agate, changing from a dark brown grey, to bright red with white veins. The red, when well chosen, might easily be taken for cornelians; it is generally preferred for necklaces, when cut in flat circles, and set according to the taste of the artist. The grey looks best in beads, and is used in that shape, for necklaces and bracelets, arranged in the usual way.

On the western, or opposite side of the village, and within a quarter of a mile from it, there is another hill much higher than those already described. It is entirely covered with large blue granite stones, and tapers into a bare pointed rock. In this hill there is no sign whatever of petrifaction, and its aspect is quite opposite to that of the other range.

To return to these hills, I shall observe, that their surfaces present, everywhere, with an elevation of about four inches above the surface of the ground, a number of small protuberances; which answer much to the description of the puddling stone, and which at first sight might be taken for the work of the potter. Some persons have formed strange conjectures on these appearances; some taking them for the cups or sockets in which the fruit of the Palmyra tree is retained, and which they suppose has sustained some degree of petrifaction; others fancying them to be the decayed remnants of petrified branches. But it requires no great examination to perceive that these tubes (if I may so call them) extend deep into the earth. This may be seen where the side of the hill is abruptly
broken off and where they are seen to spread like the ramifications of a nest of white ants. The part which is seen above the surface is in fact nothing more than the projection of these ducts: I believe there is but little doubt that these subterranean tubes were originally the work of some swarms of insects, or larger inhabitants of the soil; for though their centre be filled with a sort of stiff earth mixed with gravel dust, yet it can easily be removed, and the sides (though rather hard) are nothing else but a stratum about three tenths of an inch thick, strongly incrustated both in, and out side, with a small silicious stone, but easily separated.

A substance perhaps more curious, and which is to be found in great quantities upon those hills, is a small round body, generally one and half inch in diameter, the exterior coat of which resembles much that of the tubes above described, and which from its round shape, might be taken at first sight for a pebble smeared with earth and gravel.

When these balls are broken through the middle, they exhibit a number of concentric circles of various colours and densities, the latter of which decreases as it approaches the centre, where it generally is in a state of loose dust. One of the most variegated which I opened had the following successions of colours, beginning from the outer shell, and proceeding towards the centre.

The exterior coat was a sort of yellow ochre, about one tenth of an inch thick, soiled at the surface by the dust and gravel which it had collected, but very clear where it had been protected. This was succeeded by an ore, of a dark iron colour, very shining, about two tenths of an inch in thickness; next followed a smaller ring of dark red, tending to purple, about one tenth of an inch deep, and this was succeeded by a thin bright lilac
circle, lined with a narrow rim of white, apparently a sort of lime, which was the last solid stratum of this curious concretion. The rest was filled with loose earth and gravel dust, which crumbled off the moment it was broken: many of the particles of gravel, however, adhered to the interior coat of the shell. The diameter of this subject was, at the exterior, about two inches, and at the interior, one and quarter inch. When broken, the parts resembled the splinters of a hand grenade.

Near the bottom of the northernmost hill there is a small cave; one of those excavations which are to be seen in every part of the country, and once the residence of a Faqueer who dug it for the purpose. This would hardly deserve to be noticed but for the surprising manner in which the superincumbent stratum supports itself from the mere cohesion of its parts.

This cave is divided into two parts, the entrance being an open space, somewhat in imitation of a choultry, but of a very irregular shape. It is about eighteen feet wide, six feet high and twelve feet deep in the middle: the sides are of unequal depth, owing to the irregularity of the rock at the entrance. The roof is cut quite horizontally, and was formerly supported by two pillars about two feet thick, cut out of the same solid stratum as the rest. One of these is now fallen to the ground.

The second and innermost part is a recess of a nearly circular form, the communication of which opens in the center of the first one. It is about nine feet deep, by seven feet wide, and six feet high. On each side of its entrance, and on the outside, there are two sorts of niches, about two feet deep, which can hardly ever have been of any use.
The distance from the point of the roof, which stands over the entrance, to the bottom of the principal recess, is twenty-four feet; and the whole roof (which is of a considerable thickness, and projects horizontally eight or nine feet beyond the remaining pillar) hangs over the head, supported merely by the adhesive qualities of the component parts of the stratum.

I have now only a few words to add on the probable species of the trees which lie petrified near Treervikera, about which we can form only vague conjectures.

To judge by the present growth of trees in the vicinity, which are principally of the tamarind kind; by the respective height of these trees, and of the petrified shafts which lie upon the ground; by the dark red and brown colours which are to be seen in the centre of the petrifications; and by the deep brown colour of the heart of the tamarind tree; and particularly if we consider that in no one subject which I have examined, I could distinguish the adhesive roots, and sinuosities which characterize the trunk of the banian tree (the only species of size besides the tamarind which is to be seen in the district) from these considerations, I say, we may conclude that the whole of that transformed grove, was once of the "majestic, and wide spreading tamarind."

Of the antiquity of these petrifications we are still more ignorant. The archives of the Treervikera pagoda are silent in regard to them. The oldest bramins on the spot, who are the only intelligent people in the village, declare that they remember some of the largest trees since fifty years; and that their fathers, and grand-fathers asserted they had likewise seen them; but that no trace had been transmitted down of their
ACCOUNT OF PETRIFACTIONS &c.

origin; nor had any light been afforded, that could lead to any conclusion, whereby the period of time in which the petrified trees had been in that state, or in their progress of transmutation from wood to stone, could be ascertained. It is remarkable, that the circumstance having been known to the bramins for such a length of time, they should have omitted to ascribe it to the influence of some supernatural agent, whose presence would have enhanced the sanctity, and promoted the emoluments of their pagoda.

Treewikera, 20th of

June, 1808.
II.

An Essay on the Sacred Isles in the West, with other Essays connected with that Work.

BY MAJOR F. WILFORD.

Essay VI.

PART I.—CHAPTER II.

Of 'Swetam or the White Island; called also 'Sacam.

I. THE western Tri-cûta, or the Three-peak-land, is the most famous of the two among the Paurán'ics, and also the most interesting to us, as it includes the British empire in the west; at least in my humble opinion, which, however, I submit with all due deference to the impartial judgment of the learned. The numerous passages in the Purán'as and other Sanscrit books, and also from ancient and modern writers in the west,
which I shall adduce in support of my opinion, I have faithfully extracted: neither have I omitted any, wilfully, that should militate against it. Should the learned, after having duly examined them, and weighed the evidence resting upon them, think proper to place this famous country, and the White Island, some where else in the west, I shall acquiesce; but I cannot conceive it altogether an Utopian land. It was certainly my opinion at first, that the White Island was Crete, and the White Sea the Mediterranean: the former being called to this day Ghirita-Adassi, and the latter Ac-Denghiz, or the White Sea, by the Turks. Ghirita is also another name for the White Island in Sanscrit, which implies shining white. This first impression, as usually happens, was not easily done away. As the denomination of Tri-cau'ta is by no means applicable to Crete, I had at first some idea to remove it to Sicily, called in Greek, Trinacria, or the island with three peaks; (for acron signifies a peak, and, by implication only, a head land, or promontory;) these three promontories making a triangle, or Tri-cen'a in Sanscrit, and Tri-cshe'tra, or a figure with three places or corners. This last, in the spoken dialects of India, is pronounced Tri-khyetra in the eastern, and Tri-khetra in the western parts of it. It is the same with Triquetra in Latin: and this etymology, I conceive to be better than the one generally admitted, which derives it from Tri-quadrat, or squared into three corners, as it is rendered. Thus Tri-khetra is the origin of Triquetra in Latin, and Tri-cona of Trigono in Greek.

For the illustration of this subject, I have annexed a map of the north-west quarter of the old continent, from the Puranas; and the only additions, I have presumed to make, are, first, a rough delineation of the western shores of Europe; and secondly, the polar circle.

Meru is omitted through want of room; but this is immaterial, and
it is supposed to be in forty degrees of Latitude north. The Hindu astronomers, and such of the Paurāṇics, as have adopted in part their ideas, reckon every place in Jambu, or the old continent, to be to the south of Meru, which they consider then as the north pole. But they are constantly contradicting one another, and even themselves. Thus Rōmaca, or Rome, ought to be to the south of Meru; and in the Surya-Siddhānta, it is declared to be so: yet in general they reckon it to the westward of it, which is true. In the Varāha-purāṇa, the country of Ramānaca or Ramyaca is declared to be in the north-west quarter of the old continent; yet in the same passage it is said to be to the south of the Nila, or blue mountains, and north of the Śvetā range; which is impossible, if Ramyaca be situated in the north-west part of the old continent. Thus the extensive country of Curu or Siberia, beyond Meru with regard to India, is declared to be to the south of the Northern Ocean; which is really the case; but is inadmissible in their own system. In the same manner, and upon the same principles, Scotland ought to be to the west of England, and it is really declared in the Purāṇas to be so situated in respect of England and of Ireland, as we shall see hereafter. Thus, according to this delineation, the British Isles are to the west of Rome, Ireland is to the south of England, and Scotland to the westward of both. I could point out a great many more instances of this kind, but these will suffice.

The shape and general outlines of the western shores, in the accompanying map, bear no small affinity with those of Europe, which they were intended to represent. There we may trace the Bay of Biscay, the German Sea, and the entrance into the Baltic. But above all, the greatest resemblance is in the arrangement of the British Isles, Iceland and the adjacent shores of America; and this, surely, cannot be merely accidental.
-islands of St'hula or Thule now Ferro, Chan'dicá the Shetland Isles, Indradwipa or the Orkneys, are placed beyond the British Isles, and I have arranged them in the manner they are in the map, on the supposition that they really answer to the above islands.

The same configuration is assigned to the shores of the old continent in the north-east, south-east and south-west quarters: but in these instances there is no resemblance whatever. Besides, the Pauránics are totally unacquainted with the north-east and south-west quarters; and with regard to the south-east, they know much less than we could reasonably expect. In giving the same configuration to all, they have had no other view, but to preserve the symmetry of the corresponding parts.

Another striking peculiarity in the north-west quarter is the three fold gap of Crauncha, which I conceive to be the three belts leading into the Baltic. These were made by Scanda, called also Canda in many of the spoken dialects, and Candaos by the Thracians or Goths. As he is a form of Hara, he is really Haraja, and Hara-cula of Hercules; and the Cronian straits were known also in the west, under the appellation of straits of Hercules according to Tacitus; and the denominations of Scandia, and Candavia, may be derived from him.

The chasm in the mountains surrounding the world, with the abode of the great spirit beyond them, among waters, is also a singular feature in this delineation of the countries toward the north-west quarter of the old continent, and which will be fully illustrated hereafter.

I mentioned before, that the Pauránics are acquainted with only two quarters of the old continent, the north-west and south-east; which, with the intermediate parts, form, as it were, a belt across the old continent in
an oblique direction. This belt gives the range, compass and extent of the Sanskrit language, and of the religious system of the Hindus, under various modifications.

The first passage to be examined is from the *Varāhapurāṇa*. "South (it should be north) of Nīla, and north (south) of Sūrēta, or the white mountain, is Vāyavyam-Ramyaṣam, or the country of Ramyaṣa in the north-west." (*Vāyavyam* is derived from *Vāyu*, or Θεόδος the guardian of the north-west; and of course is used here to designate that quarter.) "To the south (north) of the range of the Sūrēta, or white mountains, and north (south) of the range called 'Srīngāvān, is the country of Hiranāyā. There is Tri-sṛṅga (or Tri-cūṭa) in the ocean in the west. There is the Čhītra tree, and island 4000 yōjanas in circumference." "There is the Chandra-vartā ḏa great river: its banks are covered with trees, and it receives many other streams. This is Curuvarśa or country of Curu, (or this is part of, or belongs to, Curu.) To the north is Surya-dvīpa, or the island of the sun, in which gods abide: it is in the middle of a sea full of waves, like so many garlands. It is 1000 yōjanas in circumference: in the middle is a mountain 100 yōjanas high, and as many broad. From it flows the river Surya-vartā, "There is the sthān, or place of the sun: there they worship the sun. "To the west of it (north) at the distance of 4000 yōjanas, is Rudrācāra (read Bhadra-cāra-dvīpa:) there is Bhadrāśana-Vāyu-Vigrahāvān, or the seat of Vāyu with the epithet of Vigrahāvān, or in a human shape." This last part shews positively that Tri-cūṭādri, of which 'Sūrēta is part, lies in the quarter of Vāyu, or the north-west quarter of the old continent.

In the *Vāyu-purāṇa*, the author, having described the country of Četumāla, which includes Europe, the northern parts of Africa, the lesser
Asia, Iran &c., informs us "that south of the range of Nēla, and north " of that of Sveita, is the country of Ramānacam, or Ramyacam, inhabited " by white men, who live 1500 years; do not grow old, have many " servants: and there is a famous Nyagrodha tree.* North of the range " of Sveita, and south of that of Srīnaga, is the country called Hiranya-" vatam. There is the river Haimavati or full of snow. People live there " 1100 years. There are the peak lands of Hirayamaya, Manimaya, " Ratnamaya. South of the shores of the northern Ocean are the two " Surus, (or north and south Cūru); it is a holy country, inhabited by " Siddhas or saints; men falling (or returning) from heaven are born " again there, and live 1300 and 1500 years." It is declared in the " Puranas, that South Cūru is next to Meru; now if Meru was the north " pole, this would be impossible.

" Jatudhi, and Saila-raja, abounding with caves, are two large " mountains. There are also the two famous mountains called Surya-" canta and Chandra-canta. Between them flows the river Bhadra- " somā &c."

These two mountains are both at the extremities of Cūru; Surya-" canta, in the east, and Chandra-canta in the west. Surya-canta is called also Udaya-giri, or the mountain of Udaya; because the sun is suppo-" sed to rise behind it; and Chandra-canta, in the west, is thus called, because the moon, in her monthly course, appears first above it. It is called also Astogiri, because the sun disappears behind it. Another " name for it is Mahā-Rajata-Astogiri, because it is situated in the fa-" mous island of Rajata (silver) or Sveita. Chandra-canta is of course the same with Chandra-dwipa, or the island of the moon.

*Ficus Indica
SACRED ISLES IN THE WEST.

In the Sántiparvá, one of the greater divisions of the Mahá-Bháráta, section of the Mócsa-dharma, Nárádá is introduced saying to Náráyaṇá, "Thou, who wert incarnate through thy own power, now perform that, for which thou wert born. I am going to see thy Ādhyátm, or first and original form, (which resides in Śvétá-dwípa, in the commentary) to perform the pújá, in honor of him, who is Guhyá, or concealed. Náráyaṇá, said go. Nárádá made his obeisance, and flew through heaven to Méru. There he remained about two hours, when he looked towards the north-west, and descried at a great distance an object of an astonishing size. He saw, in the north of the Cshirêdadhi, or White Sea, the island Śvétá thus called, and which, as every body knows, is very great."

In the Váyu-puráṇá is to be found the following passage: "Know ye, that to the south of Uttara-Curu, or North-Curu, in the ocean with waves like so many garlands, at the distance of 5000 yójanas, is the Suráleyam or abode of the gods, famous for the various sorts of deities living in it, and Chandra-dwípa thus called. There is the Maṇḍaláma, or sacred road, of Lánus. To the west of this western island, in the Maḥódaḍhi or great sea, is an island called Bhadracára, where is the Bhadrásana, or throne of Vígraḥavána-Váyu, who resides there in a human shape, and is worshipped as a god."

Váyu, or Yah is Æolus, and the guardian of the north-west quarter of the world. By the country to the south of Uttara-Curu, or North-Curu, we must understand here South-Curu, and which is bounded on the north, as I have shewn before, by the arctic circle; I mean the sensible one, where there are days of 24 hours, and which passes through the meridional parts of Iceland or Pushcara; which island is declared to be in Uttara-
Curu, or in the same climate. This distance from Uttara-Curu, or from the arctic circle, to Chandra-dwipa or 'Swétam, is equal to nine degrees of latitude; for 5000 is the twentieth part of 100,000 yójanas, the length, and breadth of the superior hemisphere, answering to 180 degrees. These nine degrees will bring the White Island between the parallels of 50 and 53 degrees of north latitude.

Though I have said, that the distance of 'Swétam, or rather of its centre, from the continent, is nowhere mentioned, yet it is supposed to be 4 or 5000 yójanas; but I believe it is, because islands are generally placed at that distance from the main land, and straits also are generally described as 4, or 5000 yójanas broad. Several learned Pandits are of opinion, that in the first passage, which I have produced from the Varáha-purána, instead of the circumference of the White Island, which is described as a very large one, and is declared here to be only 4000 yójanas, or stades, we should read "to the west of the continent is an Island 4000 yójanas distant;" and I believe they are in the right. The whole passage is certainly obscure, owing to some inaccuracy, and mistake in the manuscripts, with respect to the particulars; though there be none about the situation of the White Island, with regard to the adjacent ranges.

In the passage from the Varáha-purána, which I mentioned before, the name of 'Swéta is not very obvious; but its identity is ascertained from the famous Cshíra tree growing there; and the river Chandra-varítá: and the passage seems to imply that the island was also called Cshíra; as it is constantly denominated in the Trái-lócy-a-derpa'na. "There is the Three-peak-land in the ocean; the Cshíra tree and island, to the west of the continent 4000 yójanas in circumference: there is the river
Chandra-vartīa.” To the north of the island of Cśīra is the Surya-dvīpa, or the Island of the Sun, called also Hiraniya and Suvarṇa or Ireland, and placed to the north of Britain by Strabo and Mela. Bhadracara-dvīpa is placed to the west of Surya-dvīpa erroneously. Scotland is not noticed by Strabo; otherwise he would, in all probability, have placed it also to the west of Ireland. The compiler has placed, however, the three islands in a triangle, which was his chief, if not sole object.

In the Vāyu-purāṇa, there is some inaccuracy with regard to the names of these three peak-lands, which are said to be Hiraniya, Manī, and Ratna; whilst Manī and Ratna are considered as the same, and are really so.

Swetam is called also the island of Chandra, because Chandra or Lunus resides there; and as he rises, or appears first above it, Swetam is called Chandra-cánta, and Chandrodaya for Chandra-Udaya, the udaya or place of the rising of the moon. The place of the rising of the sun, is simply and emphatically called Udaya, which is also a general name in Sanscrit, for the countries toward the rising of the sun; and we have Udaya and Mahādya: but as these denominations seldom occur, and then without any particulars, I was at a loss what to do with them; till I found, in Col. Symes’s relation of his embassy to Āvā, that Odcea or Udaya is the name of China, as well as of Siam, among the natives of Āvā, who call the emperor of China, Odcea-boa; in Sanscrit it would be Udaya-pa. (1) Thus it appears, that China, and Mahā-China, are the same with Udaya, and Mahōdaya for Mahā-Udaya. In the Matsya-purāṇa, section of Bhū-chānīda, or of the earth, the White Island or

(1) Eor (regionis) rex.
Rajata (silver) is the same, as acknowledged by every body, with Rajata-mahán-Astagiri, in which passage the White Island is declared to be the great or famous mountain Asta-giri, behind which the sun disappears.

The White Island, 'Swéta-dwípa or 'Swétam', simply in a derivative form of the neuter gender, is called also 'Sucla', which is synonymous with 'Swéta'. Cshíra-dwípa or Khíra-dwípa, in the spoken dialects, signifies the Milk Island, from its whiteness. All names signifying White are applicable, and occasionally applied, to the White Island. 'Swéta-s'aila, or the White cliffs, is often used, and is literally the Leucas-petra of Homer, and Al-Fionu in Galic.

It is called the Silver Island, because it is supposed to abound with that metal, and more probably from a supposed affinity between the moon and silver. Gold, says Proclus, is a solar, and silver a lunar, form. Rúpa and Rajata are Sanscrit names of that metal: hence the White Island is called Rajata-dwípa or the Silver Island; Rajata-cúta the Silver-peak-land. Raupya is used in the Bhágavata in a derivative form; and Raupya-bhúmi or Silver land. Arajata or Arjata in Sanscrit implies full of silver, abounding with silver. This word is pronounced, in the west of India, Aryata; and in this manner the word argentum is pronounced arýentum in Germany; arjata, argoid, and arget in Irish. Aryata becomes arjateya and arjateya in a regular derivative form; which last is probably the famous Erithya and Eritheia of the Greeks, who placed it near the columns of Hercules, which was the ne plus ultra of their geographical knowledge. Besides, Arjateya was not far from the northern columns, and straits of Hercules, or the entrance into the Baltic, which were always confounded by the careless Greeks with the straits of Gibraltar.
The White Island is called Chandra-dwīpa, or the island of Lunus, or
the moon; because he was born there; and it is also the place of his resi-
dence: Chandrām-Suca as it is called, I believe, in the Bhogavata, signi-
fies also resplendent like the moon. 'Sasi-chan'na, the Canton or coun-
try of 'Sasi', another name for Lunus, is mentioned in the Vṛhat-cat'hā.
The White Island is called also Ratna-maya and Ratna-dwīpa, the island
of jewels; because, at the churning of the ocean, fourteen invaluable ratna
or jewels, were produced by the churning, and deposited there, till dis-
posed of. Gomeda and Mani, which signify jewels also, are denomina-
tions of the White-Island. All these names are often met with in com-
position, with 'Saila, cliff, or cliffs; for, in composition, a noun in the singular
has often the force of the plural number. Thus 'Sweta-Saila signifies
the White cliffs: Chandra 'Saila, Soma 'Saila, the cliffs of the moon:
Ratna 'Saila, the cliffs abounding with jewels &c.

Muci-dwīpa is also another name for the White Island, used in the
Vṛhat-cat'hā, and signifies the blessed island; and answers to the Bea-
torum Insulae of the western mythologists. In the same manner, Sri-
dwīpa, and Srip-Saila, the fortunate island, mountain, or cliffs, answer
to the fortunate islands. In the fifth section of the Devi-purana, the
abode of Devi in the White-Sea is called Sripurī, or the blessed city
or abode: it is the same with the White Island.

The White Island was not unknown to the western mythologists, but
this name had become obsolete for so long a period of time, that they
had entirely forgotten that it belonged to Britain. But, before we pro-
ceed further, it will be necessary to return to Tri-cūta, or the three-
peak-land; and having already mentioned the different names of the
White Island, let us pass to those of the two others. Su-varn'a-dwīpa, or
the island of Su-vArn'ya or gold, might be called also, in a derivative form, Su-vArn'eya simply, as Anglia for Engle-lond. It is called also HirAn'ya, a denomination of the same import, as well as Canchana-bhumi or land of gold. HirAn'ya and Su-vArn'eya are obviously the same with Erin, and Juvennia, or Ireland. Another name for it is Surya-dwipa, or the Island of the sun; and it is probably the old garden of Phæbus of the western mythologists.

The third peak-land, or Scotland, is called AyA-cüta or the Iron peak or island. It is called Ayasa in the Bhågavata, a word of the same import. In a derivative form we might grammatically say Ayéya, though this term be never used: but that is no reason for supposing that the term never was in use: for it is the Island of Aiaia, or Aaë of the western mythologists. It might be called also Lôha-dwipa; but this denomination is never found in the Purânïas: though there is every reason to believe that it was used also formerly: and I believe, that it was really the original name, as we shall see when we come to treat of that country. We have seen before that England is called Chandra-cánta; Ireland, Surya-cánta. Scotland is likewise denominated Ayascánta.

Nothing but faint vestiges of Tri-cüta, or the Three-peak-land, are to be found in the ancient history, and mythology of the west. These are considered as three distinct islands by the Paurânïcs: and it was even so in the opinion of the Nubian geographer, in the twelfth century. The word dwipa signifies only a country between two waters, as Do-ab in Persian; and like the Arabic Jezirah, is applied to any country bordering on the sea. These three peak-lands are supposed to be solid masses of gold, silver and iron.
This notion, or at least the opinion, that these metals abounded there, prevailed once in the west; for Cicero's brother wrote to him from Britain, that he had been much disappointed; and that he had not found there a single particle of these precious metals. Yet Strabo says, that gold, silver and iron were found in Britain, and were even an article of trade. There are, indeed, gold mines in Ireland; and, like those of Spain, they might have been more productive formerly; and the astonishing quantities of gold trinkets found daily in the bogs, seem to countenance this idea. Besides, Donatus, bishop of Fiesoli, and who lived about 1100 years ago, says that Ireland abounded with gold and silver, and that there were mines of these precious metals. This, whether true or not, shows at least, that it was the general opinion in the west, at a very early period. Scotland might, with equal propriety, be called the Iron-peak-land. With respect to England, it is not so obvious, whether formerly it abounded with silver, or had mines of that precious metal.

The word Tri-cūta is perfectly synonymous with Trinacria in Greek: for acron does not signify positively a cape, but like cūta, it implies a peak, and a peak-land. This was perhaps the occasion of the various mistakes of Homer, with regard to the voyages of Ulysses, by his confounding Trinacria in the ocean, with the other in the Mediterranean: for the venerable bard's geographical knowledge of the western countries extended very little beyond Ithaca. But this is no disparagement to the illustrious poet; who was not bound to know more on this subject, than his contemporaries. Heraclides of Pontus, who lived at the time of the taking of Rome by the Gauls, speaking of that event, says "that it was reported at that time, that the Gauls, had taken Rome," a city on the shores of the Western Ocean. The Paurânics, when speaking of Rómâca
or Rome, place it equally on the shores of the Western, or Atlantic Ocean.

We read in Plutarch, that a certain Thespisus of Soli was transported in the spirit to the islands of the departed, where he saw three Genii sitting in a triangle. He saw there also three lakes of melted gold, lead and iron. The first looked like gold; the second of lead, though in fusion, was exceedingly cold, and looked white. This was meant perhaps for white lead or tin. The third lake of iron was black, and its surface very rugged, as if full of scoriæ.

The three Genii were Vishnu, Brahma', and 'Siva, or rather their 'Sactis or female energies, which are the three Parcae of the western mythologists. This relation of Thespisus alludes visibly to the ternary number of these islands; and the three lakes have an obvious reference to the three peaks. But this interesting vision I shall resume, when I come to treat of the elysium of the western mythologists.

The ancients had certainly some knowledge of three peaks of solid gold, silver, and iron, which they placed, as usual, near the pillars of Hercules; the limit of their geographical knowledge in the west; and every place said to be far toward the west, was immediately concluded to be near these pillars. Another cause of their misplacing thus these three peaks, was that the Greeks confounded the pillars, and straits of Hercules, at the mouth of the Baltic, with those of the same name near Gades. Now Tri-cūta is opposite to the entrance of the Baltic, and near enough to be said, by such a distant and careless people as the Greeks were, to be in the vicinity of these pillars and straits. When the Romans sailed under Drusus into the German seas, they were struck with astonishment, when they heard of these columns of Hercules so far north;
and though they did not see them, such was the information, which they received, that they did not entertain the smallest doubt of their existence. The golden mountain is mentioned by Justin. (2) There is, says he, a mountain of gold in that country, which is considered as sacred, and no body dares dig there for that precious metal: but when it thunders, the lightening very often falls upon it, and separates lumps from the body of the mountain: these lumps it is lawful to take, and carry away. The Silver Peak is mentioned by the poet Stesichorus, and after him by Strabo and Avienus. Lastly, the third or Iron Peak is mentioned by Pliny, as the northernmost of the three. (3) This mountain of iron, says he, is on the shores of the ocean, abrupt all round, and however incredible it may appear, is a solid mass of iron. The Spaniards called gold dust Balucis, Bâluca, &c. The Sanscrit name for dust is Bâluca in general; and Canchana-bâluca signifies gold dust. Pliny says, that the Spaniards called this gold dust Balucis; in an old glossary it is called Balluca, and Vâluca: and in Sanscrit it is pronounced indifferently Bâluca and Vâluca. Timarchus of Chersonea, who saw also these islands in a vision, according to Plutarch, says that they were very large, and were situated in the eighth sea, or division of the world. Tri-cúta is always placed in the last sea but one: it is in the sixth sea according to the Hindus, who affect the number seven: it is in the seventh according to the Baudhâyâns, who affect the number eight: and in the west it was in the eighth, because they had a predilection for the number nine. The Styx winded nine times round the world, and according to the Edda there were nine worlds. It will appear in the sequel of this work, that the Styx is the same with the seven Seas, which are sometimes represented, as forming a

(2) Lib. 44. c. 3.
(3) Pliny, lib. 34. c. 15.
spiral line: and in some Puránás, and also among the Baudháhists, they are considered simply as a river; and by some called the Chśhirā or river of milk; probably because its source is in the island of Chśira, or 'Svātām.

"The famous Atlantis no longer exists," says Proclus* in his commentary on the Timæus of Plato, "but we can hardly doubt, but that it did once. For Marcellus, who wrote a history of Ethiopian affairs, says that such, and so great an island once existed, is evinced by those, who composed histories of things relative to the external sea. For they relate that in their time, there were seven islands in the Atlantic Sea sacred to Proserpine: and besides these, three others of an immense magnitude; one of which was sacred to Pluto, another to Ammon (Jupiter), and the third, which is in the middle of these, and is of a thousand stadia, to Neptune. And besides this, that the inhabitants of this last island preserved the memory of the prodigious magnitude of the Atlantic Island, as related by their ancestors, and of its governing for many periods all the islands in the Atlantic Sea. From this isle one may pass to other large islands beyond, and which are not far from the Firm-land, near which is the true sea."

Whether the Atlantis ever existed or not, is immaterial; but this description of seven islands, of a great magnitude, in the external or in the Atlantic Sea, and from which one may pass to other islands beyond, and which are not far from that Firm-land which incloses all the world, is applicable to the British Isles only, beyond which are several other islands, such as the Orkneys, Shetland, Fero and Iceland, which last

* Quoted in Clarke's Maritime Discoveries.
is near that famous *Firm-land*, of which the ancients had some notion, and with the *Hindus*, conceived it to be the boundary of the Universe. The sea towards it, or the *Atlantic*, is the only true sea; for the other seas are really, but gulfs and bays. *Thespisius*, whom I mentioned before, says that there was but one island, belonging to *Proserpine*; *Marcellus* says that they all belonged to her. She is the *Lacshmi* of the *Purânás*, and the daughter of the ocean. Besides these *seven dwîpas*, there were three of a vast size, which belonged to the three superior deities. These three islands constitute the seventh division of the world, according to the followers of *Buddha*; and the sixth only according to the *Paurânics*, who divide the world into seven, as the former do into eight *dwîpas*. The three superior deities, according to the *Hindus*, are *Brahma*, *Vishnu*, and *Siva*, who preside over these three islands. To *Brahma* belongs *Suvannâya*; and it is also the abode of *Yama* or *Pluto*. *Vishnu* presides over the *White Island*; he who is *Nârâyâna*, or abiding in the waters, and consequently often mistaken for *Neptune*. The third island, says *Marcellus*, belongs to *Jupiter Ammon*, who is the same with *Siva* in the character of *Barcarâ*, or with the head of a he goat. The word *Barcarâ* was formerly used in the west for a *ram* and a *sheep*; for in the *Latin* of the middle ages *Barcária* or *Bercaria* signified a sheep fold, *Bercarius* a shepherd; hence the *French* word *Berger*.

These *seven dwîpas*, inaccurately rendered islands, constituted the body of the famous *Atlantis*, according to *Marcellus*: but the general opinion was, that it consisted of ten parts, *Neptune* having divided the whole country between his ten sons. The whole is perfectly consonant with the account of the *Paurânics*. *Priyavrata*, the eldest son of
Swa'yambhuva, or Adam, had ten sons, and intended to have divided the whole earth among them; but three of them having renounced the world, he divided it between the seven others; and such is the origin of the seven dwipas, or grand divisions of the earth. This evidently shows, that the Atlantis is the old continent, and the tenth and last division of it called Gades, after one of the sons of Neptune, is declared to have been at the furthest extremity; which is true, only if we admit that the Atlantis was the old continent. The Atlantis was destroyed by a most violent storm: this is well known to the Pauránics, some of whom assert, that in consequence of this dreadful convulsion of nature, six of the dwipas disappeared, and Jambu only escaped, from the fury of an overwhelming ocean: but the general opinion is, that though all the dwipas suffered much, they were by no means destroyed. The seven islands belonged to Proserpine, or Lachshni, called also Prithvi or the goddess Tellus, or the earth, according to the Hindus.

Marcellus informs us, that all that was known in the west concerning the Atlantis, its kings, their power and conquests, was from legendary histories, preserved by the inhabitants, as related by their ancestors. This Marcellus was a Roman, but he is otherwise unknown to me: there was, in the time of Commodus, a Roman legate or governor of that name in Britain, whose abstinence, cleanliness, watchfulness, and inquisitive turn were astonishing: but whether he wrote historical treatises, is not known; at least Dio and Suidas take no notice of it.

II. Besides the three principal islands, there are four inferior ones, according to the Hindus; and five according to the followers of Budd'ha. Hence, in the peninsula, the islands of Lanoá are called Yal-lancá or the seven islands of Lancá, according to the information of Mr. Duncan.
and these are the seven islands of Jambulus. In the north-west there are either eight, or sixteen, according to the Baudh'histes. The Paurâni'cs are silent on that subject; but the mythologists in the west reckoned seven islands under the dominion of Æolus; and I shall show, in the course of this work, that the British Isles are the original and real Æolian Isles of the ancients. It is a curious instance of the propensity of the Hindus, and also of our ancestors, for mysterious intricacies, which must appear to us at least useless, if not ridiculous and absurd. The three islands are asserted, by the followers of Budd'ha, to be three and four: the three are certainly four; yet these four islands really make but three; and with such quibbles they are highly delighted. According to them, the names of the three islands are Suvarn'a, Rûpa-var, and Vajrâ, to which they add D'hâtuci, or the land of metals: but this last is generally connected with Vajrâ, and they say Vajra-D'hâtuci. Timarchus, as cited by Plutarch, saw in a vision four divisions of the infernal domains; but these, says he, were reducible to three; because the first was connected with the second; the second with the third; and the third with the fourth. Over these three compages or combinations presided the three Parcae. Thus Svéta and Suvarn'a are considered as two halves of one whole: Suvarn'a is connected with Vajra, as Càla or Plato rules over both; and lastly Vajra is connected with D'hâtuci.

In the Haimavat-ch'an'da, a section of the Scanda purán'a, we read that "the mighty Vishnu, in the shape of a boar, having lifted up the earth, which was sinking into hell, secured it on his tusk. He then directed Brahma to create, or rather to fashion the earth. Brahma then made the seven dwípas, Jambu, Placsha, 'Sálmalica, Cusa, Crauncha, 'Sáca and Pushcara. In the middle of Jambu is Mérû with
four supports, as they are called in other Purāṇas; the one in the east is of Gold, another of Iron is in the south: the third of Silver in the west: and the fourth in the north is of Brass. Between these are smaller peaks, of crystal, coral, and various sorts of gems. Mahendra, or the great Indra, resides in the East, in Indra-dwipa; in the South, Yama rules; in the West, Varuna; and in the North, Cuvira, or Dhanada. In the intermediate points are the sthāns of Agni in the south-east; Carbura, or Nairrit in the south-west; Vāyu in the north-west; and Mahādeva in the north-east quarter. In the East he made the Udaya, or the mountain of the rising sun: in the South Brahmac placed the Vindhya mountains. In the west he framed a beautiful mountain, one half of gold, and the other half of silver; one side looks like the sun, and the other like Indu or the moon.” As this curious mountain is placed here in the west, in opposition to Udaya in the east, behind which the sun rises, it is of course the famous Astagiri, behind which the sun disappears. The two halves of it are the gold and silver peaks, or islands; or in other words Hiranya, (Erin,) and Swetam or the White Island, considered as one in the Vṛhat-Cat’há, being only divided by a river or arm of the sea. What Brahmac made in the north is omitted in the manuscripts; and we read immediately after, that the mountains glowing with rage flew about, desolating and laying waste the surface of the earth: but Indra with his thunderbolt clipped their wings.

In the Harivansa this story is somewhat differently told. “Vishnu, for the good of mankind, having assumed the shape of a boar, rescued the earth from the waters, and secured it on all sides. Upon it he made Meru of solid gold: towards the East he placed the Udaya mountain,
with others. He then went toward the south, and there framed beautiful mountains of gold and silver: these are the gold and silver peaks or Islands of Lancá, Malaya, and Sumatra. In the west he made a mountain 100 yójanas high, quite beautiful, with large and variegated peaks, abounding with gold; with golden caves, with trees beautiful and resplendent like the sun, (that is to say they were of gold): there are the Tri-Védica or the three mountains with seats, for the three gods. There, in the west, is Varáha dwípa: there Varáha or the Boar made 60,000 mountains, like Méru, of gold, and dreadful to behold. Among them is another Méru, from which flow a thousand streams. There are all sorts of Tirthhas or holy places. This mountain, called Varáha, is 60 yójanas long and high, or about 300 miles; and it is like Varáha himself. He made also Vaidurya, (Scotland,) Rajata, (England,) Cánchana, (Ireland,) high and divine mountains. He then made the Chacráván or Chacramán a very high mountain: (this is Pushcara or Iceland like a ring, or coit, as implied by the appellation of Chacra). Like a shell, and abounding with shells, with a thousand peaks, is Rajata or the silver peak; hence it is called Sanc'ha-parvata or the mountain of shells. The trees there are all white: the juice of the Párijáta tree is like liquid gold. There is the Ghríta-d'hará river: its waters are like clarified butter. Prabhú or Vishnu, made many rivers called Varáha-sarita, or the streams of the boar; and these are most holy. Thus he made a mountain, the name of which is omitted, but it is obviously Svácña, with a thousand peaks abounding with jewels; the Tamra or Vaidurya, peak of copper, and a mountain of gold, Cán-

chana, according to rule. Thus in the north he made the Saumya-giri, (Soma or Chandra,) towering to the skies: the mountain of gold, Cán-
"chana, has a thousand peaks, with many places of worship. Thus he
made the Trishicāram or mountain with three peaks, and the Pushcara
mountain, with many rivers, producing every thing good and de-
sirable." The north quarter is again omitted, because, as my learned
friends inform me, the north pole is inaccessible, and by no means a place
of delight. The word north, mentioned in this legend, relates to the
situation of Soma-giri, or the White Island, in the northern parts of the
White Sea: an expression very common in the Purāṇās: every legend
relating to the White Island, and adjacent parts, generally beginning thus,
Cṣhīrodā-uttara-trāme, in the north of the White Sea &c.

But let us return to the White Island, which was once well known to
western mythologists; but, as I observed before, this denomination be-
came obsolete, and at last entirely out of use. The White Island, called
also 'Sweta-saila, or the White cliffs, is the Leucas-Petra of Homer, (1)
which is a most literal translation of the Sanscrit. The venerable bard
places it at the extremities of the west, in the ocean, near the setting sun
or the Astagiri of the Purāṇās, and in the country of the Manes, near
the elysian fields. In the argonautics ascribed to Orpheus, it is called
Leucon-cherson or the white country, and placed in the western ocean with
Ierne, Erin, or Ireland. Lastly, it is mentioned by Nonnus in his Dionys-
siacs (2) under the name of Leucon-pedion, or the white plains. Ino was
called Leuco-Thea, or the white goddess, from her going into that
country. It is true that the author of the etymologicon says, that this
white country, or place, was near Megara: but the Purāṇās are positively
against it. Sweta-devi, or the white goddess, Leucothea in Greek, and

--- (1) Odyssey, lib. 24. 11.
(2) Dionys. lib. 10. v. 76.
Albunea in Latin, resides in the White Island: they are intimate to each other, and cannot exist separately.

Under the name of Chsira, the White Island appears to be the Scheria of Homer, and other ancient writers. The word Chsira, in Sanscrit, signifies milk; but it appears that its original meaning was White, pure, clear, sheer. Skrr in the Edda signifies exactly the same thing, and Xiroi in Japanese signifies white also. Skeiras, skiras, skirra, in Greek, signified white, and for that reason it became the name of chalk. There were the skiroi theoi, the white gods, or the gods of Skerr, or Scheria, mentioned by Plutarch. There was also a nation of that name in Europe, mentioned by Stephanus of Byzantium.

The word cshir is always pronounced khir in the vulgar dialects, and khir in Tibet: and it appears that Scheria was also called Kheria. (1) This is the same island, which is called Kyre and Kyrié by Palæphatus; and was the native country of Phorcos. (Kyrene or Cerne appears in a derivative form, from Cirna in Sanscrit.) These islands were three in number, like those of the Hesperides in the north-west, according to Apollodorus. There were three islands of the Gorgones, and three more belonging to Geryon. These were probably the same, and made what was called the western Cerne, which, like the Hesperides, were misplaced. The eastern Cerne was Sumatra; but which, like the Cerne in the west, included also the eastern Tri-cüta. The wind called skiron at Athens, was called by the Gauls, Circius, which is to be pronounced kirkius; and which appears to have been originally the same with Corus or Cauros, as long as the ancients remained satisfied with the old division of the horizon into eight

points. But when they increased the number, they applied, differently, denominations which before were synonymous. Cshira or khîr is also the name of a favourite dish of the Hindus, made of rice, milk and sugar. They suppose that the gods are equally fond of it, except that their’s is prepared with amrît, or ambrosia. Some suppose even that all chalks are the remains of their banquets: which after a long time, as may be reasonably supposed, have lost their original flavour. The island of the moon is entirely composed of strata of such chalks, or rather of the coarser parts of the ambrosia, which was produced by the churning of the ocean: the purer parts flew to heaven, and of these is made the moon, which is nothing but pure amrît, or clarified ambergris, for this substance is meant, as will be subsequently shown. Natural philosophers in the west entertained formerly the same notions; and to this day they call the purer parts of chalk, found in a liquid state, lac lunaæ, or moon’s milk. German miners call it guhr, and the Hindus, khîr. Orpheus, in his hymn to the moon, calls her electris or of amber; and Eustathius, in his notes on Dionysius, gravely informs us, that there is a great affinity between the moon and electrum or amber.

The White Island is well known to the inhabitants of the Philippine Isles; who believe that it is the receptacle of good men after death. (1) Lastly, the aborigines of Britain call it to this day Inis-Wen, or the White Island; the Inis-huna or Inis-Uina of Caledonian bards, who, by it, understand England, or at least the southern parts of it. Al-Fîonn, in Galic, answers literally to Swêta-saila, in Sanscrit, and to the Leucas-petra of Homer, or the white cliffs; and Britain is called Al-vion by Ptolemy, and Albion by others. Yet it is doubtful, whether Britain was thus called

(1) Thevenot's Vol. I. Relation of the Philippine Islands, p. 42.
from the appearance of the country, or from a German tribe, which probably invaded it under the command of Skirr, son of Niord, the Skirus son of Neptune, mentioned by Hesychius: for Niord was Neptune among the Scandinavians. But, as this will be the subject of a separate paragraph, let us return to the White Island, the terrestrial moon, and Amber-like, or Electris insula of Sotacus.

III. The White Island is called also Chandra-dwipa, or the island of Lunus; Soma-parvata, or the mountain of the moon; Sa’si-chanda, or the country of the moon. Some suppose that both the celestial, and terrestrial moons, were originally united together, into one mass of Amrit, which was produced from the rheum, which flowed copiously from the eyes of the giant-like Atri, who caught cold, whilst performing tapasya in these frigid climates. It is said, in some Puranas, that this rheum was nothing else, but the spermatical matter, which reascended, and came out at his eyes. It fell into the sea, and Atri said to Oceanus, this is my son, take care of him. Oceanus, however, neglected Lunus for a long time, who floated thus at the mercy of the waves and winds. When at last, recollecting his promise to Atri, he gave a place to Lunus; that is to say he fixed it, and made it stationary. He brought him up in his human shape, at his own court, with Lacshmi: hence Lunus is called the brother of Lacshmi; for he was adopted by old Oceanus, and at last considered by him, as his own son. Yet Lunus was far from answering the great expectations which the world had formed at his birth. The gods, having maturely considered the subject, resolved to churn the waters of the ocean, in order to obtain fourteen precious things which they were in want of; and among the rest such a moon as would

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(3) Hesych. ad voc. Skiros.
answer the purpose of living creatures, either moveable or inmoveable. They then took the old moon, pounded it with the scurf, that was scraped off the body of Vishnu, and flung the whole mixture into the White Sea, with all sorts of plants and trees. After the churning, a new and perfect moon appeared, to the inexpressible joy of the three worlds. It consisted of the most pure parts of the mass of Amrit, and it instantly flew up to heaven. Since the churning, the White Sea might be considered as entirely of ambrosia or Amrit, called also Amalaci in Sanscrit. It is in consequence called Amritābdhi or the sea of Amrit, and it was named the Amalchian sea in the west, probably from Amalaci. In the Purāṇas, the White Island is called Amṛticara, which in an active sense signifies producing, making amber; but in a neuter sense, it implies that it is made of amber.

This is then the original island called Electris; and Sotacus, as cited by Pliny, asserted, that amber was produced from certain trees in Britain. This idea of Sotacus originated probably from some ancient legend concerning the first appearance of Amrit in that island. The isle of the moon was called Electris, and so was the moon itself. The Paurāṇics declare, that it is of the purest amber, or ambergris: for it is difficult to discriminate, which of the two they mean: but it appears that they have confounded these two substances together; or at least, that they considered them as two species of the same kind or genus. They say in Tibet, that the moon is of liquid crystal; and the Manicheans affirmed, that it was entirely of what they called the water of perfection. The Paurāṇics call also the moon Carpura, which is a general term for amber, ambergris, camphire, Agallochum and Tabazir, or sugar of bambus. To these they ascribe the same origin, except to the Agallochum. In
-their opinion all these substances are produced by a certain dew, that falls on trees, and in the sea, when the sun is in the lunar mansion of Swátiça, which is part of Libra.

**Amber**, in Cosas or lexicons, is however described as a mineral, or fossil substance; “Dhâtubheda,” a sort of mineral; “Swarn’am,” of a gold colour. As Pandits know very little of natural history, and as their lexicons contain the names only of the different sorts of Carpúra, I was obliged to apply to physicians, druggists, and merchants. From their accounts, compared, and combined together, it appears that ambergris is called in Sanscrit, Chandram, being like the substance of the moon; and Chandra-rasa, or the same with the pure, and crystalline fluid, of which the body of the moon consists, and which is pure and liquid amber. Merchants use the word Chandra-rasa for ambergris; but druggists call it musk-amber, because it is always adulterated with civet. It is called also Hitábhra, on account of its transcendent qualities; being considered as a purer sort of Abhra or amber. Amber or succinum is called in the spoken dialects Cápur: this is also confirmed by the author of the Tóhfe-ul-Muminín, which is a learned treatise on medicinal drugs. The author, who was a native of India, declares positively, that in Hindostan, amber is called Cápur, the same which is denominated, in Persian, Cárubah, or grass-attracting. This word is now used in Hindostan; but they pronounce it Cárhabá: and its electric property is very well known. In Sanscrit it is called Abhra, or abhram, from its being transparent; and abhracam or abhrac is our talk. Camphire is called Barása in the spoken dialects, according to the Bháva-pracása; and its Sanscrit name is there declared to be Carpura-Chainaca, or Chinese Carpura; and there is another sort of it called Carpura-Togaru. The first sort, called Barása, is obviously
the Cáphoor-Baroos of the Malays, and the other is the Cáphoor-Táhooree, according to Mr. Howison's Vocabulary of that language. Camphire is denominated Haima-bálucam, or snow-dust, in Sanscrit. Agaru, or Aguru, is generally understood of a sort of sweet scented wood, called by us Agallochum, from the Sanscrit derivative form Agarucam. According to Mr. Marsden, it is called Garoo in Sumatra; and in the spoken dialects of India it is denominated Agur. The word Agaru, or Aguru, signifies in general any thing with a fragrant smell; and is equally used to signify amber and Agallochum, the true Sanscrit name of which is Vayasa, according to lexicons. Carpuráguru is amber; and Chandanáguru is the Agallochum. Chandana is the sandalwood, called also Malaynja; because it grows in Malaya, where the breeze, according to the Hindus, imparts its fragrance to the whole vegetable kingdom; and poets in India often mention the Malayan, as we do the Sabean, breezes.

Carpura'guru is amber, called Hitábhra, and Gómédaca sometimes by merchants; but more generally Cápur and Caharba. Gómédu, Gómédaca and Gómáym are synonymous: and Delavál, in his account of the Maldivia Islands, says that ambergris is called Gomem by the inhabitants; for Gómédam, I suppose. There are three sorts of it, Swétáguru, Lóhaguru or Suvarn'a, and Cáláguru or Críshnáguru. The first or white Aguru or Agur is considered as an inferior sort, though some seem to understand ambergris by it.

Lóháguru, lóhágur or suvarn'a, is considered as a fossil, (dhátu:) it is called lóháguru from lóha, iron; because they suppose, that its colour is occasioned by the presence of that metal; and suvarn'a, from its golden colour. We find it called in lexicons chapura and ambar: but these words,
not to be found in any other Sanscrit books, are justly supposed to originate from the spoken dialects. Critisnaguru, or black Aguru, is called also 'Silā-Jātu, stone bitumen, or Petroleum: another name for it is asma-jam or stony. From 'Silájātu, Avicen and Simeon Sethi have made Selāhit, and 'Selāch'hitum. It is naturally soft; but sometimes it is found in an indurated state: and this stone jātu is really, what we call jet, and the French, jayet. Jātu, in Sanscrit, is a fossil, fatty and tenacious substance. The Silā-Jātu is said to be an exudation from stones, as implied by its name, and to be found sometimes floating on water: it is very black, and of a disagreeable smell.

The famous Averroes says, that ambar is a sort of camphire: and he is perfectly correct: that is, what he says is perfectly conformable to the notions of the Hindus on that subject; and even Boerhaave resembles it to camphire. The word ambar is derived from the Sanscrit Abhra, and which the more modern Greeks could not write otherwise than ἀμβρ, but which is to be pronounced Abar: and we have framed our pronunciation from their vicious orthography, not considering that they did not pronounce it so themselves: thus, they write Tepit for Tibet, but pronounce it Tebit.

When the Portuguese arrived in India, they found that amber was called there abar, and that the Hindu merchants distinguished three sorts of it. The first was Pona-h-ambar, which they were told signified golden ambar. Puambar or Coambar was the second sort, and implied as much as water ambar; because it was supposed to come from the sea. The third was called Manjambar, being supposed to be the excrements of a large fish: this was black. The second sort was of a greyish colour, and Ferdinand Lopez writes Coambar for Puambar. But other Portuguese authors write Por-
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ābar, Pu-ābar and Min-ābar, more correctly. By Por-ābar they understood the white sort of ambar, which was the best, and for this reason dearest; they said it was called Ponah-Ambar, or golden amber, not on account of its colour; but because it was sold for its weight of gold.

All these denominations are pure Sanscrit, except the first, which however appears to be only a corruption. Ponah-ābar should be written Sōnā-Ābar, called in Sanscrit lexicons: Swarnābhra: for in the spoken dialects, they constantly say sōnā for swarnā or suvarna or gold in Sanscrit. Por-ābar is from Parābhra, the pure or most excellent abhra or amber: and this is confirmed from its extravagant price. Pu-ābar or Co-ābar or water ambar, are from the Sanscrit Payābhra or Co-ābhra; Paya and Ca being Sanscrit names for water. Min-ābar is from Min-ābhra or fish-amber. None of these denominations, except Swarnābhra or Sonābhra, are to be found in Sanscrit lexicons; for the word abhra signifies transparent, which is by no means applicable to ambergris: and at the same time I believe Sonābhra and Parābhra to be two very different things. The first, being according to Sanscrit lexicons, a fossil substance, transparent and of the colour of gold, is obviously the succinum of the ancients, and our amber. The Parābar or Parābhra, of a white colour, is the purest, and most perfect sort of ambergris. When Pliny says, that white amber is a most fragrant perfume, this must be understood of the best sort of ambergris; for white amber has hardly any fragrancy. Porābar then seems to be the same with Puābar or Co-ābar, Payābhra and Ca-ābhra, because it comes from the sea. As ambergris comes from the East, and in very small quantities, and is very rarely found on the shores of the Atlantic, it is but imperfectly described by the ancients. They called it white amber, and I believe, Alcyonium, conceiving it to
be the faces of the Alcyon, a famous bird in antiquity. The Minábhra is from mina, fish, in Sanscrit; being supposed to be the faces of a sort of whale, and they said that it was black: thus confounding it with the 'Sailá-Játu, or Petroleum, called Selahit, Silachet, or Selachet by Arab and Greek authors.

Abhra is then the root of amber, and is the same substance; though the learned are in general of a different opinion. Several Pandits think, that by Carpura in general, we are to understand ambergris, (called also Chandram or Chandra-rasa,) unless it be otherwise specified.

The word ambara is found only in Sanscrit lexicons; and in no other books: hence I suppose that it is not originally a Sanscrit word, and that, like many proper names not pure Sanscrit, has been admitted into lexicons; besides it is not there said to mean amber.

Amrita is the sacred name of this precious perfume, in its most perfect state, but not to be procured by mortals; for it belongs solely to the gods, whom it has rendered immortal. They procured it in that high refined state, with immense labour, by churning the White Sea; and what we have is nothing more, than the dregs and coarser parts left behind, after the churning was over. Though it cannot confer immortality, yet it will, when duly prepared, greatly lengthen the days of mortal man. This preparation is somewhat like the philosopher's stone among chymists, and it was the opinion of the celebrated Boerhaave, I believe, for I speak from recollection only, that, if properly prepared, it might have that effect. Amber and ambergris have certainly a very great affinity; for by analysis they give the same results.
AMBİTA is derived from mrt mors, mortis, with the privative particle a; and seems to re-appear in the word immortal, which is but a derivative form. Amrītasya or Amritisya is in the possessive case, and is also a derivative form, and from it is derived ambrosia the food of the gods; and as rivers, on the banks of which amber was collected, were called Eridanus, Eridanum, it is not improbable, that the latter is derived from the Sanscrit Amrit-dānam giving, producing amber.

Loḥāguru, called also Swarnāguru or gold like Aguru, is then our succinum or amber. It is true that Aguru or Agallochum is said to be of three sorts, the white, yellow or citron colour, and the red; but we never read of black Agallochum; and of course the Čálāguru or Črishnāguru is not a species of Agallochum; but a sort of amber called Jet, or 'Sailā-Ja'ṭu in a less indurated state: for, as we observed before, Agallochum is called, in Sanscrit, Chandanāguru, which implies, that Agallochum belongs to the vegetable kingdom, like the sweet scented sandal-wood. That which grows in India is of little or no repute: yet we read of sandal al-Cumári, which is interpreted as if growing near Cape Comorin. But I take it to signify the island of Sumatra, which was called the island of Chandra or the moon, synonymous with Comr in Arabic.

Loḥāguru or Lohāgur was also the name of amber in the west, where it was called Lugurium, Lygyrium, according to Josephus, Ligurium, Lagurium and corruptly Lyngurium, Lyncurium &c. Hence all the western parts of Europe were called Leguria or Lyguria or the amber country; and amber was first heard of among the Ligurians; there, as is pretended, it flowed from certain poplar trees, into which the sisters of Phaëton had been transformed. Ligurium was afterwards used to signify such substances, as had the properties of real
electrum; the name of which is probably derived from the Sanscrit Alac'tíram; because it was found on the tiram or shores of the Alaca islands of the Paurán'ics, called Allociæ by Ptolemy; in the same manner as tin was called Cassiteris, because found on the tiram or coasts of Cach'ha, among the western islands; and tin is called tiram to this day in Sanscrit. Sotacus, whom Pliny calls an ancient author, insisted that amber came from Britain, which of course is the original Electris, or Amber Island, and Liguria.

The western mythologists acknowledged also, that the moon was of amber, or at least had a very great affinity with it, as we have seen before; and the abode of the moon, her heaven or paradise, wherein she sheltered her faithful servants, they called from that circumstance Locure, according to Orpheus, in his hymn to the moon.

"Hear, O goddess! O queen! Thou giver of light, divine moon!
"Moon with bull's horns, travelling by night; going through the air!
"Nocturnal moon! Torch-bearing maid! Propitious star! Encreasing,
"decreasing! Male and female! Bright, fond of horses, mother of time!
"Fruit-producing-moon! Amber-like, solemn, nocturnal light! Seeing
"every thing; fond of night watches, shining among beautiful stars!
"Loving rest, and stolen pleasures! O thou-gracious-fruit-producing-
"Lampetia! Image of night! Standing erect, in long robes! Running
"in a circle! O haste thou, prudent maid! O prosperous! O giver of de-
"light! Propitious star! Shining with thine own light, shelter in Lo-
"cure' those who humbly call on thee."

This is entirely in the style of the Paurán'ics, who do not believe that the moon borrows her light from the sun. Though considered as a male,
yet she is a female deity, at the time of the conjunction, and considered as such for astrological, and chymical purposes, as I have been informed; and it is believed by all orthodox Hindus, that those, who have faithfully performed certain religious duties, at certain times of the moon's period, will, with the followers of Vishnu, be born again in 'Swétam, there to receive the full reward due to their attachment.

Locura' is then the name of this paradise of the moon, called, in Sanscrit, Chandra-man'dalam, and positively asserted to be in 'Swétam, or the White Island; and even to be 'Swétam itself. The aborigines of 'Swétam have preserved to this day, that ancient name in Lloegyr, Loegria, and Logres as it is called in old French romances. According to some Purán'as, the appellation of Chandra-dwipa, which carries along with it the idea of amber, of which the moon is made, was not confined to England, but extended over a considerable part of Europe. As, for instance, when we read in the Revá, and Cumáricá-chán'dhas, that the whole zone, extending from the shores of the eastern, to those of the western ocean, describing an arch round the southern parts of Mérú, is divided into nine equal parts, one of which is declared to be the country of the moon, at the western extremity; it implies that this country of the moon, and of amber, was not limited to Britain, but extended over the adjacent parts of the continent; and we find in ancient history, that Lloegyr or Liguria, included France, part of Italy and of Spain, and most probably a large portion of Germany. The name of Lyguria, as belonging to Britain, or at least to a part of it, was formerly used in that sense; for Himilco says positively, that the inhabitants of Britain, and from the context it appears that they were aborigines, were Lygurians. Their country was of course called Lloegyr or Lyguria.
In France there is the river Liger, or Ligeris, now called the Loire, by dropping the quiescent letter g; which practice is pretty general; but more particularly affected by the Celtic language, its dialects, and the modern languages partly derived from them. (Thus in the Italian, French and Spanish languages, instead of viginti, triginta &c. they say vinti, trente &c. Most of the ancient names of places, and rivers in Gaul, are modernised in that manner: thus the river Socona is now called the Soane; and Sequana is the Seine.)

On the highest grounds in Lloegyr, was a city of that name, called afterwards Leger-Ceaster, Ligora-Ceaster, Legra-Ceaster. It is now called Leicester, for Leir-ceaster. The learned Somner says, that the river, which runs by it, was formerly called Lear by the same contraction, and it is probably the river Liar of the anonymous geographer. Mr. Somner, if I be not mistaken, places the original town of Ligora near the source of the Lear, now the Soar, on the most elevated spot in England, and in the center of the Chandra-Mandalam, or sacred road of Lunus, called also Eleciris, or Lóhaguru, Lyggyros, Lloegyr: and I believe that Lloer, the Welsh name of the moon, is derived from Lloegyr, by a similar process, congenial to that language. Thus from the Latin lucem, or lúcre, the French have made lune.

The ancient Britons established in France, consider the modern name of the river Liger, written Loire in French, as synonymous with Loar, the name of the moon in their dialect. In the Cornish dialect, lur signifies the moon. In Greek the moon was called Ilaeira, Iaira, according to Hesychius, and Plutarch; the same name is pronounced Laira by other authors, as Hyginus.
This island and country of Lloegyr or Locura is probably the same with the island of Lakeria, the native country of Venus, and her mother Astynome, who married Aphros, the same probably with Hesperus or the west, the son of Saturn, and the brother of Picus and Chiron, according to the Chronicon Paschale.

Of the island of the moon, there are even some pretty strong traces in the mythology of the west for Timarchus, when he was transported in the spirit to the islands of the departed, positively asserts, that one of them was the portion or island of the moon; and Statius, in his Thebais, says, that philosophers declared, that there was a moon on earth.(1) The island of the moon is declared in the Purânâs to be Swarga-bhûmi or a celestial earth: hence we read in Macrobius, that we are to consider the moon as an earth or region, which we might call a celestial earth, or terrestrial moon; (2) and Lutatius asserts, that it was the opinion of philosophers, that there was a moon on earth. This idea prevailed then equally in the west, and the present passage from Lutatius requires no emendation.

As 'Swetâm is the residence of Vishnu, and of the Supreme Being also, for they are generally considered as one, it is called his Téja-sthâna, or the place of the resplendence of Vishnu, or in other words his Ghrita-sthâna: for téja and ghrita are synonymous, and signify resplendence, resplendence. It is true that 'sweta is never called ghrita; yet it is declared to be ghrita or a resplendent place or island, or the same is expressed in other synonymous words, Such is the resplendence of its cliffs, and that of the whole island, that it is seen at a great distance; and mortal,

(1) Macrobius, p. 41. See notes also.
eyes can hardly bear it. This notion arose probably from the shining whiteness of its cliffs, and strata of chalk; which struck the Romans with admiration, as it appears from Cicero's letters to Atticus; in which he calls these white cliffs, mirifica moles, which, besides that property, have in themselves nothing very remarkable. It is probable that chalk was called creta in Latin, and the island of that name in Greece abounding also with chalk, from its shining white colour, or ghrita in Sanscrit. The isle of Crete, and its adjacent sea, are called ghrita in the Purâṇas, and ghrit or ghrita-adarsi by the Turks to this day. But as ghrita in Sanscrit is applied, for the same reason, to ghee, or clarified butter, the Paurâṇics suppose, that its adjacent sea is entirely of ghee, and of course unctuous, as the author of the Trai-lóya-darpana says it is.

As śrīna, Svēta and ghrita are synonymous terms, it is highly probable that England was called also Ghrita or Creta; and indeed it is declared to be Ghrita, not as a proper name, but as an epithet. This probably, and vanity also, induced the Greeks to attribute to their own Creta, whatever legends belonged to the other and original Creta. Thus Svēta is represented floating at random on the surface of the ocean like Delos; and in my humble opinion it is the original Delos. Δήλος or Δηλος, in Greek, signified originally, light, a lamp, resplendent, manifest, conspicuous as light itself. The learned and ingenious Mr. Bailly was of opinion that the primeval Delos did not belong to Greece, but to the Hyperboreans; and Lucian ridicules the idea of those who asserted that Delos was a mass detached from Tinacia or Tri-cūtādri. The Cretans asserted that Jupiter was born in their island; the Arcadians claimed the same honour. According to others, he was only brought from some other country, and concea-
led there. The Paurāṇics insist that the manifestation of Vishnu, in the character of Kṛṣṇa, happened in Śvetam, on Trī-Cūta; and the two rams, mentioned in the legends of the Cretan Jupiter, are placed, by the author of the Vṛhat-Cat'ha, in Suvarṇa-daśāpa or Ireland. In short, Śvēta was called by the Greeks and Romans, Ultima Creta or Leuce.

In the Roman Hippodromus, or Circus, we find a delineation of the cosmographical system of the Hindus: for Cassiodorus compares the whole to heaven and earth. The Spina or ridge in the middle represented Jambu or the continent, whilst the Carriera or Course formed a spiral line seven times revolving round the Spina. Every charioteer or horseman passed six times near the fatal meta or goal; and on the seventh, reached at last the Ultima Creta, which was a spot near the barriers, marked with chalk or creta: "Septem spatia," says Isidorus, "quadrigea currunt; quibus peractis, vitæ terminus consummatur, quorum finis est Cre-""ta, id est judicium. Life is like the seven spaces run by charioteers; these being accomplished, there is also an end of life; for the "end of these spaces is Creta or doom." The inhabitants of Atria, at the mouth of the Po, had a river Tartarus, and certain marshes, which they called the seven seas.

This is truly in the style of the Hindu divines; who assert that every man after death must go to Trī-Cūta and Śvēta (for they often give the names of Śvēta and Chandra to all the British Isles; though they belong properly to England) there to stand their trial before the king of justice, the Dharma-raja, except persons either eminent for their holiness, or notoriously infamous. There is no occasion for a trial in these cases: they are immediately hurried away to their own respective places. In the Varāha-purāṇa, it is declared, that pious men go,
after death and judgment, through every island and zone; where they are born again; and if they persevere, they at last reach 'Swēta, the Ghrītā or resplendent island, there to remain, for a certain time, in proportion to their merits; when they are born again in the dwipa of Jambu or India, the land of merits and demerits.

Like 'Swētam or Ghrītā, this Ultima Creta was the principium et finis, the beginning and the end, of their worldly pilgrimage, of which their courses were a lively image. Chrysostom makes use of the same allegory; and calls the barrier Leukē, synonymous with Creta. The spiral line which the racers described, and which was seven times involved, evidently alludes to the seven narrow seas; and for this reason they called it Euripus. Though these seven seas, and the seven islands, be described in the Hindu system as so many concentrical circles and zones, yet in some Purāṇas, they are represented as forming a spiral line. This 'Ultima Creta, or Leukē, being thus placed at the furthest extremity of the world, answers obviously to our 'Swēta in the Roman and original system, but will by no means agree with the Grecian Cretē. The famous plant dictamnus, supposed to grow in Cretē, is positively asserted, in the Rāmāyena, to be a native of our Ghrītā, or at least a plant with similar properties. For Hanumān was directed to fetch it thence, to cure the wounds which Laksmanā had received in battle.

We observed before, that the White Island was also denominated Rajata, Arjata, Rūpa-vāra, Raupya, or the Silver Island; to these names we must also add that of Tāra or Tār, which implies the same thing. The name of the whole country is Tār-disa or silver country, and it is represented as such: and though it be not mentioned under that name
in any Sanscrit book, yet from the context it is certainly admissible. This has an obvious affinity with the Tartessus of the ancients, which they placed at random, beyond the columns of Hercules, as usual. If we find a town thus called, at the mouth of the river Bætis, it was probably from its being the emporium or staple for merchants, to and from the real Tár-désa or Tartessus.

The existence of a town called Tartessus, at the mouth of the river Bætis, is very uncertain; Strabo speaks of it in a very doubtful manner. "It seems," says he, "that the ancients called the river Bætis Tartessus. "They say that there was a town of the same name, and that the country about it was called Tartessis." The river flowed from the silver peak, and Sresichorus jumbles together, the silver mountain, the river Tartessus, and the island of Erytheia, which Eratosthenes calls properly enough Tartessis. Tartesis, from Tárdes'a, signifies the silver country, as Erytheia from Aryatéya. Arganthonius, or the silver king, reigned over Tartessis; and the kings of the silver island are called Rupa-d'hara in the Vṛhat-Gath'há, and their wives Hémalatá, the golden creepers, and their daughters Rupa-latá, or the silver creepers.

The White Island is said, in the Puránas, but more particularly in the Tray-loxya-derpana, to be in the tiram tîr, or borders of the White Sea, or Cálódád'hí the sea of Càlā or Pluto; that is to say, reckoning from the continent: for Vajra or Vadra, Scotland, is said, in the same book, to be on the other tîr or border. The compiler of the above treatise says, that, by the tîr of the White Island, we must understand a space of eighteen yójanas, or 88½ miles. This is to be understood all along the sea shores, and both within the land, and without at sea; so that every island at sea, or district on shore, within these limits, is said to
be in the Cshatrātram, or on the borders or skirts of Cshīra, or the White Island. The skirts of the Silver Island might, with equal propriety, be called Tārā-tirām or Tār-tir; as it would be pronounced in conversation.

Another name for tirām is Cach'ha. This signifies, they say, a low swampy shore or tirām: but this interpretation is far from being adhered to in India: and whether we consider it as the name of a part of Swētām simply, or as implying only its shores, is a matter of no consequence in the present case.

This name is applied to some extensive district of the British Isles, in the Vāyu, and Varāḥa-purāṇās. In the first is a list of mountains, rivers and nations in Cētu-māla or Europe; and the author begins first with the Tatsucaḥas, probably the Tectosaga; then he proceeds to the nations called Samudrāntarācas, that is to say, living in the ocean: there we find the Carambhavas, the Cuchas, Swētas, Suvarṇatatacas, (who live in the tāt or tir of Suvarṇa or Ireland,) the Swētāngas &c.

In the Varāḥa-purāṇā, the Cuchas are called, in some manuscripts, Cunchas; but the true reading, according to the learned, is either Cucha or Cach'ha; and they are inclined to admit the latter, the other readings being without any etymological meaning, which ought not to be the case. Besides, Cach'ha answers to the Suvarṇatatacas, or those who live on the borders of Suvarṇa; and here in all manuscripts, and in every book in which it is mentioned, it is always joined with the 'Swētas, in this manner, Cach'ha-Swēta, or the Swēto-Cach'has; in like manner we say Volcae-Tectosages, Anglo-Saxons: and whether we read Cucha, Cacha or Cach'ha, is of no consequence. In India, the country to the east of the Indus, along the sea shore, is called in the maps Cutch, but its Sanscrit
name is acknowledged to be Cach’ha; yet it is sometimes written Cachā, and Cucha. The name of Cochin is derived from the same source; and they call it, in India, Cach’ha-Bunder, or the harbour of Cach’ha. Mahā-Cach’ha is the country to the north of Guzarāt; Chuta-Cach’ha is to the north-east of Mullan, along the banks of the Sīloda or Sutliye; and Cach’ha near the sea seems to be the Conta of Elian. The Cach’has, or rather Cach’hān in the plural number, the Cach’hāns, or those living on the Cach’ha or sea shores, are perhaps the Cossīni, Ostīni or Ostiāni of the ancient geographers, whose name should be Costiāni. Hence perhaps the Gorgones, who lived in the White Island, were called Kyṣtiāni. In the Čchētra-Sama’sa, a geographical treatise, according to the system of the followers of Jīna, Cach’ha is mentioned as a famous country in the west; and the compiler sings twice and twice, dvīgān-dvīgān as usual, its praise, under the titles of Cach’ha; Su-Cach’ha, the most excellent Cach’ha; Mahā-Cach’ha, Cach’ha the great; Cech’ha-Vijaya, Cach’ha the victorious. From Cach’ha or Cutch are probably derived the denominations of Kust, Kuste, Coste, and Coast, for the sea shore, in all the dialects of the Gothic language. This word is also pronounced Costera, in ancient records of the tenth, and eleventh and preceding centuries; and is, I believe, sometimes used in French, as Costière or cotière. Cach’ha signifies also low, marshy ground: and as hogs delight in such places, they are called in Sanscrit, Cach’ha and Cach’hān, words which are still retained in the French language (Coche). Cach’hāstir signifies the borders of Cach’ha, considered either as a country, or as implying the lands adjacent to the water edge, and both words were in use in the west: the Greeks said terma for

[References: (1) J.L., de Animal lib. 16. c. 35. (2) Œschyl., in Prometh. Soluto, as cited by Rudbeck.]
tiram, the Latians terminus. It was threm, thrim in Gothick; and the English word to trim, in its original sense, is derived from it.

The Tin islands were certainly within the tir of Swétam, and of Cach'ha; from that circumstance they were probably denominated Cach'ha-tir. Thus they say in India, Jungle-terry, (Jangal-téri,) or districts within the tir, or on the borders of the jungles or woods. Hence the white lead or tin, that came from those islands, was called Cassiteris by the Greeks; Kaster in Suio-Gothic, Castira in Chaldaic, and Arabic. In India, at least in Sanscrit, tin is called Tiram: Tīr-trapu, and Rangam are also other names for it; but Rangam is generally used in the spoken dialects: and Tīr-trapu signifies the tin, that comes from the tir or tiram or extremities of the world.

Swétam is repeatedly declared to be the abode of resplendence and refulgence, as we have observed before. Cīrnʿīa in Sanscrit is a most apposite term for this; and it seems that Swétam was known under that name in the west. Stephanus of Byzantium, and Pallēphatus place an island called Cyrene near the columns of Hercules. Phorus, says the latter, was a native of Cyrene, and his kingdom was beyond these pillars. Phorus will appear, in the course of this work, to be Varaha or VarāhaCa, the boar of the Purāṇas, who was born in 'Swéta the resplendent. Cīrnʿīa or Cyrene is connected with the fables of the Hesperides, and Gorgonis placed by Pindar and Apollodorus, among the Hyperboreans. Thus it appears that 'Swéta was the western Cerne. The White Island in the southern Tri-cul'a, answering to 'Swéta in the west, is the island of Sumatra; which, as well as the peninsula of Malacca, is supposed, by the Paurāṇic, the Nubian geographer and others, to be adjacent to the great island of Sanc'ha, part of which retains to this day its ancient name, being called Zingis, Zeng &c. The island of Sumatra is then the eastern Cerne,
supposed also to be adjacent to the coasts of Africa, and the island of Sumatra is also called the island of the moon, as well as the islands on the eastern coast of Africa.(9).

It is declared, in the Purāṇās, that the White Island is incapable of decay, and is never involved in the destruction and ruin, which happens at each renovation of the world; except the last, when every thing will be absorbed into the Supreme Being, who will remain alone. The White Island and mountain is then the same, in which lived Evenor and his wife Leucippe, or the white goddess, according to Plato: and from the context this island was certainly in the west. Neptune married their daughter Clito, and had by her Hesperus, who was thus called because he was born in the west. Hesperus had a daughter called Creta, probably because she was born in this Ultima Creta. Some assert, that the Grecian island of that name was thus called after her.

V. The White Island is also called the dwipa of Sāca or Sācam, which is the same with Seaxum or Saxum, as it was pronounced by our ancestors; or more properly, the White Island was part of Sācam, as it is positively declared in the Matsya and Varāha-purāṇās. From these two Purāṇās it is put beyond doubt, that the British Isles are to be understood by Sācam; perhaps some adjacent parts of the continent are also to be included under this denomination.

In the Matsya-purāṇa we read, that in the dwipa of Sāca is Rajatō- mahān-Astōgiri, called also Sēmaca, or the country or island of the moon. There the gods obtained the Amrīt, and from thence Garuḍa carried it away for his mother. Rajatō-mahān-Astōgiri is a phrase, which sig-

(9) Dissert. in Hannon. Peripl. inter Geograph. vet. min.
nifies, that the country or island of Rajata or silver, is the same with the great Astagiri, or mountain behind which the sun disappears.

In 'Sácam is Jalad'hára, a large mountainous country, called also Chandra. This is Ireland; and instead of Chandra we should read Surya, as we shall see hereafter. There is also the mountain of Ambiceya, and that of Ramya, called Vibhrája and Césava, from which proceeds Váyu; or in other words it is the place of his abode. This is placed in the north-west, at the furthest extremities of the world, in all the Puránas; for Váyu is the guardian of the north-west quarter. Jalad'hára is also placed there, and declared to be near the mountains of Lócalóca, which surround the world. In the Varaha-purána we read; "in 'Sáca is the Jalad'hára mountain: near it is 'Swétaca, or the white mountain, or island, called also 'Sata-Srínaga, or with an hundred peaks (but in other Puránas this is said to be only a part of it)." Rajata-giri (in some copies Jantugi, i) or the silver mountain or island, is the same with 'Swéta, according to the other Puránas: this is called also 'Saca-giri, or the mountainous country of the 'Sacas. "Then Ambicéya, called Vibhrája, Césari and 'Varshánt, from which Váyu proceeds. In the middle of 'Sáca is the "great Saca tree." It is also declared, in the Cumáricá-ch'anda, that the island of 'Sácam belongs to Váyu, and that he resides there.

This is also confirmed in the Críshna-janma-ch'anda, a section of the Brahma-Vaivarita. Párvati having fled on account of some petty quarrel with her consort Maha-deva, the world was in great distress, and the poor husband also. He searched for her in vain for a long time, when he went to Vishnu, and unbosoming himself, begged he would assist in the search. Thus Hari of Vishnu and Tri-netra or 'Siva with three eyes, travelled all over the world; but they found her not.
They were then at the extremity of the world, and both wept for grief and sorrow. Their tears formed a large lake, called Asru-tirt'ha, or the place of worship near the Tearful lake or pool. It is to the west of the Asto-giri, behind which the sun disappears, near the Acshaya-vā'ta, the Va'ata or Indian fig tree, incapable of decay. They found her at last; and being reconciled, Śiva and Parvati travelled from dwīpa to dwīpa, dallying all the way; till they came back to Canchana-bhūmi, or the land of gold, called also Canchana-dwīpa, near the roots of the beautiful Vāṭa tree, close to the sea shore, in the Pushpa-caṇana, or flowery grove, which resounds with the humming of the proud Bramara, a sort of Fucus, or rather large black bee, and with the notes of the Cócila or Cuculus, and remarkable for its fragrant breezes. There he made her many presents; and remained with her an hundred years, unknown to the world. They returned at last to the house of Daśha, who was so pleased to see them again, that he presented them with a self moving car, the work of Vīśva-Carma or Twashta. Highly delighted with this present, they set off, and travelled in it, till they reached again the ocean, where they stopped once more, under the Vāṭa tree, near the Asta-giri mountain. Crīṣna having related this story to Raḍha, proposes to her to follow their example. Canchana-bhūmi, or the land of gold, is the same with Canchana-dwīpa, or the golden island, or Hiranyakṣa and Swarṇya, which is Ireland; near which, in the sea, according to some, and close to the sea shore, according to others, is the famous Calpa-vṛccha, or tree of knowledge and plenty. The lake of tears is in Canchana-dwīpa, near the Vāṭa tree, to the west of, and not far from, the Astagiri, called also Rajata-Mahān-Astagiri, or the famous Astagiri mountain, in the Silver or White Island.
All these particulars prove that Sūvīta or Rājātā is the same with Śācī in a more limited sense, and also part of Śāca-devī in a more extensive one. Besides, Nandi, the bull of Śiva, is said, in the Ambicā-chānda, a section of the Scanda-purāṇa, to rule in the Amṛtyārā island, or Electris, in the White Sea. This is the same with the White Island, called Electris, by Sotacus, according to Pliny; and it is called also Amṛtā-shayam, the abode or place of Amṛt, in the Mahā-Bhārata. In the same book, he is said to rule in 'Saca; or rather himself and companions collectively, called the Nandi-ganar. These are probably the Mentores or Minotauri in the island of Scheria or White Island, who killed Hyllus, in the first attempt made by the Phæacians to settle in that island.

It is said in the Purānas, that the gods having been frightened by the Dailya Mahishasura, or the demon in the shape of a buffaloe, and called in the Deccan, and by Sig. Bayer, Maidhasur, they fled to the White Island as usual, to claim the protection of Hari or Vishnu: but in the Vāmana-purāṇa this island is called Śaca, because it is really the same.

The Astagiri mountain is the same with that called Chandra-cánta: for it is declared that the sun disappears in the west behind them. They are also placed in the same latitude from the context, and at the furthest extremity of the world. The Astagiri is called Chandra-cánta, and Chandrādāya, because the moon in her monthly course rises behind it; and they must be the same: for where the sun disappears, there the moon makes her first appearance; and according to the Paurāṇics, the moon is just seen creeping at that time on the shoulders of the sun, and appearing on his forehead. Hence Śiva, or the sun, in the west, is represented with the crescent on his forehead, under the name of Chandra-Cánteswara-Mahā-
According to the context of the Purāṇās, the White Island was called 'Śācam' from the 'Śācas', who conquered that island, and settled in it.

In the Vārāha-purāṇa, as we observed before, Śvēta is called Śāca, and is also said to be part of Śāca in a more extensive acceptation. Then afterwards both Śvētām and Śācam are put in the sixth place, where they are to be considered as one; otherwise there would be eight islands, which is an heretical assertion.

These islands are thus placed: Jambu, Cūsha, Gomēda or Gomāya, Śālmala, Cauṇcha, Śvēta-Śāca and Puśkara. In order to save the orthodoxy of this passage, two must be joined, and considered as one. This is easily done, from the above passages of the Vārāha-purāṇa itself, and from the Matsya-purāṇa. A few lines after, Śvētām and Śācam seem indeed to be considered as two distinct islands. Vishnu is introduced saying, "whatever man in Jambu, or India, has attached himself to me by the practice of religious duties, for the space of twelve years, will be born again in the dwīpa of Cūsha, in the house of a rich man; and the gods will bow to him. From this dwīpa he will transmigrate into Gomāya or Gomēda-dwīpa, or Placsha-dwīpa, and there will be king for as many years, as there are paces in the whole length of that dwīpa. He will then be translated, for a certain time, into heaven; from heaven he will be born again in Śālmala, where he will enjoy every pleasure for eleven thousand, and eleven hundred years; and then will be a king for twelve thousand more. He will then return to Gomāya, and afterwards go into my own heaven, among the Vishnu-lōcas, where he will remain for as many years, as there are drops of water falling from the body of a man, when bathing. From thence he
will go into the dwīpa of Cauṇcha, and from Cauṇcha to Śvēta, through the efficacy of his own righteousness.” Bhagavān or Vishnu omits Pushcara, the seventh dwīpa, because he has no power there, as it belongs to Brahma. Hence, in Ceylon, the followers of Buddha, who is Vishnu, acknowledge only six inferior or terrestrial paradises, through which men pass after death, and are judged by Yāmmeh-rāja or Yama, who resides in the sixth paradise, or the dwīpa of Śācam, according to Captain Mahony. (1) "But," says Bhagavān, "I will tell you, what becomes of men truly religious; they go at once into heaven, there to remain for as many years, as there are atoms of dust in a whirlwind: from heaven they descend into the dwīpa of Śāca; where they will be kings for a long time: after which they will transmigrate into the dwīpa of Śvēta."

It would appear from this, that ‘Śvēta is different from ‘Śācam: but in that case there would be eight primary islands, which, being conformable to the system of the followers of Buddha, would be an heretical assertion. Two out of the eight islands must in reality, be but one; and from the authority of this Purāṇa, which surely cannot militate against itself, and from the authority of other Purāṇas also, Śvētam is either the same with Śācam or part of it. The sense, then, according to my learned friends here, who at first indeed were not a little puzzled, is plain and obvious. Truly religious people transmigrate at once from Jambu or India, into ‘Śācam or the British Isles in general, and after remaining a long time there, they ultimately go to ‘Śvētam, which is here represented as the Ultima Creta; the wished for goal, where they are to remain, with a divine body, in the presence of the Supreme Being; never to transmigrate again till the dis-

solution of the world. Besides, there are three paradises called 'Śvēta',
the celestial 'Śvēta in the air', the terrestrial, and also the infernal one.

These three paradises were not unknown to the western mythologists:
for some placed the elysium under ground, as Virgil: others on the
surface of the earth, as Homer: and others again in the air. But many
learned men in India believe, that there is but one elysium, and that
on the surface of the earth.

The meaning of the above passage would then be, that truly reli-
gious men go at once into 'Sācam, the terrestrial 'Śvētam; after which
they are translated into the heaven of Viṣṇu, or 'Śvētam the celestial,
called the Gō-lōcas; and the geography of which is the same exactly
with that of the terrestrial 'Śvētam, but upon a larger scale: for these
three 'Śvētams appear as so many sections of an inverted cone, like
Mēru, to which they are compared. The Sanscrit expression of Swerga-
bhūmi, or celestial earth or region, is perfectly synonymous with our
terrestrial paradise, since the word paradise is become synonymous
with heaven, the abode of the blessed. The terrestrial moon of divines
in the west, is the island of the moon, which was a terrestrial heaven.
Besides this, they had also, according toMacrobius, a celestial earth or
region, which they were apt to mistake for the moon: but this was no
other than the Gōlōcas of the Hindus, exactly above the terrestrial moon
or 'Śvētam, in the air.

Christian divines, and Jewish commentators, who reason sometimes
conformably to certain ideas once prevailing, and probably the remains
of some old system, throw some light on this subject. Enoch was
translated into a terrestrial paradise, or Swerga-bhūmi; of this there
can be no doubt, says Cardinal Bellarmin; for had he been translated into the celestial earth or paradise, he could never come back to teach the Gentiles. This paradise, according to Jewish divines, or at least the Essenes, a most religious, and also learned sect of them, was situated in the west, beyond the ocean. As the situation of Enoch, during the flood, would have been at best, but a very disagreeable one; learned commentators, like the Paurânicos, soon recollected that this terrestrial paradise is by no means liable to the vicissitudes, which desolate at certain periods the rest of the globe. Others thought that Enoch was in that celestial earth or region above the highest mountains, and near the path of the moon. Cornelius a Lapide places it in the air, where Enoch lives, with many other devout people, among whom are the nine persons, who never tasted death, according to the Talmudists. The daughter of Pharaoh, and Ebedmelech, the negro, are among them; but the Hindus reckon only seven of these privileged persons.

Those, who take the New Jerusalem in a material and literal sense, place it in the third heaven or story, like the upper Śvētām: others in the heaven of the moon, but not in the moon, exactly like the celestial Śvētām, or the Gālōcas of the Hindus; and Chandra-Mandalam in Sanscrit implies the heaven, or rather the path of the moon.

Śvētām was denominated Śācam, from the 'Sacas or Sacs, who conquered that island, and settled there. The fact of the Sacas being in possession of that island at an early period, is mentioned in this same Purân'a, called Varāha. Bhagavān or Vishnu, is introduced mentioning several privileged places in India, the wonderful powers and efficacy of which are such, that, whatever man dies there, even accidentally, whether clean or unclean, righteous or unrighteous, immediately transmigrates into
Swétam, and becomes a king, or at least a great man there. One of these famous places is the Cócá-muc’ha-mand’ala in the mountains to the north of India.

There was a man, who lived on flesh, and went to Cócá-muc’ha: there he caught a fish; a syéna, or falcon, snatched it hastily from his hands; but let it fall on Cócá-muc’ha. The fish transmigrated immediately, and was born the son of king ‘Saca: he was strong and beautiful. This flesh-eater gave then a piece of flesh to his wife to dress it: a grād’hra, or vulture, attempted to carry it away, but the flesh-eater brought her down with an arrow, and she fell and died at Cócá-muc’ha. She transmigrated, and was born the daughter of the king of Indra-puri. When of age they were married, and their nuptials celebrated at ‘Saca-Ananda-pura or ‘Saca-Nandana-pura. The husband was regularly troubled every day at noon, with the head-ache. Physicians, and men highly skilled in the sacred books, were convened in vain. His wife asked him, what his illness could be owing to. "It is necessary," says he, "that you should know before, the history of my birth; and of this I will inform you, if you will accompany me to Cócá-muc’ha." She went to her father and mother-in-law, to ask leave for both to go there. They at last gave their consent with infinite reluctance, and after journeying a long time, they arrived at Cócá-muc’ha. The husband began to dig the ground, and brought up bones. "These," says he, "these are my bones in a former generation. I was then a fish; a bird of prey seized me by the head. The head-ache, you see, was occasioned by the deep impression of his talons." He was there cured, according to the context, of his head-ache by going to the Cócá-mand’alam; he obtained the eight Sidd’his, and returned to Swétu-dáwípa. "Thus," says Bhagaván
or Vishnu, "every one of those, who attach themselves to me, and die at the Cócá-mandala, go to 'Swéta-dwípa or the White Island. The inhabitants of 'Saca-nandana-pura, on hearing of this wonderful and miraculous account, renounced the world, and obtained mócscha or eternal bliss. Thus ultimately the fish, and the bird of prey, were reunited to me. Thus I have related to you the wonderful story of king 'Saca. Whoever, like him, goes to the Cócá-mandala, obtains the eight Siddhis."

The king of the 'Sacás, being simply called 'Saca, or Maha-'Saca; implies that he was the first king of the 'Sacás in Swétam; otherwise he would have been called 'Saca-patti. This is the rule, though probably not always strictly adhered to. 'Sácaya-mandana, his capital, or more properly 'Saca-nandana, signifies the delight of king 'Saca, like the German, lust, in composition. There were four towns called Nandana, all in the west according to the Puránas. Of these, two were in 'Swétam; and out of the four, three belonged to Ganésa. The first and most ancient of these three, was in the Icshu or Euxine Sea: the second in 'Swétam, belonging to Ganésa is called Swa-Nandana-puri, or the self delighting city. The situation of the third is very obscurely mentioned, and of course is not easily ascertained: but it is said in the text, that this place is at, or near, the sthán of Mahádeva. There is no date affixed to this legend; neither is there any circumstance, which might assist in fixing the time of the conquest of 'Swétam by the 'Sacás. The 'Sacás are often mentioned in the Puránas, as a most powerful nation: their name is often introduced, but in general terms only, and any thing material or interesting is seldom recorded of them. They are spoken of in terms by no means derogatory, or disres-
pecdful: though they are considered as heretics, and ranked of course among the impure tribes.

They are represented as living originally in the countries bordering on the Chacshu or Oxus. We find them afterwards spreading themselves into Persia: and in the Harivansa, section the 13th, we find that RAJA BA'hu was worsted by the 'Sacas, and the greatest part of his country taken from him by them, in conjunction with the Yavanas, those of Cambója or Gazni, the Paradas, Pahlavas, the Haihayas or Persians, and the Tála-janghas. His son SAGARA, having obtained the Agnévástram, or fire arms, (whatever they were,) from AURVA-RÍshi, attacked the 'Sacas and the confederates, and after several bloody conflicts, obliged them to submit. He wanted to extirpate the whole race; but they applied to the sage VASISHTHA, who pacified SAGARA in some measure, and granted them life on very harsh conditions. He ordered the Yavanas to shave their heads entirely; the 'Sacas half only; he spared the Cambójas, but shaved the beards of the Pahlavas, and forbade them all to perform the pújá and hóma, according to the usual rites of the Cshettris or warriors, to which class they belonged. It was at that time, according to learned Pandits, that the 'Sacas began their emigrations toward the west; and this is certainly probable enough. RA'JA BA'hu and his son SAGARA, according to the genealogical scale prefixed to my essay on the chronology of the Hindus, lived about 2000 years before the Christian era. The 'Sacas, who lived to the north of the Danube, declared to HERODOTUS, that from their first settlement in that country, to the invasion of DARIUS, there were exactly 1000 years, neither more nor less. This shows that they did not speak at random, and that their reckoning may be depended on. This places their permanent settlement in that part of the country, exactly 1508 before Christ.
THOUGH we cannot fix the time of the conquest of the White Island by the Sacas; yet we find it asserted in the Puránas, that they were in possession of it, at least of a great part of it, in the time of Críshna. I have shown before, that Críshna lived 1370 B.C. and that he was born probably 1429 before our era. He married at the age of twenty, and his son Samba was about twenty also, when eighteen families of Bráhmens went from the White Island to India, and these were Sacas. This partial conquest is attested by the Pauránics: for the king of Indra-puri, whose daughter married the son of king Saca, was not a Saca or saxon, but a native prince of the White Island.

With regard to emigrations and colonizations, we are apt to entertain ideas, which, in my humble opinion, are far from being correct. We generally suppose that no emigration can take place, but when a country is overstocked with inhabitants; and then colonization takes place, only by approximation, that is to say, the nearest empty spot is colonized first. It appears, however, from history, that in general the numerous tribes, which emigrated, did not always advance in so slow, and regular a manner. Many other reasons, besides that of an overgrown population, determined them to emigrate. Factions at home, feuds between the leading men of a tribe, variety of opinion in religious matters, which always, but more particularly at these early times, ran very high, obliged the weakest, or those more peaceably inclined, to emigrate. These would naturally remove as far as convenient, to distant countries, leaving a vast tract of uncultivated lands, between them and their oppressors, like a barrier. These barriers became at last part of the general system of politics in Europe, and were made use of by the most fierce and war-like tribes in Germany, Tacitus has however greatly exaggerated the
the horizon, and which act like a coloured glass, the sun appears deprived of its rays and splendor. It seems that Twashta was a little awkward at first: for it is declared, that it took him a hundred years to perform this operation, and the sun's face felt so sore after it, that Twashta was obliged to besmear it with such drugs as are used in India for sores and contusions: hence the sun's bloated appearance in the evening.

Twashta is now much more expert, and every evening the business is soon expedited, when the sun in his night dress immediately disappears with his consort behind the Astagiri in 'Swétam. Ni-cshubha' or Nehalenia goes to live with the sun on the seventh day of the black half of Mágha, answering in the year 1802 to the fifteenth of January; and she leaves him the seventh of Srávana, or the twenty-first of July.

The word Nehalenya is never used in the room of Ni-cshubha: it is however a Sanscrit word Na-halina, and perfectly synonymous with Ni-cshubha. I have adopted it, as Nehalenya a derivative form, is the name of a goddess peculiar to Britain and to some adjacent countries, as Holland; where her statue was found, and is described by Montfaucon, and I believe by several other authors.

Twashta, having thus obtained the fiery rays of the sun, applied the element of fire to his own purpose; introduced it into his own shop; and was thus enabled to fabricate all his tools, and implements: for before that time, there was no such a thing as Teja, resplendence, light or fire in the world, except that of the sun, which it was almost impossible to come at, till a favourable opportunity offered itself to Twashta, who eagerly seized it, and obtained by gentle means, what Prometheus got by stealth; and
for which he was severely punished. The sun, after he was shorn of his rays, had no objection to his father-in-law keeping them, and appropriating them to whatever use he thought proper.

The next legend from the Bhavishya-purana is most curious and interesting to us. It certainly tends to prove, not only an early connexion between the White Island, and India; but also that there is a tribe of Brâhmens in India to this day, actually descended from a sacerdotal race residing originally in the White Island. There can be no question about the genuineness of this legend, as it is well known to learned and even unlearned Brâhmens in general. Learned men in India readily acknowledge, that the brahmenical tribes are by no means native of that country; they came from the north, and entered India, through the pass of Hari-dwâr; and their first settlement was at Canya-cubja or Canoge. This they readily acknowledge, though they cannot produce any documents on that subject from their sacred books.

They also acknowledge, that the light of revelation came from the west, and that the Védas reside in the White Island in human shapes. This notion is openly avowed in their sacred books: as well as, that the fundamental mysteries of their religion, are intimately connected with the White Island; and that the momentous events, which took place in consequence of them, either to create the world, or to bring on the regeneration of mankind, and show them the path to heaven and eternal bliss, actually came to pass in the White Island, or its adjacent sea. However explicit this legend and several others may appear; yet we are too well acquainted with the Paurânic to put any reliance upon them, and to consider them as sufficient authority. The
White Island is the holy land of the Hindus, and to it they refer everything; and they have made of it a sort of fairy land. Even the chalk with which they mark their foreheads must come from the White Island, no other would answer their purpose. Accordingly, they suppose that Vishnu and several holy men brought numerous lumps of it at different times; and some of these, particularly that at Dwāraca, are as large as any county in England.

We may admit that some sacerdotal tribes are really 'Sacas, and that they came from the west; perhaps, as asserted, in the time of Črīśna; but that they came from the White Island, as well as the Vēdas, is questionable. Certainly it is by no means impossible; but it requires stronger proofs of its being true. As I do not write history, let us proceed to the legend itself.

"In the Dwipa of Jambu is the 'Adya-st'hānām: in this island of Jambu are three st'hāns of the sun, the first called Indrava'n, the second Maṇḍa'ra, and the third Caḷapriyam, as everybody knows: but there is a fourth revealed to mankind by Brahma, in the tat or countries bordering on the Chandra-bhāga, or China: it is called 'Saṃba'-pura, or the town of 'Saṃba'. This place is incapable of decay; and there the sun resides.

"Saṃba is the son of Vaśu-deva-Crīśna, born unto him from Jambavati, daughter of the bear Jamba, slain by him. 'Saṃba was proud; he met one day Durvāsas, a choleric saint, and made wry faces at him. The holy man cursed him, and wished that he might become a leper. Soon after Na'ra'da came to see Crīśna, and spoke much in praise of 'Saṃba; "all your wives," says he, "admire him much."
"Crīṣṇa was much nettled at this, and going into the secret apartments, he found 'Sa'mba there, and cursed him. 'Sa'mba, falling at his feet, humbled himself, and the father, relenting, forgave him; but the curse of the Rishi was not to be so easily removed; and in consequence of it a piece of iron was produced in his belly. Crīṣṇa advised him to direct his prayers to the sun: this he did; and was cured. He placed the image of the sun on the banks of the Chandra-sarita, or Chin-āb; and as it was the first place erected in Jambu in honor of the sun, it was from that circumstance, called Adya-sthānām. Among the twelve suns, he chose Mitra for the good of mankind: hence this place is called Mitra-pādam, or at the feet of Mitra, or at the friendly feet." Thus at the court of the Grand Lamā they say the most excellent feet; at the court of Ava, the golden feet.

"'Sa'mba having obtained leave from his father to withdraw into forests, there to dedicate himself to the service of the sun, he forsook Dvāracā, and soon reached the northern shores of the sea of the gulph of Cutch, and safely travelled to the banks of the Chandra-bhāgā, a great river which he crossed. Then he went into Mitra-vān or the forest of Mitra, where is a sacred pool, well known to the three worlds. There he fasted in honor of the sun, performing the guhyam-mantram or secret spell, inwardly repeating sacred words, and the names of the sun. There is a Mandālam, white, divine and (ajaram) enjoying the full energy of youth, or in other words incapable of decay. Such is the fulgence of this holy place, as to illumine the whole country. The sun, pleased with his austerities, said to him, "ask your boon." "My only wish," answered 'Sa'mba, "is, that you will deign to admit me among your servants for ever." The sun said, "build here a town, and call it
ESSAY ON THE

"after your own name; erect also many places of worship in my honor, in
the delightful countries bordering on the Chandra-bhāgā. He made a
statue of the sun of pure gold, and sent for a holy man to consecrate it.
His name was Gaura-muc'ha," (called also Gauruch-na't'ha in the
spoken dialects,) "and he lived in a forest" (called to this day Gauruc'h-
van, for Gaura-muc'ha-van, or Gaur-ban, to the north of Cabul.) "But the
holy man refused to come, saying that it was not lawful for him to accept
of things already belonging to the sun; for Sa'mba had given all his pro-
erty to the sun. But, says he, there is a Brāhmen called Maga, who will
not scruple to take them. He is the son of Ni-cshubha', (Nehalenia)
and Agni, fire, and born from the heart of the sun Aditya," (or in other
words the sun was his father, and of course Twashta' was his grandfather.)
"I don't know," says the sage, "where he lives; but Ravi, the sun, does."
Sa'mba asked the statue, which answered; "There is nobody in Jambu,
worthy of offering up prayers to me; that is to say, who is acquainted with
the true and most efficacious manner and rites of my worship. There is
one in Sāca-dwīpa, bring him here. This dwīpa is beyond the Salt Sea,
and is surrounded by the White Sea. It is beyond Jambu, and its name
is Sāca. There are four tribes abounding in meritorious deeds; the
first is called Maga, the second Magasa, the third Mānasa, and the
fourth Magada: but the Magas are Brāhmens. In the dwīpa of Jambu
I dwell, in the character of Vishnu; and the Vedas in human
shapes, chant my praise. In Sālma I am S'acra-Indra: in Crauncha
my name is Bhaga." (Bog is the name of the Supreme Being there
to this day.) 'In S'āca, I am Divā-cara, maker or giver of light;' (be-
cause the sun rises there in his yearly course.) 'In Pushcara I am
Brāhma', and there I am Mahēs'wara.' The name of Cusha-dwīpa
being omitted in the text, it is supposed, that in the original, it stood
immediately after the word Brahma. "Take Garuḍa, or the eagle, said the statue, go quickly and bring Maga. 'Samba went to Dvāraka to his father, who advised him to lose no time; and 'Samba, mounting Garuḍa, soon arrived in Sāca-dwipa. There he found the sage worshipping the sun, upon whom he prevailed at last to follow him. The sage said, there are eighteen families descended from me, all deeply skilled in the Védas, and perfectly well acquainted with all religious rites and ceremonies, and we are ready to accompany you. They mounted Garuḍa, and soon arrived at the town of 'Samba. There they consecrated the statue of the sun, and 'Samba bestowed upon them the town, and immense riches. They afterward intermarried in the family of king Bhūja; hence they are called Bhūjayas. Since that time the town of 'Samba is become famous through the three worlds; and 'Samba, having bowed to the sun, to the Brāhmens, and performed the usual procession, went to see his father at Dvāraka."

The town of 'Samba is very little known to us, and even to the natives. It is mentioned however by Father Monserrat, who accompanied the Emperor Akbar in his expedition to Cabul in the year 1581. The emperor, and his army, passed in sight of Sāmba, which was then garrisoned by his troops; and Monserrat places it 13 minutes of long. to the east of Jumna, and 21 minutes, or geographical miles, to the north of it. It cannot be far from the Chinab; and the word tat does not imply the banks of a river exclusively, but extends also to the adjacent country. Thus eighteen families of learned and devout priests, with their venerable sire Maga at their head, came from the most distant countries in the west, from the dwipa of 'Sāca in the White Sea, to instruct the inhabitants of India, in the most perfect
mode of worshipping the sun. They were invited by the son of the most powerful leader and chief in India; and though learned men here will not acknowledge, that 'Śvēta and 'Śāca are the same, yet they confess, that they are close to each other in the White Sea, and that 'Śāca being called a dwīpa, and 'Śvēta an Upadwīpa, or inferior dwīpa, it must have made part of 'Śāca, though perhaps perfectly independent of it. Of course the learned of this country, and myself, differ very little in opinion about it.

In the Bhavishya-purānā the sun says, "in the dwīpa of Jambu I am "Vīshnu; there the Vēdas in human shapes are constantly chanting my "praise:" but in the 'Samba-purānā we read in the dwīpa of 'Śvēta instead of Jambu-dwīpa, which is the true reading, and conformable to the other Purānās: and where should Cūḍha, and his son have looked for persons duly skilled in the worship of the sun, but in 'Śvētam; where their prototype Vīshnu resides; and is himself the sun there: and where the sacred Vēdas in human shapes, because they were not written, but orally delivered, are constantly chanting the praise of the sun. "I am Divā-" cara in 'Saca," says the sun. In the 'Samba-purānā we read, "I am "Bhāscara in the dwīpa of 'Sāca." In the character of Vīshnu the sun is worshipped in 'Śvētam only; the divine presence of Vīshnu is limited to 'Śvētam; of course, it is more correct to say Vīshnu resides in 'Śvētam, than in 'Sacam; which would convey an inadequate idea. But the sun, in his character of Divācara, maker or giver of light, and Bhāscara, or the author of resplendence, is worshipped all over 'Sācam, as he is with the title of Bhaja in the dwīpa of Crauncha. Thus St. George, the successor of Vīshnu, though greatly inferior to him, being only a Rīshi, is the patron of the British empire in general, or 'Sācam; yet he is more particularly the guardian angel of England or 'Śvētam.
The names of the four tribes are still preserved in Britain, and the nearest parts of the continent, in the titles of their Cula-devatas, or tutelary gods of families, tribes, and nations. Thus the name of the sacerdotal tribe of the Magas, or Magans, in the plural number, is still obvious in that of the god Mogon, inscribed on several stones in the north of England: he is the same with Mercurius Moccus, mentioned in the French encyclopaedia, from an inscription discovered at Langres. (1)

The tribe called Mágasa, or of the Mágasans, was the tribe of warriors, as declared in the Samba-purán'a; and we have Hercules Magusæus, and Magusanus mentioned in several monuments found in Holland, and other adjacent countries. The third tribe of merchants, called Mánasa, is rescued from oblivion in the name of the god Mounus, in an inscription in England. The name of the fourth, or lowest class, called Magada, though in some manuscripts we read Mandaga, and Mangada, is still obvious in the name of the goddess Magada, whom the more modern Germans acknowledge that their ancestors once worshipped.

This tribe of Brāhmens is still very numerous in India, particularly in South Bāhār, which is acknowledged to be called, in Sanscrit, Magadh'a, from them. They are called 'Sacas; and, in a derivative form, 'Sacalas, from their native country; and Magas, from their venerable sire.

The Burmahs call Gautama, or Budd'ha, Maga, according to Dr. Buchanan; and Salmacius says that Zoroaster was called Mog; certain it is, that he was a Maga or Magus. The same author thinks, that he may be the same with a certain sage, called Mochus, by the Greeks, and who is said to have lived sometime before the Trojan war. The appel-

(1) French Encyclop. voce Mercure.
ation of Maga, or Magus, was that of the priests, among the Persians: and from them, it passed to the laity, and to the whole nation, according to T. Hyde. Col. Symes says exactly the same thing, in speaking of the Magus or Mugs of Arakan. As the Magi were apt to make an improper use of their knowledge, the words Magia, Machagistica, Magi, or magicians, became terms of reproach. Thus, in Persia, the appellation of philosophos, or philosopher, which they pronounce Filsouf, signifies a crafty and wicked man.

