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THE WORKS

OF

SIR WILLIAM JONES.

ON THE

CHRONOLOGY OF THE HINDUS.

WRITTEN IN JANUARY, 1788,

BY

THE PRESIDENT.

The great antiquity of the Hindus is believed so firmly by themselves, and has been the subject of so much conversation among Europeans, that a short view of their Chronological System, which has not yet been exhibited from certain authorities, may be acceptable to those, who seek truth without partiality to receive opinions, and without regarding any consequences, that may result from their inquiries; the consequences, indeed, of truth cannot but be desirable, and no reasonable man will apprehend any danger to society from a general diffusion of its light; but we must not suffer our-
ON THE CHRONOLOGY

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

One of the most curious books in Sanscrit, and one of the oldest after the Védas, is a tract on religious and civil duties, taken, as it is believed, from the oral instructions of Menu, son of Brahma', to the first inhabitants of the earth: a well-collated copy of this interesting law-tract is now before me: and I begin my dissertation with a few couplets from the first chapter of it: "The sun causes the division of "day and night, which are of two sorts, those "of men and those of the Gods; the day, for "the labour of all creatures in their several "employments; the night, for their slumber. "A month is a day and night of the Patriarchs;
"and it is divided into two parts; the bright half
is their day for laborious exertions; the dark
half, their night for sleep. A year is a day
and night of the Gods; and that is also di-
vided into two halves; the day is, when the
fun moves towards the north; the night,
when it moves towards the south. Learn
now the duration of a night and day of
Brahma', with that of the ages respectively
and in order. Four thousand years of the
Gods they call the Creta (or Satya), age; and
its limits at the beginning and at the end
are, in like manner, as many hundreds.
In the three successive ages, together with
their limits at the beginning and end of
them, are thousands and hundreds dimin-
ished by one. This aggregate of four ages,
amounting to twelve thousand divine years, is
called an age of the Gods; and a thousand
such divine ages added together must be con-
sidered as a day of Brahма': his night has
also the same duration. The before men-
tioned age of the Gods, or twelve thousand
of their years, multiplied by seventy-one,
form what is named here below a Manwanta-
tara. There are alternate creations and de-
structions of worlds through innumerable
Manwantara's: the Being Supremely Desira-
ble performs all this again and again."

B 2
Such is the arrangement of infinite time, which the Hindus believe to have been revealed from heaven, and which they generally understand in a literal sense: it seems to have intrinsic marks of being purely astronomical; but I will not appropriate the observations of others, nor anticipate those in particular, which have been made by two or three of our members, and which they will, I hope, communicate to the society. A conjecture, however, of Mr. Patterson has so much ingenuity in it, that I cannot forbear mentioning it here, especially as it seems to be confirmed by one of the couplets just cited: he supposes, that, as a month of mortals is a day and night of the Patriarchs from the analogy of its bright and dark halves, so, by the same analogy, a day and night of mortals might have been considered by the ancient Hindus as a month of the lower world; and then a year of such months will consist only of twelve days and nights, and thirty such years will compose a lunar year of mortals; whence he surmises, that the four million three hundred and twenty thousand years, of which the four Indian ages are supposed to consist, mean only years of twelve days; and, in fact, that sum, divided by thirty, is reduced to an hundred and forty-four thousand: now a thousand four hundred and forty years are one nada, a period in the
Hindu astronomy, and that sum, multiplied by eighteen, amounts precisely to twenty-five thousand nine hundred and twenty, the number of years in which the fixed stars appear to perform their long revolution eastward. The last mentioned sum is the product also of an hundred and forty-four, which, according to M. Bailly, was an old Indian cycle, into an hundred and eighty, or the Tartarian period, called Van, and of two thousand eight hundred and eighty into nine, which is not only one of the lunar cycles, but considered by the Hindus as a mysterious number and an emblem of Divinity, because, if it be multiplied by any other whole number, the sum of the figures in the different products remains, always nine, as the Deity, who appears in many forms, continues One immutable essence. The important period of twenty-five thousand nine hundred and twenty years is well known to arise from the multiplication of three hundred and sixty into seventy-two, the number of years in which a fixed star seems to move through a degree of a great circle; and, although M. Le Gentil assures us, that the modern Hindus believe a complete revolution of the stars to be made in twenty-four thousand years, or fifty-four seconds of a degree to be passed in one year, yet we may have reason to think, that the old Indian astronomers
had made a more accurate calculation, but concealed their knowledge from the people under the veil of fourteen Menwantara's, seventy-one divine ages, compound cycles, and years of different sorts, from those of Brahma to those of Patala, or the infernal regions. If we follow the analogy suggested by Menu, and suppose only a day and night to be called a year, we may divide the number of years in a divine age by three hundred and sixty, and the quotient will be twelve thousand, or the number of his divine years in one age; but, conjecture apart, we need only compare the two periods 4320000 and 25920, and we shall find, that among their common divisors, are 6, 9, 12, &c. 18, 36, 72, 144, &c. which numbers with their several multiples, especially in a decuple progression, constitute some of the most celebrated periods of the Chaldeans, Greeks, Tartars, and even of the Indians. We cannot fail to observe, that the number 432, which appears to be the basis of the Indian system, is a 60th part of 25920, and, by continuing the comparison, we might probably solve the whole enigma. In the preface to a Varaanes Almanack I find the following wild stanza: "A thousand Great Ages are a day of "Brahma; a thousand such days are an In-"dian hour of Vishnu; six hundred thousand "such hours make a period of Rudra; and a
OF THE HINDUS.