Thus we see, that the Magas or Magi extended from the White Island, in the west, to Persia, India, Arakan, and the Burman empire: for, according to Dr. Buchanan, the people of Ará consider the Magas of Arakan as their ancestors. They have spread their doctrine into Ceylon, and Siam; where their sacred language is called Magadhī, as well as Páli or Bāli. According to Ptolemy's interpreter, the Tabassi, a nation in India, were Magas or Magi. In the text we read, "Aithnos, "magā, a great nation:" but it appears, that this was not the case, from their name, Tapasvi in Sanscrit, or Tabasa, according to the pronunciation of the inhabitants of the Malabar Coast, and which signifies a religious man performing tapas or austere penance, and given up to contemplation. Ptolemy mentions the island of the Magi in the Red Sea, and the Bay of the Magi in the Persian Gulf. Ireland was called also Muc, which Gen. Valancey derives very properly from Mogh, Mugh, and Muc. Pliny says, that from the great resemblance of ceremonies in religious worship, and other practices among the Persians and druids, one might be induced to believe, that Magia, or Magism, had passed from Britain into Persia.

Thus the Magas and Magism, form an interrupted chain from Britain
to Siam, along the belt I mentioned before. According to the 'Sāṃbapuraṇa, they excelled in their religious worship of the sun, and of course of the sacred fire, which are to this day the chief objects of the worship of the modern Magi in Persia, and also in India, though in a lesser degree. It does not appear however, that Magism ever made any considerable progress in Europe; or what is most likely, it soon came to decay, from the unwarrantable use the professors of it made of their superior knowledge: for it appears that neither the Greeks nor Latians, borrowed the words Magas, Magus and Magia from the east. Besides Maga does not appear to be a Sanscrit word; having no satisfactory root in that language; but it has one, in the old Irish, in which it signifies divine, and is also a name of God, according to the learned General Valancey. The Telchines are supposed to have been Magi, and not without reason: and Salmasius refers the origin of the Magi to a certain Mochos, a sage, who lived in the west long before the Trojan war. Maga, the father of the Magas, or Maugas, was the offspring of the sun by Surenuh, daughter of Twashta or Vulcan. He was the brother of the Aswinau-Cumaerau or Dioscuri, who were peculiarly worshipped in the west, on the shores of the Atlantic. Considered as an individual, they appear to be Æsculapius or Asclepius: for, in Sanscrit, aśvī-culāpā signifies the chief of the race of Aśvī. This epithet might, indeed, be applied to their father; the sun; and Æsculapius, according to some, was a form of the sun himself: and Twashta is considered, in the east, not only as a god, but as a form of the sun likewise. According to Sanchoniathon, Magus and Amynus were the grand-sons of Technites, (the Twashta of the Hindus, for the two denominations are of the same import.) Technites, or the artist, as well as the Latin verb Texo, the obsolete Teuxō, now Teukhō, in Greek, are derived from the Sanscrit Tacscha. 'Twashta', like Technites, stands U
in the eighth degree of lineal descent from Swayambhuva, Adam or Protoponus, as I shall prove hereafter from the Purāṇas. Twashta was the grand father of Maga, and of the present Manu; both answering to Magus and Amynus descended from Technites, according to Sanchoniathon. From Magus and Amynus were descended Misor and Sydic, the father of the Dioscuri, Cabiri and Corybantes, one of whom was called Æsculapius, or Esmunus. These two names, in Sanscrit, are nearly synonymous; Asyicula-pa, Asva-cula-pa and Asvaman, from his being originally descended from Asva or Asvī, a mare. According to Apollodorus, Thyestes, (or Twashta,) was the father of Leda, the mother of the (Aswinau or) Dioscuri. According to Acesilaus the Argian, as cited by Strabo, the Cabiri were the grand-sons of Vulcan, otherwise called Technites (or Twashta). Many learned men are of opinion that the Telchines are the same with the Corybantes and Cabiri: and if not the same, it appears, that they were related to them. The Telchines were famed for their skill in forging and working of metals: they moreover exercised themselves in charms, spells and divinations, like Twashta, who was not only conversant with the three principal Vēdas, but also with the Atharvanā-Vēda, a most complete system of incantations and magical devices. Dadhyach taught this Vēda particularly, with the three others, to the Aswinau or Dioscuri, the grand-sons of Twashta. He taught also Visva-rupa or Twaśṭra; that is to say, the son of Twashta, and his son Abhuti. Thus the sacred Vēdas were orally handed down to Vyasa, who first presumed to write them in a book, and was contemporary with Maga, who was sent for by Saumba the son of Crīshna. There appears an inconsistency in the Purāṇas: for Maga was the child of the sun, by Surenuh, daughter of Twashta, in the eighth generation from Adam, and of course before the flood; and
here he re-appears as contemporary with Crīshna. The Paurāñics answer to this, that, at that time, a partial renovation of the world took place; when, as we observed before, the same persons re-appear on the stage, the same events come to pass: and in the course of this work Crīshna will appear to be the same with the Cretean Jupiter, and the original Crete to be the same with the White Island in the west. Contemporary with Mínos and Crīshna was Dædalus, and his nephew Talus, a man of brass; probably a brazier, or who worked in brass, before the discovery of iron. Dædalus was the most skilful artist, that ever existed: he invented the hatchet, the level, and many other instruments. He made statues endowed with life; and in short was another Twashta'. He taught his nephew Talus, who made such proficiency under him, that he brought the mechanical arts to very great perfection. He found out the potter's wheel, and the turner's lathe, attributed also to Twashta': and he was the first who contrived a saw. Twashta' was called also Tacscha and Tashta; because he was an artist, as implied by these words. Dædalus was thus denominated in Greek, for the same reason, from Daidalos, which signifies a skilful artist; the particle da being prefixed to enhance the signification. In Latin, the verb dedolare implies, to cut and carve, with skill, from the verb dolare, which is now obsolete, and out of use in Greek. It is derived from the Sanscrit dala to cut, to carve, and, in Hindī, dalna is to cut, to cut down. Dædalus's nephew, Talus, was thus denominated for the same reason: thus the French say, doler and tailler. From dá comes dára-ca, to cut, often pronounced dálaca; but the latter comes from dala. There is a famous Rishi, and skilful artist, called Uddalaca, from Utdálaca, answering to Daidalus; for the particle ut, in Sanscrit, corresponds to dá, in Greek. Twashta', who is called a god in the Purāṇas, is pro-
bably Jupiter Dolichenus, or Jupiter the artist; and the Telchines were probably thus denominated, from the same original term, and for the same reason. Daïdalus was the son of Micon, the same, I believe, with Zeus Michius, or Jupiter Dolichenus. Michius is probably derived from an obsolete Greek verb, answering to the English verb, to make: hence mechané, machina &c.

If the Hindus had been in possession of the Védas in the time of Crîshna, there would have been no occasion to send to the White Island for Brâhmens skilled in the true worship of the sun: and we find, that the sacred Védas were committed to writing and published at that very time in India, by the famous Vyaśa; at the time, I say, that the Magas made their appearance in India. As it is acknowledged that these sacred books came originally from the west, and as they were committed to writing about the time that the Magas arrived in India, it might be supposed, that they brought this sacred treasure with them, and delivered it orally to Vyaśa, who committed it immediately to writing; for which deed he is highly censured by some. But, what solves the difficulty at once, is, that the famous Vyaśa is declared to have abided for so long a period in the White-Island, that he obtained the well known surname of Dwaiïpâyâna, or he who resides in the island. For thus is the White-Island emphatically denominated: thus Vishnu is called Dwaiïpâyâna, which, like Dwipa-st’ha, does not imply a person, who had resided for sometime in the island, but an inhabitant of the island. Vyaśa is called Dwaiïpâyâna in the Mahâ-Bhârata, section of the Sântipurva, paragraph of the Môcsha-Dharma, where we read, “Our spiritual guide is Crîshna-dwaiïpâyâna-Muni, or the Muni, who made the Island his abode, and who is a form of Vishnu or Crîshna;”
and this Muni is acknowledged by everybody to be Vyasa. Having made japa in honor of Narayana, or having inwardly repeated his sacred names, he flew through the air, to the Chitra or White Sea, (amritasaya, the abode of amrita; and performed pujá in honor of the God of Gods, at his own place of abode, (swam-asramam, Svam eremum,) which is the White Island. (For árāma, in Sanscrit, signifies an uninhabited place, a forest: also the dwelling of a hermit in such a place: and it is of course synonymous with eremus, a desert, and an hermitage.) According to Lucian, the priests, not only of the Persians, but those of the Parthians, Bactrians, Chorasmians, Arians, Saec or Saxons, and other barbarous nations, were equally called Magi. Indeed all those nations were so many tribes descended from the Saec.

It was not the intention of the children of Maga to remain in India; and accordingly they had previously bargained with Garuda, that he should carry them back to Sácam, as soon as they had completed the object of their mission. To this Garuda agreed: but Jara-Sandha, king and lord paramount of India at that time, and whose capital city was Rajagrigha, in South Bahar, prevailed on them to come to him, to perform certain religious rites, and to teach him, as well as the priests in his dominions, the true worship of the sun. They agreed to it, and when they had acquitted themselves of their promise to the king, they wanted to return to Sácam, but Garuda refused to carry them back, as they had broken the terms of the agreement; which was, that he, Garuda, bound himself to carry them back as soon as the object of their mission to Samba was accomplished, instead of which they had gone to Jarasandha and spent much time with him. Deterred from travelling back to Sácam, on account of the immense distance, they were forced to remain in India.
King Bhōja, a vassal of Jara-Sāndha, invited them into his own country, called Curucades'a, south of the Ganges, the name of which still remains in that of the small district called Curruckpoor. They accepted of his invitation: he gave them lands, and they married into his family: to one of them he gave his own daughter; and on that account, they are called Bhōjacas.

The country was called, from them, Magad'ha: its proper name is Cícata; and Curucá is part of it. Some of them went toward the east, and settled in Arakan, and adjacent countries, where the sacerdotal tribe goes still by the name of Maga, according to Col. Symes, who calls them Mogoś, which sounds exactly like Magas, in Sanscrit. From them the whole nation is known in Bengal, under the name of Magas or Mugs. This denomination is very ancient, in that part of India, for they are mentioned by Pliny under the name of Macco-Calingae, or the Magas living on the sea shores of Chittagong &c. These Magas must have degenerated, as they are now considered as heretics, being followers of Budd'ha. The Brāhmens from 'Sācam, are certainly considered, in India, as a respectable tribe: yet a little jealousy, and reciprocal animosity, seems to prevail. In the first place it is forbidden, in the Dharma-Sàstra, to holy and pious men, to dwell in Magad'ha, and even to go into that country, under pain of losing the fruit of their good works, and their stock of righteousness. Four places of worship are excepted, Gáya, the river Pompon (Punyapunya), the hermitage of Chyavana, and Rájagrëha, in the hills of South Bhar, where Jara'sand'ha resided occasionally, and where he was born. The Brāhmens of Magad'ha answer, that the prohibition is by no means on their account; and as it is their own country, they are not defiled by living in it, no more than the Brāhmens, who live on the banks
of the hateful Carmanásá; by bathing in its waters. Another complaint against them is, that their grand-sire, Maga, received presents and offerings, lands, houses &c. which had been previously given to the sun, which is unlawful according to the Sástras. The Magas answer, that they were servants of the sun, and sent for by him, and that he gave for their own maintenance the lands &c. which had been consecrated and given to him by Sámba, and this certainly the sun had a right to do. The other Bráhmenical tribes give some hints, that they boast too much of the little knowledge they imparted to them concerning some peculiar rites about the worship of the sun, which in themselves are of little or no consequence. Here I must observe, that the words of the sun, in the Puránás, are positive, and militate against this assertion of the Bráhmens; which, in my opinion, is rather bold, if not heterodox, in thus putting a false construction upon the most sacred and immutable words of the sun, their lord and chief, the worship of whom is the most perfect, and the source and origin of every other. According to the sacred and incontrovertible words of the sun, there was not a single Bráhmen in India, who understood it, and was qualified for officiating, when the sun was to be worshipped. They must have been very ignorant, even of the fundamental truths and principles of their religion; and of course they had not then the sacred Védas; which are declared in the Puránás to have been found in the White Island by Náráda, where they reside in human shapes. The Bráhmens from Sácam, in return, accuse the others of ingratitude, and give to understand that they imparted much more knowledge, than they choose to confess, and even communicated the Védas.

No objection whatever, as I observed before, can be made to this legend concerning the Magas, nor to its genuineness. It is not an unheard of
legend, brought to light by me from some rare and obscure book. There is hardly a learned Pandit, who has not either read it himself, or who is not at least acquainted with the subject. It is acknowledged all over India, though somewhat humiliating to the rest of the brahmenical tribes, who endeavour to soften it as much as possible. This legend, besides, is confirmed by foreign evidence; being noticed by several ancient authors in the west. The most clear and explicit on this subject is Evheimerus, a very ancient author, cited by Diodorus the Sicilian, Lactantius and Eusebius. He wrote a sacred history, which was translated into Latin by Ennius, who lived in the third century before Christ. There, he says, that in the country of Panchæa, which I shall show hereafter to be India, there were priests, who asserted that they came originally from Crete; from which place they were brought into Panchæa by Jupiter, whilst he lived among men. The same author says, according to Lactantius, that Jupiter went from Crete into Panchæa, with a large body of Cretans, to wage war against the Titans, whom he defeated, and delivered his parents from their confinement. Crishna, who is here the Cretan Jupiter, was not, properly speaking, a native of India, but came from the White Island or Crete. Nonnus, in his Dionysiacs, (1) says, that the Rhadamanes went from Crete to India, in the time of Minos, in order to assist Bacchus in his wars; that they built ships for him, which they navigated themselves.

There we see not only a sacerdotal tribe, but also many followers of inferior classes, who were forced to leave their native country, and passing through Arabia settled at last in India.

This Jupiter is the Vishnu of the Hindus, and he lived among men

in the character of Crīshṇa, who is acknowledged to have come originally from the White Island in the west, the Ultima Creta alluded to by the Romans, the Gṛiṭa of the Purāṇas, and who lived at Dwārakā, one of the Panchaean islands, with his relations. These were called Rhadamanthes by Nonnus, because they were the followers of Raḍhā-mōhana, a well-known title of Crīshṇa, pronounced Raḍāmōn in the spoken dialects. Crīshṇa rescued his mortal parents from confinement, like the Cretan Jupiter.

In the legendary tales of Crīshṇa, Cansā and Yudhīśṭīra, we have the history of the Cretan Jupiter, Saturn and Minos: for Yudhīśṭīra was called Dharma-Rāja, or the king of justice. Like Saturn, Cansā wanted to destroy the offspring of Vasudeva, and had already destroyed seven of his children: but the eighth, or young Crīshṇa, was concealed, like Jupiter, in his infancy. Then we have the wars of the Titans, who were, according to some, descended from Cres: and Crīshṇa waged a long war with the descendants of Curu, his relations. Crīshṇa at last killed Cansā; and died at the advanced age of 125 years: Jupiter died at the age of 120, or according to others 122 years. Thus we have in the true style of the Paurāṇics, the same actors, the same historical events, reappearing at this renovation of the world, as came to pass in more remote ages, under the elder Saturn.

This notion fully prevailed also in the west, for the followers of Plato maintained, that everything that had passed, should there resume its former state: Socrates would be again accused by Anytus and Meletus, and the Athenians would again condemn him to death, and heartily repent of it. Virgil, in his fourth eclogue, says positively the same thing: there will be then a new Tiphys, another Argo, and ano-
ther Trojan war. According to the Egyptians, this was to be effected after a period of three thousand years: but according to Virgil, the Romans, and Etruscans, after one thousand years only. The Hindus say, that the similitude will be perfect after the great revolution: but that it is not so obvious at the end of subordinate periods. According to Strabo, (1) Minos took for a model of his conduct a more ancient Rhadamantus, or Rhadamanthus: Budd’ha declared, that he wished to imitate a more ancient Dharma-rājā: and the heroes of the Edda took to themselves the names of the heroes of former times, and imitated them as much as it was in their power.

These different passages prove at first sight, that the Brahmens of the Śaka tribe came a great way from the west. It is added that they came from Creta: but this could not be Grecian Creta. It was originally understood of the White Island, a celestial earth: for according to the ancients, the abode of the blessed was either a celestial earth below, or a terrestrial heaven above. Other nations would have said at once, that they came down from heaven. According to the Hindus, Vishnu or Jupiter, riding upon the eagle, left the White Island, in order to be born in a human shape in India, in the character of Kriṣṇa.

It was also the opinion of the ancient Greeks, in conformity with the notions of the Hindus, that Jupiter came from the islands of the blessed, which according to Homer were near the White Cliffs, at the western extremity of the world, as acknowledged by the ancients. Lycoφhorn, who was fond of old traditions and obsolete terms, introduces the unfortunate Cassandra, foretelling to her brother Hector, that Jupiter would trans-

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(1) Strabo, p. 476.
late him into the islands of the blessed, his (Jupiter's) native country; and this idea was also adopted by his scholiast. But what is still more wonderful, is, that the greatest part of the Brāhmaṇa, to this day, never use any but real British chalk, as they pretend, to mark their foreheads with; and this is carried by merchants all over India. This chalk they call 'Śvetā-chandana, Śvetā-mritica, Śvetā-mrid,' and it comes from Dwāracā, where it was deposited by Vishnu. It is acknowledged in India, that the Vēdas, and this divine chalk, came both from the White Island in the west; and that many tribes emigrated thence, in the time of Cṛiṣna, into India, where they remain, to this day, in great numbers. It is declared, in the Nāgara-c'han'da, a section of the Saṃkara-purāṇā, that Vishnu brought the White Island itself into Guzarāt, in which is Dwāracā, in the time of Cṛiṣna, where it is called to this day Śvetā-dvipa, though on the mainland. Various reasons are assigned for this; some say that it was on account of Cṛiṣna, who lived with his relations at Dwāracā; and who came from the original Śvetā-dvipa. Others say, that Vishnu was afraid that the White Island should turn black during the Cali-yuga. But the general opinion is, that Vishnu brought the whole island into Guzarāt, for Cṛiṣna, to be the place of his abode, and also for the benefit of his faithful servants, that they might have real and genuine chalk to mark their foreheads with; and which would have been liable to be adulterated by dealers and carriers. It is not to be supposed, that in consequence of this transportation, the White Island no longer exists in the west. This is by no means the case, for the White Island, which he brought into India was another self, and an emanation of the original one.

The White Island, or rather another self, was brought also near...
Sambhala-gráma, or Sambhul, in the country of Oude, as it is declared in the section of the Scanda-purán'a, called 'Sambhala-gráma-mahátyya'; and there it remains still: both must have been compressed into a smaller compass, particularly the latter, which includes but a very small spot of ground. In that book we read: "near Sambhala-gráma is a place called "śvēta-dvipa, there Jñána or knowledge is obtained." It is declared, in the Atharván'a-Veda, that Varáha, or Vishnu, in the shape of a boar, brought a portion of the White Island to Benares, at the confluence of the Burná with the Ganges, at the place called Víshnu-pádodaca, for the convenience of Bráhmans, and for the avowed purpose of supplying them with genuine chalk. I have not seen the above passage in the Vedas; but I was assured that it is really to be found in them. This is also mentioned in the Cást-chán'da, a section of the Scanda-purán'a, where it is said that Varáha brought śvēta-dvipa, to the mouth of the Burná. Be this as it may, it is no longer to be seen there: and it was hinted to me, that it had turned black, on account of the impure and polluted tribes; in whose possession the holy city has been for above six hundred years.

VII. The White Island is considered in the Purán'as, as the abode of the Mighty. Thus Rávana, anxious to signalize himself, is introduced in the Ramáyéna, inquiring from Naráda, in what part of the world the mighty ones dwelt, that he might go and fight them. The mighty, says Naráda, live in the White Island. The most ancient inhabitants of Britain, in their romances, still call the White Island Ynis-y-Cedain, the island of the mighty ones. The White Island is declared to be the abode of the gods or Suráleyam: This would have been expressed, in the west, by the Gothic tribes, by As-burgh in some of the
dialects of that language. Another name for it would be As-gard; and we find that both were in use in that sense. As-gard is constantly used in the Edda, and As-burgh is the name of an ancient city called, by Prolemy, Asburgium in the eastern parts of Europe; and the learned agree, that it is the same with As-gard.

In Sanscrit it would be Isapura or Ispuri, the abode of the Lord, or of the gods, in which light Vishnu is considered in India; and though the White Island is not expressly called Is-puri, yet it is repeatedly asserted to be the abode of Vishnu called Iswara, Is'a and Deva or God. Such also is the opinion of the divines of Tibet, and of the followers of Budd'ha in China, according to Du-Halde, who maintain, that the holy one abides in the west: and Confucius had also declared, that the holy one was to be found there. This tradition is of very great antiquity in the east; for it is probable that the wise men were directed to Judea in consequence of that very notion. In the Purânás, and in the Vedas also, as I am informed, the coming of a Saviour from the west is often foretold. This prediction, the Hindus conceive, was fulfilled in the person of Crîshna, who came from the west to be incarnated in the house of Vasu-deva, near Mathurá. The Samaritans, equally cautious, were in general of opinion, that all the prophecies relating to the Messiah, had been fulfilled in the person of Joshua, who it is true, introduced the chosen people into the land of promise.

Is'a or Iswara is the name of the Supreme Being in Sanscrit. This word was pronounced Hesus by the Gauls; Aise by the Irish, and Galic tribes; As and Æsir by the Goths; Æsir by the Eiruseans, and Asios also by them; and the Greeks used the latter term. Thus probably Is-puri,
As-burgh, As-bury, came to point out the west; and the western countries were denominat'd by the Greeks, Hesperia &c. The Goths, having conquered the White Island, and finding no deities living there, placed very properly at a great distance, out of the reach of persons too curious and inquisitive, this abode of the gods, toward the east, from which quarter they came. Thus Asbury, or Asgard designated the east with them.

In Sanscrit, puh, pura or puri, signify a building to live in, also an assemblage of such buildings, a village, a town. Beu, peu, in Welsh, signify the same; peu is also written peues, and in Sanscrit we have pus, before certain consonants. Pur and purih answer to burig, byrig, and burh in Gothic: the Greeks said pyrgos.

The divines of Tibet, according to P. Giorgi, place a paradise in the west, in a certain world, where Hopameh, or the Supreme Being, resides alone. This place is coeval with the world, and is without end. This is the White Island, which escapes the general devastations of the world, both by fire and water, but will ultimately be destroyed and annihilated with the rest of the creation. Some are of opinion, however, that the White Island will survive the general wreck, because they conceive that the Supreme Being must have a place to exist in; otherwise He would exist nowhere, and of course would not exist at all. This idea, peculiar only to a few, is in general reprobated as heterodox. Hopameh is the same with Cenresi, according to P. Giorgi, called justus judex. Dharma-rāja, in Sanscrit, one of the two forms of Yama, and an emanation of Vishnu, or in other words Vishnu in the character, and with the title of king of justice. The cabalists among the Jews place the abode of the Divine Majesty in the west: and the Esseniens placed
there, beyond the ocean, their elysium. This idea had even been adopted by Christians, at an early period, as far as consistent with their notions of the Christian religion: for they supposed that the souls of good men previous to the coming of Christ, lived in some happy and blessed country, toward the extremities, the rim, limb, or lembus of the earth, called Iardar threumi in the Edda: and as mount Atlas was considered as the margin or term of the earth, it was called also dyrim. The word lembus is not mentioned in scripture, nor by the fathers of the church, but, in the room of it, the words infernal regions are used; in Sanscrit, Pátála, which is nearly the same expression: for, according to the learned Du-Cange, the word lembus, signifies the borders, limits of the infernal regions: which expression of scripture here, and in the Purán'as, does by no means imply Tartarus or hell, the abode of the wicked. According to Du-Halde, Confucius had said that the holy one was to be found in the west; and he introduces the followers of Budd'ha saying, "we die, content; we are upon the point of entering into that blessed abode in the west, where Fo waits to receive us, and make us partakers of his bliss."

The Tagalies, according to the relation of the Philippine Islands in Thevenot's collection of voyages, not only are acquainted with the White Island; but place their elysium there. The inhabitants of the Friendly Isles in Cook's Voyages, and who speak the same language, with those of the Philippine Isles, place also the empire of Pluto in the west, and call it Bulutu.

This idea, that the elysium is situated in the west, is so universal, that even the savages of America place their land of souls there also. It is very ancient, for Hesiod places the abode of heroes, in the happy regions
near the ocean, and Homer at the furthest extremities of the ocean, near the White Cliffs.\(^{(1)}\)

As it is the universal opinion of the Pauranics and Baudhâstis, that the abode of Vishnu; and of the Supreme Being is in the White Island, I shall not crowd passages here, from their sacred books, to illustrate this assertion. Hence it is that Vishnu is called repeatedly Śvetādvipa-vasināu-Nara-Nārayan'au, or Nara-Nārayan'a, who resides in the White Island, (which is sometimes called emphatically dvipa or the island, by way of pre-eminence,) and Vishnu Dwīpasthah-Nara, or the man who resides in the Island. Vishnu is introduced in the Brahma-vaiśvarta, section of the Crishna-Janma-c'hand'a saying, "In the White Island, the abode of justice, I shall return with portions of the gods and goddesses, to live among the Gōlocaś, or shepherds, near Māthu'ra. This shall most certainly happen, and no body shall ever be able to prevent its taking place." All the Avatāras, or principal emanations of Vishnu, ten in number, came originally from the White Island. This is also acknowledged by divines, according to this text from the same book and section. "There are many manifestations and forms of Bhagava' Namuni: but the form which resides in the White Island is the primitive one. Vishnu, says the author, recalling all his emanations into the White Island, went into the womb, in the house of Vāsu-deva; and on this grand occasion, he recalled all his emanations. Rāma and Nṛisinha are complete forms, O Mu-

\[^{(1)}\] Odys. 24. v. 11. Hesiod Theog. v. 1014 Erga. v. 169.
of Ra'd'ha', he who dwells in the White Island with the famous snake Sêsha, a portion of his essence. The gods sent there portions of their own essences, to be consolidated into the person of Crîshna, who was going to be incarnated at Gócula.

Ra'ma and Nri-Sinha, or the man-lion, came, as we have seen, from the White Island; and even Hiranyâcasipu was killed, either there or near it. It is the general opinion that this happened at Multan; yet the Pandits whom I consulted could not find any authority for it in the Purânas. To reconcile this, they say he was killed at both places; really in the White Island, and typically only at Multan. In the Gâñéśâ-purâna, Vya'sa is introduced asking Brahma', how Ra'ma was born, and whose son he was. Ca, or Brahma' answered, "In the White Island, well known to all the world, lived Jamadagni, a great Muni, who can at his will destroy the world, who bestows rewards, and inflicts punishments, knows the past, the future, and of whom the gods stand in awe. His wife was Ren'ucâ': in her manners, and gait, she is like Ratî, the mother of Camadeva. The whole world gazed at her with astonishment: her eyes are more beautiful than those of the antelope of the forests: her face is like the moon: she is a goddess, incapable of decay: she is Mulapracriti, or immediately born of the Supreme Being: she is Iswati, the sovereign queen; from her was born Ra'ma, who is Vîshnu-Yogis'-waru, ever victorious. Ra'ma, going one day, to Caikasa, to pay his respects to Ma'ha'-de'va and Parvatî, was prevented from entering by Gâñé'sa, whom he knew not. Enraged at his insolence he wrenched Gâñé'sa's scimitar from his hand, and cut off his head: from that circumstance, or his cutting off, he was surnamed Para'su-Ra'ma."

The story is related differently in the Gâñéśâ-purâna: Ra'ma broke
off only one of the elephant-like tusks of Gan'esa, which fell to the
ground, with a dreadful noise, and shook the whole earth. Maha-
deva and Parvati, who were in fond dalliance, as indeed they al-
ways are, when alone, were alarmed. Parvati particularly was very
angry, and was going to utter a dreadful curse against him, when
Vaman, an Avatara of Vishnu, suddenly came from the White
Island, resplendent like ten millions of suns, in a white dress, and
with white teeth. "Who are you? what part of the world do you
"come from?" said Parvati to him. "I am Vaman; alarmed by the
"noise, and the shaking of the earth, I come from the White Island to
"save Parasu-Rama."

The Egyptians, according to Plutarch, said that Osiris was materi-
ally the lunar world, and that he dwelt in the moon. Osiris, of a black
complexion, is Vishnu, whose abode is in the White Island, called also
Chandra-dwipa, or the island of the moon: and I think that, by the
lunar world of the Egyptians, we are to understand the terrestrial moon
of the western mythologists, and the Chandra-dwipa of the Hindus. In
Tibet, they say, that the god of wisdom resides in the moon: and the
Manicheans, whose reveries have much affinity with those of the Hindus,
placed Christ, in his character of the divine sapience, in the moon;
making it consubstantial with it, as the Egyptians did with respect to
Osiris, and the lunar world.

VIII. In the Trai-loca-derpa, it is said, that Chacra-vartti-
Narayana resides in islands to the west. This is Vishnu, or Nar-
Raya, whirling the Chacra or coit. They call him also Narana, or
the lord of mankind. In the White Island, says the author of that
treatise, is the Janma-Calpanac, or birth tree of Jina, or Budd'ha. It is
in Cshira-dwipa, or the White Island, said there to be Cshira-dwipa-
dwipana-Sir-mor; that is to say Cshira-dwipa of all the dwipas is the first
and principal. This treatise is written in the spoken dialect of the coun-
tries to the west of Agra. Sir signifies head, and mor, as well as in
Gallic, signifies great; Sir-mor implies either a man, or any thing above
the rest. The Sir-mor mountains, west of the Jumna, are thus called, be-
cause their heads are greater, or above the others.

This Calpa-pratsha of the gods, bestows everything that is desirable;
and when Jina is going to be incarnated, the waters of the White Sea
come up to it. Near this tree the Die'hyadris, or disciples of Jina, cut
their hair, and throw it into the White Sea.

It appears also that the White Island is the Therapnae of the Argo-
nautics ascribed to Orpheus. In the Puranas, Swetam is described as
the most proper place for making tarpana, or libations in honor of the
Pitris; and though not expressly called Tarpana, yet it is declared to
be the land of Tarpana: and a most proper place it was, as the Pitris
dwelt there, and in the adjacent islands: and we read of several holy
men going there, for the purpose of performing that ceremony. Thus
it appears that the White Island, Cshira, or Khira, Scheria, or Kyré,
was called also Tarpana, or Therapnae; from which the Greeks made
Drepane. That the White Island was called Tarpana by the Hindus is
attested by Mr. Lord, when he says that Visva-carma, or Tvashta,
went to live in the country of Derpe, or Derpen, after having crossed
many seas. That gentleman's information is generally true; though
some times incorrect: and though it be found, occasionally, to differ
from the received opinions in this part of India, yet I find it in general
conformable to legends, which are current in that part, in which he lived.
The Derpe, or Derpen, which he mentions, I take to be a corruption from Tarpana: because Twashta lived actually in the White Island, or land of Tarpana, according to the Pauránics.

The White Island is also declared repeatedly, to be the land of Tapas, or the most proper country for performing tapasya: and we find that the ancient Greeks called the islands of the blessed Theba, Thebe or Thebæi: and, in the objective case, Theben. In the Ayin-Acheri written by Abul-Fazil, to whom the British Isles seems to have been unknown, is an island called Tapana in the very place of the British Isles. He had probably derived that notion from some Brāhmens, who said that an island, famous for the performance of Tapas, was in the north-west, at the extremities of the world. Those islands, called Thebe, Theben by the Greeks, were also declared to be the native country of Jupiter, Vishnu, or Crīshna, in conformity with the Pauránics, and in opposition to the lying Cretans, as they were called in all ages.

In the Trai-lócyai-derpana, 'Saca-dwipa, or the White Island, is called Nandi-dwipa, from Nandi the bull of Maha-deva, who resides there. No further particulars are mentioned, except that there is the van or forest of Nandi. When the gods and holy men are in distress, they are always represented in the Puránas, as betaking themselves to the White Island, as a place of shelter. This opinion prevailed once in Europe; for Homer introduces Jupiter telling Juno, with whom he had quarrelled, that she might go away, and retire into the regions to the west: and Creusa, in the Ion of Euripides, earnestly wishes to withdraw into the same countries.

(1) Schol. in Lycophron. v. 1200. 1189 and Canter-annotat.
The White Island seems to be the original Delos, which the Egyptians and Greeks claimed as their own property, and accordingly placed it in their respective countries. There the sun and Lumar were born, according to the Greeks; but the Egyptians said that they were only concealed there by Latona, their nurse; for she was not their mother, according to them. Latona, or Latayana, in Sanscrit, and the western languages, implies only a place of concealment. Both islands were floating originally, on the surface of the waters; but Neptune, pitying the deplorable situation of this unfortunate island, according to Pindar, rendered it fixed and immovable. This was not the case with the Egyptian Delos, according to Herodotus; who says that it was in a lake near Chemmis: but he acknowledges that he could not perceive, that it was floating; though the priests assured him, that this was really the case.

The White Island, or Terrestrial Moon, was equally floating at first; and I have before related the legend of its production from the tears or rheum of the giant Atri.\(^{(1)}\)

Delos, according to some Greek mythologists, was formerly a woman, and sister to Latona, and was transformed into an island. The original name of Delos, and of that woman, was Asteria, the sister of Latona, and who had a famous oracle among the Hyperboreans. Asteria is then the famous goddess worshipped by the Gothic tribes under the name of Aster or Easter. Delos, in Greek, is synonymous with Tejas and Ghrita, or the resplendent, an epithet of the White Island. Cynthia, another name for Delos, is from the Sanscrit canta, resplendent, and the White Island is also called Chandra-canta, or resplendent, like the

\(^{(1)}\) Page 35.
moon. The learned and ingenious Mr. Bailly is of opinion, that we must look for the original Delos among the islands to the north-west of Europe; and even the Greeks acknowledged, that Latona was born in an island of the Hyperboreans. Delos, said the Greeks, was thus called, because it shone forth, or appeared first after the flood. This has some affinity with the opinion of the Purâṇas on that subject: for as the White Island is exempted from the dissolution of the rest of the world, it appears first, when these dreadful days are over. The moon was born there according to the Purâṇas; and the sun, in the character of the son of Časyapa, was born in the west; but the Sun and Lunicus are not considered as brothers in India. The Greeks considered the west as the abode and native country of the sun, where he retired every day to rest himself in the company of his mother and of his youthful wife, according to the poet Stesichorhus, as cited by Athenæus. This moon, remaining on earth, gave general dissatisfaction to the gods, and mankind; as it gave no light: and besides the plants were poor, and stunted, and their fruits of no use to mankind. In order to obtain a better and more beneficial moon, it was resolved to churn the White Sea: and after infinite trouble a new moon was obtained of the purest amrit, as consisting of the most subtle parts of the former moon, which was churned along with a certain composition made for that purpose, and flung into the White Sea. This new moon instantly flew up to heaven, where it remains, to the unspeakable benefit of the world.

Yet there was still something wanting in this new moon, required as ruling power, and a moon, or another self, in a human shape. For this purpose Atri made again tapasya; and the Tri-rûnti appeared to him.

and was incarnated in the womb of his wife Anusuya. Soma or Lûnu was the son of Brahma, Dâttatreya of Vishnu, and Durvâsas of Maha-deva.

In the centre of the White Island resides Vishnu; at a place called Nârâyânpura, or the city of Nârâyana, called also Vairâvati or Vairâmâti, for both may be used correctly. In the Padma-purâna, section of the Uttarâchanda, is the following description of this place: "In the northern parts of the Tôyambûdi, or sea of fresh-water, in Sveâ-devîp, the Sanacâdicas went to see Bhagavan or Vishnu. Their names are Sanaca, Sananda, Sanata, Sanata-cumara, Jâta, Vodû, Pancha-sîchâ, all children of Brahma, and these, with many others, reside there, near Hari. The White Island is like the su-bhrânsu, or mild beams of a thousand moons; like shining jewels. Many Mâha-Yogis, or great penitents, reside there, without fear or molestation. There is a beautiful garden of Pârijata(1) and Chandana trees. There is the city Vairâvati or Vairâmâti beautiful and full of jewels; the consorts of the gods reside there in houses shining like the morning sun. Its greatest ornament is a divine mandapa or house, made of precious stones and amber (Carbura,) and adorned with flowers. The Apsarasas reside there, and there is a throne supported by lions and resplendent like fire, brilliant like the sun &c. It consists of eight portions, like so many moons, placed like the petals of a flower. In the centre, within the calix, Janâkâna, or the devourer of souls, is seated with his insignia in human shapes. His clothes are like the foam of the White Sea, when it is churned; and Devi, with a divine countenance, is on his left. Devout prayers and religious rites are the

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(1) A sort of Nyctanthes.
"only means to obtain admission among the servants of Vishnu, and a seat at Vishnu-padam, at the feet of Vishnu, called also Parama-padam, or at the place of the most excellent feet."

In Asia and the eastern parts of Europe, Britain was considered as the land of spirits, and the abode of the Deity. In Britain they probably placed it farther to the west, in America. In this manner the savages of America place this land of spirits still further to the westward, and as if it were in Asia. The gods and other spirits are fond of privacy, and do not like the vicinity of mankind. Accordingly we find in the Padma-purāṇa, section of Pātalā, that our White Island is only the abode of an eminent, yet subaltern form of Vishnu and the Supreme Being, in opposition to the other Purāṇas: and that the great and real White Island, called Mahā-Rajata-bhūmi, or Maha-Sweta-bhūmi, the great silver, or white land, is beyond our White Island, and the mountains of Lōcalōca. An impenetrable darkness, with a chaos-like confusion of the elements, prevails beyond the mountains of Lōcalōca, which determine the world, according to the general opinion of the Paurāṇicas: whilst some insist, that it is a perfect vacuum. When Crīshṇa, with Arjuna, searched into every dwīpa, for the children of his spiritual guide, and asked them in vain from Yama, who declared that they were not with him, he went into Pushcara-dwīpa, or Iceland, to Brahma, who told him, that they were probably with the original Vishnu, whose abode was beyond the mountains of Lōcalōca, in darkness and among waters. Crīshṇa, in his self moving car, advanced toward Swarna-bhūmi or the land of gold, and striking the mountains with his chakra or coit, opened an immense passage through them, which exists to this day, as every body knows. This is a very common expression in the Purāṇas, and of
course implies nothing. He went with Arjuna, through this gap, and entered the country of Tamámáyi-mahá-bhúmi, or the land of darkness. There he found Vishnu sitting in the midst of waters, and the children of his Guru under his throne.

In the 18th Psalm we read, that the Supreme Being made darkness his secret place, his pavilion round about him, with dark water, and thick clouds to cover him.

In North-America, in New-England, I believe, is the cave of the great Spirit, whose abode is in the lake Huron, in the island of the great Spirit, or Manitoalin, according to the Indians. There is another cave of the great Spirit near the Mississippi, below St. Antonio's Falls, and near the Ohio, on the heights called the Big-bone-licks, is also the impression of a divine foot, as well as at many places on the old continent. In the Padma-puráṇa, section of Pátála, or the infernal regions, Súta is introduced relating the most wonderful exploits, and mighty deeds of Ra'ma-chandra, who came originally from the White Island, as we have seen before, and like St. Brendan long after, wished to visit the more western regions. Both at first were much at a loss, how to effect this; but with patience, courage and perseverance they succeeded. St. Brendan went by sea, and was six months in this journey, in which he saw the land of the departed, called Imá. Ra'ma-chandra, having the advantage of a self-moving car, performed it in a very few days, in company with Maha'-de'va. The day being fixed for their departure, Ra'ma-chandra waited anxiously for Siva, who was dallying in a most charming grove, and had entirely forgot him. Ra'ma-chandra resolved to set off without him, and, as he was going to ascend his self-moving vehicle, he saw a holy penitent, a Ráshi, carrying away a woman,
who had eloped from her husband, a Muni, or silent contemplator. They met boldly Ra'ma-chandra, shewing signs, neither of shame nor fear. Ra'ma, however, ordered the holy penitent to send away the woman, and reproached him with his scandalous behaviour. He then advanced toward the Lôcalôca mountains, and 'Sambhu or 'siva, recollecting the appointment, ascended his vimâna, or vehicle, and with wonderful speed, soon overtook Ra'ma. They then descried the Lôcalôca mountains, on the summit of which are the paths of the planets. Ra'ma-chandra asked the Muni who was with them, what was become of his wife. The Muni said, she was gone to the Tamôbhåga-giri, or the mountain of darkness, for which, he said, he was very sorry, as he was not likely to see her again. 'Sambhu comforted him, and said we are going there also. Thus assisted with the refulgence of 'Sambhu, they arrived into the land of darkness, where there are no living creatures. There, one hundred millions of jójanas from the limits of light, in that land of darkness, is Mahâ-Rajata-bhûmi, or the great Silver or White country. In the middle of it is Nárâyana-pura, resplendent like one hundred millions of suns. Ra'ma was astonished at this wonderful sight, in the land of the blessed, and the paradise of Vishnu. "Whose refulgence is this?" exclaimed he. "How can we approach it? Is this the fire, which is to consume the world, or the mayâ, or illusion of Bhagava'na? "Is my last hour arrived?" 'Sambhu said, "O Ra'ghava, or descendant of Râghu, be not dismayed: it is the mayâ of Bhagava'na; but those, who have obtained internal knowledge, can see, and enter this holy place. See on all sides Rîshis, and Munis performing pûjâ in honor of it. The four Vêdas reside there, and the Romashâ-dâya-Rîshis, or descendants of the holy Ro'masha or Lo'masha, with their wives, are performing the pradacshin'a, (or dextratio, in Latin)
and the Valac'hiliyas also: Lacshmí, with her damsels, are making pújá to this place of the most excellent feet. The Sanádica-Tógíś are meditating on it; consider attentively this most pure resplendence. Thus I have shewn to you. Brahm-Nirácára, or the Supreme Being without a body, is Sácára or embodied: for Brahm is Sácára in his manifestations. Worldly men cannot see him: it is given only to those, who have obtained internal knowledge." These words of Sambhu were heard by those, who accompanied Ráma; who immediately made pújá to Achyuta, or the incorruptible god, with Gíri-carmi, Túlsi, Sállaça, Maruta, Nila-camala or the blue lotus. Then Nárada came from c'ham heaven, with his hair tied up into one lock, his guitar and a small crooked staff. Sambhu told him that Ráma-chandrá wished to see this place, and begged that he would go and announce him. Nárada went in, and announced Ráma-chandrá and Maha-deva. Vishnu and Lacshmí, with myriads of yógíś, came out to meet their guests, and having worshipped them, carried them to Náráyan'a-pura. Vishnu asked, "How came you to this place inaccessible to mortals? Who is this king?" Sambhu answered, "he is a portion of your essence: we saw a path, and we followed it, and he wishes very much to see your consort." "She is in the inner apartments, go and see her," answered Vishnu. Ráma went in, and having worshipped her, said, "I have seen you: it is enough. I have obtained at last the object of my most ardent wishes." Síti-Devi said, "you are remarkably handsome; but Síta, your consort, is a perfect beauty!" Ráma, alarmed, retired; but Cama-deva having deeply wounded Lacshmí, she ran after him. Ráma being éca-pati-vratta, or faithful to his only wife, began to tremble, and Vishnu and Maha-deva were astonished. Ráma disengaged himself; and, with his retinue, having reascended their vimaña, left the Locálóca mountains,
and soon reached the Swádaudhd'hi, or the sea round Pusheara, and went home.

The same description of our White Island, may be collected from various parts of the Puráñas, its astonishing refulgence &c. and the commentator on the Bhágavata, with many other learned men, assert that these two White Islands, with the Gólócas, or the celestial 'Swéta, many millions above the terrestrial one in the air, are but one. Indeed the geography of them is the same exactly, the dimensions only are different, being on a much larger scale. Be this as it may, whether there be another White Island or country in America, is of little consequence, as it does not interfere with ours, and both are asserted to exist independent of each other. This notion may lead to suppose, that the inhabitants of the islands in the northern ocean, had some knowledge of America at a very early period. In my humble opinion, it was hardly possible that it should be otherwise, particularly when the climate was less severe: and that this was the case once, I conceive, cannot be denied. The Pauránics say, that this land, which surrounds the world, is called Swávarná-bhūmi, or the golden land, from its real appearance, and the quantity of gold found there. The first travellers, who visited the shores opposite to Iceland and Norway, were struck with the appearance of the rocks glittering like gold. Some of these glittering stones were brought to Europe, and assayed, but produced no metal. This appearance was occasioned by a sort of Pyrites, which abounds on these shores. Rocks with such an appearance are mentioned in the northern ocean by Plu-

(1) De facie in orbe Lune.
the only heroes who ever penetrated beyond mount Atlas into the land of darkness.

IX. It is probable, that this land surrounding the known world, is altogether the result of some fanciful idea of the Hindus, and other nations in former ages. They conceived that it was absolutely necessary, to prevent the waters of the ambient ocean, from running off into the vacuum: and this idea alone was enough to establish its existence among them. I was desirous, however, to ascertain, whether some points in this imaginary boundary of the terraqueous world, could not be traced through the Puranas, with the track, either real or imaginary, of some of their Deities, or heroes, from India, in various directions, to these parts. Very few indications and marks of such discoveries, I was able to obtain, but these constantly pointed to the north-west quarter of the old continent, consonant with the obscure hints of the existence of such land, to be found in Plutarch, in the account given by Silenus to Midas, and in the argonautics ascribed to Orpheus. It is not improbable, that some accidents, and fortunate circumstances, from time to time, confirmed its existence. Through want of intercourse, and owing to several centuries intervening without any of these accidents recurring, which had brought to light its existence, it became problematical and doubtful for a long time, and the severity of the climate increasing in these northern regions, rendered these accidents still more uncommon. The track of Krishna and Ra'ama-Chandra, who came originally from the White Island, is pointed out, through the north-west quarter, and the two Pushcaras, the British Isles and Iceland, through which in the Trailocya-derpana this track is also made to pass. These facts show, that once they had in the west, and in India, some
confused ideas about such land as America: and though their notions were not clear, yet they did not doubt, at some period, of its existence. That the eastern parts of America were peopled from Europe, appears to me beyond any manner of doubt: from the astonishing affinity between the languages in use in that part of America, with the Sanscrit and other languages in Europe derived from it. For the Sanscrit pervades all the languages, both ancient and modern of Europe, in a surprising degree. India is by no means to be considered as the primitive and original country of the Sanscrit language, though it flourishes there now exclusively. The Brāhmens acknowledge that they are not native of India. They entered it, they say, through the pass of Hardwar; and their first settlement was at Cânoje. Towards the east it extends to Ává and Siam, in which countries the Pali, Bâli, or sacred language, if not pure Sanscrit, is at least, a dialect next to it, and its eldest daughter. Towards the west, it pervades all the ancient and modern languages of Iran, Turan, Arabia, Ethiopia, Egypt, the northern parts of Africa, and all Europe as far as Iceland inclusively; forming, as it were, a belt from the easternmost parts of Asia, to the extremities of the west, and of Europe, and tending from the south-east toward the north-west. To the north of India, in Tibet, the traces of the Sanscrit language prevail, but I believe in a less degree, than in Ává, and Siam. From this belt some weak ramifications are to be found in Sumatra and Java. The Malay language contains many words of Sanscrit origin; and in the Chinese and Japanese, Sanscrit words are to be found occasionally. The language of the aborigines of India, extending from the Bay of Bengal to Bombay, and inhabiting the mountainous tracts in the interior parts, has no affinity whatever with the Sanscrit, or any of its dialects. Its grammar, poor and barren, as may be supposed, is absolutely different from that even of the
lowest dialects of the Sanscrit. To my great surprise, I could not find even a single word in it, either derived from the Sanscrit, or any of its dialects, except the names of a few articles of trade, introduced into it, but evidently not belonging to it: whilst there are a great many words obviously derived from the Sanscrit, in the dialects of Brasil, Mexico, of the Caribbees, and other tribes living on the eastern shores of America. In the dialects of the inland and southern parts of Africa, I could not even trace a single word of Sanscrit derivation, nor in those of the western shores of America. Some of the dialects of Tartary, and Siberia exhibit occasionally a few words of Sanscrit origin; but these are not numerous, whilst none whatever are to be found in the others. Various etymologies are given of the name of the city of Mexico, the true pronunciation of which is Machico. The most probable is from the Sanscrit Matsuja, or Mach'ha, fish; and, in a derivative form, Matsyaca, and Mach'hica. This word, in the Machico language, is pronounced Mecho, and Mechoa. According to the learned Abbé Clavigero, a native of that country, the name of the town and province of Mechoacan signifies the place of fish. In Hindi, Mach'hi-c'hán'a implies the same, and Mach'hvá-c'hán'a, a place of fishermen, or Mechoá-can. In the Mexican tongue Tru-Calli signifies the house or cell of god, in Latin Dei-cella, which is to be pronounced Dei-kella. Havelí, a house, in Hindi, hovel in English, is pronounced covel, caul or coil in several parts of the peninsula, as in the Tamuli dialect; and Deu-caul, or Deu-wal is the house of god: this well known word is generally pronounced De-wul in India. Teotiguácan, according to Gemelli, signifies also, in that language, the place of god: in Hindi, Devatác'chán'a or Deotá-ca-c'hán'a signifies the same; though never used. They say in India, or rather Persia, But-c'hán'a, the place of idols. Kháná is used in Persia, and in the western parts of India, in
composition, and signifies place. Some believe that it was used formerly
in Sanscrit and that c'hani a place of metals, or mine, is derived from it;
but this is not likely. Hāloc, in Mexican, is the name of the god of
waters; answering to Jaloga in Sanscrit, the energy of the waters. In
the Brasilian dialects cunya or cunha, according to the Portuguese mode
of spelling, and canyá, in Sanscrit, signify a young woman.

Iṣi, the earth, is from 'i and ēva or ṭba, in Sanscrit, the female power
of nature, and the earth in an animated shape, or the goddess Tellus.
Ara air: ig or uh, aqua: pi; pes, foot, pouy. Caanga, to eat, is, in Hindi,
caëga, cainga, I shall eat. Ca-anga, to say; in Hindi Cahanga, I shall
say. Co, to go, is ga and gati in Sanscrit; in Brasilian guata also is, to
go, to walk. Monhanga, to make, is manavinga, in Hindi, I shall make.
Yeupira, to mount, to go up, from uper, upon in Hindi. Can, and acan,
head in Galic also, ore-acan, our head. Ai-out, I come, is hum-auté:
Oi-out is woh-aute in Hindi, he comes. Auae-aout, they come, and in
Hindi we-auté: in a preposition is mai, both in Brasilian and Hindi.

In the language of the Caribbees, ac oculus, in Hindi auk, from the
Sanskrit acsha, and acshán, from which is derived skin amongst the
Cherakees. Baica, to eat, is in Sanscrit bhucta: bouiroko, a boar, or
hog, is varahaca or varahaca: jovanni, the soul, is jiva, jivan. Isheiri,
God, is from Is'wara: looca, among the Caribbees, is the first of the lócas,
lógas or men in Hindi; and Maboiá the evil spirit, or principle, is from
mahá-bhui, or má-bhui, the great evil spirit, the chief of evil spirits. Bhui
and bhuta are common names for devils, spectres and other evil spirits.
The word bhui is obsolete, and in great measure used only by women
and children in India.
In Virginia, psucse, a bird, is from paeshe: yeu, yeuch is wohn in Hindi: howan, who, and whom; wastah in Hindi, is watch in Virginia, propter, because, on account of.

In the Chikkasah, and Choktah languages, loca or loak is fire; and this is an old Gothic word used in the Edda. Yana a bullock, yana in Sanscrit, aia to go, is ya in Sanscrit and eo in Latin. Anum-bolé-bolé in their language is in Hindi hum, or aham-buli-bulá, I spoke the speech. This last would certainly afford much merriment, in the eastern parts of India, particularly, yet it would be understood. Unchábá is a height, mountain, both in these languages and in Sanscrit.

These words are extracted, for the greatest part, from Reland's short vocabularies of the American languages. They are short indeed; for they contain only a few hundred words. In the dialects of Peru and Chili, and the northern coasts of America, California &c. I have not been able to find a single word, that had the least affinity with the Sanscrit, or any other language of the old continent. In the languages of North-America, there are fewer words from the old continent, than in those of South-America, and of the Caribbees. The reason is that according to tradition, the tribes, which now inhabit North-America, came originally from the western parts of that country, and settled there, after having either exterminated or driven away the greatest part of the inhabitants; and the Caribbees assert, that they came originally from Florida.

Beyond this belt, languages have little or no affinity with the Sanscrit, except among such nations as are well known to have emigrated out of it. Thus the Chinese, who lived originally on the banks of the D d
Oxus, according to the Purāṇas, have preserved a great many Sanscrit vocables in their language, which are engrafted upon another, unknown to us.

In the short vocabulary of the Hottentot language in Mr. Barrow's description of the Cape, and consisting only of eighteen words, I was surprised to find three of them pure Sanscrit. The first is Surrīe, the sun, in Sanscrit surya; cum, water, in Sanscrit cam; and cu is the earth in both languages.

CHAPTER III.

'Sweta' Devī; or the White Goddess.

I. The White goddess, whose abode is in the White Island, is one of the three Parcae, which according to the Paurāṇics, are a Tri-unity, called in the singular number Tri-Calā-devī-Cumārī, or the divine maid in a three-fold state.

She was born on mount Cailása from the Tri-mūrtti, as related in the Varāha-purāṇa: the three gods directed their eyes, so that their looks met into a focus or point; and this divine maid sprang up instantly. She is three-fold, and, as soon as she was born, she disappeared and went to the White mountain or island, to perform tapasya. She is Tri-sakti-devi, or the goddess with the triple energy: you must consider her as Tri-vidhā or three-fold, and these three modes are siddhā, because they em-
brace the whole circle of human life. It is the Tri-sacti, that makes kings: when creating, she is Satwicí-Brahmi; when fostering, Vaishnavi; when destroying, she is Raudri. These are three forms, which were thus produced: Brahma, who is of a red complexion, thinking on Mahadeva, who is white; his Sacti, or energy, naturally became white. He then produced a damsel of that colour called Sweeta-devi, or the White goddess. She is called also Brahmi-Sita. Brahma, the creating power, is thus introduced, thinking on the destructive power, for a very obvious reason; for his energy is so luxuriant, that, if it were not continually checked, in a short time it would have no room to exert itself: the creative power would cease, and of course Brahma would no longer exist. But, if the power of destruction was not equally checked, he would destroy Brahma’s works so completely, and so fast, that in a short time he would have no opportunity to exert himself. In order to obviate this, Vishnu, or the preserving power, interposes, and meditating on Brahma, whose creative power gives a scope to his exertions, his energy becomes red, like Brahma, and produces a damsel of a red complexion, called Vaishnavi. Rudra, or the power of destruction, is of a white complexion, but as he is meditating on Vishnu, who preserves only that he may destroy, his energy turns black, and becomes a damsel called Raudri, or the fearful goddess, and Tamasí, or black as darkness.

Thus, when we are thinking of a triangle, our Sacti becomes a triangle; when thinking on an object of a white colour, it then becomes white.

The White goddess is most beautiful. She is Ecácschard, or her name consists of one letter. This letter is ‘I: long, and in a derivative form, it is ‘IVA, which sounds exactly like Eve, pronounced as a dissyll-
iable. Thus every woman is a form of I, and is really iva or Eve. Thus Adima, or Adam, is called Swayambhu'va, because he is like Swayambhu', or the self existing; because he is a form or emanation from him. She is Sarvacsharā, that is, her names, in the sacred spells, include all the letters of the alphabet: she is Sarasvatī, or the goddess of eloquence. Brahma' followed the White goddess, his own offspring, to the White mountain or island, and there fell in love with her, and there they made tapasya, in order to create mankind. Sita' said to Brahma', prepare a large st'hān or place for me to live in. He then took her to his bosom, and generation took place, and he had seven sons by her. Brahma' then praised her in her threefold state, saying, "praise to thee O Jayas'vā, victorious; Satya-sambhutā, self born: Dhruvā, "immoveable; Deva-varā, because she contains all the gods in her "womb: Cshemā, benign; Sarva-bhutā-Mahēśwarī, great queen of all "living beings; Varāvāha', firmly seated."

The third Cumāri, or damsel of a black hue, is called Raudri, Cālā-rātri, or black as night, and Chamun'dā. In other books, I am told that her name is said to be Ṇ, or Ōh. After destroying the demon Ruru, Maha-de'va praised her, saying, "thou art Bhūtopaharinī, or she "who destroys living beings; large are thy teeth, and thy seat is upon "a corpse." In the Mēru-Tantra, her station is said to be in the North.

From her mouth there issued many Devis or goddesses, who instantly asked for food. Maha-de'va said, let them devour the fruit of the womb of any woman, who, being with child, puts on the clothes of another woman. This threefold deity resides on Trī-cūta, each form on her own peak, the White goddess in Śvetam, the Red goddess in Hyraṇ'yan: and Chamun'dā or the Black goddess, in the north, or on Ayasam.
They have also another st'hān near Casmir. In the Varāha-purāṇā, the name of these three peaks are ‘Śvetā, Mandara, and Nila or the black mountain.

There are many mountains called Mandara, or dividing the waters; and they are represented in general, as consisting of a red or yellowish earth, or they are said to be of that colour; and of course it corresponds or rather it is the same with Suvān'a or Hiran'ya.

These three goddesses are obviously the Parāç̄e of the western mythologists, which according to Plutarch(1) were three and one. Fate literally Lot, says he, in as much as it be an energy, is the general soul of the world, and is three fold, Clotho, Lachesis and Atropos: for Plato says that Providence, by which he understands fate, both physical and metaphysical, is threefold. The three Parāç̄e were called also Vesta, Minerva and Morta or Martia. Vesta is the Sacti of Brahma; who is represented under the emblem of an ignited globe. Minerva is Sarasvatī or the energy of Vishnu; and Martia from Mars or Mavors, who is Maha-deva, or Maha-Haraja, M'ha'raj; her other name Morta, is perhaps from mors, mortis. These are the three Genii sitting in a triangle on Tri-cul'ta, in the infernal regions, according to Thespiesius, near the three lakes of liquid gold, white lead, and iron;(2) and between them probably was the infernal Tri-vium or the three roads branching out from one point, in the infernal plains, which were threefold also, Elysium, Erebus, and Tartarus. These are probably the three Skiri-Dei or Gods of Schæria, or Skirr, who began to be known, when Saturn

(1) Plut. de Fato.
(2) Plutarch Vol. II. p. 567 and 566.
There the three Parcae presided over the four divisions of Tri-cūṭa, so combined together, as to make only three parts. These four divisions of Tri-cūṭa are mentioned in the Trai-lócyā-derpan'a, Suvarṇ'a, Rupavāra, Dhatuci and Vajra, but they are to be considered as three only. Timarchus, in his vision of the infernal regions, saw many islands in the eighth division of the world. The friendly spirit, who pointed out to Timarchus, whatever was worth his notice in these regions, told him that there were four shares or portions of them. "A small portion only," says he, "of the superior parts belongs to us, the other parts are the abode of other gods. The share of Proserpine, intrusted to our care, is one of the four, which are divided from each other by the Styx: this you may survey. Proserpine is in the moon, and Mercury is her companion: this is the infernal Mercury or Pluto." Her portion, or share, is what the western mythologists understood, when they said, that there was really a moon on earth; or, as Macrobius says, a terrestrial moon: thus it appears that Luna is also an earth, land or country, which we should call a celestial earth, in Sanscrit Swargabhūmi, an epithet of the White Island, or the island of the moon. This moon, says Plutarch, is a mixed body, and the emblem of the Genii; as the sun is the emblem of the superior deities. This some call a terrestrial heaven, and others a celestial earth. This moon, says he, belongs to Genii living on earth. All the islands which Timarchus saw, were floating: this also is conformable to the notions of the Hindus, who conceive that the earth, and the islands are all floating upon the abyss.

(1) Plutarch Vol. II. p. 421.
(2) Plutarch de Genio Socratis p. 589.
(3) Plutarch Vol. p. 943.
The *Styx*, says the friendly genius to *Timarchus*, is the road to hell, and determines the last portion of all things. It leads in an opposite direction from *Orcus*, to the superior parts. These four divisions and regions belong, the first to life, the second to motion, the third to birth, and the fourth to death. These are again so combined, as to form three new sets or divisions; for unity, belonging to what escapes the sight; joins the first and second; intelligence, belonging to the sun, unites the second and third; and nature, belonging to the moon, joins the third and last. Over each of these three combinations rules a *Parca*, daughter of necessity. 

*Atropos* [or *Raudri*] rules over the first; *Clotho* [or *Brahmi*] over the second; and *Lachesis* [or *Vaishnavi*] over the third, or *Selene* the moon; and on her, rest the conversions of generation. This singular combination of the numbers three and four, was in high estimation among the followers of *Plato* and *Pythagoras*. Thus, the four elements, combined together by three intervals, produced every thing that exists. This combination was really the completion of things. Thus, when *Homer* and *Virgil* exclaim, "O three and four times happy are they, who &c." they do not mean to say, that they were either seven, or three or four times happy; but that they were made completely happy, through the fortunate combination of whatever is requisite for that purpose.

The other islands have certainly their peculiar deities; but the moon, which is the portion of the *Genii*, who live on earth, is not so much exposed to the fury of the *Styx*, being somewhat higher. (This is the terrestrial moon, or moon on earth, as mentioned by *Lutatius* "Philosophi", *"phi Lunam esse in terra dicunt, quae circa nostrum hoc solum circulo altiore suspensa."*)

(1) *Lutatius vetus Statii interpres in Thebaid. 1.*
island of the moon,) the secondary measures 177: that is, to say, every sixth lunar month: for 354, the number of days in a lunar year, is the primary; and its half, or 177, is the secondary measure. When the Styx rushes toward (the island of) the moon, (like the boar or hygr in the Severn) in the secondary measures, (that is to say at the equinoctial tides) the souls then break forth into loud lamentations, through fear: for Pluto seizes upon a great many who happen to fall off: some, however, who were brought in by the raging flood, contrive, by dint of exertions and good swimming, to reach the shores of the moon; who raises them up. These are the souls of those, whose lot it is to die, about the time appointed for their being born again, except such as are polluted with crimes: the Styx thundering and bellowing in a most dreadful manner, does not allow them to approach; but lamenting their fate, they are thrust headlong, and hurried away to another regeneration, as you see. "Why," says Timarchus, "I see nothing but stars, some merging into the abyss, and others emerging out of it." "These are Ge- "nii," answered his conductor; "for such is really the case." Plu- tarck, in his discourse on the face seen in the orb of the moon,(1) adds that the Styx, whilst raging, thrusts away many, whilst almost within reach of the shores of the moon; and even some, who had already reached the wished for land, are suddenly dragged again into the deep. Those, however, who have effected their escape, and stand firm on the beach, are crowned with the plumes of constancy. There are in this moon(2) three principal caverns, the largest called the sanctuary of Hecate, where the wicked suffer the punishments due to their crimes. The two other caverns, or rather ou-
Ilets, like the straits of Hercules, of the Caspian and Red Seas, says our author, are called the long gaps, [literally the Dirgha Dīghanā or long passage leading into hell of the Puranas, and through which the souls must pass:] one looking toward heaven, and the other toward the earth, being for the ingress and egress of the souls. The moon is the receptacle of the sensitive souls (animaæ) which she composes or decomposes: the sun then supplying the rational souls, a new being is formed, and the earth supplies the body. For the earth gives nothing after death; but receives back, what she gave, for the purpose of generation. The sun receives nothing, except the rational soul, which he gave. But the moon receives and gives, compounds, decomposes and divides. Aṭrapōs (or Raudri,) who is placed about the sun, is the beginning of generation: exactly like the destructive power, or Siva among the Hindus, and who is called the cause and the author of generation: Clotho, about the celestial moon, unites and mixes: the last, or Lachesis, is contiguous to the earth: but is greatly under the influence of chance. For whatever being is destitute of a sensitive soul, does not exist of its own right; but must submit to the affections of another principle: for the rational soul is of its own right impassible, and is not obnoxious to affections from another quarter. The sensitive soul is a mediate, and mixt being, like the moon, which is a compound of what is above, and of what is below; and is to the sun in the same relation as the earth is to the moon. Well Pliny might say, with great truth, that the refinements of the Druids were such, that one would be tempted to believe, that those in the east had largely borrowed from them. This certainly surpasses every thing of the kind, I have ever read, or heard in India.

These three goddesses are obviously the Parcae, or fates of the wes
tern mythologists, which were three and one. This female tri-unity is really the Tri-mūrti of the Hindus, who call it the ‘Sakti’ or energy of the male Tri-mūrti, which in reality is the same thing. Though the male tri-unity be oftener mentioned, and better known among the unlearned, than the other; yet the female one is always understood with the other, because the Tri-mūrti cannot act, but through its energy, or ‘Sakti’, which is of the feminine gender. The male Tri-mūrti was hardly known in the west: for Jupiter, Pluto and Neptune have no affinity with the Hindu Tri-mūrti, except their being three in number. The real Tri-mūrti of the Greeks and Latians consisted of Cronus, Jupiter and Mars, Brahma, Vishnu and Siva. To these three gods were dedicated three altars in the upper part of the great circus at Rome. These are brothers in their Calphys; and Cronus or Brahma, who has no Calpha of his own, produces them, and of course may be considered as their father. Thus Brahma creates in general; but Vishnu, in his own Calpha, assumes the character of Cronus or Brahma to create, and he is really Cronus or Brahma; he is then called Brahma-uru pi Janardana, or Vishnu the devourer of souls, with the countenance of Brahma: he is the preserver in his own character.

These three were probably the Tripatres of the western mythologists, called also Triopatores, Tritogeneta, Tri-Eudaimon, Trisobhoby, Trismacaristoi, and Propatores. The ancients were not well agreed, who they were; some even said that they were Cottus, Briareus and Gyges, the sons of Tellus and the sun. Others said that they were Amalcis, Protocles and Protocles, the door keepers, and guardians of the winds. Their mystical origin probably belonged to the secret doctrine, which the Roman college, like the Druids, never committed to writing,
and were forbidden to reveal.\footnote{1} As the ancients swore by them, there can be little doubt, but that they were the three great deities of their religion. As they are said to be the guardian gods, and keepers of the winds, they belong to the \textit{British Isles}.

\textbf{Pluto or Yama, Neptune or Varuna} are excluded from the Hindu triad. Jupiter, with the eagle, is \textit{Vishnu}; but Jupiter \textit{Pawvius}, and Jupiter wielding the thunder-bolt, is \textit{Indra}. In general, we may say that Jupiter is the \textit{Indra} of the Hindus, the \textit{Olympian Jupiter}.

\textit{The White goddess, or Sarasvati}, presides over arts and sciences: she is the \textit{Vedas}, and the \textit{Vedas} are in her. \textit{Savitri}, the consort of \textit{Brahma}, is the \textit{Gayatri}, called emphatically the mother of the \textit{Vedas}. The \textit{Gayatri} consists of certain mysterious words, which they consider as the quintessence of the \textit{Vedas}. The three superior classes are regenerated or born again, as they say, of the \textit{Gayatri}; in the same manner, that we are born again of the spirit and water: and the mysterious name of the Holy Trinity is really our \textit{Gayatri}. From this regeneration, \textit{Brahmens} are called \textit{Dwija}, or twice born. The necessity of regeneration is a fundamental tenet among divines in the east, as well as in the west; and we are equally \textit{Dwija}, twice born, or regenerated. There are five different \textit{Gayatris}, according to the number of the principal deities, which are \textit{Vishnu, Siva}, the sun, \textit{Devi}, and \textit{Ganesa}. That of the sun is the first, and belongs exclusively to the sacerdotal class. \textit{Sarasvati} the white goddess, assuming innumerable forms, which are all alike, resides in many places; but the primitive form's place of residence is in the \textit{White Island}. There she was visited.

\footnote{1} \textit{Macrobius lib. I. c. viii.}
by Narada, who is introduced in the Varha-purana, saying to Priyavratta, the eldest son of Swayambhuma, or Adam, "yesterday, (hyaut stand or hyastanadine). O king of kings! I saw a lake in the White Island. There was in it a large and beautiful flower of the Camala, or red lotus. On its banks I saw a damsel, seemingly not above ten years of age, with large beautiful eyes: I was astonished; her eyes were half closed. I asked the soft speaking maid: Who are you, O most beautiful? Why did you come hither? What is your business? Tell me, what I am to do, O well shaped maid! Thus I said, but she closed her eyes, and remained silent; then all my divine knowledge forsook me; I forgot the Sastras, the Yoga-sastras, the Sisada-Sastras, and the Vedas also. I perceived immediately, that she had attracted the whole to herself. I was surprised and grew very uneasy: I approached her, and perceived a divine form in her body: on his breast I saw a second form, and on the breast of this a third form, whose eyes were red and inflamed: he was beautiful, and resplendent like the sun. Thus I saw three human forms in her body, which suddenly disappeared, and the damsel remained alone. I said then, O Devi Cumari! divine maid! how came I to lose my Vedas? Tell me, most beautiful. She answered, the first form you saw in my body, is the Rig-Veda, or Narayana himself, whose name, like fire, burns away all sinfulness. The other on his breast, was the Tajor-Veda, or Brahma. The third is the Sama-Veda, with the countenance of Rudra: thus the three, Vedas are three gods. Take back your Vedas and Sastras, O Narada! and perform your ablutions in this lake, the name of which is Vedasara, or Veda-Sarovara, the lake of the Vedas, and you will remember your former transmigrations. She then disappeared, and having performed my ablutions,
and according to the words of the goddess Savitri, I recollected a thousand past transmigrations."

"In my first generation, I was a Brähmen, much respected at Avantipuri or Ujjayini. I understood the Vedas perfectly, had many disciples, and was very rich. Reflecting one day, of what little avail my wealth would prove in the end; and of what little service my disciples would be to me, I bade adieu to the world, after having divided all my wealth among them, and went to the lake called Sarasvata-sara or Pushcara, there to make tapasya."

Here the narrative breaks off suddenly, but further particulars are to be found in another place of the same Purāṇa, where it is said that Narada went to the White Island, the inhabitants of which looked exactly like Vishnu. The first man he saw there, he took to be Vishnu himself: he then saw a second, and he looked like Vishnu also: in short they were all alike. He was astonished, and making tapasya, he meditated on Vishnu, for a thousand years, when he appeared to him.

He praised Vishnu, who said, "after a thousand Yugas of Brahma, thou shalt be born of him; and from thy functions, he shall give thee a name Narada, from dá, to give, Nára water, to the manes. He then disappeared, and leaving my body, I was reunited to Brahma, and in the present Calpa, I was born his son. O king of men! perform the pūjā in honor of Narâyana, and you will obtain power in this world: and after death, you will be reunited to Vishnu." The eldest son of Swayambhuva followed his advice; and having divided his kingdom, or the whole earth, between his seven sons, he made tapasya; and whilst performing japa, or repeating mentally the sacred names of Vishnu, he obtained mócsa, or was reunited to the Supreme Being.
II. With regard to the religion of the Druids, very few of its tenets have been preserved, and transmitted to us, either by the Greeks or the Romans, of whose religion and fundamental tenets we know also but little, except what relates to the exterior worship; for the sacred college at Rome, and the augurs, kept the whole, as a secret to themselves, as closely as the Druids did. But there is every reason to believe, that the religion of the Druids was fundamentally the same with that of the Greeks and Romans, Scythians or Goths, Egyptians and Hindus, with no greater deviations, than those, which are found in the Christian religion among its numerous sects. A Hindu, after visiting Rome and Geneva, could never be made to believe, that the religion of these two places is fundamentally and originally the same, and that they have the same scriptures.

The Hindus insist, that theirs is the universal religion of the world, and that the others are only deviations from the mother church. In India are found the four grand classes, the three first of which are entitled to the benefit of regeneration. All the rest of mankind belong to the fifth class, branching out into an innumerable variety of tribes. The idea, that the Hindus admit of no proselytes, arises from our not understanding the principles of that religion. We belong to it, though in a humble station: it requires no admission of course, and we are entitled to all the benefits and advantages, which this mother church offers to us. We may pray, perform the pújá, have the hóma offered for us, for our relations, and friends, paying for the same, as the other Hindus; we may have a Bráhmen for our purvéita, or chaplain, and almoner. But the members of this church cannot, in general, rise from an inferior class to another, except they die first; and then, if deserving of it, they may be
born again in India, in any of the four tribes. India is called Punyabhūmi, or the land of righteousness; not because it prevails there, but because it may be obtained there. It is called also the land of the law, or precepts to be followed, in order to obtain either eternal bliss, or heaven. The other countries are called Bhōga-bhūmi or land of enjoyment, because people from India go there to enjoy the due reward of their meritorious lives. Of course they are incapable either of merits or demerits, in these countries or dwīpas, which are six in number, and are called Swarga-bhūmi, or heavenly earth, or land. The inhabitants of the White Island, immediately after death, go back to India, from which they came, there to be born again in a station suitable to their merits. Those, who inhabit the intermediate dwīpas, do not always fall back immediately to India; but, according to circumstances, are either advanced to another dwīpa, of a superior rank, or lowered into an inferior one, before they transmigrate back to India. In Śvēta-dwīpa and other islands, it is declared that there is no law, and the inhabitants thereof are not capable either of merits or demerits. When Nahusha, or Noah, wanted Indraṇī, or the wife of Indra, to favour his passion for her, she pleaded her duty as an insurmountable barrier: he answered, “well, let us go out of Jambu, into the other dwīpas, the land of enjoyment, and dalliance.” This is nearly the doctrine of the Jewish church: for the Jews were born under the law, and their country was really punyabhūmi: the gentiles were born without the law, and of course, says the apostle, they perish without the law.

Swerga, in Sanscrit, signifies a terrestrial paradise; and there are many: one on the summit of Mēru or Olympus, where reside the superior forms of the deity; the others are in the dwīpas. Swerga then answers
to the elysium, and land of the blessed of the western mythologists. *Swarga*, of course, does by no means signify what we understand by heaven: the real expression for which, in Sanscrit, is the *Saha-lócas*, or the place of those, who abide in the presence of the Supreme Being. According to divines in *India*, there are two places for good people after death, and we may choose which of them we like best. These are the *Swarga-bhúmis*, or terrestrial paradises, and *Mócsa*, which includes the *Saha-lócas*, or heaven, according to our ideas. To obtain these, there are two modes of worship very different from each other: for the first comprises exterior observances, and in fact is downright idolatry; in the second you are directed to reject entirely the former mode, and to worship only the Supreme Being in spirit and truth: sacrifices, pilgrimages, ablutions are then no longer required. Though they talk much of the latter, yet I could never find a single *Hindu* that would follow it, alledging that it requires a renunciation of the world, and it's pleasures, an absolute self denial; and that besides they do not conceive in what the pleasures of the *Saha-lócas* may consist, as there is no eating, or drinking, nor marrying &c. On the contrary, in terrestrial paradises, they eat, drink, marry &c. The world, its pomp, and all sensual pleasures, when enjoyed without distressing our fellow creatures, is by no means a sinful state: for this reason they prefer *Swarga*, where they may become kings, great men &c. This is a sort of paradise, contrived for publicans, scribes, pharisees and other worldly persons, who in general are endowed with many virtues; which, however, remain sterile, through want of a vivifying principle. In this mode of worship, sacrifices, pilgrimages, the worship of superior emanations, and of their representations in wood, stone &c. are peculiarly requisite; and in cases of great guilt incurred, extraordinary penances, mortifications &c. If to the other system of religious worship,
we were to add the mystery of redemption, it would indeed bring it very
near to the Christian religion.

It is the fashion now, to extol the purity of the worship of the Druids,
of which we know but very little, and to suppose, that they had no idols.
Some modern authors have rendered the same service to the Brahmins.
One even goes further, and says, "if any body should have asked the
Areopagites at Athens, or any body at the court of the kings of Persia,
whether they were idolaters or not, they would hardly have understood,
what he meant." I cannot answer either for the Areopagites or the
Persians: but ask a Hindu, whether he worships idols, he will imme-
diately, and without the least hesitation, answer, "Yes, I do worship
idols." Ask, on the other hand, a Hindu, whether learned or unlearned,
"Do you worship the Supreme Being, Parameswara? Do you pray
to him? Do you offer sacrifices unto him?" He will answer imme-
diately "no, never." You certainly worship him mentally, which is the
purest sort of worship, and which becomes, it seems, fashionable, as it
subjects us to very little, or no inconvenience." The question is, whether
he will understand you, unless you have made some progress in the lan-
guage. If he does, he will answer "no." "Do you praise him?" "no."
"Do you meditate on his attributes and perfections?" "no." "What is
then that silent meditation, mentioned by some learned authors?" His
answer will be, "when I perform the pujá in honor of some of the gods,
I seat myself on the ground, with my legs crossed in such a manner,
that each foot rests upon the opposite thigh, (not under it like a taylor,
but) like those who perform tapasya. Then, with my eyes closed, and
looking up to heaven, my hands moderately open, and close to each
other, and a little elevated, I compose my mind and thoughts, and

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"without moving the tongue, or using any of the organs of speech, "I say inwardly I am Brahme, or the Supreme Being. We are not conscious of our being Brahme through mayá, or wordly illusion, and the original taint or sin: but we know it, through revelation. It is forbidden to adore the Supreme Being, to offer prayers and sacrifices to him, for it would be worshipping ourselves: but we may adore and worship collateral emanations from him, and of a superior degree: we may adore and worship even mere mortals; of which kind of worship many instances are recorded, and there are even now living ones. The worship of images is recommended, when after consecration the deity has been called down and forced into them with powerful spells." This is the doctrine of the Greeks and Romans; and I do not believe that there ever was any other sort of idolatry in the world. The Hindus are not acquainted with the refinements of dulia and latria; and the appellation of murtti, exactly like the word idolum, θεία in Greek, signifies both a material and spiritual image of the deity, or any divine being in general. The spiritual murttis are portions of the Supreme Being: the material ones are the embodied forms of the deity: and statues, called also murtti, but more properly bimba or pratima, are representations of these embodied forms, and into which the deity is forced through spells. As the words murtti and idolum signify both the supposed emanations from the Supreme Being, which are after his own image and resemblance, and also carved representations of these images and idols, the word idolatry implies the worship of these emanations, and also of statues or idols: and there might be, of course, nations of idolaters, though they should not worship, either carved or molten images. That the Greek word θεία is synonymous with murtti is obvious from Homer, who represents HER-
cules, the god himself, in heaven; but says that his idol, or múrtti, was in the elysian fields, with the other heroes. The word idol, in Greek, originally signified an emanation or form, like múrtti; and of course it signified also a spectre or apparition: and the Greeks and Romans seldom or ever made use of it to signify the statue of a deity; and it was used in that sense exclusively by ecclesiastical writers.

No divine honours in India are paid to a statue but after the performance of three ceremonies. They give it first a suitable dress: then it is consecrated, by forcing the deity to come down into it, by certain spells or carmina; then the officiating priest worships it. The same ceremonies were equally performed by the Greeks and Romans, and other idolatrous nations in the west.

The Hindus call the soul, and other emanations, múrttis, because, according to scripture, they are after the image and resemblance of the Supreme Being; yet they assert that they are really portions of the divine essence. This was the doctrine of the Greeks and Romans; Anima est Deus, I am God; I am Brahme: and all their deities did ultimately resolve themselves into the Supreme Being, as asserted by the Hindus, because they were emanations from him. Macrobius shows, that all the deities resolved themselves ultimately into the sun; and this is exactly the doctrine of the Hindus, who add, with Plato, that the sun is the most perfect múrtti, or image of the Supreme Being. The inferior deities resolve themselves into the three superior ones, and these, ultimately, into the sun; for all emanations are maya, generally rendered by illusion, but often also applicable to contingent

beings, whilst the supreme One alone exists really and absolutely. Divines and philosophers in the east, as well as in the west, seldom, if ever, considered Jupiter as the Supreme Being, whom they call Deiva in the east, or Deus in the west. Of him the Hindus never presume to make any image; and, according to Plato and Macrobius, this was exactly the case in the west; and the Greeks and Romans never offered up prayers, nor made sacrifices to him, exactly like the Hindus: and he was unknown to the multitude in the west, precisely as in India, even to this day. They speak of him in India with the most awful reverence, whilst they indulge themselves in the most obscene tales and legends concerning the embodied forms or deities of all ranks, exactly like the Greeks and Romans. The reason is that these forms were mere mortals, according to the opinion of several respectable schools in India, and also formerly in the west. Whenever a man can divest himself of every worldly affection, either good or bad, by self denial, and has extinguished, that is to say, subdued his senses, the inferior deities disappear, and concentrate themselves into the Tri-murtti: soon after, the Tri-murtti itself disappears, and at that very moment, he exclaims I am Brahma or God, and he is then conscious of his being Brahma. To obtain this, it is not only necessary, to divest yourself of every sinful taint and appetite; but also of every virtue, and laudable inclination: for virtue does not differ from vice materially: it is vice itself, or the extremes of vice, but moderated; and the difference between them is the same as between a gentle, and an intense heat. Virtue, of course, is a worldly affection, which the man, who renounces the world, ought to consider in the light of vice, as it is equally inimical to his purpose.

Virtue’s reward is _Swarga_, a temporary and local heaven, but it is insufficient to obtain heaven in our sense, or eternal bliss. The lord of heaven is not the Supreme Being among the _Hindus_, no more than in the west formerly. They believed also that the _soul_ was _God_, an emanation or portion of him. The ancient philosophers, and Cicero said, that the soul was _God_. This soul is called _Atma_, in _Sanskrit_, and _Aum_ or _Aum_ in _Greek_. _Animam deum, et prisci philosophorum, et Tullius dixit_. _Anima forma divina_, the soul is a divine form, or emanation, according to Macrobius; and this was also the opinion of Pythagoras. Whether the _Druids_ of _Britain_ had idols or not, is no where said; but those on the continent certainly had, as well as those of _Ireland_. From a passage in Gildas, it seems that they had, and that even some remained in his time. The description, he gives us of them, shows they did not belong to the _Romans_, as they looked _grim_ and _stiff_, like the _maesta simulacra Deorum_ of the _Germans_, done without art. There is no reason why we should believe them free from the errors of the other _Druids_ on the continent. The little we know of their doctrine is perfectly conformable to that of the _Hindus_; except their worshipping under the oak, which they called emphatically _Dru_ or the _Tree_. _Dru_, in _Sanskrit_, is a tree in general: it was so in _Greek_ formerly; and it signifies a forest in _Russian_. It was afterwards restricted to the oak among the _Greeks_, and the _Celtic_ tribes. There are no oaks in _India_, except in the mountains to the north: but the _Hindus_ have other trees equally sacred, and the _Goths_ had a peculiar regard for the ash tree.

_The White_ goddess is represented with a _white_ complexion, mildly beaming like the moon. Her clothes are _white_, like the foam of the
White Sea. In one hand she holds a guitar, and in the other a book, like Albunea or the White goddess, commonly called the Tiburtine Sibyl.

The White goddess, whose abode is in the White Island, in the middle of the White Sea, is the Leuco-Thea of the Greeks, which implies the same thing exactly. She was the daughter of Cadmus; but others said that she was the wife of Neptune, and the daughter of Nereus or the ocean, according to Phurnutus. Nara, in Sanscrit, signifies water, and Narayana, he whose abode is in the waters. From Narayana, the Greeks made Nereon in the objective, from which they formed the right case. The Greeks called her also Buné; the Latians, Al-Buna, and Al-Bunea. The root of these denominations is no longer to be found in the Greek language; but it still exists in the Celtic and its dialects; Fionn, wen, ven, signify white, shining: Al-wen, Al-fionn, Al-Ben, remarkably white. In several dialects of the peninsula of India, as in the Tamuli, and also in Ceylon, ben, and ven signify white. The ancient Greeks said phaenno for white, bright, fionn or phionn in Galic: and the White Island in the Euxine Sea, is called Phaenna by Pindar.

Leuco-Thea is represented as the goddess of the sea, and as constantly living with the daughters of Nereus, at the bottom of the ocean. These were her companions, and formed her retinue: hence they are called Leuco-Theai-Nereides by Hesychius: and, as we have seen before, she was supposed by some to be daughter of Nereus. Near Tibur she was called Al-Bunea the Sibyl, and represented with a book in her hand. As one of the Parcae, she was the same with Minerva, the goddess of wisdom, called also Skirra or the White goddess. She visits many places in various parts of the world, some once a year at stated times; and others she visits only every third, or fourth year. She comes
regularly once every year at Hinglaj, at Cape Mudan, Moran or Malana, to the west of the river Hab, the Arbis of the ancients.

CHAPTER IV.

Of the Churning of the White Sea.

1. The gods, after the creation, soon perceived that there were still many things wanting for the good of mankind, and more particularly on account of themselves. In their numerous wars with the giants, many of the gods being killed, they were informed by Vishnu, that it was possible to procure a certain beverage, which would render them immortal. The task, however, was immense; for it consisted in throwing all the plants, and trees of the universe, according to some; but according to others, only those that grew on the sides of the White mountain or island, into the White sea; which was to be churned for a long time in order to obtain the butter of immortality, or Amrit, the ambrosia of the western mythologists: and the old moon, which was already of Amrit, would serve as a leaven to predispose the whole mixture. The old moon, as we observed before, was inert, and of little use; they wanted also, intoxicating liquors to exhilarate themselves, and celestial nymphs for their own amusement. This churning took place in the Dwâpar, or third age of the Manwântara of Châ'cshusa, which immediately preceded that of Noah. It lasted exactly 29 years and five months, or 10,748 days, 12 hours and 18 minutes. This is obviously the revolution of Sa-
turn, which was in use amongst the inhabitants of the Isles in the Northern Ocean, who celebrated, with great pomp, the entrance of that planet, into the sign of Taurus, according to Plutarch.

It is declared in the Purán'as, and acknowledged by every body, that this momentous transaction took place in the White sea; but the spot is more particularly pointed out in the Varáha-purán'a, and others. It happened in that part of the White sea called the Calasódad'hi or the caldron-like sea; from its being an inland one, and surrounded on all sides, or nearly so, by the land; from which circumstance it was compared to a pot, or caldron. This sea was contiguous to the White island on one side, for on account of its contiguity, the Amrit is said, in the Matsya-purán'a and others, to have been produced on, or near the White, or silver mountain, called there also the mountain of Sóma or Lunus. On the other side it bordered on Suvarn'a-dwípa or Ireland: for we are told, in the Vr̥hat-Cat'há, that there was a sea town in that country, called Calasá-purí, from its being situated on the Calasódad'hi, or sea like a Calása or caldron. This caldron-like, or land-locked sea, is evidently the Irish Sea. Into this Calása, according to the Váraha-purán'a, the gods flung all the plants, and agreed to churn it. This they did, says our author, in Varun'áleyam or Varun'asúleyam, the abode, áleyam, or st'hán of Varuna, the god of the sea. His abode, to this day, is well known, and is in the very centre of that sea. The Manx and Irish mythologists, according to Col. Valancey, call Varuna, Mananan-Mac-Lir, Mananan, the son of the sea: and his abode, according to them, is in the Isle of Man, or Mannin, as it is called by Irish bards. According to General Valancey, it was called also Manand, which answers to the Monæda of Ptolemy.
After the gods had fixed on the most proper time for the churning of the sea of milk, they soon perceived, that it would be impossible for them to accomplish this tremendous work, without the assistance of the giants. They made peace accordingly with them, under the most solemn promise of sharing with them the fruit of their joint labours. The gods in general are represented as a weak race, but full of cunning, and very crafty; the giants, on the contrary, are very strong, and generally without much guile. The gods of the Goths, and of the Greeks and Romans, did not bear a much better character. Even among Christians, there are old legends, in which the devil is most egregiously taken in by holy men.

Having thus settled the conditions, they all went to work, and gathered all the trees and plants, and flung them into the caldron-like sea. They then brought the mountain of Mandara with infinite labour. It is said that this mountain is in the peninsula, near the sea shore, and to the north of Madras. They placed it in the middle of the caldron-like sea, which they used for a churn, and mount Mandara as a churning staff. The serpent Váscúr served them instead of a rope, and they twisted him round mount Mandara, and the giants were allowed to lay hold of the snake by the head: his fiery breath scorched the giants, and they became black: the unfortunate reptile suffered much; he complained, but in vain. Mount Mandara began to sink; but Vishnu, assuming the shape of a tortoise, placed himself under it. In the Scanda-purāṇā, chapter of the Sanata-cumāra-Sanhita, in the 75th section, we have a most minute account of the churning of the White sea by Vishnu, the gods and the giants: the latter had Bali at their head. After churning for five years, the froth began to appear: and after three years more, Varun'ī or Sura', with her intoxicating liquors. The cow Cá-

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mad'henû or Surâbhî appeared after another year's labour. According to the Brahman'â-purâ'nî, she was worshipped by the gods, and both gods and giants were highly pleased, when they saw her. One year after, the elephant Airâvata made his appearance; and the next year a horse with seven heads. Three months after, the Apsaras with Ram-bha'c-devî at their head. Chandra, or Lunus, came one year after: then, after three years more, was produced Calâ-cûta, a most subtle poison, flowing in large quantities; and then Vishnu became black. It was of a fiery colour, and began to set fire to the three worlds. Mankind, being alarmed, began to call out, Ah! Ah! The earth, in great distress, with Vishnu, waited on 'Siva, craving his assistance. 'Siva swallowed up the poison, which stuck in his throat, and caused a most intolerable heat, which parched his throat and body. His throat turned blue; from which circumstance he is worshipped under the name of Nîla-cantâ'swara, or the lord with the blue throat. He called for the Ganges, and placed the moon on his forehead, and snakes round his neck, whose refrigerative powers are well known. One year after, Cûdan'da appeared, or the unerring bow and arrow. The next month a conch was produced, and the next year the famous Pârijata tree. One month after, a jewel of an azure colour, called Caustubhâ, and Jye'sht'â, or poverty, the eldest sister of Lacshmî, or wealth. Her dress was black, her hair yellow, her eyes red; and her teeth were like the Cushman'da, a sort of gourd. She looked very old, wanted many teeth, with her tongue lolling out of her mouth. She was pot-bellied; and the gods and Daitâyas were amazed at the sight of such a strange figure. Then Lacshmî appeared with a most beautiful countenance: her complexion was like gold, and she had large swelling breasts. Her cloaths were of the foam of the White Sea: in her hands she held a chaplet of Camala flowers, or red loto.
The gods and giants, or demons, were filled with rapture, when they saw her.

After churning for twelve years more, a learned physician, called D'hanwantarí, appeared, holding a vase full of Amrit or ambrosia. The gods drank of it; but to the giants they gave only intoxicating liquors. The gods kept the cow Cámadhēnu. Indra took the elephant Airāvata; and the sun, the horse, with seven heads. The gods seized the Apsaras. Siva retained Coda'nda, or the unerring bow and arrows. Vishnu laid hold of the conch Panchajanya, the tree Pārījata, the jewel Caustubha, and looked wishfully at Lāchṣmī. She did the same at him; and the whole assembly kept their eyes fixed on her. Pitamahā, or Brahma, asked 'Siva, to whom Lāchṣmī should be given.' Siva said, let her be given to Vishnu: she agreed to it. Then Siva said, let us send for Sāgara or Oceanus, to perform the nuptial ceremony called Panigraha, or laying hold of the hand, on the 12th of Cārtica. This day was fixed upon, because Vishnu awakes from his eight months slumbers, on the 11th of the same month, exactly the day before. Brahma then sent for Nādīt or Oceanus; when Lāchṣmī said, that her eldest sister must be married first, according to the injunction of the Vēdas. A sudden gloom spread itself all over the assembly, but Vishnu relieved them from their uneasiness, by giving her to Uddālaka Rishi, who was unmarried: but this was not effected without much difficulty. The Rishi advanced with his bride, the daughter of the ocean, ever faithful to her consort, and Oceanus, taking water, poured it into the hands of the Rishi. Then Vishnu married Lāchṣmī and carried her to Vaicunta. Uddālaka, with Jyeshta, went to his hermitage. Lāchṣmī is the goddess of riches and fortune, and Jyeshta of poverty and misfortune: this last is ever faithful to her consort.
In the Tápi-ch'andā, a section of the Scanda-purāṇa, it is said that Varuṇī was given to Varuṇā, the Neptune of the Hindus. Charmed with his prize, he set off with her in his chariot, gently gliding along the surface of the sea; quaffing occasionally intoxicating draughts. Thus they passed through Lancá-dvāra, or the gates of Lancá, now the straits of Málaccá, beyond which the sage Agastya has an hermitage. Being intoxicated, they behaved disrespectfully to the holy man, who cursed Varuṇā. He became a Cshettri, and was born of Ajamiḍā, under the name of Samvarṇā, who is considered as an Avatāra of Varuṇā, the ruler of the waters, or Saliendrā.

Besides these ratnas, or jewels, produced by the churning of the White Sea, and from which the White Island is also denominated Ratna-dvīpa, and Mani-dvīpa, other jewels or precious things were produced also, and are mentioned occasionally in the Purāṇas. It is declared, in the Prabhāsa-ch'anda, a section of the Scanda-purāṇa, that, after the churning, there appeared a tree entirely of gold, called Lacshmi-vṛcśha, the tree of Lacshmī, or wealth. It is called also Vaishnavā-vṛcśha, or the tree of the consort of Vishnu. Its situation is ascertained from the Cunāricā-ch'andā, another section of the Scanda-purāṇa. Barbarica, son of Ghatodcacha, the son of Bhima, the Pandava, wishing to learn the Mahā-vidyā-Vaishnava, the great or secret doctrine of Vishnu, went to Pātala, where Vishnu resides also, through a vivara, or passage, under the Calpa-vṛcśa, or Vaishnavā-vṛcśa, or tree of knowledge. There sat Nāga-canyā, or a damsel, in the shape (at least partly so) of a snake, performing pujā in honour of the Ratna-linga. This passage is not far from Śrī-parvata, or the fortunate mountain, and is to the west of it. Śrī-parvata is called Śrī-dvīpa in the Vṛhatcathā,
and is the same with the *White Island*. This tree is said, in the *Vṛihatcat'hā*, to be in the western parts of *Suvāna-dvīpa*, or *Juvernia*; and here the passage into hell is placed under it. *Juno* [or *Lacshmi*] had such a tree; for, when she married *Jupiter*, she made him a present of golden apples.

In the *Padma-purāṇa*, section of *Bhū-c'hānda*, it is said, that four damsels were produced through this churning, like so many jewels. They stood as if peeping out of the caldron, and their names are *Su-Lacshmi*, *Vārūni*, *Śrēśṭha* or *Jyeśṭha*, and *Cūmōda*. When *pūjā* is performed, on particular occasions, in honor of *Lacshmi*, they represent the *Cālaśād'hi* by a water pot; and, after repeating proper spells, *Lacshmi* comes peeping out of the pot. She is always present, though seldom visible, as may be supposed.

In the *Brahmānda-purāṇa*, section of *Lalitopāchyāna*, it is added, that this churning produced also a plant called *Vijaya*, ever victorious, which *Bhairava* or *Śiva* kept for his own use. Then the goddess *Ambica* appeared, seated in a flower of the white lotus. It is she, who grants boons to all the world. She is *Śri*, prosperous: in her hand is a *Padma* flower. She sprang from the *CŚhīra-mahārṇava*, or the great, and famous *White ocean*; which assuming a human shape, presented her with a chaplet of *Padma* flowers. *Vīśva-carma*, or *Twashta*, made her presents of bracelets, and other ornaments, from his own shop. She then went and seated herself on the breast of *Vīshnu*. *Bali*, and the other *Dāityas* were enraged at this; and becoming outrageous, forcibly took the vase of *Amṛīt* out of the hands of *Dhanwantari*. The gods attempted to recover it from them, but in vain. *Vīshnu* then assumed
the shape of Móhini, a female deity, in which are concentrated the illusive powers of Vishnu. The giants, at the sight of her, were thrown into a state of rapturous ecstasy, and resigned the vase to her. She then directed the gods and giants to place themselves in two rows, and to sit down. She made the giants to agree, that the gods should be served first. Ra’hu, being distrustful, placed himself between the sun and moon, who recognizing him, pointed him to Móhini, who had already given him a small portion of the beverage of immortality. She, however, cut off his head, which flew up to heaven. Móhini, having served out the Amrīt to the gods, placed the vase on the ground, and disappeared. A dreadful conflict took place between the gods and giants, in which the sun and moon suffered much. The gods prevailed at last, and Indra was acknowledged as sole sovereign of the gods.

In the Rámayan’a of Va’lmica, section of the Yudd’ha-c’han’dā, and in other Purán’as, it is declared that Vishnu himself cut off Ra’hu’s head; and that the event happened on the very place, where the Amrīt was made (Amrīta-st’hán’ē) in the northern parts of the White Sea, in the country of the three peaks, called Chandra, or of the moon, Drón’a like the sun or Suvarn’a, and Vaideha: and from the context it seems that this happened on Drón’a. From that time Ra’hu is constantly endeavouring to destroy the sun and moon; like Typhon, according to Egyptian mythologists. He was thunder-struck by Jupiter, and fell, according to some, into the quick-sands of the lake Sirbonis, called also Sirbon, and Sarbonis. Now Swarbhānu, one of Ra’hu’s names, signifies light of heaven, and in that character, he answers to Lucifer. Like Ra’hu, Typhon, according to Ælian, often appeared in the shape of a crocodile. Others said, that this happened at Heroopolis, the Patumos of Herodotus. We are informed,
by Stephanus of Byzantium, that when Typhon was smitten by lightning, and blood, (haima in Greek,) flowed from his wounds, the place, where he fell, was thence, called Hæmus, though it had likewise the name of Hérō. It was called also Heroon, or Heroon, a derivative form from Raḥu or Rahum; and Heroopolis probably is the town or place of Raḥu, for Rāhoo-polis. This head is what the Arabs call Abul-haul, the father of terrors. The Gothick tribes, having neither crocodiles, nor dragons in their country, have introduced the wolf Fenrir, who is constantly running after the sun and moon to destroy them, and will ultimately succeed. Raḥu's name is pronounced Ra'cu in the Deccan, and particularly in the Tamuli dialect. Rhœcus was one of the giants, who waged war against the gods, and he was put to death by Bacchus, in the shape of a lion. Abbe' Pluche says, that Horus, or the sun, having been worsted by Rhœcus, found means to elude his pursuit, by appearing before him in the shape of a lion. I do not know on what authority he grounds this his assertion.

This churning of the White sea was, it seems, unknown to the western mythologists: at least very faint traces remain of this notion; if it ever existed among them.

The birth of Venus or Lacshmī has some affinity with it: for we read that Saturn, having cut off Cēlus's privities, he flung them into the sea, where, being mixed, and agitated with the foam, they gave birth to Venus. This is the same legend with that concerning the churning; for the plants and trees are positively asserted to be the Linga of the ruling power of the Calpa, and of which he is deprived by his successor.

(1) Under the word Heroopolis.
(2) French Encyclop. vi. Deluge.
It seems also, that it was once a general opinion, that the moon had not been created with the rest of the world, but appeared afterwards. This is the opinion of the Hindus, and it was also prevalent in the west. The Arcadians boasted that they were more ancient than the moon; and several old historians, among whom was Theodorus of Chalcis, said that the moon made its appearance a little before the war of the giants, exactly like the Paurânicas.

This churning of the Calasa or caldron-like sea, owes perhaps its origin to some strange convulsion of nature, in that part of the world, accompanied with dreadful storms, and some irruption of the sea; in consequence of which the shores of the Calasa sea were strewed with the wreck of nature in that part of the country, such as plants, and trees torn from the adjacent country, with large masses of amber, and ambergris, which are only the coarser parts of the celestial Amrit or ambrosia. There are certainly obvious vestiges remaining of such a dreadful catastrophe; such as the giant's causeway, on the Irish coast, and other remains of volcanic convulsions on the adjacent shores of Scotland. The direful effects of such a convulsion of nature, in that part of the world, are still more clearly described in the Purânas; as will appear, when I come to treat of the origin of the Vaïtarani or Styx.

The Isle of Man, called Monaëda by Ptolemy, and Manand by Irish Senachies, according to General Valancey, being exactly in the centre of the churn, or caldron, seems to be the mountain of Mandara, called also Manda, which was brought from distant countries, with infinite trouble, for the purpose of churning this sea.

In the Halasya-chan'da, a section of the Scanda-purâna, it is said that a holy Rishi, called Dadhichi, swallowed up the sacred books,
whilst the gods and giants were busied in churning the White Sea, in order to preserve them; and this Raśi will be further noticed, when I come to the legends relating to Tvashta.

Moḥinī, or the illusive or deceiving powers of Viṣṇu, is not single. She has many subordinate forms, who are fully possessed of the requisite qualifications, and necessary blandishments, to deceive those, who put themselves in their power. Intoxicating draughts, or Surā, are generally used by them; hence they might with propriety be called Surāyantīs, Sūrinis, or Sirenes. These, says Ovid, were contemporary with Proserpine and her companions, in her excursions into the meadows. Her name, in Sanscrit, is Sarppāṇī-devī. Pra-Sarppāṇī is grammatical, but never used. Śiva, hearing of the irresistible powers of Moḥinī, resolved to try them himself. For this purpose, he went with Parvati to the Cshiroda or White Sea, to the White Island. Viṣṇu and Lākṣmī came to meet them; but when Viṣṇu understood the purpose of his errand, he did what he could to dissuade him from it, but in vain. The company, which consisted of the two goddesses, with Viṣṇu and Śiva, being seated, Moḥinī suddenly appeared, and played her part so well, that Śiva, unable to contain himself any longer, ran after her in a state of distraction: but she eluded his pursuit, and his semen fell to the ground. Viṣṇu, out of respect, took it up in his hand, and blew it into the ear of a young woman called Anjani, who was making tapasya; and it found its way into her womb. She conceived, and as soon as the child was born, he proved remarkably playful; and mistaking the sun for some fruit, or play thing, leaped up, and extending his arm, seized the yoke of the sun’s chariot, which he broke; and with it fell to the ground. In this fall, his face and chin were so much disfigured and bruised, that he
was called **Hanuman**. He is supposed by some to be the son of **Vayu** or **Maruta**: but it is a mistake; for he is of the seed of **Maha-deva**; and was conveyed into the womb of **Anjani** through the assistance of **Vayu**, the wind, or breath of **Vishnu**.

II. On the 11th of **Càrtica**, **Vishnu** arose from his slumbers: on the 12th his nuptials with **Lakshmi** were celebrated, with great pomp, in the **White Island**. Old **Samudra**, or **Oceanus**, her father, gave her away, and officiated as high priest. The inhabitants of the **Tri-Bhûvana**, or the three worlds, were present. **Bali**, with the other giants, fired with rage and resentment, waged war against the gods, which lasted three days, namely, the 13th, 14th and 15th, of **Càrtica**; but **Vishnu** proved victorious, and conquered the three worlds. During these three days, the gods, greatly alarmed, remained in the **White Island**, seated on the **White Cliffs**, which border on the **White Sea**. (1) **Lakshmi** slept in the midst of them: but on the 15th, the giants being entirely routed, she slept apart in the **calyx** of a **Camala** or **Padma** flower. From that time she is known, and worshipped, under the name of **Padma**, or **Camala-devi**. In some **Purâṇas**, it is asserted, that **Bali** took her prisoner, and many of the gods, whom he confined. The place where she slept apart in the flower of the **Padma** or loto, was of course called **Camalá-sí'hánam**, or the place of the goddess **Camala**. This was properly rendered into the western languages by **Camalo-dunum**, or **Camulodunum**. The deity worshipped there, was, it seems, of the masculine gender, the god **Camulus**, with the titles of **Sanctus** and **Fortis**, and whom the **Romans** supposed to be **Mars**. This difference of sex is not so material, as would appear at first sight. The sexes of several deities

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(1) See Asiatic Researches Vol. III. p. 264.
were far from being ascertained among the western mythologists; though
in general otherwise in India.

Venus, or Lacsñmî, was both male and female; nay some even asserted,
that Venus was the moon, and a god, not a goddess according to
Macrobius. The Parthians said that Venus was Lunus. The appellation
of Venus is neither Greek nor Latin, and was unknown at Rome during
the time of the kings. Vishnu is also called Camala-prabhu or Cama-
lus.