"million of Rudra's (or two quadrillions five hundred and ninety-two thousand trillions of lunar years), are but a second to the Supreme Being." The Hindu theologians deny the conclusion of the stanza to be orthodox: "Time, they say, *exists not at all with God*;" and they advise the Astronomers to mind their own business without meddling with theology. The astronomical verse, however, will answer our present purpose; for it shows, in the first place, that cyphers are added at pleasure to swell the periods; and if we take ten cyphers from a Rudra, or divide by ten thousand millions, we shall have a period of 259200000 years, which, divided by 60 (the usual divisor of time among the Hindus) will give 4320000, or a Great Age, which we find subdivided in the proportion of 4, 3, 2, 1, from the notion of virtue decreasing arithmetically in the *golden, silver, copper, and earthen* ages. But, should it be thought improbable, that the Indian astronomers in very early times had made more accurate observations than those of Alexandria, Bagdad, or Maragbah, and still more improbable that they should have relapsed without apparent cause into error, we may suppose, that they formed their divine age by an arbitrary multiplication of 24,000 by 180 according to M. Le Gentil, or of 21600 by 200 according to the comment
on the *Sūrya Siddhānta*. Now, as it is *hardly* possible, that such coincidences should be accidental, we may hold it *nearly* demonstrated, that the period of a *divine age* was at first merely astronomical, and may consequently reject it from our present inquiry into the historical or civil chronology of *India*. Let us, however, proceed to the avowed opinions of the *Hindus*, and see, when we have ascertained their system, whether we can reconcile it to the course of nature and the common sense of mankind.

The aggregate of their four ages they call a *divine age*, and believe that, in every thousand such ages, or in every *day of Brahma*, *fourteen Menus* are successively invested by him with the sovereignty of the earth: each *Menu*, they suppose, transmits his empire to his sons and grandsons during a period of seventy-one divine ages; and such a period they name a *Manvantara*; but, since *fourteen* multiplied by *seventy-one* are not quite a *thousand*, we must conclude, that *six divine ages* are allowed for intervals between the *Manvantara’s*, or for the twilight of *Brahma’s* day. Thirty such days, or *Calpas*, constitute, in their opinion, *a month* of *Brahma*; twelve such months, one of his years; and an hundred such years, his *age*; of which age they assert, that fifty years have elapsed. We are now then, according to the
Hindus, in the first day or Calpa of the first month of the fifty-first year of Brahma's age, and in the twenty-eighth divine age of the seventh Manwantara, of which divine age the three first human ages have passed, and four thousand eight hundred and eighty-eight of the fourth.

In the present day of Brahma', the first Menu was surnamed Swa'Yambhuva, or Son of the Self-existente and it is He, by whom the Institutes of Religious and Civil Duties are supposed to have been delivered: in his time the Deity descended at a Sacrifice, and, by his wife Sataru'pa', he had two distinguished sons, and three daughters. This pair was created, for the multiplication of the human species, after that new creation of the world, which the Brâhmans call Pâdmacalâpya, or the Lotos-creation.

If it were worth while to calculate the age of Menu's Institutes, according to the Brâhmans, we must multiply four million three hundred and twenty thousand by six times seventy-one, and add to the product the number of years already past in the seventh Manwantara. Of the five Menu's, who succeeded him, I have seen little more than the names; but the Hindu writings are very diffuse on the life and posterity of the seventh Menu, surnamed Vaivashwata, or Child of the Sun: he is supposed to have had ten sons, of whom the eldest was Icshwa'cu;
and to have been accompanied by seven Rishi's, or holy persons, whose names were, Casyapa, Atri, Vasishtha, Viswa'mitra, Gautama, Jamadagni, and Bharadwa'ja; an account, which explains the opening of the fourth chapter of the Gità: "This immutable system of devotion, says Crishna, I revealed to Vivaswat, or the Sun; Vivaswat declared it to his son Menu; Menu explained it to Icshwa'cu: thus the Chief Rishi's know this sublime doctrine delivered from one to another."

In the reign of this Sun-born Monarch the Hindus believe the whole earth to have been drowned, and the whole human race destroyed by a flood, except the pious Prince himself, the seven Rishi's, and their several wives; for they suppose his children to have been born after the deluge. This general pralaya, or destruction, is the subject of the first Purâna, or Sacred Poem, which consists of fourteen thousand Stanzas; and the story is concisely, but clearly and elegantly, told in the eighth book of the Bhâga-wata, from which I have extracted the whole, and translated it with great care, but will only present you here with an abridgement of it. The demon Hayagrìva having purloined the Védas from the custody of Brahma, while he was reposeing at the close of the
sixth Manwantara, the whole race of men became corrupt, except the seven Rishi's, and Satyavrata, who then reigned in Dravira, a maritime region to the south of Carnata: this prince was performing his ablutions in the river Crtamala, when Vishnu appeared to him in the shape of a small fish, and, after several augmentations of bulk in different waters, was placed by Satyavrata in the ocean, where he thus addressed his amazed votary: 'In seven days all creatures who have offended me shall be destroyed by a deluge, but thou shalt be secured in a capacious vessel miraculously formed: take therefore all kinds of medicinal herbs and esculent grain for food, and, together with the seven holy men, your respective wives, and pairs of all animals, enter the ark without fear; then shalt thou know God face to face, and all thy questions shall be answered.' Saying this, he disappeared; and, after seven days, the ocean began to overflow the coasts, and the earth to be flooded by constant showers, when Satyavrata, meditating on the Deity, saw a large vessel moving on the waters: he entered it, having in all respects conformed to the instructions of Vishnu; who, in the form of a vast fish, suffered the vessel to be tied with a great sea serpent, as with a cable, to his mea-
fureless horn. When the deluge had ceased, "Vishnu" flew the demon, and recovered the "Veda's, instructed Satyavrata in divine knowledge, and appointed him the seventh "Menu, by the name of Vaivaswata."

Let us compare the two Indian accounts of the Creation and the Deluge with those delivered by Moses. I. is not made a question in this tract, whether the first chapters of Genesis are to be understood in a literal, or merely in an allegorical, sense: the only points before us are, whether the creation described by the first Menu, which the Brahmins call that of the Lotos, be not the same with that recorded in our Scripture, and whether the story of the seventh Menu be not one and the same with that of Noah. I propose the questions, but affirm nothing; leaving others to settle their opinions, whether Adam be derived from adam, which in Sanscrit means the first, or Menu from Nuh, the true name of the Patriarch; whether the Sacrifice, at which God is believed to have descended, allude to the offering of Abel; and, on the whole, whether the two Menu's can mean any other persons than the great progenitor, and the restorer, of our species.

On a supposition, that Vaivaswata, or Sun-born, was the Noah of Scripture, let us proceed to the Indian account of his posterity,
which I extract from the Puráñárt'haprecsd'sa, or The Purána's Explained, a work lately composed in Sanscrit by Ra'dhá'ca'nta Sarman, a Pandit of extensive learning and great fame among the Hindus of this province. Before we examine the genealogies of kings, which he has collected from the Purána's, it will be necessary to give a general idea of the Avatára's, or Descents, of the Deity: the Hindus believe innumerable such descents or special interpositions of providence in the affairs of mankind; but they reckon ten principal Avatára's in the current period of four ages; and all of them are described, in order as they are supposed to occur, in the following Ode of Jayade'va, the great Lyrick Poet of India.

1. "Thou recoverest the Veda in the water of the ocean of destruction, placing it joyfully in the bosom of an ark fabricated by thee; O Ce'sava, assuming the body of a fish: be victorious, O Heri, lord of the Universe!

2. "The earth stands firm on thy immensely broad back, which grows larger from the callus occasioned by bearing that vast burden, O Ce'sava, assuming the body of a tortoise: be victorious, O Heri, lord of the Universe!

3. "The earth, placed on the point of thy
"tusk, remains fixed like the figure of a black antelope on the moon, O Cēsava, assuming the form of a boar: be victorious, O Heri, lord of the Universe!"

4. The claw with a stupendous point, on the exquisite lotos of thy lion’s paw, is the black bee, that stung the body of the embowelled Hiranyacasisipu, O Cēsava, assuming the form of a man-lion: be victorious, O Heri, lord of the Universe!

5. By thy power thou beguilest Bali, O thou miraculous dwarf, thou purifier of men with the water (of Gangā) springing from thy feet, O Cēsava, assuming the form of a dwarf: be victorious, O Heri, lord of the Universe!

6. Thou batheft in pure water, consisting of the blood of Cbatriya’s, the world, whose offences are removed and who are relieved from the pain of other births, O Cēsava, assuming the form of Paras’u-Rāma: be victorious, O Heri, lord of the Universe!

7. With ease to thyself, with delight to the Genii of the eight regions, thou scatterest on all sides in the plain of combat the demon with ten heads, O Cēsava, assuming the form of Rāma-Chandra: be victorious, O Heri, lord of the Universe!

8. Thou wearest on thy bright body a mantle shining like a blue cloud, or like the water of
Yamunā tripping toward thee through fear of thy furrowing plough-share, O Cē'sava, assuming the form of Bala-Ra'ma: be victorious, O Heri, lord of the Universe!

9. Thou blamest (oh, wonderful!) the whole Vēda, when thou seest, O kind-hearted, the slaughter of cattle prescribed for sacrifice, O Cē'sava, assuming the body of Buddha: be victorious, O Heri, lord of the Universe!

10. For the destruction of all the impure thou drawest thy cimeter like a blazing comet (how tremendous!) O Cē'sava, assuming the body of Cālcī: be victorious, O Heri, lord of the Universe!

These ten Avatāra's are by some arranged according to the thousands of divine years in each of the four ages, or in an arithmetical proportion from four to one; and, if such an arrangement were universally received, we should be able to ascertain a very material point in the Hindu Chronology; I mean the birth of Buddha, concerning which the different Pandits, whom I have consulted, and the same Pandits at different times, have expressed a strange diversity of opinion. They all agree, that Cālcī is yet to come, and that Buddha was the last considerable incarnation of the Deity; but the astronomers at Varāṇes place him in the third age, and Rādhā'cā'nt insists, that he ap-
peared after the thousandth year of the fourth: the learned and accurate author of the Dabistán, whose information concerning the Hindus is wonderfully correct, mentions an opinion of the Pandits, with whom he had conversed, that Buddha began his career ten years before the close of the third age; and Go'verdhana of Cashmir, who had once informed me, that Crishna descended two centuries before Buddha, assured me lately, that the Cashmirians admitted an interval of twenty-four years (others allow only twelve) between those two divine persons. The best authority, after all, is the Bhágawat itself, in the first chapter of which it is expressly declared, that "Buddha, the son of Jina, would appear at Cica'ta, for the purpose of confounding the demons, just at the beginning of the Ca-liyug." I have long been convinced, that, on these subjects, we can only reason satisfactorily from written evidence, and that our forensic rule must be invariably applied, to take the declarations of the Bráhmans most strongly against themselves, that is, against their pretensions to antiquity; so that, on the whole, we may safely place Buddha just at the beginning of the present age: but what is the beginning of it? When this question was proposed to Rádha-cánt, he answered: "of a period comprising more than four hundred thousand
"years, the first two or three thousand may "reasonably be called the beginning." On my
demanding written evidence, he produced a book
of some authority, composed by a learned Gôô-
wâmi, and entitled Bhâgawatâmrita, or, the
Neêtar of the Bhâgawat, on which it is a me-
trical comment; and the couplet which he read
from it deserves to be cited: after the just men-
tioned account of BUDDHA in the text, the
commentator says,

\[ A neutrality calêrabdâsahsradwitayê gâte, \\
Mûrtih pût alavernôfya dwibhujà chicurój'hîtà. \]

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

Cicâta, named in the text as the birth place
of BUDDHA, the Gôôwâmi supposes to have
been Dhermâranya, a wood near Gayâ, where a
colossal image of that ancient Deity still re-
mains: it seemed to me of black stone; but,
as I saw it by torch-light, I cannot be posi-
tive as to its colour, which may, indeed, have
been changed by time.