In the Brahma-vaivarta, section of the Praçriti-chända, we read that
Bhamavana said to Ra'ma, "O Lacsñmî, be ye born in the White Sea;
there send a portion of yourself:" and to Brahma he said, "O Pad-
ma, born in the Padma flower, churn the ocean, and produce Lacsñ-
mi for the gods." Having thus spoken, he disappeared. The gods
having churned the ocean, among other jewels Lacsñmî appeared, with
a chaplet of flowers in her hand, which she gave to him, who sleeps in
the White Sea. She then became Vaishnavi-Sati.

All the gods worshipped her, and through her mercy recovered their
own country, 'Sweta-dvipa, from the giants. Indra performed his ablutions
at a sacred pool, and put on two clean mantles; he then placed
the water pot before him, and worshipped it, in order to bring down
Lacsñmî into the Cshiroda. He invoked the six gods as usual, Gane'sa,
Dine'sa the sun, Vahni fire, Vishnu, Siva, and Siva, and worshipped
them. He then called down Lacsñmî, saying, "O Maha-Lacsñmî!
" Paramaiswarya-rûpinî, with the countenance of Parmeswara." He then worshipped her, Brahma was officiating as high priest, and pre-
senting flowers of the Parijata tree, said, "on Vaikuntha thou art 
Maha-Lakshmi: in the Cshiroda-sagara, thou art Raja-Lakshmi."
The gods worshipped her: to every one she granted a boon; and gave a 
chaplet of flowers to Bhagavana; and then went and seated herself on 
the breast of Hari, who sleeps in the Cshiroda.

In the same book, Lakshmi is said to have performed tapasya for 
100,000 years, in the flower of the Padma, standing on one foot, in order 
to obtain Vishnu. She then saw SrI-Crishna, or Vishnu, who said, 
"thou shalt be my wife, when I assume the shape of Varaha; but in the 
mean time be the Sacti of Agni, which Sacti, or energy, burns every 
thing: be also the wife of Siva. Vahni, Agni, or fire, for an hundred 
years of the gods, will have no other wish, but to please thee." She 
conceived by him: the gestation lasted twelve years, and three beautiful 
sons were born unto her: DaschijnAgni, Garhapatya, and Ahava niya, 
three sacred fires. Lakshmi is represented as performing this religious 
austerity on one foot, with fervor and faith, but with no less impatience. 
She was counting the hours, and constantly looking up to that happy mo-
ment or Cala, when she was to become the consort of Vishnu. Though 
not so called explicitly: yet she is represented as Calapsa or Calipsa, or 
anxiously wishing for that Cala, or period, or from Cala-lipsa or Cal-
ipsa nearly synonymous. Calypso was the daughter of Oceanus likewise, and ultimately married Atlas, who is represented by Varaha, 
a form of Atula without equal, or Vishnu, according to the promise 
made to her by Vishnu himself. On a Greek medal, inserted, I believe, 
in Mr. D'Hancarville's works, there is a female deity, represented 
standing on one foot in a flower, which looks very much like that of the
Homer places Calypso in Ogygia; but, according to Apuleius, Hyginus, and I believe Mela, Calypso lived in Aiaia, Aëoa, the Ayayam, or Ayasa of the Purán’as, and nearer of course to Atlas and the White Island.

'Siva, after swallowing the poison, as before related, went to Himálaya, where he buried himself in the snow. There are many places of worship dedicated to 'Siva, under that title; but the original one is in the White Island. It is very doubtful, whether our ancestors knew any thing of this churning, and of the deadly poison produced by it, and of a deity swallowing it up. In that case, there was no such a place in the White Island. Yet I cannot resist the temptation; and I am inclined to believe it not altogether improbable, but that many of these idle legends originated in the west. If so, there might have been such a place; and it could not have been far from Camalodunum. The poison, which 'Siva drank up, is called, in Sanscrit, Cāla-cūta, or the black lump or mole, because it remained like a lump in 'Siva's throat, which looked like a cūta, a peak, also a lump or mole. Cāla-cūta, in Welsh, is Y-du-man, or the black lump or mole: and this was, according to Ptolemy, the name of a river in England, now called the Black-water, in Essex. It might have been supposed once, that the black stinking mud of marshes and fens, and more particularly that of the mosses, so baneful to living creatures, was produced in consequence of this churning; probably the emblem used to signify some dreadful convulsion of nature in these parts. That such a thing happened in the western ocean, is attested by tradition: and such was its violence, and the dreadful consequences, which attended it, that

(3) P. 20.

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they could not but suppose, that it had destroyed entirely the *Atlantis*,
and left nothing in its place but mud.

A deity is then introduced, putting a stop to the progress of this black
and poisonous substance, ready, according to the *Purānas*, to overwhelm,
not only the *White Island*, but the whole world also. The serpent
*Midgard*, living at the bottom of the sea, like *Ananta*, and vomiting
torrents of deadly poison, and surrounding the world like *Sesha-Nāga*,
is the subject of several fundamental legends in the mythology of the
*Goths*: but absolutely unknown to the *Greeks* and *Romans*. This *Cāla-
cūta*, or black lump of poison, stuck in *Śiva’s* throat, like the apple that
*Adam* ate, and occasioned that protuberance since called *Adam’s* apple
or bit.

III. The other jewels produced by this churning, were the *Apsaras*, or
nymphs, with *Rambha’* as their chief. These were jewels indeed, created
for the amusement of the *Indrā-dicas* or gods. *Rambha’-devi* is the first,
several others are mentioned, as *Tilōttama*, *Urvasī* &c. These are
also of infinite service to *Indra*, whose situation is rather precarious.
He was originally a mere mortal; but was informed, that the throne of
heaven belonged to whatever man could perform one hundred *Asvame-
dhās*, or sacrifices of a horse, which he did. The giant *Bali* was very
near succeeding: but *Indra*, with the assistance of *Cacust'ha*, proved
victorious, and now wields the thunderbolt, and dispenses rain. *Cacu-
s'tha* was a most powerful prince, and granted his assistance to *Indra*,
on condition that he would carry him on his shoulders against his enemies.
*Indra* was forced to comply with this humiliating condition, and to march
against the giants, his enemies, with *Cacust'ha* seated on his shoulders,
(or *Cacuda*, in *Sanskrit*, properly a hump, being the space between the
shoulders, close to the neck.) From that circumstance he was called Cacust'ha, or he who is seated on the Cacud; and mankind are sometimes called, in the Purāṇas, the children of Cacust'ha. Indra, however, proved victorious everywhere, and thus ascended the throne of the heavenly mansions, there to remain, till another, equally fortunate, dispossesses him, by performing an hundred Asvamed'has. For this reason Indra is always watching the actions of men below, and whenever he finds any one attempting to perform the prescribed Asvamed'has, he generally waits till they are nearly completed, and then sends an Apsaras or two, who never fail to spoil the unfortunate man's devotions.

These nymphs were not unknown, in the most remote parts of the western world, their native country, according to the Paurāṇics: and they are probably the goddesses Ramēha or Rumahē, mentioned in some inscriptions found on the northern parts of England, and I believe on the banks of the Rhine; but their name is never found in the first case. There is a place, in the northern parts of England, called Rumabis by the anonymous geographer of Ravenna, and probably their true name was Ramēba, or Rumēba. In the inscription, upon an altar found at Louthor, in Westmoreland, we read Deabus Matribus. . . . . . . . . Tramae &c. In the room of Tramae: Dr. Gale proposes to read Brama, but I think the true reading is Deabus Matribus et Ramai bus or Ramēbus: and in the inscription mentioned by Gruter, Rumahēba for Ramēhaibus.

The mother goddesses, or Deae Matres, make a most conspicuous figure in India, where they are called Matri-devi, Matres Deae. They are seven in number, and are always invoked together. No nuptial rites are performed without previously performing the puja in their honor. They draw seven parallel lines or strokes perpendicularly, with clarified
butter. These are intended to represent the seven mother goddesses; they then perform the pūjā and pradhānā, or go in procession round them. These were well known in the west. The Mātrē-Dēvis are also called Janāṇī-dēvi in Sanskrit; hence the Junones-Deae of the Romans, who were the same with the mother goddesses. Keysler says, that the mother goddesses, worshipped in Gaul, were also called Mātres-Familias; and he cites Cēsar's commentaries as his authority. Mater-Familias answers to the Cula-Dēvatā, literally Deus or Dea-Familias of the Hindus; and out of respect, mothers are often called Janāṇidēvi.

The present moon was created, as we have seen, a little before the war of the gods with the giants. This circumstance was not unknown to the western mythologists; for Theodorus, the Chalcidian, informs us that Selene, or Luna, made her appearance a little before that famous war. This circumstance is also noticed by Ariston of Chios, and Dionysius of Chalcis, according to Mr. Bryant. This shows that the system of mythology in the west, was the same with that of the Hindus. Of the former we have only a few scattered fragments, but the deficiency may be supplied from the Purāṇās.

The famous tree Pārijāta, a sort of Nyctanthes, is another invaluable jewel procured by this churning. It is not singular; there are many others in different parts of the world. They are called in general Calpa-vṛcsha, and are endowed with knowledge and speech, like the oaks of Dodona; and of the wood of such a tree, the Argo must have been made. Some Christians believed also in these Calpa-vṛcshas, endowed with reason, and of course with the faculty of speech, according to Stephanus Go-

(1) Vol. III. p. 401 and 402.
BARUS, as cited by PHOTIUS: By approaching them in a respectful manner, you obtain from them knowledge, riches and every thing you can wish for: unfortunately they are very difficult of access. These Calpa-vrícshas or Calpa-drumas are of an extraordinary size, covering generally a space of an hundred yójanas. This Párijáta tree in the White Island is called Janma-Calpánaca: it sprang up at the birth of Jina or BUDD’HA, and is near the shores of the White Sea, which comes up to its roots. This is the Calpa-vrícsha of the gods, which grants every boon. Near it the Dích’yádáris, or worshippers of Jina, cut their hair and fling it into the White Sea. There was also a garden of Párijáta trees in the middle of the island, in or near the town of Vairámati, in which resides VISHNU, according to the Padma-purán’a, section of Utára-c’han’dá.

The Párijáta tree, and particularly that in the White Island, are emphatically called, in lexicons, drum or dru, or the tree. Besides this chief of trees, there were also in the sacred isles, others of different sorts. There was the Cshíra tree, a sort of jessamine, which, according to the Varáha-purán’a, sprung up from the White Sea: this remains in the White Island. There is also a Váta-múla, a sort of Indian fig-tree, of an immense size. There is a golden Calpa-Vrícsha in Ireland, and a Nyagródha, or Indian fig-tree, in the islands to the north of Scotland.

IV. The Vat’a tree, in Svéta-dwípa, was originally a single hair, that fell from the body of VISHNU to the ground. It is considered as a manifestation of VISHNU, or as VISHNU himself. This tree was conveyed, in a most surprising and miraculous manner, to Jagan-ná’t’ha, on the coast of Ucala-des’a, or Orissa, in the time of king INDRADYYUMNA, according to the Scanda-purán’a, section of Ucala-c’han’dá, paragraph of the Purushóttama-mahá’tmya. There NA’RADA is introduced saying O o
to Indra-dyumna, "Brahme has sent me to tell you to perform a thou-
sand Maha-Cratus or sacrifices, in order to please Purushottama,
whom he will bring from the White Island. Then you will see, with your
own eyes, Da'arava-tanum-Vishnum, or Vishnu, in the shape of a tree:
this tree is really Hari-Avatara." Jaimini adds, that Na'ara
shewed the king a proper place for the performance of religious rites, and the gods
to live in, in Swarn'a-Sucata. There is a Vata, or fig-tree, one yojana broad,
and two in height, about ten miles. It is very old, and it bestows mocosha
on men: whatever man dies upon his roots, obtains eternal bliss: whatever man sees this Nyagro'dha tree, his sins are removed: for it is Na'ara
yana's countenance. West of it is Chaturmurtti-Vibhu, or Jagannatha, and to the north is the S'han of Na'sinha. There he will come
to shew mercy unto thee; and thy country will become Bhoga-bhumi, like
Sweta-dwipa. This is not to be revealed to any body, except those, who
are likely to obtain mocosha. From Sweta-dwipa, Vibhu or Vishnu will
come himself: in other places, they have only portions of his essence.
Then Indra-dyumna praised Vishnu, and a voice from heaven was
heard saying, "be of good cheer." The king performed afterwards the
prescribed number of sacrifices in the country of Purushottama, and he
had already performed a thousand but one, when he looked like a god,
and on the seventh at night he fell asleep, and during the fourth watch
he saw Vishnu-Nri-Hari, and Sweta-dwipa like a sphatica, or white
and shining crystal, surrounded by the Cshira-Sagara. There are Maha-
Calpa-drums, and it abounds with odoriferous flowers, and exquisitive fruits.
There are the murtis or divine forms of Bhaga'vana, the shell, and
the Chacra in human shapes, in a large edifice, divine, of precious stones,
with a throne supported by lions, adorned with jewels, and resplendent,
like the cold rippling of the White Sea. On this throne he saw Devam
God, he who wields the shell, and Chacra or coit, and the Gadá, a short club, like a blue cloud, with a chaplet of flowers. This is the abode of Sárī, the prosperous goddess. On his right, Lacshmí, the most beautiful and accomplished goddess, is seated on a Padmásana or Padma flower; she who is La'vanya', or beautiful, the daughter of the ocean. On his left he saw the all knowing Chacra; the Sanaca'dicas, and Munis were praising him. Nara-vara, or the chief or king of men, was highly delighted with this vision. He awoke and compleated the thousandth As'vāmed'ha, and went to perform his ablutions in the southern sea, near a place called Bilvē'swara. Then a Brahmen came and informed him, that a tree, with a divine countenance, was advancing very fast toward the shore, a great part of which appeared above the water, and was of a red colour; and that the Chacra, and shell, were coming along with it. It was resplendent like the morning sun, and was then very near the bathing house. The whole shore was filled with its fragrance, and its name was Sād'harana', or common. It is Deva-bhiruahah, or sprung from the land of the gods. It was really God, coming in the shape of a tree. The king was astonished: this tree, says Nārada, is that which you saw in a vision in the White Island: it is Vishnu; a hair from the body of him, who resides there, fell to the ground, took root, and became a tree. It is an Ans'ā'vatāra, and this tree is truly Puru-shā'vatāra. Great is thy fortune, O king! The tree was brought ashore, and Visvakarma was applied to, who sent an able carpenter with his tools: but he insisted to work in secret; for whatever man, who should hear the noise he made, whilst at work, would become deaf, go to hell, and his children be wretched.
THE Chaturmūrtti at Jagannāṭha, or fourfold image, consists of Viṣṇu, his wife Subhadra, the Chakra, and Baladeva.

The British Isles were considered in the west as another world, perfect and complete in itself; but of smaller dimensions: hence the anonymous geographer of Ravenna says, that philosophers of old used to call Britain a microcosm. This is conformable to the notions of the Hindus, who say that it is another Mēru, and exactly the half of it, in all its dimensions. Divines in Tibet entertain exactly the same idea: for they likewise call the elysium of Hopameh, in the west, another world. These islands are obviously the Sacred Isles of Hesiod, who represents them as situated an immense way (μακρὰ νῆσος) toward the north-west quarter of the old continent.(1) From this most ancient and venerable bard I have borrowed the appellation of Sacred Isles, as they are represented as such, by the followers both of Brahma and Budd’ha, by the Chinese, and even by the wild inhabitants of the Philippine Islands.

(1) Hesiod. Theog. v. 1014.
III.

A Catalogue of Indian Medicinal Plants and Drugs, with their Names in the Hindustani and Sanscrit Languages.

By John Fleming, Esq. M. D.

Advertisement.

The following catalogue is intended chiefly for the use of gentlemen of the medical profession on their first arrival in India, to whom it must be desirable to know what articles of the Materia Medica this country affords, and by what names they may find them.

The systematic names of the plants are taken from Willdenow's edition of the Species Plantarum L. with the exception of some new species, not included in that work, which have been arranged in the system, and described by Dr. Roxburgh; who, with his usual liberality, permitted me to transcribe their specific characters and trivial names from his manuscript.

In ascertaining and fixing the Hindustani and Sanscrit names which correspond to the systematic, a point of considerable difficulty, but essen-
tial for the purpose of this catalogue, I have been greatly assisted by Mr. Colebrooke, on whose thorough acquaintance with oriental literature, as well as his knowledge in botany, I knew that I could confidently rely.

The Hindustani and Sanscrit words are expressed in Roman characters, conformably to the system of notation recommended by Sir William Jones; but as many prefer, for the Hindustani, the system of Mr. Gilchrist, the names in that language are printed according to his orthography, at the bottom of the page.

For the virtues and uses of such medicinal plants and drugs as are already well known in Europe, I have judged it sufficient to refer to the two latest and best works on the Materia Medica, Murray's "Apparatus Medicaminum,"* and Woodville's "Medical Botany."† Of the qualities of those articles which are known only in this country, some account is now offered: which, however brief and imperfect, will, it is hoped, have at least the effect of promoting further inquiry.

I. MEDICINAL PLANTS.

_Abrus precatorius._ (W.) _Gunchá_ (1) _H. Gunjá S._

The Seed. _Retti_ (2) _H. Ractica S._

The root of this plant, when dried, coincides very exactly, in appearance and medicinal qualities, with the liquorice root, and is often sold for it in the bazars.

* Apparatus Medicaminum &c. Auctore Jo. ANDREA MURRAY. Tom. VI. 8.
Gotting. 1790.
† Medical Botany &c. By WILLIAM WOODVILLE, M. D. 4 vols. 4to. Lond. 1794.
(1) Gooncha. (2) Ruteec.
The lowest weight in use among the Hindu druggists takes its denomination from the seed of the Gunjá, though the fictitious weight is nearly double that of the seed. Sir William Jones found, from the average of numerous trials, the weight of one Gunjá seed to be a grain and five sixteenths. The Reti weight used by the jewellers and druggists is equal to two grains three sixteenths nearly. See Asiatick Researches II. p. 154, and V. p. 92.

Acacia Arabica. (W.) Babul.(1) H. Barbura S.
The Gum. Babul-cá Gúnd.(2) H.

The Acacia Nilotica (W.) which yields the Gummi Arabicum of the European pharmacopoeias, is not found among the numerous species of Acacias that are natives of Hindostan; but the gum of the Babul is so perfectly similar to gum Arabic, that, for every purpose, whether medicinal or economical, it may be substituted for it. The bark of the tree, like that of most of the Acacias, is a powerful astringent; and is used, instead of oak bark, for tanning, by the European manufacturers of leather in Bengal.

Acacia Catechu. (W.) K'hayar(3) H. Chadira S.

Mimosa Cate Murray II. 540.
Mimosa Catechhu Woodville II. 183.

Acorus Calamus. (W.) Bach(4) H. Vachá S.
Murray. V. 39.
Woodville. III. 472.

Allium Sativum. (W.) Lehsen(5) H. Lasúna S.
Murray. V. 122.
Woodville. III. 472.

Aloe Perfoliata. (W.) Ghî-Cumâr(1) H. Ghritâ-Cumârî and Taruni S.
The Gum; Elwâ(2) H. Mus'ebber(3) Arab.
Murray, V. 238.
Woodville, III. 556.
Alpinia Cardamomum. (Roxb.) Ilâ-čhî(4) H. Élî S.
Murray, V. 61.
Woodville, II. 356.
Amomum Cardamomum.
Amomum Zingiber. (W.) Adrâc(5) H. Adrâcâ S.
The dried root, Sout'h H. Sout'hi S.
Andropogon Schënanthhus. (W.) Genèbâ(6) H. B'hûstrîna S.
Murray, V. 443.

This plant, under the name of Juncus odoratus, had formerly a place in all the European pharmacopoeias, but it is now rarely met with in the shops. It continues, however, to be a favourite herb with the Asiaticks, both for medicinal and culinary purposes. The Hindû practitioners consider the infusion of the leaves as sudorific, diuretic and emmenagogue. Whatever title it may have to these virtues, it is at least a very agreeable diluent; and, on account of its fragrant smell, aromatic flavour, and warm, bitterish, but not unpleasant taste, is generally found to be a drink very grateful to the stomach in sickness. Many Europeans, with whom tea does not agree, use, instead of it, the infusion of this plant, to which they have given the name of lemon-grass.

Anethum Sowa (Roxb. M.S.) Séwâ(7) H. Misriyâ S.

Anethum Panmorium (Roxb. M.S.) Mayuri(8) H. Mad'hirica S.
MEDICINAL PLANTS AND DRUGS.

from 10 to 20 unequally elevated radii. Fruit oblong, deeply furrowed, but not winged.

The former of these umbelliferous plants resembles in appearance the *Anethum graveolens* (W.), and the other the *Anethum fœniculum* (W.). Both species are cultivated in Bengal, on account of their seeds, which are used in diet, as well as in medicine. They are warm aromatics, and may supply the places of dill and fennel-seed, as carminatives, in cases of flatulent colic or dyspepsia.

*Apium Involucratum* (Roxb. Ms.) Ajmud H. Ajamoda S.


This species of *Apium* is cultivated in Bengal for the seeds only, the natives never using the leaves. The seeds have a very agreeable aromatic flavour, and are therefore much employed in diet as a condiment. They are also used in medicine, in the same cases as the *Sowa* and *Majuri* seeds above mentioned.

*Aristolochia Indica.* (W.) Isarmel H.

The root of this species of birthwort is intensely bitter, and is supposed by the Hindus to possess the emmenagogue and antiarthritic virtues which were formerly ascribed in Europe to its congeners, the *Aristolochia longa* and *rotunda*. As it's bitterness is accompanied with a considerable degree of aromatic warmth, it will probably be found a useful medicine in dyspepsia.

*Artemisia Vulgaris.* (W.) Nagdona H. Nagadamana S.

Murray, I. 190.

Woodville, II. 331.

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(1) Upright.

(2) Isarmel.
I have inserted this plant on the authority of the following note, which was found among the late Dr. König's papers, and communicated to me by Dr. Roxburgh. "Dr. Patrick Russell was informed by the Physician-General at Madras, that he had, many years before, known it (the root of the Asclepias Vomitoria) used, both by the European and native troops, with great success, in the dysentery, which happened at that time to be epidemic in camp. The store of ipecacuanha, had, it seems, been wholly expended; and Dr. Anderson, finding the practice of the black doctors much more successful than his own, was not ashamed to take instruction from them, which he pursued with good success; and collecting a quantity of the plant which they pointed out to him, he sent a large package of the roots to Madras. It is certainly an article of the Materia Medica highly deserving attention."

I have not obtained any further account of the medicinal virtues of this species of Asclepias, which grows in the Northern Circars, but is not met with in Bengal. It is, however, as Dr. König observes, an article highly deserving attention. The ipecacuanha root is one of the few medicines for which we have not as yet found any adequate substitute in India; and, if such a substitute should be found in the root of the Asclepias Asthматica, it would prove a most valuable acquisition to our Materia Medica.

Boswellia Thurifera. (Roxb.) Salai H. Sallaci S.

Olibanum (The Gum-resin). \{Cundur\(2\) and Gendeh, firozech,\(2\) H. Cundura S.\}

The grateful odour diffused by Olibanum, when thrown on the fire,
must have early attracted the notice of mankind; as it appears that this fragrant gum-resin was used as incense, in the religious ceremonies of almost all the antient nations. Of this honour it has kept possession, from the most remote antiquity, until the present time, when it still continues, unless when its place is supplied by Benzoin, to perfume the churches, mosques and temples, both in Europe and Asia.

That naturalists should have remained in ignorance or in error, until almost the present day, respecting the tree which yields a substance so long known, and so universally used, must appear not a little surprising. Such, however, is the fact; and the merit of having discovered the true origin of this celebrated incense, is due to Mr. Colebrooke, who has ascertained and proved, most satisfactorily, that the olibanum, or frankincense of the antients, is not the gum-resin of the Juniperus Lycia, as was generally supposed, but the produce, of our Boswellia Thurifera. See his paper on this subject, in the Asiatick Researches, Vol. IX. p. 377, to which is subjoined a botanical description of the tree by Dr. Roxburgh.

Although the Olibanum is still retained in the pharmacopoeias of the three British Colleges, it is seldom used as a medicine in modern practice. Formerly, however, it was held in considerable estimation, as a remedy in catarrh and hæmoptysis; and as it is less heating than myrrh, by which it has been superseded in these diseases, it might still, perhaps, be used with advantage, in some cases, in which the myrrh might prove too stimulant.

Cesalpinia Bongocella. (W,) Catcaranja(1) Cat-cäléj(2) H. Puti-Caranja. S.

This shrub is a native of both the Indies; but it's use in medicine is, I
believe, known only in the East. The kernels of the seeds are intensely bitter, and possess the tonic power in a very high degree. They are accordingly employed by the Hindu physicians, in all cases in which that power is more especially required; and particularly in intermittent fevers, for which they are considered as an almost infallible remedy. The mode of using them is as follows. One of the seeds, freed from its hard shell, is beat into a paste, with a few drops of water, and three corns of black pepper. This is formed into three pills, which are taken for a dose, and this dose is repeated, three or four times a day; or oftener if necessary. The decoction of the Gentiana Cherayita (Roxb.) is generally prescribed, to be taken at the same time with the pills. See Gentiana Cherayita.

This method of curing intermitents is so generally successful, that it has been adopted by many European practitioners; particularly in those cases, which so frequently occur, in which the patients have an aversion to the Peruvian bark, or cannot retain it on the stomach. In all such cases, and also on occasions where the Peruvian bark cannot be procured, I believe that the Catecaranja will be found one of the best substitutes to which we can have recourse; particularly if, assisted by the decoction of the Cherayita, which indeed is so powerful an auxiliary, that it may be doubtful, in the case of success, to which of the two remedies the cure should be chiefly ascribed.

Cannabis Sativa. (W.) B'hang and Ganja H. Guinfica S.
Murray, IV. 608.

Delâ Marck is of opinion that the Indian Ganja is a different species of Cannabis from the Cannabis Sativa, and names it “Cannabis Indica folis alternis.” (Encyc. Bot. I. 695.) But Wildenow, after remarking that the European species has also alternate leaves, assures us
that on comparing it with many specimens of the Indian plant, he could not perceive any difference between them; See Sp. Pl. IV. 763. and Dr. Roxburgh, on comparing plants raised from Europe hemp-seed with the Gānja plant, could not discover the slightest difference between them; not even enough on which to found a variety.

Capsicum Frutescens. (W.) Lāl Mīch H.

Capsicum Annuum. (Murray, I. 732.
Woodville, III. 391.

The annual species of Capsicum is not a native of this country, and but rarely found in the gardens. The Capsicum frutescens, of which there are several varieties, is cultivated in every part of India, on account of its pods; which afford to the inhabitants a condiment, as necessary for their rice and pulse diet, as salt itself. In respect to the medical uses of this species, they perfectly correspond with those of the Capsicum anuum, for which see the authors above referred to.


This is not an indigenous tree of India, and consequently has no name in the Sanscrit language. It is a native of South-America and the West-Indies; whence it was brought, by the Spaniards and Portuguese, to the Philippines and Moluccas; and from these islands, being of very quick growth, it spread rapidly to all the other countries of India. It has long been cultivated in every quarter of Hindustān, and is in flower and fruit during the greatest part of the year. The milky juice, that flows from the fruit, when an incision is made into it, before it is quite ripe, is esteemed, by the inhabitants of the Isle of France and Bourbon, as the most powerful

(1) Pupueya.

R r
A vermifuge that has yet been discovered. An account of this remedy was transmitted to the President of the Asiatick Society, by Mr. Charpentier Cossigni, in a letter, dated the 3d November 1800, of which the following is an extract.

"Un hazard heureux a fait découvrir à L'Isle de la Réunion un remède le plus efficace de tous ceux connus contre les vers. Il y a plusieurs années qu'on en fait usage avec le plus grand succès, à L'Isle de France, où les maladies vermifieuses sont très communes. C'est du lait de papayes. On incise ce fruit quand il est vert. Il rend un lait, qu'on récolte, et qu'on fait prendre à jeun au malade. C'est le plus puissant de tous les vermifuges. On prétend qu'il tue même le Tænia cucurbita, qui est assez commun dans L'Isle. Au reste, les preuves de la vertu puissante de ce remède sont déjà très nombreuses, sans qu'il soit résulté d'accidents, qu'on ait essayé de l'administrer en grande dose.

Ce qui rend ce remède précieux, c'est qu'une seule dose suffit pour tuer tous les vers, quelle grande qu'en soit la quantité."

The vermifuge, thus strongly recommended, and on such respectable authority, has not yet come into use here, either among the native or European practitioners; although an account of it was published, at the time, in the Calcutta newspapers. A remedy, however, so simple, and so easily at all times to be procured, certainly deserves to have a fair trial. The dose for an infant is one tea spoonful of the juice, mixed with thrice that quantity of warm water, or cow's milk; for a child of six or seven years of age, one table spoonful; and, for an adult, two table spoonfuls. A few hours after the patient has taken the dose of Papaya milk, a dose of Oleum Ricini is given to him, to promote the expulsion of the dead worms.
**Cassia Fistula.** (W.) Ammála (1) H. Subérnacca S.

Murray. II. 510.

Woodville. III. 449.

**Cassia Alata.** (W.) Dád-morden (2) H. Dádrughna S.

This shrub is cultivated in Bengal, as an ornament to the flower-garden. The expressed juice of the leaves, mixed with common salt, is used externally, for curing the ring-worms. From this quality, it has obtained its Hindustani and Sanscrit names; and, for the same reason, it is called, by Rumphius, *Herpetica*; and, by French authors, *Herbe à Dartres*. Notwithstanding this general prepossession in its favour, in the many trials which I have made of it, for curing herpetic eruptions, I have oftener failed than succeeded.

**Cedrela Tuna.** (W.) Tán (3) H. Tunna and Cuvéraca S.

The first botanical description of this tree was given by Sir William Jones, in the 4th Vol. of the As. Res. p. 273. The wood is esteemed on account of its close grain, and beautiful colour, resembling that of mahogany, and is much employed, by the cabinet-makers in Calcutta, for the purpose of being made into furniture. No part of the tree is used in medicine by the Hindus; but a very intelligent English surgeon, now deceased, found the powder of the bark, and the extract made from it, very efficacious in the cure of fevers. He also experienced great advantage from the powder, applied externally, in the treatment of different kinds of ulcers. See a letter to Dr. Duncan, from Mr. J. Kennedy, surgeon at Chunar. (Annals of Medicine I. 387.)

I have not met with any other account of the medicinal qualities of the Tán bark; but, on so respectable authority, I judged it a proper object of

(1) Umála.
(2) Dád-morinda.
(3) Toon.
Further inquiry, and have therefore given the tree a place in the catalogue.

_Citrus Aurantium. (W.)_ Narenji (1) and Narengi (2) H. Nāgaranga S.
_Citrus Medica. (W.)_ Lēmu (3) H. Jambīta S.
_Murray._ III. 263. 284.
_Woodville._ III. 496. 500.

_Cordia Myxa. (W.)_ Lēhsōra (4) H. Bahuvāraça S.
_Murray._ II. 133.
_Woodville._ IV. 16.

_Coblandrum Satifum. (W.)_ D'hānya (5) H. D'hanyāca S.
_Murray._ I. 405.
_Woodville._ III. 492.

_Croton Tiglum. (W.)_ Jeypāl and Jemālgōta (6) H. Jayapāla S.
_Murray._ IV. 149.
_Rumph. Amb._ IV. Tab. 42.

The seeds of this plant were formerly well known in Europe, under the names of Grana Tigliā, and Grana Molucca. They were employed as hydragogue purgatives; but, on account of the violence of their operation, they have been long banished from modern practice. For the same reason, they are seldom used by the Hindū practitioners, though not unfrequently taken, as purgatives, by the poorer classes of the natives. One seed is sufficient for a dose. It is first carefully cleared from the membranaceous parts, the rudiments of the seminal leaves, that adhere to the centre of it; by which precaution, it is found to act less roughly; and then rubbed with a little rice gruel, or taken in a bit of the plantain fruit.

_Cucumis Colocynthis (W.)_ Indrajī (7) H. Indravarṇuni S.
_Murray._ I. 583.
_Woodville._ III. 476.
Cuminum Cuminum, (W.) Jirā. (1) H. Jiraca S.
Murray, I. 391.
Woodville, III. 521.

Curcuma Longa, (W.) Haldi. (3) H. Hartdrā S.
Curcuma Zedoaria, (Roxb. MS.) Nirbisí. (3) H. Nirbisí S.
Kämpferia Rotunda. {Murray, V. 82.
{Woodville, II. 361.

Sp. Ch.—Spikes lateral. Bulbs small, with long yellow palmated tubers.
Leaves broad, lancilnar, sessile on their sheath. Sericeous underneath. Colour,
uniform green. (Roxb. MS.)

From the roots of several species of Curcuma, that are found in Bengal,
the natives prepare a farinaceous powder, which they call Tikkur. (4) It is in
every respect similar to the powder prepared from the root of the Maranta
Arundinacea, or arrow-root; and is often sold for it in the Calcutta shops.

Datura Metel, (W.) D'hatāra. (3) H. D'hustāra S.
{Murray I. 670.
{Woodville II. 338.

The D. Stramonium, which is the species used in medicine in Europe,
is not found in Hindustan, (5) but the D. Metel grows wild in every part of
the country. The soporiferous and intoxicating qualities of the seeds are
well known to the inhabitants; and it appears, from the records of the
native Courts of Justice, that these seeds are still employed, for the same
licentious and wicked purposes, as they were formerly, in the time of

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* In the Asiatic Researches, VI. 351. Colonel Hardwicke enumerates the Datura Stramonium among the plants which he found in the Sirinagur country; but he afterwards ascertained, that the plant which he met with, was the Datura Metel; and has candidly authorized me to notice the mistake.

S s
Acosta and Rumphius. See Rumph. Amb. V. 242. I do not know
that either the seeds or the extract prepared from the expressed juice of
the plant, are used in medicine here; but those who place any faith in
the accounts given by Baron Stoerck, and Mr. Odhlius* of the efficacy
of the extract of the Stramonium, in the cure of mania, epilepsy, and
other convulsive disorders, may reasonably expect the same effects from
the extract of the Metel; the narcotic power in the two species being per-
fectly alike. Linnaeus, indeed, has given a place, in his Materia Medica;
to the Metel, in preference to the Stramonium.

Daucus Carota. (W.) Gajer(1) H. Garjara S.
Murray, I. 316.
Woodville, III. 443.

Dolichos Pruriens. (W.) Kiwach H. Copicaclhu S.
Murray, II. 438.
Woodville, III. 468.

Echites Antedysenterica (Roxb. Ms.) Curayia(2) H. Cutaja S.
The seed, Inderjao H. Indrayava S.
Murray, I. 828.
Woodville, IV. 42.

Eupatorium Ayapana. (W.)

This plant was brought, about ten years ago, from Brazil, of which
country it is a native, to the Isle of France; and was, by the islanders,
considered for a time, as almost a panacea. It appears, however, that it
has entirely lost it's credit with them, and that they do not now allow
it to possess any medicinal virtue whatsoever. See Bory de St. Vincent
Voyage aux principales Isles des Mers d' Afrique. The instances are not
unfrequent, of medicines which had been at first too highly extolled, hav-

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* Vide Murray and Woodville, loc. citat.
(1) Gajur.
(2) Koorayu.
MEDICINAL PLANTS AND DRUGS.

ing afterwards met with unmerited neglect; and such may, perhaps, be the case, in respect to the plant in question, which has been lately introduced into Bengal, and is now cultivated in the gardens about Calcutta. I have therefore inserted the Ayapan in the catalogue, as an object deserving further inquiry. Its congener, the Eupatorium Cannabinum, was strongly recommended by Tournefort and Chomel, as a deobstruent, in visceral obstructions consequent to intermittent fevers; and externally, as a discutient, in hydropic swellings of the legs and scrotum. See Murray. I. 202.

Gentiana Chirayita. (Roxb. Ms.) Chirayita. H. Cirátatteta. S.

Sp. Ch.—Herbaceous. Leaves stem-clasping, lanceolate 3—5 nerved. Corol rotate, four cleft, smooth. Stamens four. Capsule ovate, bifurcate, as long as the calyx. (Roxb. Ms.)

This species of Gentian is indigenous in the mountainous countries to the northward of the Ganges; but does not grow in the lower parts of Bengal. The dried herb, however, is to be met with in every bazar of Hindostan; being a medicine in the highest repute, with both the Hindu and European practitioners. It possesses all the stomachic, tonic, febrifuge and antiarthritic virtues which are ascribed to the Gentiana Lutea, and in a greater degree than they are generally found in that root, in the state in which it comes to us from Europe. It may therefore, on every occasion, be advantageously substituted for it. The efficacy of the Chirayita, when combined with the Caranja nut, in curing intermittents, has been already mentioned. It is found equally powerful in exciting and strengthening the action of the stomach, and obviating flatulency, acidity and redundancy of phlegm, in dyspepsia and gout. For restoring the tone and activity of the moving fibre, in general debility, and in that kind of
cachexy which is liable to terminate in dropsy, the Chirayita will be found one of the most useful and effectual remedies which we can employ.

The parts of the plant that are used in medicine, are the dried stalks; with pieces of the root adhering to them. A decoction of these, or which is better, an infusion of them in hot water, is the form usually ad
ministered. Spirituous tinctures are also prepared from the plant, with the addition of orange-peel and cardamom seeds; and those who consider such tinctures as of any avail, will find these very agreeable bitters. The most useful purpose, however, to which the tincture can be applied, is that of being added to the decoction, or infusion, with the view of rendering them more grateful to the stomach.


Woodville, III. 458.

Hyperanthera Morungoo. (W.) Sahijana, H. Sobhanjana, S.

This tree, on account of its beauty, as well as its utility, is a favourite with the natives of Hindustan, who are fond of planting it near their houses, both in the towns and villages. The Legumes, blossoms and leaves are all esculent, and are used both as pot-herbs and for pickles. The root of the young tree, when scraped, so exactly resembles horseradish, as scarcely to be distinguished from it by the nicest palate; and is therefore used, by Europeans, instead of that root, as a condiment with animal food. In medicine, it completely supplies its place, whether employed externally, as a rubefacient, or used internally, in cases of palsy, chronic rheumatism and dropsy, as a stimulant. The expressed oil of the seeds is used externally, for relieving the pain of the joints, in gout and
acute rheumatism. This oil is remarkable for resisting rancidity; and, on that account, has been selected by the perfumers, as the fittest for being impregnated with the odor of jessamines, violets, tuberoses and other flowers; which yield little or no essential oil, but impart their fragrance to expressed oils.

The seeds of this tree are the Ben nuts of the old writers on pharmacy. Some of these writers supposed their Lignum Nephrilicum to be the wood of the Morungo; but erroneously; the tree which affords that wood being a native of New Spain.

Jatropha Curcas. (W.) Bagbarindá H.

Murray, IV. 164.

The seeds of this plant, are, like those of the Croton Tiglium, (to which plant it is nearly allied,) frequently used as a purgative, by the more indigent natives. Their operation is milder than that of the Tiglium seeds, and two or three may be taken for a dose; but the same precaution must be used, in freeing them from the membranaceous parts, that was formerly directed to be observed in respect to the Tiglium seeds.

Justicia Paniculata. (W.) Calápmá’t’h(1) and Créat H. Cairáta. S.

This species of Justicia is a native of Bengal, and of many other parts of Hindustán. The whole of the plant is intensely bitter, and it yields this quality equally to aqueous, vinous and spirituous menstrua. It is much used, by the native practitioners, in fevers and dysenteries. The French and Portuguese inhabitants of India consider it as an excellent stomachic; and it forms the basis of their bitter tincture, so well known, on the Malabar coast, by the name of Drogue Amere.
Laurus Cinnamomum. (W.) Dárchínā(1) H. Dárásita S.

Murray, IV. 417.

Woodville, I. 80.

Laurus Cassia. (W.) Tej pát H. Tamálá patra S.

The Bark Tej(3) H. Twacha S.

Murray, IV. 441.

Woodville, I. 82.

Ligusticum Ajawain. (Roxb. Mss.) Ajawain,(3) H. Yaváni, S.


The seed of this species of lovage is an excellent aromatic. It is much used by the natives as an agreeable condiment in their dishes, and for improving the flavour of the betel leaf and nut in their Páns. In medicine, it is esteemed a powerful remedy in the flatulent colic; and is employed by the veterinary practitioners in analogous diseases of horses and cows.

This is the seed mentioned and recommended to notice by the late Dr. Percival, in his Essays, (I. 433.) under the name of Ajava seed.

Linum Usitatissimum. (W.) Tísí,(4) H. Atásí, S.

Murray, III. 474.

Woodville, II. 303.

Melia Azedarachta. (W.) Nimb,(3) H. Nimba, S.

Melia Sempervirens. (W.) Bacáin,(6) H. Mahá-Nimba, S

These two species of the bead-tree, are small elegant trees, cultivated very generally in Hindostan, on account of their beautiful blossoms, and the medicinal qualities of the leaves. The leaves have a nauseous, bitter taste, devoid of astringency, which they readily impart to water. The decoction of them is used internally, in cases in which the tonic and sto-
MACHIC virtues of simple bitters are required. They are also employed, externally, as a discutient and emollient; either in fomentations, or in the form of cataplasm; for which last purpose they are simply heated in an earthen pot, and then bruised and applied to the part affected.


*Menispermum Verrucosum.* (Roxb. Ms.) *Putra Wali,* Java.

*Funis felleus.* *Rumph. Amb. V. 82.


The *Menispermum Cordifolium* is indigenous in most parts of Hindostan. The decoction of the leaves is prescribed, by the Hindu physicians, as a febrifuge, and as a tonic in gout. It is also one of the many remedies which they give for the cure of jaundice. The very young leaves are employed externally, as an emollient, made into the form of liniment, with milk.

The *Menispermum Verrucosum* was introduced into Bengal, from Malacca, by Captain Wright, about ten years ago; and is now cultivated in the gardens about Calcutta. It is readily propagated from cuttings, which are remarkable for the great length of time during which they preserve the power of vegetation. Every part of the plant is exceedingly bitter, particularly the stalk; which, from this quality, has obtained its Javanese name, *Putra Wali;* literally translated by Rumphius, *funis felleus.* It is the remedy generally employed, in the Malay countries, for the cure of intermittent fevers; and, from Captain Wright's account, is

(1) *Goorcha.*
as powerful a febrifuge as the *Peruvian* bark. It has not, however, come into use here; nor, while we have other approved remedies, is there any occasion for having recourse to it; but I have given it a place in the catalogue, for the sake of captains and surgeons of ships, trading to the eastward, who, should their stock of bark at any time fail them, may, in all the *Malay* islands, find a valuable substitute for it in the *Putra Wali*.

*Mentha Viridis. (W.) Podina. (1) H.*

*Murray. II. 178.*

*Woodville. III. 463.*

*Mirabilis Jalappa. (W.) Gāl Abbas, H.*

This is not an indigenous plant of *Hindostan*; but all the beautiful varieties of it are now cultivated, as an ornament to the gardens, in *Bengal*.

The officinal jalap was formerly supposed to be the root of this species of *Mirabilis*; and hence it obtained its trivial name; but that valuable drug is now ascertained to be the root of a species of *Convolvulus*. As the *Mirabilis*, however, had so long retained the credit of affording the jalap; and, with authors of the highest authority in botany, from *Plumier* to *Linnaeus*, I was desirous of discovering what degree of purgative quality it really possessed. With that view, having carefully dried and powdered some of the root, I sent it, for trial, to the *European* and native hospitals. Dr. *Hunter*’s report, from the former of these, is as follows:

"We have tried the *Mirabilis* with thirteen patients. They do not complain of it’s being disagreeable to the taste, nor of it’s exciting nausea or griping; but it’s operation, as a purge, is uncertain, and two drams of it sometimes procure only a single stool. It seemed to answer best with those who had bowel complaints.” Dr. *Shoolbred* found the

(1) *Poodeena.*
root equally weak and uncertain in its operation, in the trials which he made of it, in the native hospital.

*Nicotiana Tabacum.* (W.) *Tambácu,* (1) H. *Tümrácuta,* S.  
*Murray,* I. 670.  
*Woodville,* II. 338.

*Nigella Indica.* (Roxb. MS.) *Cálá Jíra,* (2) H. *Musávi,* S.

Sp. Ch.—Annual. Petals entire. Pistils five; length of the stamina. Leaves decompound. Exterior lip of the nectary ovate, and deeply two cleft. Interior entire and acute. (Roxb. MS.)

The seed of this plant is used by the natives more in diet than in medicine; and, on account of its agreeable flavour and taste, forms the principal condiment in the Curries. The seed of its congener, the *Nigella Sativa,* is, in like manner, the favourite spice of some nations on the continent of *Europe*; particularly the Hanoverians, who have given it the name of *tont épice.* See *Murray,* III. 94, and *Plenck,* Plant. Med. V. 49.

*Ocimum Pilosum.* (Roxb. MS.) *Rihán,* H.

The seed. *Túkhmi Rihán,* (3) H.


Many species of the *Ocimum* are common in Bengal, and comprehended under the generic name of *Tulasi.* One of them, the *Ocimum Sanctum,* (W.) *Parnasa,* in Sanscrit, is well known to be held in higher veneration, by the Hindus, than any other plant. The leaves of most of the species have a slightly aromatic taste, and a strong, but not disagreeable smell.

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(1) *Tumbakoo.* (2) *Kalajeera.* (3) *Tookhmi rihan.*
I have given the Rihân a place in the catalogue, on account of the peculiar quality of its seed, which, when infused in cold water, forms a mucilage much used by the natives as a demulcent in catarrhs. From the slight aroma which it possesses, it lies easier on the stomach than most other vegetable mucilages. It is a favourite medicine with the native women, who take it after parturition, and suppose that it relieves the after-pains.

**Phyllanthus Emblica. (W.) Aonla,**(1) H. Amalaci, S.

**Murray, IV. 127.**

This tree is found, both in a wild and cultivated state, in most parts of Hindostan. It's fruit is one of those which were formerly known in Europe under the name of Myrobalans, but which have been long discarded from the pharmacopoeias. It is, however, in general use with the Hindu physicians, as an aperient, and enters into many of their compositions. It is particularly an essential ingredient in the preparation of the Bitlaban, a medicinal salt which will be afterwards noticed.

**Papaver somniferum. (W.) Post, H. Châsa, S.**

Opium, Afiûn, H.

**Murray, II. 254.**

**Woodville, III. 503.**

**Piper nigrum. (W.) Mirch, H. Maricha, S.**

**Murray, V. 22.**

**Woodville, III. 513.**

**Piper longum, (W.) Pipl, (9) H. Pippali, S.**

**Plantago Isphaghol. (Roxb. MS.) Isphaghol,(8) H.**


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(1) Aonla and Aswala.
(9) Peepul.
(8) Isphaghol.
This plant was formerly supposed to be the *Plantago Psyllium* (L.) but is certainly a different species. It is cultivated in *Bengal*, on account of the seeds, which, like those of the *P. Psyllium*, form a rich mucilage with boiling water. For this purpose, a pint of water is poured on about two drams of the seeds. This mucilage is very generally used, as a demulcent, in catarrhs, nephritic pains, heat of urine, and other diseases in which acrimony is to be obviated or palliated.

*Plumbago Zeylanica.* (W.) Chita,(1) H. Chitraca, S.
*Plumbago Rosea.* (W.) Lal Chita, H. Racta Chitraca, S.

Both these shrubs are cultivated in *Bengal* as flower plants. Every part of them is extremely acid, particularly the root; which, in its recent state, being bruised, is employed, by the Hindu practitioners, as a vesicatory.

The *Plumbago Europae* is mentioned by Murray (I. 772.) as having been found efficacious in the cure of cancer, for which purpose the ulcers are dressed, thrice a day, with olive oil, in which the leaves of the plant have been infused. The authorities which he quotes, for the cures effected by this application, are respectable; and, as our species coincide entirely in quality with the *Plumbago Europae*, it may be worth while to make a trial of their power, in a disease so deplorable, for which no adequate remedy has yet been discovered.

*Pterocarpus Santalinus.* (W.) Ract Chandan,(2) H. Racta Chandana, S.
*Murray.* VI. 59.

*Punica Granatum.* (W.) Anár, H. Dadima, S.
*Murray.* III. 262.
*Woodville.* I. 158.

(1) Cheeta. (2) Rukut Chundun.
The flowers of this beautiful shrub, which were formerly well known under the name of Balaustines, are now neglected; but the rind of the fruit is still considered as one of the most useful medicinal astringents, in cases wherein that quality, simply, is required. This shrub affords another valuable remedy, in the fresh bark of its root, for the knowledge of which we are indebted to the Hindū physicians. See "An account of an Indian remedy for the tape-worm," by Dr. Buchanan, in the Edinburgh Medical and Chirurgical Journal, No. IX, p. 22.

The Taenia is not a common disorder in Bengal; but, since the date of Dr. Buchanan’s communication, several cases of it have occurred here, to Dr. Hunter, and to Dr. Shoolbred, in which the bark of the pomegranate root was used, with complete success, and without having failed in a single instance. The following is the method in which it is prepared and administered. Eight ounces of the fresh bark of the root are boiled, in three pints of water, to a quart. Of this decoction, the patient takes a wine-glassful; and repeats that quantity, at longer or shorter intervals, as the sickness and faintness, which it generally occasions, will allow; until he has taken the whole. The worm is commonly voided, in a few hours after the patient has begun to take the medicine; and, not unfrequently, comes away alive.

Ricinus Communis. (W.) Arend, (1) H. Éranda, S.

This plant is cultivated, for both economical and medicinal purposes, over all Hindostan. The expressed oil of the seeds, so well known in Europe, under the name of castor oil, is more generally used, as a purgative, than any other medicine; and perhaps there is no other, on which we

(1) Urand.
may, with so much confidence, rely, as a safe, and, at the same time, an active cathartic. It may be given, with propriety, in every case in which that class of remedies is required, (unless when the most drastic are necessary,) and to patients of every age and constitution; for though it seldom fails to produce the effect intended, it operates without heat or irritation.

The oil should be expressed, in the manner directed by the London College, from the decorticated seeds, and without the assistance of heat. That which is obtained by boiling the seeds in water, is injured both in smell and taste, and becomes sooner rancid than the oil procured by expression.

**Rubia Manjita**. (Roxb. Ms.) Manjita, H. Manjishtha, S.


This species of madder is indigenous in Nepal, and is used by the dyers and calico-printers, in the same manner as the Rubia Tinctorum is in Europe. Parcels of it have been frequently sent to England, where it was found equal in quality to the best Dutch madder. I know not that it has ever been tried here in medicine; but, from its sensible qualities being the same with those of the Rubia Tinctorum, there is reason to conclude that it may be found equally efficacious with that drug, as a deobstruent and emmenagogue.

**Ruta Graveolens.** (W.) Sauri, H.

**Murray, III.** 112.

**Woodville, I.** 108.

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(1) Munjeet'h.
Sida Cordifolia. (W.) Barīāla, H. Bāt'yalaca, S.
Sida Rhombifolia. (W.) Lāl Barīāla, H.
Sida Rhomboidea. (Roxb. Ms.) Safēd Barīāla, H.


There are several other species of the Sida in Bengal; but I have selected these three, as being the kinds most generally used in medicine by the Hindus. Like the other columniferous plants, they all abound in mucilage, and are much employed by the natives as demulcents and emollients. They possess these virtues, in at least an equal degree with our officinal Althaea and Malva; and may well supply their place, either for internal use, or, externally, for fomentation, cataplasms and enemata.

Strychnos Nux Vomica. (W.) Cuchila, H. Culaca, S.
Murray, I. 703.

Woodville, IV. 29.
Strychnos Potatorum. (W.) Nir-malli, H. Cataca, S.

The seeds of the Strychnos Nux Vomica are reckoned amongst the most powerful of the narcotic poisons. In Germany, nevertheless, they are considered as medicinal, and have been recommended, by many authors of that nation, as efficacious antispasmodics and tonics; but the British physicians have prudently abstained from the use of so dangerous a remedy; and, for the same reason, these seeds are seldom, if ever, employed in medicine by the Hindus. They are sometimes used, however, for a very pernicious purpose, by the distillers, who add a quantity of them in the process of distilling arrack, to render the spirit more intoxicating.

(1) Buryala. (2) Koochila. (3) Nirmulce.
THE seeds of the *Strychnos Potatorum*, though never used in medicine, are highly valuable, and serviceable, to both *Europeans* and natives, from the quality which they possess, of clearing muddy water, and rendering it potable; to which the trivial name of the tree, first given to it by *Koenig*, alludes. One of the seeds is rubbed very hard, for a minute or two, round the inside of an earthen vessel, into which the water is poured and left to settle. In a short time, the impurities subside, and leave the water perfectly limpid and tasteless.

**Sinapis Dichotoma.** (Roxb. MS.) Serson, (\(^1\)) H. Sarshapa, S.

*Sp. Ch.*—Dichotomous. Siliques cylindric, smooth, spreading. Beak straight and tapering. Leaves stem-clasping; the lower somewhat lyred. Superior ovate, lanceolate, entire. All are smooth, as are also the stem and branches. (Roxb. MS.)

**Sinapis Ramosa.** (Roxb. MS.) Rui, (\(^2\)) H. Rujicá, S.


Both these species of mustard are extensively cultivated in Bengal, on account of the oil procured from the seeds. In respect to medicinal qualities, these seeds correspond exactly with the seed of the *Sinapis Nigra*, (W.) and may be used, with equal advantage, as the latter, either internally, as stimulants in rheumatic and paralytic affections, or externally for sinapisms. See Murray, II. 308. Woodville, III. 409.

**Swietenia Fieberfuga.** (W.) Rahuna, H. Soymido, Telinga.

All the four species of the noble genus *Swietenia*, are lofty trees, remarkable for the excellent quality of their wood. The three following

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(\(^1\)) Serson. (\(^2\)) Ræce.
are indigenous in Hindostan. 1. *S. Febraifuga*, which we have inserted in
the catalogue, on account of the medicinal qualities of its bark. 2. *S.
Chickrassa*, (Roxb.) which affords the wood of that name, esteemed by
the cabinet-makers, in Calcutta, as little inferior to mahogany. 3. *S.
Chloroxylon*, (Roxb.) the wood of which, from the closeness of its grain,
and its beautiful bright yellow colour, has obtained, from the English in
India, the name of Satin-wood. The fourth is a native of Jamaica and
Spanish America, *S. Mahogani* (W.) The excellence of the wood of this
tree, and its superiority to every other, for all domestic purposes, is
universally allowed.

The *Svietaenia Febraifuga* is indigenous in the mountainous parts of the
Rajahmundry Circar. It is a large tree, rising with a straight stem to a
great height. The wood is remarkably durable; and, on that account, is
preferred, by the Telingas, to any other, for the timber-works of their tem-

tles. The bark is covered with a rough grey cuticle, and internally is of
a light red colour. It has a bitter, united with an astringent taste; both
in a strong degree, particularly the bitter. We are indebted to Dr.
Roxburgh for the discovery of its medicinal virtues. Judging from its
sensible qualities, that it might possess a considerable tonic power, and
prove a useful remedy for the intermittent fever, he made trial of it in se-
veral cases of that disease, and found it fully to answer his expectation.
With the view of further investigation, he afterwards sent a quantity of
the bark to England, where it was tried in the hospitals, with equal suc-
cess, and considered as a valuable substitute, in many cases, for the Cin-
chona. On that account it has been received by the Edinburgh college
into their pharmacopoeia, together with its congener, the *Svietaenia Ma-
hogani*, with which, in its properties, it nearly coincides. See Dr. Dun-
The Swietenia Febrisuga is not a native of Bengal; and therefore is little known, either to the Hindu or European practitioners here. I have been informed, however, that it was found, by the late Dr. Kennedy, in the hills to the southward of Chinar, where it was called, by the natives, Rohuna; and it is probable that this valuable tree may be discovered in the mountainous districts of some of the other upper provinces.

Syrium Myrtifolium. (Roxb. MS.) Chandan, H. Chandana, S.

Santalum Album. Murray, II. 14.
Woodville, IV. 136.

Tamarindus Indica. (W.) Amla, H. Amlica, S.
Murray, II. 552.
Woodville, III. 544.

Terminalia Bellerica. (Roxb. MS.) Bahira, H. Vibhi-taca, S.
Terminalia Chebula. (W.) Har and Hara, H. Haritaca, S.

The unripe fruit, Zengi Har, H.

The fruit of the Phyllanthus Emblica has been already noticed, as one of the kinds of the Myrobalans of the writers on pharmacy. Another kind, the Belleric, is the dried ripe fruit of the first species of Terminalia here inserted. It is about the size of an olive, of a yellowish-grey colour, obovate shape, and marked with five longitudinal furrows. In sensible and medicinal qualities, it coincides with the other kinds. The second species, the Terminalia Chebula, yields several different kinds of Myrobalans; different names having been given to the drupe, according to its degree of maturity, when taken from the tree. Those chiefly used in medicine, are the Har and the Zengi Har. The Har is the dried ripe

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fruit. It is the largest of the Myrobalans, of an oblong, ovate shape, marked with five furrows and five ridges alternately. It is sometimes used medicinally as a gentle purgative, but more frequently employed for domestic purposes, particularly by the dyers, who consume large quantities of it for preparing the cloth to receive the colours. See As. Res. IV. 41.

The Zungi Har is the Indian, or black Myrobalan, of the pharmaceutical authors. It differs from the other kinds in having scarcely the rudiments of a nut, being the fruit dried in a half ripe state.* It is of an

* It was not until very lately that I could obtain any information respecting the tree which affords the Zungi Har; the Hindu druggists, to whom I applied, not having been able to give me any account of it. Dr. Roxburgh, to whom I mentioned this circumstance, on examining the drug, conjectured it to be the unripe fruit, or the diseased germ, of some species of Terminalia, caused by some insect, like galls. The justness of his conjecture was soon afterwards confirmed, on inspecting the unripe drupes of a Terminalia Chebula in the Botanic Garden, the appearance of which corresponded exactly with that of the Zungi Har; and which, on being dried, proved to be that very fruit.

The uncertainty in which the writers on the Materia Medica still continue, respecting the trees which yield the different kinds of Myrobalans, appears from the following remark of Professor Murray, (Ap. Med. VI. 235.) “De reliquarum (Myrobalanorum) specie Botanic nihil certi pronuntiari potest, quin adhuc disputatur utrum ex diversis arboribus “petite sint, an potius ex eadem.” A considerable degree of light will be thrown on the subject, by the following extract from a Persian treatise on medicines, the Mekhzen-ul-Adviyeh of Mohammed Hosen Shirazi, communicated to me by the kindness of Mr. Colebrooke; and which, had I received it sooner, would have saved me the trouble of my inquiring respecting the Zungi Har.

Under the head Ahlijije (the Arabick name answering to the Persian Hailei) the author distinguishes the following kinds, as the produce of the same tree, (Terminalia Chebula) gathered at different degrees of maturity.

1. Hailieh Zira, gathered when the fruit is just set. Being dried, it is about the size of the Zira. (Cumin seed.)

2. H. Jawi, when more advanced. It is the size of a barley-corn. (Jaw.)

3. H. Zungi, Hindi or Ashwed; when the young fruit is still further advanced. Being
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Oblong, pointed shape, about the size of a pistachio nut, of a deep black
colour, and a firm, compact substance. Its taste is bitterish, and strongly
astringent. The Zengi Har is, as far as I can learn, more frequently used
in medicine, by the Hindus, than any of the other Myrobalans being very
generally employed by them as a purgative. It operates briskly, but
without occasioning heat or irritation. Persons liable to redundancy of
bile, habitual costiveness, or any other complaint which requires the fre-
quent use of gentle laxatives, will find this one of the most convenient
which they can use.

Terminalia Citrina. (Roxb. MS.) Caducay, Telinga.

This tree is a native of the mountainous parts of the Northern Circars.
The fruit is the Myrobalanus Citrina of the shops. It is used in medicine in
the southern part of the Peninsula, but is not known to the Hindu practi-
tioners in Bengal. The chief use of it, however, to the southward, is as a
mordant for fixing the colours, in printing their beautiful chintzes.

Trigonella Fænum Græcum. (W.) Met‘hi, (1) H. Met‘hi, S.

Murray, II. 447.

Woodville, III. 487.

Valeriana Jatamansi. (Roxb.) Jatamansi, H. Jatamansi, S.

The vegetable which affords the Indian Nard, so celebrated by the an-
cients, as a perfume, remained altogether unknown to naturalists, until it

dried, it is of the size of a raisin, and is black; whence its name. (Aswed black, or Zengi
negro.)

4. H. Chini, gathered when the nut has acquired some degree of hardness. The dried
fruit is of a green colour, inclining to yellow.

5. H. Asfer, when approaching to maturity. The fruit, when dry, is of a reddish yel-
low; whence the name. (Asfer, yellow.)

6. H. Cubuli, when the fruit is come to full maturity.

(1) Met‘hee.
was discovered by the late Sir William Jones, who, valuable as his time was, considered the subject as not unworthy of his inquiry; and, with his usual accuracy of research, proved, beyond all question, that the spikenard of the ancients is the plant, called, by the Arabians, Sumbul-ul-Hind; and, by the Hindus, Jatamansi. See As. Res. II. 405, and III. 105, 483. It is a species of Valerian, and a native of Napal and Britain. The perennial, hairy portion of the stem, immediately above the root, is the part which, when dried, is so highly esteemed as a perfume; and which is also used in medicine. The Hindu physicians prescribe it, chiefly, in diseases of the bowels; but, as it strongly resembles, in taste, smell and flavour, the officinal valerian, there is reason to expect that it will be found equally efficacious with that root, as an antispasmodic, in epilepsy, hysteria, and other convulsive disorders.

VITEX TRIFOLIA. (W.) Nisinda and Samb’halu,(1) H. Sind’huca and Sind’havora, S.

This elegant shrub is very generally cultivated in Hindustan, as well on account of its beauty, as it’s valuable medicinal qualities. It delights in a watery situation, and is readily propagated by cuttings.*

The leaves of the Nisinda have a better claim to the title of discutient, than any other vegetable remedy with which I am acquainted. Their efficacy in dispelling inflammatory swellings of the joints, from acute rheumatism, and of the testicles, from suppressed gonorrhoea, has often

(1) Sumbhaloo or Sumalo.

* The following curious remark of Acosta, on the facility with which this tree is cultivated, shews the high estimation in which the Nisinda was held in his time: "Adeo frequenter est hujus arboris usus ad medendum in illis regionibus, ut nisi Deus precisos ramos multiplici fature renasci faceret, jam diu fuissent consumptae arbores, aut certe maximi pretii nunc essent." Aromat. Lib. trans. by Clusius, p. 287.
excited my surprize. The success with which the natives employ them, in these complaints, has induced some European practitioners to adopt the practice, and I hope it will come into general use. The mode of employing the leaves is simple. A quantity of them, pulled fresh from the tree, is put into an earthen pot, and heated over the fire, to as great a degree as can be borne without pain. They are then applied to the part affected, in as large a quantity as can be conveniently kept on by a proper bandage, and the application is repeated, three or four times a day, until the tumor is dispelled.

II. MEDICINAL DRUGS.

I. VEGETABLE.

THE following vegetable drugs are imported into Hindustan from the neighbouring countries, none of the plants which yield them being either indigenous, or found in a cultivated state in the Peninsula. The drugs themselves, however, are in common use with the native practitioners, and sold in all the principal bazars.

*Asa foetida.* Hing.\(^1\) H. Hinga, S. 
*Ferula Asa foetida.* 
*Murray, IV. 358.* 
*Woodville, I. 22.*

*Benzoin.* Lubán,\(^2\) H. and Arab. 
*Styrax Benzoin.* 
*Murray, IV. 540 and 659.* 
*Woodville, II. 200.*

*Cajeput Oil.* Cajuputu, Malay. 
*Melaleuca Leucodendron.* 
*Murray, III. 313.* 
*Woodville, IV. 44.*

\(^1\) Heeng. \(^2\) Looban.
CAMPHOR. Caspar, 0. H. Curfura, S.
{Murray, IV. 445.
\textbf{Laurus Camphora.}} {Woodville, IV. 66.}

\textbf{China Root. Chob Chint,} (2) H.
{Murray, I. 490.
\textbf{Smilax China.}} {Woodville, IV. 66.}

This root was formerly held in high estimation, in Europe, as a remedy for the venereal disease; but has long been superseded, by its congener, the \textit{Smilax Sarsaparilla}; yet this last has been, by some authors of great authority, considered as a very inert substance, and scarcely possessing any medicinal virtue whatsoever.* Those who judge more favourably of its efficacy, may, in cases where it cannot be procured, have recourse to the \textit{China root}, as a substitute. Dr. Woodville, after observing that, “like the \textit{Sarsaparilla}, the \textit{China root} contains a considerable share of "bland nutritive matter," adds, “that it appeared to him not less adapted "to the auxiliary purposes of medicine."† If the sanative virtue of these roots depends on this nutritive matter, which is probably the case, the \textit{China root} would seem to claim the preference; as it contains it in a much larger proportion, amounting to upwards of half the weight of the root;‡ but there is much difficulty in appreciating the comparative efficacy of medicines of such moderate activity as the two in question. The \textit{China root} was formerly much used in the hospitals here; and, as far as I could judge from my own experience, its utility, either as an auxiliary to mercury, or for improving the general health, after the use of that remedy, is at least equal to that of the \textit{Sarsaparilla}.

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*(1) \textit{Kaifor}.
(2) \textit{Chob Cheeness}.

MEDICINAL PLANTS AND DRUGS.

CLOVES. Laung, (1) H. Lavanga, S. 
Caryophyllus Aromaticus. 
Murray, III. 333. 
Woodville, II. 366.

COLUMBO-ROOT. Kalumb, Mosambique. 
Radix Colombiae. 
Murray, VI. 153. 
Woodville, IV. 164. 
Asiat. Res. X. 385.

See the interesting account of this valuable root in the 10th volume of 
the As. Res. It is to be hoped, that by Dr. Berry's meritorious exertions, 
we may soon have the plant cultivated in this country.

CUBERS. Cubab Chini, (2) H. 
Murray, V. 37.

GALLS. (Allepo) Maju P'hal, (3) H. Maju P'hal, S. 
Quercus Cerris. Murray, I. 102. 
Quercus Robur. Woodville, II. 346.

GAMBIR. Gambir, H. from the Malay. 
Uncaria Gambeer. Roxb. Pl. Cor. III. 

This substance is used, by the inhabitants of the Malay countries, for 
manducating with the Betel leaf and Areca nut, in the same manner as 
the Catechu is, by the natives of Hindostan. It is prepared from the leaves 
of the shrub above referred to, (which belongs to a genus nearly allied to 
the Nauclea) in two different modes. 1. By boiling the leaves, and inspissating the decoction. 2. By infusing the leaves, in warm water, for 
some hours, when a fecula subsides, which is inspissated by the heat of 
the sun, and formed into small cakes. The Gambir, prepared in this last 
mode, is by far the best. In appearance, and sensible qualities, it resembles the Catechu, as also in its medicinal properties. Its taste is powerfully 
arsipgent, and at first bitter, but afterwards sweetish. Tried by the

(1) Laung. (2) Koo, bab Cheence. (3) Mejoo P'hal.
gelatine test, the Gambir appears to contain more of the Tannin principle, than any other vegetable astringent; and, were it not for its high price, would be a most valuable material for the preparation of leather.

Gamboge. Gahkatu, Cingalese.


Manna Persicum. Fothergill, Phil. Tr. XLIII. 47.

The manna sold in the bazars here, is imported from Bussorah, and is the same with that described by Dr. Fothergill, in the paper to which I have referred. The plant which yields it, is supposed to be the Hedy-sarum Alhagi (L.) It is a very impure kind, and far inferior, in quality, to the Calabrian manna.

Myrrh. Murr and Ból, H. Bóla, S.

Myrrha. Murray, VI. 213

Nutmegs. Jāéphal,(2) H. Jātiphalo, S.

The Mace. Jawatri,(3) H. Jātipatri, S.

Myristica Aromatica. Murray, VI. 135.

Myristica Moschata. Woodville, II. 363.

Rhubarb. Révand Chinif,(4) H.

Murray, IV. 362.

Woodville, I. 127.

Sago. Sabudana, H.


Sago is procured from the trunks of several other palms, beside that mentioned by Murray. An excellent kind is prepared from the tree called, by Rumphius, Gomutus Gomuto, (Amb. I. 57.) and by Dr. Roxburgh, Saguerus Rumphii, (MS.) This tree is also valuable, on account of the black fibres which surround the trunk at the insertion of the leaves;

(1) SheerKhish. (2) Jaéphul. (3) Juwutree. (4) Régund Choenee.
which afford a stronger and more durable cordage for ships, than any other vegetable substance.

**Salep.** *Salib Misre*,(1) H. and Arab.

Orchis *Mascula*: Murray, V. 278.
Woodville, II. 246.

**Scammony.** *Sahmúnya*,(2) H. and Arab.

*Convulvulus Scammonia*: Murray, VI. 746.
Woodville, I. 13.

**Senna Leaves.** *Séná Mocci*,(3) H. Séná, Arab.

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2. **MINERAL.**

A. **Metallic.**

**Lead.** Sisa,(4) H. *Sisaca*, S.

The white oxide, *Safedu*, H.
The red oxide, *Sindur*,(5) H. *Sindura*, S.
The semivitreous oxide, *Murdar Seng*,(6) H. & P.

**Iron.** *Loba*, H. *Loka & Ayas*, S.

The Carbonate, *Kit'h*,(7) H. *Mandura & Sinhana*, S.
The Sulphate, *Casí*,(8) H.

**Copper.** *Tamba*, H. *Tamira*, S.

The Subacetite, *Zangar & Pitral*, H. *Pitalata*, S.
The Sulphate, *Tutiya*,(9) H. *Tutt'ha*, S.

**Tin.** *Ranga*, H. *Ranga & Trapu*, S.

**Antimony.**

The Sulphuret, *Surmeh*,(10) H. *Saúbira*, S.

THE proper grey ore of antimony is imported from *Napal*, but a galena or sulphuret of lead, is frequently sold for it in the bazzars, under the name of *Surmeh*.

**Arsenic.**

The white oxide, *Samul-k'här*,(11) H. *Sanch'ya*, S.

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(1) *Salib Misre*.
(2) *Sooqmooniya*.
(3) *Suna Mukkee*.
(4) *Seesa*.
(5) *Sindoor*.
(6) *Moordar-Shung*.
(7) *Keech*.
(8) *Kusees*.
(9) *Tutiya*.
(10) *Soormu*.
(11) *Sum-oöl-Khar*. 

**Z z**
The yellow Sulphuret, Hartáli. 1) H. Harúlia, S.
The red Sulphuret, Mansil. 2) H. Manah Sila, S.

Quick-silver. Tára, H. Párad, S.
The red Sulphuret, Shengerf. 3) H.
A sub-muriate, Raseapur. 4) H.

Shengerf, or facititious cinnabar, is prepared by the natives in a very simple mode. The quick-silver and sulphur are first triturated together, until a black sulphuret is formed, which is put into a glazed earthen pot, similar to those commonly used for dressing victuals. Over this, another vessel, of the same kind, is placed, inverted, and luted to it with clay. Fire is then applied to the undermost vessel, and continued until the whole of the contents is sublimed. The apparatus is then suffered to cool; when a cake of cinnabar is found adhering to the inner surface of the uppermost pot.

Shengerf is used, internally, by the native practitioners, as an antispasmodic, and for the cure of cutaneous diseases; but it is employed much more efficaciously by them in fumigation, for such cases of the venereal disease as are attended with ulcers in the nose, mouth and throat. The fumigation is conducted in the usual mode; by making the patient, with a blanket thrown over him, inhale the fumes of the Shengerf thrown on red hot iron. In this mode, the cure is performed very rapidly, but it frequently causes a violent and dangerous ptalism; nor is the patient always secured by it against a relapse of the disease.

Rascapur is another mercurial preparation, in great estimation, and much used by both the Hindu and Mohammedan practitioners. There are various modes of preparing it, but none of them essentially different

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1) Hurtle. 2) Mansil. 3) Shungurf. 4) Ruskupoor.
from the others. In all of them quick-silver and Muriate of Soda are employed in equal parts, with the addition of either Sulphate of Alumine or Sulphate of copper. By the kindness of Dr. Hunter I have now lying before me three different processes for making Raspapur; one taken from a Persian, and the two others from Sanscrit pharmacopœias. The first, which is the simplest and least uncertain of the three, is literally as follows:

"Take Quick-silver, Armenian Bole, Allum ("some prefer blue vitriol, but allum is better") Rock Salt, of each nine parts. Rub the whole in a mortar with water, and let them harden. Then put the mass into a glazed earthen vessel; and place inverted, above it, another similar vessel, plastered with ashes, and the milk of Datura. Lute them together with Philosopher's clay, and keep them three days and three nights in a fire made with cow dung. Then let the vessels cool, and take out what adheres to the bottom and sides of the upper vessel. This is the Raspapur."

The Quick-silver, in this preparation, is combined with a less proportion of the muriatic acid, than in corrosive sublimate, but with a much greater proportion of it than in calomel. It is used, by the native practitioners, for all the purposes for which the two preparations, just mentioned, are employed by the European. It requires, however, to be prescribed with great caution; as it is not only one of the most powerful mercurials that can be ventured on for internal use, but uncertain in its strength, on account of the different processes by which it is made. European practitioners need never, I think, have recourse to it; as Quick-silver may always be procured from the bazars, with which, safer, and equally efficacious, remedies may be prepared.
NITRATE OF POTASH. Shora, H. Yawac Shora, H.
SULPHURIC ACID. Gundac-ca Air, (1) H.
SULPHATE OF SODA. Chhara Nun, (2) H.
SULPHATE OF ALUMINE. Phitkari, (3) H. Sp'hatica, S.
IMPURE CARBONATE OF SODA. Sejji mitti, (3) H. Sorjica, S.
MURIATE OF AMMONIA. Nosadar, (4) H.
MURIATE OF SODA. Nemec, (5) H.
MURIATE OF SODA, fused with the fruit of Phyllanthus Emblica.

The following process for making this salt, was communicated, by a
native druggist, to Mr. Turnbull, at Mirzapore, and actually performed
in his presence. Mr. Colebrooke informs me that it nearly corresponds
with the process which he found described in a Persian treatise on medi-
cines. "Fifty-six pounds of Sammur salt (a fossile muriate of Soda) are
mixed with twenty ounces of dried Aonlas, (Embic Myrobalans.) One
fourth of these materials is put into a round earthen pot, with a narrow
mouth, which is put on a fire-place made of clay. The fire-place has a
hole at the bottom, for introducing the fire-wood. After the fire has
been lighted about an hour, and the materials in the pot appear to be
melted, the rest of the materials is added by degrees. The whole is then
exposed to a strong red heat, for about six hours. The fire is then al-
lowed to die away, and the pot to cool; which, upon being broken, is
found to contain about forty-eight pounds of Cala Nemec, or Bit-laban."

The Bit-laban, or Bit-noben, as it is sometimes called, is a medicine in
great estimation, with both the Hindu and Mohammedan physicians; but
particularly with the former. It is very generally used as a tonic in dyspepsia and gout, as a deobstruent in obstructions of the spleen and mesenteric glands, diseases to which children, in Hindostan, are peculiarly liable; and as a stimulant in chronic rheumatism and palsy. It is also one of the many remedies employed as a vermifuge. For a further account of this salt, see “A Dissertation on the Bit-Noben, by John Henderson, of the Bengal Medical Establishment. 8vo. Lond. 1803.”

Mr. Henderson having carried some of the Bit-noben to England, it was analysed by Mr. Accum, and the result was as follows:

Four hundred and eighty grains of the salt yielded

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<tr>
<td>Black oxide of Iron</td>
<td>6 Grains</td>
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<td>Sulphur</td>
<td>14</td>
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<td>Muriate of Lime</td>
<td>12</td>
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<td>Muriate of Soda</td>
<td>444</td>
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<td>Loss</td>
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<td>480</td>
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Nicholson’s Journal for August, 1803.

From this analysis we may conclude, that the virtues of Bit-laban, beyond what may be fairly ascribed to the Muriate of Soda, depend on the proportion of iron contained in it. This metal appears to have been obtained, during the process, from the Myrobalans.

IMPURE BOEATE OF SODA. Sohaga, H. Tancána, S.

C. Inflammable.

SULPHUR. Gandhac, H. Gandhaca, S.

(1) Gand-huk.
PETROLEUM. Mittel tel, H. Neft, Arab.

This mineral oil is imported from the Burma country. See an account of the Petroleum wells near Rainagong, by Captain Cox, in the 6th Vol. of the As. Res.

The oil is met with, in the bazar, of very different degrees of purity; sometimes perfectly limpid and thin; at other times of a dark brown colour, and of the consistence of syrup. The first sort only should be used in medicine. It has a strong, penetrating, not disagreeable smell, and a pungent, acrid taste. It is very generally employed by the native practitioners, externally, as a stimulant in paralytic complaints, and in chronic rheumatism. In this last disease I can, from my own experience, recommend it as an efficacious remedy; having found much greater benefit from it, than from the more costly Cajeput oil, which I had previously used.

AMBER. Cahruba, H. and P.

3. ANIMAL.

MUSK. Meshk, H. and P.

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(1) Mittel tel.

* A concrete, resinous substance, is imported from Bussora, which passes, at the Calcutta Custom-house, and is also sold in the bazar, under the name of Cahruba or Amber; but which I found, on examination, to be real Copal, the resin so much used, in England, as a varnish. This substance is used for the same purpose by the Coach-makers in Calcutta. It resembles so perfectly the finest amber, in colour and texture, that the jewellers make necklaces of it, which pass for those of genuine Amber, and from which it is extremely difficult to distinguish them. The Copal is, I believe, the produce of the Vateria Indica, a tree which grows on the Malabar Coast. I was favoured by Dr. Roxburgh with a specimen of the resin of that tree; and found it, both in appearance and chemical qualities, to coincide entirely with genuine Copal.

(2) Kuhrooba.

(3) Meshk.
Considerable quantities of this substance are sometimes brought to Calcutta, by the Commanders of trading vessels; who find it floating on the Indian Ocean, or adhering to rocks, chiefly among the Moluccas and other islands to the eastward. It is esteemed, by the natives, as the most agreeable of all perfumes, more especially by the Mahummedans. Their physicians consider it also as an Aphrodisiac, a class of medicines of great importance in their pharmacopoeias, but which probably contains not a single article that has any claim to that title.

Honey. Medhū (H. Shehed, P. Medhū, S.)

Wax. Moh, H. and P. Medhūch-hishta, S.

Lac. Lāc'ḥ and Lāh, H. Lacsha, S.

 Hirudo Medicinalis. (L.) Jonce (H. Jelauc, H. Jelauca, S.)

Leeches are found, in stagnant ponds and ditches, in every part of Hindustan. In a country in which general bleeding is so much seldom required or admissible than in cold climates, and where consequently the practitioner must more frequently have recourse to topical bleeding, it is fortunate that this animal, so convenient for the latter purpose, can at all times be procured.

Melœe Cicorei. (L.) Telini (H.)

A very full and accurate description of this species of Melœe, has been given, in the 6th Vol. of the Asiatick Researches, by Colonel Hardwicke, to whom we are indebted for this valuable acquisition to our Materia Medica. The insect abounds in every part of Bengal, Bahar and Oude. In the rainy season, during which it is in its most perfect state, it is found feeding on the flowers of the various species of Hibiscus and Sida, and is

(1) Umbur. (2) Mud or Mudhoo. (3) Shuhud. (4) Jonk. (5) Telinc.
readily distinguished, by the three transverse, undulated black bands, on its yellow Elytra, which constitute its specific character.

The Meloe Cichorei, when applied to the skin, produces effects precisely similar to those caused by the Spanish blistering fly, for which this insect will be found a perfectly adequate substitute, either as an external stimulant, a rubefacient, or for raising a complete blister, according to the mode in which it is applied.

The flies should be gathered in the morning or evening, and immediately killed by exposing them to the steam of boiling vinegar. They should then be thoroughly dried by the heat of the sun, and afterwards put into bottles to preserve them from humidity.
IV.

Sketch of the Sikhs.

By Brigadier General Malcolm.

Introduction.

When with the British army in the Pénjáb in 1803, I endeavoured to collect materials that would throw light upon the history, manners, and religion of the Sikhs. Though this subject had been treated by several English writers, none of them had possessed opportunities of obtaining more than very general information regarding this extraordinary race; and their narratives therefore, though meriting regard, have served more to excite than to gratify curiosity.

In addition to the information I collected while the army continued within the territories of the Sikhs, and the personal observations I was able to make, during that period, upon the customs and manners of that nation, I succeeded with difficulty in obtaining a copy of the Adi-Granth.*

* The chief, who gave me this copy, sent it at night, and with either a real or affected reluctance, after having obtained a promise that I would treat the sacred volume with great respect. I understand, however, that the indefatigable research of Mr. Colebrooke has
and of some historical tracts, the most essential parts of which, when I returned to Calcutta, were explained to me by a Sikh priest of the Nirmala order, whom I found equally intelligent and communicative, and who spoke of the religion and ceremonies of his sect with less restraint than any of his brethren, whom I had met with in the Penjáb. This slender stock of materials was subsequently much enriched by my friend Dr. Leyden, who has favoured me with a translation of several tracts written by Sikh authors in the Penjábí and Duggar dialects, treating of their history and religion, which, though full of that warm imagery which marks all oriental works, and particularly those whose authors enter on the boundless field of Hindu mythology, contain the most valuable verifications of the different religious institutions of the Sikh nation.

It was my first intention to have endeavoured to add to these materials, and have written, when I had leisure, a history of the Sikhs; but the active nature of my public duties has made it impossible to carry this plan into early execution, and I have had the choice of deferring it to a distant and uncertain period; or of giving, from what I actually possessed, a short and hasty sketch of their history, customs and religion. The latter alternative I have adopted: for although the information I may convey in such a sketch, may be very defective; it will be useful, at a moment when every information, regarding the Sikhs, is of importance; and it may perhaps stimulate and aid some person who has more leisure, and better opportunities, to accomplish that task which I once contemplated.

In composing this rapid sketch of the Sikhs, I have still had to encounter various difficulties. There is no part of oriental biography in which...
it is more difficult to separate truth from falsehood, than that which relates to the history of religious impostors. The account of their lives is generally recorded, either by devoted disciples and warm adherents, or by violent enemies and bigotted persecutors. The former, from enthusiastic admiration, decorate them with every quality and accomplishment that can adorn men; the latter, with equal enthusiasm and aversion, misrepresent their characters, and detract from all their merits and pretensions. This general remark I have found to apply with peculiar force to the varying accounts given by Sikh and Muhammedan authors, of Nanak and his successors. As it would have been an endless and unprofitable task, to have entered into a disquisition concerning all the points in which these authors differ; many considerations have induced me to give a preference, on almost all occasions, to the original Sikh writers. In every research into the general history of mankind, it is of the most essential importance to hear what a nation has to say of itself; and the knowledge obtained from such sources has a value, independent of its historical utility. It aids the promotion of social intercourse, and leads to the establishment of friendship between nations. The most savage states are those who have most prejudices, and who are consequently most easily conciliated or offended: they are always pleased and flattered, when they find, that those whom they cannot but admit to possess superior intelligence, are acquainted with their history, and respect their belief and usages; and, on the contrary, they hardly ever pardon an outrage against their religion or customs, though committed by men who have every right to plead the most profound ignorance, as an excuse for the words or actions that have provoked resentment.
SECTION I.

Sketch of the History and present State of the Sikhs; with Observations on their religious Institutions, Usages, Manners and Character.

NÁNAC SHAH, the founder of the sect, since distinguished by the name of Sikhs,* was born in the year of Christ 1469, at a small village called Talwandi,† in the district of Bhatti, in the province of Lahore. His father, whose name was Ca'lu,'‡ was of the Cshatriya cast, and Védi tribe of Hindús, and had no family except Nañac, and his sister Nañaci, who married a Hindú of the name of Jayarám, who was employed as a grain-factor by Daulet Khan Lódí, a relation of the reigning emperor of Delhi. Nañac was, agreeably to the usage of the tribe in which he was born, married to a woman of respectable family, at an early age,.§ by whom he had two sons, named Sríchand and Lacshmi Da's. The former, who abandoned the vanities of the world, had a son called Dherm

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* Sikh or Sischa, is a Sanscrit word, which means a disciple, or devoted follower. In the Penjabi it is corrupted into Sikh: it is a general term, and applicable to any person that follows a particular teacher.

† This village, or rather town, for such it has become, is now called Rájapur. It is situated on the banks of the Beyah, or Hypasis.

‡ He is called by some authors, Kálu Védi; but Védi is a name derived from his tribe or family.

§ Several Sikh authors have been very precise in establishing the date of the consummation of this marriage, which they fix in the month of Asárh, of the Hindú era of Vicramaditya, 1545.
SKETCH OF THE SIKHS.

CHAND, who founded the sect of Udāsi; and his descendants are yet known by the name of Nanac Putrāh, or the children of Nanac. Lacshmi Dās addicted himself to the pleasures of this world, and left neither heirs nor reputation.

Nanac is stated, by all Sikh writers, to have been, from his childhood, inclined to devotion; and the indifference, which this feeling created towards all worldly concerns, appears to have been a source of continual uneasiness to his father; who endeavoured, by every effort, to divert his mind from the religious turn which it had taken. With a view to effect this object, he one day gave Nanac a sum of money, to purchase salt at one village, in order to sell it at another; in the hope of enticing him to business, by allowing him to taste the sweets of commercial profit. Nanac was pleased with the scheme, took the money, and proceeded, accompanied by a servant of the name of Bala, of the tribe of Sandhu, towards the village where he was to make his purchase. He happened, however, on the road, to fall in with some Fakirs, (holy mendicants,) with whom he wished to commence a conversation; but they were so weak, from want of victuals, which they had not tasted for three days, that they could only reply to the observations of Nanac by bending their heads, and other civil signs of acquiescence. Nanac, affected by their situation, said to his companion, with emotion, "My father has sent me to deal in salt, with a view to profit; but the gain of this world is unstable, and profane; my wish is to relieve these poor men, and to obtain that gain which is permanent and eternal." His companion replied, "thy resolution is good; do not delay its execution." Nanac immediately

* Bala Sandhu, who gave this advice, continued, through Nanac's life, to be his favourite attendant and disciple.

Ccc
distributed his money among the hungry Fakirs; who, after they had gained strength from the refreshment which it obtained them, entered into a long discourse with him on the unity of God, with which he was much delighted: he returned next day to his father, who demanded what profit he had made? "I have fed the poor," said Na\'nac, "and have obtained that gain for you which will endure for ever." As the father happened to have little value for the species of wealth which the son had acquired, he was enraged at having his money so fruitlessly wasted, abused poor Na\'nac, and even struck him; nor could the mild representations of Na\'naci save her brother from the violence of parental resentment. Fortune, however, according to the Sikh narrators of this anecdote of their teacher's early life, had raised him a powerful protector, who not only rescued him from punishment, but established his fame and respectability, upon grounds that at once put him above all fear of future bad usage from his low-minded and sordid father. When Na\'nac was quite a youth, and employed to tend cattle in the fields, he happened to repose himself one day under the shade of a tree; and, as the sun declined towards the west, its rays fell on his face, when a large black snake,* advancing to the spot where he lay, raised itself from the ground, and interposed its spread hood between Na\'nac and the sun's rays. Ra\'y Bolar,† the ruler of the district, was passing the road, near the place where Na\'nac slept, and marked, in silence, though not without reflection, this unequivocal sign of his future greatness. This chief over-

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* The veneration, which the Hind\'us have for the snake, is well known; and this tradition, like many others, proves the attachment of the Sikh writers to that mythology, the errors of which they pretend to have wholly abandoned.

† Ra\'y, a title inferior to that of a R\'ajah, generally applied to the Hind\'u chief of a village, or small district.
heard Calu' punishing his son for his kindness to the Fakirs. He immediately entered, and demanded the cause of the uproar; and, when informed of the circumstances, he severely chid Calu' for his conduct, and interdicted him from ever again lifting his hand to Na'Nac, before whom, to the astonishment of all present, he humbled himself with every mark of the most profound veneration. Though Calu', from this event, was obliged to treat his son with more respect than formerly, he remained as solicitous as ever to detach him from his religious habits, and to fix him in some worldly occupation; and he prevailed upon Jayram, his son-in-law, to admit him into partnership in his business. Na'Nac, obliged to acquiesce in these schemes, attended at the granary of Daulet Kha'n Lo'di, which was in charge of Jayram; but though his hands were employed in this work, and his kindness of manner made all the inhabitants of Sultán-púr, where the granary was established, his friends, yet his heart never strayed for one moment from its object. It was incessantly fixed on the divinity; and one morning, as he sat in a contemplative posture, a holy Mohammedan Fakir approached, and exclaimed, "Oh Na'Nac! upon what are thy thoughts now employed? Quit such occupations, that thou mayest obtain the inheritance of eternal wealth." Na'Nac is said to have started up at this exclamation, and after looking for a moment in the face of the Fakir, he fell into a trance; from which he had no sooner recovered, than he immediately distributed every thing in the granary among the poor;* and, after this act, proceeded with loud shouts out of the gates of the city, and running into a pool of water, remained there three days, during which some writers assert he had an interview with

* This remarkable anecdote in Na'Nac's life, is told very differently by different Sikh authors. I have followed the narrative of Bhacta Malli. They all agree in Na'Nac's having, at this period, quitted the occupations of the world, and become Fakir.
the Prophet Elias, termed by the Muhammedans, Khizzer, from whom he learnt all earthly sciences.

While Na'Nac remained in the pool, abstracted from all worldly considerations, holding converse with a Prophet, poor Jayram was put in prison by Daulet Khan Lodi, on the charge of having dissipated his property. Na'Nac, however, returned, and told Daulet Khan that Jayram was faultless; that he was the object of punishment; and that, as such, he held himself ready to render the strictest account of all he had lost. The Khan accepted his proposal: Jayram's accounts were settled; and, to the surprise of all, a balance was found in his favor; on which he was not only released, but reinstated in the employment and favor of his master. We are told, by the Sikh authors, that these wonderful actions increased the fame of Na'Nac in a very great degree; and that he began, from this period, to practise all the austerities of a holy man; and, by his frequent abstraction in the contemplation of the divine being, and his abstinence and virtue, he soon acquired great celebrity, through all the countries into which he travelled.

There are many extravagant accounts, regarding the travels of Na'Nac. One author, * who treats of the great reform which he made in the worship of the true God, which he found degraded by the idolatry of the Hindus, and the ignorance of the Muhammedans, relates his journey to all the different Hindu places of pilgrimage, and to Mecca, the holy temple of the Muhammedans.

It would be tedious, and foreign to the purpose of this sketch, to ac-

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* Bhag. Guru Vali, author of the Gnyana Ratnawali, a work written in the Sikh dialect of the Punjabi.
company Nānāc in his travels, of which the above mentioned author, as well as others, has given the most circumstantial accounts. He was accompanied (agreeable to them) by a celebrated musician, of the name of Merdana, and a person named Bála Sand’hu; and it is on the tradition of the latter of these disciples, that most of the miracles and wonders of his journeys are related. In Bengal, the travellers had to encounter all kinds of sorcerers and magicians. Poor Merdana, who had some of the propensities of Sancho, and preferred warm houses and good meals to deserts and starvation, was constantly in trouble, and more than once had his form changed into that of a sheep, and of several other animals. Nānāc however, always restored his humble friend to the human shape, and as constantly read him lectures on his imprudence. It is stated, in one of those accounts, that a Rájá of Sivanáb’hu endeavoured to tempt Nānāc, by offering him all the luxuries of the world, to depart from his austere habits, but in vain. His presents of rich meats, splendid cloaths and fair ladies, only afforded the Sikh teacher so many opportunities of decrying the vanities of this world, and preaching to the Rájá the blessings of eternal life; and he at last succeeded in making him a convert, and resided at Sivanáb’hu two years and five months; during which period he composed the Prán Sancali,* for the instruction of his followers. After Nānāc had visited all the cities of India, and explained to all ranks, the great doctrines of the unity and omnipresence of God, he went to Mecca and Medina, where his actions, his miracles, and his long disputations with the most celebrated Muhammadan saints and doctors, are most circumstantially recorded by his biographers. He is stated, on this occasion, to have defended his own principles, without offending those

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* It is believed, that this work of Nānāc has been incorporated in the first part of the 'Adī-Grant’h.
of others; always professing himself the enemy of discord, and as having no object but to reconcile the two faiths of the *Muslims* and *Hindus*, in one religion; which he endeavoured to do by recalling them to that great and original tenet, in which they both believed, the unity of *God*, and by reclaiming them from the numerous errors into which they had fallen. During his travels, *Na'nak* was introduced to the emperor *Bāber* before whom he is said to have maintained his doctrine with great firmness and eloquence. *Bāber* was pleased with him, and ordered an ample maintenance to be bestowed upon him; which the *Sikh* priest refused; observing, that he trusted in him who provided for all men, and from whom alone, a man of virtue and religion, would consent to receive favor or reward. When *Na'nak* returned from his travels, he cast off the garments of a *Fakir*, and wore plain clothes, but continued to give instructions to his numerous disciples; and he appears, at this period, to have experienced the most violent opposition from the *Hindu* zealots, who reproached him with having laid aside the habits of a *Fakir*, and with the impiety of the doctrines which he taught. These accusations he treated with great contempt, and an author, before cited, *Bhai Gūrī' Das Vāli*, states, that when he visited Vatāla, he enraged the *Yogīswaras*† so much, that they tried all their powers of enchantment to terrify him. Some (says this writer) assumed the shape of lions and tygers, others hissed like snakes, one fell in a shower of fire, and another tore the stars from the firmament; but *Na'nak* remained tranquil; and, when

*This interview must have taken place in 1526 or 1527; as it is stated to have been immediately after *Daud Khān Lodī* had visited *Panipat*, in 1526; where that prince had fought, and subdued *Ibrahim*, emperor of *Hindustan*.

† Recluse penitents, who, by means of mental and corporeal mortifications, have acquired a command over the powers of nature.*
required to exhibit some proof of his powers, that would astonish them, he replied, "I have nothing to exhibit worthy of you to behold. A holy teacher has no defence but the purity of his doctrine: the world may change, but the creator is unchangeable." These words, adds the author, caused the miracles and enchantments of the Yógás waras to cease, and they all fell at the feet of the humble Na'ñac, who was protected by the all perfect God.

Na'ñac, according to the same authority, went from Vatāla to Multán, where he communed with the Pírs, or holy fathers of the Muhammadan religion of that country. "I am come," said he, when he entered that province, "into a country full of Pírs, like the sacred Gangá, visiting the ocean." From Multán he went to Kértipúr,* where, after performing numerous miracles, he threw off his earthly shape, and was buried near the bank of the river Rávi, which has since overflowed his tomb. Kértipúr continues a place of religious resort and worship; and a small piece of Na'ñac's garment is exhibited to pilgrims, as a sacred relic, at his Dharmasálá, or temple.

It would be difficult to give the character of Na'ñac† on the authority of any account we yet possess. His writings, especially the first chapters of the Adi-Gánñth, will, if ever translated, be perhaps a criterion, by which he may be fairly judged; but the great eminence which he obtained, and the success, with which he combated the opposition which he

* Kértipúr Dehá, on the banks of the Rávi, or Hydraotes.

† He is, throughout this sketch, called Na'ñac. Muhammadan historians generally term him Na'ñac Sháh, to denote his being a Fákir, the name of Sháh being frequently given to men of celebrity, in that sect. The Sikhs, in speaking of him, call him Baba Na'ñac or Gírí Na'ñac, father Na'ñac, or Na'ñac the teacher; and their writers term him Na'ñac Nirítakár, which means Na'ñac the omnipresent.
met, afford ample reason to conclude that he was a man of more than common genius; and this favorable impression of his character will be confirmed by a consideration of the object of his life, and the means he took to accomplish it. Born in a province on the extreme verge of India, at the very point where the religion of Muhammad and the idolatrous worship of the Hindūs appeared to touch, and at a moment when both these tribes cherished the most violent rancour and animosity towards each other, his great aim was to blend those jarring elements in peaceful union, and he only endeavoured to effect this purpose, through the means of mild persuasion. His wish was to recall both Muhammadans and Hindūs to an exclusive attention, to that sublimest of all principles, which inculcates devotion to God, and peace towards man. He had to combat the furious bigotry of the one, and the deep-rooted superstition of the other; but he attempted to overcome all obstacles by the force of reason, and humanity: and we cannot have a more convincing proof of the general character of that doctrine which he taught, and the inoffensive light in which it was viewed, than the knowledge that its success did not rouse the bigotry of the intolerant and tyrannical Muhammadan government under which he lived.

NaṈac did not deem either of his sons, before mentioned, worthy of the succession to his spiritual functions, which he bequeathed to a Chshatriya of the Trehūn tribe, called Lehana, who had long been attached to him, and whom he had initiated in the sacred mysteries of his sect, clothed in the holy mantle of a Fakīr, and honored with the name of Angad,* which, according to some commentators, means own body.

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* This fanciful etymology represents the word Angad as a compound of the Sanscrit Ang, which signifies body, and the Persian, Khūd, which signifies own. This mixture of language is quite common in the jargon of the Punjab.
Guru Angad, for that is the name by which he is known by all Sikhs, was born at the village of Khandür, on the bank of the Beyah, or Hyphasis, in the province of Lahore. His life does not appear to have been distinguished by any remarkable actions. He taught the same doctrine as Nanac, and wrote some chapters that now form part of the Granth. He left two sons, Vasu and Dayu, but neither of them was initiated; and he was succeeded, at his death, which happened in the year A.D. 1552, and of the Samvat 1609, by Amera Da’s, a Cshatriya of the tribe of B’halé who performed the duties of a menial towards him for upwards of twelve years. It is stated, that the daily occupation of Amera Da’s was to bring water from the Beyah river, a distance of six miles, to wash the feet of his master; and that one night, during a severe storm, as he was returning from his journey, his foot slipped, and he fell and broke the vessel that contained the river water, opposite the door of a weaver, who lived next house to Angad. The weaver, startled at the noise, demanded, in a loud voice, of his wife, from whence it proceeded. The woman, who was well acquainted with the daily toils, and the devotion of Angad’s servant, replied, it was poor Amera Da’s, who knows neither the sweets of sleep by night, nor of rest by day. This conversation was overheard by Angad; and when Amera Da’s came, next morning, to perform his usual duties, he treated him with extraordinary kindness, and said, “you have endured great labor; but, henceforward, enjoy rest.” Amera Da’s was distinguished for his activity in preaching the tenets of Nanac, and was very successful in obtaining converts and followers, by the aid of whom he established some temporal power, built Kujaratwal, and separated from the regular Sikhs.

* Angad died at Khandür, a village about forty miles east of Lahore.
the Udási sect, which was founded by Dherm-Chand, the son of Na'Nag; and was probably considered, at that period, as heretical.

Amera Da's had two children, a son named Mohan, and a daughter named Mohani, known by the name of B'ha'ini, regarding whose marriage he is stated to have been very anxious; and as this event gave rise to a dynasty of leaders, who are almost adored among the Sikhs, it is recorded with much minuteness by the writers of that nation.

Amera Da's had communicated his wishes, regarding the marriage of B'ha'ini, to a Brahmen, who was his head servant, and directed him to make some enquiries. The Brahmen did so, and reported to his master that he had been successful, and had found a youth every way suited to be the husband of his daughter. As they were speaking upon this subject in the street, Amera Da's asked what was the boy's stature? "About the same height as that lad," said the Brahmen, pointing to a youth standing near them. The attention of Amera Da's was instantly withdrawn from the Brahmen, and intently fixed upon the youth to whom he had pointed. He asked him regarding his tribe, his name, and his family. The lad said his name was Ram Da's, and that he was a Cshatriya, of a respectable family, of the Sondi tribe, and an inhabitant of the village of Gondawal. Amera Da's, pleased with the information he had received, took no more notice of the Brahmen and his choice of a son-in-law, but gave his daughter to the youth whom fortune had so casually introduced to his acquaintance.* Amera Da's died in the year A.D. 1574, and of the

* Though a contrary belief is inculcated by Na'Nag, the Sikhs, like the Hindús, are inclined to be predestinarians, and this gives their minds a great tendency to view accidents, as decrees of Providence; and it is probable that this instance of early good fortune in Ram Da's, by impressing his countrymen with an idea of his being particularly favored of heaven, gave rise to an impression that promoted, in no slight degree, that success which it anticipated.
Samvat 1631, at the village of Gondawal, in the province of Lahore, and was succeeded by his son-in-law, Ram Da's, whom he had initiated in the sacred mysteries of his holy profession, and who became famous for his piety, and still more from the improvements he made at Amritsar, which was for some time called Rampur, or Ramdaspur, after him. Some Sikh authorities ascribe the foundation of this city to him; which is not correct, as it was a very antient town, known formerly under the name of Chak. He, however, added much to its population, and built a famous tank, or reservoir of water, which he called Amritsar, a name signifying the water of immortality, and which has become so sacred, that it has given its name, and imparted its sanctity, to the town of Ramdaspur, which has become the sacred city of the Sikh nation, and is now only known by the name of Amritsar.

After a life passed in the undisturbed propagation of his tenets, in explanation of which he wrote several works, he died, in the year A.D. 1581, and of the Samvat 1638, at Amritsar, leaving two sons, Arjunmal and Bharatmal. He was succeeded by the former, who has rendered himself famous by compiling the Adi-Grant'h. The Adi-Grant'h, or first sacred vo-

* No dates of the events which occurred during the rule of Ram Da's, are given in any of the authorities from which this sketch is drawn. One author, however, states, that he lived in the time of Akbar, and was honored with the favor of that truly tolerant and great emperor.

† Arjunmal, or Arjun, as he is more commonly called, according to Bhai Guru Da's Bhal'e, the author of the Gurb'in Ramavali, was not initiated in the sacred mysteries of his father. This author says, that Arjun, though a secular man, did not suffer the office of Guri, or priest, to leave the Sondi tribe. "Like a substance," he adds, "which none else could digest, the property of the family remained in the family."

‡ Grant'h means, book; but, as a mark of its superiority to all others, is given to this work, as "The Book." Adi-Grant'h means, the first Grant'h, or book, and is generally given to this work to distinguish it from the Dasama Padshah ku Grant'h, or the book of the tenth king, composed by Guru Goveind.
Sikhism contains ninety-two sections; it was partly composed by Nanak and his immediate successors, but received its present form and arrangement from Arjunmal, who has blended his own additions with what he deemed most valuable in the compositions of his predecessors. It is Arjun, then, who ought, from this act, to be deemed the first who gave consistent form and order to the religion of the Sikhs; an act which, though it has produced the effect he wished, of uniting that nation more closely, and of increasing their numbers, proved fatal to himself. The jealousy of the Muhammadan government was excited, and he was made its sacrifice. The mode of his death, which happened in the year of Christ 1606, and of the Samvat 1663, is related very differently by different authorities: but several of the most respectable agree in stating, that his martyrdom, for such they term it, was caused by the active hatred of a rival Hindu zealot, Danichand Cshatriya, whose writings he refused to admit into the Adi-Grant'h, on the ground that the tenets inculcated in them, were irreconcilable to the pure doctrine of the unity and omnipotence of God, taught in that sacred volume. This rival had sufficient influence with the Muhammadan governor of the province, to procure the imprisonment of Arjun; who is affirmed by some writers, to have died from the severity of his confinement; and, by others, to have been put to death in the most cruel manner. In whatever way his life was terminated, there can be no doubt, from its consequences, that it was considered, by his followers, as an atrocious murder, committed by the Muhammadan government; and the

* Though the original Adi-Grant'h was compiled by Arjunmal, from the writings of Nanak, Angad, Amra Da's and Ram Da's, and enlarged and improved by his own additions and commentaries; some small portions have been subsequently added by thirteen different persons, whose numbers, however, are reduced, by the Sikh authors, to twelve and a half; the last contributor to this sacred volume being a woman, is only admitted to rank in the list as a fraction, by these ungentle writers.
SKETCH OF THE SIKHS.

Sikhs, who had been, till then, an inoffensive, peaceable sect, took arms under Har Go'vind, the son of Arjunmal, and wreaked their vengeance upon all whom they thought concerned in the death of their revered priest.

The contest carried on by Har Go'vind against the Muhammedan chiefs in the Penjáb, though no doubt marked by that animosity which springs from a deep and implacable sense of injury on one part, and the insolence and violence of insulted power on the other, could not have been of great magnitude or importance, else it would have been more noticed by contemporary Muhammedan writers, but it was the first fruits of that desperate spirit of hostility which was soon after to distinguish the wars, between the followers of Nānac, and those of Muhammed; and from every account of Har Go'vind's life, it appears to have been his anxious wish to inspire his followers with the most irreconcileable hatred of their oppressors.

It is stated that this warlike* Gūrū, or priest militant, wore two swords in his girdle. Being asked why he did so; "the one," said he,

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* Several historical accounts of the Sikhs, particularly that published by Major Browne, which is, in general, drawn from authentic sources, appear to be in error with regard to the period at which this race first took arms, which the last author states to have occurred under Gū'rū' Go'vind; but several Sikh authors, of great respectability and information, agree in ascribing to the efforts of Har Go'vind, the son of Arjun, this great change in the Sikh commonwealth; and their correctness, in this point, appears to be placed beyond all question, by a passage in the Ratnāvalī of B'hāi Gū'rū Da's B'hāle'. "Five phials (of divine grace) were distributed to five Pirs, (holy men) but the sixth Pir was a mighty Gūrū (priest). Arjun threw off his earthly frame, and the form of Har Go'vind mounted the seat of authority. The Sōndi race continued exhibiting their different forms in their turns. Har Go'vind was the destroyer of armies, a martial Gūrū (priest), a great warrior, and performed great actions." The mistake of some European writers on this subject, probably originated in a confusion of verbal accounts; and the similarity of the name of Har Go'vind,
is to revenge the death of my father; the other to destroy the miracles of Muhammed."

Har Govind is reputed, by some authors, to have been the first who allowed his followers to eat* the flesh of animals, with the exception of the cow; and it appears not improbable, that he made this great change in their diet, at the time when he effected a still more remarkable revolution in their habits, by converting a race of peaceable enthusiasts into an intrepid band of soldiers.† He had five sons, Babu Gu'ru'daitya, Saurat Singh, Te'gh Baha'dur, Anna Ray and Atal Ray. The two last died without descendants. Saurat Singh and Te'gh Singh or Te'gh Baha'dur, were, by the cruel persecution of the Muhammedans, forced to fly into the mountains to the northward of the Penjáb. His eldest son, Gurudaitya, died early, but left two sons, Da'harmal and Har Rā'y, the latter of whom succeeded his grand-father, who died in the year A. D. 1644, and of the Samvat 1701. It does not appear that Har Rā'y enjoyed much temporal power, or that he entered into any hostilities with the Muhammedans: his rule was tranquil, and passed without any remarkable event; owing, probably, to the vigor which the Muhammedan power had attained, in the early part of the reign of Aurungzeb. At his death, which

the son of Arjunmal, and Go'vind, the last and greatest of the Sikh Gürus, the son of Te'gh Baha'dur. In the Persian sketch which Major Browne translates, the name of Har Go'vind is not mentioned. The son of Arjunmal is called Gu'ru' Ra'm Rā'y, which is obviously a mistake of the author of that manuscript.

* Na'nac had forbidden hog's flesh, though a common species of food among the lower tribe of Hindús, in compliance with the prejudices of the Muhammedans, whom it was his great wish to reconcile to his faith, by every concession and persuasion.

† It is stated, by a Sikh author named Nand, that Har Go'vind, during his ministry, established the practice of invoking 'the three great Hindú deities, Brahma, Vishnu and Siva; but this is not confirmed by any other authority which I have seen.
happened in the year A. D. 1661, and of the Samvat 1718, a violent contest arose among the Sikhs, regarding the succession to the office of spiritual leader; for the temporal power of their ruler was, at this period, little more than nominal. The dispute between his sons, or, as some Sikh authors state, his son and grand-son, Har Crīshn and Ra'm Ra'y, was referred to Dehli, whither both parties went, and by an imperial decree of Aurungzeb, the Sikhs were allowed to elect their own priest. They chose Har Crīshn, who died at Dehli in the year A. D. 1664, and of the Samvat 1721; and was succeeded by his uncle, Te'gh Behādur. He, however, had to encounter the most violent opposition, from his nephew, Ra'm Ra'y, who remained at Dehli, and endeavoured, by every art and intrigue, to effect his ruin: he was seized, and brought to Dehli, in consequence of his nephew's misrepresentations; and, after being in prison for two years, was released at the intercession of Jayasinh, Rājā of Jayapūr, whom he accompanied to Bengal. Te'gh Behādur afterwards took up his abode at the city of Patna, but was pursued, agreeable to Sikh authors, to his retreat, with implacable rancour, by the jealousy and ambition of Ra'm Ra'y; who at last accomplished the destruction of his rival: he was brought from Patna, and, by the accounts of the

* The violent contests of the Sikhs are mentioned by most of their writers; and, though they disagree in their accounts, they all represent Te'gh Behādur as falling the innocent sacrifice of Muhammedan despotism and intolerance; which, from the evidence of all respectable contemporary Muhammedan authors, would appear not to be the fact. Te'gh Behādur, agreeable to them, provoked his execution by a series of crimes, having joined with a Moslem Fākr, of the name of Hafiz ed De'n, collecting a number of armed mendicants, and having committed, with that body, the most violent depredations on the peaceable inhabitants of the Penjāb. The author of the Seir Matākhherin says he was, in consequence of these excesses, put to death at Gwalior, and his body cut into four quarters, one of which was hung up at each gate of the fortress.

† A Sikh college was founded in that city.
same authors, publicly put to death, without even the allegation of a crime, beyond a firm and undaunted assertion of the truth of that faith of which he was the high priest. This event is said to have taken place in the year A. D. 1675, and of the Samvat 1782; but the Sikh records of their own history, from the death of Har Go'vidn to that of Tegh Beha'dur, are contradictory and unsatisfactory, and appear to merit little attention. The fact is, that the sect was almost crushed, in consequence of their first effort to attain power, under Har Go'vidn; and, from the period of his death, to that of Tegh Beha'dur, the Mogul Empire was, as has been before stated, in the zenith of its power, under Aurungzib; and the Sikhs, who had never attained any real strength, were rendered still weaker by their own internal dissensions. Their writers have endeavoured to supply this chasm in their history, by a fabulous account of the numerous miracles which were wrought by their priests, Ram Ra'y, Har Crishn, and even the unfortunate Tegh Beha'dur, at Dehli, all of whom are said to have astonished the emperor and his nobles, by a display of their supernatural powers; but their wide difference from each other, in these relations, would prove, if any proof was wanting, that all the annals of that period are fabricated.

The history of the Sikhs, after the death of Tegh Beha'dur, assumes a new aspect. It is no longer the record of a sect who, revering the conciliatory and mild tenets of their founder, desired more to protect themselves than to injure others; but that of a nation, who, adding to a deep sense of the injuries they had sustained from a bigotted and overbearing government, all the ardor of men commencing a military career of glory, listened, with rapture, to a son glowing with vengeance against the murderers of his father, who taught a doctrine suited to the troubled state of his mind, and called upon his followers, by every feeling of manhood, to
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lay aside their peaceable habits, to graft the resolute courage of the soldier on the enthusiastic faith of the devotee, to swear eternal war with the cruel and haughty Muhammedans, and to devote themselves to steel, as the only means of obtaining every blessing that this world, or that to come, could afford to mortals.

This was the doctrine of Gu'ru' Góvind, the son of Te'gh Behadur; who, though very young at his father's death, had his mind embued with the deepest horror at that event, and cherished a spirit of implacable resentment against those whom he considered as his murderers. Devoting his life to this object, we find him, when quite a youth, at the head of a large party of his followers, amid the hills of Srínagar, where he gave proofs of that ardent and daring mind, which afterwards raised him to such eminence. He was not, however, able to maintain himself against the prince of that country, with whom he had entered into hostilities; and, being obliged to leave it, he went to the Penjáb, where he was warmly welcomed by a Hindu chief in rebellion against the government. This chief gave Góvind possession of Mak'hayal,* and several other villages, where he settled with his followers, and repaid his benefactor, by aiding him in his depredations. Góvind appears, at this moment, to have been universally acknowledged by the Sikhs, as their Sat-gu'ru, or chief spiritual leader; and he used the influence which that station, his sufferings, and the popularity of his cause, gave him, to effect a complete change in the habits and religion of his countrymen.† It would be tedious and useless to follow the Sikh writers through those volumes of fables, in

* A town on the Satlīj.
† Gu'ru' Góvind is stated, by a Sikh author of respectability, B'hai Gu'ru Da's B'hale', to have been fourteen years of age when his father was put to death.
which they have narrated the wonders that prognosticated the rise of this, the most revered of all their priests, to power; or to enter, at any length, into those accounts which they, and Govinda himself, for he is equally celebrated as an author and as a warrior, have given of his exploits. It will be sufficient for the purpose of this sketch, to state the essential changes which he effected in his tribe, and the consequences of his innovations.

Though the Sikhs, had already, under Har Govinda, been initiated in arms, yet they appear to have used these only in self defence; and as every tribe of Hindus, from the Brahmen to the lowest of the Sudra, may, in cases of necessity, use them without violation of the original institutions of their tribe, no violation of these institutions was caused by the rules of Nanak; which, framed with a view to conciliation, carefully abstained from all interference with the civil institutes of the Hindus. But his more daring successor, Gu’ay, Govinda, saw that such observances were at variance with the plans of his lofty ambition; and he wisely judged, that the only means by which he could ever hope to oppose the Muhammadan government, with success, were not only to admit converts from all tribes, but to break, at once, those rules by which the Hindus had been so long chained, to arm, in short, the whole population of the country, and to make worldly wealth and rank an object to which Hindus, of every class, might aspire.

The extent to which Govinda succeeded, in this design, will be more fully noticed in another place. It is here only necessary to state the leading features of those changes by which he subverted, in so short a time, the hoary institutions of Brahma*, and made the Muhammadans con-

* The object of Nanak was to abolish the distinctions of caste amongst the Hindus, and
the religious prejudices of the Hindus, which they had calculated upon as one of the pillars of their safety, because they limited the great majority of the population to peaceable occupations, fell before the touch of a bold and enthusiastic innovator, who opened, at once, to men of the lowest tribe, the prospect of earthly glory; for all who subscribed to his tenets were upon a level, and the Brahmans who entered his sect had no higher claims to eminence than the lowest Sudra who swept his house. It was the object of Govind to make all Sikhs equal; and, that their advancement should solely depend upon their exertions; and well aware how necessary it was, to inspire men of a low race, and of groveling minds, with pride in themselves, he changed the name of his followers from Sikh to Sinh, or lion; thus giving, to all his followers, that honorable title, which had been before exclusively assumed by the Rajputs, the first military class of Hindus; and every Sikh felt himself at once elevated, by this proud appellation, to a footing with the first class.

Some men of the lowest Hindu tribes, of the occupation of sweepers, were employed to bring away the corpse of Tewar Behadur, from Delhi. Their success was rewarded by high rank and employment. Several of the same tribe, who have become Sikhs, have been remarkable for their valor, and have attained great reputation: they are distinguished, among the Sikhs, by the name of Run-Reta-Sinh.

† That he did not completely effect this object, and that some distinctions of their former tribes, particularly those relating to intermarriage, should still be kept up by the Sikhs, cannot be a matter of astonishment to those acquainted with the deep-rooted prejudices of the Hindus upon this point; which is as much a feeling of family pride as of religious usage.
The disciples of Góvind were required to devote themselves to arms, always to have steel about them in some shape or other, to wear a blue dress, to allow their hair to grow, to exclaim when they met each other Wá! Gáruji ká khálsah! Wá! Gáruji kí suteh! which means, success to the state of the Gáru! victory attend the Gáru!* The intention of some of these institutions is obvious; such as that principle of devotion to steel, by which all were made soldiers, and that exclamation which made the success of their priest, and that of the commonwealth, the object of their hourly prayer. It became, in fact, the watch-word which was continually to revive, in the minds of the Sikh disciple, the obligations he owed to that community of which he had become a member, and to that faith which he had adopted.

Of the causes which led Góvind to enjoin his followers to regard it as impious to cut the hair of their heads, or shave their beards, very different accounts are given. Several Muhammedan authors state, that both this ordination, and the one which directed his followers to wear blue clothes, was given in consequence of his gratitude to some Afsghán mountaineers, who aided his escape from a fort, in which he was besieged, by cloathing him in a chequered blue dress, and causing him to allow his hair to grow, in order to pass him for one of their own Pírs, or holy fathers; in which they succeeded. This account, however, is not supported by any Sikh writer; and one of the most respectable and best informed authors of that sect, states, that when Guřú Góvind first went to Anandpur Mák’haváli, which was also called Césgher, or the house of hair, he spent much of his time in adoration, at a temple of Durga Bhavání, the goddess of courage, by whom he was directed to unloose his hair and draw

* Spiritual leader.
his sword. Góvind, in consequence of this pretended divine order, vowed he would preserve his hair, devoted and sacred to that divinity, and directed his followers to do the same.* The origin of that blue, chequered dress, which was at one time worn by all Góvind's followers, and is still worn by the Acális, or never-dying, the most remarkable class of devotees of that sect, is differently stated by different authors; but it appears probable, that both these institutions proceeded from the policy of Góvind, who sought to separate his followers from all other classes of India, as much by their appearance, as by their religion; and he judged with wisdom, when he gave consequence to such distinctions, which, though first established, as mere forms, soon supersede the substance of belief; and, when strengthened by usage, become the points to which ignorant and unenlightened minds have, in all ages of the world, shewn the most resolute and unconquerable adherence.

Guru Góvind inculcated his tenets upon his followers by his preaching, his actions, and his works; among which is the Daš'amá Pádsháh ka Grant'h, or the book of the tenth king or ruler; Guru Góvind being the tenth leader of the sect from Nañac. This volume, which is not limited to religious subjects, but filled with accounts of his own battles, and written with the view of stirring up a spirit of valor and emulation among his followers, is at least as much revered, among the Sikhs, as the Ádi-Grant'h of Arjunmal. Góvind is said to have first instituted the Gurú Mata, or state council, among the Sikhs, which meets at Amritsar.

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* The goddess Durga Bhaya'ni is said, by a Sikh author, to be represented, in some images, with her hair long and dishevelled.

† This institution is also said to be borrowed from the Hindú mythology. Bala Ram, the elder brother of Críshna, wore blue clothes, from which he is called Nilánbar, or the clothed in dark blue; and Shiticas, or the blue clothed.
The constitution and usages of this national assembly will be described hereafter: it is here only necessary to observe, that its institution adds one more proof to those already stated, of the comprehensive and able mind of this bold reformer, who gave, by its foundation, that form of a federative republic, to the commonwealth of the Sikhs, which was most calculated to rouse his followers from their indolent habits, and deep-rooted prejudices, by giving them a personal share in the government, and placing within the reach of every individual, the attainment of rank and influence in the state.

It could not be expected that Guru Gobind could accomplish all those great schemes he had planned. He planted the tree, but it was not permitted, according to Sikh writers, that he should see it in that maturity which it was destined to reach; and this, these authors state, was foretold to him by some Brahmins skilled in necromancy. It would be tedious to dwell on such fables, and it is time to return to the political life of Gobind. The life of this chieftain is, in reality, marked by few events of high importance, and these are either related by Muhammadan authors.

One of the most popular of these fables states, that in the year of the Hijrah 1118, Guru Gobind, according to the directions he had received from two Brahmin commanders, threw a number of magical compounds, given him by these Brahmins, into a fire, near which he continued in prayers for several days. A sword of lightning at last burst from the flame of fire; but Gobind, instead of seizing this sword in an unaided manner, as he was instructed, was dazzled by its splendor, and shrank from it in alarm. The sword instantly flew to heaven, from whence a loud voice was heard to say, "Guru Gobind! thy wishes shall be fulfilled by thy posterity, and thy followers shall daily increase." The Brahmins were in despair at this failure; but, after deep reflection, they told Gobind, there was still one mode of acquiring that honor, for himself, which appeared, by the decree that had been pronounced, doomed for his posterity. If he would allow them to take off his head and throw it into the fire, he would be resuscitated to the enjoyment of the greatest glory. The Guru excused himself from trying this experiment, declaring that he was content that his descendants should enjoy the fruits of that tree which he had planted.
SKETCH OF THE SIKHS

who detract from all the pretensions of this enemy of their faith and name, by his disciples who exalt the slightest of his actions into the achievements of a divinity, or lastly by himself, for he wrote an account of his own wars, in terms more calculated to inflame the courage of his followers than to inform the historian.

GURU GOVIND SINGH, in the Vichitra Nātae, a work written by himself, and inserted in the Daiāna Pādshāh ka Grant'h, traces the descent of the Cshatriya tribe of Sōndi, to which he belongs, from a race of Hindu Rājās,* who founded the cities of Casur and Lahore. He was born, he states, at Patān, or Patna, and brought up at Madra Dīr, in the Penjāb. He went, after his father’s death, to the banks of the Calāndi or Yamūnā, and addicted himself to hunting the wild beasts of the forest, and other manly diversions; but this occupation, he adds, offended the emperor of Dehli, who ordered chiefs of the Muhammedan race, to attack him. GURU GOVIND describes, in this work, with great animation, his own feats and those of his friends,† in the first of his actions in which, by his ac-

* These Rājās appear, from the same authority, to be descended in a direct line from Hindu gods.
† The following short extract from the translation of the Vichitra Nātae, will show that GOVIND gave his friends their full meed of praise, and will also exhibit the character of his style: "Chīhāl rages, wielding his mace; he crushed the skull of the fierce Humāt Khan. He made the blood spurt aloft, and scattered the brains of the Chief as Curūnna crushed the earthen vessel of butter. Then Nānd Chānd raged in dreadfull ire, launching the spear, and wielding the sword. He broke his keen scimitar, and drew his dagger, to support the honor of the Sōndi race. Then my maternal uncle Curūnna advanced in his rage, and exhibited the skilful war feats of a true Cshatriya. The mighty warrior, though struck by an arrow, with another made a valiant Khan fall from his saddle, and Swīrṇa Chānd, of the Cshatriya race, strove in the battle’s fury, and slew a blood-thirsty Khan, a warrior of Khosānt." After recording the actions of many others, Govind thus describes his own deeds: "The blood-drinking spectres and ghosts yelled for carriages; the fierce Vēlāv, the chief of the spectres, laughed for joy, and sternly prepared for his repast.
count, the arrows of the Sikhs were victorious over the sabres of the Mu-
hammedans.*

His first success appears to have greatly increased the number of
Guru Gobind’s followers, whom he established at Anandpur, Khilôr,
and the towns in their vicinity; where they remained, till called to aid the
Râja of Nadôn,† Bhima Chand, who was threatened with an invasion,
by the Râja of Jammu, excited to hostilities by Mía Khan, a Mogul
chief, who was at enmity with Bhima Chand.

Guru Gobind gives an account of this war, which consisted of attack-
ing and defending the narrow passes of the mountains; he describes Bhî-
ma Chand and himself as leading on their warriors, who advanced, he
says, to battle, “like a stream of flame consuming the forest.” They

* The vultures hovered around, screaming for their prey. Hari Chand, (a Hindô chief
in the emperor’s army) in his wrath, drawing his bow, first struck my steed with an arrow;
aiming a second time, he discharged his arrow, but the deity preserved me, and it passed
me, only grazed by my ear. His third arrow struck my breast: it tore open the mail, and
pierced the skin, leaving a slight scar; but the God whom I adore, saved me. When I
felt this hurt, my anger was kindled; I drew my bow and discharged an arrow; all my
champions did the same, rushing onwards to the battle. Then I aimed at the young hero,
and struck him. Hari Chand perished, and many of his host; death devoured him,
who was called a Râja among a hundred thousand Râjas. Then all the host, struck with
consternation, fled, deserting the field of combat. I obtained the victory through the
favor of the most high; and, victorious in the field, we raised aloud the song of triumph.
Riches fell on us like rain, and all our warriors were glad.”

† Hylât Khan and Neja’et Khan are mentioned, as two of the principal chiefs of the
emperor’s army, that fell in this first action. Gobind, speaking of the fall of the latter, says,
“When Neja’et Khan fell, the world exclaimed, alas! but the region of Swarga (the
heavens) shouted victory.”

† A mountainous tract of country, that borders on the Penjâb. It lies to the N. W. of
Srinagar, and the S. E. of Jammu. The present Râja, Sansâr Chand, is a chief of great
respectability. His country has lately been over-run by the Râja of Nepâl and Gore’ha.
were completely successful in this expedition; the Rajá of Jammu and his Muhammedan allies, having been defeated, and chased with disgrace across the Satlaj, fled to their strong holds and fastnesses.

Guru Govinda next relates the advance of the son of Dilawer Khan against him. The object of the Muhammedan chief appears to have been, to surprize Govinda and his followers at night; but when that project was defeated, his troops were seized with a panic, and fled from the Sikhs without a contest. The father, enraged at the disgraceful retreat of his son, collected all his followers, and sent Hosain Khan, who made successful inroads upon the Sikhs, taking several of their principal forts.* A general action at last took place, in which the Khan, after performing prodigies of valor, was defeated, and lost his life. Guru Govinda was not present at this battle. "The lord of the earth," he says, "detained me from this conflict, and caused the rain of steel to descend in another quarter."

Dilawer Khan and Rustam Khan next marched against the Sikhs, who appear to have been disheartened at the loss of some of their principal chiefs, and more at the accounts they received of Aurungzeb's rage at their progress, and of his having detached his son to the district of

* Though the account of this war is given in a style sufficiently inflated for the wars of the demons and angels, yet as Govinda relates, that Hosain Khan returns a messenger, which one of the principal Rajás had sent him with this message to his master, "Pay down ten thousand rupees, or destruction descends on thy head," we may judge from the demand, and the amount of the contribution, of the nature of this contest, as well as its scale. It was evidently one of those petty provincial wars, which took place in every remote part of the Indian empire, when it was distracted; and, at this period, Aurungzeb was wholly engaged in the Dekhin, and the northern provinces were consequently neglected, and their governments in a weak and unsettled state.
SKEW OF THE SIKHS.

Madra,* in order to take measures to quell them. At the prince's approach, "every body," says Gūrū Góvind, "was struck with terror. "Unable to comprehend the ways of the eternal, several deserted me, "and fled, and took refuge in the lofty mountains. These vile cowards "were," he adds, "too greatly alarmed in mind to understand their own "advantage: for the emperor sent troops, who burnt the habitations of "those that had fled." He takes this occasion of denouncing every misery that this world can bring, and all the pains and horrors of the next, on those who desert their Gūrū, or priest. "The man who does "this," he writes, "shall neither have child nor offspring. His aged pa- "rents shall die in grief and sorrow, and he shall perish like a dog, "and be thrown into hell to lament."

"Gūrū Góvind closes his first work, the Vichitra Nātac, with a further representation of the shame that attends apostacy, and the rewards that await those that prove true to their religion; and he concludes by a

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* This must have been in the year 1701, when Bābā 'ber Shāh was detached from the Dakhin to take charge of the government of Cābul; and was probably ordered, at the same time, to settle the disturbances in the Peshāb.

† There is a remarkable passage in this chapter, in which Gūrū Góvind appears to acknowledge the supremacy of the emperor. "God," he says "formed both Bābā (Nā- "nac) and Bā'ber, (the emperor of that name): Look upon Bābā as the Padshah (king) "of religion, and Bā'ber, the lord of the world. He who will not give Nā'Nac a single "Damrī (a coin the sixteenth part of an an) will receive a severe punishment from Bā- "'ber."
prayer to the deity, and a declaration of his intention to compose for the use of his disciples, a still larger work, by which the Sikhs conceive that he meant the rest of the *Dasamukh Pādshāh ka Grant'h*, of which the *Vichitra Nātal* forms the first section.

An account of Gōvind's war with the Rājā of Kahilūr* is found in a work written in the Dūgar, or mountain dialect of the Penjābi tongue, which gives an account of some other actions of this chief. Though this account is greatly exaggerated, it no doubt states some facts correctly, and therefore merits a brief notice. According to this authority, the Rājās of Kahilūr, Jīswāl, and others, being defeated and disgraced in several actions, applied to the court of Āurungzeb for aid against Gūru Gōvind, from whom they stated that they had received great injuries. When the emperor asked who made the complaint, the answer was, "It is the chief of Kahilūr, thy servant, who has been despoiled of his country by violence, though a faithful Zemindār, (land-holder) and one who has always been punctual in paying his contributions." Such were the representations, this author states, by which they obtained the aid of an army from the emperor:

Their combined forces proceeded against Gūru Gōvind and his followers, who were obliged to shut themselves up in their fortresses, where they are said to have endured every misery that sickness and famine can bring upon a besieged place. Gōvind, after suffering the greatest hardships, determined to attempt his escape. He ordered his followers to leave the fort, one by one, at midnight, and to separate the moment they

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*Kahilūr or Kahbūr, is situated on the Satlāj, above Mākhārāl. It is near the mountains, through which that river flows into the Penjāb. Another place, of the name of Kahilūr or Kahbūr, is situated a short distance from Lahore, to the N. E. of that city.*
went out. The misery of this separation, which divided the father from the child, the husband from the wife, and brothers from sisters, was horrible, but it was the only chance which they had of safety; and his orders were obeyed. He himself went among the rest, and after undergoing great fatigue, and escaping many dangers, he arrived at Chamkaur, by the Rajah of which place he was received in a kind and friendly manner. His enemies had entered the fortress which Govind left, the moment he fled, and made many prisoners; among which were his mother and his two children, who were carried to Foujdar Khan, the governor of Sirhind, by whose orders they were inhumanly massacred.* The army of the emperor, aided by the Rajahs hostile to Govind, next marched to Chamkaur, and encompassed it on all sides. Govind, in despair, clasping his hands, called upon the goddess of the sword.† “The world sees,” he exclaimed, “that we have no help but thee!” saying which, he prepared, with his few followers, to make the most desperate resistance.

The emperor’s army, employed at this period against Govind, was commanded by Khwaja Muhammed and Nahar Khan, who deputed, at the commencement of the siege, an envoy to the Sikh leader, with the following message: “this army is not one belonging to Rajahs and Rajas: “it is that of the great Aurungzeb: shew therefore thy respect, and “embrace the true faith.” The envoy proceeded, in the execution of his mission, with all the pride of those he represented. “Listen,” said he, from himself to Gu’ru’ Govind, “to the words of the Nawab: leave “off contending with us, and playing the infidel; for it is evident you

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* The Muhammadan authors blame Vizir Khan for this unnecessary and impolitic act of barbarity.
† Bhavani Durga.
"never can reap advantage from such an unequal war." He was stopped by Ajit Singh, the son of Govind, from saying more. That youth, seizing his scymiter, exclaimed, "If you utter another word, I will humble your pride: I will smite your head from your body, and cut you to pieces, for daring to speak such language before our chiefs." The blood of the envoy boiled with rage, and he returned with this answer to his master.

This effort to subdue the fortitude and faith of Govind, having failed, the siege commenced with great vigor. A long description is given by Bhai Guru Das Bhole and other Sikh authors, of the actions that were performed. Amongst the most distinguished, were those of the brave but unfortunate Ajit Singh, the son of Guru Govind, whose death is thus recorded: "A second time the Khan advanced, and the battle raged. Some fought, some fled. Ajit Singh, covered with glory, departed to Swarga (heaven). Indra, first of the gods, (Devata) advanced with the celestial host to meet him; he conducted him to Devapura, the city of the gods, and seated him on a celestial throne: having remained there a short time, he proceeded to the region of the sun. Thus" he concludes, "Ajit Singh departed in glory, and his

* In the Punjabi narrative of Bhai Guru Das Bhole, the actions of Ajit Singh and Ranjit Singh, sons of Govind, are particularly described; and, from one part of the description, it would appear that the family of Govind, proud of their descent, had not laid aside the Zunar, or holy cord, to which they were, as belonging to the Cshatriya race, entitled. Speaking of these youths, the author says: "Slaughtering every Turk and Pohlan whom they saw, they adorned their sacred strings, by converting them into sword-belts. Returning from the field they sought their father, who bestowed a hundred blessings on their scymiters."

† The Sikh author, though he may reject the superstitious idolatry of the Hindis, adorns his descriptions with every image its mythology can furnish; and claims for his hero the same high honors in Swarga, that a Brahman would expect for one of the Pandu race.

K k k
fame extends over three worlds, for the fame of the warrior lives for 

*though Góvind shewed an invincible spirit, and performed prodigies of valour, having killed, with his own hand, Nahar Khán, and wounded Khwajéh Muhammed, the other leader of the emperor's troops, it was impossible to contend longer against such superior numbers; and he at last, taking advantage of a dark night, fled from Chamkóur, covering his face, according to the Sikh author, from shame at his own disgrace.*

This sketch of the life of Góvind is compiled from his own works, and those of other Sikh writers, such as Nand and B'hai Gúru Dá's; and the events recorded, allowing for the colouring with which such narratives are written in the east, appear to be correct: the leading facts are almost all established by the evidence of contemporary Muhammedan writers, to whom we must trust for the remainder of his history; as the authorities we have followed, end at the period of his flight from Chamkóur.

Most accounts agree that Gúru Góvind, after his flight, was, from a sense of his misfortunes, and the loss of his children, bereft of his reason, and wandered about for a considerable time, in the most deplorable condition. One account states, that he died in the Pénjáb; another, that he went to Patna, where he ended his days; a third, taken from a Sikh authority, asserts that Gúru Góvind, after remaining some time in the Lakh'-Jungle, to which he had fled, returned without molestation to his

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*Mr. Foster has followed this authority in his account of the Sikh nation; and I am inclined to believe that the part of it which relates to Gúru Góvind's dying at Nádéd, in the Dek'hin, of a wound received from a Patón, is correct; as it is written on the last page of a copy of the Adi-Grant'h, in my possession, with several other facts relative to the dates of the births and deaths of the principal high priests of the Sikhs.*
SKETCH OF THE SIKHS.

former residence in the Penjab; and that, so far from meeting with any persecution from the Mohammedan government, he received favours from the emperor Bahader Sha'h; who, aware of his military talents, gave him a small military command in the Dek'hin, where he was stabbed by a Patán soldier's son, and expired of his wounds in the year 1708, at Nadéd, a town situated on the Cáverí river, about one hundred miles from Haiderabad.

It is sufficiently established, from these contradictory and imperfect accounts of the latter years of Gu'ru' Góvind, that he performed no actions, worthy of record, after his flight from Chamkour; and when we consider the enthusiastic ardour of his mind, his active habits, his valour, and the insatiable thirst of revenge, which he had cherished through life, against the murderers of his father, and the oppressors of his sect, we cannot think, when that leading passion of his mind must have been increased by the massacre of his children, and the death or mutilation* of his most attached followers, that he would have remained inactive; much less that he would have sunk into a servant of that government, against which he had been in constant rebellion; nor is it likely that such a leader as Gu'ru' Góvind, could ever have been trusted by a Mohammedan prince; and there appears, therefore, every reason to give credit to those accounts which state that mental distraction, in consequence of deep distress and disappointment, was the cause of the inactivity of Gu'ru' Góvind's declining years; nor is such a conclusion at all at variance with the fact of his being killed at Nadéd, as it is probable, even if he was reduced to the state described, that he continued, till the close of his exis-

* Both at Chamkour, and other forts, from which the famished Sikhs attempted to escape, many of them were taken, and had their noses and ears cut off.
tence, that wandering and adventurous life to which he had been so early accustomed.

In the character of this reformer of the Sikhs, it is impossible not to recognize many of those features which have distinguished the most celebrated founders of political communities. The object he attempted was great and laudable. It was the emancipation of his tribe from oppression and persecution; and the means which he adopted, were such, as a comprehensive mind could alone have suggested. The Muhammedan conquerors of India, as they added to their territories, added to their strength, by making proles through the double means of persuasion and force; and these, the moment they had adopted their faith, became the supporters of their power, against the efforts of the Hindús, who, bound in the chains of their civil and religious institutions, could neither add to their number by admitting converts, nor allow more than a small proportion of the population of the country to arm against the enemy. Gövind saw that he could only hope for success by a bold departure from usages which were calculated to keep those, by whom they were observed, in a degraded subjection to an insulting and intolerant race. “You make Hindús Muhammedans, and are justified by your laws,” he is said to have written to Aurungzeb, “now I, on a principle of self preservation, which is superior to all laws, will make Muhammedans Hindús.” You may rest,” he added, “in fancied security; but beware! for I will teach the sparrow to strike the eagle to the ground;” a fine allusion to his design of inspiring the lowest races among the Hindús with that valour and ambition which would lead them to perform the greatest actions.

* Meaning Sikhs, whose faith, though it differs widely from the present worship of the Hindús, has been thought to have considerable analogy to the pure and simple religion originally followed by that nation.
The manner in which Góvind endeavoured to accomplish the great plan he had formed, has been exhibited in the imperfect sketch given of his life. His efforts to establish that temporal power in his own person, of which he laid the foundation for his tribe, were daring and successful; in as great a degree as circumstances would admit; but it was not possible he could create means in a few years, to oppose, with success, the force of one of the greatest empires in the universe. The spirit, however, which he infused into his followers, was handed down as a rich inheritance to their children, who, though they consider Bábá Nānāc as the author of their religion, revere, with a just gratitude, Gúru Góvind, as the founder of their worldly greatness and political independence. They are conscious, indeed, that they have become, from the adoption of his laws and institutions, the scourge of their enemies, and have conquered and held, for more than half a century, the finest portion of the once great empire of the house of Taimūr.

Gúru Góvind was the last acknowledged religious ruler of the Sikhs: a prophecy had limited their spiritual guides to the number of ten, and their superstition, aided, no doubt, by the action of that spirit of independence which his institutions had introduced, caused its fulfilment. The success, however, of Banda, a Bhairagi, who was the devoted follower and friend of Gúru Góvind, established their union under his banners. A short period after Góvind's death, the grief of Banda at the misfortunes of his priest, is said, by Sikh authors, to have settled into a gloomy and desperate desire to revenge his wrongs. The confusion which took place on the death of Aurungzeb, which happened in the year 1707, was favorable to his wishes. After plundering the country, and defeating most of the petty Muhammadan chiefs that were opposed to him, he thought
himself sufficiently strong to venture on an action with Foujdar Khan, the governor of the province of Sarhind, and the man of all others most abhorred by the Sikhs, as the murderer of the infant children of Guru Govind. This action was fought with valor by the Muhammedans; and with all that desperation on the part of the Sikhs, which the most savage spirit of revenge could inspire; and this, aided by the courage and conduct of their leader, gave them the victory, after a severe contest. Foujdar Khan fell, with most of his army, to whom the enraged Sikhs gave no quarter; nor was their savage revenge satiated by the destruction of the Muhammedan army: they put to death the wife and children of Vizir Khan, and almost all the inhabitants of Sarhind. They destroyed or polluted the mosques of that city; and, in a spirit of wild and brutal rage, dug up the carcases of the dead, and exposed them to be devoured by beasts of prey. Encouraged by this success, and hardened by the lessons of Banda, to deeds of the most horrid atrocity, the Sikhs rushed forward and subdued all the country between the Satlej and the Jumna; and, crossing that river, made inroads into the province of Saharanpur.*

It is unnecessary to state the particulars of this memorable incursion, which, from all accounts, appears to have been one of the severest scourges with which a country was ever afflicted. Every excess that the most wanton barbarity could commit, every cruelty that an unappeased appetite of revenge could suggest, was inflicted upon the miserable inhabitants of the provinces, through which they passed. Life was only granted to those who conformed to the religion, and adopted the habits, and dress of the Sikhs; and if Behadur Shah had not quitted the Dekh, which he did

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*This province lies a few miles to the N. E. of Delhi, between the rivers Jumna and Ganges.
in A. D. 1710, there is reason to think the whole of Hindustan would have been subdued by these merciless invaders.

The first check the Sikhs received, was from an army under Sultán Kuli Khan. That chief defeated one of their advanced corps at Panipath, which, after being dispersed, fled to join their leader Banda, at Sarhind. The death of Behadur Shah prevented this success from being pursued, and the confusion which followed that event, was favorable to the Sikhs. Banda defeated Islam Khan, the viceroy of Lahore, and one of his fanatic followers; stabbed Bayezid Khan, the governor of Sarhind, who had marched out of that town to encounter this army. This, however, was the last of Banda’s successful atrocities. Abdal Samad Khan, a general of great reputation, was detached, with a large army, by the emperor Farakhsir, against the Sikhs, whom he defeated in a very desperate action, in which, agreeable to Muhammadan authors, Banda performed prodigies of valor, and was only obliged to give way to the superior numbers and discipline of the imperialists. The Sikhs were never able to make a stand after this defeat, and were hunted, like wild beasts, from one strong hold to another, by the army of the emperor, by whom their leader, and his most devoted followers, were at last taken, after having suffered every extreme of hunger and fatigue.*

Abdal Samad Khan put to death great numbers of the Sikhs, after the surrender of Lohgad, the fortress in which they took refuge, but sent Banda, and the principal chiefs of the tribe, to Dehli, where they were.

* They were taken in the fort of Lohgad, which is one hundred miles to the North-East of Lahore. This fortress was completely surrounded, and the Sikhs were only starved into surrender, having been reduced to such extremes, that they were reported to have eaten, what to them must have been most horrible, the flesh of the cow.
first treated with every kind of obloquy and insult; and then executed. A *Muhammedan* writer relates the intrepidity with which these *Sikh* prisoners, but particularly their leader, *Banda*, met death. "It is singular," he writes, "that these people not only behaved firmly during the execution, but they would dispute and wrangle with each other who should suffer first, and they made interest with the executioner to obtain the preference. *Banda*," he continues, "was at last produced, his son being seated in his lap. His father was ordered to cut his throat, which he did, without uttering one word. Being then brought nearer the magistrate's tribunal, the latter ordered his flesh to be torn off with red hot pincers, and it was in those moments he expired, his black soul taking its flight, by one of those wounds, towards the regions, for which it was so well fitted."

Thus perished *Banda*; who, though a brave and able leader, was one of the most cruel, and ferocious of men, and endeavored to impart to his followers that feeling of merciless resentment which he cherished against the whole *Muhammedan* race, whom he appears to have thought accountable for the cruelty and oppression of a few individuals of the persuasion.†

Though the *Sikhs*, from being animated by a similar feeling, and encouraged by his first successes, followed *Banda* to the field, they do not revere his memory; and he is termed, by some of their authors, a heretic.

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*The author of the *Seer, Mutâherin*.† It is necessary, however, to state, that there is a schismatical sect of *Sikhs*, who are termed *Bandit*, or the *followers of Banda*, who totally deny this account of the death of *Banda*, and maintain that he escaped severely wounded from his last battle, and took refuge in *Bhabar*, where he quietly ended his days, leaving two sons, *Ajit Singh* and *Zorawar Singh*, who successfully propagated his doctrine. This sect chiefly resides in *Muldin, Tatal* and the other cities on the banks of the *Indus*. They receive the *Adi-Granth*, but not the *Dasam Granth*.
who, intoxicated with victory, endeavoured to change the religious institutions, and laws of Guru Góvind, many of whose most devoted followers this fierce chief put to death, because they refused to depart from those usages, which that revered spiritual leader had taught them to consider sacred. Among other changes, Banda wished to make the Sikhs abandon their blue dress, to refrain from drinking, and eating flesh, and instead of exclaiming Wá! Güráji ki Futteh! Wá! Khálṣájí ki Futteh! the salutations directed by Góvind, he directed them to exclaim Futteh D'herm! Futteh ders'an! which means, success to piety, success to the sect. These innovations were very generally resisted; but the dreaded severity of Banda made many conform to his orders. The class of Acális,* or immortals, who had been established by Guru Góvind, continued to oppose the innovations with great obstinacy, and many of them suffered martyrdom, rather than change either their mode of salutation, diet, or dress; and, at the death of Banda, their cause triumphed. All the institutions of Guru Góvind were restored; but the blue dress, instead of being as at first worn by all, appears, from that date, to have become the particular right of the Acális, whose valor, in its defence, well merited the exclusive privilege of wearing this original uniform of a true Sikh.

After the defeat and death of Banda, every measure was taken, that an active resentment could suggest, not only to destroy the power, but to extirpate the race of the Sikhs. An astonishing number of that sect must have fallen, in the last two or three years of the contest with the imperial armies; as the irritated Muhammadans gave them no quarter; and after the execution of their chief, a royal edict was issued, ordering all who professed the religion of Nanak to be taken and put to death.

* An account of this class of Sikhs will be hereafter given.
SKETCH OF THE SIKHS.

wherever found; and, to give effect to this mandate, a reward was offered for the head of every Sikh; and all Hindus were ordered to shave their hair off under pain of death. The few Sikhs, that escaped this general execution, fled into the mountains to the N. E. of the Penjáb, where they found a refuge from the rigorous persecution by which their tribe was pursued, while numbers, bent before the tempest, which they could not resist, and abandoning the outward usages of their religion, satisfied their consciences with the secret practice of its rites.

From the defeat and death of Banda till the invasion of India by Našir Shah, a period of nearly thirty years, we hear nothing of the Sikhs; but on the occurrence of that event, they are stated to have fallen upon the peaceable inhabitants of the Penjáb, who sought shelter in the hills, and to have plundered them of that property which they were endeavoring to secure from the rapacity of the Persian invader.

Enriched with these spoils, the Sikhs left the hills, and built the fort of Dalewál, on the Rávi, from whence they made predatory incursions, and are stated to have added, both to their wealth and reputation, by harassing and plundering the rear of Našir Shah’s army, which, when it returned to Persia, was encumbered with spoil, and marched, from a contempt of its enemies, with a disregard to all order.

The weak state to which the empire of Hindustan was reduced, and the confusion into which the provinces of Lahore and Cabul were thrown, by the death of Našir, were events of too favorable a nature to the Sikhs to be neglected by that race, who became daily more bold, from their numbers being greatly increased by the union of all those who had taken shelter in the mountains; the readmission into the sect of those who to save their lives, had abjured, for a period, their usages; and the conversion of a
number of proselytes who hastened to join a standard, under which robbery was made sacred, and to plunder, was to be pious.

Aided with these recruits, the Sikhs now extended their irruptions over most of the provinces of the Penjâb; and though it was some time before they repossessed themselves of Amritsar, they began, immediately after they quitted their fastnesses, to flock to that holy city at the periods of their sacred feasts. Some performed this pilgrimage in secret, and in disguise, but in general, according to a contemporary Mohammedan author, the Sikh horsemen were seen riding, at full gallop, towards "their favorite shrine of devotion. They were often slain in making this attempt, and sometimes taken prisoners, but they used, on such occasions, to seek, instead of avoiding, the crown of martyrdom; and the same authority states, that an instance was never known of a Sikh, taken in his way to Amritsar, consenting to abjure his faith."

It is foreign to the object of this sketch, to enter into a detail of those efforts by which the Sikhs rose into that power which they now possess. It will be sufficient to glance at the principal events which have marked their progress, from the period of their emerging from the mountains to which they had been driven, after the death of Banda, to that of the conquest and subjection of those fine provinces over which their rule is now established. The sect, as has been before stated, have never admitted a spiritual leader since the death of Guru Góvind. It was success, and the force of a savage, but strong genius, which united them, for a period, under Banda; and they have, since his death, had no acknowledged general, leader or prince. Each individual followed to the field the Sirdar or chief, who, from birth, the possession of property, or from valor and experience, had become his superior. These chiefs again were
of different rank and pretensions; a greater number of followers, higher reputation, the possession of wealth, or lands, constituted that difference; and, from one or other of these causes, one chief generally enjoyed a decided pre-eminence, and consequently had a lead in their military councils. But nevertheless they always went through the form of selecting a military leader at their Gūrū matā, or national council, where, however, influence prevailed, and the most powerful was certain of being elected.

Such a mode of government was in itself little calculated to give that strength and union which the cause of the Sikhs required, but the peculiarities of their usages, the ardent character of their faith, the power of their enemies, and the oppression they endured, amply supplied the place of all other ordinances. To unite and to act in one body, and on one principle, was, with the first Sikhs, a law of necessity; it was, amid the dangers with which they were surrounded, their only hope of success, and their sole means of preservation; and it was to these causes, combined with the weakness and internal contests of their enemies, to which this sect owes its extraordinary rise, not to their boasted constitution, which, whether we call it an oligarchy, which it really is, or a theocracy, which the Sikhs consider it, has not a principle in its composition, that would preserve it one day from ruin, if vigorously assailed: but of this their history will furnish the best example.

Encouraged by the confusion which took place on the first Afghān* invasion, the Sikhs made themselves masters of a considerable part of the Duḥāb of Ṛdvī and Julandhrā;† and extended their incursions to the neigh-

* A. D. 1746.
† The country between the rivers Ṛdvī and Eṣmāylī, and that river and the Satā. 
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bouring countries. They, however, at this period, received several severe checks from Mir Manu, the governor of Lahore, who is, said, by Mohammedan authors, to have been only withheld from destroying them, by the counsel of his minister, Kod a Mal, who was himself a Sikh of the Khalása* tribe. Mir Manu appointed Adina Beg Khan to the charge of the countries in which the Sikhs maintained themselves; and, as that able, but artful chief, considered this turbulent tribe in no other light than as the means of his personal advancement, he was careful not to reduce them altogether; but, after defeating them in an action, which was fought near Makkhatal, he entered into a secret understanding with them, by which, though their excursions were limited, they enjoyed a security to which they had been unaccustomed, and from which they gathered strength and resources for future efforts.

At the death of Mir Manu,† the Sikhs took all those advantages, which the local distractions of a falling empire offered them, of extending and establishing their power. Their bands, under their most active leaders, plundered in every direction, and were successful in obtaining possession of several countries, from which they have never since been expelled; and their success, at this period, was promoted, instead of being checked, by the appointment of their old friend, Adina Beg Khan, to Lahore, as that brave chief, anxious to defend his own government against the Afghans, immediately entered into a confederacy with

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* A sect of nonconformist Sikhs, who believe in the Adi-Granth of Nanao; but do not conform to the institutions of Guru Govind. They are called Khalása. This word is said, by some, to be from Khalá, pure or select, and to mean the purest or the select; by others, from Khalá, free, and to mean the freed or exempt, alluding to the tribe being exempt from the usages imposed on the other Sikhs.

† A. D. 1752.
the Sikhs, whom he encouraged to plunder the territories of Ahmed Shah Abdali.

The Afghán monarch, resenting this predatory warfare, in which the governor of Lahore was supported by the court of Dehli, determined upon invading India. Adina Beg, unable to oppose him, fled; and the Sikhs could only venture to plunder the baggage, and cut off the stragglers of the Afghán army, by which they so irritated Ahmed Shah, that he threatened them with punishment on his return; and when he marched to Cabul, he left his son, Taimur Khan, and his Vizir, Jehân Khan, at Lahore, with orders to take vengeance on the Sikhs for all the excesses which they had committed. The first expedition of Taimur Khan was against their capital, Amritsar, which he destroyed, filling up their sacred tank, and polluting all their places of worship; by which action he provoked the whole race, to such a degree, that they all assembled at Lahore, and not only attempted to cut off the communication between the fort and country, but collected and divided the revenues of the towns and villages around it. Taimur Khan, enraged at this presumption, made several attacks upon them, but was constantly defeated; and, being at last reduced to the necessity of evacuating Lahore, and retreating to Cabul, the Sikhs, under one of their celebrated leaders, called Jasa Singh Calâl, immediately took possession of the vacant Subah of Lahore, and ordered rupees to be coined, with an impression to the following import: "coined by the grace of Khalsa Ji, in the country of Ahmed, conquered by Jasa Singh Calâl."

The Sikhs, who were so deeply indebted to the forbearance of Adina Beg Khan, now considered themselves above the power of that chief, who, in order to regain his government from them and the Afgháns, was
SKETCH OF THE SIKHS.

obliged to invite the Mahrāta leaders, Raghunā't'h Ra'o, Saheb Pateil, and Malha'r Ra'o, to enter the Penjāb: aided by these chiefs, he first advanced to Sarhind, where he was joined by some Sikhs that remained attached to him. Samad Khan, the officer who had been left in charge of Sarhind, by Ahmed Khan, found himself obliged to evacuate that place; which he had no sooner done, than the Sikhs began to plunder. The Mahrātas, always jealous of their booty, determined to attack and punish them for this violation of what they deemed their exclusive privilege; but Adina Beg, receiving intelligence of their intentions, communicated it to the Sikhs, who, taking advantage of the darkness of the night, saved themselves by flight.

After the fall of Sarhind, the Mahrātas, accompanied by Adina Beg Khan, advanced to Lahore, and soon expelled both the Sikhs and the Afghans from the principal towns of the provinces of Sarhind and Lahore, of which they not only took possession, but sent a governor to the province of Multān; and Saheb Pateil advanced to the Attock, where he remained for a few months. But the commotions of Hindustān and the Dek'kin, soon obliged these foreigners to abandon the Penjāb, which they did the same year they had reduced it. They appointed Adina Beg Khan, governor of Lahore. He died in the ensuing year, and, by his death, afforded an opportunity to the Sikhs, which they eagerly seized, to make themselves again masters of the province of Lahore. Their success, however, soon checked by Ahmed Shah Abdal, who, irritated by their unsubdued turbulence, and obstinate intrepidity, made every effort (after he had gained the victory of Panipat'h, which established his supremacy

* The empire of the Mahrātas had, at this proud moment, reached its zenith. The battle of Panipat'h took place soon afterwards; since which it has rapidly declined.
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at Delhi) to destroy their power; and, with this view, he entered the Punjab early in 1762, and over-ran the whole of that country, with a numerous army, defeating and dispersing the Sikhs in every direction. That sect, unable to make any stand against the army of the Abdali, pursued their old plan of retreating near the mountains; and collected a large force in the northern districts of Sahrud, a distance of above one hundred miles from Lahore, where the army of Ahmed Shah was encamped. Here they conceived themselves to be in perfect safety; but that prince made one of those rapid movements for which he was so celebrated, and reaching the Sikh army on the second day, completely surprised, and defeated it with great slaughter. In this action, which was fought in February, 1762, the Sikhs are said to have lost upwards of twenty thousand men, and the remainder fled into the hills, abandoning all the lower countries to the Afghans, who committed every ravage that a barbarous and savage enemy could devise. Amritsar was razed to the ground, and the sacred reservoir again choked with its ruins. Pyramids* were erected, and covered with the heads of slaughtered Sikhs; and it is mentioned that Ahmed Shah caused the walls of those mosques, which the Sikhs had polluted, to be washed with their blood, that the contamination might be removed, and the insult offered to the religion of Mohammed, expiated.†

This species of savage retaliation appears to have animated, instead of depressing the courage of the Sikhs, who, though they could not venture to meet Ahmed Shah's army in action, harassed it with an incessant pre-

* This is a very common usage amongst eastern conquerors. The History of Taimur and Nadir Shah, afford many examples of this mode of treating their vanquished enemies.

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Datary warfare; and, when that sovereign was obliged, by the commotions of Afghanistan, to return to Cabul, they attacked and defeated the general he had left in Lahore, and made themselves masters of that city, in which they levelled with the ground those mosques which the Afghans had, a few months before, purified with the blood of their brethren.

Ahmed Shah, in 1763, retook Lahore, and plundered the provinces around it; but, being obliged to return to his own country, in the ensuing year, the Sikhs again expelled his garrison, and made themselves masters of the Punjab; and, from that period until his death, a constant war was maintained, in which the enterprise and courage of the Afghans gradually gave way, before the astonishing activity and invincible perseverance of their enemies, who, if unable to stand a general action, retreated to impenetrable mountains, and the moment they saw an advantage, rushed again into the plains with renewed vigour, and recruited numbers. Several Sikh authors, treating of the events of this period, mention a great action having been fought, by their countrymen, near Amritsar, against the whole Afghan army, commanded by Ahmed Shah, in person; but they differ with regard to the date of this battle, some fixing it in 1762, and others later. They pretend that the Sikhs, inspired by the sacredness of the ground on which this action was fought, contended for victory against superior numbers, with the most desperate fury, and that the battle terminated in both parties quitting the field, without either being able to claim the least advantage. The historians of Ahmed Shah are, however, silent, regarding this action, which, indeed, from all the events of his long contests with the Sikhs, appears unlikely to have occurred. It is possible the Sikhs fought, at Amritsar, with a division of the Afghan army, and that might have been commanded

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by the prince; but it is very improbable they had ever force to encounter the concentrated army of the Abdalis, before which, while it remained in a body, they appear, from the first to the last of their contests with that prince, to have always retreated, or rather fled.

The internal state of Afghanistan, since the death of Ahmed Shah, has prevented the progress of the Sikh nation receiving any serious check from that quarter; and the distracted and powerless condition of the empire of India has offered province after province, to their usurpation. Their history, during this latter period, affords little but a relation of village warfare, and predatory incursions. Their hostilities were first directed against the numerous Muhammadan chiefs who were settled in the Punjab, and who defended, as long as they could, their jagirs, or estates, against them; but these have either been conquered, or reduced to such narrow limits, as to owe their security to their insignificance, or the precarious friendship of some powerful Sikh chief, whose support they have gained; and who, by protecting them against the other leaders of his tribe, obtains a slight accession of strength and influence.

The Sikh nation, who have, throughout their early history, always appeared, like a suppressed flame, to rise into higher splendour from every attempt to crush them, had become, while they were oppressed, as formidable for their union, as for their determined courage and unconquerable spirit of resistance; but a state of persecution and distress, was the one most favourable for the action of a constitution like theirs; which, formed upon general and abstract principles, required constant and great sacrifices, of personal advantage, to the public good; and such can alone be expected from men, acting under the influence of that enthusiasm, which the fervor of a new religion or struggle for independence only impart, and
which are ever most readily made, when it becomes obvious to all, that a complete union in the general cause, is the only hope of individual safety.

The Sikhs would appear, from their own historians, to have attributed the conquests they made entirely to their valour, and to have altogether forgot that they owed them, chiefly, to the decline of the house of Taimur, and the dissensions of the government of Cabul. Intoxicated with their success, they have given way to all those passions which assail the minds of men in the possession of power. The desire, which every petty chief entertained, of increasing his territories, of building strong forts, and adding to the numbers of his troops, involved them in internal wars; and these, however commenced, soon communicated to numbers, who engaged in the dispute, as passion or interest dictated. Though such feuds have no doubt helped to maintain their military spirit, yet their extent and virulence have completely broken down that union, which their great legislator, Govind, laboured to establish. Quarrels have been transmitted from father to son; and, in a country where the infant is devoted to steel, and taught to consider war as his only occupation, these could not but multiply in an extraordinary degree; and, independent of the comparative large conquests in which the greater chiefs occasionally engaged, every village* has become an object of dispute; and there are few, if any, in the Penjáb, the rule of which is not contested between brothers or near relations.† In such a state, it is obvious, the Sikhs could alone be

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* All the villages in the Penjáb are walled round, as they are, in almost all the countries of India, that are exposed to sudden incursions of horse, which this defence can always repel.

† When the British and Mahrāta armies entered the Penjáb, they were both daily joined by discontented petty chiefs of the Sikhs, who offered their aid to the power that would put them in the possession of a village or a fort, from which, agreeably to their statement, they had been unjustly excluded, by a father or brother. Holkar encouraged these applications, and used them to his advantage. The British commander abstained from all interference in such disputes.
formidable to the most weak and distracted governments. Such, indeed, was the character; till within a very late period, of all their neighbours, and they continued to plunder, with impunity, the upper provinces of Hindustan, until the establishment of the power of Daulet Rao Sindia, when the regular brigades, commanded by French officers, in the service of that prince, not only checked their inroads, but made all the Sikh chiefs, to the southward of the Satlej, acknowledge obedience and pay tribute to Sindia; and it was, in the contemplation of General Perron, had the war with the English government not occurred, to have subdued the Penjab, and made the Indus the limit of his possession; and every person acquainted with his means, and with the condition and resources of the Sikhs, must be satisfied, he would have accomplished this project, with great ease, and at a very early period.

When Holkar fled into the Penjab, in 1805, and was pursued by that illustrious British commander, Lord Lake, a complete opportunity was given of observing the actual state of this nation, which was found weak and distracted, in a degree that could hardly have been imagined. It was altogether destitute of union; and though a Guru-mata, or national council, was called, with a view to decide on those means by which they could best avert the danger by which their country was threatened, from the presence of the English and Mahrata armies, it was attended by few chiefs; and most of the absentees, who had any power, were bold and forward in their offers to resist any resolution to which this council might come. The intrigues and negotiations of all appeared, indeed, at this moment, to be entirely directed to objects of personal resentment, or personal aggrandizement; and every shadow of that concord, which once formed the strength of the Sikh nation, seemed to be extinguished.
NEITHER the limits of this sketch, nor the materials from which it is drawn, will admit of my giving a particular or correct account of the countries possessed by the Sikhs, or of their forms of government, manners and habits; but a cursory view of these subjects may be useful, and may excite and direct that curiosity which it cannot expect to gratify.

The country now possessed by the Sikhs, which reaches from latitude 28° 30' to beyond latitude 32° N, and includes all the Punjab, a small part of Multan, and most of that tract of country which lies between the Jumna and the Satlaj, is bounded, to the northward and westward, by the territories of the king of Càbùl; to the eastward, by the possessions of the mountaineer Ràjàs of Jammu, Nadàn, and Srînagar, and, to the southward, by the territories of the English government, and the sandy deserts of Jàsalmír and Hánșyâ Hisâr.

The Sikhs, who inhabit the country between the Satlaj and the Jumna, are called Mâlâwâ Sinh, and were almost all converted from the Hindú tribes of Jàts and Gujars. The title of Mâlâwâ Sinh was conferred upon them for their extraordinary gallantry, under the Bâîrâgî Banda, who is stated to have declared, that the countries granted to them, should be fruitful as Mâlâwâ, one of the provinces† in Indiâ. The principal chiefs

* A general estimate of the value of the country, possessed by the Sikhs, may be formed, when it is stated that it contains, besides other countries, the whole of the province of Lahore; which, according to Mr. Bernier, produced, in the reign of Aurungzeb, two hundred and forty-six tacks and ninety-five thousand rupees; or two millions, four hundred and sixty-nine thousand, five hundred pounds sterling.

† This province now forms almost the whole territory of Dâulet Râo Sindia.
among the Málawá Sinhs, are Sá'heb Sinh of Patílálá, B'hangá Sinh, of Thánésur, B'hág Sinh, of Jhónd, and B'hailál Sinh, of Keintal. Besides these, there are several inferior chiefs, such as Gurú'dah Sinh, Júd'r Sinh, Gujar Sinh, and Carm Sinh, all of whom have a few villages, and some horse, and consider themselves independent; though they, in general, are content to secure their possessions, by attaching themselves to one or other of the more powerful leaders.

The country of the Málawá Sinh is, in some parts, fruitful; but those districts of it, which border on Hánsyá and Carnál, are very barren; being covered with low wood; and, in many places, almost destitute of water. Sarhínd was formerly the capital of this country; but it is now a complete ruin, and has probably never recovered the dreadful ravages of the Bairágí Bándá, who is stated, not only to have destroyed its mosques, but to have levelled all its palaces, and public buildings, with the ground. Patílálá is now the largest and most flourishing town of this province, and next to it Thánésur, which is still held in high religious veneration by the Hindús, who have also a very high reverence for the river Saraswáti, which flows through this province. The territories of the chiefs of Málawá Sinh are bounded, to the N. W. by the Satléj, between which and the Béyah, is the country called the Jalémndra Beí, or Jalémndra Dúáb, the Sikhs inhabiting which are called the Dúábá Sinh, or the Sinhs who dwell between the rivers. The country of Jalémndra Dúáb, which reaches from the mountains to the junction of the Satléj and the Béyah, is the most fruitful of all the possessions of the Sikhs; and is, per-

* With the chiefs of the Sikhs in the Jalémndra Dúáb, we are little acquainted. Tá'ra Sinh is the most considerable, but he and the others have been greatly weakened, by their constant and increasing internal divisions.
SKETCH OF THE SIKHS.

The country between the Béyah and Rávi rivers, is called Béri Dúáb, or Mánj’há; and the Sikhs inhabiting it are called Mánj’há Singh. The cities of Lahore and Amritsar are both in this province, and it becomes, in consequence, the great centre of the power of this nation. Ranjit Singh, of Lahore, Fateh Singh*, of Alláwád, and Jude’ Singh, of Ramgádá,† are the principal chiefs of this country.

The country of Béri is said to be less fertile, particularly towards the mountains, than Jaléndra; but as it lies on the same level, it must possess nearly the same climate and soil.

The inhabitants of the country between the Rávi and Chanháb, are called D’harpé Singh, from the country being called D’harpé. The D’hânisgheb Singh are beyond the Chanháb,‡ but within the Jehálum river.

The Sind Singh is the term, by which the inhabitants of the districts, under the Sikhs, bordering on the Sind, are known; and Nakái Singh is the name given to the Sikhs who reside in Multán. With the leaders of

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* Fateh Singh is, like Ranjit Singh, of a Ját family.
† Jude’ Singh, of Ramgádá, is of the carpenter cast.
‡ The term Gujarát Singh is sometimes given to the inhabitants of this Dúáb, of which the chiefs of Gujarát and Rotás are the principal rulers.
the Sikhs in these provinces, the extent of their possessions, or the climate and productions of the country under their rule, I am little acquainted. Those in Multán, as well as those settled on the river Jéhalam, are said to be constantly engaged in a predatory warfare, either with the officers of the Afghán government, or with Muhammedan chiefs who have Jágirs in their vicinity.

The government of the Sikhs, considered in its theory, may, as has been before stated, be termed a theocracy. They obey a temporal chief, it is true; but that chief preserves his power and authority by professing himself the servant of the Khálśá* or government, which can only be said to act, in times of great public emergency, through the means of a national council, of which every chief is a member, and which is supposed to deliberate and resolve under the immediate inspiration and impulse of an invisible being; who, they believe, always watches over the interests of the commonwealth.

The nature of the power, established by the temporal chiefs of the Sikhs, has been sufficiently explained in the narrative of their history. It will be necessary, before any account is given of the forms and action of their Gúrú-máta, or great national council, which is intended to have a supreme authority over their federative republic, to take a view of that body of Acáls, or immortals, who, under the double character of fanatic priests, and desperate soldiers, have usurped the sole direction of all religious affairs at Ámrítára, and are consequently leading men in a council

* The word Khálśá, which has before been explained to mean the state or commonwealth, is supposed, by the Sikhs, to have a mystical meaning, and to imply that superior government, under the protection of which, "they live, and to the established rules and laws of which, as fixed by Gúrú Góvínd, it is their civil and religious duty to conform."
which is held at that sacred place, and which deliberates under all the influence of religious enthusiasm.

The Acālis* are a class of Sikh devotees; who, agreeably to the historians of that nation, were first founded by Guru Govinda, whose institutes, as it has been before stated, they most zealously defended against the innovations of the Bairagi Banda. They wear blue chequered clothes, and bangles or bracelets of steel† round their wrists, initiate converts, and have almost the sole direction of the religious ceremonies at Amritsar, where they reside, and of which they deem themselves the defenders, and consequently never desire to quit it unless in cases of great extremity.

This order of Sikhs have a place, or Bunga,‡ on the bank of the sacred reservoir of Amritsar, where they generally resort, but are individ-

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This page contains a table with the following text:

* Acālī, derived from Acāl, a compound term of edā, death, and the Sanscrit privative a, which means never-dying, or immortal. It is one of the names of the divinity, and has probably been given to this remarkable class of devotees, from their always exclaiming Acāl Acāl in their devotions.

† All Sikhs do not wear bracelets; but it is indispensable to have steel about their persons, which they generally have in the shape of a knife or dagger. In support of this ordinance, they quote the following verses of Guru Govinda:

Sāheb bha rach'ha hamān
Tuhī Sri Sāheb, ekūri, kāti, kallār—
Acāl purakh kī rach'ha hamān
Serv loh di rach'ha hamān,
Servakāl di rach'ha hamān
Serv lohjī di sada rach'ha hamān,

which may be translated, "The protection of the infinite Lord is over us; thou art the Lord, the cutlass, the knife and the dagger. The protection of the immortal being is over us; the protection of all-steel is over us; the protection of all-time is over us; the protection of all-steel is constantly over us."
dually possessed of property, though they affect poverty, and subsist upon charity; which, however, since their numbers have increased, they generally extort, by accusing the principal chiefs of crimes, imposing fines upon them, and, in the event of their refusing to pay, preventing them from performing their ablutions, or going through any of their religious ceremonies at Amritsar.

It will not, when the above circumstances are considered, be thought surprising, that the most powerful of the Sikh chiefs should desire to conciliate this body of fanatics, no individual of which can be offended with impunity, as the cause of one is made the cause of the whole; and a chief, who is become unpopular with the Acalés, must not only avoid Amritsar, but is likely to have his dependants taught, when they pay their devotions at that place, that it is pious to resist his authority.

The Acalés have a great interest in maintaining both the religion and government of the Sikhs, as established by Guru Góvind; as, on its continuance in that shape, their religious and political influence must depend. Should Amritsar cease to be a place of resort, or be no longer considered as the religious capital of the state, in which all questions that involve the general interests of the commonwealth are to be decided; this formidable order would at once fall, from that power and consideration which they now possess, to a level with other mendicants.

When a Gurú-matá, or great national council, is called, as it always is, or ought to be, when any imminent danger threatens the country, or any...
A large expedition is to be undertaken, all the Sikh chiefs assemble at Amritsar. The assembly, which is called the Gūrū-matā, is convened by the Acālis; and when the chiefs meet upon this solemn occasion, it is concluded that all private animosities cease, and that every man sacrifices his personal feelings, at the shrine of the general good; and, actuated by principles of pure patriotism, thinks of nothing but the interests of the religion, and commonwealth, to which he belongs.

When the chiefs and principal leaders are seated, the Ādi-Grant’h and Daśama Pādshāh ka Grant’h, are placed before them. They all bend their heads before these scriptures, and exclaim, Wa! Gūrūjī ka Khālsa! Wa! Gūrūjī ki Fateh! A great quantity of cakes, made of wheat, butter, and sugar, are then placed before the volumes of their sacred writings, and covered with a cloth. These holy cakes, which are in commemoration of the injunction of Naṅac, to eat and to give to others to eat, next receive the salutation of the assembly, who then rise, and the Acālis pray aloud, while the musicians play. The Acālis when the prayers are finished, desire the council to be seated. They sit down, and the cakes being uncovered, are eaten of by all classes* of Sikhs. Those distinctions of original tribes which are, on other occasions, kept up, being on this occasion laid aside, in token of their general and complete union in one cause.† The Acālis then exclaim, “Sirdars! (chiefs) this is a Gūrū-

* A custom, of a similar nature, with regard to all tribes eating promiscuously, is observed among the Hindūs, at the temple of Jāgannāth, where men of all religions and castes, without distinction, eat of the Mahā Prasād, the great offering, i.e. food dressed by the cooks of the idols, and sold on the stairs of the temple.

† The Sikh priest, who gave an account of this custom, was of a high Hindū tribe; and, retaining some of his prejudices, he at first said that Muḥammedan Sikhs, and those who were converts from the sweeper cast, were obliged, even on this occasion, to eat a little apart from the other Sikhs; but, on being closely questioned, he admitted the fact as stated.
"matá!" on which prayers are again said aloud. The chiefs, after this, sit closer, and say to each other, "the sacred Grant'h is betwixt us, let us swear by our scripture to forget all internal disputes, and to be united." This moment of religious fervor, and ardent patriotism, is taken to reconcile all animosities. They then proceed to consider the danger with which they are threatened, to settle the best plans for averting it, and to choose the generals who are to lead their armies against the common enemy. The first Gúr-matá was assembled by Gúrú Góvind, and the latest was called in 1804, when the British army pursued Holkar into the Penjád.

The principal chiefs of the Sikhs, are all descended from Hindu tribes. There is, indeed, no instance of a Singh of a Mohammedan family attaining high power;† a circumstance to be accounted for, from the hatred still cherished, by the followers of Gúrú Góvind, against the descendants of his persecutors; and that this rancorous spirit is undiminished, may be seen from their treatment of the wretched Mohammedans, who yet remain in their territories. These, though very numerous, appear to be all poor, and to be an oppressed, despised race. They till the ground, and are employed to carry burdens, and to do all kinds of hard labour; they are not allowed to eat beef, or to say their prayers in the narrative; saying, however, it was only on this solemn occasion, that these tribes are admitted to eat with the others.

* The army is called, when thus assembled, the Dál Khálád or the army of the state.
† The Mohammedans who have become Sikhs, and their descendants, are, in the Penjád jargon, termed Meshebi Singh, or Singhs of the faith; and they are subdivided into the four classes which are vulgarly, but erroneously, supposed to distinguish the followers of Mohammed, Sayyad Singh, Sheik Singh, Mogul Singh, and Pata'n Singh, by which designations the names of the particular race or country of the Mohammedans have been affixed, by Hindus, as distinctions of cast.
aloud, and but seldom assemble in their mosques, of which few indeed have escaped destruction. The lower order of Sikhs are more happy: they are protected from the tyranny and violence of the chiefs, under whom they live, by the precepts of their common religion, and by the condition of their country, which enables them to abandon, whenever they chuse, a leader whom they dislike; and the distance of a few miles generally places them under the protection of his rival and enemy. It is from this cause, that the lowest Sikh horseman usually assumes a very independent style, and the highest chief treats his military followers with attention and conciliation. The civil officers, to whom the chiefs entrust their accounts, and the management of their property and revenue concerns, as well as the conduct of their negotiations, are in general Sikhs of the Khalāsā cast, who, being followers of Na'ānāc, and not of Gūru Góvind, are not devoted to arms, but educated for peaceful occupations, in which they often become very expert and intelligent.

In the collection of the revenue in the Penjāb, it is stated to be a general rule, that the chiefs to whom the territories belong, should receive one half of the produce; and the farmer the other; but the chief never levies the whole of his share; and, in no country, perhaps, is the Rayat, or cultivator, treated with more indulgence. Commerce is not so much encouraged: heavy duties are levied upon it, by all petty rulers, through whose districts it passes: and this, added to the distracted state in which the Penjāb has been, from the internal disputes of its possessors, caused

* The Muhammedan inhabitants of the Penjāb used to flock to the British camp, where they said they enjoyed luxuries, which no man could appreciate, that had not suffered privation. They could pray aloud, and feast upon beef.

† Grain pays in kind; sugar-cane, melons &c. pay in cash.
the rich produce of Cashmír to be carried to India by the difficult and mountainous tract of Jammu, Núdón, and Súñagar. The Sikh chiefs have, however, discovered the injury which their interests have suffered from this cause, and have endeavored, and not without success, to restore confidence to the merchant; and great part of the shawl trade now flows through the cities of Lahore, Amritsar, and Patála, to Hindústán.

The administration of justice, in the countries under the Sikhs, is in a very rude and imperfect state; for though their scriptures inculcate general maxims of justice, they are not considered, as the old testament is by the Jews, or the Korán by the Muhammedans, as books of law: and, having no fixed code, they appear to have adopted that irregular practice, which is most congenial to the temper of the people, and best suited to the unsteady and changing character of their rule of government. The following appears to be the general outline of their practice in the administration of justice.

Tripling disputes, about property, are settled by the heads of the village, by arbitration,* or by the chiefs: either of these modes, supposing the parties consent to refer to it, is final; and they must agree to one or other. If a theft occurs, the property is recovered, and the party punished, not with death, by the person from whom it was stolen, or by the inhabitants of his village, or his chief, on either of whom he has a right to call, upon such an occasion; † for aid. Murder is sometimes punished by

* This is called Panchayat, or a court of five, the general number of arbitrators chosen to adjust differences and disputes. It is usual to assemble a Panchayat, or a court of arbitration, in every part of India, under a native government; and, as they are always chosen from men of the best reputation, in the place where they meet, this court has a high character for justice.

† A Sikh priest, who has been several years in Calcutta, gave this outline of the adminis-
the chief; but, more generally, by the relations of the deceased, who, in such cases, rigorously retaliate on the murderer, and sometimes on all who endeavor to protect him.

The character of the Sikhs, or rather Sinhs, which is the name by which the followers of Guru Gobind, who are all devoted to arms, are distinguished, is very marked. They have, in general, the Hindu cast of countenance, somewhat altered by their long beards, and are to the full as active as the Mahrattas, and much more robust, from their living fuller, and enjoying a better and colder climate. Their courage is equal, at all times, to that of any natives of India, and when wrought upon by prejudice or religion, is quite desperate. They are all horsemen, and have no infantry in their own country, except for the defence of their forts and villages, though they generally serve as infantry in foreign armies. They are bold, and rather rough in their address, which appears more to a stranger from their invariably speaking in a loud tone* of voice: but this is quite a habit, and is alike used by them to express the sentiments of regard and hatred. The Sikhs have been reputed deceitful and cruel, but I know no grounds upon which they can be considered more so, than the other tribes of India; they seemed to me, from all the intercourse I had

* Talking aloud is so habitual to a Sikh, that he bawls a secret in your ear. It has often occurred to me, that they have acquired it from living in a country, where internal disputes have so completely destroyed confidence, that they can only carry on conversation with each other at a distance; but it is fitter, perhaps, to impute this boisterous and rude habit, to their living almost constantly in a camp, in which the voice certainly loses that nice modulated tone which distinguishes the more polished inhabitants of cities.
with them, to be more open and sincere than the Mahrattas; and less rude, and savage, than the Afghans. They have, indeed, become, from national success, too proud of their own strength, and too irritable in their tempers, to have patience for the wiles of the former; and they retain, in spite of their change of manners and religion, too much of the original character of their Hindu ancestors, (for the great majority are of the Hindu race,) to have the constitutional ferocity of the latter. The Sikh soldier is, generally speaking, brave, active and cheerful, without polish, but neither destitute of sincerity nor attachment; and, if he often appears wanting in humanity, it is not so much to be attributed to his national character, as to the habits of a life, which, from the condition of the society in which he is born, is generally past in scenes of violence and rapine.

The Sikh merchant, or cultivator of the soil, if he is a Singh, differs little in character from the soldier, except that his occupation renders him less presuming and boisterous. He also wears arms, and is, from education, prompt to use them, whenever his individual interest, or that of the community in which he lives, requires him to do so. The gene-

* The old Sikh soldier generally returns to his native village, where his wealth, courage, or experience, always obtains him respect, and sometimes station and consequence. The second march which the British army made, into the country of the Sikhs, the head-quarters were near a small village, the chief of which, who was upwards of a hundred years of age, had been a soldier, and retained all the look and manner of his former occupation. He came to me and expressed his anxiety to see Lord Lake. I shewed him the general, who was sitting alone, in his tent, writing. He smiled, and said he knew better: the hero who had overthrown Sindia, and Holkar, and had conquered Hindustan, must be surrounded with attendants, and have plenty of persons to write for him. I assured him that it was Lord Lake; and on his lordship coming to breakfast, I introduced the old Singh, who seeing a number of officers collect round him, was at last satisfied of the truth of what I said, and pleased with the great kindness and condescension with which he was treated by one whom he justly thought so
ral occupations of the Khalása Sikhs has been before mentioned. Their character differs widely from that of the Sinhs. Full of intrigue, pliant, versatile and insinuating, they have all the art of the lower classes of Hindús, who are usually employed in transacting business; from whom, indeed, as they have no distinction of dress, it is very difficult to distinguish them.

The religious tribes of Acálís, Shahíd, and Nirmala, have been noticed; their general character is formed from their habits of life. The Acálís are insolent, ignorant and daring: presuming upon those rights which their numbers and fanatic courage have established, their deportment is hardly tolerant to the other Sikhs, and insufferable to strangers, for whom they entertain a contempt which they take little pains to conceal. The Shahíd and the Nirmala, particularly the latter, have more knowledge and more urbanity. They are almost all men of quiet, peaceable habits; and many of them are said to possess learning.

There is another tribe among the Sikhs, called the Nánac Pautra, or descendants of Nánac, who have the character of being a mild, in-

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great a man, sat down on the carpet, became quite talkative, and related all he had seen, from the invasion of Nádir Shah to that moment. Lord Lake, pleased with the bold manliness of his address, and the independence of his sentiments, told him he would grant him any favour he wished. "I am glad of it," said the old man, "then march away with your army from my village, which will otherwise be destroyed." Lord Lake, struck with the noble spirit of the request, assured him he would march next morning, and that, in the mean time, he should have guards who would protect his village from injury. Satisfied with this assurance, the old Sinh was retiring, apparently full of admiration and gratitude at Lord Lake's goodness, and of wonder at the scene he had witnessed, when, meeting two officers, at the door of the tent, he put a hand upon the breast of each, exclaiming at the same time, "brothers! where were you born, and where are you at this moment?" and without waiting for an answer, proceeded to his village.
offensive race; and, though they do not acknowledge the institutions of Gu'ru Gövind, they are greatly revered by his followers, who hold it sacrilege to injure the race of their founder; and, under the advantage which this general veneration affords them, the Nánac Pautra pursue their occupations; which, if they are not mendicants, is generally that of travelling merchants. They do not carry arms; and profess, agreeably to the doctrine of Nánac, to be at peace* with all mankind.

The Sikh converts, it has been before stated, continue, after they have quitted their original religion, all those civil usages and customs, of the tribes to which they belonged, that they can practise, without infringing the tenets of Nánac, or the institutions of Gu'ru Gövind. They are most particular with regard to their intermarriages; and, on this point, Sikhs descended from Hindus, almost invariably conform to Hindu customs, every tribe intermarrying within itself. The Hindu usage, regarding diet, is also held equally sacred; no Sikh, descended from a Hindu family, ever violating it, except upon particular occasions, such as a Gürú-matá, when they are obliged, by their tenets and institutions, to eat promiscuously. The strict observance of these usages has enabled many of the Sikhs, particularly of the Ját† and Gujar ‡ tribes, which include almost

* When Lord Lake entered the Penjáb, in 1805, a general protection was requested, by several principal chiefs, for the Nánac Pautra, on the ground of the veneration in which they were held, which enabled them, it was stated, to travel all over the country without molestation; even when the most violent wars existed. It was, of course, granted.

† The Játs are Hindus, of a low tribe, who, taking advantage of the decline of the Mogul empire, have, by their courage and enterprise, raised themselves into some consequence on the north-western parts of Hindustan, and many of the strongest forts of that part of India are still in their possession.

‡ The Gujars, who are also Hindus, have raised themselves to power by means not dissimilar to those used by the Játs. Almost all the thieves in Hindustan are of this tribe.
all those settled to the south of the Satlēj, to preserve an intimate intercourse with their original tribes; who, considering the Sikhs, not as having lost cast, but as Hindūs that have joined a political association, which obliges them to conform to general rules established for its preservation, neither refuse to intermarry* nor to eat with them.

The higher cast of Hindūs, such as Brahmens and Cshatriyas, who have become Sikhs, continue to intermarry with converts of their own tribes, but not with Hindūs of the cast they have abandoned, as they are polluted by eating animal food, all kinds of which are lawful to Sikhs, except the cow, which it is held sacrilege to slay.† NaNac, whose object was to conciliate the Muhammedans to his creed, prohibited hog's flesh also, but it was introduced by his successors, as much, perhaps, from a spirit of revenge against the Moslems, as from considerations of indulgence to the numerous converts of the Jāt and Gujar tribe, among whom wild hog is a favorite species of food.

The Muhammedans, who become Sikhs, intermarry with each other, but are allowed to preserve none of their usages, being obliged to eat hog's flesh, and abstain from circumcision.

The Sikhs are forbid the use of tobacco,‡ but allowed to indulge in spirituous§ liquors, which they almost all drink to excess; and it is rare

* A marriage took place very lately between the Sikh chief of Patiāla, and that of the Jāt Rājā of Bharatpur.
† Their prejudice regarding the killing of cows is stronger, if possible, than that of the Hindūs.
‡ The Khalāsa Sikhs, who follow NaNac, and reject Guru Govind's institutions, make use of it.
§ Spirituous liquors, they say, are allowed by that verse in the Adi-Granth, which states, "Eat and give unto others to eat. Drink and give unto others to drink. Be glad and make others glad." There is also an authority, quoted by the Sikhs, from the Hindū Sāstras, in
to see a Sinh soldier, after sunset, quite sober. Their drink is an ardent spirit,* made in the Penjab; but they have no objections to either the wine or spirits of Europe, when they can obtain them.

The use of opium, to intoxicate, is very common with the Sikhs, as with most of the military tribes of India. They also take B’hang;† another inebriating drug.

The conduct of the Sikhs to their women, differs, in no material respect, from that of the tribes of Hindus, or Muhammedans, from whom they are descended; their moral character, with regard to women, and indeed in most other points, may, from the freedom of their habits, generally be considered as much more lax than that of their ancestors, who lived under the restraint of severe restrictions, and whose fear of excommunication from their cast, at least obliged them to cover their sins with the veil of decency. This the emancipated Sikhs despise; and there is hardly an infamy which this debauched and dissolute race are not accused, and I believe with justice, of committing, in the most open and shameful manner.

The Sikhs are almost all horsemen, and they take great delight in riding. Their horses were, a few years ago, famous; and those bred in favor of this drinking to excess. Durga, agreeably to the Sikh quotations, used to drink, because liquor inspires courage; and this goddess, they say, was drunk when she slew Mahi-sha’ur.

* When Fateh Sinh of Aluza’d, who was quite a young man, was with the British army, Lord Lake gratified him by a field review. He was upon an elephant, and I attended him upon another. A little before sun-set, he became low and uneasy. I observed it, and B’hag Sinh, an old chief, of frank, rough manners, at once said, "Fateh Sinh wants his " dram, but is ashamed to drink before you." I requested he would follow his custom, which he did, by drinking a large cup of spirits.

† Cannabis Sativa.
the Lak’hi Jungle, and other parts of their territory, were justly celebrated for their strength, temper and activity; but the internal distractions of these territories has been unfavourable to the encouragement of the breed, which has consequently declined; and the Sikhs now are in no respect better mounted than the Mahrātas; and, from a hundred of their cavalry, it would be difficult to select ten horses that would be admitted as fit to mount native troopers in the English service.

Their horsemen use swords and spears, and most of them now carry matchlocks, though some still use the bow and arrow, a species of arms, for excellence in the use of which their forefathers were celebrated, and which their descendants appear to abandon with great reluctance.

The education of the Sikhs renders them hardy, and capable of great fatigue; and the condition of the society in which they live, affords constant exercise to that restless spirit of activity and enterprise, which their religion has generated. Such a race cannot be epicures: they appear, indeed, generally to despise luxury of diet, and pride themselves in their coarse fare. Their dress is also plain, not unlike that of the Hindūs, equally light and divested of ornament. Some of the chiefs wear gold bangles, but this is rare, and the general characteristic of their dress, and mode of living, is simplicity.

The principal leaders, among the Sikhs, affect to be familiar and easy of intercourse with their inferiors, and to despise the pomp and state of the Muhammedan chiefs; but their pride often counteracts this disposition, and they appeared to me to have, in proportion to their rank and consequence, more state, and to maintain equal, if not more reserve, and dignity, with their followers, than is usual with the Mahrāta chiefs.
It would be difficult, if not impracticable, to ascertain the amount of the population of the Sikh territories, or even to compute the number of the armies which they could bring into action. They boast that they can raise more than a hundred thousand horse; and, if it were possible to assemble every Sikh horseman, this statement might not be an exaggeration; but there is, perhaps, no chief among them, except Ranjit Sinh, of Lahore, that could bring an effective body of four thousand men into the field: and the force of Ranjit Sinh did not, in 1805, amount to eight thousand, and part of that was under chiefs who had been subdued from a state of independence, and whose turbulent minds ill brooked an usurpation which they deemed subversive of the constitution of their commonwealth. His army is now more numerous than it was, but it is composed of materials which have no natural cohesion, and the first serious check which it meets, will probably cause its dissolution.

SECTION III.

There is no branch of this sketch which is more curious, and important, or that offers more difficulties to the inquirer, than the religion of the Sikhs. We meet with a creed of pure deism, grounded on the most sublime general truths, blended with the belief of all the absurdities of the Hindu mythology, and the fables of Mohammedanism; for Nanak professed a desire to reform, not to destroy, the religion of the tribe in which he was born; and, actuated by the great and benevolent design of reconciling the jarring faiths of Brahma and Mohammed, he endeavored to conciliate both Hindus and Moslems to his doctrine, by persuading them to reject those parts of their respective belief and usages, which he contend-
ed were unworthy of that God whom they both adored. He called upon the Hindús, to abandon the worship of idols, and to return to that pure devotion of the deity, in which their religion originated. He called upon the Muhammadans, to abstain from practices, like the slaughter of cows, that were offensive to the religion of the Hindús, and to cease from the persecution of that race. He adopted, in order to conciliate them, many of the maxims which he had learnt from mendicants, who professed the principles of the Súfi sect, and he constantly referred to the admired writings of the celebrated Muhammadan Kábir, who was a professed Súfi, and who inculcated the doctrine of the equality of the relation of all created beings to their creator. Nánáq endeavored, with all the power of his own genius, aided by such authorities, to impress both Hindús and Muhammadans with a love of toleration, and an abhorrence of war; and his life was as peaceable as his doctrine. He appears, indeed, to have adopted, from the hour in which he abandoned his worldly occupations, to that of his death, the habits practised by that crowd of holy mendicants, Sányásís and Fákirs, with whom Índia swarms. He conformed to their customs, and his extraordinary austerities are a constant theme of praise with his followers. His works are all in praise of God; but he treats the polytheism of the Hindús with respect, and even veneration. He never shews a disposition to destroy the fabric, but only wishes to divest it of its

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* This celebrated Súfi, or philosophical deist, lived in the time of the emperor Síh Síh. He was, by trade, a weaver; but has written several admired works. They are all composed in a strain of universal philanthropy and benevolence, and above all, he inculcated religious toleration, particularly between the Muhammadans and Hindús, by both of whom his memory is held in the highest esteem and veneration.

† Ná Nác was celebrated for the manner in which he performed Tapasa, or austere devotion which requires the mind to be so totally absorbed in the divinity, as to be abstracted from every worldly thought, and this for as long a period as human strength is capable of sustaining.
useless tinsel and false ornaments, and to establish its complete dependence upon the great creator of the universe. He speaks everywhere of Muhammad, and his successors, with moderation; but animadverts boldly on what he conceives to be their errors; and, above all, on their endeavours to propagate their faith by the sword.

As Nānac made no material invasion of either the civil or religious usages of the Hindus, and as his only desire was to restore a nation who had degenerated from their original pure worship* into idolatry, he may be considered more in the light of a reformer, than of a subverter of the Hindu religion; and those Sikhs who adhere to his tenets, without admitting those of Guru Govind, are hardly to be distinguished from the great mass of Hindu population; among whom there are many sects who differ, much more than that of Nānac, from the general and orthodox worship at present established in India.

The first successors of Nānac appear to have taught exactly the same doctrine as their leader; and though Har Govind armed all his followers, it was on a principle of self defence, in which he was fully justified, even by the usage of the Hindus. It was reserved for Guru Govind to give a new character to the religion of his followers, not by making any material alteration in the tenets of Nānac, but by establishing institutions and usages, which not only separated them from other Hindus, but which, by the complete abolition of all distinction of castes, destroyed, at one blow, a system of civil polity, that, from being interwoven with the religion of a weak and bigotted race, fixed the rule of its priests upon a basis that had withstood the shock of ages. Though the code of the Hindus

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* The most ancient Hindus do not appear to have paid adoration to idols; but though they adored God, they worshipped the sun and elements.
was calculated to preserve a vast community in tranquillity and obedience to its rulers; it had the natural effect of making the country, in which it was established, an easy conquest to every powerful foreign invader; and it appears to have been the contemplation of this effect, that made Guru Góvind resolve on the abolition of cast, as a necessary and indispensable prelude to any attempt to arm the original native population of India against their foreign tyrants. He called upon all Hindus, to break those chains in which prejudice and bigotry had bound them, and to devote themselves to arms, as the only means by which they could free themselves from the oppressive government of the Muhammedans, against whom a sense of his own wrongs, and those of his tribe, led him to preach eternal warfare. His religious doctrine was meant to be popular, and it promised equality. The invidious appellations of Bráhmen, Cśa-triya, Vaisya, and Sádra, were abolished. The pride of descent might remain, and keep up some distinctions; but in the religious code of Góvind, every Khálsha Sinh, for such he termed his followers, was equal, and had a like title to the good things of this world, and to the blessings of a future life.

Though Guru Góvind mixes, even more than Nanak, the mythology of the Hindus with his own tenets; though his desire to conciliate them, in opposition to the Muhammedans, against whom he always breathed war and destruction, led him to worship at Hindu sacred shrines; and though the peculiar customs and dress, among his followers, are stated to have been adopted from veneration to the Hindu goddess of courage, Durga Bhaváni; yet it is impossible to reconcile the religion and usages, which Góvind has established, with the belief of the Hindus. It does not, like that of Nanak, question some favorite dogmas of the disciples of
SKETCH OF THE SIKHS.

Brahma', and attack that worship of idols, which few of these defend, except upon the ground of these figures, before which they bend, being symbolical representations of the attributes of an all-powerful divinity; but it proceeds, at once, to subvert the foundation of the whole system. Wherever the religion of Gu'ru Góvind prevails, the institutions of Brahma' must fall. The admission of proselytes, the abolition of the distinctions of cast, the eating of all kinds of flesh, except that of cows, the form of religious worship, and the general devotion of all Siks to arms, are ordinances altogether irreconcilable with Hindu mythology, and have rendered the religion of the Siks as obnoxious to the Brahméns, and higher tribes of the Hindu's, as it is popular with the lower orders of that numerous class of mankind.

After this rapid sketch of the general character of the religion of the Siks, I shall take a more detailed view of its origin, progress, tenets and forms.

A Sikh author, whom I have followed in several parts of this sketch, is very particular in stating the causes of the origin of the religion of Nanak; he describes the different Yugas, or ages of the world, stated in the Hindu mythology. The Cali Yuga, which is the present, is that in which it was written that the human race would become completely depraved. "Discord," says the author, speaking of the Cali Yuga, "will rise in the world, sin prevail, and the universe become wicked; cast will contend with cast; and, like bamboos in friction, consume each other to "embers. The Vedas, or scriptures," he adds, "will be held in disre- "pute, for they shall not be understood, and the darkness of ignorance;"
"will prevail everywhere." Such is this author's record of a divine prophecy, regarding this degenerate age. He proceeds to state what has ensued: "every one followed his own path, and sects were separated; some worshipped Chandra (the moon); some Surya (the sun); some prayed to the earth, to the sky, and the air, and the water, and the fire; while others worshipped Dh'eraṇa Rāja (the judge of the dead), and in the fallacy of the sects nothing was to be found but error. In short, pride prevailed in the world, and the four castes* established a system of ascetic devotion. From these, the ten sects of Sanyāsīs, and the twelve sects of Yógīs originated. The Jangam, the Srévīra, and the Déva Digambar, entered into mutual contests. The Brāhmans divided into different classes, and the Sastras, Védas, and Puránas† contradicted each other. The six Ders'aus (philosophical sects) exhibited enmity, and the thirty-six Páshands, (heterodox sects,) arose, with hundreds of thousands of chimerical and magical (tantra mantra) sects; and thus, from one form, many good and many evil forms originated, and error prevailed in the Cāla Yūg, or age of general depravity."

The Sikh author pursues this account of the errors into which the Hindús fell, with a curious passage, regarding the origin and progress of the Muhammedan religion.

"When Muhammed Yār meaning friend, and one of the prophet's titles, among his followers, is Yar-i-Khuda, or the friend of God.
§ The Muhammedan religion is said to be divided into seventy-two sects.
"Rózeh o Aíd (fast and festivals) and the Namáz (prayer) and made his practice of devotional acts prevalent in the world, with a multitude of distinctions, of Pír (saint) Paíghamber (prophet) Ulemá, (the order of priesthood,) and Kitáb (the Korân.) He demolished the temples, and on their ruins built the mosques, slaughtering cows and helpless persons, and spreading transgression far and wide, holding in hostility Cáfirs (infidels), Mulhids (idolators), Irmenís (Armenians), Rumís (the Turks), and Zingís (Ethiopians;) thus vice greatly diffused itself in the universe."

"Then," this author adds, "there were two races in the world, the one Hindú, the other Muhammedan, and both were alike excited by pride, enmity, and avarice, to violence. The Hindús set their heart on Gangá and Benares. The Muhammedans on Mecca and the Cábá. The Hindús clung to their mark on the forehead and brahminical string. The Mostémans to their circumcision. The one cried Ram (the name of an Avatár) the other Rahim (the merciful); one name but two ways of pronouncing it; forgetting equally the Vedás, and the Korán; and through the deceptions of lust, avarice, the world, and Satan, they swerved equally from the true path; while Bráhmens and Moulavís destroyed each other, by their quarrels, and the vicissitudes of life and death hung always suspended over their heads."

"When the world was in this distracted state and vice prevailed," says this writer, "the complaint of virtue, whose dominion was extinct, reached the throne of the almighty, who created NaNAC, to enlighten, and improve a degenerate and corrupt age; and that holy man made God the supreme known to all, giving the nectarious water that washed his feet to his disciples to drink. He restored to virtue her
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*strength, blended the four castes* into one, established one mode of salutation, changed the childish play of bending the head at the feet of idols, taught the worship of the true God, and reformed a depraved world.*

Nānac appears, by the account of this author, to have established his fame for sanctity, by the usual modes of religious mendicants. He performed severe Tapasa,‡ living upon sand and swallow-wort, and sleeping on sharp pebbles; and after attaining fame by this kind of penance, he commenced his travels, with the view of spreading his doctrine over the earth.

After Nānac had completed his terrestrial travels, he is supposed to have ascended to Sumeru, where he saw the Siddhis,‡ all seated in a circle. These, from a knowledge of that eminence for which he was predestined, wished to make him assume the characteristic devotion of their sect, to which they thought he would be an ornament. While means were used to effect this purpose, a divine voice was heard to exclaim: "Nā-

"Nāc shall form his own sect, distinct from all the Yatis§ and Siddhis; and his name shall be joyful to the Cali Top." After this, Nānac preached the adoration of the true God, to the Hindus; and then went to instruct the Mohammedans, in their sacred temples at Mecca. When at that place, the holy men are said to have gathered round him, and demand-

*There is no ground to conclude, that castes were altogether abolished by Nānac; though his doctrines and writings had a tendency to equalize the Hindus, and unite all in the worship of one God.

† A kind of ascetic devotion, which has been before explained.
	‡ The Siddhis (Saints) are the attendants of the gods. The name is most generally applied to those who wait on Ganesa.

§ The name Yati is most usually applied to the priests of the Jainas; but it is also applicable to Sanyasis and other penitents.
ded, whether their faith, or that of the Hindūs, was the best. “Without
the practice of true piety, both,” said Nanac, “are erroneous, and
neither Hindūs nor Moslems will be acceptable before the throne of
God; for the faded tinge of scarlet, that has been soiled by water, will
never return. You both deceive yourselves, pronouncing aloud Ram
and Rahim, and the way of Satan prevails in the universe.”

The courageous independence, with which Nanac announced his reli-
gion to the Muhammadans, is a favorite topic with his biographers. He
was one day abused, and even struck, as one of these relates, by a Moula-
h, for lying on the ground with his feet in the direction of the sacred
temple of Mecca. “How darest thou, infidel!” said the offended Muham-
medan priest, “turn thy feet towards the house of God.” “Turn them
if you can,” said the pious but indignant Nanac, “in a direction
where the house of God is not.”

Nanac did not deny the mission of Muhammad. “That Prophet
was sent,” he said, “by God, to this world, to do good, and to dis-
seminate the knowledge of one God through means of the Koran;
but he, acting on the principle of free will, which all human beings
exercise, introduced oppression, and cruelty, and the slaughter of cows,*
for which he died.” “I am now sent,” he added, “from heaven, to
publish unto mankind a book, which shall reduce all the names given
unto God, to one name, which is God; and he who calls him by any
other, shall fall into the path of the devil, and have his feet bound in
the chains of wretchedness: you have,” said he to the Muhammadans,
despoiled the temples, and burnt the sacred Vedas, of the Hindūs; and

* Nanac appears, on this, and every occasion, to have preserved his attachment to this
favorite dogma of the Hindūs.
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"you have dressed yourselves in dresses of blue, and you delight to have your praises sung from house to house; but I, who have seen all the world, tell you, that the Hindús equally hate you and your mosques. I am sent to reconcile your jarring faiths, and I implore you to read their scriptures, as well as your own; but reading is useless without obedience to the doctrine taught; for God has said, no man shall be saved except he has performed good works. The almighty will not ask to what tribe or persuasion he belongs. He will only ask what he done. Therefore those violent and continued disputes, which subsist between the Hindús and Moslemans, are as impious as they are unjust."

Such were the doctrines, according to his disciples, which Nanac taught to both Hindús and Muhammedans: He professed veneration and respect, but refused adoration to the founders of both their religions, for which, as for those of all other tribes, he had great tolerance. "A hundred thousand of Muhammeds," said Nanac, "a million of Brahma's, Vishnus, and a hundred thousand Ramas, stand at the gate of the most high. These all perish, God alone is immortal. Yet men, who unite in the praise of God, are not ashamed of living in contention with each other, which proves that the evil spirit has subdued all. He alone is a true Hindú whose heart is just, and he only is a good Muhammedan whose life is pure."

Nanac is stated, by the Sikh author from whom the above account of his religion is taken, to have had an interview with the supreme God, which he thus describes: "one day Nanac heard a voice from above exclaim, Nanac, approach!" He replied, "Oh God! what power have I to stand in thy presence?" The voice said, "close thine eyes." Nanac shut his eyes, and advanced: he was told to look up;
he did so, and heard the word *Wa!* or *well done*, pronounced five times, and then *Wa! Gūrījī*, or *well done teacher*. After this God said, "**Nānāc! I have sent thee into the world, in the Cālī Yug, (or depraved age;) go and bear my name.**" **Nānāc** said, "**Oh God! how can I bear the mighty burthen? If my age was extended to tens of millions of years, if I drank of immortality and my eyes were formed of the sun and moon, and were never closed, still, Oh God! I could not presume to take charge of thy wondrous name.**" "**I will be thy Gūrū (teacher),**" said God, "**and thou shalt be a Gūrū to all mankind, and thy sect shall be great in the world, their word is Pūri Pūrī. The word of the Bairāgī is Rām! Rām! that of the Sanyāsī Om! Namā! Nārayen! and the word of the Yūgī, Adēs! Adēs! and the salutation of the Muhammadans is Salām Allākam; and that of the Hindūs, Rām! Rām! but the word of thy sect shall be Gūrū, and I will forgive the crimes of thy disciples. The place of worship of the Bairāgīs is called Ramsāla; that of the Yūgī, Asan; that of the Sanyāsīs, Māt; that of thy tribe shall be Dherma Sāla. Thou must teach unto thy followers three lessons; the first, to worship my name; the second, charity; the third, ablution. They must not abandon the world, and they must do ill to no being; for into every being have I infused breath, and whatever I am, thou art, for betwixt us there is no difference. It is a blessing that thou art sent into the Cālī Yug." After this *Wa Gūrū! or well done, teacher!* was pronounced from the mouth of of the most high Gūrū or teacher (God), and **Nānāc** came to give "light and freedom to the universe."

The above will give a sufficient view of the ideas, which the Sikh entertain, regarding the divine origin of their faith, which, as first taught by **Nānāc**, might justly be deemed the religion of peace.
"Put on armour," says Nanac, "that will harm no one; let thy coat of mail be that of understanding, and convert thy enemies to friends. Fight with valor, but with no weapon except the word of God." All the principles, which Nanac inculcated, were those of pure deism; but moderated, in order to meet the deep rooted usages of that portion of mankind which he wished to reclaim from error. Though he condemned the lives and habits of the Muhammadans, he approved of the Koran.* He admitted the truth of the ancient Vedas, but contended that the Hindu religion had been corrupted, by the introduction of a plurality of Gods, with the worship of images; which led their minds astray, from that great and eternal being, to whom adoration should alone be paid. He, however, followed the forms of the Hindus, and adopted most of their doctrines which did not interfere with his great and leading tenet. He admitted the claim to veneration, of the numerous catalogue of Hindu Devas, and Devatas, or inferior deities; but he refused them adoration. He held it impious to slaughter the cow, and he directed his votaries, as has been seen, to consider ablution as one of their primary religious duties.

Nanac, according to Penjabi authors, admitted the Hindu doctrine of metempsychosis. He believed, that really good men would enjoy paradise; that those, who had no claim to the name of good, but yet were not bad, would undergo another probation, by revisiting the world in the human form: and that the bad would animate the bodies of animals, particularly dogs and cats: but it appears, from the same authorities, that Nanac was acquainted with the Muhammadan doctrine, regarding the fall of man, and

* This fact is admitted by Sikh authors. It is, however, probable, that Nanac was but imperfectly acquainted with the doctrines of that volume.
a future state; and that he represented it to his followers, as a system, in which God, by shewing a heaven and a hell, had, in his great goodness, held out future rewards and punishments to man, whose will he had left free, to incite him to good actions, and deter him from bad. The principle of reward and punishment is so nearly the same in the Hindu and in the Muhammedan religion, that it was not difficult for Na'Nac to reconcile his followers upon this point; but in this, as in all others, he seems to have bent to the doctrine of Brahma. In all his writings, however, he borrowed indifferentlly from the Koran and the Hindu Sasthas; and his example was followed by his successors; and quotations from the scriptures of the Hindus, and from the book of Muhammed, are indiscriminately introduced into all their sacred writings, to elucidate those points, on which it was their object to reconcile these jarring religions.

With the exact modes in which Na'Nac instructed his followers to address their prayers to that supreme being whom he taught them to adore, I am not acquainted. Their D'herma Sala, or temples of worship, are, in general, plain buildings. Images are, of course, banished: their prescribed forms of prayer are, I believe, few and simple: part of the writings of Na'Nac, which have since been incorporated with those of his successors, in the Adi Granth, are read, or rather recited, upon every solemn occasion. These are all in praise of the deity, of religion, and of virtue; and against impiety, and immorality. The Adi Granth, the whole of the first part of which is ascribed to Na'Nac, is written, like the rest of the books of the Sikhs, in the Gurumukh character. I can only judge very imperfectly of the value of this work; but some extracts, translated from...
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The Adi Granth is in verse, and many of the chapters, written by Nanak, are termed Padi, which means, literally, a ladder or flight of steps; and metaphorically, that by which a man ascends.

In the following fragment, literally translated from the Sodar rag asa mahilla petta of Nanak, he displays the supremacy of the true God, and the inferiority of the Devatas, and other created beings, to the universal creator; however they may have been elevated into deities, by ignorance or superstition.

Thy portals, how wonderful they are, how wonderful thy palace, where thou sittest and governest all.

Numberless and infinite are the sounds which proclaim thy praises.

How numerous are the Pears, skilful in music and song.

Parvan (air), water, and Vasantar (fire) celebrate thee; Dherma Raja (the Hindu Rishamantus) celebrate thy praises, at thy gates.

Chitragupta (secretary to Dherma Raja) celebrates thy praises, who, skilful in writing, writes and administers final justice.

Isvara, Brahma, and Devi, celebrate thy praises; they declare in fitting terms thy majesty, at thy gates.

India celebrates thy praises, sitting on the Indraic throne amid the Devatas.

The just celebrate thy praises in profound meditation; the pious declare thy glory.

The Yatis, and the Satis joyfully celebrate thy might.

The Pandits, skilled in reading, and the Rishis' arms, who age by age read the Vedas, recite thy praises.

The Mohinis (celestial courtizens) heart alluring, inhabiting Swarga, Mritya and Pulatih, celebrate thy praises.

The Ratnas (gems) with the thirty-eight Tir'has (sacred springs,) celebrate thy praises.

Heroes of great might celebrate thy name; beings of the four kinds of production celebrate thy praises.

The continents, and regions of the world, celebrate thy praises; the universal Brhamand (the mandala egg) which thou hast established firm.

All who know thee praise thee, all who are desirous of thy worship.
How numerous they are who praise thee, they exceed my comprehension: how then shall Na Nanac describe them?

He, even he is the lord of truth, true, and truly just.

He is, he was, he passes, he passes not, the preserver of all that is preserved.

Of numerous hues, sorts and kinds, he is the original author of Maya (deception.)

Having formed the creation; he surveys his own work, the display of his own greatness.

What pleases him he does, and no order of any other being can reach him.

He is the Pushtah and the Pushtineb of Shahs; Na Nanac resides in his favour.