The Brâhmins universally speak of the Baud-
dhas with all the malignity of an intolerant
spirit; yet the most orthodox among them con-
fider BUDDHA himself as an incarnation of

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Vishnu: this is a contradiction hard to be reconciled; unless we cut the knot, instead of untying it, by supposing with Giorgi, that there were two Buddhas, the younger of whom established the new religion, which gave so great offence in India, and was introduced into China in the first century of our era. The Cashmirian before mentioned asserted this fact, without being led to it by any question that implied it; and we may have reason to suppose, that Buddha is in truth only a general word for a Philosopher: the author of a celebrated Sanscrit Dictionary, entitled from his name Amarakosha, who was himself a Baudhā, and flourished in the first century before Christ, begins his vocabulary with nine words, that signify heaven, and proceeds to those, which mean a deity in general; after which come different classes of Gods, Demigods, and Demons, all by generic names; and they are followed by two very remarkable heads; first, (not the general names of Buddha, but) the names of a Buddha-in-general, of which he gives us eighteen, such as Muni, Sāstrī, Munindra, Vinayaca, Samantabhadra, Dhermarāja, Sugata, and the like; most of them significative of excellence, wisdom, virtue, and sanctity; secondly, the names of a-particular-Buddha-Muni-who-descended-in-the-family-of-Sācyā (those are the very words of the original), and his ti-
tiles are, Sácyamuni, Sácyasínba, Servárt'hasiddha, Saudhódani, Gautama, Arcabanbdu, or Kinsman of the Sun, and Múyádevísuta, or Child of Má-ya': thence the author passes to the different epithets of particular Hindu Deities. When I pointed out this curious passage to Ra'dha'-ca'nt, he contended, that the first eighteen names were general epithets, and the following seven, proper names, or patronymicks, of one and the same person; but Ra'málo'chan, my own teacher, who, though not a Bráhman, is an excellent scholar and a very sensible unprejudiced man, assured me, that Buddha was a generick word, like Déva, and that the learned author, having exhibited the names of a Dévatà in general, proceeded to those of a Buddha in general, before he came to particulars: he added, that Buddha might mean a Sage or a Philosopher, though Budba was the word commonly used for a mere wise man without supernatural powers. It seems highly probable, on the whole, that the Buddha, whom Jayade'éva celebrates in his Hymn, was the Sácyasínba, or Lion of Sá'cya, who, though he forbade the sacrifices of cattle, which the Véda's enjoin, was believed to be Vishnu himself in a human form, and that another Buddha, one perhaps of his followers in a later age, assuming his name and character, attempted to overfit the whole
system of the Brāhmans, and was the cause of that persecution, from which the Bauddhas are known to have fled into very distant regions. May we not reconcile the singular difference of opinion among the Hindus as to the time of Buddha's appearance, by supposing that they have confounded the Two Buddhas, the first of whom was born a few years before the close of the last age, and the second, when above a thousand years of the present age had elapsed? We know, from better authorities, and with as much certainty as can justly be expected on so doubtful a subject, the real time, compared with our own era, when the ancient Buddha began to distinguish himself; and it is for this reason principally, that I have dwelled with minute anxiety on the subject of the last Avatār.

The Brāhmans, who assisted Abu'l Fazl in his curious, but superficial, account of his master's Empire, informed him, if the figures in the Ayni Acbar be correctly written, that a period of 2962 years had elapsed from the birth of Buddha to the 40th year of Acbar's reign, which computation will place his birth in the 1366th year before that of our Saviour; but, when the Chmeṣe government admitted a new religion from India in the first century of our era, they made particular inquiries concerning the age of the old Indian Buddha, whose birth,
according to Couplet, they place in the 41st year of their 28th cycle, or 1036 years before Christ, and they call him, says he, Foe the son of Moye or May; but M. De Guignes, on the authority of four Chinese Historians, affirms, that Fo was born about the year before Christ 1027, in the kingdom of Cashmir: Giorgi, or rather Cassiano, from whose papers his work was compiled, assures us, that, by the calculation of the Tibetians, he appeared only 959 years before the Christian epoch; and M. Bailly, with some hesitation, places him 1031 years before it, but inclines to think him far more ancient, confounding him, as I have done in a former tract, with the first Budha, or Mercury, whom the Goths called Woden, and of whom I shall presently take particular notice. Now, whether we assume the medium of the four last-mentioned dates, or implicitly rely on the authorities quoted by De Guignes, we may conclude, that Buddha was first distinguished in this country about a thousand years before the beginning of our era; and whoever, in so early an age, expects a certain epoch unqualified with about or nearly, will be greatly disappointed. Hence it is clear, that, whether the fourth age of the Hindus began about one thousand years before Christ, accord-
ON THE CHRONOLOGY

ing to Goverdhan’s account of Buddha’s birth, or two thousand, according to that of Radha Can’t, the common opinion, that 4888 years of it are now elapsed, is erroneous; and here for the present we leave Buddha, with an intention of returning to him in due time; observing only, that, if the learned Indians differ so widely in their accounts of the age, when their ninth Avatār appeared in their country, we may be assured, that they have no certain Chronology before him, and may suspect the certainty of all the relations concerning even his appearance.

The received Chronology of the Hindus begins with an absurdity so monstrous, as to overthrow the whole system; for, having established their period of seventy-one divine ages as the reign of each Menu, yet thinking it incongruous to place a holy personage in times of impurity, they insist, that the Menu reigns only in every golden age, and disappears in the three human ages that follow it, continuing to dive and emerge, like a waterfowl, till the close of his Manwantara: the learned author of the Purānārthāpracāsa, which I will now follow step by step, mentioned this ridiculous opinion with a serious face; but, as he has not inserted it in his work, we may
OF THE HINDUS.