These few verses are, perhaps, sufficient to shew, that it was on a principle of pure deism, that Na Nanac entirely grounded his religion. It was not possible, however, that the minds of any large portion of mankind could remain long fixed in a belief which presented them only with general truths, and those of a nature too vast for their contemplation, or comprehension. The followers of Na Nanac, since his death, have paid an adoration to his name, which is at variance with the lessons which he taught; they have clothed him in all the attributes of a saint. They consider him as the selected instrument of God to make known the true faith to fallen man; and, as such, they give him divine honors; not only performing pilgrimage to his tomb, but addressing him, in their prayers, as their saviour and mediator.

The religious tenets and usages of the Sikhs, continued as they had been established by Na Nanac, till the time of Guru Gobind, who, though he did not alter the fundamental principles of the established faith, made so complete a change in the sacred usages, and civil habits of his

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Certainly no material alteration was made, either in the belief or forms of the Sikhs, by any of his successors before Guru Gobind. Har Gobind, who armed his followers to repel aggression, would only appear to have made a temporary effort to oppose his enemies, without an endeavour to effect any serious change in the religious belief or customs of the sect to which he belonged.
followers, that he gave them an entirely new character; and though the Sikhs retain all their veneration for Nānāc, they deem Gūru Góvinda to have been equally exalted, by the immediate favor, and protection of the divinity; and the Dāsama Pūdshāh ka Granth, or book of the tenth king, which was written by Gūru Góvinda, is considered, in every respect, as holy as the Adi Granth of Nānāc, and his immediate successors. I cannot better explain the pretensions which Gūru Góvinda has made to the rank of a prophet, than by exhibiting his own account of his mission in a literal version from his Vichira Nātac.

“...I now declare my own history, and the multifarious austerities which I have performed.

...Where the seven peaks rise beautiful on the mountain Hémacuta, and the place takes the name of Saptā Sringa, greater penance have I performed than was ever endured by Pándu Rājā, meditating constantly on Mahā Cāl and Cālica, till diversity was changed into one form. My father and mother meditated on the divinity, and performed the Yóga, till Gūru Dēva approved of their devotions. Then the supreme issued his order, and I was born, in the Cālī Tūg, though my inclination was not to come into the world, my mind being fixed on the foot of the supreme. When the supreme being made known His will, I was sent into the world. The eternal being thus addressed this feeble insect:

—I have manifested thee as my own son, and appointed thee to establish a perfect Panth (sect.) G into the world, establish virtue and expel vice.

—I stand with joined hands, bending my head at thy word: the Panth...
shall prevail in the world, when thou lendest thine aid.—Then was I sent into the world; thus I received mortal birth, as the supreme spoke to me, so do I speak, and so note do I bear enmity. Whoever shall call me Parameswara, he shall sink into the pit of hell: know, that I am only the servant of the supreme, and concerning this entertain no doubt. As God spoke, I amounce unto the world, and remain not silent in the world of men.

As God spoke, so do I declare, and I regard no person's word.

I wear my dress in nobody's fashion, but follow that appointed by the supreme. I perform no worship to stones, nor imitate the ceremonies of any one. I pronounce the infinite name, and have attained to the supreme being. I wear no bristling locks on my head, nor adorn myself with ear-rings. I receive no person's words in my ears, but as the Lord speaks, I act. I meditate on the sole name, and attain my object. To no other do I perform the Jâp, in no other do I confide, I meditate on the infinite name, and attain the supreme light. On no other do I meditate, the name of no other do I pronounce.

For this sole reason, to establish virtue, was I sent into the world by Guru Deva. Everywhere said he, 'establish virtue, and exterminate the wicked and vicious.' For this purpose have I received mortal birth, and this let all the virtuous understand. To establish virtue, to exalt piety and to extirpate the vicious utterly. Every former Avâtâr established his own Jâp, but no one punished the irreligious, no one established both the principles and practice of virtue. (Dharm Carman.) Every holy man (Ghous,) and prophet (Ambia,) attempted only to establish his own reputation in the world; but no one comprehended the supreme being, or understood the true principles or practice of virtue.
The doctrine of no other is of any avail: this doctrine fix in your minds.

There is no benefit in any other doctrine, this fix in your minds.

Whoever reads the Korán, whoever reads the Purán, neither of them shall escape death, and nothing but virtue shall avail at last.

Millions of men may read the Korán, they may read innumerable Puráns, but it shall be of no avail in the life to come, and the power of destiny shall prevail over them.

Guru Góvind, after this account of the origin of his mission, gives a short account of his birth and succession to the spiritual duties at his father's death.

At the command of God I received mortal birth, and came into the world. This I now declare briefly, attend to what I speak.

My father journeyed towards the east, performing ablution in all the sacred springs. When he arrived at Triveni, he spent a day in acts of devotion and charity. On that occasion was I manifested. In the town of Patna I received a body. Then the Madra Des received me, and nurses nursed me tenderly, and tended me with great care, instructing me attentively every day. When I reached the age of Dharma and Carma (principles and practice), my father departed to the Deiva Lóki.

When I was invested with the dignity of Rájá, I established virtue to the utmost of my power. I addicted myself to every species of hunting in the forests, and daily killed the bear and the stag. When I had become acquainted with that country, I proceeded to the city of Pánará, where I amused myself on the banks of the Calindri, and viewed every kind of spectacle. There I slew a great number of tigers; and in various modes, hunted the bear.
The above passages will convey an idea of that impression which 
Guru Gobind gave his followers of his divine mission. I shall shortly enu-
merate those alterations he made in the usages of the Sikhs, whom it was
his object to render, through the means of religious enthusiasm, a war-
like race.

Though Guru Gobind was brought up in the religion of Nanak, he
appears, from having been educated among the Hindu priests of Mathura,
to have been deeply tainted with their superstitious belief; and he was,
perhaps, induced by considerations of policy, to lean still more strongly
to their prejudices, in order to induce them to become converts to that
religious military community, by means of which it was his object to
destroy the Mohammedan power.

The principal of the religious institutions of Guru Gobind, is that
of the Pahul, the ceremony by which a convert is initiated into the tribe of
Sikhs; or, more properly speaking, that of Sinhs. The meaning of this
institution is to make the convert a member of the Khalsa, or Sikh com-
monwealth, which he can only become, by assenting to certain observ-
vances; the devoting himself to arms, for the defence of the common-
wealth, and the destruction of its enemies; the wearing his hair, and put-
ting on a blue dress.*

* It has been before stated that all the followers of Gobind do not now wear the blue
dress, but they all wear their hair; and their jealous regard of it is not to be described.
Three inferior agents of Sikh chiefs were one day in my tent; one of them was a Khalsa
Sinh, and the two others of the Khalsa tribe of Sikhs. I was laughing and joking with the
Khalsa Sinh, who said he had been ordered to attend me to Calcutta. Among other subjects
of our mirth, I rallied him on trusting himself so much in my power. "Why, what is
the worst," said he, "that you can do to me, when I am at such a distance from home?"
I passed my hand across my chin, imitating the act of shaving. The man's face was in an
THE mode, in which Gū'ru' Góvind first initiated his converts, is described by a Sikh writer; and, as I believe it is nearly the same as that now observed, I shall shortly state it as he has described it. Gū'ru' Góvind, he says, after his arrival at Mak'ha'val, initiated five converts, and gave them instructions how to initiate others. The mode is as follows. The convert is told that he must allow his hair to grow. He must clothe himself from head to foot in blue clothes. He is then presented with the five weapons: a sword, a firelock, a bow and arrow, and a pike. One of those who initiate him, then says, "the Gūrū is thy holy teacher, and thou art his Sikh or disciple." Some sugar and water is put into a cup, and stirred round with a steel knife, or dagger, and some of the first chapters of the Ádī-Grant'h, and the first chapters of the Dās'ama Pādshā'ḥ ka Grant'h, are read; and those who perform the initiation exclaim, Wa! Gūrūjī ka Khālsā! Wa! Gūrūjī kī Fateh! (Success to the state of the Gūrū! Victory attend the Gūrū!) after this exclamation has been repeated five times, they say, "this Sherbet is nectar. It is the water of life, drink it." The disciple obeys, and some Sherbet, prepared in a similar manner, is sprinkled over his head, and beard. After these ceremonies, the disciple is asked if he consents to be of the faith of Gū'ru' Góvind. He answers, "I do consent." He is then told, "if you do, you must abandon all instant distorted with rage, and his sword half drawn. "You are ignorant," said he to me, "of the offence you have given; I cannot strike you, who are above me, and the friend of my master and the state; but no power" he added, "shall save these fellows," alluding to the two Khalāsa Sikhs, "from my revenge, for having dared to smile at your action." It was with the greatest difficulty, and only by the good offices of some Sikh chiefs, that I was able to pacify the wounded honor of this Singh.

- The goddess of courage, Bhavānī Durgā, represented in the Dās'ama Pādshā'ḥ ka Grant'h, or book of kings of Gū'ru' Góvind, as the soul of arms, or tutelary goddess of war, and is thus addressed: "thou art the edge of the sword, thou art the arrow, the sword, "the knife and the dagger."
tercourse, and neither eat, drink or sit in company with men of five
sects which I shall name. The first, the Māna-D'hirmal, who, though of
the race of Nānac, were tempted by avarice to give poison to Arjun,
and though they did not succeed, they ought to be expelled from
society. The second are the Musandī, a sect who call themselves
Gurūs, or priests, and endeavour to introduce heterodox doctrines.*
The third, Rām Rāyī, the descendants of Rām Rāy, whose intrigues
were the great cause of the destruction of the holy ruler, Tegh Singh.
The fourth are the Kudi-mār, or destroyers of their own daughters.
Fifth, the Bhadanī, who shave the hair of their head and beards.†
The disciple, after this warning against intercourse with sectaries, or
rather schismatics, is instructed in some general precepts, the observance
of which regard the welfare of the community into which he has entered.
He is told to be gentle and polite to all with whom he converses, to en-
deavour to attain wisdom, and to emulate the persuasive eloquence of
Baba Nānac. He is particularly enjoined, whenever he approaches any
of the Sikh temples, to do it with reverence and respect, and to go to
Amritsar to pay his devotions to the Khālsa, or state, the interests of
which he is directed, on all occasions, to consider paramount to his own.
He is instructed to labor to encrease the prosperity of the town of Amrit-
sar: and told, that at every place of worship which he visits, he will be con-
ducted in the right path by the Gurū (Gurū Gōvind.) He is instructed
to believe, that it is the duty of all those who belong to the Khālsa, or
commonwealth of the Sikhs, neither to lament the sacrifice of property,
nor of life, in support of each other; and he is directed to read the Adi-

* Gurū Gōvind put to death many of this tribe.
† This barbarous custom still prevails among the Rajpūts in many parts of Hindūstan.
Grant'h and Dasama Pādshāh ka Grant'h, every morning and every evening. Whatever he has received from God, he is told it is his duty to share with others; and after the disciple has heard and understood all these and similar precepts, he is declared to be duly initiated.

Guru Govind Singh, agreeably to this Sikh author, after initiating the first five disciples in the mode above stated, ordered the principal person among them* to initiate him exactly on similar occasions, which he did. The author from whom the above account is taken, states, that when Govind was at the point of death, he exclaimed, "wherever I five Sikhs are assembled, there I also shall be present;" and, in consequence of this expression, five Sikhs are the number necessary to make a Singh, or convert. By the religious institutions of Guru Govind, proselytes are admitted from all tribes and casts in the universe. The initiation may take place at any time of life, but the children of the Sikhs all go through this rite at a very early age.

The leading tenet of Guru Govind's religious institutions, which obliges his followers to devote themselves to arms, is stated, in one of the chapters of the Das ama Pādshāh ka Grant'h, or book of the tenth king, written in praise of Dūrga Bahavāni, the goddess of courage: "Dūrga Ga," Guru Govind says, "appeared to me when I was asleep, armed rayed in all her glory. The goddess put into my hand the hilt of a bright scymiter, which she had before held in her own. The country of the Muhammedans" said the goddess, "shall be conquered by thee, and numbers of that race shall be slain." After I had heard this, I

* Agreeable to this author, Guru Govind was initiated on Friday, the 8th of the month B'hadra, in the year 1753 of the era of Vishnuavatar; and on that day his great work, the Das ama Pādshāh ka Grant'h, or book of the tenth king, was completed.
SKETCH OF THE Sikhs.

"exclaimed, this steel shall be the guard to me and my followers, because, in its lustre, the splendour of thy countenance, Oh goddess! is always reflected."

The Dasaama Pádsháh ka Grant’h of Gu’ru Góvind appears, from the extracts which I have seen of it, to abound in fine passages. Its author has borrowed largely from the Sástras of the Brahmens, and the Korán. He praises Námao as a holy saint, accepted of God, and grounds his faith, like that of his predecessors, upon the adoration of one God, whose power and attributes he however describes, by so many Sanscrit names, and with such constant allusions to the Hindu mythology, that it appears often difficult to separate his purer belief, from their gross idolatry. He however rejects all worship of images, on an opinion taken from one of the antient Védas, which declares, "that to worship an idol made of wood, earth or stone, is as foolish as it is impious; for God alone is deserving of adoration."

The great points, however, by which Gu’ru Góvind has separated his followers for ever from the Hindu’s, are those which have been before stated. The destruction of the distinction of castes, the admission of proselytes, and the rendering the pursuit of arms not only admissible, but the religious duty of all his followers; whereas, among the Hindu’s, agreeable to the Dherma Sástra, one of the most revered of their sacred writings, carrying arms on all occasions, as an occupation, is only lawful to the Cshatriya or military tribe. A Bráhmen is allowed to obtain a

---

* An author whom I have often quoted, says, Gu’ru Góvind gave the following injunctions to his followers: "It is right to slay a Muhammedan wherever you meet him. If you meet a Hindu, beat him and plunder him, and divide his property among you. Employ your constant effort to destroy the countries ruled by Muhammedans. If they oppose you, defeat and slay them."
livelihood by arms, if he can by no other mode. The Vaisya and Sudra are not allowed to make arms their profession, though they may use them in self-defence.

The sacred book of Guru Gobind is not confined to religious subjects, or tales of Hindu mythology, related in his own way; but abounds in accounts of the battles which he fought, and of the actions which were performed by the most valiant of his followers. Courage is, throughout this work, placed above every other virtue; and Gobind, like Mahomed, makes martyrdom for the faith which he taught, the shortest and most certain road, to honour in this world, and eternal happiness in the future. The opinion, which the Sikhs entertain of Gobind, will be best collected from their most esteemed authors.

"Guru Gobind Singh," one of those writers states, "appeared as the tenth Avatar. He meditated on the creator himself, invisible, eternal, and incomprehensible. He established the Khalsa his own sect, and by exhibiting singular energy, leaving the hair on his head, and seizing the scimitar, he smote every wicked person. He bound the garment of chastity round his loins, grasped the sword of valor, and, passing the true word of victory, became victorious in the field of combat; and seizing the Devata, his foes, he inflicted on them punishment, and, with great success, diffused the sublime Guru Jap (a mystical form of prayer composed by Guru Gobind,) through the world. As he was born a warlike Singh, he assumed the blue dress; and by destroying the wicked Turks, he exalted the name of Hari (God.) No Sirdar could stand in battle, against him, but all of them fled; and,"

---

*Bhai Guru Da's Bulate:*
whether Hindú Rájás or Muhammedan lords, became like dust in his presence. The mountains, hearing of him, were struck with terror; the whole world was affrighted, and the people fled from their habitations.

In short, such was his fame, that they were all thrown into consternation, and began to say,—Besides thee, O Sat Gurú! there is no disposer of danger.—Having seized and displayed his sword, no person could resist his might.

The same author, in a subsequent passage, gives a very characteristic account of that spirit of hostility, which the religion of Gurú Góvind breathed against the Muhammedans; and of the manner in which it treated those sacred writings, upon which most of the established usages of Hindús are grounded.

By the command of the eternal, the great Gurú disseminated the true knowledge. Full of strength and courage, he successfully established the Khálsa (or state.) Thus, at once founding the sect of Singh, he struck the whole world with awe; overturning temples and sacred places, tombs, and mosques, he levelled them all with the plain; rejecting the Védas, the Puráns, the six Sástras and the Korán; he abolished the cry of Namáz (Muhammedan prayer) and slew the Sultans; reducing the Mírs and Pírs (the lords and priests of the Muhammedans) to silence, he overturned all their sects; the Móyláhs (professors) and the Kázís (judges) were confounded, and found no benefit from their studies. The Bráhmens, the Pandits, and the Jótihs (or astrologers) had acquired a relish for worldly things; they worshipped stones and temples, and forgot the supreme. Thus these two sects, the Muhammedan and Hindú, remained involved in delusion and ignorance, when the third sect of the Khálsa originated in purity. When, at the order
of Gō'ru Gōvīnd, the Sikhs seized and displayed the scimitar, then subduing all their enemies, they meditated on the eternal; and, as soon as the order of the most high was manifested in the world, circumcision ceased, and the Turks trembled, when they saw the ritual of Mohammed destroyed; then the Nakāra (large drum) of victory sounded throughout the world, and fear and dread were abolished. Thus the third sect was established, and increased greatly in might.

These extracts, and what I have before stated, will sufficiently shew, the character of the religious institutions of Gō'ru Gōvīnd; which were admirably calculated to awaken, through the means of fanaticism, a spirit of courage and independence, among men who had been content, for ages, with that degraded condition in society, to which they were taught to believe themselves born. The end which Gōvīnd sought, could not, perhaps, have been attained by the employment of other means. Exhortations respecting their civil rights, and the wrongs which they sustained, would have been wasted on minds enslaved by superstition, and who could only be persuaded to assert themselves men, by an impression that it was the will of heaven they should do so. His success is a strong elucidation of the general character of the Hindu natives of India. That race, though in general mild and peaceable, take the most savage and ferocious turn, when roused to action by the influence of religious feeling.

I have mentioned, in the narrative part of this sketch, the attempt of the Bairagi Banda to alter the religious institutions of Gō'ru Gōvīnd, and its failure. The tribe of Acālis (immortals) who have now assumed a dictatorial sway in all the religious ceremonies at Amритsar, and the Nirmala and Shahid, who read the sacred writings, may hereafter introduce some changes in those usages which the Sikhs revere; but it is probable that
the spirit of equality, which has been hitherto considered as the vital principle of the Khalsa or commonwealth, and which makes all Sikhs so reluctant to own either a temporal or spiritual leader, will tend greatly to preserve their institutions from invasion; and it is stated, in a tradition which is universally believed by the Sikhs, and has, indeed, been inserted in their sacred writings, that Guru Gobind, when he was asked by his followers, who surrounded his death-bed, to whom he would leave his authority, replied, "I have delivered over the Khalsa (commonwealth) to God, who never dies. I have been your guide, and will still preserve you; read the Granth, and attend to its tenets; and who ever remains true to the state, him will I aid." From these dying words of Guru Gobind, the Sikhs believe themselves to have been placed, by their last and most revered Prophet, under the peculiar care of God; and their attachment to this mysterious principle, leads them to consider the Khalsa (or commonwealth) as a theocracy; and such an impression is likely to oppose a very serious obstacle, if not an insuperable barrier, to the designs of any of their chiefs, who may hereafter endeavour to establish an absolute power over the whole nation.
An account of experiments made at the Observatory near Fort St. George, for determining the length of the simple pendulum beating seconds of time at that place; to which are added comparisons of the said experiments, with others made in different parts of the globe, and some remarks on the ellipticity of the earth, as deduced from these operations.

By Captain John Warren,
Of H. M. 33d Regiment of Foot.

When I was perusing Mr. Le Gentil's book, entitled "Voyage dans la Mer des Indes," I noticed a passage, of which the following is the translation: (1) "I cannot disguise that my experiments do not seem to agree with those made by Mr. Bouguer, whatever

(1) Vol. II. page 331. where he gives an account of his experiments on the length of the pendulum at Manilla.
be the cause: but I assert with pleasure that they agree with the experi-
ments made at Pello."

2. In our days, the votaries of science have been taught to clear their doubts, not by argument, but by actual investigation. Seeing two such good authorities at variance, I undertook to ascertain, by means of facts, what was the cause of this seeming discrepancy.

3. As my results have turned out very consistent with Mr. le Gentil's operations at Pondicherry, I shall give a less detailed account of my experiments than I originally had intended: not omitting, however any thing essential, to prove that they have been made with sufficient care and accuracy, to deserve the attention of the Asiatic Society.

Preparation.

4. Much depending on the permanent length of the substance used for the pendulum of experiments, I chose, in preference to silk, a sort of string, seemingly of the same substance as that used by Mr. le Gentil, both at Manilla and Pondicherry. That gentleman describes it as a species of wild plantain tree (Bananier Sauvage) which he calls Balizier. It is easily procured in Madras, where it comes from China and the Philippine Islands.

5. The string which I used was about 3/8ths of an inch in diameter, and a length of 5 feet 5 inches of the same weighed 4.718 grains troy.

When combining the results at Madras and Pondicherry, to obtain the length of the pendulum at the equator, the results were:

By Manilla and Pondicherry 38.944860.
By Madras and Pondicherry 38.945390.

See the table at the end.

(2) Vol. I. page 450.
weight. I suspended, for some time, a four-pound weight, to about six feet length of this string; and on removing it, I fastened, in its stead, a ball of cast lead, of 1. 34 inch diameter, weighing 7. 384 oz. troy weight, with which the experiments were made. The insertion was contrived, by boring a very small hole, of a sufficient depth, towards the centre of the ball, into which it was introduced, and secured by a small pin, strongly driven, and then filed even with the surface of the sphere, so that there was no loop, and the whole length was uniform. 

6. The pendulum of experiment being thus prepared, I fastened it to an iron head, made at one end, in the shape of a common nail, and at the other in that of an oblong square; so that, when fixed, it projected about two inches from the wall, and was perfectly immovable.

7. Near the extremity of this square, I caused a very small hole to be perforated, just large enough to admit the thread, so that the axis of motion of the pendulum should be exactly at the lower surface of the iron head.

8. This apparatus was fixed against the northern wall of the Observatory, and close by the clock, which keeps mean time; an excellent piece, made by Haswall, who brought it out to India, and placed it himself where it now stands.

9. Several concentric circles, of a radius nearly equal to the pendulum of experiments, were drawn against the wall, from the iron head as a centre. These were divided into quarter inches, in order to determine the arcs of vibration.

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(6) Weighed by Mr. Robbuck, in the assay scales at the Madras mint.

(5) It was first weighed with the string in bulk; then the string was weighed separately.
10. The next object (and this one of the greatest importance) was to contrive a very accurate scale, as little liable to alterations as possible. This was measured from a standard scale belonging to Major Lambton, graduated in the temperature of $61^\circ$, transferred by himself on a brass ruler, originally also a standard scale, but since disfigured.

11. Having fixed a plate of glass, with nails and bees-wax, against the wall, and secured the whole by pasting paper over the edges, I then drew, with great care, on a slip of paper (fixed on the field of the glass) a six inches diagonal scale, directed downwards. Then, taking the length of the standard scale with beam compasses, I applied one of the points to the three inch line, letting the other hang downwards.

12. Under this, I fixed another plate of glass, by the same process; and where the inferior leg of the compass fell, I drew an horizontal line, which being made equal to the upper dimensions, terminated the scale. It requires no further detail, to acquaint the reader, how, by means of other plates of glass, all unconnected, it was lengthened or shortened at pleasure; I shall only add, that on repeated trials, during more than one month, it did not vary in any perceptible degree; and with it I could measure to parts of an inch, and estimate still nearer.

13. Before and after every experiment, I measured the pendulum, in the following manner, noticing each time the thermometer. I applied firmly the sliding leg of the compasses, to the lower surface of the iron head; and then caused the ball to swing gently over the inferior or adjusting leg, so as just to touch it. The least friction was easily discernible, by the hand holding the beam; and I carefully examined, with a magnifying lens, whether the upper leg was close in contact with the iron
head at the insertion of the string, and if the lower one touched the ball at one point only. The greatest care was taken, to exclude the external air, as well as during the experiments.

14. With a view to a fair comparison with Mr. Le Gentil's experiments (who used a thread nearly of the ultimate length of the composed pendulum for the latitude where he observed); I tried, by way of approximation, the following lengths: of which however I shall only give the abstract account; not being used in the final results.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vibrations of Pendul.</th>
<th>Mean time elapsed</th>
<th>Length of composed Pendulum</th>
<th>Length of simple Pendulum beating seconds</th>
<th>Mean.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6610</td>
<td>1:48:22,8069</td>
<td>3—2,414</td>
<td>3—3,02420</td>
<td>3—3,02332</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
17. On the ninth of December, at noon, I verified my divisions, and found that the scale had sustained no alterations. I let off the pendulum describing arcs of 3 inches and \( \frac{1}{4} \), and after accounting for the rate of the clock, the mean time elapsed was 16 minutes, 59 seconds \( \frac{611}{1000} \) parts. There were exactly 1000 oscillations of the pendulum of experiment.

18. At the beginning I had measured the pendulum \( 39,694 \) At ending it was \( 39,705 \) Mean length of pendulum \( 39,6995 \)

19. It described, at the beginning, arcs of 3\( \frac{1}{4} \) inches, and at ending 1\( \frac{1}{2} \) hence, it described, on a mean, arcs of 2\( \frac{1}{4} \) inches, which were equal to those described by the clock pendulum. The thermometer was, at beginning and ending, 81\( ^\circ \): the external air was carefully excluded during the experiment.

20. For the reasons given in par. 3d, I shall dispense with detailing the particulars of the other experiments, and merely state here, at one view, the different mean lengths of the pendulum, as it was measured before and after the observations.

21. By the annexed table, it will be found, that the medium length of the pendulum, at these different measurements, was 3 feet 3,6981 inches: and as an equal number of vibrations, both of the clock pendulum, and that of experiment, were always taken in even thousands, I shall proceed now to shew how the time was regulated, in order to ascertain what was the duration of one vibration of the latter.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Day of the Month</th>
<th>Therm.</th>
<th>Lengths of Pendulum of experiments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>3-3,6995</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>3-3,6993</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>3-3,7017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>3-3,6955</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>3-3,6970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>3-3,6975</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>3-3,6945</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>3-3,6970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>3-3,6970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>3-3,6970</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Mean            | 78.9   | 3-3,6981                          

(6) See article 23.
Rate of the Clock.

22. The transit of the sun was generally observed by the Brahmin assistant Senivassa-Chairy, either during, or about the time of the experiments; and the mean time was deduced therefrom, as is usual in all observatories. The following table will shew the rate of the clock, which was used, for twenty days.

23. By this statement, the mean rate of the clock appears to be 2'91 per diem, gaining. So that, in one second of time, its gain was 0'.00003367. This quantity has been used, in reducing the time per clock to the true mean time elapsed; and, by applying this correction, and dividing the true time elapsed by the number of oscillations of the clock pendulum, we have, on a mean of 10 sets, 0'.9999663 of time, for one oscillation of the same.

Computation.

24. In order to resolve the present problem, we have three different quantities to compute: 1st, the diameter of the ball; 2d, to deduce from thence the length of the simple pendulum, which will be isochronal to it. 3d To deduce from the above, the length of a simple pendulum which will strike seconds in latitude 19° 4' 19".

25. For these various operations we require the following data.

1. The weight of the ball, ........................................... $W = \text{3743.282}$
2. The weight of the string, ........................................... $w = \text{9.0061}$
3. The specific gravity of cast lead, .............................. $s = \text{11.325}$
4. The weight of a cubic inch of water, \( n = 0.5785 \)
5. The area of a circle whose diameter is 1, \( a = 0.7854 \)
6. The length of the composed pendulum of experiments, \( l = 39.6981 \) 

26. If \( d \), represents the diameter of the ball in inches, then,

\[
d = \frac{\sqrt{\frac{3}{2}} \times \frac{w}{\pi^3}}{2}
\]

Hence by expounding the formula with the above data, we have

\[ d = 1.35692; \quad \text{and} \quad \frac{d}{a} = r = 0.678456 \]

27. To find the distance from the axis of motion (from what precedes) to the centre of oscillation.

As a thread may be considered as a cylinder, whose thickness (physically speaking,) is infinitely small, Mr. Fugere\(^{(7)}\) gives us the following elegant formula, where \( L \) represents the simple pendulum isochronal to \( l \).

\[
L = \frac{w l^2}{3} + W \cdot \frac{l^2}{2} + \frac{2r^2}{5}
\]

28. Previous to expounding the formula, we are to correct the length \( l \); for the difference of temperature when the standard and mural scale were constructed.

29. It was found, by General Roy's experiments, that standard scale brass will expand, for one degree of Faranheit, by \( 0.0001237 \). Now the brass standard scale, sent from England to Major Lambton, was

\(^{(7)}\) Le Gentil, Volume II. page 333.
graduated (as has been stated higher up) at the temperature of 61°; whereas the mural scale was constructed at that of 89°; and for this difference of 21°, we have in one foot 0.0023577, and for the length \( l \) (\( = 36.6981 \)) we have to add 0.00779 &c.

30. To proceed, we had the length of the pendulum on a mean

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Correction for temperature</th>
<th>+ 0.00779</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Corrected length of ( l )</td>
<td>39.70589</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diameter of the ball; ( d )</td>
<td>1.35692</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Length of the string ( l )</td>
<td>38.34897</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-diameter of ball; ( r )</td>
<td>0.67845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corrected length ( l + r )</td>
<td>39.02742</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hence expounding the formula, we have

\[
\frac{w}{3} = 983.4991
\]

\[
W. \ l + r = 570134.0
\]

\[
2 \frac{r}{a} = 0.1841
\]

\[
\frac{\text{Sum}}{5} = 5702593.5932 \log. = 6.7560607478
\]

\[
\frac{w}{2} = 38.4665
\]

\[
W. \ l + \frac{r}{r} = 146090.6067
\]

\[
\text{Sum} = 146123.6732 \log. = 5.1647383975
\]

\[
L = 39.023825 \text{ N. N. 1.5913276773}
\]

which length \( L \) is that of the simple pendulum isochronal to \( l \).

31. To deduce, from the length \( L \), that of a simple pendulum, striking

seconds of time

It is known to mathematicians, that if two pendulums vibrate in similar

arcs, the times of vibration are in subduplicate ratio of their lengths.

Hence, if \( T = r^n \), \( t \) = the time of one vibration of any pendulum; and \( x \) = the length of the simple pendulum striking seconds, we have
\[ x = \frac{T \cdot V^2}{L} \]

Now \( T \) being \( 1'' \) and \( L = 39.026273 \), log. \( 1.5913276773 \)

\[ \sqrt{L} = \log 0.795675086 \]

and \( t \) (Para. 17) \( 0.9999663 \), log. \( 9.999853300 \)

\[ \frac{T \cdot V^2}{L} = \sqrt{x} = \frac{0.795675086}{2} = 0.397837543 \]

\[ x = 39.026273 \text{ N. N. 1.5913370172} \]

which quantity \( 39.026273 \) is the length of the simple pendulum striking seconds in latitude \( 13^\circ 4'. 12'' \).

32. Gravity determined from the preceding experiments.

If \( P \) be the length of the pendulum striking seconds in any latitude, \( T \) the time of one vibration \( \left( \frac{1}{T} \right) \) \( c \) the circumference of a circle whose radius is 1, \( g \) the gravity, or space an heavy body will fall through in one second of time, then

\[ g = \frac{P \cdot c}{T^2} \]

which being expounded, by means of the preceding data, will give

\[ g = 192.58639 = 16.04891. \]

The present Experiments compared with others made at the Equator and other parts of the world.

33. Before entering into the considerations which form the subject of this article, I shall exhibit, in the following table, the results of several experiments, made in various parts of the world, divested from any hypothesis on the figure of the earth.\(^{(8)}\)

---

\(^{(8)}\) The reduction from the French to the English measure was made from Cavallo's comparative scale, (Elements of natural philosophy, vol. 4, page 410,) which gives the French foot = 1.06375 English; or the French line = 0.08881 &c. of an English inch.
AT THE MADRAS OBSERVATORY.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Places</th>
<th>Latitudes N.</th>
<th>Differences</th>
<th>Length of Pendulum</th>
<th>Differences</th>
<th>Authors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Equator</td>
<td>0: 0: 0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>38.948867</td>
<td>0.0003511</td>
<td>Bouguer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Porto Bello</td>
<td>9: 33: 30</td>
<td>9: 33: 30</td>
<td>39.015050</td>
<td>0.0003631</td>
<td>Bouguer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manilla</td>
<td>14: 33: 36</td>
<td>14: 33: 36</td>
<td>39.127912</td>
<td>0.0035842</td>
<td>Le Gentil.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paris</td>
<td>48: 50: 15</td>
<td>34: 16: 39</td>
<td>39.128000</td>
<td>0.0007988</td>
<td>Variat des Hayes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I shall now consider what the computed length of the pendulum at the equator will prove, by combining any two of the lengths given here from experiment in different latitudes; and then compare these results with Mr. Bouguer's actual determination.

34. Proceeding on the hypothesis that the length of the pendulum decreases in the ratio of the square of the sines of the latitudes; if \( l \) be the length of the simple pendulum at the equator; \( L \), that at the pole; \( l' \), the length in the latitude whose sine is \( s' \); \( L' \) that in the latitude whose sine is \( S' \), then we have the following formula, for the length of the simple pendulum at the pole, and at the equator.

\[
\begin{align*}
    l &= \frac{s^2}{S^2} - \frac{s'}{S'} \quad \text{At the Equator} \\
    L &= \frac{s^2 + (L - 0)}{S^2} \quad \text{At the Pole}
\end{align*}
\]

**Example 1.**

Let the length of the pendulum at London be \( 39.128 \) = \( L \).

That at Madras \( 39.026373 \) = \( l \).

The sine of the latitude of London \( (51^\circ 30' 40'') 9.8996115 = s \).

The sine of the latitude of Madras \( (13^\circ 4' 12'') 9.3513799 = s' \).

Then we have \( S^2 - l^2 = 23.910000 \).

\( 9.8996115 - 9.3513799 = 0.5482316 \).

\( S^2 - s^2 = 0.5415245 \), Divided by \( 0.5415245 \).

Pendulum at the equator \( l = 39.01693 \).
Example 2.

The length $l$, at the equator, being thus found, we have, for the length at the pole

\[
\begin{align*}
S^2l &= 29.00428 \\
(L - l) &= 0.11107 \\
L &= 39.18300 \\
L - l &= 0.11107
\end{align*}
\]

and 

\[
24.01535 - 0.6126644 = 39.183218 = L \text{ the length of the pendulum at the pole.}
\]

35. The tables at the end will shew the results of the various combinations of experiments, under eight different parallels of latitude; among which, however, I have omitted computing for the length at the pole by the four lowest latitudes combined; being too near each other, and too remote from the pole, to obtain results at all satisfactory. I did not, however, think it expedient to omit combining the results of the four lower latitudes, for obtaining the length at the equator; for the reason assigned lower down, and also, because *Manilla* and *Porto Bello* are sufficiently near to that circle, not to fear any material error in the result. This will appear from the near coincidence of the lengths thus computed with that resulting from Mr. Bouguer’s experiment at the equator.

36. A circumstance occurs in these tables, which seems to claim our attention; I mean the *increase* at the equator, and *decrease* at the pole, as the places referred to (combined with high northern latitudes) become more distant from the equator; and on the contrary, the decrease of the lengths at the equator, as the places referred to are higher than those with which they are combined.

37. Although these increments do not seem to follow any regular law, yet they evidently indicate a deviation, not to be ascribed to chance
or miscomputation, but rather to a latent discordance between the hypothesis (the increase as the square of the sines of the latitudes) and the true curve of the meridional circles. And such a discordance probably does exist, since that hypothesis is grounded on the supposed homogeneity of the earth.

38. However, the great number of combinations, which I have used, with latitudes both higher and lower than *Madras*, correct in a great measure this defect; for it appears, that the results which fall most in defect in one case, exceed also most in the other; as in the instance where *Manilla* is the place referred to, where the greatest deviation is observable; for it will be found, that the mean result of the whole set for the equator coincides exactly with Mr. Bouguer's actual determination.

39. Hence I attribute Mr. Gentil's observation, "that his experiments at *Manilla* do not tally with those by Mr. Bouguer," to his not having combined them with a sufficient number of other results, in different higher and lower latitudes.

40. By taking the mean of the respective combinations, we have the following lengths, at the pole and equator.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Names of Places</th>
<th>At the Equator</th>
<th>At the Pole</th>
<th>Ellipticity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Porto Bello,...</td>
<td>38.98567</td>
<td>39.21517</td>
<td>T3^7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pondicherry,...</td>
<td>38.98012</td>
<td>39.21346</td>
<td>T3^7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madras,..........</td>
<td>38.98711</td>
<td>39.20722</td>
<td>T3^7.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manilla,.........</td>
<td>38.99507</td>
<td>39.20013</td>
<td>T3^7.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean,...</td>
<td>38.98724</td>
<td>39.20899</td>
<td>T3^7.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

41. The mean result of these operations, as well as those made at *Madras*, separately, give only a difference of \(\frac{1}{1000}\) of an inch from what Mr. Bouguer has made it to be, at the equator, by actual experiments.

Let us now consider, what ratio between the earth's diameters ought to re-
result, from the forces at the pole and equator, as derived from the present
investigation.

43. The decrease of the pendulum, according to what precedes, is of 22175
of an inch, which will give the forces at the equator and the pole as 176 to 177.(9)

43. But if our globe were homogeneous, it has been determined, that
the equatorial diameter ought to be to the polar axis, as 280 to 281.
Hence, the above results give an heterogeneous spheroid, the difference
of whose axes will be the less, as the difference between the polar, and
the equatorial force, will prove greater than 1.1/2.(10)

44. In order to apply this reasoning to the present case, Mr. Clairaut
has given us the following formula.

Let \( F \) represent the polar force, \( f \) the equatorial force, \( E \) the ellipticity of the homogeneous
spheroid, \( x \) the true ellipticity of the earth's figure; then

\[
x = 2E - \frac{f}{F}
\]

and by expounding this expression, we have \( x = \frac{1}{887} \) which proves somewhat too little; the ratio of the earth's diameters by Colonel Mudge and
Major Lambton's operations being \( \frac{1}{382} \).

45. I shall now consider the results of my own operations separately,
where the length at the equator was 38,98711, and at the pole 39,20722.

46. The effects of gravity, in one second of time, at the pole, will
then be 16,12382 feet; and at the equator (11) 16,03280; which quantities
are in the ratio of 179 to 178; whence is derived \( x = \frac{1}{384.9} \) for the ellipticity; which result comes much nearer to the above quoted authorities,

(9) See Par. 46. (10) See Clairaut Figure de la Terre. (11) See the formula, article 32.
and I believe as near as any such operations, (without the assistance of chance) are likely to approximate; for after all, we have proceeded on a supposition that the meridians are ellipses, and if they are not, it is a matter of doubt (though by no means an impossibility) whether the differences of the diameters be, or be not proportional to the difference between the polar and equatorial forces.

47. The recording of the present experiments must depend on an opinion of the accuracy and skill with which they were made; as to the rest, investigations like the present will always be preserved to advantage; for although these trials may not be conclusive, as to any hypothesis respecting the shape of the earth, (when applied as has been done hitherto,) yet they may be considered as so many dots, serving to describe, mechanically, the curve, at the respective places where they were made; which may ultimately lead to some knowledge of its equation: and with regard to less speculative objects, it may be of some utility in several branches of practical science, such as gunnery, horology and mensuration, to have the length of the simple pendulum determined at the spot where it is required, not from theory, but from actual investigation.

48. I shall conclude, by observing, that what precedes confirms Mr. Bouguer's determination at the equator; and that Mr. Le Gentil was mistaken, when he thought that his operations agreed better with those made at Pello than at the equator: I think them, however, equally accurate, and, on the whole, I am of opinion, that we may with confidence take the pendulum for Pondicherry at 39.01159 inches, and at Madras 39.026973 inches, as deduced from the present experiments.

H. C. Observatory,
1st. of June, 1809.

JOHN WARREN.
**ACCOUNT OF EXPERIMENTS etc.**

**TABLE I.**

Shewing the respective lengths of the simple pendulum at the equator and the pole, deduced from experiments made at the equator, Porto-Bello, Pondicherry, Madras, and Manilla: combined with those made at Paris, London, Pello, and Krui. 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Names of Places</th>
<th>Places referred to</th>
<th>Latitudes</th>
<th>Length at Equator</th>
<th>Length at Pole</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Equator by actual experiments</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>38.994887</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paris</td>
<td>Porto-Bello</td>
<td>48° 50' 15&quot;</td>
<td>38.99548</td>
<td>39.22786</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>London</td>
<td></td>
<td>51° 30' 40&quot;</td>
<td>38.99699</td>
<td>39.21081</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pello</td>
<td></td>
<td>66° 48' 16&quot;</td>
<td>38.99560</td>
<td>39.21549</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spitzberg</td>
<td></td>
<td>79° 50' 00&quot;</td>
<td>38.99710</td>
<td>39.20553</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paris</td>
<td>Pondicherry</td>
<td>91° 55' 40&quot;</td>
<td>39.00154</td>
<td>39.22323</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>London</td>
<td></td>
<td>111° 95' 40&quot;</td>
<td>39.00134</td>
<td>39.29805</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pello</td>
<td></td>
<td>131° 42' 12&quot;</td>
<td>39.00107</td>
<td>39.21619</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spitzberg</td>
<td></td>
<td>141° 32' 26&quot;</td>
<td>39.00165</td>
<td>39.20681</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paris</td>
<td>Madras</td>
<td>151° 02' 12&quot;</td>
<td>39.03344</td>
<td>39.20540</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>London</td>
<td></td>
<td>16° 35' 40&quot;</td>
<td>39.03381</td>
<td>39.20871</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pello</td>
<td></td>
<td>18° 15' 20&quot;</td>
<td>39.03424</td>
<td>39.18755</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spitzberg</td>
<td></td>
<td>19° 32' 00&quot;</td>
<td>39.03208</td>
<td>39.19889</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equator</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>38.99488</td>
<td>39.20511</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean by Porto-Bello</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>38.99616</td>
<td>39.21517</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by Pondicherry</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>38.99616</td>
<td>39.21364</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by Madras</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>38.99616</td>
<td>39.20722</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by Manilla</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>38.99616</td>
<td>39.20013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean of the whole</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>39.01194</td>
<td>39.20699</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE II.**

Shewing the lengths of the pendulum at the equator, as derived from the four places

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Names of Places</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Lattitude</th>
<th>Length</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Paris</td>
<td>Porto-Bello</td>
<td>48° 50' 15&quot;</td>
<td>38.99548</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>London</td>
<td></td>
<td>51° 30' 40&quot;</td>
<td>38.99699</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pello</td>
<td></td>
<td>66° 48' 16&quot;</td>
<td>38.99560</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spitzberg</td>
<td></td>
<td>79° 50' 00&quot;</td>
<td>38.99710</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paris</td>
<td>Pondicherry</td>
<td>91° 55' 40&quot;</td>
<td>39.00154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>London</td>
<td></td>
<td>111° 95' 40&quot;</td>
<td>39.00134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pello</td>
<td></td>
<td>131° 42' 12&quot;</td>
<td>39.00107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spitzberg</td>
<td></td>
<td>141° 32' 26&quot;</td>
<td>39.00165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paris</td>
<td>Madras</td>
<td>151° 02' 12&quot;</td>
<td>39.03344</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>London</td>
<td></td>
<td>16° 35' 40&quot;</td>
<td>39.03381</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pello</td>
<td></td>
<td>18° 15' 20&quot;</td>
<td>39.03424</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spitzberg</td>
<td></td>
<td>19° 32' 00&quot;</td>
<td>39.03208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equator</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>38.99488</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean by Porto-Bello</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>38.99616</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by Pondicherry</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>38.99616</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by Madras</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>38.99616</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by Manilla</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>38.99616</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean of the whole</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>39.01194</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Case of the bite of a poisonous snake successfully treated.

By JOHN MACRAE, Esq.

To JOHN FLEMING, Esq.

President of the Medical Board, Fort William.

SIR,

The disease in the human body, consequent to the bite of the serpent, from being so very rapid in its progress, has seldom afforded, to medical men, an opportunity of observing, and accurately ascertaining, its symptoms, in its more early stage; and, for that reason, a complete medical description of it, has been, as yet, a desideratum in physick.

It has been lately my lot to have the opportunity, in my own person, of ascertaining, from my immediate feelings, the several symptoms of this disorder, in its different stages, from the moment of receiving the poison into the habit, until (when it had nearly overcome the powers of life) it was happily counteracted by the use of medicine; and my mind having been perfectly collected, (though so deeply interested in the result,) while I made my observations, they may be relied on as correct. And every communication, that may tend to elucidate a subject so little understood, and of so much importance to
mankind, being deserving, more or less, of attention, I do myself the pleasure of transmitting to you the history of my case, with my remarks upon it.

I am, Sir,

Your very obedient

And Humble Servant,

John Macrae,

Civil Surgeon, Chittagong.

July 22d, 1809.

On the night of the 12th of May, on stepping into the southern verandah of my house, I observed a small snake; of a dark colour, running along the terrace; and which, after several unsuccessful attempts, I at length hit and killed, with a small cane I had in my hand. Immediately thereafter, as I walked, I felt a slight uneasiness below the inner ankle of my right leg, as if I had taken off a bit of the skin, and this, I imagined, I had done, with the heel of the other foot, in my eagerness to kill the snake; and therefore, after gently rubbing the part with my hand, I thought no more of it; but, in a few minutes, returned into the house, and began to undress to go to bed.

While undressing, I looked at my ankle, and could perceive a small red spot, where I felt the uneasiness (pain I could not well call it,) but there was not the least appearance of blood, nor was there any of the skin rubbed off. At this time I felt a great glow over my body, with a strong palpitation of the heart; but as the night was warm and calm, I ascribed it to that cause and the exertion I had made in killing the snake; and, under that impression I went to bed. I could not, however, sleep; for the heat, and palpitation of the heart, soon increased so much, as to render me very restless; and I felt, besides, a very singular sensation, as if a warm fluid was circulating in my veins, to the very extremities of my
This symptom, and the strong palpitation of the heart, which had become extremely disagreeable, were such as I had never experienced before; and being of so very extraordinary a nature, I began to consider what could be the cause of them. I examined the state of my pulse, and found it to be full and strong, but indicating no disposition to fever. I then began to think if it was possible that the snake could have bitten me, without my being sensible of it at the moment, and that the symptoms I felt could be the effect of such an accident. The uneasiness at my ankle still continued as before, without appearing to increase, and I recollected that while endeavouring to kill the snake, it had once made a dart towards me, and got between my feet, but as I did not perceive it to touch me, I was unwilling to ascribe to so alarming a cause, the unusual sensations I felt; yet I could not otherwise account for them. While this reasoning passed rapidly in my mind, I was seized with a violent fit of vomiting, which at once solved all my doubts, as to the nature of my case; for having observed sickness at stomach invariably to follow the bite of a snake, in all such patients as I had had the opportunity of seeing labouring under the effects of the poison, I was no longer at a loss to determine the cause of my disorder, and I accordingly got out of bed immediately to apply some remedy.

The first thing I did was to drink a strong mixture of brandy and water, with the view of relieving the sickness at stomach, which greatly oppressed me. At the same time, I walked briskly backwards and forwards in my room, in order to keep off the stupor, to which I knew there was so strong a tendency in this disorder. But a second fit of vomiting, more violent than the first, speedily came on; which entirely cleared the stomach of its contents, and left me in so very languid and exhausted a state, that, unable any longer to walk, I was obliged to throw myself upon...
a couch, and there to remain. The palpitation of the heart had now subsided, and was succeeded by a most distressing oppression in breathing, that compelled me to make frequent deep inspirations. The heat of my body had also abated, and was followed by a deadly coldness of the skin, and profuse perspiration, with a slow, weak pulse; yet still I was sensible, in some degree, of the extraordinary feel, as if a warm fluid was circulating in my veins, though I was becoming less so every moment.

Having a small medicine chest, fortunately, in the room where I lay, I directed a tea-spoonful to be given me of the Spiritus Ammoniae compositus, in a Madeira glass full of water. This I took, in preference to the plain volatile alkali, from the idea, that the aromatick oil would render it more grateful to the stomach, which was still much oppressed with sickness. Finding that the first dose agreed with me; in about five minutes, (I imagine,) I took a second, and so on, a third, fourth, fifth, and sixth; when the medicine began to have a favourable effect. The first benefit I was sensible of deriving from it, was a relief from the sickness at the stomach; my breathing next became easier, my skin then began to recover its natural warmth, and the perspiration, with which I had been in a manner drenched, dried up by degrees. I still went on with the medicine, but at longer intervals, for every now and then, I had a slight return of the oppression in breathing, which was immediately relieved on taking the alkali. I had thus gone on, until I had taken thirteen spoonfuls, or a wine glassful of the medicine, before I considered myself as out of danger; and, in proportion as I recovered, I became more and more sensible of the nauseous taste of the alkali, which latterly seemed to burn my throat, as I swallowed it, though I could scarcely perceive the taste of the first dose I took, so totally gone was the nervous sensibility of my palate.
In the course of three hours from my receiving the bite, I was out of danger, but five hours had elapsed before I had entirely got the better of the effects of it. While lying on my couch, during the first three hours, I had my watch on the table before me, most anxiously looking forward to the passing time; for I thought if the poison did not overpower me within that period, that I would have every chance of recovery, from the continued use of the medicine. I was very uneasy, lest I should lose my recollection, before I had taken the medicine in sufficient quantity to counteract the poison; as those around me, in that case, from not knowing my disorder, would most probably discontinue giving it to me; yet, from an extreme unwillingness to distress my family, by a disclosure of the nature of my illness, which happily had been considered, hitherto, a mere bilious attack, I never hinted to any one the true cause of it; nor would I send for any of my friends in the place to attend me, as that would be indicating an apprehension of danger, which might prove equally alarming. For this reason, therefore, as well as from the certainty, with which I was enabled to judge, by my immediate feelings, of the effect of the alkali, I took it in much larger, and more frequent doses, than I would have ventured to have prescribed for any other person in a similar situation; and to this circumstance, of taking it in so unusually large a quantity, in so short a space of time, I have, under providence, to ascribe my recovery; for after the second fit of vomiting, I was sinking so fast, that nothing, but so powerful a stimulus, could have saved me.

The poison must have been of the most virulent nature; otherwise the very minute portion, that could have been introduced into my habit, would not have produced so immediate and violent an effect; for on examining the part, where I received the injury, on the following morning, no ap-
pearance whatever, of a wound, was visible; but on touching the spot with the finger, and passing it gently along, a small rising, like a pimple, was perceptible, around which, on a close and minute inspection, a slight discoloration, of a livid appearance, was discernible. One fang, only, and but the very point of that, could have wounded me; for the snake being small, and the skin below my ankle in a state of great tension, as I stood, the animal was unable to lay hold of me; but in the attempt to do so, it struck against my leg with the point of this fang, and that so slightly, as to draw no blood; and therefore I did not feel it at the moment, nor was I aware of it afterwards, when I looked at my ankle, while undressing to go to bed.

Had a larger quantity of the poison entered my habit, there can be no doubt, but that it would have proved fatal, before I could have had any suspicion of danger, or have applied a remedy. I have not ascertained the species of the snake, having thrown it away, without examination, immediately as I killed it; but a bearer, who was with me; and saw it, calls it Copherpoora, and says, it is peculiar to Choppers' of old buildings. The outer verandah of my house is covered with grass, from which it most likely came to the terrace.

I continued, for several days after the accident, in a state of the greatest laxitude; but felt no other unpleasant symptom, and this gradually wore off, until I recovered my usual health, without the aid of any medicine.

From the foregoing statement it appears, that the first effect of the poison, on being received into the body, was to excite the action of the heart and arteries, and to produce a great heat over the whole body; and, as a similarity of effect proves a similarity of cause, and the effect of all
stimuli is to excite, it follows, that the poison of the serpent is a stimulus, and of the most powerful nature, that destroys life by its excess.

The symptoms of debility which so immediately ensued, viz. the sickness at stomach, profuse cold sweat, and low pulse, are also consequent to the application in excess of other stimuli; and, according to the greater or less degree of this excess, so is the state of debility that ensues, and death follows, sooner or later, from it. There are instances recorded, where the poison of the serpent proved so quickly fatal, as in a manner to preclude the possibility of applying any remedy; but, in general, some hours elapse, from the time of receiving it into the habit, before it destroys life; and there is consequently an opportunity afforded, of counteracting its effects, when assistance is at hand. The volatile alkali has been long in use in such cases; and has been frequently administered with the greatest success; but, unfortunately, our knowledge of the disorder, consequent to the bite of the snake, has been so imperfect, and the principle upon which its cure had been accomplished, (whenever this happened,) had been so little understood, as to have produced much indecision in our practice; and this valuable medicine, therefore, has been, on many occasions, either entirely laid aside, or it has been given in such trifling doses as could do no good; and it has, in consequence, been considered as of very doubtful virtue, if possessing any. Indeed, this want of confidence prevails with respect to the efficacy of every description of medicine, in the cure of this alarming disease. But, in the foregoing case, is given a connected detail of symptoms, as they succeeded each other, from the earliest stage, with an accurate account of the operation of the alkali, from its first perceptible effect, in counteracting them; and having, thus a complete history, as well of the disorder, as of its remedy, we are thereby enabled to form a
correct opinion of both, and to act accordingly, upon a plan of cure, equally fixed and systematic: in this, as in any other disease, incident to the human body; a circumstance, it is to be hoped, that cannot but prove of much future benefit to mankind.

In prescribing, and administering medicine for this disorder, much decision and promptness are necessary, because its progress is so very rapid. This is a point that cannot be too strongly impressed upon the mind. Our remedy must be powerfully applied, before the vital powers are so far gone as to become insensible of its effect. For this reason, such stimuli as are of most immediate operation are to be preferred, and the volatile alkali, on that account, is so particularly useful, as (no doubt,) we shall be found to be. But whatever medicine is administered, it is to be given in large, and frequently repeated doses, until we perceive that a favourable change is produced. The state of the skin, and of the pulse, with the patient's remarks as to his feelings, are to be our guide, and to direct our judgment in this; for until a return of the natural warmth of the skin, and an increase in the strength and quickness of the pulse take place, we ought to push our remedies. And so far from considering the sickness at stomach as the consequence of giving medicine, and therefore an objection to our further doing; so, it is the very reason why we should continue a more powerful application of it, because, the sickness at stomach, being the effect of the debility induced by the poison, the continuance of it proves, that a sufficient stimulus has not been applied to overcome this debility, and therefore more is necessary to produce that end. In short, the stimulus must be proportioned to the degree of debility to be overcome; and on the judgment with which this is done, depends entirely our success in the cure.
In the famous Tanjore pill, mentioned by the ingenious Doctor Patrick Russell, as being in such estimation on the coast, for the cure of the bite of the serpent, we find arsenic is an ingredient, a stimulus of so powerful a nature, that it destroys life, on common occasions, in a very minute quantity. In this district, the natives use the stimulus of heat; it being a common practice with them, to place near a strong fire persons bitten by snakes. They also administer ardent spirits, and hot spices internally; and further compel the patient to take as much exercise as hepossibly can. It is worthy of remark, that the remedies they thus make use of, from the experience and observation of ages, in countries where accidents from the bite of serpents must be particularly frequent, should tend to confirm the principle of cure I have pointed out from my case, namely, that of excitement from the use of stimuli.

It were foreign to such a communication as this, to enter into a discussion of the several opinions that have been entertained, of the nature of the poison of the serpent, and of the particular manner in which it acts, upon being received into the human body. The many experiments, that have been made with it, upon various animals, have tended only to establish the degree of its virulence in the different species of serpents; for the subjects of these experiments, being unable to communicate what they felt and suffered from the poison, whatever opinion was formed, of the manner in which it acted, is entirely conjectural; and accordingly, every writer, who has made it the object of his inquiry, has left it in the original state of uncertainty, in which he found it.
VII.

Descriptions of several of the Monandrous Plants of India, belonging to the natural order called Scitamineae by Linneus, Cannæ by Jussieu, and Drimyrhizaæ by Ventenat.

By W. Roxburgh, M. D.

The venerable founder of the Society, the late Sir William Jones, justly observes, when describing one of his favourite plants, Bhusampaca, Asiatick Researches, 4. 243.

"Among all the natural orders, there is none, in which the genera seem less precisely ascertained by clear essential characters, than in that, which (for want of a better denomination,) has been called Scitamineous; and the judicious Retz, after confessing himself rather dissatisfied with his own generick arrangement, which he takes from the border of the corol, from the stamen, and principally from the anther, declares his fixed opinion that "the genera in this order will never be determined
with absolute certainty, until all the scitamineous plants of India shall be
perfectly described."

Koenig was the first botanist of the Linnaean School, that had resided
long enough in India, to acquire any tolerable knowledge of the scitami-
nean plants of this country; for it is only in the living, or recent state,
that their flowers can be well understood; particularly the nice structure
of the anther, which is here of more importance in determining the genera,
than in any other order. From the labours of Koenig, Retz was enabled
to make his arrangement, and there first pointed out the anther as the
chief organ; which has very lately been successfully followed up by
Roscoe in his, "new arrangement of the plants of the Monandrian Class
usually called Scitamineae." Trans. of Linn. Soc. 8. 330. To these author-
ities, I gladly add my own experience and suffrage.

Although amongst the plants of this very natural order, there is a
wonderful similarity, yet they very naturally separate into two divisions.
To the first belong such as are truly herbaceous, (that is, perishing annu-
ally down to the root,) viz. all the species of Curcuma, Kaempferia, Zin-
giber, and Globba, as well as our solitary species of Hedychium. To the
second, or more permanent division, belong Canna, Phrynium, Amomum,
and Alpinia. Our single species of Costus forms a link, which joins these;
for its stems are sometimes biennial, or more durable, though in general
herbaceous.

In all, the root is of two or more years duration. That part, which I call
the bulb, is solid, generally of an ovate shape, and gives support to all the
parts of the plant which appear above ground; as well as to the creeping,
jointed, often palmate tubers; from these, as well as from the base of the
bulbs, spring the proper fibrous roots, which penetrate deep into the soil; and in some of the genera, many of them end in oblong pendulous tubers.

The leaves, in most of the genera, are bifarious, (pointing two ways,) their shape is very generally lanceolar,\(^{(1)}\) or lanceolate,\(^{(2)}\) with entire margins, and fine subulate, or filiform points. The leaf-stalks, or petioles, are invariably sheathing, or invest whatever is within them in form of sheaths, or tubes. From a single strong nerve, or rib, numerous, simple, delicate veins take their rise, and run to the margin, forming with the nerve, an angle of about thirty degrees.

The inflorescence is pretty constantly the same in each genus, but differs widely in the different genera.

All Scitaminean flowers consist of a superior calyx, an irregular, one-petalled corolla with double border.\(^{(3)}\) A single filament, inserted on some part of the corolla, generally on the mouth of the tube, opposite to the lip; supporting a single, or double anther, which is naked, or variously appended. A germ, for the most part three-celled,\(^{(4)}\) which, in those genera with a double anther, and whose style remains free down to its insertion on the germ, is invariably crowned with two, small, glandular bodies, (nectaria of Koenig, and Retzius;) one on each side of the base of the base.

\(^{(1)}\) Tapering equally at each end.

\(^{(2)}\) Broadest at, or near the base, and from thence tapering to the apex.

\(^{(3)}\) The exterior border is uniformly divided into three segments, which cannot form any good part of the essential character; but I am inclined to think the interior divisions may be advantageously employed therein; and it is by employing this part that I differ most from Roscoë, whose elegant, concise method I admire much.

\(^{(4)}\) The only exception, known to me at present, is Globba; there the germ is one-celled, with the seeds attached to three parietal receptacles.
style, within the bottom of the tube of the corolla. The style, in all the
genera with a double anther, is of a very delicate, filiform structure, with
its apex lodged in a deep groove between the lobes of the anther, elevat-
ing the ciliate, infundibuliform stigma, a little beyond the apex of the
anther. In the two genera with a single anther (viz. Canna and Phry-
nium,) it forms part of the tube of the corolla, above that it is robust, and
supports itself. The seed vessel, in all except Globba, is three-celled,
each containing, (except in Phrynium,) more seeds than one, which in
most of the genera are arilled, and, except in Globba, attached to the axis
of the capsule.

MONANDRIA

MONOGYNIA.

* Anther simple.

1. Canna. Style growing to the tube of the corolla, above spatulate. Stigma
   linear. Capsule 3-celled, many-seeded.

2. Phrynium. Style growing to the tube of the corolla, above uncinate.
   Stigma infundibuliform. Capsule tricoccous.

** Anther double.

3. Hedychium. Corolla with interior border 3-parted, and resupinate. Anther
   naked. Capsule 3-celled, many-seeded.

crest. Capsule 3-celled, many-seeded.

   Capsule 3-celled, many-seeded.

6. Amomum. Corolla with interior border unlabiate. Anther with entire, or
   lobate crest. Capsule 3-celled, many-seeded.

   3-celled, many-seeded.

8. Costus. Corolla with interior border subcampanulate. Anther on the cen-
tre of the lanceolate filament. Capsule 3-celled, many-seeded.

10. **Globba.** Filament long; slender, incurved, with tubular winged base. Capsule one-celled, receptacle parietal; seeds many.

**I. CANNA.**

**Gen. Char.** Anther single, attached to the edge of the petal-like filament. Style spatulate, growing to the tube of the corolla. Stigma linear. Capsule 3-celled, 3-valved. Seeds several, naked.

1. **Canna indica, Linn. sp. pl. ed. Willd. 1. 3.** Leaves ovate-lanceolate. Segments of the inner border of the corolla lanceolate, and bidentate.

Krishna-tamara of the Telingas.
Katu-bala, **Rheed. mal. 1. t. 43.**
Cannacorus, **Rumph. amb. 5. t. 71.**

The red and yellow are common in every garden over India, and in flower all the year. The parts of the corolla are exactly alike in both. The yellow variety of the **Hortus Kewensis,** C. lutea of Roscoe, must therefore be different, as the inner limb of the corolla is there bifid.

**Canna Indica.**

**Katu-bala, Rheed. Dawn Tassibeh. Rumph.**

**Hind.** Sābājāyā, Sārājāyā.

**Beng.** Sābājāyā. The red variety, Lāl sābājāyā.

**Malab.** Cātubālā, Rāṇa-cēlī.

**Malay.** Dāneh-tassābīh.

In a catalogue of Indian plants (As. Res. Vol. IV. p. 235.) Vanaceli is given as the Sanscrit name of the Canna. That name seems to have been assumed by Sir William Jones from the **Hortus Malabaricus** of Van Rheede; who observes, that the Brāhmaṇas of Malabar call this plant *Rāna Querī.* On the plate, the word engraved in Nagari characters is *Rāna-cēlī,* whence Sir William Jones appears to have deduced the Sanscrit Vanaceli. But the word, as exhibited by Van Rheede, corresponds to the vernacular name stated by him, Katubala, answering likewise to the Portuguese Figueira de Mato, and signifying wild plantain or banana: the plant being so denominated from the fancied similarity of the leaves.
MONANDROUS PLANTS.

Turned into Sanscrit, the name would therefore be, not Vanaceli, but Vana cedali, or Aranyacadali; which accordingly does occur in a Sanscrit treatise on the Materia Medica, entitled Rajanighantu; and is there stated as corresponding with the names Rana-celi and Och-balz in the Marathi and Cunara languages. The author of that treatise, however, understood these to be names of a plant bearing an esculent fruit: for he has so placed it in his systematic arrangement of plants by their uses. It must be inferred, that, although the Canna indica may bear the appellation of Rana-celi in Malabar, where Van Rheede's enquiries were conducted, that name belongs to one of the wild species of Musa in other parts of the Deccan.

The native gardeners at Nagpur, and I believe in Hindustan likewise, call this plant Akilbohr, which is apparently corrupted from the Arabic Akil-ulbohr qu. Carnation of the sea. In Calcutta, it is named by the gardeners Sabbajay, which is probably meant for Sarvajaya, a title of the Goddess Durga, "all conquering." This name, as I am informed, is also in use in Hindustan.

The seed of the Canna indica is used in rosaries; whence the Malay name Dewa Tussiboh (i.e., Danah tusbih,) as is remarked by Bumhuis. Note by the President.

2. PHRYN IUM.


Hitherto I have found only three plants that can be referred to this genus, viz. Loureiro's Phyllodes placentaria, Thalia cannaeiformis of Forster, and a new one from the late Dr. Anderson's garden at Madras. These three evidently belong to the same family; and I prefer Phrynium, because one of our species is that from which Wildenow constituted this genus; and the other two agree very perfectly. (The other species of Thalia, viz. geniculata and dealbata are unknown to me, except by imperfect descriptions.) All the three are perennial, with similar, jointed, slowly creeping roots. Their habit is however different; yet in their generic character they agree particularly well; the calyx, corolla, stamen, and pistil being almost exactly the same; and in dichotomum, and capitatum, the trioeaceous capsule, smooth, round, partially arilled, muciform seeds; penis-
perm, and hooked embryo, are perfectly similar. The fruit of virgatum I have not yet seen.

1. Phrynium dichotomum. R.
   Shrubby, dichotomous. Leaves cordate.
   Arunodu. Tonkat seytan. Rumph. amb. 4. t. 7.
   Thalia cannăiformis. Linn. sp. pl. ed. Willd. 1, 16.
   Donax Arundastrum. Louer. Cochin. 15. is no doubt this very plant, but whether Aublet's Maranta Tonchat, or not, I cannot presume to say.

   A native of various parts of India, Malay Islands, &c. delights in humid, or watery situations. Flowering time the hot, and rainy seasons. Seed ripe in July and August.

PHRYNIIUM DICHOTOMUM.

Beng. Muctapata, Madur-pata, Pattipata.
Malay. Tunkat Shaiían.

Mats made of the split stems of this plant, being smooth and particularly cool and refreshing, are termed, in Hindi, Sitála-pátá, which signifies a cool mat: whence the plant itself is said to bear the same name. Suspecting, however, this to be a misappropriation of the term, I have inquired of natives of the eastern parts of Bengal, who assure me, that the plant is named Muctapata, Madur-pata or Pattipata, and the mat only is called Sitála-pátá.

This term is in use in Bengal, as well as Hindustan, and is composed of words of Sanscrit origin. It does not, however, appear that the corresponding compound term Síta-la-pática is employed in the Sanscrit language, as a name either for the plant, or for the mat made of its stem.

Note by the President:

2. Phrynium virgatum. R.
   Stems simple. Leaves bifarious, lanceolate.

   Found in the late Dr. Anderson's garden at Madras, and from thence introduced into the Botanic Garden at Calcutta, where it flowers in August, but has not yet produced ripe fruit.

   The roots are ligneous, perennial, and creeping. Stems also perennial,
numeros, erect, or oblique, according to their place in the clump; (for they grow in tufts, many springing from the same root;) quite simple, polished, deep green, jointed: lower joints considerably swelled; general height from 6 to 8 feet. Leaves bifarious, short-petiolated on their sheaths, lanceolate, polished, from 6 to 18 inches long. Inflorescence long, slender, curved, dichotomous, terminal spikes. Flowers rather small, pure white, inodorous. Calyx, corolla, &c. as in the genus.

   Stemless. Leaves radical.
   Phylloides placenta. Lour. Cock. 17.
   Naru-kila, Rheed. mal. 11. t. 34.
   Cadali of the Bengalese, which also signifies a plantain.

A native of Bengal, and like the former species, thrives best in a wet soil; and flowers about the beginning of the rainy season.

3. HEDYCHIUM.


   Gandusium. Rumph. amb. 5. t. 69. f. 3.
   Gooruk-nadah, also Dulala-champa of the Bengalese.

I have only seen this most beautiful plant in its cultivated state, though a native of various parts of India; the Malay Archipelago, &c. It rises with a straight, herbaceous stem, furnished with alternate, bifarious, lanceolate leaves; and a terminal, oblong, compactly imbricated spike, of very large, pure white, exquisitely fragrant flowers, which continue to expand in succession, during the greater part of the rainy season.
DESCRIPTION OF

With Retzius and Jussieu, I was long inclined to consider this a species of *Kampferia*. They agree in being herbaceous; in the long slender tube of their corollas, in both the borders being three-parted, with all the segments exceedingly alike; and lastly in the structure, and contents of their germs.

In the following particulars they disagree, *Hedychium* being caulescent, with terminal inflorescence; whereas in *Kampferia*, all the species (known to me,) are stemless, with radical leaves, and spike. In the former, the interior border of the corolla is resupine, (that is, the large bifid lobe is uppermost, the two smaller under it, having the filament between, with the two polliniferous grooves of the double anther on the upper side, fronting the broad, two-lobed lip;) and lastly, in having a crestless anther. For these weightier reasons, I am now induced to consider it a distinct genus. The inverted position of the stamen, and inner border of the corolla, seem fully as cogent as the nakedness of the anther.

4. *KAMPFERIA*.

**Gen. Char.** Corolla with long slender tube, and both borders three-parted. Anther double, surmounted with a two-lobed crest. Capsule 3-celled, many-seeded.

This genus, as it now stands, is neat, and natural. The plants that compose it are all natives of *India*. They have all tuberous, biennial roots; no stem; their leaves radical, and herbaceous; the inflorescence a lateral, radical spike in *rotunda*; in the other three central (that is, rising in the centre of the leaves.) The superior calyx is subcylindric, with contracted, unequally divided mouth. The tube of the corolla remarkably long, and slender; the lower segment of the inner border, answering to the *Lip*, or *Nectary*, is large, two-lobed, and more highly coloured than
any other part. The characteristic crest of the double anther, large and bifid, or bidentate. Koénig's nectarial bodies subulate. The stigma infundibuliform; and the germ 3-celled, with many seeds in each, attached to the axis. The ripe seed vessel has not been seen, so rarely do they arrive at that state; I cannot therefore say whether the seeds are arilled, or naked.


Leaves sessile, subrotund. Spikes central. Upper segments of the inner border of the corolla oval.

Sonchorus. Rumph. amb. 5. t. 69. f. 2.
Katsjula-kelegu. Rheed. mal. 11. t. 41.
Chandra-mula of the Bengalese.

I have only found this plant in its cultivated state. Koénig found it wild in the vicinity of Malacca. In Bengal it blossoms during the rainy season.

SIR JOSEPH BANKS has been so kind as to ascertain that the dried root of this plant is unknown to the druggists in London.

Note by Dr. CARY.

"This plant, which is said to be very common on the mountainous districts beyond Chatgong, is called *Camal* or *Camala*. I find on further enquiry, that it is cultivated by the Jumma Mugs, and by them brought down and sold in the market, under the above name, to the people of Bengal, who use it as an ingredient in their betle."


Leaves oblong (coloured.) Spikes radical, and before the leaves. Upper segments of the inner border of the corolla lanceolar, acute.

Malan-kua. Rheed. mal. 11. t. 9.
Bhúchampac, or Bhúchampa of the Bengalese.
A native of various parts of India. In Bengal it blossoms during the hot season, when the plant is destitute of leaves. See Sir W. Jones' elegant description of this charming plant, above quoted, under the Sanscrit name Bhúchampaca.

KEMPFERIA ROTUNDA.

This plant derives its name of Bhúchampa, or Ground Michelia, from the radical situation of the spike, joined with a fancied resemblance of the flower to the Michelia Champaca. Another denomination (Malan-kwá,) by which it is known in Malabar, according to Van HEEDE, is by him explained as signifying mountain ginger.

From the vernacular name first mentioned, which is composed of Sanscrit words, the corresponding Sanscrit name is inferred: and authority for it is found in a vocabulary of the Sanscrit language, where the following synonyma are added: Tameapushpa, Siddha-bondha, Droghana. The first of these names indicates, that the flower is of the colour of copper; which may perhaps be reconciled to the purple hue within the blossom of this Kempferia. Note by the President.

3. KEMPFERIA angustifolia. R.

Leaves radical; lanceolate. Spikes central. Upper two segments of the inner border of the corolla linear-oblong, obtuse.

Canjan-boora of the Hindoos.

A native of Bengal, where it blossoms during the rains. Dr. Carey informs me that it is known amongst the native gardeners by the name Madama-nirbisha, and used as a remedy for cough, for which purpose a small quantity of the root is mixed up with their Bette.

4. KEMPFERIA pandurata. R.

Leaves petioled, broad-lanceolar. Spikes central. Upper two segments of the inner border of the corolla obovate, obtuse; inferior panduriform.

Zerumbet claviculatum. Rumph. amb. 5. t. 69. f. 1. and I could almost wish to quote Manja-kua. Rheed. maj. 11 t. 10 although already referred to by LINNEUS for Curcuma rotunda, a plant I have never met with, if this be not it; and again by ROSE for his Kempferia ovata, which seems to differ from our plant, in the shape of the leaves, and nectary, or lip.

A native of Sumatra. In this garden it flowers in July and August.
5. CURCUMA.


The plants of this genus, are the most easily distinguished of all the Scitaminean tribe; Globba not excepted. The exact uniformity of the double, crestless, calcarate anther, is alone a sufficient mark to know them by. But unfortunately, this uncommonly great similarity extends to almost every other part; which renders it so difficult to distinguish the species, that without the aid of colour, I should despair of making their specific characters discriminative. From daily habit I find no difficulty in recognizing them, yet it is by no means easy to find words that will convey that knowledge to others.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION.

In this family, as well as in the other herbaceous genera, the root is biennial, and consists of what I shall call Bulbs, Tubers, and Fibres. The former are, during the first year, like other bulbs, formed in the centre of the bases of the sheaths of the leaves; and may, during this period, be called phyllophorous receptacles. These bulbs have on their opposite sides, a vertical row of buds, corresponding with the number of the bifarious leaves, and sheaths, (there being one in the axil of each,) which grew on the bulb. From these buds, or eyes, issue the palmate tubers, which proceed nearly horizontal, in opposite directions, and branch out, more or less, according to the nature of the plant, &c. From the lower part of the bulbs, the fibres, or genuine roots, chiefly spring; these are strong, thick, long fibres, with numerous small fibrils from their sides; penetrate deep

* I say species, because their disagreements, or marks by which I shall attempt to discriminate them, are, so far as my experience goes, invariable; continuing unchanged year after year.
into the soil, in various directions; and, in by far the greater number of
the species, if not in all, several of them terminate in a single, oblong
tuber. These are invariably less deeply coloured, and less fragrant than
the ovate bulbs, and palmate tubers of the same plant. In various parts
of India, the natives prepare, from these tubers, and from no other part, a
very fine, pure white starch or fesula, which they use medicinally, and as
an article of diet. It is every way like what is met with under the name
arrow-root; and the process for obtaining it is exactly as described by
Dr. Wright, for obtaining that substance from the roots of Maranta
arundinacea. That followed by the Malais, is mentioned by Rumphius
in his Herbarium Amboinense, 5, p. 171.

All the above described parts lie dormant in the ground, the whole of
the cool season; analogous to the winter in Europe; and on the approach
of the rains, the buds on the opposite sides of the bulbs, which had re-
mained unproductive during the first year, (that of their formation,) and
on the apexes, rarely the alternate buds, sometimes found in two rows on
opposite, (upper and under) sides, of the palmate tubers; begin to swell,
and produce the plants of the advancing season, which perish on the ap-
proach of the winter, &c. In no instance have I found the pendulous
tubers productive. They seem solely intended by Providence, for the use
of man.

It may be proper to observe, that all the descriptions, and figures of the
roots of the plants of this genus, are taken when in their most perfect
state; that is, during the winter, or cool season, when no other part exists.

In all the species, the leaves are radical; as it is only their sheaths that
form the resemblance of a short stem. They are bifarious, and herbage-
ous; making their appearance with the first showers in April, or May; and perish about the beginning of the cool season, in November.

The inflorescence is constantly a simple, erect scape, of a few inches in length; either lateral, that is, rising from the root, distinct from the leaves, and generally, with or before they appear; or central, that is springing from their centre, when they have attained their greatest luxuriance; supporting, in both cases, a loosely imbricate, simple, subcylindric, erect, comose spike. The coma is composed of more highly coloured bractes than those of the body of the spike, and they are for the most part, if not always, sterile. The flower-bearing bractes which surround the body of the spike, are nearly alike in all, and have their lower margins united to the backs of the lower half of the next two immediately within, and above; forming pouches for the flowers, of which there are generally three, four, or five in each, expanding in succession; and are mixed with some small proper bractes, which help to form the fascicle. The flowers are more or less yellow in all; the two upper segments of the interior border are confined, in an erect, or somewhat incurved position, by the conical, acute apex of the upper segment of the exterior border; these three form a vault over the anther and stigma, giving to the whole the appearance of a ringent corolla. The lip or lower segment is large, more highly coloured, and generally emarginate. The filament short, and broad; standing between the two superior segments of the inner border, opposite to the lip. Anther double; the lobes separated by a deep groove, through which the style passes; the lower end of each lobe ends in a large conspicuous spur, which for these twenty years past, I have considered the essential character of the genus. Style filiform. The nectarial bodies which embrace its base, are here subulate. The stigma is somewhat bilabiate, and infundibulio
form, and generally ciliate. The germ is superior, 3-celled, with numerous seeds in each, attached to the axis. This genus, like other plants abounding in other means of extending, or continuing the individual, very rarely ripen their seed; when they do, the progress is rapid, three or four weeks being the usual time between the flower and seed. The capsule is oval, smooth, pale straw colour, thin, and nearly pellucid, 3-celled, but there is no regular division into valves. When the seeds are ripe, the elasticity of the segments of the arils bursts the vertex into various portions, from whence the seeds are soon expelled, by the elastic power of the aril. Seeds several in each cell, arilled, shape various, but the most prevailing is oblong. Aril cut to the very base, into several, slender, unequal, white, fleshy segments; which unite to the seed round the umbilicus. Integuments two; exterior spongy, with highly polished, slippery, light brown surface: interior membranaceous. Perisperm (albumen of Gærtner,) pure white, hard, but friable, and occupies the lower half of the seed. Vitellus clearer, but less white, and of a harder, and tougher texture than the albumen, occupying the upper half of the seed, and is particularly fragrant. Embryo length of the seed, tending to be clavate. Radicle truncate, resting immediately over the umbilicus.

SECT. I. Spikes lateral, appearing before or with the leaves.

1. Curcuma Zedoaria. R.

Bulbs small, and with the long palmate tubers inwardly yellow.
Leaves broad-lanceolar, subsessile on their sheaths, sericeous underneath; the whole plant green.

Amomum Zedoaria. Linn. sp. pl. ed. Willd. 1. 7.

Juddwar, Jedwar, or Zedwar, of the Arabians.
Jungli haldi, or Bun-haldi, of the Bengalese.
MONANDROUS PLANTS.

A native of various parts of India. Flowers during the hot season, April and May; when the plant is destitute of leaves: soon after they appear. The dry root agrees pretty well with the drug known in England, by the name Zedoaria rotunda.

CURCUMA ZEDOARIA.

Arab. Jedwar or Zedwar (Goldvar of Avicenna.)
Hind. Nirbisi, Nirabisi.
Beng. Banhaldí.
Malab. Cuwa.
Malay. Tomon.

As the root is stated to agree pretty well with the round zedoary of the shops; the Asiatic synonyms are probably correct. Georgius, in his alphabet of Tibet (p. 447), remarks the correspondence of the Indian Nirbisi with the Zedoor or Zedoary; and the author of the Mekhseau'ládvoyleh also furnishes the Hindi name, (whence the corresponding Sanscrit is concluded,) as the equivalent for the Arabick appellation of Zedoary. The Sanscrit term implies, that the drug is used as an antidote to poison. The Malabar and Malay names are given by Van Rheede and Rumphius for Zedoary; and their descriptions are cited by Wilderow for this plant, but appear to suit better with the next species of Curcuma. If the drug be not the true Zedoary, the synonyms must be transferred to some other plant; except perhaps the Bengalese appellation, which was furnished by natives from the inspection of this plant. Note by the President.

2. Curcuma Zerumbet. R. Ind. pl. 3. No. 201.

Bulbs small, and with the palmate tubers, pale straw colour. Leaves green-petioled, broad-lanceolate with a purple cloud down the middle. Flowers shorter than their bractes.

Catchur, Cachura, Cachoram &c. of the Hindús, and Telingas.
Sat'hi, or Sotee of the Bengalése.
Kua. Rheed. mal. 11. t. 7.
Zerumbed. Rumph. amb. 5. t. 65.
Amomum Zerumbeth. Retzi. obs. 3. 55.

A native of various parts of India. Flowering time the hot season, before the leaves appear.
The pale colour of the roots; crimson coma, and ferruginous mark down the centre of the leaves, which is a constant mark in this elegant species, readily point it out from every other, which I have yet seen.

The dry root appears to be the Zedoaria of the shops in England.

**CURCUMA ZERUMBET.**

*Kua.* Rheed. Tomson. Rumph.

*Arab.* Zerambéd.

*Sans.* Carchúrana, Carchúrah, Sat'hi.

*Hind.* Cachur, Cachórâ.

*Penjâb.* Cachûr, Carachûr.

*Marhâd.* and *Gaur.* Cachórâ.

*Carn.* Cachorâ, Cachórabu.

*Telang.* Cachóramu.

*Beng.* Sat'hî.

*Or.* Capurâ.

*Mala'b.* Cuwa.

*Malay.* Tomon.

The root of this species has been ascertained to be the Zedoary of the druggists in London. The Malay and Malabar synonyma are furnished by Rumphius and Van Rheede, whose figures and descriptions appear to agree with the plant.

There is some confusion in the writings of the Hindu physicians, concerning the Sanscrit and Hindi names which have been cited for the plant and drug. They notice a supposed species of turmeric under the denomination of Caphur haldi, which the author of the Bhava praçaśu identifies with the Amrâ gandhi haridrâ, making the Ambhalâd to be the same with the Sat'hî. But the Rajângkânta states this as equivalent to Caphurâca, which is the Carpâra haridrâ of some authors, but is called Cachôra by others, from the Sanscrit Carchurâca, for so they read the name.

The Cachur or Cachôra is, according to Persius writers on Materia Medica, the Hindi name of their Zerembâd. Gañana, and after him, Rumphius, have in like manner stated Cachôra as the name by which Zerumbet is known in Gujar, Canara and other parts of the Dehukh; and that actually is, in all those provinces, the vernacular name, which corresponds with the Sanscrit Carchurâ. If then this plant be really (as can scarcely be doubted) the species of Zedoary called Zerumbet, the Sanscrit and Arabick synonyma are ascertained. *Note by the President.*

3. **CURCUMA casia, R.**

Bulbs ovate, and with the palmate tubers inwardly bluish. *(casius.)*
Leaves lanceolar, petioled, a deep ferruginous-purple cloud down the middle, which penetrates to the under side; every other part green.

Nilkamdhra, or Kala-haldi, of the Bengalese.


A small species, a native of Bengal, where it blossoms in May; soon after the leaves make their appearance. The inward colour of the root, more or less blue, as the vernacular name implies; and the deep ferruginous purple stripe, down the centre of the leaves, are marks sufficiently strong to know it by. The petioles, and sheaths are green, the scapes lateral; the fertile bracts ferruginous green; the coma a deep lively purple; the exterior border of the corolla is also purple; and the interior yellow.

Note by Dr. Carey.

The Hindus bruise the roots and apply them to remove pain or swelling of the joints.

4. Curcuma aeruginosa. R.

Bulbs ovate, and with the numerous incurved palmate tubers inwardly ferruginous. Leaves petioled, broad-lanceolar, above the middle a faint purple, evanescent cloud on the upper surface only; every other part green.

A very stately species; introduced into this garden from Pegu, by Dr. Carey. Here it blossoms in May, immediately after the leaves appear. It is distinguished from all other Curcumae by the internal ferruginous colour of the bulbs, and palmate tubers; while its numerous, pendulous, oval tubers are inwardly of a pale pearl colour. The comose lateral spike, is in this, as in the other species. The exterior border of the corolla rose-coloured; the interior deep yellow. The smooth leaves are from 2 to 3 feet long, their petioles, and sheaths about as much, making the whole height from 4 to 6 feet.
5. **Curcuma ferruginea**, R.

Bulbs and palmate tubers copious, inwardly pale yellow. Sheaths of the scapes, and leaves ferruginous-red, with a faint reddish tinge down the middle of the upper surface of the leaves.

A native of Bengal. Flowers in April and May. By attending to the pale yellowish, very fragrant roots, and to the rusty-reddish sheaths of the scapes, and leaves; and to the faint reddish mark down the middle of the smooth broad-lanceolar leaves themselves, this species may be readily ascertained. When the leaves are old, this mark is often very vague, though very conspicuous while young, particularly in those which appear first in the season. The flowers are few, but large, with the exterior border reddish; and the inner a deep yellow. The bractes of the fertile part of the spike ferruginous; of the coma few, and of a pretty bright crimson colour. The whole height of this species is about four feet.

6. **Curcuma rubescens**, R.

Bulbs ovate-lanceolate, and, with the palmate tubers inwardly pearl-coloured. Leaves broad-lanceolar, with petioles and ribs deep red. Flower longer than their bractes.

A native of Bengal, at least I have only found it there, and in an old neglected garden, which belonged to a native; from thence brought into this garden, where it is now abundant, and blossoms in May; and sometimes from the centre of the leaves, in September. The roots, though inwardly very pale, are powerfully aromatic. The sheaths of the scape, and leaves, as well as the petioles, and rib of the leaves, are a deep red; the surface of the leaves, have also a ferruginous tinge throughout.

7. **Curcuma comosa**, R.

Bulbs large, oval, inwardly pale ochraceous. Spike clavate; fertile bractes.
pale pink: coma copious and rosy. Leaves petioled, lanceolar, every part green.

For this large, uncommonly elegant species, we are indebted to Mr. Felix Carey, who found it in Pegu, and sent plants of it from Rangoon to this garden; where they blossomed in May last: about the same time of the year the young foliage begins to appear. The root, so far as we have yet seen, consists of very large, oval bulbs, inwardly of a pale ochraceous colour; no palmate tubers, but many of the oblong pendulous kind, which are inwardly white, and penetrate very deep into the earth. The leaves very large; petioles and sheaths included, from five to six feet high; colour of every part thereof uniform green, except in those which appear first in the season; these have a faint ferruginous cloud from the middle up the centre of the upper surface only. The spikes are uncommonly large, and elegant. The flowers numerous, with the exterior border of the corolla pink, and the interior yellow.

8. Curcuma leucorrhiza. R.

Bulbs ovate, palmate tubers long, and spread far, both sorts inwardly pale straw colour. Leaves petioled, broad-lanceolar, smooth, uniform green in every part. Spikes few-flowered, with coma as long as the fertile portion. Tommon Poeti. Rumph. amb. 5. p. 169.

A native of the forests of Bahar. From Bhaglepur Mr. Glass, the surgeon of that station, sent roots to this garden, under the name Tecour, (Tikhur) and observed that it is not cultivated, but grows in the forests to the southward of that place. The process, he says, for obtaining the flour called Tecour is as follows. "The root is dug up, and "rubbed on a stone, or beat in a mortar, afterwards rubbed in water "with the hand, and strained through a cloth: the fucula subsides, the "water is poured off, and the fucula dried."
This plant grows freely in the botanic garden, and flowers in May. Here the palmate, or horizontal tubers, are particularly straight and long: they run far, and very deep in the earth. Their inward colour, as well as the bulbs, very pale ochraceous yellow, almost pure white. Pendulous tubers numerous, oblong, inwardly pearl-white. Leaves broad-lanceolar, uniform green; about 2 feet long; whole height of the plant from 3 to 5 feet. Spikes lateral, the inferior fertile portion not longer than the rosy coma. Flowers length of the bractes; exterior border slightly tinged with pink; inner yellow.

From Chittagong, Mr. McRae, the surgeon of that station, sent me the living roots of this plant, (or of one so very like as not to be distinguished in their present state,) under the name Cachur, and observed that from the roots the powder called Tikhur is obtained. See Mr. Colebrooke's note on the next species, C. angustifolia.

9. Curcuma angustifolia. R.

Bulbs oblong, with pale oblong pendulous tubers only. Leaves petioled, narrow lanceolar. Flowers longer than the bractes.

Tikhur of the Hindus.

Found by Henry Colebrooke Esquire, in forests from the banks of the Sone, to Nagpur, and by him introduced into the botanic garden at Calcutta, where it flowers in May, June, and July. The leaves make their appearance about the same time, and decay about the beginning of the cool season, in November.

It has now been seven years in this garden, and it has not been observed that it ever produces any of the palmate tubers, so common in the other species; but abounds in pendulous tubers, which furnish that fecula, or starch called Tikhur or Ticor, which is sold in the markets at Benares.
&c. and is eaten by the natives. In this garden there is another species, or variety, received from Travencore, which has not yet flowered. In that country the natives prepare a very beautiful pure starch from its pendulous tubers, like that of Maranta arundinacea, (Arrow-root,) and Tacca pinnatifida, which forms a very considerable part of their diet. It is more than probable that all those pendulous tubers, so common in this genus, abound in a similar fecula.

**Curcuma Angustifolia.**

From the tubers of the root of this plant and of Curcuma Leucorrhiza, Tikhr, a sort of starch or flour like arrow root, is prepared by a very simple process. The Kherwar, one of the tribes of mountaineers inhabiting the forests of the Vindhya mountains, use the following method, according to the information which I received when traversing those forests. The roots are ground, and water is added in considerable quantity. The starch or flour settles at the bottom of the vessel; and, the water being then poured off, the starch is dried in the open air. From eight parts by weight of the root, one part of starch or flour is obtained. It is said to be commonly bartered by the Kherwar south of the Sone for an equal weight of salt.

Having reason to believe, that the same sort of starch or flour is also obtained in the district of Chatgaon; I applied to Mr. Macrae, surgeon at that station, and received very satisfactory information. The powder obtained at Chatgaon from the roots, is well known by the name of Tikhr; and the plant itself is there called Phalepa and Cachur. Judging from the specimens of the leaves and roots, which were received from Mr. Macrae, I have little doubt that the plant is allied to this species; and probably belongs to the kindred one C. Leucorrhiza. The powder, prepared from the root, is considered by the natives at Chatgaon as an excellent restorative in cases of consumption; and a preparation of it, in the form of a sweetmeat, is sold in the market.

I shall only add, on the subject of this nutritious powder, that it is very similar to the powder which is obtained in America from the roots of Maranta Arundinacea, and which is known in Europe by the name of Indian arrow root; and there is reason to believe, that other plants of the same natural order afford a similar produce.

In regard to the Asiatic names of the plant, and of its produce, I am unable to add any well ascertained synonyma to the received name of Tikhr. It is unnoticed under this denomination in the works of Hindu and Muhammadan writers on the Materia Medica of India: and the name of Cachur, by which the plant is distinguished in Chatgaon, properly belongs to the Zerumbet, (Curcuma Z.) Note by the President.

Bulbs small, and with the numerous, long, palmate tubers inwardly deep orange-yellow. Leaves long-petioled, broad-lanceolar, uniform green.

Manjella-kua, Rheed. mal. 11. t. 11. bad.

Curcuma, Rumph. amb. 5. p. 162. t. 67.


Haldi, Halidra, or Haridra of the Hindus, and Bengalese.

Cultivated very generally over the southern parts of Asia; where indigenous I cannot say.

**CURCUMA LONGA.**


Sans. Haridrá, Pítá, Canchani, Gaurí &c.

Hind. Haldí, Haladí, Halidrá, Pit-ras.

Beng. Halud, Halidrá, Pit-ras.

Or. Haladí

Curn. Arisan, Arisin.

Teling. Pasupú.

Guzr. Haradul.

Marhat. Halad, Haladí.

Punjab. Halad, Haradra.

Cashm. Lyadar.

Pers. Zerd-Chóbel, Zerd-chób (Darrard Gorétas.)

Arab. Uruku’s s’afár, Uruku’s s’sabghín (Curcumá Avicenna.)

Malab. Manjella-cwúa Rheed. (Manjella Cuna Rumph.)


The botanical appellation of the genus has been taken from a supposed Arabic name of the species, which came into use as a denomination of the drug, upon the authority, as it should seem, of the Latin version of Avicenna. The original term, however, which is Curcum, signifies, not turmeric, but saffron. It is Persian according to Richardson; Arabic in the dictionary of Golius and Meninsky; Hebrew in Parkhurst’s lexicon; but is Syriack according to the author of the Mekhzen‘ul advycéh. It probably is derived from the same source with the Sanscrit Cuncuma, with the Greek Crocos and Crocon; and with the Latin Crocus and Crocum; all signifying saffron: an affinity of names which had been already remarked by Rumphius.
MONANDROUS PLANTS.

"The colour of the root, and its similarity to saffron, have indeed suggested appellations for the turmeric in more than one language. Thus it has been named Crocus Indicus, and by the Portuguese Saffron de terra. The Persian, Arabick and Malay names of it are all relative to its yellow dye or golden colour, and so in general are the Sanscrit synonyma. The familiar term, Haridra, whence the vernacular names of it in most countries of India are taken, is explained by etymologists as also bearing allusion to the colour, 'brighter than a tawny hue (hari).'

Note by the President.

11. CURCUMA Amada. R.

Bulbs conic, and with the palmate tubers inwardly pale yellow. Spike scanty, few-flowered. Leaves long-petioled, broad-lanceolar. The whole plant uniform green.


**AMADA** of the Bengalese, which signifies Mango-ginger; the fresh root possessing the peculiar smell of a green mango, which alone will distinguish this species from every other I have yet met with. Dr. Carey observes, that it is also known by the name Kajula-gauree, and used by the natives to excite appetite, when lost by long weakness.

A native of Bengal. Flowering time the rainy season. The natives eat the root in their curries, and use it medicinally.

12. CURCUMA viridiflora. R.

Bulbs oblong, and with the palmate tubers inwardly deep yellow. Leaves long-petioled, oblong. The whole plant, (spike and coma,) uniform green.


A native of Sumatra. From thence Dr. Charles Campbell sent the plants to this garden, under the Malay name Tommon, the root of which, he observed, yield the Malays a yellow dye; though the colour is paler than that of *C. longa.* The odour is also very different; the plant much larger and entirely green, even the coma of the spike, which in all the rest is the most highly coloured part.

Bulbs conic, with pale yellow palmate tubers. Leaves short-petioled, oblong. The whole plant uniform green, except the rosy coma of the spike.

A native of the vallies amongst the Circar mountains, and blossoms during the rains. The exterior border of the corolla very pale pink; the point of its upper segment broad, and rather obtuse; in most of the other species it is acute.

14. Curcuma reclinata. R.

Bulbs fusiform, with scarce any palmate tubers, but many straw coloured, oval, pendulous. Leaves petioled, oblong, reclinate.

A native of Hindostan. Blossoms during the rains. Is the smallest of the genus which I have yet seen. The spike purple throughout; the flowers of the same colour, except a small tinge of yellow on the centre of the lip; and the sheaths of the leaves tinged with red.

Besides the foregoing fourteen species, there are in the garden several more, or varieties, which have been lately introduced, and have not yet flowered. One of them with an æruginous root, found by Colonel Hardwicke in the Duab. One or two from Malabar, said to be sorts of Arrow root, and two or three introduced by Dr. Carey from Pegu; making in all about twenty species in this garden.

6. AMOMUM.


As this genus now stands, it is a good, and natural one. The plants belonging to it, of my acquaintance I always mean, are but few. They have creeping, jointed, perennial, tuberous roots, with numerous, strong fibres
therefrom, which dip deep into the soil. Their stems are at least biennial, invested in the sheaths of the bifarious leaves. The inflorescence uniformly radical spikes, rather loosely imbricated, with one-flowered bractes; and either a hornlet, or glandular enlargement, between the base of the filament, and insertion of the lip, as in most of the Alpinias. The capsules are 3-celled, 3-valved, and contain many seeds, enveloped, while recent, in a soft gelatinous aril, which vanishes, or is scarce discernible when dry. The embryo subclavate, and furnished with both a perisperm, and vitellus.


Cardamomum minus. Rumphi. amb. 5. t. 65. f. 1.

A native of the Malay Islands; from Sumatra Dr. Charles Campbell sent plants to this garden, where they blossom during the month of May, just before the rains begin. To the taste the seeds are agreeably aromatic, and are used by the Malays as a substitute for the real Cardamom of Malabar.


Amomum angustifolium. Sonnerat's voyage. 2. 242. t. 137.

A native of Madagascar, from the Mauritius Captain Tennent brought it to this garden, where it blossoms during the cool season. The flowers possess a considerable share of spicy fragrance, and are showy; the exterior border of the corolla and superior bractes being red, and the large lip yellow.
3. **Amomum aculeatum.** R.


A native of the Malay Archipelago; from thence introduced into the botanic garden, where it blossoms freely in April and May; seed ripens in October. The capsule is perfectly destitute of grooves: for this and other reasons, I think it cannot be Kœnig’s *Amomum, an Globba crispa?* nor Rumphius’s *Globba crispa viridis*, because the cortex of the capsule is of a soft fleshy texture; hence likewise I conclude it cannot be *A. echinatum.* Linn. sp. pl. ed. Willd. 1. 8.

As in the *Alpinias*, there are two hornlets, one on each side, between the insertions of the lip, and filament on the mouth of the tube.

4. **Amomum maximum.** R.


A native of the Malay Archipelago. In the botanic garden at Calcutta, where it has long been, it blossoms in April and May; and the seeds are ripe in September and October.

The flowers are nearly white, with a small tinge of yellow on the middle of the lip. The seeds have a warm, pungent, aromatic taste, not unlike the real *cardamom,* but by no means so grateful. Rumphius’s representation of the fruit of his *Globba crispa rubra,* Vol. 6. t. 60. D. might serve for this; but, as the seed vessel of my plant is perfectly destitute of hairs, I cannot believe it is Loureiro’s *A. villosum.* See Willdenow’s *edition of the species* 1. p. 8. &c.

The plants, which fall under the above essential character, further differ from the Amomums in being herbaceous: (whereas in that genus they are all, at least biennial.) Their inflorescence uniformly radical, or terminal spikes: compactly(1) or openly(2) imbricated with one-flowered bractes. To render the specific characters of the different species more concise, I have arranged those with radical spikes in one section, and those with terminal in a second.

Sec. 1. Spikes radical.


Common Ginger.

Amomum Zingiber. Linn. sp. pl. ed. Willd. 1. 6.

Usci. Rheed. mal. 11. t. 12.

Zingiber majus. Rumph. amb. 5. t. 66. f. 1.

Ada, or Adrac of the Hindus, and Bengalese.

A plant too well known, to require any further description.

ZINGIBER. OFFICINALE.


Sans. A'draca, A'dra, S'ringavera.

Hind. Adrac, Adarac, A'dâ, A'd.

Beng. and Or. A'dâ.

Tirh. A'd.

(1) As in officinale, Zerumbet, Cassumunar, and the two with terminal spikes.

(2) As in squarrosum, roseum, rubens, and ligulatum.
Among the Sanscrit synonyma of ginger, *Sringavera* (signifying horn-shaped) or, as it is pronounced in some places, *Sringabera*, has a marked affinity with the Greek *Zyppsena*, the Latin *Zingiber*, and even the Arabian *Zenjabil*; as well as with all the names which the drug obtains in the various languages of Europe. This affinity of the Arabian and European names had been long ago remarked by Garcia. Its origin is now traced to the ancient and learned language of India.

The plant and fresh root are in Hindi called *Adra* and *Add* from the Sanscrit *Ardraca* and *Ardra*; and the dry root is named by most Indian nations *Sant'k* or *Sant'h* from the Sanscrit *Sun'th* or *Sunt'hi*. The etymology of these terms seems to indicate the contrast of wet and dry; for such is the radical sense of the words *Ardra* and *Sun'th*; but Sanscrit grammarians explain the first as alluding to the moisture which ginger induces on the tongue; and the other as indicating the virtue which it is supposed to possess of drying up phlegm. *Note by the President.*


*Zingiber spurium*. *Retz. obs.* 3. 60.
*Lampujam*. *Rumph. amb. 5. t. 64. f. 1.

A native of various parts of India. Flowering time the rainy season. Seeds ripen in November, and December, by which time the plant has perished down to the root.

**ZINGIBER ZERUMBET.**


This plant was supposed by *Rumphius* to be the *Zerumbet*; and the Brahmins, who assisted
3. **Zingiber Cassumunar.**


Bun-ádá of the Hindus, and Bengalese.
Car-puspoo of the Telingas.

*A native of various parts of India.* Flowering time the rainy season. Seed ripe in November.

The root of this plant Sir Joseph Banks and Dr. Combe think the true *Cassumunar* of the shops. When fresh it possesses a strong camphoraceous odour, and warm, spicy, bitterish taste; when dried considerably weaker.

**ZINGIBER CASUMUNAR.**

From the Bengali name, as ascertained by Dr. Roxburgh, and which is composed of words of Sanscrit origin, a Sanscrit name might be inferred, *Vanádraka* signifying wild ginger; but I find no authority for it. This plant was brought to me for the *Dur-kaládi*, which is the *Dárvidá* of Sanscrit authors, and noticed as an efficacious drug in the writings of the Hindu physicians.

I am at a loss to conjecture the origin of the name by which the drug is known in England. It was first introduced into practice by Martens, as a medicine of uncommon efficacy in hysterick, epileptick and paralytic disorders; but is gone out of repute. *Note by the President.*

4. **Zingiber roseum.** Roscoe in Trans. of Linn. soc. 8. 348:


Amomum *rosæum.* Coron. pl. 2. No. 126.

Buma catchicay of the Telingas.

*A native of the vallies amongst the mountains of the northern Circars,* where it blossoms during the rains.
5. *Zingiber ligulatum*. R.

Leaves approximate, sessile, lanceolate. Spikes lax, obovate, apex even with the earth. Bractes cuneiform. Lip sub-hastate.

A native of Hindostan, where it was first noticed by Colonel Hardwicke. Flowers during the rainy season; seed ripe in December.


Sent by Dr. F. Buchanan, from the district of Runagpur to this garden, where it grows freely, and blossoms in August.

7. *Zingiber squarrosum*. R.

Leaves lanceolar. Spikes squarrose, half immersed in the earth. Bractes linear, with long, taper, waved, recurved apexes. Lip 3-lobed; apex bifid.

A native of Pegu, where it ripens its seed in December. From Rangoon Mr. Felix Carey sent the fresh roots, entire capsules, and ripe seeds to this garden, where the plants from both the seeds and roots grow freely, and the latter blossomed in August.

Sect. 2. Spike terminal.

8. *Zingiber capitatum*. R.

Leaves linear-lanceolate, stem-clasping. Exterior bractes lanceolate; interior ovate.

A native of Hindostan, where it was also first noticed by Colonel Hardwicke; and, (with the last,) sent to the botanic garden at Calcutta, under the Hindu name Jengli-adrac. It blossoms in the early part of the rains; and the seed ripens abundantly in September and October.
9. **Zingiber marginatum** R.

Leaves sessile, lanceolate. Exterior bractes obovate, with broad, transparent, membranaceous margin.

Native place uncertain.

**8. COSTUS.**

**Gen. Char.** Corol with interior border of one campanulate back-cleft lobe. Filament lanceolate, with the double anther attached far below its apex. Capsule 3-celled, 3-valved. Seeds numerous, naked.

1. **Costus speciosus.** Smith in Trans. of Linn. Soc. 1. 249.

Leaves sessile, spirally arranged, oblong, villous underneath.

**Banksia speciosa.** Retz. obs. 3. 75.

**Tjana-kua.** Rheed. mal. 11. t. 8.

**Ceyu of the Hindus; and Bengalese.**

**Cashmira, Pushcara, Sanscrit names.**

A native of all the southern parts of Asia. In Bengal it blossoms during the rains, and the seed ripens in October, and November. No use, so far as I can learn, is made of any part of the plant by the natives of India, and Sir Joseph Banks informs me, that the root does not at all resemble the *Costus Arabicus* of the shops.