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take his account of the seventh Menu according to its obvious and rational meaning, and suppose, that Vaivasvata, the son of Sūrya, the son of Casyapa, or Uranus, the son of Marichi, or Light: the son of Brahma', which is clearly an allegorical pedigree, reigned in the last golden age, or, according to the Hindus, three million eight hundred and ninety-two thousand eight hundred and eighty-eight years ago. But they contend, that he actually reigned on earth one million seven hundred and twenty-eight thousand years of mortals, or four thousand eight hundred years of the Gods; and this opinion is another monster so repugnant to the course of nature and to human reason, that it must be rejected as wholly fabulous, and taken as a proof that the Indians know nothing of their Sun-born Menu, but his name and the principal event of his life; I mean the universal deluge, of which the three first Avatār's are merely allegorical representations, with a mixture, especially in the second, of astronomical Mythology.

From this Menu the whole race of men is believed to have descended; for the seven Rishi's, who were preserved with him in the ark, are not mentioned as fathers of human families;
but, since his daughter Ila' was married, as the Indians tell us, to the first Budha, or Mercury, the son of Chandra, or the Moon, a male Deity, whose father was Atri, son of Brahma' (where again we meet with an allegory purely astronomical or poetical), his posterity are divided into two great branches, called the Children of the Sun from his own supposed father, and the Children of the Moon, from the parent of his daughter's husband: the lineal male descendants in both these families are supposed to have reigned in the cities of Ayodhya, or Audh, and Pratishta'hana, or Vitora, respectively till the thousandth year of the present age, and the names of all the princes in both lines having been diligently collected by Radha'ca'nt from several Puranas, I exhibit them in two columns arranged by myself with great attention.

**SECOND AGE.**

**CHILDREN OF THE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUN</th>
<th>MOON</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Icshwa'cu,</td>
<td>Budha,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vicu'shi,</td>
<td>Pururavas,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cucutshi'ha,</td>
<td>Ayush,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anenas,</td>
<td>Nahusha,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
OF THE HINDUS.

CHILDREN OF THE

SUN.

5. *Prit'bu,*
   *Viswagandhi,*
   *Chandra,*
   *Yuvanás'wa,*
   *Srāva,*

10. *Vrihadás'wa,*
   *Dhundhumára*
   *Drīḍ'hás'wa,*
   *Heryas'wa,*
   *Nicumbha,*

15. *Srīs'ás'wa,*
   *Sénajit,*
   *Yuvanás'wa,*
   *Mândhátri,*
   *Purucutfā,*

20. *Trasadasfyu,*
   *Anaranya,*
   *Heryas'wa,*
   *Praruna,*
   *Trivindhana,*

25. *Satyavrata,*
   *Tris'ancu,*
   *Haris'chandra,*
   *Róhita,*
   *Harita,*

30. *Champa,*

MOON.

5. *Yayáti,*
   *Puru,*
   *Janaméjaya,*
   *Prachinwat,*
   *Pravíra,*

10. *Menasyu,*
   *Chárupada,*
   *Sudyu,*
   *Bahugava,*
   *Sanyáti,*

15. *Ahanyáti,*
   *Raudrás'wa,*
   *Rítéyush,*
   *Rantináva,*
   *Sumati,*

20. *Aiti,*
   *Dusbmanta,*
   *Bharata,*
   *(Vitat'ha,*
   *Manyu,*

25. *Vrīhatcés'tra,*
   *Haftin,*
   *Ajamid”ha,*
   *Ríc'ha,*
   *Samwarana,*

30. *Curu,*
ON THE CHRONOLOGY

CHILDREN OF THE

SUN.
Sudéva, 
Vijaya, 
Bharuca, 
Vrīca, 

MOON.
Jahnu, 
Surat'ha, 
Vidúrat'ha, 
Sārvabhauma, 

Jayatśena. 35.
Rādhica, 
Ayutāyush, 
Acródhana, 
Dévátit'hi, 

Rīcīha, 40.
Dilipta, 
Pratīpa, 
Sāntanu, 
Vichitravīrya, 
Pāndu, 45.
Yudbiṣṭ'bir). 

35. Bāhuca, 
Sagara, 
Asamanjas, 
Ansumat, 
Bhagirat'ha, 

40. Sruta, 
Nābha, 
Sindhudwipa, 
Ayutāyush, 
Rītaperna, 

45. Saudāsa, 
As maca, 
Mūlaca, 
Dasarat'ha, 
Aid'abid'i, 

50. Viswafaha, 
C'hat wānga, 
Dīrghabāhu, 
Raghu, 
Aja, 

55. Dasarat'ha, 
Ra'ma.
OF THE HINDUS.

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

In the Lunar pedigree we meet with another absurdity equally fatal to the credit of the Hindu system: as far as the twenty-second degree of descent from Vaivaswata, the syn-
chronism of the two families appears tolerably regular, except that the Children of the Moon were not all eldest sons; for king Yaya'ti appointed the youngest of his five sons to succeed him in India, and allotted inferior kingdoms to the other four, who had offended him; part of the Dacshin or the South, to Yadu, the ancestor of Crishna; the north, to Anu; the east to Druhya; and the west, to Turvasu, from whom the Pandits believe, or pretend to believe, in compliment to our nation, that we are descended. But of the subsequent degrees in the lunar line they know so little, that, unable to supply a considerable interval between Bharat and Vitat'ha, whom they call his son and successor, they are under a necessity of asserting, that the great ancestor of Yudhisht'hir actually reigned seven and twenty thousand years; a fable of the same class with that of his wonderful birth, which is the subject of a beautiful Indian Drama: now, if we suppose his life to have lasted no longer than that of other mortals, and admit Vitat'ha and the rest to have been his regular successors, we shall fall into another absurdity; for then, if the generations in both lines were nearly equal, as they would naturally have been, we shall find Yudhisht'hir, who reigned confessedly at the close
of the brazen age, nine generations older than Ra'ma, before whose birth the silver age is allowed to have ended. After the name of Bharat, therefore, I have set an asterisk to denote a considerable chasm in the Indian History, and have inserted between brackets, as out of their places, his twenty-four successors, who reigned, if at all, in the following age immediately before the war of the Mahabharat. The fourth Avatār, which is placed in the interval between the first and second ages, and the fifth which soon followed it, appear to be moral fables grounded on historical facts: the fourth was the punishment of an impious monarch by the Deity himself bursting from a marble Column in the shape of a lion; and the fifth was the humiliation of an arrogant Prince by so contemptible an agent as a mendicant dwarf. After these, and immediately before Buddha, come three great warriors all named Ra'ma; but it may justly be made a question, whether they are not three representations of one person, or three different ways of relating the same History: the first and second Ra'mas are said to have been contemporary; but whether all or any of them mean Ra'ma, the son of Cu'sh, I leave others to determine. The mother of the second Ra'ma was named
Cau'shalya', which is a derivative of Cushala, and, though his father be distinguished by the title or epithet of Da'sarat'ha, signifying, that his War-chariot bore him to all quarters of the world, yet the name of Cush, as the Cashmírians pronounce it, is preserved entire in that of his son and successor, and shadowed in that of his ancestor Vícuéshi; nor can a just objection be made to this opinion from the nasal Arabian vowel in the word Rámab mentioned by Moses, since the very word Arab begins with the same letter, which the Greeks and Indians could not pronounce; and they were obliged, therefore, to express it by the vowel, which most resembled it. On this question, however, I assert nothing; nor on another, which might be proposed: 'whether the fourth and fifth Ávatârs be not allegorical stories of the two presumptuous monarchs, Nimrod and Belus.'

The hypothesis, that government was first established, laws enacted, and agriculture encouraged in India by Rama about three thousand eight hundred years ago, agrees with the received account of Noah's death, and the previous settlement of his immediate descendents.
### Third Age

**SUN.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>5.</th>
<th>Pundārica,</th>
<th>Cšémadhanwas,</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dévánica,</td>
<td>Dévánica,</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ahín'agu,</td>
<td>Ahín'agu,</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Páripátra,</td>
<td>Páripátra,</td>
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<td>10.</td>
<td>Ranach'hala,</td>
<td>Vajrābha,</td>
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<td>Arca,</td>
<td>Arca,</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Sugana,</td>
<td>Sugana,</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Vidhrīti,</td>
<td>Vidhrīti,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Hiranyābha,</td>
<td>Pusya,</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pusya,</td>
<td>Dhrūvasandhi,</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Suders'ana,</td>
<td>Suders'ana,</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Agniverna,</td>
<td>Agniverna,</td>
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<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>Sīghra,</td>
<td>Maru, suppsed to</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>be still alive.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Präusu'ruta,</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sandhi,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Amers'ana,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**MOON.**

| 5.  | Vitat'ha,     | Manyu,          |
|     | Vṛihatchhetra,| Haftin,         |
|     | Ajamid'ha,    | Rīc'ha,         |
|     | Samwarana,    | Curu,           |
|     |               | Ḡabnu,          |
| 10. | Surat'ha,     | Vidurat'ha,     |
|     | Sārvabhauma,  | Jayatsena,      |
|     | Rādhica,      | Ayutāyuṣ,       |
| 15. | Ácrodhana,    | Dévatit'hi,     |
|     | Rīc'ha,       | Dilīpa,         |
|     | Pratīpa,      | Pratīpa,        |

25. Mahafswat,
Children of the

SUN.
Vis'wabháhu,
Praśénajit,
Táshaca,
Vribadhála,

MOON.
Sántanu,
Vichitrávérya,
Pádu,
Yudhisht'bira,

30. Vrihadran'á, Y. B.

Paric'shít.

C. 3100.

Here we have only nine and twenty princes of the solar line between Ra'ma and Vrihadra-ña exclusively; and their reigns, during the whole brazen age, are supposed to have lasted near eight hundred and sixty-four thousand years, a supposition evidently against nature; the uniform course of which allows only a period of eight hundred and seventy, or, at the very utmost, of a thousand, years for twenty-nine generations. Paric'shít, the great nephew and successor of Yudhisht'hir, who had recovered the throne from Duryodhan, is allowed without controversy to have reigned in the interval between the brazen and earthen ages, and to have died at the setting in of the Caíyug; so that, if the Pandits of Caísmir and Varánes have made a right calculation of Buddha's appearance, the present, or fourth, age must have begun about a thousand years before the birth of Christ, and consequently the reign of Icshwa'cu, could not have been earlier than four thousand years before that great epoch; and even that date
OF THE HINDUS.

will, perhaps, appear, when it shall be strictly examined, to be near two thousand years earlier than the truth. I cannot leave the third Indian age, in which the virtues and vices of mankind are said to have been equal, without observing, that even the close of it is manifestly fabulous and poetical, with hardly more appearance of historical truth, than the tale of Troy or of the Argonauts; for Yudhisht'hir, it seems, was the son of Dherma, the Genius of Justice; Bhima of Pavan, or the God of Wind; Arjun of Indra, or the Firmament; Nacul and Sahadeva, of the two Cuma'rs, the Castor and Pollux of India; and Bhishma, their reputed great uncle, was the child of Ganga, or the Ganges, by Sāntanu, whose brother De'va'pi is supposed to be still alive in the city of Calīpa; all which fictions may be charming embellishments of an heroick poem, but are just as absurd in civil History, as the descent of two royal families from the Sun and the Moon.

FOURTH AGE.