The tuberous part of the root, runs horizontal a few inches under the surface of the earth; is often two inches in diameter, marked with annular rings; from every part, the proper fibrous roots issue, and penetrate deep into the soil; colour of the old parts pale yellow; of the young, white; texture firm, tough, and fibrous; and has not any of that spicy, or camphoraceous odour, so common to the plants of this order. Stems erect, or nearly so; some straight, while others from the same root rise with a spiral contortion; lower half invested in simple, downy sheaths; general thickness about that of a walking cane, and from 4 to 6 feet high.
Leaves spirally arranged round the upper half of the stems, subsessile, oblong, cuspidate, very downy underneath; length from 6 to 15 inches. Spike a single, oblong, firm one, crowns the top of each stem, imbricated with numerous, exterior, ovate, concave, hard, polished, pointed, one-flowered, permanent bractes, or scales; colour green, ferruginous, or red, but all become bright red by the time the seeds are ripe; besides these, each flower has a smaller interior, boat-shaped bracte, embracing the left side of the 3-cleft calyx, which also becomes red by age. Corol large, pure white, with a faint blush of pink; nodorous; the inner border resembles the limb of the flower of Convulvulus sepium, but bent out in a recurved direction, and with the margin elegantly laciniate-dentate. Filament lanceolate, incumbent over the middle of the inner border, back clothed with much, long, soft, white hair: nearly to its centre, on the underside, is attached the oblong double anther. Style shorter than the filament. Stigma large, bilabiate, and even with the apex of the anther. Capsule 3-sided, smooth, hard, deep red, crowned with the still perfect, permanent, rigid, coloured calyx, 3-celled, 3-valved, opening on the sides. Seeds numerous, angular, black, smooth. Perisperm conform to the seed, pure white, and cartilaginous. Vitellus thin and closely embracing, like a case, all but the base of the embryo, which is central, cylindric, and as long as the perisperm, with its truncate radicle close to the umbilicus.

9. ALPINIA.


The plants which come under this definition, form a good natural genus; for besides the common character of the family, the other affinities of the individuals which compose it, are peculiarly striking, viz.
In having strong, thick, crooked, permanent tubers, which run nearly horizontal, a little below the surface of the earth, are strongly marked with the annular scars of the decayed sheaths; and from every part the long, thick, fibrous, fibres issue, which form the real root.

The stems are from biennial, to perennial, numerous, growing in tufts, straight, and erect, or more or less recurved, according to their place in the tuft; clothed with bifarious, lanceolate, acute leaves; and all, except Cardamomum, terminate in a copious raceme, or panicle of large, gaudy flowers. The calyx, as in the other genera of this order, is superior, and consists of one leaf, having its margin very irregularly divided. This part furnishes little or no help in discriminating the species. The corol is of one petal, with a double border, the exterior three-parted; inner of one, large, more highly coloured lobe, or lip, or nectary, placed on the under side, opposite to the stamina; on each side of its base, or insertion, a curved hornlet is to be found in the greatest number of the species. The filament is broad, slightly grooved on the inside, supporting a large, double, emarginate, crestless anther, with a deep fissure between its lobes, for the reception of the style. The germ inferior, 3-celled, with many seeds in each, (except in Galanga, where the number is constantly two in each cell,) attached to a thickened portion of the partitions, a little removed from the axis. Style slender, and of a length sufficient to raise the infundibuliform, ciliate stigma, even with, or a little above the apex of the anther. Nectarial scales, in this genus generally united into one, thick, short, crenulate, truncate body, which embraces the base of the style on the exterior side. The capsule is one of those that may be called berried, invariably 3-celled. The seeds more or less numerous, invested in a multifid aril, and two integuments. In those I have had it in my power to
examine, there is a perisperm, or albumen; and vitellus. The embryo is generally an inverted crescent, more or less perfect, with a straight portion, the radicle, from the middle of its convex, or underside, pointing to the umbilicus of the seed, (so φ.)

1. **Alpinia Galanga.** Linn. sp. pl. ed. Willd. 1. 12.

Leaves sessile, broad-lanceolar. Panicle terminal. Lip oblong, with bifid apex, linear claw, and two conic coloured glands at its base. Germ with two-seeded cells. Capsules obovate, smooth, few-seeded.

**Galanga major.** Rumph. amb. 5. t. 63.


A native of the Malay Archipelago. From Sumatra Dr. Charles Campbell sent plants to this garden in 1800: where they flower during the hot season; and ripen their seed, though very rarely, in November. The seed vessel is small, obovate, smooth, deep orange red, does not open spontaneously, and cannot contain more than two seeds in each cell, (that being the number in the germ,) which are three-fourths covered with a white aril. To the taste they are bitter, and nauseous. These circumstances induce me to believe it to be Rumphius's plant, but I doubt whether any one of Koenig's Languas's can be referred to this. For the same reason I would exclude Loureiro's *A. Galanga.*

By the assistance of Sir Joseph Banks, and Dr. Combe, it has been found, that the root of this plant is the real *Galanga major* of our shops (in London.)

**Alpinia Galanga.**

*Languas. Rumph.*

*Arab.* Khólinján, Khulinjan.

*Sánî.* Culanjana, Culanja, Sugandhá-vachá, Mahābhārati-vachá.

*Hind.* Culinjan, Culinjín, Culanjan.
MONANDROUS PLANTS.

Corn. and Marhat. Culanjan.

The root of this plant being ascertained to be the Galanga major of the druggists, conformably with what had been said of it by Rumphius, there is no doubt of its being the Khōlinjān of the Arabs, termed in Hindi Culanjān. In Sanscrit it is called Culanjena according to one authority (the Rājajghanṭa;) but Sugandhā vachā, or sweet scented Acorus, as also Mahābhārati vachā according to another Indian treatise (the Bhava-pracāsa.) If the first name be genuine Sanscrit, which is however doubtful, the similar names in other languages, including the European term galanga, must be derived directly or mediatly from it. Note by the President.


Hellenia Allughas. Linn. sp. pl. ed. Willd. 1. 4.
Mala-inschi-kua. Rheed. mal. 11. t. 14.
Taráca. Asiatick Researches. 4. 240.
Tara, or Tarac of the Bengalese.

A native of Bengal, and very common. Flowering time the whole of the rainy season. Seed ripe in October and November.

ALPINIA ALLUGHAS.

According to Van Rheede, this plant is called by the Brāhmanas, Giri Kolinjana or mountain ginger. This name is obviously taken from the Sanscrit Giri a mountain and Culanjana the Galanga, to which indeed the plant is much nearer than to the ginger.

It has been described by Sir W. Jones, under the Sanscrit name of Tāraca, the authority for which I have been unable to discover. The word is indeed Sanscrit; and, among other senses, is stated in dictionaries to be the name of a tree: a description which is not reconcilable with this plant. Note by the President.


Leaves lanceolar, petioled, villous underneath. Racemes terminal, simple. Lip broader than long, obscurely three-lobed, (lateral lobes incurved into a tube.)

Galanga malaccensis. Rumph. amb. 5. t. 71. f. 1.
A native of Chittagong; from thence introduced into the botanic garden at Calcutta, where it flowers in April and May.

This is the most stately, and most beautiful of our scitamineous plants. The flowers are particularly large, with the bractes, and exterior border of the corolla, pure, smooth, lucid white; and the large lip variegated with crimson, and yellow.


Leaves lanceolar, short-petioled, polished. Racemes terminal, drooping. Lip obscurely three-lobed, (lateral lobes incurved into a tube.) Capsules spherical, opening down the sides. Seeds a few, round; aril white; (nectaries square and truncate.)

Poora-nag-champa of the Hindus.

A native of the interior parts of Bengal. From Dinajpur Dr. Wm. Carey sent plants to this garden, where they are perfectly at home, producing quickly from the same root, numerous, luxuriant stems, of from 5 to 8 feet in length, and as thick as a man’s finger; flower abundantly during the hot season, (March, April and May,) and the seed ripens in October and November. The seeds possess a small degree of spicy warmth. The root is also odorous, and is sometimes carried to England for Galanga major. In this the apex of the anther is bifid. Stigma large, with hairy callous lips.

5. Alpinia nutica. R..


Found by Mr. W. Roxburgh in the forests of Prince of Wales Island,
from thence introduced into this garden, where it flowers more or less the whole year, but chiefly during the hot season. It is also an elegant species, and holds a middle rank between nutans and calcarea.


Leaves narrow-lanceolar, polished. Spikes terminal, erect, compound. Lip ovate-oblong, with curled bilobate apex.


From China it was introduced into this garden in 1799, where the same root quickly produced innumerable stems, of about the thickness of a common ratan, and about 3, or 4 feet long; and in flower more or less the whole year, but chiefly in March, and April.

7. **Alfinia Cardamomum R.**

Scape from the base of the stems, ramous, procumbent. Lip 3-lobed, with calcarate base.

*Areca Cardamomum. R. Ind. pl. 3. N. 296.*

*Areca repens. Linn. sp. pl. ed. Willd. 1. 9: Sonnerat. &e.*

*Elettaria. Rheed. mat. 11. t. 4. and 5.*

*Cardamomum minus. Pharm. Lond. and Edinb.*

*Ela, one of its numerous Sanscrit names.*

*Elachi, or Elachi of the Hindus, and Bengalese.*

Ailum-chedy of the Malabars on that Coast.

A native of the mountainous parts of Malabar, where it is found both wild, and cultivated. In the latter state, it begins to blossom during the first rains, when about 4 years old; and the ripe fruit is gathered in November. It continues to be productive till about the seventh year, when it is usual to cut it down, and from the roots other stems rise, which are treated as before.
DESCRIPTION OF

ALPINIA CARDAMOMUM.

Elettari, Rheed.
Sans. Ela, Suksamá-élá, Dravid, Tretú, Córangi, Unaejáchi &c.
Hind. Eláchí, Eláchí, Eláchi, Ch’búi láčhi, Gujratí éláchí.
Beng. and Or. Elách.
Guzhm. Lóchéíl.
Malab. Ela, Elettari, Rheed, Ailum chedí, Roxb.
Marhat. Elá, Gujratí éláchí.
Carn. Eraré, Erací, Chiri yálaccí.
Telang. Sanná yálaccí.
Arab. Kákulah, Hál.
Pers. Hil.

Two sorts of Cardamoms, denominated in various languages large and small, are distinguished by the Hindi names of Párhí and Guzrati Eláchí, or Cardamoms produced in the east of Hindostan and in Guzrat. The Sanscrit synonyma make the small sort to be the production of Drásita or the southern part of the peninsula of India. It is the seed of this plant, which is a native of the mountains near Cochin and Calicut. The large sort, according to the Sanscrit synonyma, is a production of Triputí. Note by the President.

8. Alpinia spicata, R.

Spike terminal, oblong, compactly imbricated with narrow-lanceolate, acute bracts.

A native of Sumatra, and the smallest of the genus I have yet seen. It was brought by Mr. W. Roxburgh from Bencoolen to this garden in 1803; and at the close of the rains of 1808 it blossomed for the first time, and was then only about two feet high.

10. GLOBBA.

Gen. Chab. Corolla with interior border two-lobed, or none. Filament very long, curved; base tubular, and winged with a cuneiform lip. Anther double (appendiced, or naked.) Capsule one-celled, 3-valved. Seeds many, attached to 3 parietal receptacles.

As Roscoe observes, in his new arrangement of the Scitaminean plants, no genus in the whole order is more strongly marked than Globba; though certainly the Linnaean description could never have led to a
MONANDROUS PLANTS.

discovery of the plants of it. It is to Dr. Smith, who found the original specimen of *Globba marantina* in the *Linnaean Herbarium*, that we are obliged for detecting, and correcting this error in his description of the plant, in his *Exotic Botany*. The same plant, I had, till this discovery was made known, considered to belong to an undescribed genus, which I called *Colebrookia*, in honour of our President, whose knowledge of botany, and the benefit the science has derived from his help, justly entitle him to this distinction; which by all true botanists is considered the highest reward, and more lasting than even a monument of marble or brass. And I also take this opportunity of thanking Dr. Smith for having (in consequence of his discovering, that my *Colebrookia bulbifera*, was *Globba marantina* of *Linnaeus*,) transferred that name to another new genus of *East Indian* plants.

The individuals of this family are all *herbaceous*; of rather small size, (their stems and inflorescence together rarely exceed three feet in height;) and perish down to the root about the month of November. Their *leaves* lanceolar, (tapering equally at each end;) or lanceolate, (tapering from or near the base;) nearly smooth, and tapering into longer and finer points than any other of the order. In all the species here noted, the *inflorescence* is terminal, except in the last. The prevailing colour of the flowers yellow; and the *lip*, or wing of the filament (as in the whole of the order,) the brightest, and most ornamental part. The *filament* is particularly long, very slender, and much incurved. *Anther* double, variously appendaged, or naked. The *style* uncommonly slender; sometimes it passes along a groove on the inside of the filament to the anther; sometimes it takes a straight, and more direct course, but always passes between its lobes. The *stigma* funnel-shaped. The *capsule* oval,
DESCRIPTION OF

generally fleshy and tubercled, 1-celled; 3-valved, opening from the apex.
Seeds many, attached to three parietal receptacles, by the intervention of
a thick, spongy, umbilical cord, resembling a small aril.

   Leaves lanceolar. Spikes terminal, subsessile, strobiliform, bulbiferous.
   Anthers four-horned.
   G. marantina. Smith’s Exot. Bot. 2. t. 103. and Roscoe in Trans. of Linn,
   Soc. 8. 356.
   Lampujum silvestre minus. Rumph. amb. 5. t. f.

A native of the Malay Islands: from Amboyna it was original intro-
duced into this garden, where it thrives luxuriantly and flowers during
the rains, but never produces seed here: though the germ is perfect, with
many seeds attached to its three parietal receptacles. A small ovate
bulb is produced in the bosom of each bracte, and by these the plant is
more readily propagated, than it could be by seed.

2. Globba bulbifera. R.
   Stems bulbiferous. Leaves oblong. Racemes terminal, erect, shorter
   than the leaves, bulbiferous.
   Conda-puspoo of the Telingas.

A native of the vallies among the Northern Circar mountains. Flow-
ers during the rains.

The original description of this species has been lost, and I have only
my recollection, and an imperfect drawing, to go by in making out the spe-
cific character.

3. Globba oixensis. R.
   A native of the moist vallies amongst the Circar mountains, where it
Tab. 6

Globba Oricensis
blossoms during the rainy season. Dr. Buchanan has also found it in
the Rungpur district, and sent plants to this garden, where they blossom
throughout the rainy season.

4. Globba Hura, R.

Leaves ovate-oblong. Raceme terminal, erect; pedicels tern, three-flowered.
Anthers with a membranaceous coronet.

Hura siamensium. Koenig in Retz. obs. 3, p. 49.

5. Globba pendula, R.

Leaves lanceolate. Racemes terminal, compound, greatly longer than the
leaves, pendulous. Anthers bicalcarate.

Found by Mr. W. Roxburgh, wild in the forests of Prince of Wales
Island.

6. Globba radicalis, R.

Panicle radical. Anthers winged.

Found by Mr. W. Roxburgh, indigenous in the forests of Chittagong,
and from thence introduced into the botanic garden at Calcutta, where it
flowers from April, to the end of June. About the same time the herbaceous
stems, and leaves appear. There is a constant succession of the
flowers from the extremities of the lengthening branches of the panicle,
for nearly two months. The whole panicle, peduncles, both common and
partial, bractes, and flowers, (except the deep, but bright yellow lip or
lower wing of the filament,) are of a lively blue-purple colour, and un-
commonly beautiful.
EXPLANATION OF THE FIGURES.

Tab. 1. Phrynium capitatum.

Fig. 1. The entire flower, with the upper part of the tube which supports the inner border, laid open. a, a, The calyx. b, b, b. The segments of the exterior border of the corolla. c, c. The two large segments of the inner border, and d, the three inner. e, The anther. f, The stigma.

2. The germ and sections. All the above magnified.

3. The ripe capsule, natural size.

4. Two thirds of the same with an entire seed in one cell, and a section in the other; natural size.

5. A vertical section of a seed, magnified: a, the perisperm; b, the embryo.

Tab. 2. Kempferia pandurata.

Fig. 1. The corolla, natural size. a, The tube. b, b, b. The three segments of the exterior border. c, c. The two superior segments of the interior border, removed to some little distance. d, The lower segment or lip, also removed. e, The anther and crest.

2. The germ and transverse section, a. b. The calyx laid open, which exposes to view the two awl-shaped bodies, which embrace the base of the style, c. d, The stigma, natural size, and magnified.

3. The two bractes.

Tab. 3. Curcuma angustisolia.

Fig. 1. The calyx laid open, exposing to view the two Kenigean awl-shaped scales, embracing the base of the style.

2. The germ and section.

3. The interior bracte.
4. The stigma.
5. The corolla laid open. a, a, a, The three segments of the exterior border. b, b, The superior segments of the inner border. c, The lip, or lower segment. d, The calcarate anther, on its short filament.
6. The capsule, and section.
7. One of the seeds with its aril expanded.
The above figures are but a little magnified.
8. Sections of a seed magnified. a, The perisperm. b, The vitellus. c, The embryo.

Tab. 4. Amomum aculeatun.

Fig. 1. The interior bracte, which is here tubular.
2. The germ, and transverse section.
3. The calyx, laid open.
4. The corolla, laid open. a, a, a, The three segments of the exterior border. b, The lip. c, c, Two conical glands between the base of the filament d, and lip b.
5. The double anther, and three-lobed crest, with the infundibuliform stigma in the centre.
6. Capsule cut transversely, with the upper portion separate.
7. A seed, without its gelatinous aril.
8. A vertical section of the same, magnified.
9. The vitellus, and embryo, removed from their place in the centre of the perisperm, still more magnified.

Tab. 5. Zingiber Cassumunar.

Fig. 1. A back view of a flower, with its exterior, and interior bractes.
2. The germ, and section.
3. The interior bracte.
4. The calix, laid open.
5. The corolla, laid open.
6. The anther, and horn-shaped beak, or crest.
7. The open capsule, natural size.
8. One of the seed, and aril, laid open.
DESCRIPTION OF MONANDROUS PLANTS.

9. A vertical section of a seed, magnified.  a The perisperm.  b The vitel-
   lus.  c The embryo.
10. Section of a seed, after vegetation is a little advanced.

TAB. 6. GLOBBA ORIXENSI.

Fig. 1. The corolla removed from the germ.  a, a, a. The three segments of
   the exterior border.  b, b, The two interior.  c, The lip, or wing of the
   long slender curved filament d.  e, The naked anther, and stigma.  f,
   The part of the style proceeding to the anther, in a more direct course,
   than the groove of the filament.
2. The germ, and section.
3. The calyx, laid open.
4. The capsule, and section, natural size.
5. One of the seed, natural size.
6. Section of the same, magnified, with the partial aril thrown back.  The
   internal structure has not yet been ascertained.

In all, the principal figures are uniformly of the natural size of the parts
delineated, and afford a scale to guess, how much the other figures are magnified.
VIII.

On the Rosheniah sect, and its founder Bāyezīd Ansārī.

By J. Leyden, M. D.

In the course of some researches relative to the language and literature of the Azghāns, I met with an account of an author of that nation, named Bāyezīd Ansārī, which greatly excited my curiosity and induced me to investigate his history. I now submit to the Asiatic Society, the result of my enquiries, in the following sketch of his life and opinions. Having been the founder of a heretical sect, which attained a very formidable degree of power, and was suppressed with extreme difficulty, his works have been proscribed, and his memory regarded with horror among the greater number of the Azghāns, while the adherents to his sect, who still exist, are confined to the wildest and most inaccessible districts, concealing their books, and their tenets, with equal care. I am informed by Amīr-Muḥammad, a native of Paishāvar, that some of the reputed followers of Bāyezīd are still to be found, both in Paishāvar and Cābūd, but that they are reckoned still more numerous among the wild tribes of the Yusefzēi. In Paishāvar, they are supposed to hold secret meetings, by night, at an
ancient edifice, with a dome, where Ba'yezid formerly resided, and at which the pious Moslems, as they pass by the ruins, generally cast stones, in token of their abhorrence, accompanied with fervent imprecations and curses on the founder. Though from the circumstances mentioned, I have not been able to procure any of the original compositions of Ba'yezid, yet I have met with some pretty copious details of his proceedings, the most important of which are contained in the Makhzan-Afghani, a work in the Afghân or Pashtu language, and in the celebrated Persian work, named the Dabistan-i-Mazahib, composed by Mohsani-Fā'ni. From the epithet Roshan or the luminous, which Ba'yezid assumed as a title, his followers derived the appellation of Roshenian, which literally signifies illuminati. The Rosheniah sect received its origin in Afghânistan, in that dark, turbulent and sanguinary period, which preceded the accession of Akbar to the throne of India; a period when an extraordinary ferment pervaded the minds of men in the east, and when it is difficult to say, whether civil or religious matters were in the most changeful and uncertain state. Their founder, by birth an Afghân, but of Arab extraction, appears to have been a man of extraordinary natural abilities, and extreme subtlety of genius. In his early youth he acquired a taint of the Isma'iliyah heresy, which, at that time, flourished in some of the mountainous districts of Khorasân and Mawar-al-nahar; and in his character of prophet, he appears to have modelled his conduct according to the ideas of that sect, concerning a perfect unerring religious guide. The doctrines which he first propagated, seem not to have differed essentially from those of the Sûfis; but as he proceeded, he diverged wider and wider from the pale of Islam. As his sect increased in number and power, it assumed a political, as well as a religious aspect; and soon made such formidable progress, that, at last, it embraced nearly the whole nation of the Afghans, to whom it was almost
exclusively confined. Ba'yezid, at first, appears to have advanced no pretensions but eloquence, to persuade men to follow his doctrines; but he no sooner found himself at the head of a formidable party, than he asserted his right to conquer, by the sword, those who were deaf to the persuasions of his eloquence. Established by the ability of its founder, and supported by the united influence of two powerful principles, a sectarian, and a national spirit, the Rosheniah sect maintained its ground, for the greater part of a century, during the most prosperous period of the Moghul government; and flourished, in spite of the most vigorous exertions to suppress it, from the beginning of the reign of Akbar, to that of Shah-Jeha'n.

The two principal authorities, which I have followed in the account of Ba'yezid Ans'arí, are of the most opposite description; and have very little in common, either in manner or matter. Mohsani Faní, the author of the Dabistán-i-Mazáhib, appears to be almost as favourably inclined towards Ba'yezid, as Akhu'n Déwe'zeh,* the author of the Makhzan Afgháni, is rancorous and hostile. The character of Mohsani Faní is already known to orientalists, by the eulogy of the illustrious founder of the Asiatic Society; and his account of the Rosheniah sect and its founder, which is concise, distinct, and luminous, I have closely translated. Akhu'n Déwe'zeh, the author of the Makhzan Afgháni, is less known to Europeans, than Mohsani Faní, though a much more celebrated character in Afghánistan. He is however chiefly famous for his sanctity; for of his history, little more is known than what he himself has recorded. He was of Tajik origin, and resided chiefly at Banher, in the country of the

* Akhu'n a religious instructor, a doctor in theology, is used in Afghánistan as synonymous with the term Mulla, a judge, a doctor in laws, and both terms are applied indiscriminately to a man of learning.
Tüsefzéi. He studied under Sāïd Āli Tirmizi, who resided in Banher; and he was a most inveterate opponent of Bā'yezīd An'ṣā'rī. The Makhzan Afghāni, of which he is the principal author, is a miscellaneous compilation, on the ritual and moral practice of Islâm, composed in the Pashtū or Afghān language, in a style of measured prose. The texture of the work is of a very loose and unconnected nature; so that the different chapters, of which it consists, admit of easy transposition; a circumstance which has given rise to great diversity of arrangement and variety of readings. The Makhzan Afghāni has long been popular among the Afghāns, and chiefly among those classes, who are by no means curious with respect to style and arrangement. Hence, though the practice of writing is by no means common or general among the Afghāns, not even among those persons who are well versed in the Arabic language, and skilled in the doctrines of Islâm, yet such diversity of readings has arisen in this work, that almost every copy differs widely from another, and the omission, or transposition of the chapters, seems to depend entirely on the pleasure of the transcriber. Of this work, the narrative concerning Bā'yezīd An'ṣā'rī, forms a part, and is composed in the Pashtū language. Some copies, besides the Pashtū relation, contain a similar narrative of the same transactions, in the Persian language, composed in a very crude and inelegant style. With the addition of some trivial facts, and the omission of others, it coincides in general with the Pashtū account. Having, by the zeal and friendly exertions of Brigadier General Malcolm, procured several copies of this work, I have carefully collated the text, as the basis of the following narrative, in which I have retained as much as possible of the peculiar colouring and manner of the original; supplying, from native authorities, those local and historical elucidations which the subject seemed to require. Akhu'n Derwe'zeh, author of the Makhzan Afghāni, omits no opportunity
of alluding to his contest with *Ba' ye zí d An sâ rî*, and always mentions his own success, with the utmost self-complacency. "A certain person," says he "who arrogated to himself the name of Pîr-i-Roshan* (the father of light) but to whom I gave the more appropriate name of Pîr-i-Ta'nîc (the father of darkness) lately circulated among the *Yusefzî* and other Afg hân tribes, certain poems in the *Afg hân* language, pregnant with wicked and impious doctrines, savouring of the heretical tenets of the Mîtâznâh and Râfzi sects, and perverting the meaning of many sacred texts. In opposition to this infidel, I also composed a variety of poems, in the *Afg hân* language, exhibiting the true and orthodox explanations of the passages which the heretic had perverted; and I finally succeeded in turning away many from his pernicious doctrines. In short, had it not been for my exertions, not a Moslem had, at this day, remained among the *Yusefzî*."—Among the Afg hân tribes, *Akhun Derwe zeh Ba' ba*, as he is generally denominated, is commonly reckoned the father of Pashtû composition, and the first author who employed in his works the Afg hân language; yet, from this and other notices, it appears clearly that he was preceded in this department by *Ba' ye zí d An sâ rî*, the elegance and beauty of whose style he praises, while he condemns his erroneous opinions. *Ba' ye zí d An sâ rî* may therefore be regarded as the first author who composed in the Pashtû or Afg hân language. The following is the detail of his history:—

In the district of Câni gi râm, on the borders of Kandahâr, there lived, among the Afg hâns of the tribe of Vurmud', a person named Âbdûllah, who was a learned and religious man, sprung of learned and religious

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*Pîr*, is used technically, to denote a spiritual father, the master or superior of a religious order. The *prior* of a Catholic monastery would receive this appellation in Persian.
parents, for both he and his father were of the class of Ülema. He had a son named Baháyíd, whom he carefully instructed in learning, initiated in the practice of the faith, and the exercise of devotion, and communicated to him the prohibitions of the law. When this young man had made some progress in learning, his mind became intoxicated with vanity, he deserted science for traffic, and took to the profession of a travelling dealer in horses, which he followed some time, for the sake of worldly gain. One time, as he was conveying two horses from Samarkand to Hindustan, he happened to tarry for some time in the district of Calinjir. There he fell in with a person of the name of Mulla Sulimán, who was of the Malhed or irreligious sect; and becoming attached to his society, he frequented it, till he imbibed his irreligious notions and impious principles. On the return of Baháyíd to Cánigúram, these principles soon began to display themselves; he began to affect the manners of a solitary recluse, and in a short time retired to a cell, which he had formed, in the solitude of the mountains. But, that his object was not merely solitude, appeared, from the manner in which he was accustomed to address his visitors. “Enter into this recess, fix your minds in profound meditation, and within it you will see God.” But, as a Prophet has generally no honour in his own country, Baháyíd quickly perceived that this was the most inauspicious place that he could have chosen, for the propagation of his opinions. The Moslems of the vicinity, alarmed at his pretensions, reported his proceedings to his father Adbullah, who in virtue of his paternal authority, seized a long sword, and, without delay, repairing to the cell which his son had chosen, without many questions, wounded him severely, and did not quit him, till he had exacted of him a solemn promise, to renounce his errors, and perform the usual acts of devotion, according to the law and practice of Islám, as long as he lived. Baháyíd, assailed in this
summary manner, by his own father, found it necessary to temporize; but
the sooner had he recovered from the wound, which he had received, than
he broke the promise which had been exacted from him, and abandoning
Cánígáram, his native country, retired to the region of Ningarhán, where
he took up his residence in the house of the chief, Sultan Ahmed, in the
district belonging to the Afgháns of the tribes of Mohmand and Khugí-
ani.

Ningarhán is the name of an extensive tract of country in Afgá-
histán, which is watered by nine mountain streams, which fall into the
river of Jelálábad. The name is, by some, alleged to be a corruption
of the term nek-anhr, the pure streams; by others it is reckoned a
corruption of nów nehr, the nine streams. The country of Ningarhán
is irregular and uneven of surface, though it has not any very high
mountains. It is about 90 miles in length from East to West, extending
from Baitkót to Súrkhab. In breadth it extends from Caggah or Caggah,
to the river of Lughmán, a distance of nearly 30 miles. The inhabitants
are chiefly Afgháns and Tájís. The antient capital of this country was
Adináhpúr; but as that city was of difficult access and situated at a dis-
cance from the chief river, the town of Jelálábad was founded, on the
great route from Kandahár to Cabul and Paushwar. The Afgháns
who occupy Ningarhán, are chiefly of the tribes of Mohmand, Khugíani,
and Warázei. Of these the tribe of Mohmand, which is divided into
two branches, the Tárákzei and the Bákzei, are the most numerous
and powerful. Of this tribe, Sultan Ahmed, the protector of Bayezíd,
appears to have been the chief; and he was highly pleased with the
learning and abilities of the fugitive. As the Afgháns have always been
more addicted to martial exercises and rapine, than to either learning or
religion, he appears to have encountered few obstacles in gaining the confidence of the ruler; and would probably have succeeded equally well with the tribe of Mohmand, had it not been for the second-class of inhabitants, termed Tājić.

The term Tājić, in the Moghul language, is said to signify a peasant; but is generally applied by the Moghuls to the natives of Iran, who are neither of Arab nor Moghul extraction. In Persian, the term Dīghan, which is said to be a corruption of Dehkān, villagers or country people, is used to denote the same nation or race. It is, however, certain, that the terms Tājić and Dīghan are general appellations given to the peasants or cultivators of the ground, by the more ferocious and hardy tribes, who live by war and pasturage in Khorasan and Mawar-al-nahar; countries, which like the greater part of modern Persia and Asiatic Turkey, exhibit a singular contrast of manners and inhabitants, in the same territory, between the tribes which follow the pastoral and agricultural modes of life. This mixture of races has continued, with little variation, from the earliest period of Islam, in these countries; and prevails in every country, where the Moghul or Turkman tribes have been able to maintain their footing. The Tājić of great and little Bucharia resemble the peasants of Asia Minor, Egypt and modern Persia, in almost every point of view, which concerns their civil or political situation. More civilized, polished and intelligent than the fierce nomadic pastoral tribes, which rove through the country, and hold the plains in a state of oppressive vassalage; or the rude and

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* According to the Farhang Ibrahim Shahi, the term Tājić is applied to all who are not Arabs, and consequently, in this sense, it may be considered as equivalent to Ajem. It is added, on the authority of Shahab-Ed-Din Clemani, that it is also applied to the Turkish tribes. Tuxić and Tarić are also said to be forms of the same word, and are applied to the descendants of Arabs, who have attained eminence in Ajem. The term Dēkhān is sometimes applied to the inhabitants of Dailam.
hardy, but ignorant mountaineers, who, protected by their natural fastnesses, have been able to brave the tempests of war, which have often swept like a whirlwind the plains of Asia; the Täjic are distinguished everywhere by superior industry, and often engross the little learning, which is to be found in the country. The Täjic extend, from the mountains of Chetár in Cashgär, as far as Kandahar and Balkh; and generally speaking, wherever the soil is more than usually fertile, or displays traces of superior cultivation, there may the habitations of the Täjic be traced. In the mountains of Chetár, and where the country is naturally strong, the Täjic live in a state of independence, under their own chiefs, but for the most part, they are subject to the Afghán, Turkman, or Uzbek tribes, among whom they reside, and to whom they are bound to pay a certain proportion of the produce of their grounds, which often amounts to an half, a third, or a fourth part, according to the nature of the soil, besides furnishing a certain quota of armed men. The races of Täjic are very numerous, and they are distinguished from each other by various characteristics. Some affect to derive their origin from the Arabs, while others are reckoned of Moghul extraction; but no doubt can possibly be entertained that they are of a very mixed origin, considered as a people, and though generally of peaceable and industrious habits, in some districts, such as Cashgär and Khoten, they are distinguished for their valour, and martial prowess. Though the great mass of the Täjics are industrious cultivators, yet various tribes of roving and unsettled habits, and uncertain origin, are commonly comprehended under the same general denomination. Thus the roving tribes of Sidibái, and Tükbai, of Calangi and Ibrancli, Kakshál, and Khwajeh Khizri, of Mușeči, Tilburfi, Balsudi, Arab-Galahban, Tufac-andax, and several others, are generally included under the name of Täjic. It is difficult to determine when the term.
Fezir came into general use, but it appears to be of some antiquity, as it is employed by Sherif-Ed-Din Ali Yezi, who uses it in contradistinction to the term Turc, in his account of the wars of Taimur in the mountainous region of Cutur. Emerging occasionally from obscurity, this race have produced many princes and great men, and are fond of enumerating the learned and religious characters which have arisen among them. Spread over a vast extent of country, they use a variety of languages, but in general they employ Persic, Turci, or Pashtü, and sometimes Burhi, Lughmání, and Cashgari. It was this race which first opposed the propagation of Bāyezid's principles and tenets, and afterwards furnished his most formidable opponent.

When Bāyezid took up his residence in Ningarhar, he assumed the character of a Mulla; and being of an acute genius, and sharp wit, as far as regards the wisdom of this world, though forgetful of the wisdom of the world which is to come, he for some time met with considerable success, especially among the Afghans. But the tribes of Tajü, in Ningarhar, were soon startled by the extravagance of his opinions; and being fond of learning, and well versed in the doctrines of the Senna, or tradition, they opposed such a serious resistance to his novelties, that he quickly determined to abandon Ningarhar, and to choose a more favourable scene of action.

Few of the Afghán tribes were at this period more ignorant than the Waziri of Caniguram, among whom Bāyezid had been bred. They have long possessed an extensive tract of strong hill-country, and are fierce robbers; while their rudeness is so notorious among the neighbouring Afghans, that they are proverbially said, to be ignorant of every thing, but to live, eat, and die, like brute beasts. They however, conjoined with their
ignorance, an equal degree of bigotry, and aversion to every species of religious innovation. The tribe of Waziri were particularly distinguished by their detestation of the Hindús; and perhaps the knowledge that Bāy-ezīd had acquired his religious opinions in the Penjāb, might co-operate in causing his want of success, as well as the circumstance of his having been a native of the country, and bred among them.

On leaving Ningarhār, Bāyezīd proceeded to Pokhtānkhā, or Afghānistān proper, and took up his residence among the Afghāns of Gharīhel, who reside in the vicinity of Paishāwer, towards the N. E. of that city. The Gharīhel Afghāns, who are of the tribe Khalīl, were in a great measure devoid of learning, and even of that species of theological knowledge, which the Moslems often cultivate, almost to the exclusion of every other. The artful impostor had little difficulty, in seducing to his purposes, men of this rude and simple character. He announced himself as a Peshwa or religious leader, and Pir or spiritual guide; he informed them that no one but an able and perfect religious instructor could display the true way of God; and that no person could be approved of God, who did not choose for himself a religious instructor. "Now therefore" said he, "come unto me, that I may bring you unto God; for the holy Korān directs you to seek after the divine union, and it is only through the intervention of a perfect Pir, that this union can be accomplished." The simple and ignorant Afghāns took his assertions for truth; not knowing, says my author, that in the Commentaries of Bāizawi, the union mentioned in this text, is explained, as denoting the performance of religious duty, and the avoiding of sin. Moreover it is said, that except in conformity to the words of the prophet, there is no path towards God.

"This apostate" continues Akhun-Derwēzeh "composed many Re-

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sâlehs or treatises concerning the character of Pir; and not only perverted and confounded the meaning of many sacred texts, but forged, in the name of the prophet, numerous interpolations of the Hadîs or traditions; and as there was then, no person in Afghanîstân, perfectly instructed in learning, and the principles of the Moslem faith, and able to expose his errors, these interpolations were received without contradiction, and were even accredited by many who had the character of learned men." Bâ'yezîd being of a keen, crafty and versatile genius, as became the precursor (pîshrî) of Satan, had great skill in discovering the inclinations of men, and great facility in accommodating himself to their dispositions. When he perceived that a person was strongly attached to the Sherîd or law, he concealed himself under the cloak of the law, in order to gain his confidence; that by his learning, and plausible reasoning, he might, with the greater facility, seduce him from the faith. When he had gained his confidence, and caught him in his toils, he imposed on him, such grievous and heavy burdens, such severe devotional exercises, according to the law, as could not fail to canker his mind with disgust and aversion. Having thus perverted the purpose of the law, he signified to him, that no person without renouncing the Sherîd or law, could attain the Târikât or means of perfection, but that those who were perfect in the law, might afterwards safely lay aside useless severities. The accursed Bâ'yezîd, says Akhu'n-Derwezeh, in order to disgust his followers with the practice of the letter of the law, among other things, affected great strictness in performing the regular Namâz, or recitation of prayers; and, instead of requiring the recitation of the Tasbîh, or names of the divine attributes, in the postures termed Ruci'd (with the hands on the knees) and sajîd, (the act of prostration) three times, as is commonly done, he required twenty, thirty, or forty repetitions of the act. Yet at the same
time, says this author, it is a certain fact, that he neglected to perform the necessary ṭawāzu, or ablution; which proves that his Namāz was without divine efficacy; and only a popular deception. When by such means, he had rendered his followers ripe for renouncing the Sheriāt, he proposed to them, such apologues as the following.

"A slave who takes up a load of wood, and knows not the master to whom he is to bear his burden, must forever carry his load on his head, and suffer lasting distress and misery; but he who knows his master, knows where to deposit his load, and quickly relieves himself from his burden. Therefore come now, O. disciple! and learn to know the creator of the world, and having already perfected thyself in the law, throw down the authority of the ordinances from thy head."

In the same manner, he announced to them, that in order to arrive at the Hakikat and mārifat, or the true and intellectual knowledge of God, they must first renounce the Ťarīkat or means of spiritual progress; and thus he seduced the ignorant peasants into infidelity, and, for an infidel, says our author, there is no path towards God. After having thus chilled the religious zeal of his disciples, respecting the external ordinances, he gradually explained to them his own doctrines, and initiated them in his principles, by a variety of gradations, not unlike the modern illuminatism of the German and French philosophers. His mystic doctrines were graduated into eight degrees of knowledge, each of which was termed Ťeker; and his disciples were, in the same manner, arranged in eight classes, which he denominated Ḥiltwat; and when once a person entered on his degrees, says Aḵuⁿ-Derwezeh, adieu forever to the doctrines of the law.
Hirché poh ba shuk pa zeker,
O mashgál ba shoh pa feker,
Ke hir k'o dini sir'ei vo,
Ebâdet bayé nur nêker.†

Whosoever comprehended his formularioes,
Or wickedly paid attention to them,
However religious he might be,
Performed again no other worship.

"Thou fool," said he, "now that thou hast attained God, why shouldst thou perform any farther worship or religious duty? Thou hast performed obedience to the law, in order to acquire a knowledge of the excellence of God, and to become acquainted with his goodness; but now, my friend, since thou hast attained this knowledge, leave off the performance of a duty, which has been compleated. That knowledge which thou hast received, is the knowledge of the spirit of God. The spirit of God is nature; and visible forms, or bodies, are his qualities." "Thus," says Akhu'n Derwe'zeh, "he asserted that the breath of life is God himself, and let the faithful be assured that such a doctrine is only credited by infidels, unbelievers, and Yogis;* for God himself, is not to be comprehended, by the understanding of either mortal man or Jin. (genie) Besides it is expressly stated in the fundamental books of religion, that whoever asserts the Sheriût and hakîkat, the exoteric and esoteric doctrines of the law, to be at variance, is an infidel. Such an assertion is, in itself, impious; for it is

* The Yogi is a Hindu sect who practise religious austerities.
maintaining before all mankind, that besides the law, there is some other access unto God; now it is indubitable, that besides the path of the Sheriat or law, there is no access unto God.”

Bayezid composed for his disciples, when they had entered on his different degrees of religious exercise, formularies of instruction, which were delivered in his own name, and not in the name of God Almighty; and these were eight in number, adapted to the different degrees or classes, into which his followers were divided. To the Afghans he delivered his instructions, by means of treatises composed in the Afghan language; to the Hindús, in the Hindi; and to the Persians in the Persic language; and such was the singular versatility of his genius, that his writings in all these languages, are admitted even by his enemies, to have been composed in the most alluring and attractive style. When his disciples had reached the eighth mystic degree of devotion, he informed them that they had now attained perfection, and had nothing further to do with the ordinances, or prohibitions of the law. He now informed them, that they might eat of what they pleased, whether lawful or prohibited; and though he had stated in a prior Resaleh or treatise, “that no food should be eaten but what is lawful,” yet this he now explained away, by declaring “that it was unlawful to eat what was obtained by dint of request or beggary, but that whatsoever was acquired by violence, robbery or the edge of the scymiter, was lawful.” Now his purpose in the prohibition of beggary, adds Akhn-Derwežeh, was to compel his followers to collect themselves into a body, and to accustom them to procure their subsistence, by robbery and depredation. This observation is undoubtedly justified by the historical fact; for no sooner had he accustomed his followers to the use of arms, than he took up his residence in the steep mountains of Afghanistan, plundered merchants.
levied contributions, propagated his doctrines by force of arms, massacred the learned who opposed him, and soon extended his power so much as to strike even princes with terror. Bayezid was now followed by great multitudes both of men and women, who revered him as a prophet and divine teacher. It is said, however, that his most ardent votaries were the female sex, who, says our author, are a sex naturally prone to pleasure, and addicted to voluptuousness. These females, the crafty impostor employed as lures, to seduce the young men of the Afghán tribes, whom this Tajic pronounces, a race extremely prone to be led by the inclination of women: now he that trusts to a woman, his eyes are dazzled, so that he sees double, and as the prophet observes, "there is no fitter sovereign, for such a people, than a woman."—In the first stages of their initiation, the young men and young women were classed separately, and had separate hours allotted for religious instruction. As they advanced in illumination, however, these restrictions were removed, and he suffered them to mix again in promiscuous assemblies, forgetting, says Akhn Derwezeh, that young women are fire, and young men like cotton. In these public assemblies, his followers amused themselves with the recitation of poems and narrative stories; with singing, dancing, and clapping their hands in tumultuous acclamation. I am informed, by Amír Muhammed, of Petsháwer, that in the traditions of that district, Bayezid and his followers, are accused of practising the abominations of the unchaste sect, termed Cheragh-cush; but had this been the case, it is probable that the animadversions of Akhn Derwezeh, would have been still more severe; for

* Those who came to attend Bayezid, were first of all ordered to seat themselves, men and women, promiscuously; a practice says Akhn Derwezeh, which led to great excesses, by inflaming their passions, though it increased the number of his disciples. When they entered on a course of devotional exercises, the sexes were separated; but they were again permitted to mix in promiscuous assemblies, after they were initiated.
he seems chiefly to blame the imprudence of mixed assemblies, in his strictures on the subject.

Bayezid having now matured his plans, exhibited to his disciples a book which he had composed, entitled *Kheir al Biaan (The excellence of explanation)* which he pretended to have received by inspiration, like another Koran. He also composed, from time to time, a variety of Resalehs or treatises, concerning the fundamental principles and doctrines of his sect. One of the crafty devices which he practised in these treatises was to introduce many sententious maxims, and brilliant passages, which had no obvious heterodox tendency; but which, by their force and beauty produced a deep impression on the simple reader; while none but those who were deeply versed in theological science, could discover their real drift. Thus, in one of his latter Resalehs he asserts, that whatever exists in form, is the mirror of divinity; whatever is heard or seen, is God, who alone exists; while the material world is nothing but thought or idea. The Lord preserve the faithful, says Akhun Derwezeh, from such an infidel as this! Bayezid was fond of introducing into his compositions, philosophical ideas, and principles maintained by the Sufi sect. He asserts, in one passage, that nothing exists, except God, and that besides the being of God, there is no other being in existence. God, says he, remains concealed in the human nature, like salt in water, or grain in the plant; and he is the same in all his creatures, and the soul of all.* He that is a true believer, will not be the death of the meanest insect, for the giver of life is its fosterer, and thou art not answerable for its subsistence.

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*Marifat* according to Bayezid, consisted in believing living souls to be God; the soul, said he, is essence, and body is quality, and thus he reckoned the breath of life, God. Now let the faithful be assured, that this is only the opinion of Malhedz, Caeirs, and Yogis, says Akhun Derwezeh.
Harm therefore no being, and cut not down the tender shoots of existence; form a true notion of the divinity, and regard the eighteen thousand races of beings, as your own body. These positions differ little from those of the Sufis, but the most remarkable thing is the inference, which he deduced from the doctrine of the sole existence of the divine nature. "Since nothing exists but God, what meaning can be assigned to such words as right and wrong, good and bad, except that every man should implicitly obey his Pir, or religious instructor?" "Behold now," added he, "I am both your God, and your prophet. There is, therefore, nothing which you can do, so meritorious as to obey my commands. If you fulfil my commands, I will, after death, restore you in the form of man: and, if not, you shall be reproduced in the forms of hogs and bears: but those who obstinately disobey my commands shall be utterly annihilated." Thus it appears that he maintained the doctrine of transmigration.

Ba'yezid, in consequence of the double character of deity and prophet which he had assumed, now caused two signets to be formed, which he employed in this two-fold capacity. On the first signet, which he employed in his divine capacity, was the following inscription:

Sabhanaca al male il bari
Juda card aleem-i-nuri az nari
Ba'yezid Ansari.

Glory to thee, the King, the creator,
Who hast distinguished the world of light, from that of fire,
Ba'yezid Ansari.
The word "núr, light," in this passage alludes to the name of his sect, Rosheniah, the enlightened; whom he represents as separated from the race of Jin and demons, who are sprung from fire, and from unbelievers, who are devoted to fire.

On the other signet, which he employed in his capacity of prophet, was the following inscription:

\[ \text{Báyezíd miskín} \]
\[ \text{Hádî al muẓalîn.} \]

The humble Báyezíd.

The guide of those who err.

These signets, says Akh'ún Derwezeh, are still preserved, and employed by his successors, who use no other personal signets, but say, "We are one with Báyezíd, and the selfsame spirit."

After hazarding so striking an innovation with success, it was not probable, that he would hesitate at anything of inferior importance. He is, accordingly, said, to have denied the Moslem doctrine of the bridge of dread, or Sîrât, over which mortals are believed to pass into Paradise; he set aside the doctrines of the resurrection, and final judgment; and pronounced prosperity to be Paradise, and adversity Hell. This countenances the assertion, that in his higher degrees of illumination, he totally denied the doctrine of a future state, and directed his most perfect disciples, to follow their pleasures without reserve, and gratify their inclinations without scruple. Certain it is, however, that he inculcated with great success, on the rude Afghâns, who were his followers, an absolute right to dispose of the lives and properties of all who did not adhere to his sect. This principle is alluded to, in the following crude Pashtû verses of Akh'ún Derwezeh.
On another occasion, he said, "Come my friends, be of good cheer,
All the rest of the world are like unto the dead;
They are not apprized of the value of the breath of life;
The inheritance of the wealth of the dead, devolves upon the living,
Their persons, wealth, and wives, are therefore yours, by right."

The same sentiment is expressed in the following passage:

Come then, my friends, said he at last, lay hold of the sabre,
The whole world is devoid of life, smite off the heads of the lifeless,
Though they should be your own friends, smite off their heads, without delay.
Seize on their wealth, it is your own by right: no other respect is due to them.
Ba'yezid commencing with the Afgháns of Gharibél, had now gained over and perverted the whole tribe of Khalil, and also obtained followers among many of the other tribes of Afgháns, and in particular among the Mahmúdzei. The Mahmúdzei are a powerful tribe, who inhabit the district of Hashtnagar, anciently termed Ashtanagara, and which seems to have formed a part of the country of the ancient Aspagani, mentioned by Pliny, from whom the Afgháns of the present day, most probably derive their name. The country of Hashtnagar has an advantageous central situation, in the middle of the vast region to which the name of Pokhtankhá, or Afghánistan is generally given, and which may be roughly estimated at about 1,000 miles in length, and 550 in breadth. In the early Moslem times, this region was generally denominated Roh. The district of Hashtnagar derives its name, which signifies the eight townships, from the eight original settlements of the country, which are supposed to correspond to the eight following districts. 1. Nów Sheherah. 2. Charsada, including Párang and Hesár. 3. Rizzar. 4. Oltuanzei. 5. Turángzei. 6. Omarzei. 7. Sherpái. 8. Tanggeh or Barkażei. The region of Hashtnagar is universally reckoned by the Afgháns, the place of their original settlement in Afghánistan. The tribe of the Mahmúdzei, says Akhnun DER WEZEH, were at this time a very ignorant set, in point of religious knowledge. Allured by the reputation of Ba'yezid, numbers of them went to visit him, and were seduced by the craft of the arch-apostate; and his success was rendered compleat, by the invitation
which he received, to take up his residence in the country of Hashtnagar. Bayezid was not slow in perceiving the advantages which this situation afforded him, for pursuing the operations, which he had so successfully begun. He proceeded to Hashtnagar, and took up his residence at Kaledir in the district of Omarzai, where he founded a city. Thence he issued circular letters, in every direction, addressed both to the learned and to the ignorant, in the following terms. “Come unto me, for I am a perfect Pir, whoever lays hold of the skirt of my garment, shall obtain salvation, and whoever does not, shall utterly perish.” He now assumed the appellation of Pir Roshan, which may be rendered “the father of light,” and it is from this title, that his sect were termed Rosheniah, or the enlightened. The alarm of the orthodox Moslems, was now extreme; they had tampered with the new sect, till it was almost too late to attempt to suppress it by force; Bayezid had firmly established his principles among the Afghans; he increased in influence, day by day, and the country was overrun with infidelity. Many of the most learned of his opponents, had been baffled in controversy, by the profound knowledge, and versatile genius which he displayed. If we may credit the authority of Akhun Derwezeh, however, very different success attended his own exertions, and those of his spiritual instructor, Saaid Ali Tirmizi, who, at this period resided at Banher in the territory of the Yuteszei, and was the spiritual guardian of the age; the preserver of true religion among the Afghans, the Sheikh of Sheikhs and Oulias, and the scyther of the Sunnis. —“Pokhtankha” was now like night, and knew not its own good from its evil, but Saaid Ali was a light in the midst of darkness. He remembered that it is said in the Hadis, or traditions, “When any heretic appears among the followers of my religion, and there shall be any learned man, who is able to confute him, and shall neglect this duty of reproof, may the
curse of God, of angels, and of all the learned, be on the head of that learned man, and may every Sünni, from his evil, have joy." Recollecting this denunciation, Said Ali Tirmizi determined to oppose the further progress of this heresy, and accompanied by his favorite scholar, Akhun Derwezeh, engaged in a controversial discussion with Bâyezid. In the debates which followed, the controversy seems to have been chiefly managed by Akhun Derwezeh, who confidently claims the victory, and felicitates himself greatly for having given his opponent the name of Pâr Târic, the father of darkness, instead of "the father of light," which he had assumed. "In several conferences," says Akhun Derwezeh, "sometimes accompanied by my revered Pâr, and sometimes alone, I covered the infidel with such disgrace and confusion, that he could not open his mouth, in my presence, and I fixed on him, as the brand of reprobation, the epithet of Pâr Târic, which he will constantly retain, to the end of time." Notwithstanding the exultation of Akhun Derwezeh, if we judge of him by his compositions, it is difficult to consider him as a match for the splendid talents of Bâyezid; and, by his own confession, his victories produced no effect on the Afghans. "As the power of religion, and religious ordinance," says he, "is feeble without the authority of the prince, my exertions were of no avail, for at that time there was no sovereign of Islam to cut off the head of the infidel. It therefore happened; that whenever I restrained any one of the ignorant Afghans from resorting to him, two others constantly went in his stead. Many men he seduced to damnation, but the race of the Afghans, above all others."

The proceedings of Bâyezid had now assumed a serious aspect, and required the vigorous interposition of the Moghul government. The power of the Afghans had been recently broken in Hindustan, but...
the fierce and untractable mountaineers of Pokhtankhá, scarcely considered themselves as affected, by the disasters of their countrymen, at a distance. The Moghuls had occupied Kandahar, Cábul, Ghazni, and a few more important posts, but had scarcely attempted to penetrate into the deep recesses of the mountains. MÁHSAN KÁHÁN GHAZI, an officer of great merit, was, at this time, governor of Cábul. He made a sudden irruption into the district of Hashnagar, and having seized the person of BÁYEZID, conducted him to Cábul, where he exhibited him as a spectacle, to the populace, with his hair shaven, on one side of the head, and left untouched on the other.* But the impostor had a genius, too fertile in expedients, to be easily disconcerted; and by dint of artifice, he not only extricated himself from this disgraceful situation, but had the address to preserve his credit unimpaired, among his followers. He affected a profound veneration for the Sheriat, or exterior ordinances of the law; boldly denied the charges of innovation; affirmed that he had constantly conformed to the ritual observances of religion; and asserted that his opinions had been grossly misrepresented by the ignorant and malevolent. In the discussions which ensued, he defended himself with great vigour and ability, and extorted the admiration of all the learned. "At last," says AKHÚN DÉRWEZH, "some ungodly learned men interceded for him, with MÁHSAN KÁHÁN, and he was set at liberty. They did not recollect the saying of ABU SHEKÚR SILMI, recorded in the Tamhid: "The repentance of a punished infidel is of no effect, he shall certainly be put to death." But, indeed, adds our author, if we attentively regard those who pretend to be Uléma or learned, it will be obvious, that the greater

* In some Afghán Mss. it is said, that he cut off his nose; but this is probably occasioned by a fault of the transcriber, in writing Sáánd, the tip of the nose, the trunk of an elephant for, sáníh locks hair.
part of them are incapable of distinguishing good from evil, or right from wrong.” On this occasion, Mahsan Khan is supposed to have acted by the advice of his religious instructor, to whom Bayezid is asserted by Akhun Derwezeh, to have given a bribe of three hundred tangas, which, I am told, amounts to about six hundred rupees; a sum which seems totally disproportionate to the magnitude of the occasion, and which, though it may have been given, can scarcely be deemed adequate to effect its object.

Bayezid having effected his release, immediately on his return from Cabul, collected his disciples, friends and adherents, and retired to the mountainous district of Totei. Not regarding himself as sufficiently secure, in this position, he again retreated, and took post in the strong and inaccessible hill country of Tirah; a country which has been conjectured, to correspond to the territory of the ancient Thyræi, or Yezdi mentioned by Arrian. I am informed, that there is in this mountainous range, a people named Turi or Tori, who are sometimes improperly confounded with the Totei. The Totei are a division of the Bangash, notorious even to the present day, for their attachment to the Roscheniah sect. The Turi on the contrary are rigid followers of the Shi'ah doctrines. The country occupied by the Turi, most probably corresponds to the territory, of the ancient Thyræi. Tirah is one of the divisions of the Bangashat, or districts occupied by the Bangash Clan, which is one of the most powerful, numerous, and valiant tribes among the Afghans. This tribe occupies the difficult hill country to the south of the mountains of Lughman, which is about two hundred miles in length, and one hundred in breadth, on a rough calculation. The district of Tirah is about one hundred and fifty miles in length, extending from Iriab to Cohat, and
is divided into numerous gious, or mountain-vallies, part of which are occupied by the tribe Afridi, and the rest by the Bangash. In this rough and dangerous country Bayezid being freed from all hazard of a sudden surprize, immediately set about retrieving his late disgrace, and prosecuted his plans with increased ardour and activity. His sect began to assume a national character, and his doctrines to be considered as the peculiar religion of the Afgháns; to whom it now stood in nearly the same relation, that the religion of Muhammed originally occupied, with respect to the Arabs. His treatment at Cábúl had sunk deep, and festered in his mind; and no sooner had he collected his bands, than he renewed his ravages and depredations with greater fury than ever; slaughtered the Moslem Ulama who opposed him, without mercy; and openly announced, that he would abolish the religion of Muhammed, and substitute his own in its place. His views expanded with his power; he determined no longer to confine his operations to Afghánistan, and announced the design of conquering both Khorasan and Hindustan. In the pride of his heart, says Akhun Derwezeh, he seems to have imagined that he was Mehdí, or at least, that he could perform his office: and he has stated this idea in the following passage.

Deh ve rasheé yarano mashweret kr’u
Va seca las ba kr’u patúrah da nabi din ba ghalat kr’u.
Kul bawer pama ravanréi ka khodaye ghozar éi khodái ham zeyam
Keh nabi ham ratah vayé tu dagha nim ghar e neyam
Keh Mehdí ratah vayé par ma khána
Ham haidi da khalaik yar bi bawer kanei leh yekina.*

* دو روستا یارا بوم شور تل و

و سکن حیان دی چار لوز تل و بین دین ب دغل تل و
AND ITS FOUNDER.

Come my friends, said he, and I will advise you,
I will lay hand on the scymiter and destroy the religion of the prophet,
Place your full confidence in me if you would please God;
For I am your God, even I myself: regard me as the Prophet. I am in no respect deficient:
Regard me as Mhedi, I am in no respect defective:
I am the true and sufficient guide: hold this for certain.

Bayezid had announced to his followers, that he would levy an army
and march into Hindustan, to overthrow the emperor Acbar; and such
was his vanity, and arrogance, that he already began to partition out the
different provinces of the empire, among his followers. One of these, to
whom he consigned Dehlu, had the insolence to refuse it, alledging that it
lay almost desolate. He did not however confine himself to empty vaunts,
but began to levy men with great activity, and to collect horses from every
quarter. In pursuance of this design, he issued a proclamation, requiring:
all who possessed horses to bring them; and deliver them over to him
without delay; and declaring that he would pay the owners double prices,
as soon as he had conquered the emperor Acbar, and possessed himself
of the wealth of Hindustan. This order, however extravagant, he caused:
to be rigorously enforced, and it fell on the merchants as severely as
his avowed robberies.

The Moghuls of Cābul, when they learned that Bāyezīd was levying
men, and purchasing horses, on the credit of the wealth of Acrast, pre-
pared to act against him vigorously; but it was necessary to proceed with
cautious, as in the mountainous district of Tīrah, he could no longer be
taken by surprise. The Afghāns of Tīrah, though they had embraced
the sect of Bāyezīd, and formally classed themselves among his disci-
ples, appear, nevertheless, to have preserved all their friendly habits, and
connections with the Moghuls, and to have retained a secret partiality for
the ordinances of Islam. Bāyezīd, having discovered among them, some
secret practices with the Moghuls, determined to inflict on them a dreadful
vengeance, which might have the effect of deterring others, from following
their example. But as the mountaineers were brave and courageous, in
order to accomplish his design with safety, he practised on them the fol-
lowing stratagem.—After expressing some dissatisfaction with their con-
duct, he said, "If you would recover my favour, you must all of you appear
before me, one by one, with your hands bound, in order that I may myself
release you." Bāyezīd had practised so many mystical and symbolical
ceremonies, that the rude and simple mountaineers were induced, without
hesitation, to comply with his order; and in the blindness of their delusion,
did as he suggested. They appeared before him, severally, with their
hands bound; and three hundred of them, he caused to be put to instant
death, and laid the district so desolate, that it never returned into the
possession of the original inhabitants, but passed into the hands of another
race of mountaineers. Thus, says Akhūn Dergwezeh, were the Af-
ghāns of Tīrah punished for their apostacy, according to the words of
the prophet, “Whosoever shall suffer wickedness and infidelity to prevail, the curse of God shall destroy them, and rest on their heads, till the day of judgment.” Therefore, God, in his wrath, sent this infidel to them, for their utter extermination.

After the terrible example of Tirah; the whole hill country of the Afgháns, apostatized to the new heresy, renouncing the Korán and all the ordinances of Islám, and practising in their place the rules of the new sect. They abandoned the stated public prayers, the prescribed donation of alms, and the regular fasts, according to the ordinance of Islám; and they kept no fast whatsoever, excepting one of ten days, in the beginning of spring, which they termed Rózeh kül, the compleat fast. God preserve us all, says Akh’ún Derwezéh, from such infidelity as his.

Bayezid’s projects were now ripe, and with his usual promptitude, he attempted to carry them into execution. With a considerable force, he descended into the plains of Ningarhár, sacked and burnt the town of Bároí, which is also named Bar and Bárúr, and ravaged the adjacent districts. As he slowly retired towards the mountains, he was pursued by Mahsan Khán Gha’zi; who, by one of the rapid marches, for which the Moghuls were formerly so celebrated, came up with him, and made a vigorous attack on his rear, in the vicinity of Tor-rága. Bayezid had impressed his followers, with the belief, that, as soon as he should set eyes on Mahsan Khán, that chieftain would fall dead from his horse. By such representations, he prevailed on them to stand the Mogul attack in the plain; but no sooner did they feel the sharpness of the sabre of Misr, and hear its whizzing stroke descend, than their irregular bands were thrown into confusion, and by the impetuosity of the onset of the Mogul cavalry, who charged in mass, they were quickly dispersed. The pursuit
was continued to the mountains, and dreadful slaughter was made of the fugitives. Bâ'yezîd himself escaped, on foot, with much difficulty, amid the general rout, and made good his retreat to Hashtnagar; but the extreme fatigue, which he had endured, and the distress, which he had suffered, from parching thirst, and exposure to the sun, among the hills, brought on a fever,* which irritated by chagrin of mind, quickly put a period to his existence. He died in the evening, at Shérpâi, in the western part of Hashtnagar; and thus, says Akhûn Derwe'zeh, the father of darkness went into night. He was buried in Hashtnagar, adds our author, where, that which appears to be his tomb, still remains; but, in reality, it is in hell. Such was the fate of Bâ'yezîd Ansâ'î, whose genius, though subtle and acute, and whose powers though great and versatile, seem to have been more of a literary and philosophical, than of a political or martial cast. He was evidently better fitted for founding a sect, than an empire; and yet he nearly succeeded in accomplishing both.

The system pursued by Bâ'yezîd, however, had been too well matured by the genius of that singular character, to leave no effect behind it. His followers were numerous and enthusiastic; and latterly, his sect by embracing, in a particular manner, the Afghân nation, has assumed a special national character. According to Akhûn Derwe'zeh, he left behind him five sons, who had been the prime agents, both in his depredations, and in his insurrection; and after the infidel went to hell, the eldest of these assumed his place and character. The five sons of Bâ'yezîd were,


* The Afghân Jolâh, of which he died, seems to be the disease which we term jungle fever.
AND ITS FOUNDER.

S. JELA'İL-ED-DİN. S}EIKH ÖMAR, the eldest of these, immediately after the decease of his father, grasped his sword, and having collected his adherents, thus addressed them: “Come on my friends, your Pîr is not dead, but has resigned his place, to his son S}EIKH ÖMAR, and conferred on him, and his followers, the empire of the whole world.” The vigour and alacrity of this leader, restored the confidence of the sect; and it appears that he trod closely in the footsteps of his father, and omitted no means of reviving the enthusiasm, which had been damped by the bad fortune and death of Bâyezîd. After a year had elapsed, he raised from the grave, the body of the accursed father of darkness, and had his white bones enshrined in an ark, and borne before him in battle, and on all other great occasions. To these bones, a species of homage was paid; and they were kissed, and revered as relics, by the sect. “When any great peril shall occur,” said S}EIKH ÖMAR, “your Pîr shall recover life, and rise to assist us, and destroy our enemies.” Impressed with confidence in this singular delusion, the Rossha}niah sect recovered new life, and for some time their affairs succeeded prosperously. At last, however, S}EIKH ÖMAR, elated by success, inconsiderately involved himself in a contest with the tribe of Tûse}fzei, who had long been the staunchest of his adherents.

The Tûse}fzei are the bravest and most powerful of all the Afghân tribes, and they occupy the greater part of the extensive mountainous districts of Sewâd, Bajatwer, Banhér, Panj kora, Dûder, and Chechh Hazâreh. These countries are all of great natural strength, and consist of ranges of lofty mountains, divided by vallies which are watered with mountain streams, and occasionally intersected by abrupt precipices. Several of these districts are of considerable estimated extent. Sewâd is about seventy miles in length, and forty in breadth, and contains twenty-five vallies,
each watered by its own stream. Bajáwer, which contains eight extensive vallies, of which, Rád, the largest, is nearly forty miles in length, is reckoned still larger than Sewád, but is only partially possessed by the Yúsefzéi; many districts being occupied by the Mohmand, Sápi, Shinwári and Tarcaláni tribes. Banhér is about forty miles in length, and nearly the same in breadth. The extent of these districts, however, is not accurately known. Panj-kor'a contains six vallies or glens, each of which is about twenty miles in length; and the district is roughly estimated at about fifty miles in length, and about thirty-five in breadth. Dúdér is about forty miles in length, and not much inferior in breadth. The original seat of the Yúsefzéi was between Cábúl and Ghazní; but deserting this district, in the time of Mirzà Ulugh Beg, they conquered their present possessions from the native princes or Sultans, who boasted to be descended from Secander Zulkarnain; as many persons in that country still do, and produce in confirmation of this tradition, their genealogical tables. These persons form a particular tribe, named Secandiri, but nevertheless affect to be of Arabic origin. The countries possessed by the Yúsefzéi are in general well cultivated, and the tribe is very numerous. They have never yielded more than a nominal obedience, to any sovereign; but being divided into a number of distinct clans, without any general head, they are much less formidable, than they would otherwise be, to their neighbours.

The origin of the quarrel between Sheikh Ómar and the Yúsefzéi, who had long been strenuous partizans of his sect, is not clearly explained; but he is asserted to have provoked them by some depredations. The warriors of Yúsefzéi, however, quickly collected in a body, and assailed Sheikh Ómar and his party, so sharply, at Bara, on the banks of the
Sind, that they routed his adherents, and slew both that chief and his brother Kheir-ed-din. They burnt the body of Sheikh Omar to ashes, and consumed the shrine of the arch apostate Bayezid; and his bones, which had been kissed with so much devotion, they seized, and most undevoutly threw into the Sind. On this occasion, Jelal-ed-din, the youngest of the five brothers, was also taken prisoner by the Yusefzai; and Nur-ed-din, who escaped to Hashtnagar, was slain on his return by the Gujars.

The Gujars of Afghanistán, are of the same race as those who occupy the mountains of the Penjâb and upper Hindustan. In some districts they are nearly as numerous as the Afghans, especially in the territories of the tribe of Mandar, which form an extensive district, about one hundred miles in length and sixty in breadth. Before the reign of Acbar, all the Zemindars of Mandar were of the Gujar race; but the Afghans had occupied the mountains, at a still more early period, and descending from these, when favorable occasions occurred, they gradually possessed themselves of the plains. The Gujars of Afghanistán are still a brave people, of pastoral habits, whose wealth consists chiefly in cattle, and particularly in buffaloes. They are still numerous, as I am informed, in the district of Hashtnagar.

Jelal-ed-din the youngest son of Bayezid, says Akhun Derwezeh, was now prisoner among the Yusefzai: what a pity that he had not been slain: the world would not have grieved at his loss; but travellers, merchants, and holy men would have rejoiced at his destruction. It appears, that he had not, as yet, completed the sum of his iniquities. The emperor Acbar was careless of religion, and devoted to pleasure, and a worldly mind. As soon as he heard of the transactions which had occurred be-
ON THE ROSHENIAH SECT

tween the Ţūsefzēi and the sons of Bāyezīd, he issued his mandate to that tribe, to deliver up Jelāl-erd-dīn, and his partizans, who had been made prisoners, to himself. When the slave of darkness entered the royal presence, he was most graciously received, and as he feigned sickness, he was desired, after some days, to present himself again, in order to receive some mark of royal favour. That serpent brood, however, repaid his kindness with black ingratitude. Being of a crafty and versatile disposition, he managed matters so skilfully, that he escaped from Lahore, and reached the mountains of Tirah, before Aqbar was apprized of his flight. The genius of Jelāl-erd-dīn, quickly retrieved the affairs of the Rosheniah sect, and on every occasion, he displayed a degree of energy worthy of his father Bāyezīd. He soon found himself at the head of a numerous host, and announcing himself as emperor of the Afghāns, or Pādshah of Pokhtankha, he called on all the Afghān tribes to follow him into Hindustan. “Let the Afghāns only attend me, said he, and I will soon overthrow the bulwarks of Agra and Sikrei or Lahore.” The Afghāns collected around his banners, but they were vigorously opposed by the Moghuls, who occupied Paishāver, and other parts of the country; and Afghānistān, in its distracted state, suffered every species of calamity. Some perished by the ravages of the Moghuls, others by the attacks of Jelāl-erd-dīn. The Moghuls slew many innocent men, as partizans of the apostate, and Jelāl-erd-dīn made reprisals, and many true Afghāns suffered death, under the suspicion of being Moghuls or Tājīcs. Thus infidelity brought its own reward, and Pokhtankha was alternately ravaged by both parties. In these conflicts, Camal-erd-dīn, the brother of Jelāl-erd-dīn, was taken captive by the Moghuls, and afterwards died in prison. The perseverance of Jelāl-erd-dīn was, however, gaining ground, and he had extended his power considerably beyond that of his
father; when, by a sudden assault, he gained possession of Ghazni. Finding himself unable to maintain himself in this position, after sacking the city, he was compelled to evacuate it. But as he retired, he was vigorously attacked by the Hazárah, in the vicinity of Ghazni, and perished in the conflict.

The Hazárah are a distinct race from either the Afghán, or the Moghuls, though their tribes are much intermixed with these and other races. Their original seat is supposed to have been the country between Herát and Balkh; but their possessions extend much wider, and they occupy a considerable part of the districts which lie between Ghazni and Kandahar, in one direction, and between Maidán and Balkh in the other. The learned Abúl Fazél, has stated in the Ayín Aebari, that the Hazárah are of Moghul origin, and that they sprang from the remains of an army sent by Mangu Khan to the assistance of his brother Holáku'. But this opinion seems not to be founded on any authority; and the Hazárah themselves maintain that they are the original inhabitants of the country. In the reign of Aqbar, the Hazárah appear, from the Ayín Aebari, to have occupied several extensive districts, in the divisions of both Kandahar, and Cábul. In the division of Kandahar, they occupied the district of Tarín; which, in the military census of the Moghul empire, is rated at one thousand five hundred cavalry, and three thousand infantry. The Hazárah tribe Maidání, also occupied the extensive district of Maidán, in the division of Cábul, which is rated at two thousand cavalry; and, in conjunction with a Turkman tribe, they occupied the district of Ghó-band, in the same division, which is rated at three thousand cavalry, and five thousand infantry. From every information that I have been able to procure, relative to the Hazárah, I am inclined to think them of Pahlavi extraction. The Pahlavi
language is sometimes denominated _ATTRA and ATTR; and in all the dialects of ATTR, the change of _e_ into _h_ is so common, that the word may be almost identified with ATTR. The ATTR look tribes, like those of the ATTR, seem not to have embraced the Rosheniah sect; but rather to have regarded it with jealousy, both in a religious and political point of view. From their uncommon bravery, roaming habits, and local situation, they were formidable enemies to the new sect; and particularly embarrassed them, by betraying their motions to the Moghuls.

After the death of ATTR, the son of ATTR, seated himself in the chair of infidelity, and propagated the pernicious doctrines of the father of darkness; may God also destroy him utterly. Though the accursed ATTR died, as has been related; though his shrine was burnt, and his bones, that had been kissed, and venerated, thrown into the ATTR; yet, says ATTR, his followers still pretend that his tomb is at ATTR; and there, evening and morning, they perform their devotions. Such are the deceptions which they practise to seduce believers to destruction. "But let every one who desires to avoid the punishment both of this life, and of that which is to come; who is anxious to remain steadfast in the faith of Islam, and not to swerve into infidelity, avoid the ATTRs of this sect of darkness, and never become their disciple, else he is likely to run the same course. Of a truth, all the calamities which, in these latter days, have wasted ATTR, are to be attributed to these ATTRs, and their disciples. May God grant, that all the Moslems of Pokhtankhá, who retain affection, and attachment to their Ulema, may be preserved from infidelity; but the holy prophet hath said, that whoever shall associate with infidels and apostates, his faith shall perish, and in the day of judgment his face shall be yellow;
and he shall not be numbered among the just. But whosoever maintains constant enmity, against this race of darkness, may God illuminate his countenance. May every Afghán, and every person within the pale of Islám, avoid the society of the children of darkness; or may he be accursed, and for ever remain in hell.

I, Akhūn Derwežeh, have composed this narrative of facts, agreeably to the maxims of the holy prophets, for no other purpose but the benefit of the ignorant; and I have written it in the Afghán language, because the greater part of the Pokhtians understand no other. This narrative has also been written at the greater length for this reason; that if any of the books and treatises, which the accursed Bā’yezīd left behind him, should fall into the hands of a true believer, he may be induced to commit them to the flames, and may be prevented from giving any credit to their doctrines, for though the style of the father of darkness is alluring, impressive and attractive, yet his tenets are pregnant with infidelity and impiety."

The narrative of Akhūn Derwežeh terminates with the death of Jelā’l-Ed-dīn, and the accession of Ah’da’d, as chief of the Roshenians, or as they were latterly denominated Jelā’lians. This period, therefore, gives the date of the composition of the Makhzan Afghání, in which the author takes every opportunity of alluding to the Rosheniah sect, and reproving their tenets.

"The Makhzan Afghání is still extremely popular among the Afgháns, being written in quaint and rhyming periods, such as are termed by the Persians, Makása and Masaja; which, though void of quantity and rhythm, are easily recollected, and therefore the most striking passages are soon converted into popular proverbs and adages,
ON THE ROSHENIAH SECT

Akhoon Derwezeheh resided in Banher among the Yusefwi; and succeeded his Pir, Sheikh Ali Tirmizi. Though the most active opponent of Bayezid, little is known concerning him, excepting the facts which he himself has mentioned. By his own account, it appears, that his endeavours to preserve the Afghans from the seductions of Bayezid, had a very limited effect; and if he afterwards acquired greater popularity among the Afghans, this seems to have proceeded, more from the resentment occasioned by the attack of Sheikh Omar on the Yusefwi, than from any merit of his own. Among the Tajic, however, of whom he was descended, he has always been highly venerated. Mulla Asghar, the brother, and Cerimdad the son of Akhoon Derwezeheh, likewise acquired some celebrity in the same cause, and distinguished themselves, by the opposition which they offered to the progress of the heresy. The tomb of Cerimdad, is still a place celebrated for the resort of the faithful, in the northern parts of Sewad. Fragments of both these authors, are wrought up into the composition of the Makhzan Afghani.

One day, as I was conversing with one of the adherents of Bayezid, says Akhoon Derwezeheh, he took occasion, in the course of conversation, to recite one of that heretic's poems, in vituperation of learning and the learned. My brother Mulla Asghar immediately took him up, and offered to hear all that he had to say on the subject, provided that he would listen to him in his turn. The proposal having been accepted, when the Afghan had finished his recitation, my brother repeated poetical invectives against Bayezid, in the Afghan language, till his opponent was heartily ashamed, and promised no more to derogate from the merit of the learned. The following is a specimen of the invectives against Bayezid, composed by Mulla Asghar.
LISTEN O friends! said the prophet, as he was, one day, sitting in the mosque;
"Verily, the angel Jabrayi'l came to me, by the favour of the good God:
Then Jabrayi'l, the messenger of the good God, told me,
That after five hundred years, seventy three sects would be formed among my people.—

Heretics there are of many sorts, but a powerful one is Tāric.
He claims the authority of Jabrayi'l, and is the enemy of the prophet.
O ye servants of God, who maintain the religion of the prophet,
This Tāric is like a counterfeit coin (Tanga) that has nothing but the stamp of gold;
This Tāric, when he offers Namaz, performs no Wāzū;
He would not perform this, were it not that the people may believe in him.
O Tāric! agent of Satan, this is your glory,
That you are inimical to the learned: (Ulema)
Is there any one, O! accursed! who is hostile to the learned, like you?
Seize hold of the bridle reins of the learned, and they will conduct you in the true path.
Listen to the dictatures of the learned, for they are the light of a country;
Therefore, ye people, great and small, lay hold of the bridle reins of the learned.
The learned sit, as heirs, in the heritage of the prophet;
Behold the learned, they ride in the right course, they ride in the way of the law, (Sheriāt)
Every one who is an infidel, neglects to conform to the law, (Sheriāt) and its precepts.
The Tāric is cursed and accursed, he denies the appearance of God, and his life is unprofitable.
O Tāric! vile heretic, may you suffer utter perdition.
Practice not self importance, lest you be entangled in destruction.
O Tāric! hog, imperfect being, accursed of a truth.
What enchantment have you practised, that your disciples are in every house.*
ON THE ROSHENIAH SECT

In order to display the character of this composition, the translation is rendered as literally as possible. It is obvious that such silly and outrageous invectives were little calculated to oppose the progress of Bāyezīd, and though they might have some effect among the Moghuls,
Tájic, Hazaráh, and other tribes, avowedly hostile to his cause, they do not appear to have made any impression on the Afgháns, who were the real supporters of the sect.

Cerímda d-ben Derwe'zeh is, perhaps, to be considered as the coadjutor of his father, in the composition of the Makhzan Afghání. Though almost as intemperate as his father Akhun Derwe'zeh, he seems to have been a plain well meaning man, who valued the truths of religion, more than the elegancies of style. In a dissertation on the
peculiar letters of the Afgháns, as distinguished from those of the Arabs, inserted in that work, he makes the following singular apology, for the inelegance of his composition.

"Know gentle reader, that in Afghán poems, the authors are accustomed to pay no great attention, to the correctness and similarity of the rhyme, or the equal proportion of the lines to each other, in a couplet; nor are they more careful, with respect to uniformity of orthography. For my own part, I must admit, that I have paid little attention to poetry, for the mere purpose of promoting the pleasure of the hearer; but respecting the more important matters of religion, I have been more careful; and should any one profit by my endeavours, the prayers of that person will be most acceptable to the author."

This passage not unaptly characterizes the Makhzan Afgháni, the style of which is both quaint and rambling, while the texture sets all method at defiance. Indeed the work betrays few features of either power of thought or vigour of expression. A considerable part of it, consists of translations of sentences, and passages, from common moral and religious tracts, in the Arabic and Persic languages; such as the Kasídeh Burdah, the Khalásí Ceídání, the Resáléh Imam Ómar Nasaf, the works of Nasar Khosru and Ba'yezíd Bósta'ími. These fragments of translation, are intermingled with religious exhortations, addressed to the Afghán tribes; common maxims of morality, quaint verses, and mystical explanations of the Arabic and Pashtu letters of the alphabet. Some Afgháns are inclined to think, that the popular Makhzan Afgháni, is not the conjunct work of Akhún Derwe'zeh and Cerímá'd, but only a compilation, from two distinct works of the same name; the first, composed by Akhún Derwe'zeh, and the second, by his son Cerímá'd.
It must be admitted that its present loose and disjointed state, seems to favour this opinion.

In this sketch of the proceedings of Bayezid, and the Rosheniah sect, I have closely followed Akhun Derwezeh, his most determined enemy. The narrative, however intemperate in point of religious zeal, is faithful and accurate in point of fact. It is however defective, in not giving a clear and connected detail, of the tenets, or system of opinions propagated by that heresiarch. To supply this and other imperfections, I shall therefore subjoin a translation of the ninth section of the Dabistan, a work composed in a style, very superior to the narrative of Akhun Derwezeh. Mohsani Fanli, the author of the Dabistan, appears to have drawn up his sketch of the Rosheniah sect, from the best authorities; he appeals to persons who were themselves engaged in some of the transactions recorded, and he cites the works of Bayezid himself, which I have not been so fortunate as to procure.
DABISTAN, C. IX.

Account of the Rosheniah sect, divided into three sections.

1. Of the appearance of Miyân Bâyezîd, and of some of his sayings.
2. A short account of his proceedings.
3. Account of his sons.

I. ON THE APPEARANCE OF MIYÂN BÂYEZİD.

In the Hâlnâmeh, which is composed by Bâyezîd himself, it is written, that Bâyezîd Aňşârî was the son of Sheikh Âbdûllâh, who was sprung in the seventh descent from Sheikh Siraj-Ed-dîn Aňşârî. He was born at Jalinder, in the Penjâb, in the latter period of the Âsfhán monarchy. About a year after this event, the blessed Zehîr-Ed-dîn Bâbër Pâdshâh, was victorious over the Âsfhâns, and conquered Hind. In the Moghul history it is related, that Bâbër defeated Ibrâhîm Khan Âsfhân, in the year of the Hejirah, 932. In the Hâlnâmeh it is also stated, that the mother of Bâyezîd was named Banîn, and that the
father of Bā'inn, and the grand father of Ābdullāh were brothers, and resided in the city of Jalinder, where Miya'īn Bā'yēzīd was born. The father of Ābdullāh asked Bā'inn, the daughter of Muḥammēd Amin, for his son Ābdullāh, in marriage. Ābdullāh, the father of Bā'yēzīd, resided at Canīgūram, in the hill country of the Afsghāns; and when the power of the Moghuls began to prevail, Bā'inn also went with Bā'yēzīd to Canīgūram. Ābdullāh had no affection for Bā'inn, and at last divorced her; and Miya'īn Bā'yēzīd suffered great hardships, from the enmity of a step-mother, and of her son named Yāku'b, besides the neglect of his father. It was the practice of Bā'yēzīd, whenever he went to tend his own grain fields, to guard, and pay attention likewise to the fields of others; and from his childhood he had an inclination towards the first cause of all; insomuch that he once made this enquiry: "Here are the heavens and the earth; but where is God?" Khwā'ījah Isma'il, who was one of his relations, being moved by a sacred impulse, which he received in a dream, devoted himself to austere exercises of devotion; and many persons who attended him, derived great spiritual benefit from him. Bā'yēzīd, also, wished to become his disciple, but Ābdullāh forbade him, saying, "It is a disgrace to me that you should become the disciple of the meanest of your relations; go and attend the sons of Sheik Bāhā-ed-dīn Zegāri." Bā'yēzīd answered, "the character of a Sheik goes not by inheritance." At last, however, Bā'yēzīd was called to austere devotion, by an invisible influence, and passed through the several gradations of the external ordinances, or Sherīdt; reality, or ḥakikat; true knowledge, or marifat; proximity, or kürbet; union, or wasālet; and indwelling in God, or sācīnet. He was joined by the people; the envious were vexed at his success, and he issued his call to the multitude, who had not attained the same degrees. Bā'yēzīd had no respect for family descent; but only
for science, and accomplishments. — "Paradise is for the servants of God, though they be negro (Habeshi) slaves; and hell-fire is for sinners, though Suyads of Koreish extraction." — He saw God manifest, according to the text. "Peradventure you may see your God made manifest!" said Bayezid was ordered to pronounce the sentence. — "I have seen thee being with thee; I have known thee being with thee." — And the just one said to him, "the evil of this world is light in comparison of the future; search diligently for what is good, and search not after what is bad." And the lord announced to him, "I have ordained as duties, exterior and interior devotion: I have rendered exterior worship a duty, as a means of acquiring marifat, or divine knowledge; and interior worship, an eternal duty." — Bayezid was perplexed. "If I offer prayer or namaz," said he, "I am an idolater; and if I do not offer it, I am an infidel." Besides the prophet says, "the performing of namaz is idolatry, and the neglect of it is infidelity." Then the divine order arrived, "perform the namaz of the apostle or prophets." He asked, what namaz that was. God almighty declared, "the praise of the all-worshipful." After this, he adopted that namaz, as it is said, "The worship of those who are united to the divine unity, is like the worship of a worshipper, before men; but before God, like the object of worship." — Bayezid employed himself much in the practice of secret devotion, concerning which the prophet has said, "the best remembrance of God, is secret remembrance; and the best food, is that which is sufficient." And again, "remember your God, morning and evening, and be not one of the negligent." His adherents were informed, in a dream, and Bayezid himself was warned, by a voice, that they should call him Miya' Roshen; and he obtained eternal life; as God has said, "Say not of him who is slain in the way of the Lord, that he is dead, but that he is alive. But you cannot distin-
guish the deaf, the dumb and the blind, nor can they reply to you, for
they are deaf in hearing the truth, dumb in speaking the truth, and
blind in seeing the truth."—From persons of that description, Bā'yezīd
saved himself by separation; and many revelations descended on him.
Now, revelation is a light, which descends into the heart, and displays
the real nature of things, according as they are. Jābrayīl also descended
to him, according as it is said in the Korān, "I send down angels, and
the spirit, at my pleasure, on whomsoever I please, among my servants."
God almighty also conferred on him the gift of prophecy, and elevated
him to the rank of a prophet; according as is said, "I have sent none
before thee, excepting those persons who have received revelation."
Miya'n Roshen, or Bā'yezīd was extremely righteous in his actions,
as it is said, "When God intends the good of one of his creatures, he
gives him an admonisher in his spirit, and a restrainer in his heart; so that
of his own accord, he admonishes and restrains himself." Bā'yezīd said
to the learned men, "what says the calmei shahādet, or confession of the
faith?". They replied, "We bear testimony that there is no God but God;
that is, that there is no God worthy of worship, but God almighty."
Miya'n Bā'yezīd said, "if a person be not acquainted with God almighty,
and say that he is acquainted, is it not a lie? for, as it is said, "he who
sees not God, knows not God." Moula'na Zecaria said to Miya'n
Bā'yezīd, "You say that you are acquainted with the heart, and that its
secrets are open before you; inform me what is passing in my heart, and
when you have informed me truly of this, I shall then believe in you."
Miya'n Roshen said, "I am acquainted with the secrets of the heart, but
you are devoid of heart; had you possessed a heart, I should have informed
you concerning it." Then said Moula'na Zecaria, (to those who were
present) "kill me first, and if you find a heart in me, then put Bā'yezīd to
death; and if you find none, then let him be preserved.” Miyān Baʿyezīd said, “that heart which you mention, you will equally find, if you kill a calf, or a kid, or a dog; but that lump of flesh is not the heart.” The Arabian prophet declares, “the heart of the faithful is more elevated than the empyreal vault, (ārsh) and more spacious than the region of the throne of God, (kūrš)” and again. “Hearts testify of hearts.”

Moulānā Zecaria said to him, “you say that you are acquainted with the secrets of the tomb; let us go with you to a sepulchral ground, and converse with the dead.” Miyaʿn Baʿyezīd said, “if you listened to the voice of the dead, I should not term you an infidel. (gabar)”

The author of this work observed to a Miyān, of the Rosheniah sect, that if instead of this answer, the Miyān had replied to him, “your voice, which I hear, is that of a dead person, proceeding from the tomb of the corporeal embers,” it had been better. He was pleased, and immediately wrote down on the margin of the Ḥalnāmah, that this also was the reply of Baʿyezīd. Thus what the Mōbed sings, happened to me.

In a friendly way, I have viewed, and I have given,
A mark unmarked, to the searchers of the way.

Then the learned men asked Miyaʿn Baʿyezīd, “By what word or deed of yours, shall we be convinced concerning you?” Baʿyezīd answered, “Find out a scholar, who has studied devotion, with the best, and ablest of you, and let him attend me, and perform devotional exercises according to my rules, and if he receive improvement, then believe in me.” A person named Malec Mirza said, “Baʿyezīd, beware of arrogant speech, and assert not that men have swerved into error: whoever chooses, let him follow your path, and whoever does not choose, let him let it alone.” Miyaʿn Roshen Baʿyezīd said, “I will propose to
you a comparison. If there were a house, with only one door, in which a great multitude had fallen asleep; and that house were to catch fire, and one person should accidentally awake, ought he to awaken any one else, or not?" His enemies said, 'Bayezid, since you alledge that you have received the order of God Almighty, say if you please, "Jibrāyīl visits me, and I am Mehedi;" but term not the people votaries of error, and infidels.'

Miyan Rōshen Bayezid did not deem it right, to eat of the flesh of an animal, killed by a person whom he did not know, or who did not adhere to the doctrine of the divine unity.

Bayezid knew that a worldly wise man, (ākel) before man is living, but before God, dead: that his form is like the form of a man, but his qualities those of a brute beast; whereas, an Ārīf, or enlightened man, is living before God; while his form is like the form of man, and his qualities, like the qualities of the merciful God.

Bayezid said to his father Abdullanah, "the Arabian prophet has said that the law (Sheriat) is like night; the Tarikat, or means of attaining goodness, like the stars; the Hakīkat, like the moon; and the Mārifat, like the sun; and nothing is superior to the sun."

Miyan Bayezid Rōshen said, "the matters of the Sheriat, or law, are the five Moslem principles: 1. Pronouncing the profession of the faith: 2. The stated prayers: 3. Religious fasting: 4. Ḥāj, or pilgrimage: 5. Zacat, or the stated alms:) also, reciting the kalmei shahadet, or profession of faith, accompanied with true belief. The business of the Tarikat is the Tasbīh and Tahli'l; the recitation of the attributes of God; the constant mention of the name of God; the guarding of the heart from doubt.
ON THE ROSENITHIAH SECT

The keeping the fast of the month Ramazan, and abstinence from eating, drinking, and sensual intercourse, are matters of Sheriat.

Fasting by supererogation, the never filling the belly with food, but accustoming it to a spare diet, and restraining the body from the lusts of the flesh, are matters of Tarikat.

The giving the stated alms, or Zacat of wealth, and the giving a tenth in charity, are matters which belong to the Sheriat: but the giving food and clothing to the religious mendicant, and the performer of fasts, and assisting the helpless, belong to the Tarikat.

The performing the circuit of the house of the friend of God: (Abraham) the being free from wickedness and crime, and avoiding war, are matters of Sheriat: but the performing the circuit of the house of the friend of God, to wit, the heart, and warring with the natural inclinations, and performing obedience to the angels, are matters of Tarikat.

To remain constantly meditating on Almighty God; to believe firmly in the instruction which has been received; to remove the veil of whatever exists besides God, from the heart; and to fix the view on the charms of the object of celestial affection, are matters of Hakkat.

To view the divine nature with the eye of the heart; to see him, on every side, face to face, in every mansion, with the light of the understanding; and to injure no creature of the all-just, are matters of Mahrifikat.

To know the all-just, and comprehend the mystic sound of the beads in reciting the tasbih or rosary; and to understand the import of the divine names, are matters of Kurbet, or proximity to God.

To choose the renunciation of self, and to do every thing in the divine
essence; to exhibit abstraction from superfluous objects, and to be convinced of the divine union, are matters of \textit{Was'alet}, or union with God.

To lose individuality, in deity absolute, and in surviving to become absolute, and to be united with the unity, and to be delivered from evil, are matters of \textit{Touhid}, or the being made one with God.

The indwelling, and being resided in, the assuming the attributes of the deity absolute, and renouncing a person's own attributes, are matters of \textit{Sacûnet}, or indwelling in God; and beyond this, there is no superior degree."

The terms \textit{Kûrbet}, \textit{was'alet}, \textit{wah'adet}, \textit{Sacûnet}, are peculiar to \textit{Miyan Roshen Ba'yezid}, and placed by him above \textit{Sheri'at}, \textit{Tarikat}, and \textit{Marifat}.

At that time, it was customary, when friends had been separated, on their coming together again, at the first meeting, to make inquiries, concerning the health, wealth, and families, of each other. But the friends of \textit{Miyan Roshen Ba'yezid} were wont to inquire, first, concerning each other's faith, spiritual progress, experiences, love, and divine knowledge; and afterwards, concerning their health and welfare. When they inquired concerning any other person, it was in the following terms: "How is he with respect to religion, and the faith; and does he hold fast the love of the friends of God"—and in these things they rejoiced. The prophet says, "Verily, God does not regard your forms, nor does he regard your wealth, but he regards your hearts and your actions."

\textit{Miyan Ba'yezid}, in his early youth, was wont to conform to the five ordinances of \textit{Islam}, to repeat the confession of faith, to say \textit{Namáz} five times, and to keep the stated fasts. But, as he was not master of sufficient wealth,
it was not necessary for him to perform Zacat, or offer the stated alms. He was desirous of going on Haj, or pilgrimage; but he was still too young (for this to be a duty) when he attained to the perfection of religion. God Almighty has said, “Verily, I am near to mankind, nearer than their own necks; there is no separation between me and mankind, and I am one with mankind, but mankind know it not: nor can a man attain the knowledge of me, unless by means of the assiduous perusal of the sacred volume, and not by much travel of the feet; but he may attain the knowledge of me, by ardent meditation; and, by obedience, a man becomes perfect.”—Thus far from the Hal Námeh of Miya’n Báyezíd.

II. ACCOUNT OF THE HISTORY OF MIYÁN BáYEZÍD.

HAVING assumed the character of a prophet, Báyezíd ordered his followers to practise religious austerities, and caused them to perform Namáz; but not towards any determined quarter; for, as the sacred text runs, “wherever you turn, you turn towards God.” He said, ceremonial bathing in water is unnecessary, for as soon as the air blows upon us, the body is purified; for the four elements are equally pure. He said, whoever knows not himself, and knows not God, is not a man: and if he be harmful, he is to be counted a wolf, a tiger, a serpent, or a scorpion; and the Arabian prophet has said, “kill a harmful creature before it causes harm.” If, however, such a person be of good conduct, and a performer of Namáz, then he is to be considered as an ox or a sheep, and the killing of such a creature is lawful. In conformity to this doctrine, he ordered his enemies, who were self-conceited, to be put to death, because they were to be regarded as brute beasts: as it is said in the Koran, “they are like brute beasts, nay, worse.”
He said, that every one who knows not himself, and regards not eternal life, and everlasting existence, is dead; and the property of a dead man, when his heirs are also as the dead, reverts to the living. In conformity to this notion, he ordered the ignorant to be put to death. When he found a Hindu acquainted with himself, he preferred him to a Muslemán.

He, and his sons, for a certain time, practised high-way robbery; and plundered much wealth, from Muslemán, and others. A fifth part of the booty he deposited in a store-house, and when it was wanted, distributed it among his most trusty adherents. Bayezid, and his sons, were abstinent in point of chastity, and refrained from lewdness, and improper actions; from plundering the unitarians, and using violence towards those who believed in the unity.

The compositions of Bayezid are very numerous, in the Arabic, Persic, Hindi, and Afganí languages. The Maksud-al-Mumenín is in Arabic. It is said that the all-just addressed him, through Miyanji Jabrayil. He also composed the book, called the Kheir-al-Bian, in four languages, Arabic, Persic, Hindi, and Pashtu, or Afganí; and in these four languages, the same import is conveyed. The address, in this work, is that of the all-just, almighty God, to Bayezid; and it is reckoned a work of divine inspiration. He also composed the Hál Námeh, in which he has given an account of himself.

The most remarkable circumstance, in the history of Bayezid, is that he was an illiterate man, and yet explains the meaning of the Korán:

* The terms expressive of respect, in the oriental languages, equivalent to the English, honor, highness, majesty, &c. are not only applied to men, but in a way which often appears very ludicrous, to prophets, angels, and even to the supreme God.
and his speeches were usually pregnant with profound wisdom; so that learned men were astonished at him.

It is said, that it was in consequence of the divine command, that he put to death those who knew not God. Three times he received the divine command, without putting his hand to the sabre; but when it had been repeatedly received, being devoid of resource, he girt up his loins, for the religious war.

He was contemporary with Mirza Muḥammad Ḥekīm, the son of Humayūn Pādshah; and the author has heard from Mirza Shah Muḥammad, who was surnamed Ghazī Khan, that it was in the year a. h. 949, that Miyan Roshen acquired strength, and established his sect. My father Shaḥ Beg Khan Arghuʾn, surnamed Khan-Dourʾan, said, he saw Miyan Baʿyezīd, before his great rising, when he was brought to the court of Mirza Muḥammad Ḥekīm, and the Ulama, or learned, were baffled in disputing with him; and were compelled to let him take his departure. In the beginning of the year a. h. 994, the tidings of the death of Miyan Muḥammad Ḥekīm reached the elevated throne of empire, from Cābul. The tomb of Miyan-Baʿyezīd is at Bʿhatapur, in the hill-country of the Afghāns.

III. ON THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE SONS OF MIYAN BAʿYEZĪD.

ʿOmar Sheikh, Camāl-Ed-dīn, Nuṣḥ-Ed-dīn, and Ḭeṣāl-Ed-dīn, were the sons of Baʿyezīd, and he had a daughter named Camāl Khaṭūn. After the Miyan, Ḭeṣāl-Ed-dīn succeeded to his rank, and spiritual
dignity, and attained great power. He was just, and pious; con-
formed strictly to the rules of Miyān Bayezīd, and exerted himself
with vigour and activity. In the year A. H. 989, when the lofty stan-
dard of the sublime presence of the emperor Aqbar, was proceeding
from Cābul, to the seat of authority, he came to meet him; but after
some days fled from the court. In the year 1000, the sublime majesty
of the emperor, sent Jāfar Beg Kazwīni Bakhshī, who was surnamed
Ašaf Khan, to extirpate Jelal-ad-din Roshenī, whom the emperor
termed Ḥelāl; and in the same year the emperor’s warriors having tak-
ten prisoners the wives and children of Jelal-ad-din, by the agency of a
person named Wahādet-Āli, presented them at the foot of the imperial
throne. In the year 1007, and during the reign of the emperor Jelal-ad-
din Aqbar, Miyān Jelal-ad-din took Ghazni, and cruelly ravaged
its confines, but was not able to maintain himself in that position. When
he left Ghazni, however, a conflict took place between the Hazārah and
the Afghāns, and Miyān Jelal-ad-din being wounded by the hand of
Shādman Hazārah, fled to the mountain Rabāt, where Mura’d Beg,
with some of the followers of Sherif Khan Atṣah, assailed him, and cut
him off.

After him, Miyān Ahḍad, the son of ʿOmar Sherdī, the son of
Bayezīd, who is known among illustrious men by the name of Ahḍad,
sat on the throne of religious authority. He was a just and pious person,
and perfectly versed in the rules of his august predecessor. He never set
himself to amass wealth: but gave to every one the due reward of his la-
bour. The fifth of the spoil of the holy war, which he received, he depon-
sited in the treasury of the state; so that the warriors also shared in
that part of the booty. In the year A. H. 1035, and in the reign of Nūr-
ED-DIN JEHANGIR, the deceased emperor, AHSAN ULLAH, surnamed ZAFAR KHAN, the son of KHWAJEH ABU'L HASAN TABRIZI, and the emperor's army, reduced him to great straits, and besieged him in the fort of Nuagar, where he perished by a musket shot, in an attack on the fortress. It is said, that, on the day preceding that of his death, which the sect term the day of union, (roz-i-wasat) MIYAN AH'DAD opened the Kheir-al-Bian and read in it; after which he said to his friends, "to-morrow is the day of my union" (with God); and the event happened as he said. The author also saw a devout person of Cabul, who said to him, "on the day of AH'DAD's departure, I rejoiced, and mentioned him in severe terms; but at night I saw my religious preceptor, in a vision, who forbade me to do so, and said, the sacred text "declare that God is one," applies to AH'DAD."—The disciples of AH'DAD named him AH'DAD, the one.

After the union of AH'DAD (with God,) the AFGHANS carried away ABDAL KADER, the son of AH'DAD, and betook themselves to the mountains; and the army of the emperor, who had no expectation of being able to take the fortress, entered it. The daughter of AH'DAD, who had found no opportunity of escape, was roaming about the fortress, and one of the soldiers attempted to seize her. The maiden threw her robe over her face, and flung herself down from the top of the battlements, and perished. Every one was astonished at the deed.

After MIYAN AH'DAD, his son ABDAL KADER sat on the seat of religious supremacy. Having found a favourable opportunity, he attacked ZAFAR KHAN. ZAFAR KHAN fled, with the greatest expedition; while all his baggage, with the beauties of his harem, fell into the hands of the AFGHANS; and only one of his wives, named BUZURG KHANAM, was preserved from violence; and this was only effected by the resolute efforts of NAWAB
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Saíd Khan, the son of Ahmed Beg Khan Tarakhán, and other warriors. The author himself heard Peri Sultan, a person of native worth and ability, who has now received the name of Zulfakar Khan, say, "I went by order of Saíd Khan, to invite Abdal Ka'der, to surrender; and for the purpose of seducing him, carried with me a great variety of the most delicate kinds of victuals and liquors." One day, an aged Afghan, after tasting some sweet-meats, got on his legs, and said, "O Abdal Ka'der! from the time of your honoured predecessors, till the present, the foot of the Moghul has never advanced thus far. This person who is now come, wishes to deceive you, with garments of scarlet and yellow, and victuals which are pleasant and sweet; which are coveted by those who make themselves slaves of their belly, but which are abhorrent to the rules of the Dervesh. I therefore advise, that we put him to death, so that no other may afterwards come here, for dread." But Abdal Ka'der and his mother Bibi Alai, the daughter of Miyan Jelal-ed-din, would not consent to this proposition. The day that Abdal Ka'der visited the camp of Saíd Khan, his horse was frightened at the noise of the drums and trumpets, and rushed from amid the crowd, to one side. An Afghan said, "the horse obeys the order of Miyan Rosken, but you do not; be assured, you will suffer from the after-sickness of this debauch!" Abdul-Ka'der asked, "what did the Miyan order?" The Afghan answered,—"To shun the Moghuls and keep your distance." When Abdul Ka'der presented himself at the court of Abul Mazafer Shaheb-ed-din Muhammad, Saheb-i-Keran Sanî, Amir-al-Mumenin, Shah Jehan, the victorious, emperor, he was elevated to high dignity. He died in 1043; and was buried at Paishawar.

Mirza, the son of Nur-ed-din, was living in the reign of the emperor.
Jehan Shah, and was slain at the battle of Dawletabad. Cerimdad, the son of Jelal-ed-din, surrendered up the whole set of the Jelalians, to Muhammad Yakub Casmiri, the agent of Sa'd Khan of Tarakhan. He was put to death in 1048, and Allah-da'd Khan, the son of Jelal-ed-din, having received the title of Rashid Khan, was appointed to a command of four thousand, in the Dakhin, and died in 1057."—Thus far the Dabistan.

IT has been stated, that the original perverter of Bayezid, was Mulla Suliman, the Malhed. The term Malhed, is the common epithet, by which Moslem writers denominate the heterodox sect of Ismailiah: the sect of Bayezid may therefore be conjectured to be a branch of the Ismailiah heresy. A short review of the peculiar doctrines of Bayezid, will, I apprehend, show that this opinion is well founded. The obnoxious principles, which he is charged, by Akhun Derwezeh, with maintaining, are chiefly the following:

1. God is all in all, and all existing objects are only forms of deity.

2. The great manifestations of divinity are Pir, or religious teachers, who are forms of divinity, or rather the deity himself. In the spirit of this opinion, Bayezid said to his followers, "I am your Pir, and your God."

3. The sole test of right and wrong is obedience to the Pir, who is the representative of divinity, or rather deity itself; and therefore, right and wrong are not attributes of a Pir; and the greatest of all sins, is disobedience to a Pir, which is disobedience to the deity himself.

4. Those who will not receive the precepts of a Pir, are in the situation of brutes, which it is in some cases, meritorious, and in all, lawful to kill; or in that of dead men, whose property naturally devolves to the living, and may therefore be legally plundered, at pleasure, by all true believers.
5. Human souls transmigrate into other bodies, and re-appear in other forms, and the resurrection, day of judgment, paradise and hell, are only metaphors to express these mundane changes.

6. The Koran and Hadis are not to be interpreted literally, or according to the apparent sense, but according to the mystic, secret, or interior meaning. The ordinances of the law have therefore a mystical meaning, and are ordained only as the means of acquiring religious perfection.

7. This mystic sense of the law, is only attainable by religious exercises, and the instructions of a Pir; it is the source of religious perfection; and this perfection being attained, the exterior ordinances of the law cease to be binding, and are virtually annulled.

If this be considered as a correct summary of the peculiar doctrines of Bayezid, and the Rosheniah sect, very little discussion is necessary to show, that all these doctrines had been maintained by the Ismailiyah sect, for several centuries, before either Bayezid or the Afghani Illuminati existed. This, I imagine will sufficiently appear from the following account of the Ismailiyah sect, translated from an intelligent and popular Moslem author.

It is necessary to observe that the Shiah are divided into four sects: 1. The Imamiah. 2. The Zeidiah. 3. The Ismailiyah. 4. The Nasariyah.