CHILDREN OF THE

SUN.

Urucriya,
Vatśavriddha,
Prativyōma,
Bhānu,

MOON.

Janamējaya,
Satānica,
Sahafrānica,
As'wamēdhaja,

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CHILDREN OF THE SUN.

5. Déváca,
   Sahadéva,
   Víra,
   Vṛ hadas'wa,
   Bhánumat,

10. Práticás'wa,
    Suprática,
    Marudéva,
    Sunacśhatra,
    Pushecara,

15. Antarícìha,
    Sutapas,
    Amitrajit,
    Vṛihadrája,
    Barhi,

20. Cṛitanjaya,
    Ran'anjaya,
    Sanjaya,
    Slócyà,
    Suddhóda,

25. Lángalada,
    Praśénajit,
    Csihadraca,
    Sumitrà, Y. B. C.

MOON.

Asimacṛíshna,
Némicracra,
Upta,
Chitrarat'ha,
Suchirat'ha,
Dhrítimat,
Suhína,
Sunít'ha,
Nṛíchacśuh,
Suc'hirala,
Paríplava,
Sunaya,
Médhávin,
Nṛipanjaya,
Derva,
Timi,
Vṛihadrat'ha,
Sudáśa,
Satánica,
Durmadana,
Rahínara,
Dand’ápání,
Nimi,
Csihémaca.

2100.

In both families, we see, thirty generations are reckoned from YUDHISHT'HIR and from
Vrihadbala his contemporary (who was killed, in the war of Bhárat, by Abhimanu, son of Arjun and father of Parícshít), to the time, when the Solar and Lunar dynasties are believed to have become extinct in the present divine age; and for these generations the Hindus allot a period of one thousand years only, or a hundred years for three generations; which calculation, though probably too large, is yet moderate enough, compared with their absurd accounts of the preceding ages: but they reckon exactly the same number of years for twenty generations only in the family of Jara'sandha, whose son was contemporary with Yudhisthír, and founded a new dynasty of princes in Magadha, or Babar; and this exact coincidence of the time, in which the three races are supposed to have been extinct, has the appearance of an artificial chronology, formed rather from imagination than from historical evidence; especially as twenty kings, in an age comparatively modern, could not have reigned a thousand years. I, nevertheless, exhibit the list of them as a curiosity; but am far from being convinced, that all of them ever existed; that, if they did exist, they could not have reigned more than seven hundred years, I am fully persuaded by the course of nature and the concurrent opinion of mankind.
KINGS of MAGADHA.

Sahadéva, Suchi,
Májrári, Cštéma,
Srutasfravas, Suvrata,
Ayutáyush, Dhermasútra,
5. Niramitra, Srama; 15.
Sunacśhatra, Dríd’haséna,
Vrihetśena, Sumati,
Carmajit, Subala,
Srutanjaya, Suníta,

Puranjaya, son of the twentieth king, was put to death by his minister Sunaca, who placed his own son Pradyota on the throne of his master; and this revolution constitutes an epoch of the highest importance in our present inquiry; first, because it happened according to the Bhágawatámríta, two years exactly before Buddyha’s appearance in the same kingdom; next, because it is believed by the Hindus to have taken place three thousand eight hundred and eighty-eight years ago, or two thousand one hundred years before Christ; and, lastly, because a regular chronology, according to the number of years in each dynasty, has been established from the accession of Pradyota to the subversion of the genuine Hindu government; and that chronology I will now lay be-
fore you, after observing only, that Ra'dha'-ca'nt himself says nothing of Buddha in this part of his work, though he particularly mentions the two preceding Avatāra's in their proper places.

**KINGS OF MAGADHA.**

Y.B.C.  

Pradyótā, ........................................ 2100  
Pálaca,  
Vis'āc'hayúpa,  
Rájaca,  
Nandiverdhana, 5 reigns = 138 years,  

Sis'unága, ........................................ 1962  
Cácauerna,  
Cśhémadherman,  
Cśhétrajnya,  
Vidhiśāra, 5.  
Ajátasatru,  
Darbhaca,  
Ajaya,  
Nandiverdhana,  
Mahánandi, 10 r = 360 y.  

**NANDA,** ......................................... 1602  

This prince, of whom frequent mention is made in the Sanscrit books, is said to have been
murdered, after a reign of a hundred years, by a very learned and ingenious, but passionate and vindictive, Brāhmaṇa, whose name was Caṇacya, and who raised to the throne a man of the Maurya race, named Chandragupta: by the death of Nanda, and his sons, the Cśa-triya family of Prādyoṭa became extinct.

MAURYA KINGS. Y.B.C.

Chandragupta, . . . . . 1502
Vārśāra,
Asācaverdhana,
Suyasaśa,
Desarat'ha, 5,
Sangata,
Sālis'ūca,
Sōmaśarman,
Satadhanwas,
Vṛiḥadrat'ha, 10 r = 137 y.

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

SUNGA KINGS. Y.B.C.

Pushpamitra, . . . . . 1365
Agnimitra,
Suṣyēśṭha,
OF THE HINDUS.

Vasumitra,
Abhadraca, 5.
Pulinda,
Ghósha,
Vajramitra,
Bhágavata,
Dévabhúti, \(10 \times r = 112 y\).

The last prince was killed by his minister Vasude'va, of the Cau'n'a race, who usurped the throne of Magadha.

CANNA KINGS. Y.B.C:

Vasudéva, .... 1253
Bhúmitra,
Náráyana,
Susarman, \(4 \times r = 345 y\).

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

ANDHRA KINGS. Y.B.C.