Of the Ismailiyah sect, Murtiza Alem-al-Khoda, in his Tabsirat-al-Awam, gives the following account:

"The Ismailiyah are also denominated Batiniah, Karaitah, Khurramiah, Safiah, Babeciah, and Majmirah. They have received the name of Batiniah from maintaining that whatever is to be found in the Koran and Hadis has two significations, the apparent, and the secret or mystical (zafer and biten) of which the first is, as it were the shell, and the second the kernel; and they quote the following text as a proof of this, " the
secret gate is, that of mercy, the apparent one, is that of suffering.* They say that God is neither present nor absent; living nor dead; powerful nor weak; ignorant nor wise; first nor last; capable of seeing; nor of speaking; capable of hearing; nor yet deaf; and thus they describe all the divine attributes. They also say that Isa was the son of Yusef, the carpenter; and they allege that where it is said in the Koran, that Isa had no father, it is only to be understood, that he was not instructed in learning by his father, but acquired it from the chief men of his time, yet not from the infallible instructor. Also, where it is said that Isa restored the dead to life, the meaning is, that by learning he revived the dead and torpid mind, and instructed the people in the right way; and many such futile opinions they state, in giving an account of their doctrines. They pretend, that no trouble need be taken about external ordinances; and that whatever the Imam says, is Namaz; and that Zacat, is the giving in charity to the poor, (derwoeshait) whatever is more than necessary for a person's own family. The proclaiming of Namaz, and the pronouncing the prayer termed kāmet, are intended for the purpose of calling every one before his own religious director, or Peshua; and the meaning of Rozeh or religious abstinence from food is this: whatsoever the Peshua does, be silent, and refrain from blaming him; and whatever he does, which is unchaste, or Zendokah, (heterodox) reckon this right and proper; on no account disobey him, and be so obedient, as to kill yourselves without hesitation, if he should order you to kill yourselves for him. Haj (or pilgrimage) according to them, signifies an ardent desire of visiting their Imam; and they reckon it incumbent, on every one who is able, to go and visit him. Every thing prohibited, they reckon lawful; and Haram or prohibition, they pretend, denotes enmity
to certain descriptions of persons, whom they are ordered to hate, and avoid, and on whom they are bound to invoke curses. Farz, or necessary duty, they interpret, as friendship to those whom it is necessary to love. They alledge, that the sacred texts, "mankind are great unbelievers," is to be applied to Abu-becar and Omar; and that wherever Pharaoh and Haman are mentioned in the Koran, these persons are intended. In this manner, they interpret the whole Koran and Hadis. They say that God sent one of their chiefs, as a prophet, to mankind, before Islam; and that he was named Shardin; and that he was the highest of the apostles, and prophets. They say, that wazû means the foundations of religious truth, which they have established, and Namáz signifies eloquent discourse; and the sound of Namáz and kâmêt, denotes a person that exerts himself to bring mankind to an eloquent spiritual guide. They alledge that when God says, "that Namáz restrains from uncleanness and denial of truth," the meaning is eloquence, which restrains men from wickedness; for Namáz is an open act, and prohibition cannot arise from an act, but from an agent.

The first who maintained the doctrine of Bâteniat, or mystic interpretation, was Marzaban-beni-Abdullah-beni-Maimûn-al-Kadah, who lived in the time of Maimûn. Hamada-n Karmati was the head of this sect.

The Bâteniah sect, assert that there are seven Imâms: Ali, Hasan, Husain, Ali-beni-al-Hosain, Mahûmed-beni-Alî, Jâfar-beni-Mahûmed, and Ismâîl-beni-Jâfar. They also say that Ismâîl is still alive, and that in the latter days, he shall return, and be Mehedi. This sect neither believe in the examination of the tomb, in the last judgment, nor in hell. They say, the state of man is like grass, which withers and...
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dies. But it is not their practice to display their tenets, to any one, until he has been initiated into their faith. They allege that the divine attributes and the knowledge of deity, are to be attained by true science, or elm-i-Sadik: and the accounts of the prophets or Anbia, and the precepts of the Koran and Hadis they quote for the sake of misleading men, and inducing them to suppose that they believe in God, the prophet, the Imams, and the Koran.

Abdullah-beni-Maimun-al-Kadah, the founder of this infidel sect, was the servant of Imam Jafer Sadik, and also served Ismail-beni Sadik. When Ismail died, he left a son named Muhammed, whom he likewise attended; but when Abu Jafer Mansur Davanaki poisoned Imam Jafer Sadik, Abdullah carried off his grandson Muhammed to Misr. When Muhammed died, he left a concubine pregnant; and Abdullah having put her to death, substituted a girl of his own in her room. This girl brought forth a son, whom he instructed in infidelity, pretending that he was the son of Muhammed; and when he grew up, he asserted him to be the Imam, and many of the sovereigns of Ajem acknowledged allegiance to him. By this stratagem, many were perverted. Some of this person's descendants attained the rank of sovereign in Misr, Secanderiah and Maghreb: and afterwards the heresy spread far and wide. The first of these, who sat on the throne of the Khalifah, was Mehedi-al-Kaim Billah, and the line continued to the time of Mostansir. Hasan Saba' perverted a great many persons to infidelity by the direction of Mostansir. The line of Misr was afterwards cut off, but the partizans of Hasan Saba' continue to the present day. This sect consists of several divisions:

1. The Sabdhiah. They say, that if mankind were endowed with sufficient understanding, no person would have to complain of another; but
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that if they are not endowed with sufficient understanding, then right cannot be distinguished from wrong: and if the understanding is sufficient, there is no need of an Imám, for the knowledge of God. Where is that Imám, whom you mention, and set forth your summons in his name? Such an Imám you can never become acquainted with, excepting by the word of an unerring instructor. If any person come, and pretend to be Imám, you can never know whether his claim be false or true, excepting by means of a preceding Sádik, or unerring teacher. If any one pretend, that we may know him, by miracles; then we answer (say they) that a miracle, when exhibited, is a proof, as far as respects you, that the author is a skilful operator, and that the miracle is his performance; but a miracle can never make falsehood truth. You cannot, therefore, know the Imám, till you know the performer of the miracle, and be acquainted with the divine union and equality: it follows, therefore, that you can never, of yourselves, know either God, or his Imám.

2. The Naṣāriyah. Their chief is Naṣar, who was a poet and learned man, and seduced a multitude of people.

3. The Karámitah. These are the followers of Ahmed-beni-Karāmat, who was a rustic, and becoming acquainted with one of the Malheds, was perverted. When that deceiver died, the other pretended that he had succeeded him; and many persons became infidels, at his persuasion. He collected his adherents, and destroyed a caravan, and plundered its wealth, and formed the resolution of ruining the Čubah; but God almighty destroyed both him, and his adherents.

4. The Babeciah. Babec was an accursed wretch of Azerbajjān, and collected a vast multitude of adherents, and rose in rebellion in the time of Matasem. After severe fighting, he was taken and put to death.
5. The Makndayah. These are the followers of Ibn-Makna, who was an adherent of Abu Moslem; and in the time of Mamun, when the Malhad sect began to display itself, the followers of Ibn-Makna were friendly to that person, and are still included in the Malhad sect. From the Abu Muslemah and the Ibn Makna, sprang the Izramiah. Ibn-Makna first pretended to be a prophet, and afterwards to be God himself. His adherents are numerous in the district of Cesh, and form a sect. As soon as he assumed the character of God, he concealed himself from the sight of men, shewed himself to nobody, but wore a veil; saying, nobody can bear to behold me. His followers were also persuaded, that if he looked on any one, he would be consumed by his brightness. When his followers entreated him, in the most earnest manner, to show himself to them, he prepared some burning mirrors, and placed them so that the rays would fall on their faces; and then ordered them to advance, when those who were foremost were struck by the burning rays, and the rest turned back, and seeing what had happened, exclaimed, "Gazers cannot behold him, but he looks upon the gazers: he is the beautiful and the far seeing one." This accursed person had but one eye, and was named Hashem. He was originally of Merw, and was exceedingly well versed in mechanical devices, and the knowledge of combustible materials; by which means he seduced the inhabitants of Cesh, and Ailak, in Ferghaneh, who after the rise of the Malheds, joined them, and still continue in that sect."

After the account of the Rosheniah sect, which has been already given; it appears unnecessary to dilate on its connection with the different sects, included in the Ismáiliyah heresy. It is obviously a branch of the same stock, and may be considered, as particularly connected with the
AND ITS FOUNDER.

last mentioned division, which seems to have flourished in Ferghāneh, at a latter period than that of Bayezīd. There is also considerable analogy, between the character of Hašhem, and that of Bayezīd. Each of them began with assuming the character of a prophet, and ended with claiming the honours of divinity. In his prophetical character, Hašhem assumed the name of Al-Barkai, or the lightning-flash; Bayezīd, in the same character, assumed the title of Pir Roshan.

In several respects, the principles and proceedings of Bayezīd Ansārī, have a manifest analogy, to those of Ḥasan Šabahān, the great Ismāʿiliyyah chief. Mohsani Faʿnī, the author of the Dabistan, in his chapter on the Ismāʿiliyyah sect, cites a work composed by Ḥasan Šabahān, in which, that celebrated character grounds his principles, on the necessity of a perfect Pir, or unerring religious instructor; a doctrine which was also asserted by Bayezīd. The necessity of this great principle, it appears that Ḥasan Šabahān attempted to demonstrate logically, first against the advocates of intellect or reason; secondly, against the Sunnis; thirdly, against the Shiāhs; and this he terms the doctrine of the Mālim, or spiritual guide. Ḥasan Šabahān was the founder of the celebrated dynasty of the Hasasina or Assassins, in Cōhistan, and may be denominated, according to the phraseology of the West, the original old man of the mountain, and died A. H. 508. Ṭolī, the third successor of Ḥasan Šabahān, is likewise a person of much celebrity, among the votaries of the Ismāʿiliyyah sect; and some of his proceedings bear no small degree of analogy to those of Bayezīd. It had long been understood, that the Ismāʿiliyyahs carried their mysticism to a great length; and it was alleged, that they maintained paradise to consist solely in the repose of the body, from the troubles of life; and hell to be nothing
but the molestation of the body, by trouble, and affliction. Ḥālī, however, proceeded a step beyond all his predecessors, and boldly abolished the authority of the law, and its external ordinances. The speech which he made on that occasion, in A. H. 559, is celebrated; and is to the following effect. "I am the Imām of the age, and I hereby release the inhabitants of the earth, from the burden of the ordinances, and the prohibitions of the law. Let all created beings, therefore, be mystically united to God, and let everyone live openly as he pleases." The anniversary of this occasion, was afterwards celebrated under the name of the id al kayām, which, in their idiom, signifies the festival of the divine union; and the occurrence was assumed as an aera. The analogy which these proceedings bear to the abolition of the ordinances by Bāyezīd, and the institution of the Rozeh cul, or general fast, is very remarkable. In fact, it is only in the use of some new-coined mystic terms and expressions, that Bāyezīd can be said to have differed from the general strain of the Ismā'īliyah sect.
On the sources of the Ganges, in the Himádri or Emodus.

By H. T. Colebrooke, Esq.

IN presenting to the Asiatick Society, the interesting narrative of a journey to explore the sources of the Ganges, I shall prefix to it a few introductory observations to explain the grounds, on which the undertaking was proposed by the late Lieut. Col. Colebrooke, by whom it would have been performed in person, had he not been prevented by the illness, which terminated in his death.

On examining the authority, upon which the course of the Ganges above Haridwár, has been laid down in the geographical charts now in use, it appeared to Lieut. Col. Colebrooke, that the authority was insufficient, and the information wholly unsatisfactory. The early course of the river, as delineated in all the modern maps of Asia and India, is taken from D'Anville's correction of the Lama's map, modified however, in Rennell's construction, upon information collected by the missionary
TIEFFENTHALLER. That the *Lama*’s delineation of the *Ganges* was totally undeserving of the confidence which has been placed in it, will be apparent from a brief review of its history.

A map of Tibet,* which had been constructed by persons in the retinue of a Chinese envoy, was put into the hands of Father Regis, one of the missionaries at Pekin, in 1711. Upon his report of its defects, the places being laid down from common estimation, without any actual measurement of distances, the Emperor Kang-hi resolved to procure one more accurate and satisfactory. With this view, he sent into Tibet two Lamas, who had studied geometry and arithmetick in a Chinese college, patronised by his third son. They were ordered to prepare a map of the country, from Si-ning to Lasa, and thence to the source of the Ganges; and were enjoined to bring some of the water of that river.

The map, which they executed, was delivered to the missionaries for examination in 1717; and from this, compared with itineraries and other information, the missionaries prepared the map of Tibet which is published in Du-Halde’s description of China.

While the Lamas were engaged on their survey, a revolution took place in Tibet, which was invaded with temporary success by the king of the Eluths. The country of Lasa was ravaged; the temples were plundered; and all the Lamas, who were found, were put into sacks and thrown upon camels, to be transported into Tartary. The two Lamas, employed in making the map of Tibet, narrowly escaped the fate of their brethren. On the first rumour of the incursions of the ravagers, they hastened the conclusion of their work: and they contented themselves

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* Observ. geogr. and hist. sur la carte du Tibet: dans l’hist. de la Chine, 4. 570, &c.
THE SOURCES OF THE GANGES.

with making a map of the source of the Ganges and the countries around it, upon oral information, received from Lamas inhabiting the neighbouring temples, and upon written notices found at the grand Lama's at Lasa. They omitted however to take the latitude of mount Kentaissé or Kante-
shan, (so the Chinese name the chain of mountains which runs to the west.) They even omitted the latitude of the temple where they halted, and whence they inquired the course of the Ganges, which flows from the western side of that mountain. The Jesuits, therefore, considering this as a capital defect, were desirous that the map should be re-examined by a learned geographer in Europe: and that task was accordingly undertaken by D'Anville.

In the prosecution of the task, he was led, by obvious reasons, to remove the head of the Ganges, from latitude 29½°, which is its place in the Lama's map as published by Du Halde, to a more northerly position, and carried it as high as 32° nearly. But he preserved, and even enlarged, the sweep given to the river in the Lama's delineation of its course, and carried the northern branch of it still higher, to latitude 36° nearly.

In Major Rennell's first map of Hindustan, D'Anville's construction was in this instance copied almost exactly. Major Rennell, however, was not insensible to the unsatisfactory character of the authorities, which D'Anville followed; and, in his memoir published in 1783, declared his distrust of those materials, which for want of better he had been under the necessity of employing; and intimated a suspicion, that the Ganges does not make so large a sweep to the north west as has been given to it.

Anquetil du Perron had previously, in 1776, pronounced the Lama's work to be faulty, erroneous and in short unworthy of credit. It is need-
less to repeat his arguments; which are forcible, and convincing, rising naturally out of the account given of the Lama's survey by its publishers. It is indeed evident, that the sources and subsequent course of a river could not be laid down by the ablest geographer, with any approach to accuracy, from oral information, collected on the opposite side of a mountain, or rather chain of lofty mountains, in which it was said to take its origin. That such information, hastily gathered by inexperienced geographers, as the Lamas were, must be grossly inaccurate, seems indisputable. They do not pretend to have seen any part of what they here describe. Their route, as traced in Du Halde's map of their survey, does not approach nearer to their celebrated lake Mapama than a quarter of a degree, and terminates at a mountain marked M. Kentais; which, as before remarked, is the name of a chain of mountains, known to the Chinese as the western range in Tibet, and which is exhibited in Du Halde's map, and in the still ruder copy of the Lama's original delineation, published by Souciet,* as intervening between their last station and the lake in question. In short all that is fairly deducible as authentick information, is, that the Lamas reached the chain of mountains which forms the southwestern boundary of Tibet; and halting at the foot of the range, learned, from the inquiries which they there made, that the Ganges takes its rise in the opposite side of that chain of mountains. But the whole of their sketch of the river's course, from the 36th. degree of longitude (from Peken) where their route terminates, to the 43d, in which they make the two furthest branches of the Ganges turn due south after a westerly course, and thence return by an easterly course to the same longitude, with little difference of latitude, must be deemed vague and imaginary.

* Souciet, observations vol. 1. p. 128. and 208. pl. 8. fig. 5. and Bernouilli vol. 2. Carte generale, fig. 6.
being at best founded on oral information, and very imperfect notices, hastily collected in a season of danger and perturbation.

Anquetil Du Perron, who, as before observed, rejected, on good grounds, the Lama's authority for the sources of the Ganges, published in 1784 the result of the geographical researches of father Tieffenthaller, a Jesuit missionary in India. With the usual partiality of a first publisher, he places great faith in the accuracy of the missionary's itinerary and maps. They were certainly not undeserving of attention. But Tieffenthaller had not surveyed in person, either the Sarayu, of which he gives the course from the lake Mánasaróvara to the plains of Hindustan, nor the Ganges above Dénaprayága, the course of which he delineates to the Gangoutrí. I shall subsequently adduce proof of the latter part of this assertion. The former part of it has never been doubted.

Major Rennell, on the erroneous supposition that Tieffenthaller did himself visit Gangoutrí, has relied on the position assigned by him to that place. In the doubt even whether Tieffenthaller might not actually have taken the latitude of Gangoutrí by observation; Major Rennell did not venture to alter the parallel in which the missionary has placed it (33°.) though he conjectured it to be too far north: and proceeded to adjust to that position the supposed course of the Ganges, from the Lama's lake Mapama, imagined to be the same with the Mánasaróvara, to the cataract described by Tieffenthaller at Gangoutrí.*

It is strange that Major Rennell should have ever supposed, that the missionary had visited Gangoutrí in person. Anquetil Du Perron, who

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* Gangotri seu Cataracta Gangis, quam etiam Os Vacaæ appellant: ex rupe præceps actus, in foveam amplam et profundam illitabitur. Jacet in 33° circiter gradu lat. borealis, 73° long. TIEFF. cited by Bernoulli. 2. 280.
was in correspondence with him, says positively, that he did not. (D'autant qu'il n'a pas été lui-même à la source du Gange, que présente sa carte.*) It appears likewise, from Tieffenthaler's own statement, that the route above Haridwâr was not surveyed with a compass. He says so in express words, regarding the road from Haridwâr to Divâprayâg, of which he gives the estimated bearings,† (very erroneously, however, as will be hereafter shown;) and he states no bearings for the remainder of the way to Srinagar, Bhadrinâth, and Mânâ, which, from the general correctness of his information respecting names of places on this route, he might be supposed to have actually travelled. The route which he gives from Srinagar to the cow's mouth, contains few names of places, and no indication of his having travelled it: and towards the close, he expressly refers to the information of others; which he would not have done, if he had personally visited the spot, as supposed by Major Rennell. His words, in Bernoulli's translation,‡ are these "L'on se trouve enfin auprès du rocher auquel l'opinion trompeuse des Indous attribue la forme d'une tête de vache. Selon le rapport de personnes judicieuses, ce rocher est partagé en deux parties; de la fente qu'elles forment, sort un filet d'eau (instar stillicidii erumpit aqua) tombant de la hauteur de 3 aunes, dans une fosse qui est audessous. C'est de cette fosse que les gens puissent dans des flacons de verre, l'eau qu'ils transportent dans les pays les plus éloignés. On ne peut aller au-delà de ce rocher, que l'on pourrait nommer la Cataracte du Gange, et il n'est pas possible de monter jusqu'à la source de ce fleuve. De temps à autre il arrive bien que quelquesuns, courant à une perte cer-

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* Bernoulli 2. 276.
† Bernoulli 1. 148.
‡ Bernoulli 1. p. 150.
At the period of the publication of a second edition of his memoir, in 1792, Major Rennell was possessed of correcter information, concerning the position of Srinagar, (visited in 1789, by Capt. Guthrie and Mr. Daniel;) which enabled him to detect the gross error committed by Tieffenthaler, who placed Srinagar, N. N. W. instead of E. N. E. from Haridwar. He was thence led to entertain a very just distrust of other information, resting on the same authority; and to expect, from future researches, the acquisition of more correct knowledge. Reviewing the information then before him, Major Rennell concluded, that the Bhagirathi and Alakananda, the one from the N. the other from the N. E. join their streams at Devaprayaga, and then form the proper Ganges of Hindustan, which afterwards issues through mount Sewalick at Haridwar.

That the Alakananda is the largest of the two streams, and has its source in the snowy mountains of Tibet, and is traceable to Bhadrinath, nine journeys above Srinagar. That the Alakananda is probably the same river which appears in Du Halde, under the name of Menchou. That the Bhagirathi has a source far more remote than the Alakananda. Major Rennell adds, 'as to the head of the Ganges itself, we cannot forget the particulars communicated by the Lamas, sent by Camhi; whose report, although defective in geometrical exactness, has not fallen under any suspicions of error or misrepresentation, in plain matters of fact; and their report was, that the Ganges issues from the lake Mapama, and
runs westward: afterwards turning to the south, and south-east. The
messenger, sent by Tieffenthaler, appears to have corroborated this
report; though without intending it.*

In conformity with this notion, maps, which have been since published
(as Arrowsmith's map of Asia in 1801, and of India in 1804;) continue
to represent the Ganges within the chain of snowy mountains, flowing for
many hundred miles, according to the Lama's notion of its course, from
lake Mapama to Gangoutri.

This appeared to Colonel Colebrooke, as to myself, to rest on very
slender foundations. We thought it very improbable, that a stream less
than the Alacananda, as the Bhagirathí was represented to be, should
have its source, so much more remote than the larger stream: and that,
flowing for many hundred miles, through a mountainous region, it should
receive no greater accessions from mountain torrents. It seemed very
extraordinary, that the missionaries Desideri and Freyre;† who visited
Ladak, where they resided nearly two months,‡ and who travelled for
twenty-six days in the snowy mountains, from the ascent of mount Caintel,
(fourteen days from Cashmir,) to the town and fort of Ladak.§ and who

* Memoir of a map. p. 370.
‡ From 25th June, to 17th August, 1715.
§ Le grand Thibet, commence au haut d'une affreuse montagne, toute couverte de neige,
nommee Kantel. Un coté de la montagne est du domaine de Kaschemire, l'autre appartient
au Thibet. Nous etions partis de Kaschemire, le 17 Mai de l'année 1715, et le 30, fête de l'
Ascension de Notre-Seigneur, nous passâmes cette montagne, c'est-à-dire, que nous entrâmes
dans le Thibet. Il etoit tombe quantité de neige sur le chemin que nous devions tenir; ce
chemin, jusqu'à Leh, qu'on nomme autrement Ladak, qui est la forteresse où réside le Roi,
se fait entre des montagnes, qui sont une vraie image de la tristesse, de l' horreur, et de la
mort même. Elles sont posées les unes sur les autres, et si contiguës, qu'à peine sont-elles
séparées par des torrents, qui se précipitent avec impétuosité du haut des montagnes,
et qui se brisent avec tant de bruit contre les rochers, que les plus intrépides voyageurs en
sont étourdis et effrayés. Le haut et le bas des montagnes sont également impraticables; on
est obligé de marcher à mi-côte, et le chemin y est d'ordinaire si étroit, qu'à peine y trouve-
t-on assez d'espace pour poser le pied; il faut donc marcher à pas comptés et avec une extreme
describe the horrid aspect of the country, and its eternal winter;* should
make no mention of so remarkable a circumstance as that of the Ganges
flowing near to the town, and, for a considerable part of the way, at very
little distance from their route. Yet such is the course of the river and
position of Ladak, according to the Lama’s map. The Lama’s report,
too, so far from being unimpeached, as is argued by Major Rennell,
seemed, on various accounts, and for reasons long ago set forth by An-
quétel Du Perron, liable to great suspicion of error and misrepre-
sentation. The information collected by them on the eastern side of a chain of
mountains, concerning a river not seen nor identified by them, and said to
flow on the western side of the same chain, was likely to be replete with
error and misrepresentation; and at best was assuredly less to be depended
on, than information procured on the hither side of the mountains, and in
sight of the river to be identified. Now, it is acknowledged by Major
Rennell, that, until the result of the expedition sent by the emperor
Camh (Kang-hi) was known in Europe, it was believed, on the faith of
the Hindus, that the springs of the Ganges were at the foot of mount
Himalaya.†

The Hindus, when questioned, do indeed refer to the fabulous ac-
counts, which are to be found in their mythological poems, entitled Purá-
nás, and which have been thence copied into graver works, including even

précaution. Pour peu qu’on fît un faux pas, on roulerait dans des précipices avec grand dan-
ger de la vie, on du moins de se fracasser les bras et les jambes, comme il arriva à quelques-
uns qui voyageaient avec nous. Encore si ces montagnes avaient des arbisseaux auxquels
on put se tenir : mais elles sont si stériles, qu’on n’y trouve ni plantes, ni même un seul
brin d’herbe. Faut-il passer d’une montagne à l’autre ? on à traverser des torrents impé-
tueux qui les séparent, et l’on ne trouve point d’autre pont que quelques planches étroites et
tremblantes, ou quelques cordes tendues et entrelassées de branchages verts.

* Quant à la nature du climat, il est fort rude, ainsi qu’on peut l’inférer de ce que j’ai
dit. L’hiver est presque la seule saison qui y regne toute l’année. En tout temps la cime
des montagnes est couverte de neiges. Lettres edif. xii. 440.

† Memoir of a map, p. 314.
the writings of their astronomers; and, according to those accounts, the Ganges has a long previous course, from the Mañasaróvara, or from another lake called Bindusaróvara, before it issues from the Himaláya. But these are too much mixed with fable, and too full of contradictions and inconsistencies, to be considered as intended for grave geographical information; and no Hindu has pretended, that the course of the river could now be traced between the cow's mouth and the sacred lake.

Even Práṇ-Púrī,* who professed to have visited Mañasaróvara, and who attempted to assign the relative positions of Cailása and Brahmedanda to which he referred the sources of the Bhágirat'hi and Alacanandá, declared, that the river at Gangoutré, which was visited by him, on his return from Cashmír, is there so narrow, that it may be leaped over.†

In his account of the Mañasa lake, this pilgrim may have adapted his communications to leading questions which had been previously put to him: and in what he affirmed concerning the rivers Saráyu and Satadru issuing from the Mañasaróvara, as well as respecting the fountains of the Ganges on mount Cailása, he may have been guided by the Pauránic fables. But regarding Gangoutré, he professedly describes what he saw; and what he thus describes, is incompatible with the notion of a distant source of the river. For a stream, so narrow that it may be crossed at a single leap, is a mere rivulet or brook, whose remotest fountain can be but few miles distant.

To this reasoning might be objected the tenor of the Hindu fables, which assign to the Ganges a long course, from lake to lake, and from

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* As. Res. vol. 5, p. 43 and 44.
† As. Res. vol. 5, p. 43.
mountain to mountain, before its final descent from the snowy cliffs of Himálaya. I answer, that a legend, which makes the Ganges gush from heaven on mount Meru, and, there dividing into four streams, and falling from the stupendous height of Meru, rest in as many lakes from which it springs over the mountains through the air, just brushing their summits, is undeserving of serious consideration. If it be proposed to receive fabulous accounts as entitled to some notice, because they must be supposed to be grounded on a basis of truth, however false the superstructure which has been built on it; I reply, that no presumption can be raised on the ground of an acknowledged fable. After every gross impossibility has been rejected, what remains is merely possible, but not therefore probable. It is more likely to be false than true, since it was affirmed by evidence demonstrably unworthy of credit.

The utmost then, which can be conceded, is that the conjectural basis of a geographical fable may be used, with very little confidence however, as a guide to inquiry and research. Upon this principle, it might not be unreasonable to institute researches, with the view of ascertaining whether any lake exist within the snowy mountains, an imperfect knowledge of which may have been the foundation of the fables concerning the Mānasa and Vindusaróvara lakes of the Hindu poets, and the Mapana and Luncadeh of the Lamas; and, if any such lake exist, whether a river issue from it, as generally affirmed; and whether that river be the Alacananda, as hinted not only in Purānas but in the astronomical work.

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* As. Res. 8. p. 351.
† As. Res. 8. p. 391.
‡ See As. Res. vol. 8. p. 351.
of Bhaścara, of the Sarayu as intimated in other Purāṇas, and as affirmed both by Praṇapūri and by Tiefenthaller’s emissary.

On a review of the whole subject, it appeared that the Ganges had been traced from Hindustan, by Hindu pilgrims, into the snowy mountains, which run in a direction from N. W. to S. E. on the frontier of India; and had been approached, on the side of Tibet, by Lama surveyors, whose route terminated at mount Kantaissae, a range of snowy mountains on the west and south of Tibet. The intervening space seemed to be the region of conjecture, of fable, and of romance. Whether a vast tract of alpine country intervene, or simply a ridge of lofty mountains, clothed in eternal snow, could not be judged from the uncertain positions at which the routes terminate, neither of which had been ascertained, to any satisfactory degree of geographical precision. However, the latter supposition seemed the more probable conjecture, from the proximity of Bhadrināṭha to the termination of the Lama’s route. For the temple of Bhadrināṭha was placed, by Tiefenthaller, at an estimated distance of 57 miles, and by

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*† The holy stream from the foot of Visnū descends from the mansion of Visnū on mount Meru, whence it divides into four streams, and, passing through the air, reaches the lakes on the summits of the upholding mountains. Under the name of Sitā, that river proceeds to Bhadrāśvat: as the Ațacanandā, it enters Bhārata-versha (Hindustan). As the Chaçaḥu it goes to Cetumāla; and as the Bhadrā, to the Northern Curus. Sīdha-hanta-sirōmuni; Bhūcana čosha. 57 and 58.

†‡ In the midst of the snowy (Himaśvat) range of mountains is mount Cailāsa, where Cūvara dwells; the God of riches, with his attendant demigods.

‡ There is a peak named Chandraprabha, near which is situated the Athāhoda lake, whence flows the river Mendāciṇi. On the bank of that river is situated the divine wood, the vast grove Chaitravatīha.

§ On the northwest of Cailāsa is mount Cucudmán whence Rudra sprung. At the foot of that mountain is the Munasa lake, from which the Sarayu flows: and on the bank of that river is the forest of Vaiṭhrīja.

§ North of Cailāsa is the golden peak, at the foot of which is the lake Vindusvaras, where the king Bhagiratā sojourned during many years, when he went thither to fetch Gangā.

Matsya-purāṇa; Bhūcanačosha.
Colonel Hardwick, at nine journeys, from Srinagar; which is situated, according to Rennell, in 30° 4 30' N. and 79° 32' E. and the route of the Lama surveyors ends in the 36th degree of long. W. of Pekin, (81° E. of London) and lat. 29° 30' according to Du Halde's map. Still however, there was room for the supposition of a lake interposed, out of which a branch of the Ganges, perhaps the Alacananda, might really issue, conformably with the whole current of popular belief.

This view appeared to present an object of inquiry, deserving the labour of the research. An actual survey of the Ganges, above Haridwár, (where it enters the British territories,) to the farthest point to which it had been traced by Hindú pilgrims, and to its remotest accessible source, was an undertaking worthy of British enterprise. Perhaps the national credit was concerned, not to leave in uncertainty and doubt a question which the English only have the best opportunity of solving: and one at the same time so interesting, as that of exploring the springs of one of the greatest rivers of the old continent, and whose waters fertilize and enrich the British territories, which it traverses in its whole navigable extent.

These considerations, partly the suggestions of his own mind, and partly pressed on his attention by me, induced Lt. Col. Colebrooke to undertake the proposed enterprize, for which the sanction of government was accordingly solicited and obtained. But, in consequence of illness, as already intimated, the execution of it devolved on his assistant Lt. Webb, who was accompanied on the journey by Capt. Raper and Capt. Hearsay. The journal of Capt. Raper has furnished the narrative which is presented to the society.

The result of the survey is briefly stated in a letter from Lt. Webb to my address.
Should you deem the intelligence collected in this tour worthy of communication, you may perhaps wish, that, in addition to the map, I should give a summary of the geographical information acquired: and these, with the account which I formerly sent you of the trade carried on with the transalpine countries, compose my exclusive share of the communication.

The abstract of material positions ascertained is as follows; and I am perfectly satisfied with the correctness of all the results, excepting that of Cédár-náth; and even this cannot fail of being a very near approximation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Lat.</th>
<th>Long. from Greenwich</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gangoutri</td>
<td>31° 4' N.</td>
<td>78° 59' E.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamoutrí</td>
<td>31° 23' N.</td>
<td>78° 31' E.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cédár-náth</td>
<td>30° 53' N.</td>
<td>79° 19' E.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhadrínáth</td>
<td>30° 43' N.</td>
<td>79° 38' E.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Déóprayág</td>
<td>30° 9' N.</td>
<td>78° 31' E.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Srinagar</td>
<td>30° 11' N.</td>
<td>78° 43' E.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Almora</td>
<td>29° 36' N.</td>
<td>79° 42' E.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Source of the Rāmangá R.</td>
<td>30° 7' N.</td>
<td>79° 23' E.</td>
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</tbody>
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Formation of the Gogra river by the junction of two streams at Baghéswar.

Considering the most important information gained, to be a knowledge that the sources of the Ganges are southward of the Himálaya, I subjoin my reasons for adopting this opinion:

1st. It had been universally experienced, during our journey, that the supply of water from springs, and numerous tributary streams, was sufficient, in a course of eight or ten miles, to swell the most minute rivulet into a considerable and unfordable stream, et vice versa. Now the course of the Bhágirat’hi and Alacanandá rivers was followed, till the former

* Inserted in a note in the following narrative of the journey.
became a shallow and almost stagnant pool, and the latter a small stream; and both having, in addition to springs and rivulets, a considerable visible supply from the thawing snow, it is therefore concluded, by analogy, that the sources of these rivers could be little, if at all, removed from the stations at which these remarks were collected.

2d. "The channel of a great river is usually a line to which the contiguous country gradually slopes; and perhaps on this account, in the mountainous country, (as information and experience have taught me,) the sides of a river always furnish the most practicable road in the direction of its course." Now, if the Bhágirathí and Alacanandá rivers had a passage through the Himálaya, it should follow, that the channel of its stream would form the Gháttí by which the snowy range became passable. But, since this principle holds good in practice, and since it is utterly impossible to cross the snowy range in a direction which the channels of these rivers might be supposed to assume, I consider that at least all former reports are determined fictitious.

3d. "I have conversed with two or three intelligent natives, whose information I have found correct in other instances, and who have, in pilgrimages and on business, traversed the northern skirt of the Himalaya; and I have their assurances, that no river, except one, exists westward of the Mánasaróvara lake; that this stream is called the Saturuz (Sátalaj) river; and that it turns southerly, west of Jamoutrí:

"The extreme height of the Himalaya is yet a désideratum; but by a mean of numerous altitudes of a conspicuous peak, taken at different hours

* The only exception to this maxim is perhaps in the case of a cataract, such as the falls of Niagara, where a river descends precipitously from an elevated ledge of rock. But no such cascade of the Ganges has been found. H. C.
of the day with an excellent instrument, its distance being previously ascertained, by observation, from the well determined extremities of a sufficient base, in the level country of Rohilkund, and allowing an eighth of the intercepted arch, which is supposed to exceed the mean of terrestrial refraction; its height is calculated at twenty-one thousand feet above those plains.

The usual rise of the rivers at Déóprayág, ascertained by measuring with a line the distance between the water's limits on a perpendicular scarp, is about forty-five or forty-six feet; the nature of the channels not admitting of any increase in breadth. They are subject to irregular and temporary swells, of sometimes ten feet perpendicular, in heavy or sudden falls of rain.  

I entirely subscribe to the arguments of Lieut. Webb, which to my apprehension are conclusive. No doubt can remain, that the different branches of the river, above Haridwár, take their rise on the southern side of the Himalaya, or chain of snowy mountains: and it is presumable, that all the tributary streams of the Ganges, including the Sarayu (whether its alleged source in the Mánasaroávara lake be credited or disbelieved,) and the Yamuná, whose most conspicuous fountain is little distant from that of the Ganges, also rise on the southern side of that chain of mountains.

From the western side of the mountains, after the range, taking a sweep to the north, assumes a new direction in the line of the meridian, arise streams tributary to the Indus, and perhaps the Indus itself.

From the other side of this highest land, (for it is hardly necessary to remark, that the remotest fountains of rivers mark the highest ground;) a declivity to the north or west gives to the mountain torrents, and
finally to the rivers which they compose, one or other of these directions. It is probably true, that the sources of the Sampo or Brahmeputra and its tributary streams are separated only by a narrow range of snow-clad peaks from the sources of the rivers which constitute the Ganges, or which serve to swell its stream: and the whole province of Ladak, elevated and rugged as it is, most likely declines from its southern limit to both the north and west.

This notion is supported by the information received from traders who traffic between Hindustan and Tibet, as Lieut. Webb has remarked; and it is countenanced by routes from Cashmir to Ladak, with which Major Wilford furnished me, and which were collected by him from merchants accustomed to travel between these countries.

In short it can scarcely be doubted, that the snowy mountains, seen from Hindustan and especially from Rohilkhand, are the highest ground between the level plains of India and the elevated regions of southern Tartary. Whether the altitude of the highest peaks of Himalaya be quite so great as Lieut. Webb infers from observation, I will not venture to affirm. The possible error from the uncertainty respecting the quantity of the refraction is considerable; and, owing to disappointment in the supply of instruments, no barometrical observation could be made to confirm or check the conclusions of a trigonometrical calculation. Without however supposing the Himalaya to exceed the Andes, there is still room to argue, that an extensive range of mountains, which rears, high above the line of perpetual snow, in an almost tropical latitude, an uninterrupted chain of lofty peaks, is neither surpassed nor rivalled by any other chain of mountains but the Cordilleras of the Andes.
Narrative of a survey for the purpose of discovering the sources of the Ganges.

By Capt. F. V. Raper.

Communicated by the President.

The information of which geographers are hitherto in possession regarding the source or sources of the Ganges, being uncertain and unsatisfactory, the supreme government of Bengal determined, in 1807, to authorize a survey of the course of that river, up to its fountain, or as far as might be practicable; and Lieut. Col. Colebrooke, the surveyor general, then employed on a survey of the newly acquired provinces, was directed to execute this commission. Colonel Colebrooke's long and extensive experience, together with the ardent zeal which he had always displayed for the advancement of geographical knowledge, qualified him eminently for this task; but he was rendered unable to proceed by the fatal malady which terminated his useful and meritorious labours. At his recommendation, Lieutenant Webb was nominated to continue
the enterprize, for the conduct of which he had instructions to the following effect.

1. To survey the Ganges, from Haridwar to Gangotri, where that river is supposed either to force its way, by a subterraneous passage, though the Himalaya mountains, or to fall over their brow, in the form of a cascade. To ascertain the dimensions of the fall, and delineate its appearance, and to observe its true geographical situation in latitude and longitude.

2. To ascertain whether this be the ultimate source of the Ganges; and in case it should prove otherwise, to trace the river, by survey, as far towards its genuine source as possible. To learn, in particular, whether, as stated by Major Rennell, it arise from the lake Manasarobar; and, should evidence be obtained confirming his account, to get, as nearly as practicable, the bearing and distance of that lake.

3. To fix, as well as it can be done, by bearings of the snowy mountains, and by the reports of the natives, (should the time not admit of a more particular survey,) the positions of the sources of the Alakananda river at Bhadrinatha, and of the Cedar river, which joins it above Srinagar, at Cedarnatha. One or both of the peaks, under which these rivers rise, are stated by Col. Hardwicke to be visible from places near Srinagar; and consequently their situation may probably be ascertained by bearings taken at different stations on the road to Gangotri.

4. To inquire how far the source of the Yamuna river lies to the west or north-west of Gangotri; and, if any particular mountain be pointed out as the place where it rises, to fix the position of that mountain by bearings.
5. To ascertain generally the positions of all the most remarkable peaks in the Himâlaya range; taking their elevations to the nearest minute with a theodolite, and drawing the appearances they present to the eye.

6. The situations of all towns, forts, places of Hindu worship, Dharma masalas or resting places, will be included, and an accurate delineation made of the road, and of every remarkable or interesting object which is visible from it.

7. The height of the barometer (should such an instrument be obtained in time*) is to be observed at every halting place; for the purpose of being combined with trigonometrical calculations, in ascertaining the heights of the principal mountains in the Himâlaya or snowy range.

8. It would be desirable that Lieutenant Webb, after completing the survey from Haridwâr, by Srinagar or Dvânaprayâga to Gangotri, should return, if practicable, by a different and more easterly route, through Almora to Bareli.

Lieutenant Webb was accompanied on his tour by Captain Rapen of the Honorable Company's service, and Captain Hearsay formerly in that of Madhaji Sondhiar.

It was proposed that Mr. Webb should commence his journey, as soon as might be practicable after the conclusion of the fair at Haridwâr, which takes place annually at the vernal equinox. It was expected, that by this time, the necessary orders would be circulated, to the different Aâmis of the Nepal Raja, to ensure a safe passage through the Gurchâli territories.

* Two mountain barometers were afterwards despatched from Calcutta, but unfortunately both were broken on the way.
The party arrived, on the 1st of April 1808, at Haridwára, and encamped at the village of Canachala, (Kankhal) on the west bank of the Ganges, at the distance of about two miles from the fair, and on the left of the detachment which had been assembled for the purpose of maintaining tranquillity on that occasion.

The bathing place, called Hara-ca-Pairi, situated at the northern extremity of Haridwára, is 2½ miles from Canachala, and the road lies through a wood, on the banks of the river.

The town of Haridwára is very inconsiderable in itself, having only one street about 15 feet in breadth, and one furlong and a half in length. It is situated in lat. 29 57 9 N. and in long. 78 8 30 E. as ascertained by Mr. Reuben Burrow, and corresponds, in its relative situation, with the observations made by Lieut. Webb, from our camp near Canachala, the latitude of which he made 29 56 7 N.

The Hara-ca-Pairi (or foot of Hara) is the Ghát where the ablutions are performed; and the temple dedicated to this deity, rises from the bed of the river at the base of the hill. It is a plain building, surmounted by two cupolas, one of which contains the image of the divinity.

The customs and manners of the Hindus are so blended with their religious ceremonies, and their mythology is such a compound of allegory and fable, that it is hardly possible to ascertain the origin of their sacred institutions; we can therefore only relate traditions, leaving the explanation to those who are more conversant with the subject. This place derives its name from Hara, which is synonymous with Mahadeva, and
SUrvey of the Ganges.

Dwāra a door or passage. The Ganges, after forcing its way through an extensive tract of mountainous country, here first enters on the plains; and the veneration which the Hindus have for this river, would naturally point out this as a place deserving of peculiar worship. At the commencement of the hot weather, an annual pilgrimage is enjoined, and attended by people from all parts of Hindustan and the Dekhin, for the purpose of making their ablutions in the holy stream. The bathing commences in the month of Chaitra, when the sun is in Mina or Pisces, and concludes on the day he enters Mēsha or Aries, agreeably to the solar computation of the Hindus, and corresponding with the 10th April, on which day the sun has actually advanced 20° in that sign. Every twelfth year is celebrated with greater rejoicings, and is called the Cumbha Mēla, so denoted from the planet Jupiter being then in the sign of Aquarius. Whether this sign be symbolical of the purpose for which they meet, or whether the injunction be arbitrary or accidental, is not ascertained; but a pilgrimage at these duodecennial periods is considered the most fortunate and efficacious. The present was one of those periods; being just twelve years since the visit of Col. Hardwicke to the fair, when the contentions, which took place between the different sects of religious mendicants, were attended with considerable bloodshed, as related in the sixth volume of Asiatick Researches. To prevent a repetition of such outrages, the detachment assembled for the preservation of peace was this year of greater strength than usual. The fair is totally unconnected with the ostensible purport of the meeting; but the Hindus never loses sight of his worldly interests, and a Mēla is a necessary conse-

* * Haridvāra, also called Gangādōvāra. It is written Haridvāra in the Cēlārak'handa of the Scanda Purāṇa, and other Purāṇas. This marks a different etymology; from Hari, Vīshnu, not from Hara, Maha Deva. Note by the President.
quence of their religious convocations; numbers are led hither as much from commercial as holy motives, and independant of the merchandize brought by the merchants from the Penjáb, Cábul, Cashmír and other places, most of the pilgrims supply themselves with some articles, the produce or manufacture of the country from which they came, for which they are certain of an advantageous sale; through this channel the principal cities in the Duába, Delhi and Lakhnau are supplied with the productions of the western and northern countries. To facilitate these commercial transactions, which are carried on to an immense extent, agents are deputed from the most respectable bankers, who exchange money, and grant bills, to all parts of India, to any amount. This kind of negotiation must be extremely profitable, as a high premium is levied on the Hundí,* and the produce of the sales is generally remitted in this manner; few articles from the Company's or Vizier's provinces being disposed of in the way of barter. Although a very considerable traffic be carried on at this season, it does not strike a person with that idea. One great disadvantage, however, is the bad accommodation for the merchants, who are obliged to stow their goods into all the vacant holes and corners, where they are not exposed to public view, and which are so confined as not to admit of the bales being unpacked. A person, therefore, who may be desirous of examining and ascertaining what articles may have been brought for sale, is obliged to make his way, with great difficulty, through an immense crowd; and after hunting in vain, through narrow, dark and noisome passages, he at length relinquishes the attempt in disgust. The inconvenience might be obviated, without much expense, by building a commodious street, with shops on each side; which, by being let out at a reasonable price, during the fair, would soon repay the original cost.

* Bill of exchange.
The protection afforded to the merchant, added to the convenience this arrangement would produce, might be the means of bringing a greater variety of foreign productions through this channel. As very great amendments have already been made in the roads, tending much to the comfort of the passengers, and have excited their high commendations and thanks, we may, perhaps in time see these improvements also carried into effect. The principal articles brought hither for sale, are horses, mules, camels, a species of tobacco (called Caccar, antimony, asafoetida, dried fruits, such as apricots, figs, prunes, raisins, almonds, pistachio nuts and pomegranates, from Cabul, Caudahar, Multan, and the Penjab; shawls, Dutas, Pat-tus, from Cashmir and Amritsar; Chiras, (or spotted turbans,) looking-glasses, toys, with various manufactures in brass and ivory, from Jayapura; shields, from Rohilkhand, Lahncau and Silhet; bows and arrows, from Multan and the Duab; rock salt from Lahor; baftas and piece goods, from Rahn, a large city in the Penjab. The country of Marwar also supplies a great number of camels, and a species of flannel called Loi. From the company's provinces are brought kharua, muslins, mashru (or sarcenet,) cocoa-nuts and woollen cloths. Of the latter, a few bales are sent on the part of the company; but the sale of them is very inconsiderable, and the coarsest only meet with a ready market.

The northern merchants who visit the fair, travel in large parties called C artillery; and the cattle brought for sale are used also for the conveyance of merchandise. Those who have no investments of shawls or dried fruits, accommodate pilgrims, and other travellers, from whom they receive more than sufficient to defray the expenses of the animals on the road. We inquired what might be the price of a seat on a camel, and were informed, by a man who had travelled in that manner, that he had paid nine rupees
from Mārwār to Haridwāra. The machine, in which the goods and passengers are stowed, is a kind of wooden pannier, about three feet long and two feet broad, with a low railing all round, and the bottom laced with cords. One of these is suspended on each side the camel, and each pannier accommodates two passengers. The Cāstilahs generally assemble at Amritsar, about the end of February, and pursue their route through the Sik’h country. At that place, and at the principal cities in the Penjáb, duties are levied, not only on the merchandise, but on the travellers, at a fixed price per head; and they complain much of the interruption they meet with from the numerous banditti, who hover about for plunder. These freebooters are always mounted, and go in parties of twenty or thirty together; and although the Cāstilahs are sufficiently strong to keep them at a distance, they often succeed in carrying away some of the stragglers.

After crossing the Sailej, they proceed in security to Haridwāra, and the road from Schāranpur is a continued line of travellers, from the middle of March till the conclusion of the fair.

This is the most frequented track; although, towards the end of the festival, every avenue is closed, by the swarms which pour in from all quarters. Those who come merely for the purpose of bathing, arrive in the morning; and, after performing their ablutions, depart in the evening, or on the following day; by which means a constant succession of strangers is kept up; occasioning one of the most busy scenes that can be well conceived. To calculate the probable amount of such multitudes would be impossible, and it would be equally vain to hazard a conjecture; but if we estimate the number at two millions of souls, we shall probably fall short rather than exceed the reality. During the Maharata government, there were some grounds on which the calculation might have been made;
as a kind of poll-tax was levied on those who came to the fair, and very heavy duties on cattle and merchandise; but this arbitrary system is now abolished, and all castes and descriptions of people have free ingress and egress, without impost or molestation.

To subsist such hosts of people, would, one might suppose, almost create a famine; but the Bazar exhibited no appearance of scarcity, and flour sold in our camp at the rate of twenty-four or twenty-five sers for the rupee. The ephemeral visitors, in general, bring their own provisions; and some thousands of carts are employed in conveying grain to the fair. These supplies are drawn chiefly from the Duab; and, to judge by the appearance of the crops in that quarter, subsistence might have been yielded to twice the number; for the whole country was a perfect picture of affluence and plenty.

Besides the articles above mentioned, we were much surprised to see some Venetian and Dutch coins, and some toys of European manufacture, exposed for sale in the market; by what route the latter found their way to India, it is difficult to say, but most probably by Surat.

The horses and cattle are dispersed, indiscriminately, all over the fair, which is held in the bed of the river, at this season nearly dry. After the first of April, the influx of people is so great, that few vacant spots are to be found in the vicinity of the market; and encroachments are made on the neighbouring mountain: huts and temporary habitations are observed to rise in every direction; and, from a barren deserted bed of sand, the whole surface is seen in motion. It is curious to observe the different cast of countenance, of the various tribes who are here assembled; and the contrast of character would furnish an excellent subject for the pencil of an Hogarth. The most conspicuous personages are the Fakirs, of whom
there are several sects; but the principal ones are the Gosains or Sannyásis, the Bairágis, the Jógis and the Udásis. The four sects are again subdivided, and branch out into a great variety; the different shades and discriminations of which it is difficult to make out, or comprehend. The most numerous are the Gosains, who, during the Maharata government, were sufficiently powerful to dispute the authority at the place; and not only collected the duties, on their own account; but regulated the police during the fair. This assumption was, of course, productive of many serious disputes, which were decided by the sword: but the Gosains were generally victorious, and maintained the sovereignty for many years. The next powerful sect was the Bairágí; but, from the year 1760, till the company got possession of the Duáb, this cast was debarred from the pilgrimage. The cause of this exclusion proceeded from two brothers, D’hocal Gír and Dayara’m Pat’há, who, having determined on a life of penance, the former enlisted himself under the banners of the Gosains, and the latter of the Bairágis. In the Cumbh’mela of that year, they both happened to meet at Haridwára, and mutual recriminations took place, regarding the tenets which they had individually embraced. From a private, it became a general cause; and it was agreed, that the sword should prove the superiority. On the Ír,bé or last day of bathing, the two parties met, near Canac’hala, and after a long and bloody contest, victory declared in favour of the Gosains. It is said that eighteen thousand Bairágís were left dead on the field. Since that time, the Gosains have claimed the pre-eminence, and appear to have exercised their authority in a manner little expressive of meekness or toleration. Although their despotic sway is over, they still occupy the best situations at the fair; the whole of the road between Canac’hala and Haridwára being inhabited by this sect. Considerable expense must
have been incurred by many of them, to render their temporary habitations comfortable and convenient. On the ridge of the bank, on each side of the road, grass huts and small \textit{Bangalas} are erected, in front of which are high \textit{Chabutras}, in imitation of forts and bastions, with embrasures, &c. On these they repose, with all the pride of conscious superiority and independence. Many of them profess a total disregard for all worldly concerns, and appear completely in a state of nature.

Among these \textit{Gosains} are many men of considerable property, who assume only the garments of the devotee, being in other respects well provided with all the comforts and conveniences of life; some of them follow a military profession, but the greater number are engaged in agricultural or commercial pursuits, in which they acquire large fortunes. On occasions like the present, they expend large sums, in charity, among the poor of their own sect, and in presents to the priests or \textit{Brahmins}, who preside over the different places of sacred worship. One mode of dispensing their charity is by stationing people at different places on the road, to distribute water to the thirsty passengers; and although the boon be small, it is very salutary, and there is always a constant succession of claimants and petitioners.

The \textit{Gosains} or \textit{Sannyásis} are distinguished by a sheet or wrapper of cloth, dyed with red ochre, and round the neck they were a string of beads, called \textit{Rudrácsha}.* this latter, however, is not confined to this sect, as the \textit{Udásis} and \textit{Jógis} make use of the same. The \textit{Gosains} are the worshippers of Siva. The \textit{Bairágis} are the disciples of Vishnu, and are distinguished by two perpendicular stripes of yellow ochre, or sandal, on the

\begin{footnote}
  * Seeds of the \textit{Gamitrus of Rumphius}: a species of \textit{Elcocarpus}.
\end{footnote}
forehead, and by a string of Tulasí beads round the neck. The Udásis are the followers of Nānac, the founder of the Sikh sect; and address their prayers to the prophet, whom they term Guru. They are known by the conical cap, with a fringe, which they wear on all solemn occasions. The Jógis or Cánp’hatas are the disciples of Siva, as the Gosains; but, as the term Cánp’hata implies, they have a longitudinal slit in the cartilage of the ear, through which a ring, or plate, of horn, wood or silver, about the size of a crown piece, is suspended. Another custom obtains among the Gosains and Jógis, which is uncommon among the other Hindus, that of burying their dead. All these casts engage in husbandry and commerce; but the profession of arms is peculiar to the Gosains or Sannyasis; some of them never shave, but allow the hair on the head to grow to an enormous length, binding it round the forehead, in small tresses, like a turban.

No particular ceremony is observed at the bathing, which consists entirely in the simple immersion. Those who are rigidly pious, or may have any apprehension in going into the water, are introduced by a couple of Bráhmens; who, having dipped the penitent in the holy stream, reconduct him to the shore. Few, however, require this assistance; and, as the water is not above four feet deep, the women even plunge in without hesitation, and both sexes intermix indiscriminately. After the ablution is performed, the men whose fathers are dead, and widows, undergo the operation of tonsure; and many of them strew the hair in some frequented path, with the superstitious idea that good or bad fortune is indicated by the person or animal that first chances to tread upon it. An elephant is considered peculiarly fortunate.

Besides the Har-ca-Pairi, there are several other places of religious
worship in the neighbourhood. The *Pach-Tir̥ṭha* is a collective name, given to five pools or basons of water, situated between two hills to the west of the town. The names of these are *Amrit-Cūnd*, *Tapā-Cūnd*, *Rāma-Cūnd*, *Sitā-Cūnd*, and *Surya-Cūnd*. They all proceed from the same source, and appear to be beds formed in the rock, by a water course, which may be traced to the summit of the hill. The Brāhmans wished to persuade us, that these reservoirs were supplied by springs, issuing from the side of the rock; but there was no appearance to justify the assertion. The water is strongly impregnated with minerals, diffusing an offensive smell; and it was moreover extremely foul, by the agitation caused by the bathers.

The next place deserving notice is *Bhīma Ghōra*, situated to the N. W. of the town; and the road to it lies over the mountain contiguous to Har-ca-Pairī. It is in a small recess of the mountain, which is a perpendicular solid rock, about three hundred and fifty feet in height. It is said, that Bhīma was posted here, to prevent the river from taking a different course; and immediately above the bath, about twelve feet from the ground, is an artificial excavation in the rock, which they pretend was occasioned by a kick from the horse on which Bhīma was mounted. The cave is about five feet square, and inhabited, during the fair, by a Fakir. Ladders are planted, for the convenience of the curious, who may be desirous of convincing themselves of the powers which this horse was reported to possess. The Cūnd, or pool, is larger than those abovementioned; and, being in one of the small channels of the river, receives a constant though scanty supply. It is a commodious place for bathing, but not considered peculiarly holy by orthodox Hindus. Opposite to Har-ca-Pairī is a high hill, called *Chandīva G[hātt]a*, on the top of which is a small temple,
with a trident. This we had not an opportunity of visiting, nor did we see Satya Cánd, a sacred place, about half a mile to the west of our camp.

At the foot of the pass leading from Har-ça-Pairê, is a Garčháli Choki or post, to which slaves are brought down from the hills, and exposed for sale. Many hundreds of these poor wretches, of both sexes, from three to thirty years of age, are annually disposed of in the way of traffic.

Those slaves are brought down, from all parts of the interior of the hills, and sold at Haridwár, from ten to one hundred and fifty rupees.

The shew of cattle, this year, was very inferior to what might have been expected; and the great demand, both on the part of the Company and of individuals, raised the prices very considerably. The average price of the camels from the Penjab was seventy-five rupees; and a common horse was not to be purchased under two hundred and fifty, or three hundred rupees. There were very few of the Persian or high northern breed; the prevailing casts were the Turki, and the cross breed of Turki and Táži. A singular mode of conducting bargains obtains here; which, however, is not uncommon in other parts of India. The merchants never mention vivá voce, the prices they have fixed on their cattle, but the agreement is carried on by the finger, and a cloth is thrown over the hands, to prevent the by-standers from gaining any information. The following is the key to this secret language, which is very simple, though expressive. Each finger, under the term of Dánah, implies one rupee, of Dohrah Dánah, two rupees. Thus, by taking hold of three of the merchant’s fingers, and making use of the first term it would imply three and of the second term six rupees. Sut or Sutili means twenty rupees, and each finger, under that term, bears that value. So, or hundreds, are expressed in the same manner; and it is only necessa-
ry to give the term, to be clearly understood. Bargains are concluded, in this manner, with great readiness; and it is very rare that any mistake or misunderstanding occurs, between the purchaser and the vender. Those who are not conversant in this language, are obliged to employ Delâls or brokers, who are to be met in all parts of the fair, and receive a per centage on the purchase; but, as they generally have an understanding with, and are in the interest of the merchants, very little dependance can be placed on the honesty of these agents.

The Governor of Srinagar, Hasti D'hâl Chautra, being arrived at Carcari, a small Gurcheâli village, near Bhim-Ghôra; we paid him a visit on the 8th of April, and were kindly received. Our meeting was under a large tree; his present temporary habitation being too small to receive us. He expatiated much on the difficulties of our undertaking, and the privations to which we should be subjected; but assured us of every assistance in his power, only lamenting, that as a new governor had been appointed from Nepal, he should not be able to yield us such effectual aid, as he would have done, had the termination of his office been more remote. He promised, however, that if it depended on him, every thing should be ready for our departure two or three days after the conclusion of the fair. The Chautra is a man about forty-five or forty-six years of age, of middle stature, and rather corpulent. His countenance is pleasing, and his manners very conciliatory: in his waist he wore a large curved knife, with a plain ebony handle, the sheath mounted with gold. Most of the chiefs about him were armed with weapons of the same shape, but mounted with silver.

On the following morning, Hasti D'hâl returned our visit; and the subject of our journey was again resumed. In the course of conver-
S URVEY OF THE GANGES.

sation, he suggested, that the route to Gangotri by the way of Srinagar would be very circuitous, and could not be completed in less than a month and a half; whereas, by making Gangotri our first object, we might return by Srinagar in one month. By this arrangement, we had the advantage of comprehending the whole circle of the places we wished to visit, within the limits of a two months' tour, leaving us one month for the performance of the journey to Bhadri-nath. The Chawtra staid but a short time; when he took his leave, we presented him with a few articles of European manufacture, with which he appeared highly gratified.

The tenth of April, being the Purni, or last day of bathing, the crowds of people were immense; every avenue to the Ghát was completely choked up; and the flight of steps, leading to the water, poured down from the top such a constant succession of fresh comers, that the lower tiers were unable to resist the impetus, and were involuntarily hurried into the stream. The fair, however, concluded without any troubles or disturbance, to the great surprise and satisfaction of numbers, who were accustomed to consider bloodshed and murder inseparable from the Cumbha Mella; as, for many ages past, these duodecennial periods have been marked with some fatal catastrophe. A very salutary regulation was enforced by our police; prohibiting any weapons being worn or carried at the fair. Guards were posted, at the different avenues, to receive the arms of the passengers; a ticket was placed on each, and a corresponding one given to the owner; the arms were returned on the ticket being produced.

This arrangement had the desired effect; for the utmost tranquillity prevailed; and from the content and satisfaction that were expressed, by
all ranks of people, on this occasion, we may anticipate the praises that will be carried hence, to all parts of Hindostan, on the mild system of the British government.

On the eleventh, we received a visit from Hasti D'hal, accompanied by Bhairo Tapah, his successor in the government of Srinagar, on whom the arrangements for our journey were in future to depend. We found in this man great disinclination to forward our views. He at first endeavoured to deter us from the journey, by exaggerated representations of its difficulties; and afterwards threw various obstacles in the way of our preparations. At last, however, in conformity to the instructions of his government, though with evident reluctance, and at an exorbitant rate, he furnished as many coolies and bearers, for the Jampuans or hill litters, as enabled us to proceed on the following day.

Lieut. Webb took the height of Bhim G'hora, which he ascertained to be four hundred and seven feet.

The following morning, we received the last visit of the benevolent Hasti D'hal, whose removal from office we had much cause to regret. He expressed his sorrow, that we should set off so ill provided with carriage, and that we had been detained so long. We parted, after giving mutual presents; and he promised to meet us at Srinagar, and accompany us to Almora, where his brother Buim Saa was governor.

At ten o'clock, our baggage and tents were ready to move off, and we commenced our line of march. It was quite a novelty, to see the Paharits carrying their loads, which were contained in large baskets, called Canil or Cand'hi. They are made of Bamlux, about two and a half feet high, in the shape of a cone, and are slung to the shoulders, by means of a cou-
ple of strong loops, made of rope, or plaited grass, through which the arms are introduced. Each man is provided with a cross stick, in the shape of the letter T, about three and an half feet high, which assists him in walking, and serves as a prop or rest for the burthen, when he is inclined to take breath, without disengaging his load. Those articles which were too long or bulky to be packed in a Candi, were well secured with cords, and carried on the back in the same manner. The Jampuán is a small bedstead, about three feet in length, and two in breadth: at each corner is a post which supports a canopy. The poles are about eight feet long, fixed on each side, with a transverse bar at the extremities; in the center of which is a small pole or rest, by which the carriage is conveyed in the manner of a Tonjon. It is rather a confined and inconvenient carriage at first; but the motion is extremely easy.—This machine is peculiarly adapted for a mountainous country, as the weight remains always in equilibrio.

As soon as we struck our tents, the Chawtra, with the troops stationed at Canac'hala were put into motion, and set off towards their respective destinations. Several companies of new levies from Ne'päl were going to relieve a detachment of the Gurc'hätt troops, which had been employed for two years and a half in blockading Cangra, a strong hill fort belonging to Rajah Sansar-Chand, without being able to reduce it to terms, or make any impression. Our road, for four miles two furlongs, run parallel with, and at a short distance from the river; when we proceeded in a N. W. direction, quitting the track of the pilgrims, who were going by the way of Hirshiceśa (Hirik'hikes) to Bhadri-nāṭ'h and Cėdāra-nāṭ'h.
At five o'clock, P. M. we encamped, having marched twelve miles, in a north-west direction.

We observed, on the road, several fig and white mulberry trees, with ripe fruit; and the wild fowls, peacocks and black partridges* were calling in every direction. We saw some Obis or pits, for catching elephants, which are numerous, and very destructive to the crops in this valley. The species found here is small, and far inferior to those caught in other part of Hindostān. They seldom exceed seven feet in height, and are sold, when first caught, for two or three hundred rupees.

Two days, in which we marched twenty miles, about N. N. W. half W. brought us to Gurudwāra, an extensive village, of beautiful appearance, pleasantly situated, and adorned with a handsome temple, erected by Ram-Rāe, one of the followers of Nanac, the founder of the Sik'h religion. The priests are of the sect of Udāsis. During the Holi, an annual fair held here is numerously attended, by pilgrims from the Penjāb and countries to the westward.

About half a mile to the N. of the village, is the field of battle, which decided the contest between the Srīnagarā and Gurch'ha rajahs; the former of whom was killed in the engagement, by a musket ball. The accounts of his death spread general consternation through the country; and the inhabitants, forsaking their villages, retired to the mountains, whence they could not be drawn by any threats or persuasions. The whole of this beautiful valley was laid open to pillage, and the following year remained uncultivated, when Har-Sewac-Ram, the present Mehant, was reinstated in his possessions. Through his influence, the peasants were

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* Tetrao-Francolinus.
induced to return; and the country has, in some measure, recovered from this severe blow.

April 16th. The weather being stormy, with rain, we halted, and received the visit of Bhairo Tapah, who appeared to evince a more friendly disposition than formerly; and as his route was now about to separate from ours, took measures, by registering our attendants, to guard against their desertion. He took his leave with many expressions of friendship. We made him some trifling presents at parting, and separated, under the most flattering assurances of his good will, and desire to render us every assistance.

17th. Marched to Nāgal. The first part of the road lay by the side of a beautiful little river, which turns four or five water mills, placed in the declivities of its bed. This machine for grinding corn, is of very simple construction, and is in general use in this part of the country. It is composed of two large round stones, about eighteen inches in diameter and four in thickness. The under one is fixed, and the upper one placed in a perpendicular axle, at the lower extremity of which eight or ten spokes are thrown out horizontally. On these the water is brought to descend, from a sufficient elevation to give the machine a quick rotatory motion.

The banks of this rivulet were lined with the willow and the raspberry bush; the fruit of which was ripe, of a deep yellow, with hardly flavor enough to call to recollection the fruit of Europe. Wheat and barley were produced in great abundance, in the vallies, which possess a fertile soil; but the oppressive nature of the Gārčāli government, and the heavy exactions which it lays on the labour of the husbandman, discourage cultivation. This Parganah of Dhiūn, lying between the Ganges and Jumna rivers, which are here forty miles distant, is said to have
formerly yeilded to the Rajah of Srinagar a lac of rupees annually; which revenue, under the Gurc'hai government, is reduced to thirty-five thousand.

18th. Marched to Magra. The distance is estimated ten or eleven miles N.E. by N. On this day's march, we crossed a mountain, about two thousand feet high, the ascent and descent of which were very steep and rugged. The mountain was, in some places, almost perpendicular; and the foot path cut out into zigzags of about thirty feet in length. In other places, it ran along a narrow ledge, not more than a foot in breadth; while, on the outer side, was a precipice, of six or seven hundred feet. A most alarming prospect to persons unaccustomed to such situations; and here we had reason to admire the agility and steadiness of the hill people, to whom habit had rendered the travelling in such tremendous paths familiar.

In the commencement of this day's march, we enjoyed a sight of uncommon beauty, which was rendered more striking by being concealed by a jutting point of rock, till we approached very near, and ascended a little bank, when it burst suddenly on our view.

It was a fall of water, from an excavated bank, with a cave or grotto at each extremity, forming together an arch of about one hundred feet in perpendicular height, with a subtended base of eighty or one hundred yards. Through every part of the impending summit, the water oozed in drops, which fell in showers into a basin, whence it was carried, by a small stream, into the river below.

The lofty trees and luxuriant shrubs which overhung the brow, threw a partial shade over the picture; while the sun, striking full upon the cascade, was reflected in the sparkling globules; giving a richness and brill...
fancy to the scene, which words are incompetent to express. The basin, or receiver, was a hard solid stone, of an ochrous colour, smoothed by the action of the water; but the bank itself was composed of a thin coat of earth, of the same hue, but soft and friable at the top, and more indurated at the base. Upon an inspection of the grotto on the right, we were struck with new and more singular appearances.

It is a cavern, about six feet in height, ten in depth, and fourteen or sixteen in length, and is a natural excavation, the walls and roof of which are of rock. The water filters through the top, from which pendent shoots, like icicles, are disposed, in all the different stages of petrifaction. The small ramifications form variegated beds of moss, serving as conductors for the water when it first begins to crystalize; and, from a tube or pipe, they become, by repeated incrustations, a firm consolidated mass. The various colours, produced by the vegetation, changing with the different shades of light, give to the outer surface the appearance of mother of pearl; but, when the petrifaction is complete, the inside has a great resemblance to alabaster.

The water is excessively cold and clear; and, from an examination of the first process, one would be inclined to suppose it impregnated with some fine micous particles, which adhere to the vegetable substance; and, by degrees, accumulate into a solid body. We could with difficulty prevail on ourselves to quit this beautiful spot; but, as we had a long and arduous journey to complete before the evening, we had only time to examine its principal beauties. It is called Sansár Dhara, or the dripping rock. On this day's march we first saw the mountain pine, called by the natives Chér, or Kholán.*

* Pinus Longifolia. Roxb.
19th. Marched to Bóhan Dévi, a small village, so called from a temple which it contains, dedicated to a deity of that name. Distance computed seven and an half miles, about N. E. by N. We crossed another mountain, estimated at about one thousand and two hundred feet high. The thermometer in the morning was at 48°, and on this mountain we were delighted to recognize, among its vegetable productions, many of our European acquaintance, as the peach, apricot, walnut, strawberry, raspberry, dandelion, butter flower and white rose. Near the temple of Bóhan Dévi stood a fine spreading fir, of the species which the natives call Deodár.* It yields a great quantity of pitch, and the trunk acquires much larger dimensions than the Chir. The wood is more solid and durable, on which account it is more prized by the natives for all purposes of building.—The adjacent hills were covered with forests of this tree.

20th. Marched to Lállarí, a very small village, situated in latitude, by observation, 30°33' 32" N. Thermometer in the morning 52°.

On the first part of the march, the land on the road side was well cultivated, and even the sides of the hills were cut into small plats, rising one above the other, faced with stones and watered by the small streams which issue from the heights, and are conducted from the upper to the lower platforms in succession. Here we found the Boorans+ and the Banja a species of oak. The mountains are covered with immense forests of these trees.

Until one o'clock we had been gradually ascending, when we came to a small space of table land, whence we beheld a sight the most sublime and awful that can be pictured to the imagination. We were now

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* Pinus Doédowara Rox.
+ Rhododendron puniceum Rox. described by Col. HARDWICKE, As. R. v. 6. p. 359.
on the apex of one of the highest mountains in the neighbourhood; and from the base to the summit the perpendicular height could not be less than four thousand feet; probably it far exceeded this calculation. From the edge of the scarp, the eye extended over seven or eight distinct chains of hills, one rising above the other, till the view was terminated by the Himálaya, or snowy mountains. It is necessary for a person to place himself in our situation, before he can form a just conception of the scene. The depth of the valley below, the progressive elevation of the intermediate hills, and the majestic splendor of the "cloud-capt" Himálaya, formed so grand a picture, that the mind was impressed with a sensation of dread rather than of pleasure.

The intermediate ranges appeared to run nearly parallel to each other, and to have a general direction of about N. W. to S. E. The most distinguished peaks of the snowy range are those designated by the names of Gangautri and Jamautri, whence the Ganges and Jamuna rivers are supposed to derive their source. The direction of the former, as taken by Lieutenant Webb, from the spot where we stood, was N. 46°3' E. its angle of elevation 3°1'. The natives distinguished it by the name of Mahádeva ca-linga: its shape is pyramidal, with a broad base, and the point rather flattened. The latter bore N. 18°34' E. its angle of elevation 9°17'. These two appeared to be the highest peaks in the whole range. The horizontal distance of this extensive chain, according to the best estimate we were able to form, could not exceed thirty miles. By the computations of the natives, we were twelve days journey from the former; but the experience which we have already had of the nature of the country, does not tend to destroy the supposition, or render it extravagant.
We began now to descend by what is called the Nagûr Ghât; and it was two hours before we gained the base, which is watered by a rivulet called by the same name. From the middle of the Ghât, we had a first view of the Bhâgirat'hî river, which was hailed by all our Hindu servants, with loud acclamations, and with the accustomed terms of salutation and respect.

21st. Marched to Mangal-nât'h-ca-Thâ'n, which is a place of worship, sacred to Mahâdêva, and inhabited by a Jôgi. Its latitude 30° 36' 30". N.

This morning the thermometer was 54°. After ascending a Ghât for about one mile, we came again in sight of the Bhâgirat'hî, distant from us about two and an half or three miles on our right. The stream appeared to run with great rapidity, and the breadth of it might be about forty or fifty yards. On the E. bank was a very pretty village, with fine cultivation. It is called Haddiârî, and inhabited by Jôgis. As we proceeded, the river opened more fully upon us; and we could perceive its course, winding at the foot of the mountains, for a considerable distance, to the N. N. E. Some of the snowy tops of the Himalaâya were also visible, but we gradually lost sight of them, as we descended into the valley. The Nagûr river here falls into the Bhâgirat'hî. Our road now lay on the W. side of the valley, which may be about one and an half mile in breadth, and prettily interspersed with hamlets. This is the only plain, deserving that appellation, that we have met with since we quitted the Dhûn Perganah. This valley is entirely confined to the W. shore of the Bhâgirat'hî; the E. bank being the base of a very lofty chain of mountains. The hills on our left had a very barren appearance; but the fertility of the soil below began to increase, as the
vegetation of the mountain proportionally lessened. On one side, scarcely
a vestige of verdure or vegetation was to be seen, excepting here and
there a solitary fir; while, on the other, the rich flourishing crops exhib-
ited a pleasing contrast, and seemed to exult in the advantage of their
situation. The sound of the rustic pipe first called our attention to the
labors of the field, where we observed people of both sexes, engaged
in their different agricultural pursuits. The women take an equal share
in the toil, and while the men direct the oxen with the plough, the
women follow with the grain, and break the clods of earth. Other fa-
milies were employed in reaping barley, for which purpose they were
provided with a small sickle, with which they cut the grain about half
way down the stem, and tie it up in bundles. The wheat and barley
were sowed alternately in longitudinal rows of six or eight yards in
breadth, and occupied the higher ground, while the lower was appro-
priated for the reception of rice, *Masur,* † Manduah, ‡ Sama, † &c. The
fields under preparation for tillage were covered with rich manure of
dung and ashes, by which the farmers are enabled to obtain an annual
produce; but in other places, the soil is often so unfriendly, that, after
one culture, the ground is left fallow for two or three seasons, when the
people collect all the grass and underwood in the vicinity, and by setting
fire to it, prepare the land for the reception of another crop. We have
hitherto had few opportunities of gaining any insight into their art of
husbandry, for most of the villages were deserted on our arrival; but
today we perceived a great difference in the manners of the people.
They appeared to be much more civilized, and so far from exhibiting
any signs of apprehension, they came running towards the road, to see

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* Erota Linn. † Cynosurus Coracanus. ‡ Panicum frumentaceum. Roxb.
us pass. The women even, did not shew that bashfulness and reserve, which females in Hindostan in general exhibit; but, mixing with the crowd, they made their comments with the greatest freedom. Their dress differs little from that of the men; it consists of a short petticoat and a loose jacket with sleeves. Instead of the cap, they wear a piece of cloth bound round the head like a turban. Their garments are made of coarse cloth; whereas those of the men are of thick blanket, manufactured from the wool and hair of the sheep and goats, which are of kinds peculiar to the hills. We could not help remarking, that, even in these unfrequented regions, the female mountaineers exhibited the general failing of the sex, having their necks, ears and noses ornamented with rings and beads. When these are beyond their means, they substitute a wreath or bunch of flowers; for which purpose the white rose is chosen, both for its beauty and scent.

One of the largest villages we past was Chimâli, in the vicinity of which were several fields of poppy, from which they extract opium. We saw also many trees of the wild barberry with unripe fruit; the native name for it is Ringór. After crossing a small spring, issuing from the mountains, we left a large village called Buretha on our left. It is elevated about eighty feet above the bed of the river; and contains forty or fifty houses. From hence, we proceeded through fields, by a good footpath, to the place of our encampment. Our arrival was ushered in by a couple of trumpeters, who welcomed us, with such a harsh discordant peal, that we were happy to give a little respite to our ears at the expense of our purse. The summons was, however, attended by several people from the neighbouring hamlets, particularly by those who were afflicted by any complaints for which they required medical assistance. Among these we
observed a great number, who had large tumors in the neck called goître or wens, to which the inhabitants of mountainous countries, particularly those who live in the vicinity of snow, are very subject. Fluxions and disorders in the eyes are also extremely common; and, in these months, the intermittent fevers are very prevalent. In this part of the country, they appear to be not only destitute of medical aid, but totally ignorant of any remedies to stop the progress of a disorder; and we saw repeated instances of people who had been laboring for years under the effects of a complaint or wound, which was most probably very slight at first, but, from want of proper care, had risen to an incurable height.

22d. Marched to Dúnda; distance six and an half or seven miles. Thermometer in the morning 54°. After rounding a point of the mountain, by an ascending path, we regained the bed of the river, and crossed a rapid stream, which falls from the west into the Bhágirathí, by a bridge called Sángha, which will be described hereafter.

From hence, the passage of the road was too difficult to allow us leisure to make any observations; our attention being wholly taken up with our own safety. Following the course of the river, and rounding the different points of mountain, which mark and occasion the windings of the stream; the road was a continued line of rise and fall, sometimes within fifty or one hundred feet of the base, at others, mounting to the height of two or three thousand above the level of the river. In some places, large jutting points of rock formed a perpendicular ascent; in which, at the distance of three or four feet, small steps had been worn by the passage of travellers. In other places, the road ran along the scarp of the hill, where the footpath was at times trackless; and when again visible, appearing only in a dismembered state, the earth having crumbled, or been washed away by
the rain, leaving only a projecting stone to rest the foot upon. In these situations, and indeed during the whole of the march, a tremendous precipice was open on the outer side; and, for the greater part of the way, we found it necessary to avail ourselves of the assistance of the bearers, to conduct us by the hand. The smoothness of the stone in some places, and the dry leaves often strewed over the path, rendered it so slippery, that we judged it expedient to take off our boots, to maintain a footing. To those who may hereafter be inclined to pursue this track, it may not be an unnecessary precaution, to go provided with netted sandals, or socks of a texture sufficiently thick, to guard the feet from the sharpness of the stones.

On our entrance into the valley, we saw vines, with the fruit beginning to form, and a few plants of asparagus.

23d. Marched to Bārāhat. Distance about seven and an half miles. Latitude by observation $30^\circ 45' 30''$ N. Thermometer in the morning $54\frac{1}{2}$; but at noon in the shade 91.

The greatest part of the road lay through a winding valley, and we crossed two streams which fall into the Bhāgirathī.

At the village of Juswāra is a bridge over the Bhāgirathī of the kind called Jhūla, the first we had yet seen in our travels.

There are several kinds of bridges constructed for the passage of strong currents and rivers, but the most common are the Sāṅghā and Jhūla. The former consists of one or two fir spars, thrown from bank to bank, or from one large rock to another; but, where the extent is too great to be covered in this mode, they substitute the Jhūla or rope bridge, which is made in the following manner. A couple of strong posts are driven
into the ground, about three feet asunder, with a cross bar, in the form of a gallows. One of these is erected on each bank of the river, and twelve or fourteen thick ropes divided equally to both sides, leaving a space of about one foot in the centre, are stretched over the scaffolds, and fixed into the ground by means of large wooden piles. These ropes form the support of the bridge, which describes a catenary curve, with the lower part, or periphery, at a greater or less elevation from the water, according to the height of the bank. About two feet below them, a rope ladder is thrown horizontally across, and laced with cords to the upper ropes, which form the parapet, when the bridge is completed. The first passage of so unsteady a machine, is very apt to produce a sensation of giddiness. The motion of the passengers causes it to swing from one side to the other, while the current, flowing with immense rapidity below, apparently increases the effect. The steps are composed of small twigs, about two and an half, and sometimes three feet asunder; and are frequently so slender as to give an idea of weakness, which naturally induces a person to place his chief dependence on the supporting ropes or parapet, by keeping them steady under his arms. The passage, however, is so narrow, that if a person is coming from the opposite quarter, it is necessary that one should draw himself entirely to one side, to allow the other to pass; a situation very distressing to a novice. The river at this place is about thirty yards in breadth, and the stream very rapid. Four men are employed in keeping the bridge in constant repair, for which they are allowed a small portion of land, exclusive of a measure of grain, which they receive form each zamindar of the neighbouring villages at the time of the harvests.

The town of Bârahât by no means answered the expectation we had form-
ed of it, being in extent and population, far inferior to many villages we had passed on the road. The houses, like those of all the villages in this part of the country, are built of large stones, with slated roofs; but none of them appear in a habitable state. One cause, however, of its present dismantled condition, proceeds from the injury it sustained from the earthquake of 1808, in which all the houses suffered materially, and some were completely buried in the ground. It is said, that two or three hundred people were killed by the falling in of the roofs; and that great numbers of cattle were destroyed on that fatal occasion. Few of the habitations have been rebuilt; and those that remain are so scattered and unconnected, that the place exhibits a striking picture of ruin and desolation. Bārahāt is the capital of a Tālukah of the Rowain Perganah, and originally derived that name from its being the chief mart of twelve villages, which send here their goods for sale.

Its central position enabled it to maintain a free communication with all parts of the hills; and pilgrims, who are going to Gangotri, in general, halt here, to lay in a stock of provisions for twelve or fourteen days, as there are no intermediate villages, where they could be certain of getting supplies. This latter circumstance must have chiefly contributed to render it a place of note; as it does not appear that the town itself was ever very extensive, or that any great foreign traffic was carried on. The only article brought from any considerable distance, is salt from Būtān; but the quantity imported does not exceed the internal consumption of the place.

The distance from hence to Gangotri is calculated at seven days journey, to Jamaunti five, to Cēdāra Nāth twelve, and to Srinagar six;
but, excepting to the latter place, the roads are very bad and difficult. That to Jumautri is considered by much the worst.

At this place we halted on the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth, to procure a stock of provisions for our farther march; as the inhospitable regions, we were about to enter, afforded no prospect of any future supply. Although we had taken the precaution to send on two 'Gurc'háli Sepahis, two days before, to give notice of our approach, we could not on our arrival obtain provisions for that day, and parties sent out by the Subadar returned in the evening, with only enough for the consumption of three days. The next day was still less successful; so that, finding we were not likely to get supplies without halting for several days, we determined to march the next morning, and trust to the promise of the Subadar, that he would forward them to Rétal, a village near our road, and two days march from hence.

On the hills near this place are great numbers of black partridges, (Perdix francolinus Lath.) and Chacors (Perdix Rufa Lath.) A servant of Captain Hearsay's shot one of the latter.

Near the village is a curious Trisul or trident, the base or pedestal of which is made of copper, in size and shape of a common earthen pot: the shaft is of brass, about twelve feet long, the two lower divisions decagonal, and the upper one spiral. The forks of the trident are about six feet in length. From each of the lateral branches, is a chain, to which bells were originally suspended. By what means it came hither, or for what purpose it was constructed, no person could tell; and although the inscription be legible, and most probably contains the information, no one could even tell us in what language the characters
are written. We had with us two or three men, who could read Négrí, Persian and Sanscrit, but they were unable to decipher a single letter. The lower part of the inscription bears some resemblance to the Chinese character, and the natives here have a tradition, that, many centuries ago, this part of the country was inhabited by, or tributary to, the Chinese or Tartars; and imagine it possible this trident may have been constructed by people of one of those nations. We were very unwilling to yield to this supposition, as we must have given it credit for greater antiquity than its appearance or probability would justify. The design far surpasses any of the kind we have yet met with, and the execution is above mediocrity. The circumference of the pedestal is not above three feet, forming a base so disproportioned to the height, that it was a matter of surprise the machine could maintain its perpendicular position. It seemed as though the slightest touch would have thrown it down; but the Brähmen, who was in attendance, assured us it would defy all our efforts; and it was not until we had made two or three unsuccessful attempts to overset it, that we discovered the cheat, it being fixed in the ground by an inner shaft of iron, incased in that of the pillar. The only reason they assign for holding it in reverence, is from its being the emblem of one of their deities. It had formerly a temple erected over it, but in the earthquake of 1803, the mansion was thrown down, and, wonderful to relate, the pillar escaped without injury. But a large patched fracture in its side, a little staggered our faith as to its miraculous preservation. The former Raja of Nápál, sent some learned Pandits for the express purpose of deciphering the inscription, but their attempts were equally unsuccessful with those made before or since. Captain Hearsay took an inverted copy of the inscription; by smearing the shaft with ink, and
applied long strips of paper to it, in the mode which the natives practise in taking off the impression of a seal.

26th. Marched to Manthéri. Latitude 30° 45' 15" N. Distance about six miles. Thermometer in the morning 53°, but the heat at noon, in the valleys, was very great. The road lay principally through the valleys, and was in general good.

27th. Marched to Bathéri. Latitude 30° 49' 5" N. Distance six and a half or seven miles. Thermometer in the morning 54°.

The road to-day was very bad; the ascents and descents being too steep to admit of proceeding in the Jampuans. The grounds in some parts are allotted to the culture of poppy, which appeared to be in a very thriving state; and we were informed that the opium extracted from it was of an excellent quality.

The village of Bathéri is placed on the hill, about three hundred feet above the bed of the river; to the S. of it runs a small rivulet called the Rétal Nadi, which issues from the mountain, and falls into the Bhágirathí. There is a small temple sacred to Maha Déva. It is constructed of large stones, piled one above the other, without mortar or cement. The form of it is conical, with a square sloping roof; and altogether, it has a great resemblance to a Chinese model. On the opposite side of the river is an extraordinary cascade, which issues from the summit of the mountain, and exhibits five distinct falls of water, one above the other. The lowest is the most considerable, descending from the height of ninety or a hundred feet, in a perpendicular and solid body. The top of the mountain is covered with snow, from the melting of which the waterfall derives its chief supplies. Near this village, we
saw a great variety of beautiful larkspurs of different colours, and the banks of the rivulet are prettily ornamented with hawthorn bushes in full blossom.

28th. Thermometer 50°. The arrangements which had been made for getting our supplies at Rétal, or at this place, obliged us to halt here to-day. Agreeably to the Súbadár's promise, we found a sufficient stock of provisions for our people; but it was requisite also to settle what part of our baggage could accompany us, and to leave every article that was not in a portable shape, in some place of security, until our return.

The accounts we received of the roads were of a nature the most discouraging; and the difficulties represented, far exceed any we have yet met with; although we have passed many places, which, to a lowlander, appeared really alarming. These situations the Paháris traversed with the greatest unconcern; but the continuation of the route from hence is, even in their ideas, fraught with danger. To a person who goes without a load, and is in the habit of travelling in these mountainous regions, the distance to Gangotri is calculated at three or four days' journey; but we could not expect to reach it in less than six or seven days; and to insure our attainment of it even in that time, we should be under the necessity of leaving our tents, Jampuans, and even our beds behind us.

Whatever inconvenience we might suffer by being deprived of these necessaries, we determined not to relinquish the attempt, until we were convinced by ocular demonstration, that the prosecution of our journey would be impracticable.

In the room of the Jampuans, we were obliged to substitute what is called a Daandi, which is simply a pole with a blanket or small carpet slung to it, in the form of a hammock.
Survey of the Ganges.

...leaving our tents, Jumpanis, beds, and heavy baggage, at this place, under a small guard of Sepahis, we commenced our march; and ten minutes walk brought us to a descent leading to the bed of the Bhagirathi. Here the road lay over immense stones and rocks, the passage of which was not only fatiguing but dangerous; for they were heaped in such loose disordered piles, that the utmost caution was required in the footing. In some places, little dripping streams, falling from the mountains, passed over the rocky bank, rendering the path very slippery. Fifty minutes over this road brought us to a steep bank, which we ascended, and halted, to recover ourselves a little from the fatigue we had already experienced. For fifteen minutes, we proceeded along the banks, in a gradual rise, when we regained the bed, by a very steep and almost perpendicular descent, of two hundred and fifty, or three hundred feet. Here we met with the same obstructions as before; and we pursued our way over the rocky surface, for thirty-five minutes, when we again ascended, and receding from the Bhagirathi, inclined a little more to the W. In twenty minutes we arrived at the Swar Nadi by a very steep descent. This is a rapid stream, about thirty feet broad, and over it is a narrow Sangha, with a platform made of small fascines.

Here we were again obliged to halt, for the purpose of gaining sufficient strength to encounter the ascent which lay before us. It was by a very narrow dangerous path, in some places excavated from the rock, while a projecting point above obliged a person to stoop as he passed along, and threatened to precipitate him to the bottom. Forty-five minutes, in this laborious ascent, brought us to the summit, whence we saw a large village called Salang, about mid-way up to the hill, on the
opposite side of the river. From hence, also, we saw two cascades, falling from the top of the same mountains, into the Bhágirat'hi. We now began to descend, and in fifteen minutes, by a rugged path, we reached the banks of the Cauñá, Nadé, which we crossed and again halted.

The impediments and fatigue we and our people had experienced, in making a progress of three or four miles, through that part of the road which was considered the least obstructed, but which, upon trial, we found to be not only difficult but dangerous, naturally excited the apprehension, that our inquiries in this direction, could not be prosecuted without the greatest risk; and we consulted what, in the present circumstances, would be the best course to adopt.

We were now within six or seven days journey of the place which is called Gangotri; and to relinquish it, when almost within our reach, was very contrary to our inclinations; although the information which Lieut. Webb, Captain Hearsay and myself had been able to obtain, of the source of the Bhágirat'hi, and of the existence of the cow's mouth, entirely removed all our doubts on the subject. From the appearance of the river itself, which becomes contracted in its stream, and from the stupendous height of the Himalaya mountains, whence it flows; there can be no doubt but its source is situated in the snowy range; and any other hypothesis can scarcely be reconciled to hydrostatical principles. The pilgrims, and those people in the vicinity of this place, who gain a livelihood by bringing water from the spot, say that the road beyond Gangotri is passable only for a few miles, when the current is entirely concealed under heaps of snow, which no traveller ever has or can surmount.

With respect to the Cow's Mouth, we had the most convincing testimony
to confirm us in the idea that its existence is entirely fabulous, and that it is found only in the Hindu book of faith.

The reasons which operated to our making a retrograde motion, are fully explained in Lieutenant Webb's public letter to Col. Colebrooke,* and they appeared to us of sufficient weight to cause a decision in our future plans. Having communicated our intentions to the coolies, we began to retrace our steps; and at five and a half reached the place which we had quitted in the morning. Although we had provided ourselves with Daandis as substitutes for the Jampians, we found them equally useless; for we were forced to walk the greatest part of the way. In difficult and dangerous passages, a person is obliged to dismount; but the conveyance itself is so extremely unpleasant and inconvenient, that curiosity or necessity


Determined not to relinquish the attempt, until I should be convinced that the impediments were of a nature to render the prosecution of my researches in this quarter impracticable, I made the necessary arrangements on my arrival at Bathei, on the 27th ultimo, with the intent of continuing my route, under the inconveniences and deprivations which I was led to expect.

Having left a guard in charge of the baggage, which was too heavy to be carried on, I proceeded the next morning; but, in a progress of three or four miles, through that part of the road which is considered the least obstructed, I found the difficulties so far exceeded what had been represented, that I was fully convinced, it would be in vain to persevere; and I was at length induced to return, from a consideration of the following reasons.

1st. Had no natural obstructions intervened, to render the attainment of the object doubtful, all other considerations would necessarily have given way; but when the prospect of success became uncertain, it was necessary to advert to other concurrent inconveniences, which would attend so precarious a journey. The alternate changes of the weather, from excessive cold in the morning and evening; to oppressive heat at noon, were such as no constitutions unaccustomed to the climate could well support; particularly under the exposure to which they would now be subjected; and, had any of the people fallen sick, which would undoubtedly have been the case, as many of them already began to feel the effects of this day's journey; I was unprovided with the means of bringing them away; and to leave them in any place of security would be equally impossible, as this part of the country is quite uninhabited.

2d. The information, which I had already obtained, from some intelligent persons, who had gone on the pilgrimage, and from the inhabitants of Bathei, many of whom gain a livelihood by bringing water from the spot, was of a nature to convince me that the prosecution of my
would be the only motives to induce one to have recourse to it; and, after he had once satisfied the former, he would not be desirous of a second trial.

30th. About twelve o'clock last night, came on a very heavy shower of rain, which continued, with little intermission, till the morning, and obliged us to halt. It was our intention, however, to have proceeded, had the weather cleared towards noon sufficiently to dry our tents; but the people complained much of the fatigue they had undergone yesterday, and most of them had their legs terribly swollen, from the bite of a small insect, which we had found very troublesome for some days past. The exercise had heated the blood, and the parts stung broke out into festeres, and were extremely painful. The weather was cloudy, with partial showers,

inquiries in this direction would not be productive of any advantages to be put into competition with the hazard and difficulties that were likely to be opposed; for every account agreed, that the source of the river is more remote than the place called Gangauri, which is merely the point whence it issues from the Himalaya; and it is not related through a secret passage or cavern bearing any similitude to a cow's mouth, but its current is perceptible beyond that place, although the access be so obstructed as to exclude all farther research.

3d. By prosecuting the journey for three or four days, and being then obliged to relinquish it, a delay would be occasioned, by which the completion of my survey in another quarter would be prevented; as the advanced period of the season would not admit of my visiting the source of the Alakananda river at Bhedrad'k, before the setting in of the periodical rains; and as this river contributes equally to the formation of the Ganges at its junction with the Bhagirath' river at Deoprayag; it was no less an object of inquiry, and barely within the compass of the time I had before me.

4th. In the event of failure in this direction, all the purposes of the survey would be entirely defeated; and even admitting I had been so successful as to mark the course of the stream as far as Gangauri, a distance not exceeding sixteen or eighteen miles in a horizontal line, and found the appearance of the river such as had been represented, I could not have furnished so satisfactory, or so complete a detail, as I had reason to expect would be supplied by a journey to Bhedrad'k.

These arguments made me relinquish the attempt, and I hope and trust that the reasons assigned will appear to you sufficiently urgent to have caused my decision, and that my present plans are in every respect conformable to your wishes and instructions.

To supply as well as possible the deficiency occasioned by my abandoning the tour, and to ascertain satisfactorily the correctness of the accounts I had received; I dispatched an intelligent native, furnished with a compass, and instructed in the use of it, with directions to proceed to Gangauri, and I am in hopes his report will convey every necessary information.
the whole day. The tops of the mountains, at the base of which we had passed yesterday, were this morning covered with snow, that had fallen during the night; and from the appearance of the clouds, hanging over their summits, we suppose the snow continues to fall. As it was Lieut. Webb's intention to depute a person to Gangotri, for the purpose of ascertaining the direction and appearance of that place, Captain Hearsay's moonshee, a very intelligent man, was selected for that undertaking. To render his observations more correct, he was provided with, and instructed in the use of the compass. It was also signified to those of the Hindus who had set their minds on the pilgrimage, and whose services were not immediately required, that they would be permitted to proceed in company with him, and rejoin us at Srinagar. Although the greater part of our establishment was composed of Hindus, there were only two or three whose ardor was not damped by yesterday's march, and who availed themselves of the proffered indulgence. The greater number of them chose rather to send their offerings than present them in person.

Two or three pilgrims, who had accompanied us from Haridwar, were deputed to lay the gifts of the absentees at the foot of the holy shrine, and to bring back a little water from the sacred fount. The commission was accepted with due gravity and reverence; the deputy standing while he received the purposed oblation, which was a pecuniary one, proportioned to the abilities or zeal of the offerer, who presented it in a prostrate posture, bowing to and touching the feet of the pilgrim.

The pilgrimage to Gangotri is considered a great exertion of Hindu devotion; the performance of it is supposed to redeem the pilgrim from troubles in this world, and to ensure a happy transit, through all the stages of transmigration, which he may have to undergo.
ken thence is drawn under the inspection of a Brähmen, to whom a trifling sum is paid for the privilege of taking it. It is afterwards offered up, by, or on the part of the pilgrim, at the temple of Baidya Nāth, a celebrated place of Hindu worship in Bengal.

The specific gravity of this water is said to exceed that of the Alacananda; and, according to the belief of the credulous Hindu, is so pure as neither to evaporate nor become corrupted by being kept. When offered at the temple, its quality is ascertained by the Brähmens; and its weight, as he pretends, decides its purity. It is also presented at the temple of Ramgårā, in the Dekhan.

May 1st. Marched to Mankeri, and encamped on the same ground as on the 26th of April. Thermometer in the morning 58.

2d. Marched to Joywārah, which lies about six furlongs to the south of Bārahāt, on the east bank of the river. Thermometer 58½.

3d. Marched to P'halbāh. Thermometer 57.

In the last three or four days much rain had fallen. The road this day was very beautiful and romantic; along the slope of the mountain, through extensive forests of fir and oak; with many trees of the Laurus Cassia, called by the natives Cacelia; the leaves of which are known by the name of Tēzpaī. There were said to be several tygers in the neighborhood, and numerous wild hogs.


5th. Marched to Bairok'h. Lat. 30° 33' 23" N. Therm. 56.

6th. Marched to Tinalgōṅ. Therm. 53. Several fields of wheat:
and barley were by the roadside, and the hills were covered with oak and walnut trees.

7th. Marched to Dhinga. Lat. 30° 26' 52" N. Thermometer 61.

We ascended the Guálará g'hát, through an extensive forest of walnut, oak and Búrans, and from the summit beheld a chain of the snowy mountains, extending from N. 24° 12' W. to N. 7° 40' E. which last was pointed out as the direction of Janaútri. The ascent was tolerably gradual, but the descent steep and difficult.

8th. Marched to Deúlî. Therm. 57.

On this day's march, we crossed the Billang river, which is the most considerable stream we have met with, excepting the Bhágirathí, and is considered sacred by the hill people, who saluted it in the usual terms of respect. Its source is in a mountain, about two day's journey from this place, in an E. N. E. direction, and it falls into the Bhágirathí, about five miles to the S. W. near a village called Tíchî. The breadth of the current, at this season, is about sixty or seventy feet; and over it is a rope bridge, suspended on one side to a jutting craggy point of rock, thirty or forty feet above the water, and on the opposite bank to the branches of a very large Semel or cotton tree.* The ascent to it is by a narrow path, cut in the rock, which leads to the entrance of the bridge; and, on the opposite side, the descent is by a perpendicular ladder, placed at the edge of the stream. The Jhúlás is not in such good repair as the one crossed at Joswára; but the passage of it did not appear so formidable, as the water flows below with a smooth even surface, not occasioning that giddiness which the rapidity of the Bhágirathí tended to create.

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* Bombax heptaphyllum.
9th. Marched to Chaundâni. Therm. 61.

Passed the Cândicol and Cándrabadni Ghâts. From the top of this last, we had a clear view of the Himalaya range, and took the bearings of the following remarkable points: Jamastrí N. 5° 6' W. Gangotri N. 14° 35' E. Bhadrinât'h N. 63° 12' E. Cedâranât'h N. 58° 33' E.

10th. Marched to Gosâën Gaôn. Therm. 58½.

On this day's march, we had a sight of the Alacanandá or Daulí river, at the distance of three miles on our left. Road good, distance ten or eleven miles.

11th. Marched to Dévaprayágâ. Lat 30° 8' 6" N. Therm. 70. This place is situated at the confluence of the Bhágirathí and Alacanandá. From the point where these two rivers meet, the Bhágirathí, as far as its course is perceptible, comes from the N. and the Alacanandá falls into it perpendicularly from the E. The contrast of the two streams is very remarkable; the former runs down a steep declivity, with a rapid force, roaring and foaming over large stones and fragments placed in its bed, while the placid Alacanandá, flowing with a smooth, unruffled surface, gently winds round the point, till, meeting with her turbulent consort, she is forcibly hurried down, and unites her clamours with the blustering current. The Alacanandá, however, before the junction, is, in width and depth, the most considerable stream; being one hundred forty-two feet in breadth; and, by the accounts of the natives who are resident here, it rises forty-six or forty-seven feet above its present level, in the rainy season. The rope-bridge, by which we crossed, is elevated fifty-two feet above the present level of the water, and the people who have charge of it affirm, that in the rains it is frequently carried away by the torrent. The breadth
of the Bhágirāṭhī is one hundred and twelve feet, and it is said to rise forty feet in the rains. It has also a Jhīlā thrown across it, a little above the junction, and elevated about sixteen or eighteen feet. The banks of these rivers are composed of a hard black rock; those of the Alacanandā almost perpendicular, to the height of eighty or one hundred feet; those of the Bhágirāṭhī stony, shelving and expanded. The union of these two streams forms the Ganges, the breadth of which is eighty yards at this season, immediately below the junction.

Deopraya Ag is one of the five principal Prayāgs* mentioned in the Sāstras, and is considered by all Hindus as a place peculiarly sacred. The town is situated at the confluence of the Bhágirāṭhī and Alacanandā rivers, and built on the scarp of the mountain, about one hundred feet above the water. It forms two sides of a square, one face looking towards the Alacanandā, and the largest towards the Bhágirāṭhī. The foundation is a soil of hard rock, in which a flight of steps is cut, leading from the water's edge to a considerable distance up the mountain, which rises eight or nine hundred feet above the town. The houses are in general two stories high, built of large stones, with a coarse Caneart† cement, and covered in with a sloping roof of shingles. In the upper part of the town stands a temple, sacred to Rāghu-Nāṭh or Rāmachandra. This edifice is constructed of large pieces of cut stone, piled up without mortar. Its form is a quadrilateral pyramid, bulging in the center and decreasing towards the top, surmounted by a white cupola, over which, supported on wooden pillars, is a square sloping roof, composed of plates of copper. Above the whole, is a golden ball and spire. It is

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* This word is applied to the point where two rivers meet.
† A coarse kind of limestone, found in roundish nodules, generally pretty near the surface of the earth.
raised on a terrace, twenty or thirty yards square, and about six feet
high. The whole height of the building may be sixty or seventy feet.
The entrance is on the western face, which has a portico, where the
religious perform their devotions; and from the roof of which, bells
of different sizes are suspended. The presiding deity is seated at the
east extremity, under the cupola, opposite to the door. It is an image
about six feet high, cut in black stone, which colour the face retains;
but the lower part is painted red. Opposite to the portico, and fronting
the divinity, is a small cupola, containing the brazen image of a Garúda,
represented under a human form, with an eagle's beak instead of a
nose; and to his shoulders are attached a pair of spreading wings. One
knee is bent on the ground, and his hands are joined, in the attitude of
supplication or prayer. Under the terrace is a temple sacred to Ma-
Hadeva.

The bathing place is at the point of junction; and, as the water flows
with great rapidity, three Cúndas or basins have been cut in the rock,
below the surface, to prevent the bathers being carried away by the
stream. The town contains two hundred, or two hundred and fifty
houses; and is inhabited by Bráhmins of different sects; but principally
those from Púna and the Dekhin. Twenty-five villages were conferred
in Jágir by the Raja of Srinagar, and since continued by the Guruchali
government, for the support of this establishment; but the annual produce
of them, not exceeding one thousand or one thousand and two hundred
rupees, is very insufficient for the maintenance of the numerous officiating
priests, who are obliged to have recourse to more worldly expedients to
gain a subsistence. Exclusive of the donations and fees which they re-
ceive from the pilgrims, for the privilege of bathing, many of them keep
shops, for the sale of grain; and the number of travellers who pass this road, renders this speculation probably the most lucrative.

Those who perform their ablutions, have their names registered, by Brāhmens of their own sect; and although we had not undergone the immersion, we were petitioned to add our names to the consecrated list; an honor which would not have been offered, without the expectation of a handsome reward. We paid, however, the sought for tribute, and had our names recorded; but with what class of Hindus we were associated, we did not take the trouble to inquire.

The town was terribly shaken by the earthquake in 1803; many of the private houses, together with the terrace and cupola of the temple, suffered material injury. This latter has been lately repaired, by the hands of Brāhmens, who were sent by Daulet Rao Sinde'a, under the inspection of his Guru or high priest, for the express purpose of restoring its dilapidations, as also those of Bhadrināth'ha, which is likewise under the superintendance of Brāhmens, from the Dekhin, and was much injured by the same convulsion.

We could gain no information, when, or by whom this edifice was constructed; the only point on which the Brāhmens could speak positively, was, that it has been in existence ten thousand years.

In the Alacanandá are a great number of fish of the Rohu species, (Cyprinus denticulatus) four or five feet in length. They are fed daily by the Brāhmens; and are so tame as to take bread out of the hand. We found the heat of the weather to day very oppressive; for our situation was such as to exclude every breath of wind; which was entirely shut
out by the high mountains, rising on every side. The thermometer, at 1, P. M. stood at 101, in our tent, which was pitched under the shade of a mango tree.

12th. Marched to Rani Bâgh. Thermometer 71½. At noon 101 in the shade. The general direction of the road was N. E. by N.

On this day's route we passed a branch of the Alacunandâ, over which was a Dindla, or sliding bridge. It is composed of three or four strong Munj ropes, made fast on each bank; on these a small bedstead, about eighteen inches square, is made to traverse, by means of a couple of hoops, one at each end. On this machine the passenger is seated, and conveyed across, by a rope, pulled by a man from the opposite shore. A few paces beyond this, we passed what is called a Mugra, or artificial bank, through which water is brought to the road from some neighbouring spring. It is made for the convenience of travellers, and has a carved device of an elephant's head, fixed into it, for the passage of the water.

The breadth of the Alacunandâ, at Rani Bâgh, is about seventy or eighty yards. The stream runs at the rate of seven or eight miles an hour.

On the road, we met several pilgrims, returning from Câdára Nâth. Some of them informed us they had travelled thence in nine days. We understood that the temple of Bhadri Nâth would be opened this day, and continue exposed, for the purposes of religious worship, for the six ensuing months.

13th. Marched to Srinagar. Thermometer 73. The road consisted of several ascents and descents; and in some parts came in contact with the river. We met several bushes of the red raspberry, the fruit of which
was ripe, of a dark purple colour, approaching nearly to black. It is smaller than the white species, but does not possess an equal flavor, or that acidity which renders the other palatable to the thirsty traveller.

Our first encampment was under a couple of mango trees, to the south of the town; but the situation in this low ground was so hot and unpleasant, that we struck our tents in the evening, and went to a mango grove, on a ridge, about four hundred paces to the south, where we found a very convenient and much cooler spot, in a field of stubble. We had there the benefit of a freer circulation of air, and sufficient shade for the accommodation of all our people. Another advantage we derived by this removal was, that we were less exposed to the curiosity of the natives, who came in such crowds about our tent, that two or three of the Gunjhalé Sepúlís were kept in constant employment, in restraining them from bursting in upon us. So anxious were they to see what kind of beings we were, that a messenger was deputed by the body corporate, to request we would take a walk through the city, to gratify the curiosity of the inhabitants.

The whole of the road, from Dénabrayága, is exceedingly good, and has been lately repaired, by order of Hastí Dhal Chautra, who went by that place to Haridwár. Excepting in two or three places, on a rocky ledge, where there is nothing to break the view of the precipice, and which could not be remedied, without great labour, the path is wide and even; in fact, almost the only one on which we could travel with satisfaction, without fear of being interrupted by obstructions, when it would be necessary to dismount from the Jampanás.

At this place we received, and returned, the visits of Hastí Dhal, the former governor, and of Shísta Tápaḥ, son of Bhaíró Tápaḥ, who
was in charge of the executive government, during his father's absence at Cângra.

Both these chiefs shewed us great civility; and from each of them we received a present of live stock and other provisions. Among these articles, the following are worthy of notice: 1. A young animal of the hog kind, called Gûrl; 2. A species of hill pheasant, called Mûnâl, answering so perfectly to the description given by Col. Hardwicke, of the Marghî Zerrin, we suppose it to be same bird. The female is called Dappea; and they are brought from the mountains in the vicinity of the Hindîlaya. 3. Several small, and one large fish, called Sûher. The latter was caught in the Alacanándà, where the species is found in great numbers, some of an astonishing size; six or seven feet in length. The scales on the back and sides are large, of a beautiful green, encircled with a bright golden border; the belly white, slightly tinged with gold; the tail and fins of a dark bronze. The flavour of this fish is equal to its beauty; being remarkably fine and delicate. 4. The fruit called Kai-p'hâl, the produce of a tree of which we had seen great numbers on our road, and which is described by Col. Hardwicke, (As. Res. v. 6. 380.) This fruit is much admired, for its very agreeable acidity.

By a mean of our observations, taken by Lieut. Webb, the town of Srinagar lies in lat. N. 30° 10' 52". It is situated on the S. bank of the Alacanándà, in the center of a valley, which is about four miles in length, running nearly in the direction of E. N. E. to W. S. W. and about two miles in its greatest breadth. The city extends along the banks of the river, and forms, in shape, a small segment of a circle, of which the stream...
constitutes the chord. The principal street runs through the city, about four furlongs in length, and contains the grand Bazar. The houses are in general two stories high, constructed of large stones, with a shelving-slated roof of shingles. The lower apartments are allotted for shops and merchandize, the upper for the accommodation of the families. The rigid uniformity of the buildings, both in structure and materials, shews what little advancement has been made in architecture, at the same time that it detracts from the beauty of the place. A narrow projecting verandah or balcony, forms the only apparent difference in the houses of the higher class of inhabitants; and such a system of equality prevails, that one might suppose it the effect of design, or of a cautious fear to manifest an increase of wealth, by an ostentatious display in their outward appearance. Even those of the two chiefs by no means convey the idea of mansions appropriated to the residence of men to whom was committed the government of a province.

When Col. Hardwicke visited this capital, in the year 1796, it was under the government of a Raja, to whom it had hereditarily descended through many generations; and it might be supposed to be in its most flourishing state; yet its appearance was not marked with opulence or splendour; but since that period, many natural and fortuitous causes have combined, to reduce it to a lower state of poverty, and insignificance. The encroachments annually made by the Alakanandá, on the houses contiguous to its current, the earthquake of 1803, which shook every building from its foundation, and the Guréháli invasion at the close of the same year, formed such an accumulation of evils on this devoted capital, that one might be inclined to believe it a decree of fate, that the city should not survive its native princes. Every house appears to have felt the shock; in the-
main street, not above one in five is inhabited; of some, the roofs have fallen in; of others the walls are rent asunder, and many lie a complete heap of ruins. The palace of the Raja is exactly in the same situation; some parts of it are entirely dismantled, and others in so tottering a condition, as to render it unsafe to pass under its walls. Many of the inhabitants, who attended us, expressed much sorrow at these events; and spoke of their former sovereign, with great marks of feeling. They seemed to have pleasure in relating little anecdotes, that brought him to their recollection; and talked, in the presence of some Gurcháli Sepáhis, in a manner that astonished us. "These," cried one, "were the apartments allotted for the Ráni and her attendants;" "in those," said another, "the Raja held his court, here he performed his religious devotions, and here he used to repose in the heat of the day; but all is now gone to wreck, and what the earthquake saved, the Gurcháli have destroyed." These sentiments were no doubt dictated by their real feelings; for whatever oppressions they might formerly have laboured under, they no doubt fell short of the exactions of the present day.

Under its Gurcháli rulers, the city is not likely to recover from this forlorn condition; for all classes of people complain much of the peculation of the chiefs, and of the injustice, with the want of method, that attends all their proceedings. On our putting the question to some of the complainants, why they continued under so arbitrary a government, or why they did not endeavor to procure a subsistence elsewhere; they answered, that it was the place of their births; that a removal to the low lands, after a certain age, was fatal to their constitutions; and that habit had so far reconciled the existing evils to their minds, that of two ills, they preferred
what they thought the least. The inhabitants are composed chiefly of people, descendants of emigrants from the Duáb, Rohilchand and Audh.

The greater portion of them are Hindus; the number of Musulman families not exceeding sixty or seventy. Most of these are petty shop-keepers; who, to gain a scanty subsistence, are forced to enter into various speculations; and a piece of silk or a sér of onions may be procured at the same shop. The principal persons are the agents of great banking houses at Najíbabád and in the Duáb, who are employed in the sale and exchange of merchandise and coins. They reside here only eight months in the year; quitting the hills, and returning to their houses, at the commencement of the rainy season. The traffic in silver and specie forms one of the most profitable branches of commerce, and is carried on to a considerable amount. Bullion and coins are imported, for the purpose of being converted into Temáshas, the currency of the hills; and as a constant coinage of them is kept up at the mint, the supplies are furnished by the Serráfs, who receive a premium, agreeable to the quality of the silver, amounting to one and an half, or two per cent, on the Farrakhábád or Bareli rupee. The Temásha is a small uneven silver coin, four of which pass for the nominal rupee of the hills; and five for the Farrakhábád or Bareli. Spanish dollars also find their way hither, and are converted into the same currency. The inferior coin is a small pice, ten Tacas of which are equal to one Temásha.

The other articles of speculation consist in the produce of the hills, and imports from Bután. The former are bhang, (hemp); a coarse cloth, or sort of canvas, manufactured from it, called Bhangle; lead, copper, drugs, gums, wool, and a species of flannel made from it called Panc’hi: from Bután are received chaur or cow-tails, musk in pods, saffron, borax, salt,
drugs of different kinds and a few shawls, which come by that route from Cashmir. Among the drugs is one called *Nirbis,* held in great value and repute, by the natives, for its supposed medicinal qualities, as an antidote against the bite of a snake, and for its efficacy in healing tumors, sprains, boils, &c. by rubbing it over the part affected. In shape and appearance it somewhat resembles a shrivelled date, of a dark colour, and has a strong bitter taste. They judge of its quality by wetting and rubbing it on a piece of cloth; if it yields a bright purple, it is pronounced fresh and good. The English name for it is Zedoary. Hawks are also brought down from the hills. In exchange for the above, the following articles are supplied from the low countries. Coarse cotton and woollen cloths, silks, spices, Lahore salt, sugar and tobacco. On all these goods a greater or less duty is levied at Srinagar, amounting, on an average, to one Ana in the rupee, or about eight and a third per cent; and additional duties are collected at different posts, in their transit through the country. These imports are not regulated by any fixed principles; but a retrospective reference is frequently made to the accounts of former years; and if the statement of the owner falls short of the usual amount imported by him, the duties are proportionally augmented. A free communication formerly existed with the people of Bûlân, who were in the habit of bringing their goods for sale to this market, and taking hence other commodities in exchange; but, owing probably to the above exactions, they have discontinued the practice, and very little direct intercourse is now maintained. The annual amount of traffic, carried on at this capital, must be very inconsiderable; for most of the above

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*Curcuma Zedoaria.* p. 393 of this Volume.
articles are produced in as great abundance, and find an easier channel, through the hills to the E. and by the city of Almora.

The territories which formerly belonged to the Raja of Srinagar, are now divided into eighty-four Perganahs; included in three Pathis, or divisions; over each of which is appointed a military governor, who has the supreme jurisdiction in his own district. The three Serdârs now in office are Bhairo Tapah, Buddi Tapah, and Parsurâm Tapah, all of whom are employed in the siege of Cânga; while the affairs in this quarter are transacted by deputies, who hold pro tempore the authority of the chiefs, and pass decision on all civil causes. If a reference is made by the inhabitants of two districts, the Serdârs of those districts meet in council, to determine the point. The mode of proceeding is undoubtedly very summary; and in criminal cases a court of judicature may be considered unnecessary; for, when an unlimited power of life and death is vested in the governor, a form of trial becomes a mere mockery. The common mode of punishment is by levying a Dand or fine, upon a Perganah, village, or individual; and in default of payment, to seize the person, property, or families of the offenders.

It had long been a plan in agitation, at the court of Napâl, to invade the territories of the Raja of Srinagar, and to extend their possessions to Cashmîr. So far back as the year 1791, after reducing Cañamûn and its dependences, the Gurčählis made an attempt to subdue the country of Garwâl; but the opposition they met with, at the fort of Langûr, before which they were unsuccessfully detained for upwards of twelve months, and the invasion of Napâl by the Chinese Tartars, drew their forces from this quarter, and obliged them to postpone their project to a later period. The result of this expedition, however, tended to render the Raja of
Srinagar tributary to Napál, and he entered into terms, to pay in homage, the annual sum of three thousand rupees, and to maintain, at his own expense, a Vachil, or agent, from their government. The sum above stipulated was increased, under various pretences, to nine thousand rupees; while the establishment of the resident, with the exactions made by the different Gurc'hális chiefs, who, under pretence of going on a pilgrimage, passed through the capital, for the purpose of obtaining presents, suitable to their rank, amounted to thrice the sum of the augmented tribute. Neither did this treaty secure the country, from the irruptions of the Gurc'hális; inroads were made in different directions, and cattle and other articles of plunder carried off.

Such was the state of affairs, till the year 1803; when the mask was thrown off, and an army of eight or ten thousand men was sent from Napál, to carry their favorite project into execution. The command of this body of troops was entrusted to Amer Sing Cadzi, and to Hasti Dhal Chawtra, who, entering the country, under the pretext of claiming some arrears of tribute, marched, in two parties, directly towards the capital. The knowledge they had acquired of the nature of the country, by so long and free a communication, in some measure favored their progress; but they met with little opposition from the Raja, who was a man more inclined to a life of indolence and dissipation, than to encounter the toils and dangers of war. His troops, it is said, amounted to fifteen or twenty thousand men; but they were composed principally of mercenaries, who endeavoured to shun an engagement; and, after having made a short stand at Bárahát, fled to Gurudwára, whither they were pursued by the invading army; and the death of their chief, on those plains, secured the conquest of the whole country to the Gurc'hális. After re-
maining in Gerwāl for a short time, for the purpose of making some internal arrangements, and appointing provisional governors during their absence; the two victorious chiefs proceeded with their troops, in the direction of Cashmīr; but were stopped in their progress by the fortress of Cāngra, a strong-hold belonging to Raja Sansār-Chand. It is situated on a high and steep mountain, about twenty Cos to the W. of the Beyah river, or Hyphasis; is well supplied with water, and contains sufficient ground to yield subsistence to the garrison; consisting of three or four thousand men. Before this place, the Gurchālis have been ever since employed; and all their efforts to get possession of it have hitherto proved ineffectual.* About two years after the conquest of Srinagar, Hastī Dhal was called from Cāngra, to assume the government of these districts, in conjunction with his brother Rudravīr Sa’ā, who was sent from Nāpāl to notify and receive the appointment. Having repaired to this capital, and been invested with the chief controul, Hastī Dhal remained at Srinagar; while his brother Rudravīr, who had brought reinforcements from Nāpāl, went in his room to Cāngra. The siege was now turned into a blockade; but the internal resources of the garrison baffled all the endeavours of the besiegers; while the revenues of this country were drained and wasted, in the support of the Gurchāli army. In this posture of affairs, it was deemed advisable to enter into some kind of treaty with Sansār Chand; and a messenger was sent to him, on the part of Amer Sinh, to propose terms of negociation.

Although this Serdār held the first military command in the Gurchāli army, the Cāngra Raja, who is a Raiput of high cast and principles,
refused to treat with a person, who, like Amer Sinh, has risen from an inferior station, and was of a lower cast; but declared himself ready to accept of the mediation of Rudravîr, whom he considered an equal. Rudravîr Sa'â, taking the responsibility on himself, accordingly offered terms, which were accepted; viz. that the siege should be raised, and Sansar Chand be reinstated in all his possessions, on paying a sum of three lacs of rupees to the Gure'hâlî. The treaty, however, was conditional; and the ratification postponed, until an answer should be received from Napál. The state of politics at that court was not likely to prove favourable to the arrangements of Rudravîr; for, since the accession of the present Raja, Ghur Ban Judh Bicrama Sa'hi, a boy about nine or ten years of age, the councils and entire management of the state are entrusted to, or rather have been usurped by Bhîm Sinh Tapah, a man of low origin, and whose object it is to raise a strong party of his own cast, to oppose the interests of the Chawtras, who are Râjputs, and uncles to the reigning prince. The Tapahs are Casisas, or cultivators of land, and are formidable from their number. To this cast Amer Sinh belongs; and the degrading language held to him by Sansar Chand, induced him to make an unfavourable report of the treaty, by saying the distresses of the garrison had caused the Cângara Raja to accept of the terms; and he pledged himself to reduce the fort to an unconditional surrender, in the course of three or four months. The removal of Hâstî Dhal and Rudravîr from their appointments, was the consequence of this treaty; which, though the ostensible, was probably not the real cause of their supersession. They were succeeded by the Tapah Serdârs, who now hold the government. These intrigues have created a jealousy, which may be productive of serious consequences; it is confidently reported
and expected here, that a civil commotion is now on foot, and will shew itself openly in a short time.

On taking a view of Srinagar from a height, it has the appearance of a double valley; one situated on a level with the river, the other on its banks, elevated about forty or fifty feet, and extending along the base of the mountain. The lower one, in which the city stands, has apparently been formed by the receeding of the Alakanandá from the south shore; and, although the period be too remote to ascertain the fact, the appearance of the ridge or bank, marking the concavity, would incline one to suppose that such has been the case; and that, in its present progressive inclination, it is gradually returning to its former channel. From the bottom of the upper valley, to the city, is a space of three or four furlongs, laid out in small fields and enclosures, with a few mango trees, thinly scattered among them. Opposite to the city, the Alakanandá divides into two or three streams, which reunite about one mile below. On one of the small islands, are the ruins of buildings, which were formerly connected with the city. The aspect of the surrounding mountains is very barren; here and there a solitary tree may be seen; but the general features betray a rocky and unfriendly soil; and the little vegetation that is produced on them, is soon parched up and dried. On the opposite side of the river, several hamlets are seen, situated along the foot of the hills, with which a communication is open, by a Jhútá to the W. and a ferry boat to the E. of the city. One of the largest of these villages is called Ránt Hátt, containing a temple sacred to Raja Iswara, at whose shrine some rites are performed, in imitation of the mysteries observed in the temple of the Cyprian goddess. It is inhabited chiefly by dancing women; and the ceremony of initiation to this society consists in anointing
the head with oil, taken from the lamp placed before the altar; by which act, they make a formal abjuration of their parents and kindred, devoting their future lives to prostitution. A short distance beyond it is a Mat'h or fane of Rassea Devi, the god of love; whose shafts, if we may believe the reports and complaints of his numerous votaries, are tainted with a fatal and pernicious poison; indeed, his wounds appear to be so generally diffused, that four fifths of the inhabitants are supposed to labor under the effects of them; and the calamity is heightened by their ignorance of proper remedies to check their progress.

At this place, we had an opportunity of seeing a curious ceremony, which is occasionally observed by the hill people, and took place on the opposite side of the river, nearly in front of our tents. It is called the Bhart or Bhédá; and is a kind of propitiatory oblation to the genius of the mountain, to draw down his blessing on the land, and preserve the crops from the destructive ravages of rats and vermin. A thick rope, of amazing length, was made fast to a stake, near the bed of the river; and the other end carried, by eighty or one hundred men, to the top of a hill, nearly one mile in ascent; and being passed through a running block of wood, it was secured to a large tree, and made as tight as it could be stretched. On this hazardous vehicle, a man of the cast of Nat's, or tumblers, was placed astride, and, without being tied, or having any aid to preserve his balance, excepting some large bags of sand, fastened to his legs and thighs, he was started from the summit, and arrived in safety at the bottom. The omen was considered fortunate, and the enterprise liberally rewarded, by the Zemindars, or owners of the land. Had the man lost his seat, and fallen, he would most probably have been killed on the spot; but death was at all events the forfeit
of failure; for had any life remained, the head was to have been severed from the body, to be offered up, as a sacrifice, or atonement, to the offended spirit. This superstitious custom obtains, in many parts of the hills; and is generally resorted to, after a bad harvest.

About four o'clock in the evening, came on a violent squall from the north-west, attended with rain, which lasted for a couple of hours. The day had been excessively hot; and the thermometer stood, in the tent, at 101°. The storms, at this season of the year, may be considered periodical, at this place; for we had experienced them, in a less or greater degree, every evening, since our arrival; and the inhabitants informed us, that for this and the ensuing month, the day regularly closed with one.

On the 18th, after repeated messages to the chief, Shista Tapah, it was at length settled, that the same establishment should proceed with us; and the rates of hire were fixed, by contract, from Bhadri Nath to Almora.

The balance due on the last, and the necessary advance of the new agreement, having been sent to Shista Tapah, the requisite Peruánas were made out, and stamped with the seals of the three chiefs. In the morning, we were joined by the party from Gangotri, who all returned in health and spirits. The sequel of their journey, after quitting us, was, by their account, a series of difficulties and hair breadth escapes, which were no doubt a little exaggerated; but what greatly tended to obstruct their progress, was the heavy rain, for three or four days successively, which attended them in their outset. Two days before their arrival at Gangotri, they were overtaken by a fall of snow, which occasioned no small alarm and inconvenience to the party, none of whom had ever
experienced, or seen, but from a distance, the element in this flaky state of congealment. The description the Munshi gave of the appearance of the river, corroborated by the observations of his companions, was such as accorded with our previous information. A few miles beyond Gangotri, the river is entirely concealed, under beds of snow; beyond which no person has hitherto been able to penetrate. The breadth of the stream is about fifteen or twenty yards; the current moderate, and not above waist deep. Two miles beyond, is the spot called Gaumuchi, or the cow's mouth. It is a large stone, situated in the middle of the bed; the water passes on each side, but a small piece of the fragment is disclosed above the surface, to which fancy may attach the idea of the object.* The river runs from the direction of N. by E. and, on the bank near Gangotri is a small temple, about eight or ten feet high, containing two or three images, representing the Gangá, Bhágrathi, &c. There are three Cundas or basins, where the pilgrims bathe, called Bráhma-cunda, Vishnu-cunda and Surya-cunda, formed in the bed of the river. The mountains in the vicinity, have a very barren appearance; the only tree produced there is the Bhurjapatra.

19th. Marched to Gusti. Lat. 30° 43' 11''. Thermometer in the morning 72°. The road to-day was good; and, for the greater part, along the banks of the Alakananda. We met on the road a great number of pilgrims, returning from Bhadri-Natha and Cédar-Natha.

20th. Marched, at half past six in the morning, when the thermometer was at 75½, and encamped at noon, in a confined spot, near a deserted village, about one hundred and fifty feet above the river.
On the opposite side were two or three villages in sight. The whole of the road to-day was a continued rise and fall; but the path was generally speaking good. In the steep parts of ascent or descent, or where the soil was hard and rocky, small steps had been formed, by the passage of travellers; and in some places, stones had been laid, to render the access easier. Considerable pains and labor appear to have been bestowed, in making this road passable; indeed it must be a great object of the government, to remove all obstructions, and keep the communication with the holy places as open as possible; as the numerous pilgrims, who pass annually, must prove a great source of revenue. Near the banks of the small streams, and under the cavities of the rocks, temporary habitations have been made, by the pilgrims, who travel together in small parties, and pass the night in any convenient spot they may find on the road. Under the shade of large trees, small Chabutrás are raised, of loose stones, near which they generally halt, in the heat of the day, to prepare their meals. A great number of people, of both sexes, passed us, on their return from Cēdāra and Bhadrī Nā'īh. They were principally inhabitants of the Penjāb; those who come from the eastern parts of the country strike off from Carn-prayāq to Almora. The Fakirīs composed the majority of the multitude; and were very troublesome and importunate in their demands. In the early part of this day's march, we came to the top of a mountain, about four or five hundred feet above the level of the river, which runs immediately below it; and from hence, we had a view of six or seven ranges of mountains, running parallel to each other, from about N. E. to S. W. On several of the hills, which we passed, the grass had been lately set on fire; the whole surface was black with soot, and the trees completely naked. On the summit of one of these mountains is a small space of
table land, in the middle of which is a tomb, called Pach-bhâi, by which name the pass is also designated. It is a Chabutra, about six feet square, built of large pieces of slate, with five stones, placed perpendicularly in the centre, to represent the five brothers; the tomb stands here a monument of the effects of usurpation and of female revenge. The persons whose ashes it contains, were the relations of Upendra Sahi, one of the former Rajas of Srînagar, at whose death the government devolved to his nephew, the infant son of Dulebh Sahi. These brothers, who were next of kin, usurped the management of the state, and are said to have committed the most horrid acts of cruelty, until the Râni, the mother of the child, formed a plot to way-lay them at this pass; and thus relieving the country from their tyrannic sway, she reinstated the young Raja, Pretaâb Sahi, and herself assumed the regency.

21st. Marched to Mathurâpurâ, a small village, inhabited by Fakirs of the Bairâgi sect. Therm 83°. The road consisted of ascents and descents. We first passed through a forest, inhabited by the species of baboons, called in Hindustan, Langûr, and here Ghûnî. On this day's march we saw the confluence of the Alacanandâ with the Câli Ganga, a large stream which rises in the mountains of Cédâr, and is in the Sâstra denominated Mandácînî. Its junction with the Alacanandâ, called Rûdraprayâga, is one of the five principal Prayâgas mentioned in the sacred books of the Hindus. The pilgrims, who visit the temple of Cédâr-Nâth, generally pursue the road on the W. bank of the Alacanandâ river, and follow the track of the Mandácînî from the point of junction. At an inconsiderable elevation from the water, is a small Mat'h, or temple; and a few houses, inhabited by the Brâhmens. Farther on, is a large fragment of rocks, called Bhîm-ca-Chûla. It is about thirty feet high, and fifteen feet in dia-
meter; completely excavated, somewhat in the shape of a dome, with a couple of apertures at the top, on which the gigantic Bhima is supposed to have placed his culinary utensils. The side towards the road is unclosed, to the height of twelve or thirteen feet, in a broken irregular arch; and the numerous little Chálas, which the pilgrims have left standing within, shew that it is still applied to the purposes for which Bhima intended it.

22d. Marched to Carna-prayága, the confluence of the Alakanándá with the Pindar river, which comes from the S. E. This is another of the five Prayágas, mentioned in the Sástras, and considered the third in point of consequence. The village contains only six or eight houses, with a Mat'h, or shrine, in which is placed the image of Raja Carna. Here is a Jhúlá, or hanging bridge, over the Pindar. The course of the Alakanándá, as far as visible, is from the N. E. Lat 30° 16' 00". Therm. in the morning 76°.

The road is winding, with steep ascents and descents; and in some parts not a little dangerous; being formed on a ledge of rock, with here and there a small projecting point, not above five or six inches wide, to rest the foot upon; requiring the utmost care and caution in the passage.

On this day's march we passed a fixed bridge, built by the Gurc'hálís, a few years ago. The bank, on each side, was faced with stone, in the form of a pier head, from which strong beams were thrown out horizontally, the one above the other: the lowest timber projected about two feet, and each successive one was lengthened, in this progressive proportion, so as to compose an arch, leaving only a space of ten or twelve feet in the centre, to be covered with strong planks. The model of this bridge appears to be entirely foreign; and it was most probably introduced into
this country by the Gurc'hális. It had a very neat appearance; but it would seem not so well calculated as those of a more yielding nature, for these rapid streams; as, either from the force of the current, or the badness of its construction, some of the timbers had given way, and the upper planks had fallen in; although the materials appeared perfectly sound and new.

A little beyond this, we entered a fine extensive plain, about one mile and a half in diameter, encircled by an amphitheatre of hills. A large space of it was covered with rich grass, on which great numbers of cattle were grazing. In the centre was a large Pipel tree with a Chabutra. This part of the valley is called Gaochar, and appropriated solely for pasturage; to which the inhabitants of all the neighbouring villages have a common right. The following is the reason assigned for this ground being uncultivated. Several years ago, a Zemindar, belonging to this place, happened, by chance, to kill a cow, which had intruded upon his premises; and being distressed, not only on account of the impiety of the act, but of the penalty to which he was subject, by the Hindu law; went to represent his misfortunes to a rich Sáhucar, or merchant, from the Dekhin, who happened to be near the spot, on a journey of pilgrimage. The merchant was an eye-witness of the accident; and being touched with compassion, purchased the ground for three thousand rupees, and offered it up to Bhadri Náṭ'h, in the name of the guilty person, as an atonement for the offence; on the express condition, that it should be applied to no other purpose, than that of pasturage.

Farther on, we passed Panha, a large neat village, containing forty or fifty huts, situated about one hundred feet above the base of the moun-

* Ficus religiosa.
tain. Three Cōs to the south of this place, are the lead and copper-mines of Dhanpūr. They are at present farmed, for the annual sum of four thousand rupees, by a man named Puñi Sonar, whom we saw at the capital, and who furnished us with a few specimens of the ores. The copper is produced in various soils; it is sometimes mixed in strata of different coloured clays, and sometimes runs in veins, through hard and solid rock. When the veins are rich, they yield two thirds of metal, but the averaged quantity extracted, amounts to about one half. Two or three hundred people are employed, the whole year round, in working the mines, and smelting the ore; the process of which is very simple, consisting only in pounding the ore, and making it up, with cow dung, into balls, which are put into a furnace, sufficiently heated to produce a fusion of the metal. About four Cōs to the north, on the opposite hills, are the copper mines of Nāgpūr; which, although considered the richest of any in the Srīnagar district, are not worked at present; as a considerable capital would be required to open them, and no person has been found willing to undertake the risk, under the precarious security of Gurc'hāli faith.

At seven minutes past three, P. M. we experienced a slight shock of an earthquake, which lasted for six or seven seconds, accompanied by a rumbling noise, like distant thunder. Our tent was pitched at the foot of a high-mountain, covered with rock and large stones: the daily ocular demonstrations we had of the destructive effects of these convulsions in the hills, made us not a little apprehensive for our safety; and we sought for refuge on the plain, where we waited for sometime, in anxious expectation of the result. The temple of Maḥa’deva stood a melancholy proof before us, having lost its cupola and roof, in the con-
cussion of 1803; and the spot we fixed on, as the most secure, was between it and the mountain, distant from each other about fifty or sixty paces. After remaining for some time in this situation, and finding the shock was not repeated, our alarms began to subside. We had found the day extremely hot, but the therm. stood only at 94, a few minutes after the shock had taken place.

23d. Therm. 72. Marched to Nandaprayága, the confluence of the Alacanandá with the Nandácni, a small river, which comes from the direction of S. 30 E. The course of the Alacanandá, as far as visible, is from the north. This is the most northern of the principal Prayágas. Four of these holy places of ablution we have already passed; the fifth is Allahabad, which is called Bhat-prayág, or by way of distinction, as it is the largest, and considered most holy, it is simply denoted by the name of Prayág. There was formerly a temple, and a small village, at this place, but no remains of either are now to be seen. A few Baniahs have fixed their temporary shops here, for the purpose of selling grain, to the passengers; and to supply the deficiency of a temple, in a place of such sanctity, a few loose stones are piled up, in the form of a Chabutra, on which some Hindu images are exposed, for the adoration of the pilgrims. A Bráhmen has stationed himself here, to receive the offerings at this season; but, as the temple, with its contents, are scarcely worth preservation, it may be presumed, that he officiates only during the time that the grand crowd is passing.

The greatest part of the road lay through a succession of small vallies, near the course of the Alacanandá, whose bed, in one place, was considerably expanded, and comprehended several small islands, covered
with verdure and beautiful plantations of young *Sisu* trees. Several fields of rice and barley, now in the stubble, lay by the road side.

Over a very rapid but narrow part of the river, was thrown a substitute for a bridge, called in the language of the country, Tum. It consists simply of two or three strong ropes, fixed by stakes into the ground, on each bank, and elevated about eight or ten feet above the water. On these, a person conveys himself across, by clinging to them with his hands and feet, while a small hoop, suspended from the ropes, serves as a rest for the back, and is a trifling, though it must be allowed, a very frail security, should the person quit his hold. This passage is not calculated for all descriptions of travellers; the water rolls below with such foaming violence and stunning roar, that it requires no small degree of resolution to make the attempt. However, where the inconvenience is without remedy, the hands and feet of the person are tied above the ropes, his eyes blindfolded, to prevent his seeing the danger; and he is drawn across by a cord passed round the waist.

In the evening arrived an Harcarah from *Shusta Taran*, charged to report what progress we had made, and apparently to deter us from the prosecution of our design, by exaggerated representations of the difficulties which we should have to encounter. Finding this scheme defeated by our incredulity, he took his departure. At ten at night came on a violent storm of rain, with thunder and lightning.

24th. Therm. 76°. Our encampment this day was on the banks of the *Birhi Gangâ*. The road was in general good, and the distance which we travelled could not be less than ten or eleven miles. Yet we passed some

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*Dalbergia sino Roxb.*
very steep ascents and descents, on a rocky scarp, where the path was not broader than the palm of the hand.

On this day's route, we overtook a large herd of goats, laden with grain. These animals, and sheep, are constantly employed for burden in this part of the country: they are saddled with small bags, containing about six sers of grain; and are sent, in flocks of one hundred and fifty or two hundred together, under the charge of two or three shepherds, with their dogs. An old steady ram is generally fixed on for the leader, and is denoted by a small bell, suspended round the neck. In the traffic to Burah, where grain forms one of the principal articles of commerce, these animals are found very serviceable for carriage; and on their return, they bring back salt. The species of goat employed in this service is rather small, scarcely exceeding in size that produced in Bengal. The sheep are of the common species, but their wool attains a much greater length, and is used in the manufacture of the coarse Cammal or blanket. They are amazingly sure footed, passing over with their burdens, declivities and craggy precipices, where no person could follow them.

At eleven o'clock at night we had another violent thunder storm.

25th. Therm. 73. Marched to Panchi Math; Lat. 30° 27' 21".

This village, which had been recently deserted, is situated on the banks of a large stream, called Ghural Gangá, which falls into the Alacananda about one furlong below.

In some parts of this day's road, the narrow path, along the scarp of the rock, was so obstructed by fragments, which the rain had detached from above, that we could not have passed, without the aid of people, who
had been sent to repair the breaches. Along the banks of a deep water course, at some distance from the Alakanandá, were several large rocky caves, which had been widened by the pilgrims, many of whom had taken up a temporary residence here. Some of these cells were capable of containing one hundred and fifty or two hundred people. To the right was a cascade, falling from the height of sixty or seventy feet.

On the road to-day, we observed a great number of bilberry and barberry bushes with ripe fruit. The former possesses rather an agreeable flavor, the latter has an insipid sweetness, and entirely wants the pungent acidity of the Europe fruit. In its first stage of maturity, it assumes an azure blue colour, which changes to a dark purple. It is covered with a rich bloom, and attains the size of a common field pea.

The heavy continued rain, which we had experienced, for three or four days, made us apprehensive that the periodical wet season had already set in; but we were informed, by the natives, that, in the neighbourhood of these mountains, the changes of the moon, at this time of the year, are always brought in by violent thunder-storms and showers; and that we had yet twenty days to make good our retreat from these hilly regions.

26th. Therm. 61°. Marched to Salúr, where we encamped near a spring, in a small rice field, about mid-way up the mountain. The road was, in some parts, elevated to the height of three or four thousand feet above the bed of the river; and the mountains, covered with snow, were at the distance of only eight or ten miles. We had a small thick rain, and the weather was piercingly cold. The latter part of the route, lay through a forest of pines, Búáns and oak, with a few walnut trees thinly scattered among them.
27th. Therm. 56°; the morning raw and chilly. Marched to Josi-
math: Lat. 30°. 33°. 40°. This village is situated in a hollow recess, on
the scarp, about a third way up the mountain, and sheltered, on three
sides, by a high circular ridge; while the lofty mountains, to the N., se-
cure it from the cold blasts, which blow over the Himalaya. The en-
trance to the town is by a bank, cut into steps, faced with slate and stones.
It contains one hundred, or one hundred and fifty houses, neatly built, of
grey stone, and roofed with shingles. They are raised to the height of
two or three stories, with small areas or enclosures, with a flagged ter-
race. The streets are paved, but in a very irregular manner; some
parts with large round stones, and other with flags of slate. The first
object that attracts notice, on entering the town, is a line of water
mills, placed on the slope, at the distance of fifteen or twenty yards
from each other. The water, which turns them, is supplied by a stream,
which flows down the mountain, and, having passed through the upper
mill, is conducted to the next, by a communication of troughs, made of
the hollowed trunks of firs. A few paces beyond, is the house of the
Rauhil or high priest of Bhadri-Nāth, who resides here, during the six
months of the year that the temple at that place is shut up. At the com-
 mencement of the cold weather, when the snow begins to accumulate on
the mountains, all the inhabitants quit that neighbourhood, and take up
their residence at this place, until the roads become again accessible.
Adjoining to this house, is a temple, containing the image of Nara-
Singha, one of the Hindu deities. It was placed here, by a native of
Camāon, of the Jōśi (Jyotishi) class of Brāhmens; and this town has
since borne its present appellation, in honor of the idol. The building
is said to be three hundred years old; but it has the appearance of being
of much later date, and resembles a private habitation much more than a
Hindu place of worship. It is built with gable ends, and covered in with a sloping roof of plates of copper. The doors were not opened, when we went to visit it in the evening, and we were consequently obliged to return without seeing the interior of it. In the upper part of the town is a large square, where the pilgrims who halt here put up for the night. To the right of it, is a stone cistern, with two brazen spouts, whence water keeps constantly flowing into a basin below. It is constructed for the convenience of the town's people, and supplied by the stream from the mountain. Close to it, extending along another face of the square, is a collection of temples, which bear the marks of great antiquity. They are raised on a terrace, about ten feet high, and in the center of the area, stands the principal one, sacred to Vishnu. It is surrounded by a wall, about thirty feet square: at each angle, and in the center of each face, are inferior temples, containing different deities. Several of them were destroyed, and thrown down by the earthquake; and most of them are in a very tottering condition. Those which suffered the least, and have the images perfect, are the temples of Vishnu, Ganesa, Surya or the sun, and the Nau-devi. Of these, the statues representing the two former are carved in a very superior style of workmanship. The first is an image cut in black stone, about seven feet high, supported by four female figures standing on a flat pedestal. The figure of Ganesa is about two feet high, well carved and polished. The temple of Nau-devi has been lately repaired, and is covered in with a square copper roof. It contains the images of Bhavani under nine different forms, but the whole of them were so plastered with grease, that no part of the figures were visible; and although the doors were opened, purposely for our inspection, the stench that issued from the place was so offensive, as to stifle all farther curiosity.
The mountains, on this day's route, were clothed with forests of oak; while their summits were covered with a species of the fir which the natives call Realla. A few of this kind were growing near the road. The leaves are about two and half inches long, produced all round the twigs, which hang pendant from the branches, and for want of a botanical term, we might distinguish it by the name of the weeping fir. At a village called Sillang, belonging to Bhadrināth, the whole scarp of the mountain, from the base to nearly the summit, was laid out in fields of different sorts of grain. The crops of wheat and barley were luxuriantly rich, just ready for the sickle.

28th. Therm. 59. Marched to Panchēser, a village containing twenty or thirty houses, and having a neat temple, sacred to Vishnu. Lat. N. 30°. 37' 51".

In the commencement of this day's route, we passed Vishnuprayāga, formed by the junction of the Alacanandā with a river called Daulī or Lētī, which comes from the S. E. and is more considerable than the former, being about thirty-five or forty yards in breadth, and flowing with a rapid current, over a very strong bed. Its banks are steep and rocky; and the passage of the river is effected by a platform Sangha, about five feet broad, and extending from shore to shore. The Alacanandā, above this confluence, is called Vishnū Gangā, from its flowing near the feet of Vishnu at Bhadri-Nat'h. It comes from the north. Its breadth is twenty-five or thirty yards, and its stream is rapid.

Having crossed the bridge, we ascended a bank of rock, above which is the village of Vishnuprayāga, containing two or three houses, with a small Mat'ha, the doors of which were shut, and no needy Brāhmen or Fakir was in attendance, to do the honors of the temple, or receive the of-
ferings of the curious, or religious visitant. This apparent inattention, however, may proceed from its not being a place held in great veneration; for, although, in point of magnitude, this Prayágá may be considered next to Dévaprâyágá; no particular ablutions are here enjoined by the Sástras; and the only reason which occurs for the omission is, that there is no convenient place for bathing, on account of the rapidity of the two currents. Along the banks of the Daulí is one of the high roads leading to Bután. From hence, we began to ascend the scarp, on the E. bank of the Alacanándá; (we shall continue to call it by this name to prevent confusion.) The mountains, on each side, rise to a stupendous height, and nearly meet at their base, leaving only a passage of forty or fifty feet for the current of water.

The bed of the river is obstructed by large masses of rock. At eight o'clock we crossed at the foot of a cascade, falling from the height of ninety or a hundred feet; whence it rolls, over large fragments, into the river. Hence, winding between the two chains of mountains, with the river considerably below us, we came, in fifteen minutes, to a Sangha, thrown across the Alacanándá. This bridge was about four feet broad, composed of three small fir spars, with planks across, and supported by a rock, on each bank, elevated a hundred and thirty or a hundred and fifty feet above the water. Hence we ascended, for ten minutes, and proceeded along the slope, at a greater or less elevation, till 10 A.M. when there was a steep descent, for eight minutes, which brought us to a path, cut in the solid rock. Where the side was perpendicularly scarpéd, to a considerable height, an artificial bank, and flight of steps, were raised with stones, to the level of the road; and, in some places, where the rocks projected, the communication was continued by planks, from one point to
another, and supported below by a scaffolding of wood. Although formidable in appearance, the path was tolerably secure; and, by all accounts, infinitely preferable to the one formerly pursued, which was higher up the mountain. This road has been newly made by the Gurc'hális; and considerable labor has been bestowed, in bringing it even to its present passable state. In a quarter of an hour we came upon the bed of the river, covered with large stones, whence we ascended on the bank, and proceeding, over a very indifferent road, for fifteen minutes more, we arrived at a flight of steps, raised on a Chabutra, to the height of thirty feet. In the centre of it, was a broad ladder, fifty or sixty feet long, resting on a projecting point of rock. The materials were strong and good; but the crowds of people, who were passing up and down, made the scaffolding shake; and some of the rounds having given way, rendered the passage more difficult. The roaring noise of the water, together with the buzz and tumult of the crowd, added not a little to the unpleasantness of the situation; and the progress upwards was so slow, that a person had full leisure to attend to the suggestions of danger, which a rocky precipice of ninety or a hundred feet, would naturally create, under such circumstances. Having reached the ledge, which was in some places not above a foot in breadth, we continued a short ascent, by steps, whence we began to descend; and, in ten minutes, regained the regular path on the slope.

These are called the Chóri Dhar and Canda Dhar Gháts, well known to all travellers on this road. We had heard accounts of them several days before our arrival, and were prepared to encounter their difficulties. At 10-40 A.M., we halted for seven minutes, opposite to the Coiband Nádi, which falls into the Alakanandá on the other side. From hence the
road continued, along the slope, rendered very bad, in some places, by intervening banks of rock. About eleven o'clock, the rain began to fall, in a drizzling shower, and as it continued to increase, we halted, for half an hour, in a small cave by the side of the road. After pursuing our route, we arrived, in fifteen minutes, at a small village called Hát. Hence we proceeded, over large stones, near the bed of the river, and, in a few minutes, came opposite to a stream, called the Bunár Nadi, which falls into the Alacanandá from the S. E. Immediately above the junction, is a Sangha, supported on two large fragments of rock, about five or six feet above the water. At one o'clock, the rain descended in a heavy shower, which continued, with little intermission, till the evening.

The road of to-day is considered, and justly so, the worst between Srinagar and Bhadri-Náth. Although great pains have been taken to render it passable, it is still in need of much improvement; and there are some parts of it, which few people, unaccustomed to such passages, could traverse, without feeling some sensation of apprehension. The hills, in general, bore a very barren appearance; the lower ridges, which were sheltered from the winds, were partially covered with verdure and small trees; while the higher ones produced only a few clumps of the weeping fir. The tops of the mountains, to the N. about five or six miles distant, were completely covered with snow. For these three days past, the change in the weather has been very perceptible; as we approached the hoary peaks, we found our warm clothing absolutely necessary.

29th. Therm. 59. The morning cloudy, the wind sharp and piercing. Marched to Bhadri-Náth'; lat 30° 49' 28" N. Long. 80° 18' 22" E. Our encampment was about two furlongs to the south of the town, near
a small stream called Rúca Gangá, which derives its source from the snow, on a mountain to the left, and falls into the Alacanandá about two hundred paces below. Over this stream is a strong Sangha.

On this day's route, we passed over several beds of snow; some of which could not be less than seventy or eighty feet in thickness. The river was, in some parts, entirely concealed by the snow; which was so firmly congealed, as hardly to receive the marks of pressure. It was occasionally disclosed, and again lost from view.

We are now completely surrounded by hoary tops, on which snow eternally rests, and blights the roots of vegetation. The lower parts of the hills produce verdure and small trees. About mid-way, the fir rears its lofty head; but the summits, repelling each nutritious impulse, are veiled in garments of perpetual whiteness.

30th. Therm. 48. This morning we made an excursion, with a view to explore the northern extremity of the valley, and to proceed in the direction of the river, to the point whence the stream emerges from the depths of snow, which over-lay and conceal its currents. At the distance of two and an half furlongs, we passed the town and temple of Bhadri-Nāṭ'ha; whence, proceeding by the road, centrically placed between the river and the mountain, we crossed several small streams, issuing from the hills, and formed by the melting of the snow upon the summits. Some of these water courses exhibit a very grand and pleasing appearance; falling from one ledge to another, on the scarped rock, in successive cascades. The one called Indra Dhárá is the most considerable; its track being perceptible to the beds of snow, whence it derives its source. Its distance from Bhadri-Nāṭ'ha is one mile two furlongs; and three quarters of a mile beyond it, on the opposite side of the Alacanandá, is a large town.
called Mānak, situated at the foot of a mountain, which, by an inclination to the N. W. bounds the valley in its N. E. direction. The hill is composed of rock, and covered with large loose fragments, which seem to threaten destruction to the houses placed at the foot of it. It is called Calāpa Gām; and, as every rock in this neighbourhood is sanctified by some holy tradition, this place is distinguished as the residence of Surya-Vansī and Chandra-Vansī, the patriarchs of the two races of Rājpūts. From hence we proceeded, along the banks of the Alacanandā, in the direction of W. N. W. The breadth of the current is here considerably decreased, not exceeding eighteen or twenty feet; the stream shallow, and moderately rapid. At the distance of four furlongs, we crossed the river, over a bed of snow, and mounted on the opposite bank, whence we descended into another valley, in which we continued our route, for two or three miles, passing over several deep beds of snow, collected in the cavities of water courses and ravines. The north faces of the mountains, to the south of the river, were completely covered with snow, from the summit to the base; and the bleak aspect of the country, with the sharp piercing wind, gave the appearance and sensation of the depth of winter, in a much more northern latitude. When the surface of the mountains was partially disclosed, the soil was of a hard solid rock; and, excepting at the base, not a vestige of verdure or vegetation was to be seen. The breadth of the valley is about five or six hundred yards; a small space of it is laid out in field, but the sides of the mountains are too steep and abrupt to carry the cultivation beyond the low ground, and are accessible only to the sheep and goats, that are seen browning, a short distance up the slope. At twelve o' clock, we reached the extremity of our journey, opposite to a water fall called Bārsī Dhārā. It is formed in the cleft of a high mountain, to the N. of the
river; and falls from the summit, upon a projecting ledge, about two hundred feet high, where it divides into two streams, which descend in drifting showers of spray, upon a bed of snow, where the particles immediately become congealed. The small quantity that dissolves, undermines the bed; whence it issues, in a small stream, about two hundred paces below. This place forms the boundary of the pilgrims' devotions; some few come hither for the purpose of being sprinkled by this holy shower bath.

From this spot, the direction of the Alakanandá is perceptible to the S. W. extremity of the valley, distant about one mile; but its current is entirely concealed, under immense heaps of snow, which have most probably been accumulating for ages, in its channel. Beyond this point, travellers have not dared to venture; and, although the Sástras mention a place called Alacapúra,* whence the river derives its source and name, the position or existence of it is as much obscured in doubt and fable, as every other part of their mythological history.

Having now attained the limits prescribed for Lieut. Webb's inquiries in this direction, we commenced our return, and proceeded by the road which leads to the town of Mánah. In an hour and a half, we arrived at Calápa Grám, the beauties of which were not perceptible from the opposite side of the river. From the summit of this hill, a large stream, called the Saraswati Nádi, appears to force a passage, through a rocky cavern; whence it descends, with irresistible violence, in a solid compact body, disclosed to the height of forty or fifty feet. The breadth of the cavity may be twenty-five or thirty feet; and some large fragments, that have been thrown down by the earthquake, are collected, and

* Alacá is the fabulous city of Cúva'na, the Páurus of Hindu mythology. H. G.
wedged in together, at the mouth, through the interstices of which, the water is seen descending from a still greater elevation. At the bottom is a deep basin, or reservoir, composed of rock, rendered perfectly smooth by the action of the water. From hence, the stream flows in a gentle current, between two perpendicular rocky banks, about seventy or eighty feet in height, and twenty feet in width. The water is perfectly clear, of a beautiful ultramarine colour; which it retains for a considerable distance, after its union with the Alacanandá; about seven hundred yards below, and forms a singular contrast with the turbid water of that stream. The point of junction is called Casúprayághá. The passage over the Saraswati is by a bridge, formed of one entire piece of rock, about six feet in thickness, ten or twelve in breadth, and so exactly fitted to the width of the stream, as to have the appearance of being placed by the hands of mechanism; and, notwithstanding the assertions of our guides, we could hardly believe its position to have been accidental. This place goes by the name of Mansúla Bhéd.

Hence we ascended the bank leading to the town, situated a little above the confluence of the two streams. On the left of the road, are two or three rocks, in the cavities of which small temples are erected. Of these, the Ganesa Ávatar is the most conspicuous, more from its position than from the structure of the temple, which is about five feet high, and built of square stones, piled one above the other, decreasing towards the top. It stands in a large cavern, close to which a small stream comes rippling from the mountain.

The town of Mánah is built in three divisions, containing one hundred and fifty or two hundred houses, and is more populous than any place we have met with of the same extent. The number of its inhabitants is
computed at fourteen or fifteen hundred people, who appear to be of a different race from the other mountaineers of Gerwal. They are above the middling size, stout, well formed, and their countenances partake more of the features of the Tartars or Bûtías, from whom they are most probably descended. They have broad faces, small eyes, and complexions of a light olive colour.

As soon as we entered the town, all the inhabitants came out, to welcome us; and we observed a greater display of female and juvenile beauty, than we recollect to have seen in any Indian village.

The women were, in general, handsome, and had a ruddiness in their complexions, of which the children partook in a very great degree; many of them approaching to the floridness of the European. The dress of the two sexes differs little from each other; that of the men consists in a pair of trowsers, made of Cummal or Panc'hi, with a loose sleeved jacket, of the same cloth, reaching down to the knee, and bound round the waist, with a woollen cord. On their heads they wore a round cap, with flaps, turned up behind and in front, with a cloth edging of a different colour. The women, instead of trowsers, wear a wrapper, in the form of a petticoat; the upper garment is nearly the same with that of the men; but rather finer in texture, and of different colours, of which red appeared the favorite and predominant. Some of them wear small conical caps, others have a piece of cloth round the head, in the shape of a turban. Their necks, ears, and noses were covered with a profusion of rings, various ornaments of beads, with trinkets in gold and silver, little adapted to their appearance, or to the coarseness of the rest of their apparel. Some of the children were actually tottering under the weight of these costly burthens; bearing, on their necks and arms, silver neck-
laces and rings, to the amount of five or six hundred rupees. The houses
by no means correspond with this outward shew of luxury, being, in
point of neatness or convenience, in no respect superior to the genera-
\vility of the villages. They are all built after the same model, raised two
stories, constructed with stone, and covered in with small deal plank,
instead of slate. These may be considered only their summer resi-
dences, for, in the winter season, the town is entirely buried under
snow; and the inhabitants are compelled to quit this neighbourhood, to
take up their abode in a less rigorous climate. The villages of Josi-math,
Pancheser, and their vicinity, afford them an asylum, for the four incle-
ment months of the year. After the first fall of snow, they retire, with
their wives and families, carrying all their property with them; excepting
the grain, which they bury in small pits, securing the top with stones.

The inhabitants of Manah profess the Hindu religion, and call them-
selves Rajputs. This is a very ambiguous definition of cast, in this part
of the country; for our hill coolies and bearers lay claim to the same
appellation, although they scruple not to perform the most menial offices;
and in the article of food are less nice than the lowest class of sweepers.
Like most inhabitants of cold climates, the Manah people are much ad-
dicted to drinking; and even consider it necessary for their health. The
liquor to which they are particularly attached, is a spirit extracted from rice,
prepared in the usual mode of distillation. We presented to one of them
a bottle of brandy, which excited not a little the envy of his companions,
who pressed about him to be indulged with a taste of it. He distributed
his favors in a few scanty drops, that were barely sufficient to impart the
flavor; but the significant nods that passed, testified their strong appro-
bation of this beverage.
The town of Manah forms the boundary of the Srinagar possessions in this quarter. It belongs to Bhadri-Nath, and is under the jurisdiction of the Rauhil, or high priest, on which account the inhabitants are exempted from the duties and exactions to which the people of lay villages are subjected. It carries on a considerable trade with Bután, and through it, many productions of that country are forwarded to the interior of Gerwāl. Towards the latter end of July, when the snow has melted, and opened a passage over the mountains, these people set off, in parties of a hundred or a hundred and fifty together, with merchandize, but principally grain, laden upon sheep and goats. In exchange, they bring back the produce of Bután, for which the annual pilgrimage ensures them a certain and advantageous sale. In this traffic, many of them acquire very large fortunes; and there was then present a young man, who was offering a few articles of small value for sale, whose grand-father, as we were informed, had, on one occasion, come forward with a loan of two lakhs of rupees, to assist the Raja of Srinagar in the first Gurkha invasion.*

The principal articles imported from Bután are salt, saffron, borax, Nīrbīst, (Zedoary) dried grapes, gold dust in small bags called phutac, cowtails, musk in pods, Panchīs or blankets, Gargās which are cowtails of an inferior quality, divided into strands and prolonged with extraneous hair to the length of eight or ten feet: they are used by the natives as trappings or horse furniture; Zehrmohreh (Bezoar,) a soft stone, of a pale green colour, considered an antidote for the bite of a snake, and a cooling

* The expedition to Bután takes about one month in going and returning; twenty days are passed on the road, and the remainder is devoted to business. During the absence of the men, the women are employed in agricultural pursuits at home; indeed, the labours of the field appear to be entirely under their province, for the few people, whom we saw engaged in that occupation, were of the female sex.
remedy against fevers, when pounded and taken inwardly.

A few articles of porcelain are also brought down; but the demand for them is small, as also for tea, of which they import only the quantity required for their own private consumption. Hill ponies, called Gúnts, Char Singhas and Ch’ha-Singhas, or sheep with four and six horns, and the Súra Gáé* or cow from which the Chaurs are supplied, are also brought from those transalpine regions. Of the latter, we saw several grazing in the valley. It is about the size of a common buffaloe, but the head has a great resemblance to that of the ox. The ears are small, the horns long, curved inwardly, with a little outward bend at the point. The forehead and hump are covered with a kind of wool: from the shoulder to the knee, and along the flanks in a line with the lower ribs, also from the haunches, the hair falls, lank and straight, to the length of ten or twelve inches. The tail, which is the most singular part, is set on like that of a horse, and the long hair commences from the upper joint. This animal is considered very strong and hardy. The people of Mánah make use of them both for carriage and for riding. They are of different colours, but the black appear to be the most common.

Dogs are also brought down by these people; and two or three very fine ones were offered to us for sale. One of them was a remarkably fine animal, as large as a good sized Newfoundland dog, with very long hair and a head resembling a mastiff’s. His tail was of an amazing length, like the brush of a fox, and curled half way over his back. He was however so fierce, that he would allow no stranger to approach him; and the same fault was observable in the rest of this species. Having staid

*Bos grunniens, or Yak of Tartary.

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about an hour at this place, for the purpose of seeing and making a selection of any curiosities we might chance to meet with, we were obliged to return without success; for the pilgrims had forestalled the market, and left the refuse only for our inspection.*

This delay prevented our visiting the temple, to which we had received an invitation from the high priest.

31st. Therm. 46. This morning was set apart for the visit to

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* The following information regarding the trade carried on with the countries situated beyond the Himalaya range, was obtained by Lieut. Webb, from an intelligent Pandit, who had visited those districts.

The traffic carried on with Thibet by our Nepalese neighbours, passes the snowy mountains bounding their dominions by four distinct Ghâís and routes.

From Camâon:  
- By Tagla-Cot'h, N. N. E. from Almora, 16 days journey.
- By Dhâmpû. ......... North 14.

From Gerwâl:  
- By Lit'hi-Dhâha. .......... N. N. W. 16.
- By Mânâk to Dhâba, East from Mânâk, 6.

The distance from Tagla-Cot'h to Dhâmpû, seven Manzils, in a western direction.

The principal of these Ghâís is the Jîwâri road, or that to Dhâmpû. The Bepars, by this route, continue their journey thence due north, four Manzils to Gertokh, the market at which all the Nepalese exports are bartered; with this difference, that the merchants, by every route except that of Dhâmpû, find an intermediate market for their commodities at the Ghâís, to which they respectively resort, their goods being carried to Gertokh at second hand, while the trader by Dhâmpû has the exclusive advantage of carrying his merchandise to the grand mart direct.

The exports of Gertokh consisted of grain, gur (inspissated treacle) oil, sugar, cottons, chintz, iron, brass, lead, woollens, pearls, coral, Cowces and Conches, dates, and almonds.

Gertokh sends to Lehâc, for the Cashmir market, shawl wool, the produce of Thibet, to Nepal, Hindustan, &c. gold dust, silver in wedges, musk, furs, scented leather, shawls, china ware, tea in cakes, salt, borax, drugs, and small horses, (Tângens.)

Lehâc, an independent territory, is situated from Gertokh west, from Cashmir north,* at a distance of thirteen days journey from either place. The trade is entirely managed by inhabitants of Thibet, who have a direct road beyond the Himalaya, and over a level country, from Gertokh towards.

The trade is carried on with the greatest security to the merchant. No taxes of any kind are collected, with the exception of salt only, on which a small transit duty is levied in kind, on its entering the Gurt Hall territories.

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* So the informant. But more probably east.
the temple, to which we proceeded before breakfast, having got intimation from the Rauhil, that every thing was arranged for our reception.

The town and temple of Bhadrī-Nārāyana are situated on the west bank of the Alacananda, in the center of a valley, about four miles in length, and one mile in its greatest breadth. The east bank rises, considerably higher than the west bank; and is on a level with the top of the temple. The position of the sanctuary is considered equidistant from two lofty mountains, which are designated by the names of the Nar and Nārāyana Parvatas. The former is to the east, and is perfectly bare; the latter to the west, and completely covered with snow, from the summit to the base.

The town is built on the sloping bank of the river, and contains only twenty or thirty huts, for the accommodation of the Brāhmans, and other attendants of the deity. In the center, is a flight of steps, leading from the water's edge, to the temple, which occupies the upper part of the town. The structure and appearance of this edifice, are by no means answerable to the expectations, that might be formed of a place of such reputed sanctity, and for the support of which large sums are annually received, independent of the land revenues appropriated for its maintenance. It is built in the form of a cone, with a small cupola, surmounted by a square shelving roof, of plates of copper, over which is a golden ball and spire. The height of the building is not above forty or fifty feet; but its advantageous position, on the top of the bank, renders it the most conspicuous object in the valley. The aera of its foundation is too remote to have reached us, even by tradition; but it is supposed to be the work of some superior being. This specimen, however, of divine architecture, was too weak to resist the shock of the earthquake, which left it in so tottering a,
condition, that human efforts were judged expedient, to preserve it from ruin; and the repairs, which it has lately undergone, have completely modernized its external appearance. The body of it is constructed of large flat stones, over which is a coat of fine white plaister, which adds to the neatness, but has destroyed all its outward pretensions to antiquity.

Notwithstanding the summons, we were not allowed immediate access to the temple; as it was first necessary to have an interview with the Rajah, who was to introduce us, in due form, into the presence of the sacred image. Instead, therefore, of ascending, we went down the steps, leading to the baths. About the middle of the bank, is a large cistern, about twenty or thirty feet square, covered in with a sloping roof of deal planks, supported on wooden posts. This is called Tapta-Cund, and is a warm bath, supplied by a spring of hot water, issuing from the mountain, by a subterraneous passage, and conducted to the cistern, through a small spout, representing a dragon's or a griffin's head. Close to it is a cold spring, which is conveyed by another spout; by which means, the water may be reduced to any degree of temperature, between the two extremes. The water of the Tapta-Cund is as hot as a person can well bear; and from it issues a thick smoke, or steam, strongly tainted with a sulphurous smell. The side of the cistern, towards the river, is raised only to the height of three and half or four feet; and over it, the water flows, as the supplies are received from the opposite quarter. This is the principal bath, in which people of both sexes perform their ablutions, under the same roof; without considering any partition necessary, to preserve the appearance of decency. The water from this Cund, independent of its supplying the cistern, is conducted through the huts and private houses, to which it imparts a suffocating warmth.
From hence, we descended to the bed of the river; where, in a small recess of the bank, is Nāreda-Cūnd, sheltered by a large rock, whose projecting angle breaks the force of the current. A little to the left of it is Sūrya-Cūnd, another hot spring, issuing in a very small stream, through a fissure in the bank. There is no basin, or reservoir, to receive the water; but the pilgrims catch it in their hands as it falls, and sprinkle themselves over with it. This ceremony is observed, as much for comfort, as from any motive of piety; for the water of the river is so cold, at this season, that after performing their frigid ablutions, the bathers are glad to have recourse to the element in a more tepid state. Besides these, there are numerous other springs, which have their peculiar names and virtues; which are, no doubt, turned to a good account by the Brāhmāns. In going the round of purification, the poor pilgrim finds his purse lessen, as his sins decrease; and the numerous tolls, that are levied on this high road to paradise, may induce him to think, that the straightest path is not the least expensive.

As we ascended the steps, the arrival of the Rauktīl was announced. We met him near the Taptā-Cūnd, where a cloth was spread for us, and a small carpet of flowered China silk for the pontiff. He was preceded by three or four Harcārah's and Chobdārs, with the silver emblems of their office; behind him was a man bearing a Chaurī of peacock's feathers; and in his suite were the chief officiating priests of the temple. He was dressed in a quilted vest, of green satin, with a white shawl Camerband. On his head he wore a red turban, and on his feet a pair of party coloured socks; his ears were ornamented with a couple of large golden rings; to each of which was suspended a very handsome pearl, of considerable size. His neck was decorated with a triple string of small pearls; and,
round his arms, he wore bracelets, composed of precious stones. On most of his fingers were golden rings, studded with sparkling gems.

After the usual salutations, a short conversation passed, for about a quarter of an hour; when he signified his readiness to conduct us to the sanctuary. On our arrival at the outer portico, we were requested to take off our shoes; and having done so, we ascended five or six steps, and passed through a small door, which brought us to the area of the temple. About twenty feet beyond, was a vestibule, raised about a foot and a half from the terrace, and divided into two apartments, the inner one a little more elevated, and adjoining to the sanctuary. In the outer room, two or three bells were suspended from the roof, for the use of the religious visitants, who are not permitted to go beyond it. We were not allowed to advance so far; but taking our stand immediately in front of the image, a few paces from the outer threshold, we had a perspective view of the sacred repository. The high priest retired to one side, as the dress he then wore was incompatible with his sacred functions. The principal idol, Bhadri-Nāth, was placed opposite to the door, at the farther extremity; above his head was a small looking glass, which reflected the objects from the outside; in front of him were two or three lamps, (which were all the light the apartment received, excepting from the door) diffusing such feeble glimmering rays, that nothing was clearly distinguished. He was dressed in a suit of gold and silver brocade; below him was a table, or board, covered with the same kind of cloth, which, glittering through the gloom, might impress the beholder with the idea of splendor and magnificence; but an impartial observer might suppose it one of those deceptions of priest-craft, which are so successfully practised on the Hindu.
This artificial obscurity may have the double effect of passing off
tinsel and glass, for gold and precious stones; and, by exhibiting the
image in a dubious light, the superstitious mind has a greater scope for
its own conceptions. From the indistinct view we had of it, we should
suppose it to be about three feet high, cut in black stone, or marble;
but the head and hands were the only parts uncovered. To the right of
him, are the images of Udd'hava, Nar and Narayena; to the left, Cimu-
ve'ra and Na'reda, with whom we were only nominally acquainted; for
to us they were veiled, as ministers of perfect darkness.

Having satisfied our curiosity, and signified our wish to depart, a large
silver salver was brought forth, to receive any offering we were inclined
to make. Our means were very insufficient, to answer the high expec-
tations which had undoubtedly been formed, from the marked and un-
precedented distinction that had been conferred upon us; but, as it was
necessary to acknowledge the favor by some pecuniary token, we pre-
sented one hundred rupees at the shrine, and took our leave; without
absolution or remission. Although we derived little gratification from
the inspection of the temple; it was pleasing to find we had not offended
any of their religious prejudices, by our presence; for we were appreh-
ensive some scruples or objections might have been raised, as none but
Hindus have ever visited the place. Our Muslem servants were pro-
hibited from approaching the spot; and a particular request was made,
on our arrival, that no kid or living creature might be deprived of life,
within the precincts of the temple; but a large stone, on the opposite side
of the river, at a short distance from our camp, was pointed out, for the
slaughter of any animals we might require for the table.

The temple of Bhadri-Nath has more beneficed lands, attached to it,
than any sacred Hindu establishment in this part of India. It is said to possess seven hundred villages, situated in different parts of Garwál and Camáon. Many of them have been conferred by the government; others have been given, in pledge for loans; and some few, purchased by individuals, have been presented as religious offerings. All these possessions are under the jurisdiction of the high priest; who holds a paramount authority, nominally independent of the ruling power. The advantages, which the government derives, from this institution, would make it cautious in infringing openly its rights; while the accumulation of wealth, secures to the state, a certain resource in times of exigence.

The Rajas of Srinagar were in the habit of applying to this quarter, in any case of emergency; and, under the plea of borrowing a sum of money, would give up two or three villages, as security for the repayment; but the produce of them was so inferior, in value, to the sum lent, that the loan was never repaid, and the villages continued under pledge. Thus the appearance of independence was maintained, on the part of, the Rauhil, who was so well aware of his actual weakness, that it was more for his advantage to yield to a request, than subject himself to the risk of compulsion. The selection for the office of high priest is confined to the castes of Dekhini Brāhmens of the Chauli or Nambur tribes. In former times, the situation was a permanent one; but, since the Gurhāli conquest, the pontificate is held up for sale, and disposed of to the highest bidder.

All the villages belonging to Bhadri-Nāṭh, which we had an opportunity of seeing, were in a very flourishing condition; and the lands in a high state of cultivation. The produce is brought hither, and disposed of to the pilgrims, who are obliged to pay dearly for the food furnished
from the ecclesiastical granary. Two and a half sêrs of rice, for the Temâsha, equal to about seven sêrs for the rupee, was the established price of this market; and other grain in the same proportion. These exactions do not escape observation; numerous complaints are vented privately; but, as the profits are supposed to be applied to the use of the divinity, it might be deemed impious to raise any open clamors: the only resource, therefore, left to the deluded pilgrim, is to pay his devotions, and take his departure, as quickly as possible.

The territorial revenue forms, probably, the least part of the riches of this establishment; for every person, who pays his homage to the deity, is expected to make offerings, proportionate to his means. The gift is included under three heads; for each of which, a separate salver is allotted. The first is called the Bhêt, which is an offering to the idol; the second is the Bhôg, constituting his privy purse, the amount being appropriated to the expences of his wardrobe and table; the third, and last, is for the Rauhîl. These presents, however, are voluntary; and many persons assume the garb of poverty, to avoid a contribution equal to their abilities; while others lay the whole of their property at the feet of the idol, and trust to charity, for the means of returning to their homes.

It is impossible to form a conjecture of the probable amount of these collections; for, although every person’s name, with the sum presented, be registered, the book is withheld from the inspection of profane eyes. The merchants and Sâhucârs from the Dekhin, are considered the most welcome visitors; for, if we may believe report, many of them have been known to distribute and expend lakhs of rupees, in this holy pilgrimage.
In return for the oblations, each person receives what is called a *Presaḍ*, which consists of a little boiled rice; and in the distribution of it, due regard is paid to the amount of the offering. Many of our Hindu servants complained that they had been used very scurvily, having been put off with a very scanty meal, insufficient to satisfy the cravings of appetite. However sparing the dispensation of his favors may be in this world, the deity holds forth ample rewards in the next, by the promise of an unqualified remission from the state of transmigration. As we were not entitled to the same act of grace, the high priest appeared desirous to make amends, by conferring more immediate benefits; and, in the evening, sent to each of us a muslin turban, a *Gazgāḥ*, and a small quantity of *Cedārpatē*, an odoriferous leaf, taken from the garland of the idol. The former was stained, in large spots, of a saffron colour, with the incense placed on the head of the deity; and we were requested to wear them, in honor of *Bhadri-Naṭh*. This is considered one of the greatest marks of distinction, that can be conferred; and, as a compliment was intended, we could not do less than acknowledge the favor, by placing the sacred badge upon our heads.

The temple is opened, every morning, at day-break, and continues exposed, for the admission of pilgrims, till one or two o'clock in the afternoon; the deity is then supposed to be ready for his dinner, which being prepared for him, he is shut up, to take his meal and evening repose. The doors are again opened after sun-set, and remain so till a late hour, when a bed is laid out before him, and he is again left to his meditations. The vessels he is served in are of gold and silver; and the expenses of his clothes and table, are said to be very considerable. A large establishment of servants, of every description, is kept up; and,
during the months of pilgrimage, the deity is well clothed, and fares sumptuously every day; but, as soon as the winter commences, the priests take their departure, leaving him to provide for his own wants, until the periodical return of the holy season. The treasures, and valuable utensils, are buried in a vault, under the temple. It is said that a robbery was once committed by a few mountaineers; who, taking advantage of a sudden thaw, found their way to the sanctuary, and carried off eleven maunds of gold and silver vessels. The theft, however, was discovered, and the perpetrators put to death. The only persons who have access to the inner apartments, are the servants of the temple; and none but the Rauhil is permitted to touch the image. The Brahmins who reside here, are chiefly men from the Dekhin, who have been led hither by the prospect of acquiring a subsistence from the funds of the temple, and from the small fees or donations presented by the pilgrims. As they all arrive in a state of celibacy, colonization is prevented, by the insuperable obstacle of there being no women here of their own cast, with whom they could form a lawful alliance. During their residence at this place, they are most strictly enjoined to maintain a state of carnal purity; but on their return to Jósi mat'ha, they give a greater scope to their pleasures; and the above restrictions may probably be the cause of their running more eagerly into acts of profligacy, very inconsistent with the sacerdotal character. Our short acquaintance would have enabled us to gain very little insight into their moral conduct, had not the hopes of relief induced several of them to make a confession of complaints they laboured under. Narayena Raõ, the present Rauhil, is a man about thirty-two or thirty-three years of age; his appointment was conferred on him by an order from Nápal; not, we may presume, on account of exemplary conduct, for he was the first who applied for remedies to cure
a certain unaccountable disorder, with which he had long been troubled, and which he innocently ascribed to the rarefaction of the atmosphere; but it was sufficiently evident, that the shrine of his deity was not the only one at which he had been paying his devotion.

The number of pilgrims who have visited Bhadrí-Náth this year, is calculated at forty-five or fifty thousand; the greater part of these, Fakírs, who came from the most remote quarters of India. All these people assemble at Haridwár; and, as soon as the fair is concluded, take their departure for the holy land; the road they follow is by Dénaprayága to Rudraprayága; whence they strike off to Cédár-Náth. This place is situated about fourteen or fifteen miles in direct distance to the W. N. W. of Bhadrí-Náth, but the intermediate hills are inaccessible from the snow; and the travellers are obliged to make a circuitous route, of eight or nine days, by the way of Jósi mactha, hither. The road to Cédár is much obstructed; and, in many places, leads over beds of snow, extending for several miles. Two or three hundred people are said to have perished this year, on the journey; having fallen victims to the inclemency of this climate, and the fatigues they had to undergo.

By the time the pilgrimage to Cédár-Náth is completed, Bhadrí-Náth is ready to receive visitors; who, having paid their devotions, return by the road of Nandprayága and Carnprayágá, which conclude the grand circle of pilgrimage.

The ceremonies which Hindus undergo here, differ in no respect from the customs usually observed at other places of holy ablution. After washing away their impurities, the men whose fathers are dead, and those of the female sex who are widows, submit to the operation of tunture, which may be considered an act of mourning and of purification;
by which they are rendered perfect to appear in the presence of the deity. One day suffices for the observance of these rites; and very few people remain here above a couple of days, but endeavour to make their retreat from the hills, before the commencement of the periodical rains. The great crowd had quitted it before our arrival; and the number who now come in daily, does not probably exceed forty or fifty. By the middle of June, the lowlanders will have taken their departure, leaving the place to its mountaineer inhabitants, and a few stragglers from the southward.

June 1st. Therm. 47°. We commenced our return, with the intention of proceeding, by the way of Almora, to Barel; and encamped on our former ground at Panchhaser.

2d. Therm. 61°. Marched to Josi-Nath. Soon after our arrival at this place, the Harcarah, who had overtaken us at Nandaprayag, again made his appearance, with a letter from Shista Taphah, addressed to Har-balam, an intelligent Brähmen, a native of Camdôn, who had accompanied us from Haridwár; and had been of great service to us, in our trip. The purport was, to state, that the orders of the government of Napal were merely to facilitate our visit to Gangotri; but that no instructions had been received for our going to Bhadrí-Nath; that we had undertaken that journey by the Brähmen's instigation, and that he must become responsible for any accidents which we might meet with on the road. It concluded with directions, that at whatever place he might receive the letter, he should conduct us from thence, by the way of Almora, towards the Company's provinces. This was the result of a political jealousy, which the chiefs had conceived, of the purpose of our journey; which they began to suspect, to be of a political as well as a
geographical nature. It was expected, that the letter would overtake us, before we could reach our ultimate object, and prevent our farther advance; but the messenger, on his arrival here, learning that we had got to the end of our journey, thought it best to wait our return.

3d. As soon as we awoke this morning, we were surprised to learn the desertion of all our bearers and hired servants; which we knew could not have taken place, without the connivance or express order of the Srinagar government. We were, therefore, under the necessity of proceeding on foot, to the next stage, leaving our baggage to the care of the Gurihali Jemadar, Intea-Rana Gurang, who, having received a sealed perwanah, to provide us with every thing we might require on the road, and to escort us to Almora, and having got no message, or counter order, declared that no part of our baggage should remain in the rear; but that we might commence our march, in the manner we proposed, and firmly rely upon his procuring people to bring up the whole of our property.

This morning the Therm. was at 60°. Marched to the village of Tungasi, above which we encamped in some small rice fields.

On this day's route, we passed through a very extensive forest; where we were agreeably amused with a great variety of vegetable productions, some of which we had not met with in any other part of the hills. The first object that particularly attracted our notice, was a fruit resembling the hazel, the produce of a forest tree, growing to the height of fifty or sixty feet, with a trunk of six or seven feet in circumference. The branches are thrown out, about mid-way up the stem. The fruit ripens in the month of September; and, by the accounts of the hill people, is only produced every third year. It is called Cupashi or Pahari Badam. The
Pãnjur, or horse chesnut, is another ornament of this forest; and appears, at this season, to the greatest advantage, being in full blossom. The fruit of this tree is frequently worn by Fakirs, in strings, round the neck; it is given by the hill people to fatten cattle; and the lower classes sometimes make use of it as an article of food, by reducing the nut to powder, and steeping it in water, till the bitter taste is in some measure extracted. We observed here also several bushes of holly, which the native call Kundal. The walnut trees were very abundant; the fruit of them had attained its full size, and the kernel had begun to acquire a constance. Along the sides of the road, particularly in the vicinity of rivulets, were great numbers of the Bambu reed called Ringal. Some of them grow to a tapering height, of thirty or thirty-five feet; and are used by the inhabitants, in the thatching of houses and for mats.

The soil of these hills was various; in some parts clayey, in others gravelly; but in general, of a fine rich earth, producing plants and flowers, too numerous to be minutely examined or described. We met with a few plants of asparagus and wild lavender; but the strawberries more particularly engaged our attention. They were dispersed in large beds, in the greatest profusion; and the species found here differed from the common kind, being much larger, strongly dimpled, and of a mottled colour, white and red. The natives to the westward call the strawberry Cap’hullia, but in these hills it is known by the name of Boinda. The flavor of those we found to-day was very superior to any we had yet tasted; many of them fell little short of the Europe fruit.

The Gure’hâlî Jemadar proved true to his word; for in the evening he arrived with all our baggage.

4th. Therm. 57°. Marched to Panhai, a large village, containing fifty
or sixty houses, and situated about mid-way up the hill, in a large
indent ed scoop of the mountain, in which several other small villages
are disposed; and the adjacent lands well cultivated. The march to-day
is calculated at twelve hill Cós, and could not be less than thirteen or
fourteen miles. The badness and inequalities of the road rendered the
journey very fatiguing, and the greater part of the baggage remained
in the rear.

The forests, through which we passed this day, abounded in hazel,
walnut, and horse chesnut trees; while the upper parts of the mountains
were covered with different species of the fir, called Déodar. Among
the productions of this forest was a species of oak, called Khairú. The
leaves oval, firm and indented, the young ones only pointed, of a bright
glossy green above, and rather lighter below. The stem rises straight,
to a considerable height before it branches. The acorns are now ripe, and
of an amazing size; some of them as large, and in the form of a pigeon's
egg. The trunk and branches covered with a thick moss. Some of
these trees attain the height of sixty or seventy feet. The acorns are
given to cattle. Here we saw for the first time the Bhaiýpatr tree. The
leaf is about two inches long, oval and sawed. The back of the stem, in
young trees, is smooth and glossy, of a light chocolate colour, speckled
with small white spots. As the tree grows up, the bark acquires a
greyish hue, and becomes hard and scabrous, cracking or dividing into
small pieces. Below are five or six inner coats or rinds, which come off
in sheets, and are the parts used by the natives as paper, and in the
manufacture of Hooka snakes. When unprotected by the outer bark,
these coats peel off in shivers, giving a very ragged tattered appearance
to the tree. The small twigs are of the colour and resemble birch. If
we may trust to the reports to the natives, the tree, if stript of these integuments, renews them in the course of one or two seasons. The tree grows to the height of thirty or forty feet, and the branches are thrown out about mid-way up the stem. The largest we saw measured about four feet in circumference. In the vicinity of these trees were several currant bushes, just passing from the blossom into a state of fructification. The natives say it is of the red species, and the name they give to it is Cacalia. A large colony of baboons, called Langurs, have taken up their residence in the centre of the forest. They appeared very attentive to all our motions, and some of them had the temerity to advance within a few paces of us. Among the flowery productions, we met with a very handsome shrub, called by the hill people Chimula. It produces a head or cluster of bell flowers, similar in size and shape to the Búrans. The leaves are lance-oval, firm, of a dark green above, and of a deep yellowish ochrous colour. The stem quite naked, running along the ground, like a creeper, for the distance of ten or fifteen feet; when, taking a bend upwards, it rises to the height of eight or ten feet, and throws out branches. The flowers were of different colours, varying, from pure white, with all the intermediate shades, to a dark purple. The examination of these novelties served to beguile the toilsome road; and we were led on from point to point, with the pleasing hope of having our labour and fatigues rewarded by some new or beautiful production of vegetative nature.

After quitting these forests, we ascended, over beds of snow, to the summit of the Cwári Ghát, which is a regular steep ascent, of not less than four and an half or five miles; whence we may estimate that its height above our last encampment (which was itself a considerable eleva-
tion from the valley), must be eight or nine thousand feet perpendicular.

The Munáls, or hill pheasants, are found in great numbers among these hills; but they keep near the summits, and seldom visit the vallies, unless driven down by heavy falls of snow. The mode the natives adopt to catch them is by springs, with which they sometimes succeed in taking them alive. The hill people put great value on their feathers, which they preserve with the skin entire. They sometimes make them up into small hand fans; and we have seen little tufts made up into a knot, worn as an ornament to a greasy cap.

5th. Therm. 61°. As many of our people were still in the rear, and those who had arrived were extremely fatigued by yesterday's march, we were obliged to halt, very much against our inclination; for the weather became more cloudy daily, portending what we had so much cause to apprehend, the commencement of the rainy season. About five o'clock, came on a violent shower, attended by thunder and lightning, which lasted for several hours.

6th. Therm. 56°; and weather cloudy. Marched to Raméní, and encamped in a small field near it, between two rivulets.

The road this day lay through extensive forests of oak, holly, horse-chestnut and fir (Déodâr.). The latter differed in its foliage from the species we had before seen. The leaves are about one and an half or two inches in length, flat, sharply pointed, and produced horizontally on each side of the twig. The bark more smooth, and the stem rises to the height of seventy or eighty feet, with a circumference of seven or eight cubits. This species acquires greater dimensions than any of the firs we have yet met with. The natives call it also Déodâr, which is a name they indiscriminately apply to all the different kinds, without having any
particular name descriptive of each. Since we quitted the neighbourhood of Bhadrí-Náthí, we have seen none of the drooping species, and these hills appear peculiarly favorable to the kind above described. The other species, which produces the leaves in tufts, and rises in the form of a cone, is to be found in most parts of the mountain, beyond the limits to which the common Chir extends.

We passed two steep summits, called the Cāla-Cānu and Jārāc’hi Ghāts, between which lay a quarry of very fine marble. Near the road were several beautiful white slabs, twelve or fourteen feet in length, and three or four in thickness.

We found the insects at this place extremely troublesome.

The atmosphere swarmed with myriads of small flies, resembling gnats, the attacks of which it was impossible to guard against, and the sting was exceedingly sharp and painful. On the road, we had another formidable enemy to encounter, which was a numerous host of small leeches, brought by the rain, and infesting the path, to the great annoyance of travellers. We found that our shoes and stockings were not proof against their attacks; for, by some means or other, they found their way to the skin; and our attendants, who were undefended in their feet and legs, arrived in streaks of blood, having their lower limbs completely covered with this noisome reptile.

7th. Therm. 58°. Marched to Khunbaghar, a village containing twenty or thirty houses, and situated on a bank twenty feet high; below which we encamped. Lat. 30° 16' 34" N. The road lay through forests, and we crossed two Ghāts or passes of the hills. We passed in sight of the Nandáčni river, called here Bāret-ca-gád, a large stream which joins the Alacanándá at Nandáprayág.
The inhabitants of this place came forward immediately with supplies, and offered their services, to convey our baggage to the limits of the Gerwal district, at a very reasonable rate. We were happy in the opportunity of forming an arrangement that would make us independent of the precarious assistance to which we had daily to trust; and we entertained as many as we thought would be necessary. As the Jemadar had remained behind at Panhaj for the purpose of bringing up part of our baggage, which had not reached that place when we marched from it, we determined to wait his arrival, that so we might proceed with all our baggage. But, next morning, we were surprised to find the village entirely deserted; owing to the arrival of two Sipahis from Srinagar, with another letter from Shista Tapan to Harbalam, and a message to the Jemadar. Both of those persons being absent, we sent for the messengers; one of whom, on being interrogated respecting the object of their message, replied, in the most insolent manner, that his business lay with the Jemadar, and that the only message he had for us was contained in the orders he had received from his master to bring us back. When Harbalam arrived, he, with no little agitation, explained the purport of the letter, which was an injunction to conduct us back by the way of Srinagar, on peril of severe punishment if he disobeyed.

Independently of our personal safety, which we now had reason to think would be endangered by compliance with this mandate, we were so far advanced on the road to Almora, that it would have been extremely inconvenient to adopt the circuitous route of Srinagar. We determined to halt this day, in hopes of assistance from the Jemadar, for the conveyance of our baggage; for, since the arrival of the two Sipahis, none of the inhabitants durst afford us the smallest aid.
9th. THERM. 67. Our friend the Jemadār not having yet arrived, though we heard from his son, who joined us the preceding evening, that he was still employed in efforts to bring up our baggage; we packed up as many of the most necessary articles as our private servants could convey, and proceeded on our march, leaving a second division of our baggage, under charge of the two Gurūchālī Sipāhs, who continued to exert their prohibitory authority. We took up our quarters under a small tree, opposite to Bānj-baghār, a village situated on the bank of a river called Chupēla,* and elevated about four hundred feet above the stream.

This evening the Jemadār arrived, bringing the whole of our baggage, and accompanied by the Gurūchālī Sipāhs, who had obstructed, as far as in them lay, his friendly exertions to serve us.

Our friend the Jemadār, with a countenance expressive of his mind, confirmed the unwelcome tidings of his own recall. In delivering up the property, the tear started in his eye, while he expressed his sorrow and regret, for the circumstances that had occurred; but said he, “I am like you, a soldier, the servant of a government, and bound to obey the instructions of my masters, without inquiring into the motives of their conduct. My orders to return are positive; and although they are not conveyed in the form I might have expected, to refuse compliance would subject me to disgrace and punishment. I consider it peculiarly unfortunate, that such events should have occurred, on the eve of your departure; as I had every wish and hope to conduct you, with comfort and satisfaction, to the end of the journey; but as the case now stands, I must, however, unwilling, bid you adieu.” We gave full credit to his words; for he was a plain open man, and his coun-

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* Is it this which gives name to the straight of Copele in the old maps?
tenance portrayed the picture of honesty and frankness. On taking leave of him, we made him a present, which probably exceeded his expectations, but was very inadequate to the services he had rendered us; for, without his and his son's assistance, we should have had but very indifferent fare, during our journey; all the other Gurčháli Sipáhis being more intent on slily plundering the villagers, than providing for our wants. However long the march might be, and at whatever hour we arrived at the ground, one of these two immediately set off in search of kids or fowls; and was frequently obliged to visit all the villages, for two or three miles round, before he could succeed. We were certain, however, of being supplied; for they never came back without some token of their diligence; although they were frequently detained in the pursuit, till midnight. Nor was this trouble taken in the expectation of a reward; for modesty appeared the most distinguished mark in the character of the father and the son. While the other Gurčháli Sipáhis committed acts of oppression, and endeavoured to thrust themselves into notice on every occasion, without doing us any material service, these two people kept constantly aloof, performing real good, without arrogating any merit to themselves. In noticing the conduct of these men, we perform a grateful part of our duty; and we may adduce them, as the only instances we have met with, under the Gurčháli government, where duty was cheerfully executed, and ready assistance granted, unactuated by any mercenary or self interested views.

10th. THERM. 68°. The night stormy, and the morning set in with heavy rain. Aware of the Sipáhis' endeavours to obstruct our march, we had taken the precaution to detain, under a guard of our own Sipáhis, eight of the people, who had arrived, the evening before, with the Jema-
där. To these, and the four who had continued with us from Jósimath, we committed the articles most essentially necessary to our comfort; and, leaving the remainder of our baggage, proceeded along the banks of the Chupëla, and over an ascent called Sancot-Ghât, through a forest of Atis, Pângar and oak, to the village of Sancôt, a village of forty or fifty houses, beautifully situated on the top of a gentle eminence, in the midst of a circular table ledge, about one mile in diameter. Lat. 30° 10' 16". The inhabitants were friendly, and came forward with supplies of every kind, on moderate terms.

The lands in the vicinity of the village, and the sides of the hill, were richly cultivated; producing different kinds of grain. It belongs to the Budhâr Perganah, which was formerly under the charge of Môhen-Sinh, the Dêwân of the Raja, and was particularly famed for the fertility of its soil. A direct intercourse was, at one time, carried on with the Butiyas, who came hither, to purchase grain; which they found cheaper, and in greater abundance, than at most of the other markets. In exchange for it, they brought the produce and manufactures of their own country, but principally wool, made up in small skeins called Cérias, and some of the inhabitants at this place still gain a subsistence, by the manufacture of it into coarse Panc'his. (blankets.)

A great many of the inhabitants were afflicted with large tumors in the neck, which they ascribe to the qualities of the water; but there are no snowy mountains in the neighbourhood, nor would it appear that any of these springs or rivulets proceed, or derive increase, from any hills of that description.

11th. Therm. 6°. Heavy rain early in the morning. Marched to Culsâri, a village situated on the north-east side of the Pindar river, be-
longing to Bhadri-Nāṭh, and having a temple sacred to Narāyana, built after the model of all the Hindu places of worship in this part of the country, in the shape of a cone, with a square shelving roof.

Our route was circuitous, round several points of the mountains.

12th. Very heavy rain during the night. Therm. 72° in the morning. Marched to Chiring, a village situated three hundred paces from the Pindar river. Lat. N. 30° 6' 13''.

This was formerly a place of some note; but it is now completely in ruins, and without inhabitants. Half of it belongs to the Gerwāl and half to the Camāon district. We now consider ourselves beyond the reach of the Srinagar chiefs; as the mountain, on which we were encamped, forms the boundary of their jurisdiction, in this quarter.

Near to this place, we passed a large village, called Chiparang where there is a Jhula over the river.

13th. Therm. 65°. Heavy rain in the night, but the morning proved sufficiently clear to enable us to see two snowy peaks: the highest of which bore N. 32° E. and its angle of elevation 8° 30'. Another, to the west of it, bore N. 22° 49' E. with an angle of 7° 7'. They appeared to be about ten miles from us in horizontal distance.

Marched to Baidya-nāṭh, a village which derives its appellation from a large temple, erected here, in honour of the deity of that name. This building has the appearance of great antiquity; but is now in a very ruinous condition, and no longer appropriated to sacred worship; being converted into a house for cattle. The images which it formerly contained are lodged in a smaller edifice, apparently as ancient, and built
in the center of a square, at the angles of which are several inferior temples, in a very dilapidated state.

The idols assembled here, compose a large proportion of the Hindu pantheon: the most conspicuous among them were Bhawa'ni, Ganesa and Vishnu. The temple stands on the left side of the Gaumut'hí river, across which, a bank, or causeway of stones has been raised, to dam up the stream, which has the appearance of an artificial pond. The water finds a passage through the stones; but within the enclosure, it is sufficiently deep for the purposes of bathing. A number of large fish, of different kinds, are preserved in it, and daily fed, by the Bráhmens and Fakirs. An annual festival is held here, during the time of the Haridwár fair; and is numerously attended, by people from all parts of the hills. The village contains only eight or ten houses, inhabited principally by Gosains; but there are also a few Canyakubja Bráhmens, who have charge and superintendence of the temple. The village stands on the banks of the Gaumut'hí, which falls into the Sarjú, or G'hágra river, at a place called Bahéser. In the commencement of this day's march, we ascended the Chiring G'hát. In one hour and ten minutes, we gained the summit, on which a small pile of stones denoted to the traveller a temporary cessation from his labours. To the branches of the surrounding trees, small scraps of cloth and tattered shreds had been suspended, by the passengers, in token of their satisfaction, or as offerings to the divinity, in whose honour the Tumulus is erected. These rude structures are distinguished by the name of Deotas or Dévatas, and are to be met with at the top of almost all the steep ascents, to mark the summit, and call down the grateful effusions of the traveller, who is perhaps never more inclined to offer up his thanksgivings, than on these occa-
sions. The hill people regard these places as sacred, and never fail to show their respects, by a reverential obeisance. A short distance beyond this Dēvata is a Chābūtra, which denotes the boundaries of the Gerwāl and Camaūn districts. As we proceeded, the road became wider and better, and the prospect opened around us on every side.

Our feelings were in perfect union with the scene, and we experienced a pleasure to which we had for some days been strangers. Our minds were now relieved from anxiety, by the idea of having escaped from a land of tyranny and oppression; and we contemplated with satisfaction the surrounding scenery, which our internal sensations, no doubt, tended to embellish. The view was no longer confined within a straightened valley, or bounded by an invidious chain of rugged peaks; but, taking an extensive range over six or seven undulatory ridges, was terminated by the horizon, at the distance of twenty or thirty miles. The contrast of the two sides of this Gīhāt was too remarkable to pass unnoticed. The hills of Camaūn appear to rise in a regular gentle inclivity, from their bases, and the soil is of rich earth, giving birth to fine verdure and extensive forests. The country divides also into valleys tolerably spacious, which the hand of tillage has rendered fertile. The cultivation is more extended, and carried higher up the mountains than in Gerwāl; while the neat little hamlets, dispersed along the foot of the hills, prove its population and riches to be proportionally greater. So apparent is this difference, that we could not help stopping every now and then, to remark how nature and art seemed to vie with each other in the varied landscape. On ascending the bank of a pretty streamlet, we arrived at the village of Culaur, part of which belongs to Camaūn, and part to Gerwāl. This system of a partition of the villages bordering on
the frontier is still maintained, although it originated during the time of
the Rajas, and was established for the mutual security of the boundaries.
From these villages indemnification was sought, from the adverse party;
for any predatory acts of aggression; but we may conceive the institution
to have been founded more upon mistrust than any sound policy;
for, while these joint possessions remained sacred, the adjacent places
were not less open to pillage; and the demand for restitution was not
likely to have been made, or granted, in an amicable manner. The
two parties, however, placed here, might act as spies, and be a check
against any open incursion.

14th. Therm. 71.5°. The night had been tempestuous, and the morn-
ing set in with heavy rain. When a fair interval was obtained, we com-
menced our march; and arrived at Phalila, a village containing five or
six houses, in one of which, the greater part of our baggage being left
far behind, we took up our abode for the night. Lat. 29° 49 46'.

On this day's march, we crossed four rivers, viz. the Gaumathì, in
which the water was about waist deep; the Garāda-Gangā, about thirty
feet in breadth and three in depth, but very rapid, the Basrūl, of which
the stream was equally violent, having fallen, immediately above the ford;
from a shelving ledge of rock, six or eight feet high; and the Causila;
the water of which was also three feet deep, but the current so strong
that it was very difficult to maintain a footing. Between the Basrūl and
this river, we crossed a Ghāt called Cachinnah. About two hundred
feet above the base, is a large Chabutra called Masret Chawura; whence,
in half an hour, we arrived at a Magra called Berhām Deo-ca-Nau.
It is a square building of stone, about ten feet high, with a flat roof. The
bottom of it is a small cistern three or four feet square, supplied with,
water from a spring; and on each side is a small verandah or recess. Berham De'o is said to have been a very powerful Raja, who resided formerly at the town of Baidya-Nath. Whenever he sat down to his meals, the water from this spring was forwarded, by a chain of servants, who were constantly kept stationed on the road, solely for that purpose. This tradition may have contributed to support the fame of the water, which is considered to possess some very superior qualities; although its appearance be such, as neither to excite desire, nor convey an idea of its purity.

Near the place where we halted, we were met by a servant of Buim Saahi, the chief of Almora, who informed us that a letter, despatched by Lieut. Webb, from Bunjbaghar, had been received by his master, who had sent a Subadar with two companies of Sipahis, to meet us, and deliver the answer. We found them accordingly at the village; but the Subadar deeming the day, which was Tuesday, unpropitious, declined to deliver it till the following one.

15th. Therm. 73°. This day, he paid us a visit, and delivered the letter; which, after many professions in the oriental style of compliment, lamented, that, in obedience to positive orders from the court of Napal, the writer was obliged to decline our visit at Almora. It concluded with desiring, that we would take the route towards the low country, from whatever place we might have reached, when the letter should come to hand.

This answer was by no means so favourable as we expected; and our disappointment on reading the contents was very great; for we had not only a great desire to see the city of Almora, but we wished to procure several articles, which we had omitted to purchase at Srinagar, from the
idea of being able to obtain them better at the Camão capital. Besides these, two very great objections offered to the route pointed out by Cásipúr; the first was the badness of the road, which our information led us to suppose was infinitely worse than the one we wished to pursue; the second was, that we expected to find the baggage and tents, which we had left at Haridwár, awaiting our arrival at Rúdrapúr.

As the Súbadár stated himself not empowered to allow our proceeding by a route which would lead us through the city of Almóra; it became necessary to make another reference to the government; and Lieut. Webb accordingly despatched another letter, urging the request for permission to continue the journey through Almóra, by all the arguments which appeared likely to secure a compliance; concluding, however, with expressing a hope, that if the obstacles to granting that should prove insurmountable, the chief would be pleased to appoint some other route towards Rúdrapúr, leaving Almóra at a distance. As this place was not above fourteen miles distant from the capital, we supposed an answer might be received in two days at farthest. Yet the reply did not come till the evening of the nineteenth, previously to which, a messenger, despatched by Col. Colebrooke, with supplies for us, had arrived, and informed us that our baggage and tents, which we expected to find at Rúdrapúr, awaited our arrival at Cásipúr. One of the chief objections to the route, pointed out to us by the chief of Almóra, being thus removed, we were preparing to prosecute our journey in that direction; notwithstanding the Súbadár stated, that, the matter having been again referred to the government, he could not yield us any assistance, till a reply should come to hand. The chief’s reply, however, having appointed us a meeting at Dhámes, situated at the distance of three Cós from Almóra, and it being...
still an object of the survey to proceed by the route of Rúnapúr, we prepared to follow it; and immediately despatched a messenger, to conduct our tents and baggage to the G'hát, by which we should descend.

20th. THERM. 72. Marched to Gurcanah. The road lay in great part along the banks of the Causila; it was in general good, and the ascents gradual. At the distance of every one or two miles, small stone benches were erected, near the road, under the shade of a fine spreading tree, enticing the wearied traveller to rest. These conveniences, however, are only to be found in the roads much frequented by the Gurc'hális, who most probably first instituted them for their own comfort and accommodation. Another practice, very general, and of more public utility, is that of constructing small stone buildings, somewhat resembling pavillions, over a spring, or clear dripping rill. In the center is a cistern, which contains the water, and on each side a small porch. This kind of reservoir is extremely common, and very useful to the traveller, who may find both shelter and good water.

We passed to-day in sight of a large fort, called Cāla Mándi, situated on a high flat hill, bearing about E. S. E. and distant eight or nine miles. It is said to be a fortification, extending over a wide space of table land, and large enough to contain one thousand men. We were not sufficiently near to examine it; but the outer wall appeared to be carried round the edge of the mountain. It was made during the time of the Rajas, and is now much out of repair, and unoccupied by a Gurc'hálí garrison.

21st. THERM. 74°. Very heavy rain in the night. We marched to Dhámes, the place appointed for a meeting with Bhím-Sa'hi the governor of Almora. It is situated on the top of a ridge, in a large recess of
of the mountain, and contains thirty or forty good huts. Lat. 29° 35'
10° N.

In the commencement of this day's march, we ascended a hill, whence
we had a distinct view of the fort of Lalmandi, and part of the city of
Almora. The former bore S. 20° E.; and to the N. E. of it stands the
capital, built on the top of a large ridge of mountains. The houses are
much scattered, extending down the slope on each side; but our view
of it was too distant to enable us to convey a more minute description
of the place. It is said to be more extensive and populous than Srinagar,
as also a place of greater traffic. The inhabitants are chiefly foreigners,
or descendants of emigrants from the low lands.

On descending the hill, we arrived at a large stream, called the
Tonghari Nadi, which falls into the Causila, about a quarter of a mile
to the S. S. W. Hence there was a tolerably steep ascent for half an
hour, which brought us to the village of Catarmal, inhabited principally
by Pataris or dancing women. Above the town, under a peak of the
mountain, stands a large, and apparently a very ancient temple, sacred
to Aditya. It is built at the W. extremity of a square, and surrounded
by fifty-one smaller pyramidal temples, which were formerly allotted
for the reception of idols; but few of them remain in a perfect state,
and most of the images are withdrawn from them, and collected in the
principal temple. Tradition reports it to have been built by the Pándús.
On a small space of flat land, adjoining to it, an annual fair is held, in the
month of Pausha. From hence, the city of Almora appears directly
opposite, bearing S. 35° E. distant about three miles.

22d. Therm. 73°. This evening we received the visit of Bhim Sahi,
who had left Almora at ten o'clock in the forenoon; but a heavy fall of
rain, and the consequent swelling of the Causila, which he had to cross, retarded his progress, so much, that he did not reach our encampment till five o'clock. He is a tall, stout, good looking man, about sixty years of age; although, from his healthy appearance, he might be supposed at least ten years younger. His manners are affable and conciliatory; he talks the Hindustani language tolerably well; but he has a quick mode of expression, and a singular impediment in his speech, which renders it rather difficult at times to comprehend him. He is the elder brother of Hasti Dhal and uncle to the young Raja of Napal. About the time that Ran Behaibur went to Benares, Bhim Sahi was detached, on some political mission, to Calcutta; where he acquired an insight into the customs and manners of Europeans, for whom he professes to entertain a great partiality. He is considered, by the natives, as a man of universal talents; and is said to have a great turn for mechanics, to the practical part of which he devotes most of his leisure.

From the ascendency which the party of the Tappas had gained in the counsels of the young Raja of Gurcha, he had been superceded in his office by Rewart Sinh Ku'a, a chief of that party. As Bhim Sahi is more esteemed, in his public situation, than any other chief, his removal appeared to cause general regret.

23d. THERM. 72°. Marched to Chupra. Our road lay at first over successive small ridges, between which were numerous streams and water courses; and the remainder was a continued descent, to Baghar Ghat on the banks of the Causila. The breadth of the stream is twenty-five or thirty yards, and the current very rapid. There being no ford, we were detained for a considerable time, in collecting, from the neighbouring
village, *Tumris* or *Tumbahs*, which are large gourds,* by means of which the passage is effected. Three or four of these are fastened to a string, and tied round the waist of the man who serves as a guide; a string of the same kind is attached to the passenger, to prevent his sinking, in case of accident; but no personal exertions are required on his part, as he has merely to grasp the bandage of the guide, who, being an expert swimmer, conveys him to the opposite shore. The baggage was transported across on men's heads; and the number of gourds was proportioned to the weight of the package. There being only three pilots, and as very few of our party could cross without their assistance, the passage was very tedious; and the evening closed, before one third of our people or baggage had come over.

24th. THERM. 73°. Marched to *Naikhánah*, a village situated about three hundred feet above the *Rámgad* rivulet, and inhabited by *Patarís* or dancing women. Lat. 29° 30′ 44″.

The road was sufficiently good to admit of measurement by the perambulator, which gave the distance ten miles one furlong.

25th. THERM. 68°. Marched to *Bhímésvara*, where we encamped in the enclosure of a temple sacred to *MahaDéva*, under the above name.

On this day's march, we passed the last steep ascent which we had to encounter. Small pieces of rag, and scraps of cloth, were attached to the surrounding trees, and most of our people were so overjoyed, to find their labours so nearly brought to a termination, that they expressed their satisfaction, by adding to the number of the tattered relics; making

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*Cucurbita Lagenaria.*

T 6
at the same time a vow, never to set foot again within these mountainous regions.

On a small hill, to the south of our encampment, is a Gurchâli fort, called Chicuta Ghari, the commandant of which paid us a visit, in the evening, and relieved our escort, by a party from his own garrison.

26th. Therm. 69°. Marched to Bamori, a village containing thirty or forty scattered huts, few of which are inhabited at this season of the year. It belongs to the Mewâlis, who have formed a small colony in these forests, and levy a contribution, on all goods and passengers, on their way to and from the hills. An annual fair is held here, in the dry season, to which the hill people bring their merchandise for sale, or to exchange it for the low land productions.

At this place, which is the limit of the Gurchâli territories, our escort took their leave.

27th. Therm. 70°. Marched to Rampur; the residence of Lal Sinh, the expelled Raja of Camáon; who now holds the situation of a Tahsildar under the British government. He happened to be absent at this time; but his son, Goman-Sing-Cumar paid us every attention, and, understanding our baggage was considerably in the rear, he ordered his own tents to be pitched for our accommodation. We expected to meet here our servants who had been left behind at Haridwâr, but the heavy continued rain had thrown numerous obstacles in the road from Câsipur, and it was supposed that camels would be unable to travel; we therefore despatched a man, to bring up our horses without delay, and to desire our servants to join us at Bareli, with all practicable expedition.
We were encamped in a small grove, near the village, which is placed on the west banks of the Baigal river. On the opposite side is Rúdrapúr, a town of considerable extent, belonging to the district of Murádábád.

We halted on the twenty-eighth and next day, to wait for our horses, and for some of our people, who, from lameness were still behind. Therm. on the 28th, 79°; on the 29th 83°.

On the 30th we marched to Sírgárh; and on the 1st of July attained the end of our journey at Baréli.
# Table

Of Latitudes and Longitudes of the several encampments on the foregoing journey; together with a register of the Thermometer and Weather.

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Total: $100.00

*Dates and notes added for reference.*
APPENDIX.

In the enumeration which I published in the ninth volume of Asiatick Researches, of the species of pepper, indigenous or cultivated in Prince of Wales's Island, one called by the Malays, Gádu, Caudo or Gadukh was mentioned (pag. 392.) Of this kind, the specimens which I had then seen being destitute of fructification, I was enabled by report only to refer it to this genus, and had no adequate means of ascertaining the specific character. To supply this defect, I obtained, by the assistance of a friend on the island, some live plants of this species, and committed them to the care of Dr. Roxburgh, who found them, when they blossomed, to be a species which had been introduced into the botanical garden some years before, and to which he has given the name of Piper Sarmentosum. To his kindness I am obliged for the following specific character and description.

WM. HUNTER.

Piper sarmentosum Roxb.

Erect, ramous at top, sarmentose. Leaves from broad-cordate, to oblong, smooth, about five-nerved, the superior subsessile. Aments leaf-opposed, short peduncled.


Gádu, Caudo, or Gadukh of the Malays.

A native of the Malay Islands, and brought by Mr. Smith, into the

U 6
botanic garden at Calcutta, where it thrives luxuriantly, and is in fruit most part of the year.

Stems erect, from six to eighteen inches high, ramous at top, jointed, and smooth.

Sarmentose shoots of a great length, issue in abundance from the top of the root, and lower part of the stem, by which the plant is quickly propagated to any extent.

Leaves alternate, the lower petioled, the superior subsessile, the lower broad re-entering-cordate; the superior obliquely-oblone; all are smooth on both sides, and shining above.

Aments solitary, opposite to the leaves, short-pedicuncled, oblong, very minute, being rarely more than a quarter of an inch long.
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