Balin, .... 908
Críshna,
Srís'ántacarna,
Paurnamása,
Lambódara, 5.
Vivilaca,
Méghaswáta,  
Vat'amána,  
Talaca,  
Siváswáti,  
Puríshabhéru,  
Sunandana,  
Chacóraca,  
Bat'aca,  
Gómatin,   
Purímat,  
Médas'iras,  
Siraścand'ha,  
Yajñyas'ri,  
Vijaya,   
Chandrabíja,  

After the death of Chandrabíja, which happened, according to the Hindus, 396 years before Vicrama'ditya, or 452 B.C. we hear no more of Magadba as an independent kingdom; but Ra'dha'cánt has exhibited the names of seven dynasties, in which seventy-six princes are said to have reigned one thousand three hundred and ninety-nine years in Avabhríti, a town of the Dacshin, or South, which we commonly call Decan: the names of the seven dynasties, or of the families who established them, are Abhira, Gardabbin, Canca, Yavana, Turusb-cara, Bburunda, Maula; of which the Yavana's
are by some, not generally, supposed to have been Ionians, or Greeks, but the Turusbcaras and Maula’s are universally believed to have been Turcs and Moguls; yet Radha’c’a’nt adds: “when the Maula race was extinct, five princes, named Bhunanda, Bangira, Si’s’unandi, Yas’b’nandi, and Praviraca, reigned an hundred and six years (or till the year 1053) in the city of Cilacila,” which, he tells me, he understands to be in the country of the Maharashtra’s, or Mabrata’s; and here ends his Indian Chronology; for “after Praviraca, says he, this empire was divided among Mlechhas, or Infindels.” This account of the seven modern dynasties appears very doubtful in itself, and has no relation to our present inquiry; for their dominion seems confined to the Decan, without extending to Magadha; nor have we any reason to believe, that a race of Grecian princes ever established a kingdom in either of those countries: as to the Moguls, their dynasty still subsists, at least nominally; unless that of Chengiz be meant, and his successors could not have reigned in any part of India for the period of three hundred years, which is assigned to the Maulas; nor is it probable, that the word Turc, which an Indian could have easily pronounced and clearly expressed in the Nagari letters, should have been corrupted into Turusbcar.
On the whole we may safely close the most authentick system of Hindu Chronology, that I have yet been able to procure, with the death of Chandrabija. Should any farther information be attainable, we shall, perhaps, in due time attain it either from books or inscriptions in the Sanscrit language; but from the materials, with which we are at present supplied, we may establish as indubitable the two following propositions; that the three first ages of the Hindus are chiefly mythological, whether their mythology was founded on the dark enigmas of their astronomers, or on the heroic fictions of their poets, and, that the fourth, or historical, age cannot be carried farther back than about two thousand years before Christ. Even in the history of the present age, the generations of men and the reigns of kings are extended beyond the course of nature, and beyond the average resulting from the accounts of the Brahmans themselves; for they assign to an hundred and forty-two modern reigns a period of three thousand one hundred and fifty-three years, or about twenty-two years to a reign one with another; yet they represent only four Canna princes on the throne of Magadba for a period of three hundred and forty-five years; now it is even more improbable, that four successive kings should have reigned eighty-six years and four
months each, than that Nanda should have been king a hundred years and murdered at last. Neither account can be credited; but, that we may allow the highest probable antiquity to the Hindu government, let us grant, that three generations of men were equal on an average to an hundred years, and that Indian princes have reigned, one with another, two and twenty: then reckoning thirty generations from Arjun, the brother of Yudhishthira, to the extinction of his race, and taking the Chinese account of Buddha's birth from M. De Guignes, as the most authentick medium between Abu'l Fazl and the Tibetians, we may arrange the corrected Hindu Chronology according to the following table, supplying the word about or nearly, (since perfect accuracy cannot be attained and ought not to be required), before every date.

Y. B. C.

Abhimanyu, son of Arjun, 2029
Pradyota, 1029
Buddha, 1027
Nanda, 699
Balin, 149
Vicrama'ditya, 56
De'vapa'la, king of Gaur, 23

If we take the date of Buddha's appearance from Abu'l Fazl, we must place Abhimanyu
2368 years before Christ, unless we calculate from the twenty kings of Magadha, and allow seven hundred years instead of a thousand, between Arjun and Pradyota, which will bring us again very nearly to the date exhibited in the table; and, perhaps, we can hardly approach nearer to the truth. As to Rāja Nanda, if he really sat on the throne a whole century, we must bring down the Andhra dynasty to the age of Vicrama'ditya, who with his feudatories had probably obtained so much power during the reign of those princes, that they had little more than a nominal sovereignty, which ended with Chandra'bija in the third or fourth century of the Christian era; having, no doubt, been long reduced to insignificance by the kings of Gaur, descended from Gopa'la. But, if the author of the Dāsiṣṭān be warranted in fixing the birth of Buddha ten years before the Caliṣyug, we must thus correct the Chronological Table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1027</td>
<td>Buddha,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1017</td>
<td>Parichhit,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>317</td>
<td>or 17 Pradyot (reckoning 20 or 30 generations)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>or 313 Nanda,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Y. B. C.

Y. A. C.
OF THE HINDUS.

This correction would oblige us to place Vi-
crama'ditya before Nanda, to whom, as all the Pandits agree, he was long posterior;
and, if this be an historical fact, it seems to con-
firm the Bhāgawatāmrīta, which fixes the be-
ginning of the Caliyug about a thousand years
before Buddha; besides that Balin would
then be brought down at least to the sixth and
Chandrābīja to the tenth century after
Christ, without leaving room for the subse-
quently dynasties, if they reigned successively.

Thus have we given a sketch of Indian His-
tory through the longest period fairly assignable
to it, and have traced the foundation of the In-
dian empire above three thousand eight hundred
years from the present time; but, on a subject
in itself so obscure, and so much clouded by the
fictions of the Brāhmans, who, to aggrandize
themselves, have designedly raised their anti-
quity beyond the truth, we must be satisfied
with probable conjecture and just reasoning
from the best attainable data; nor can we hope
for a system of Indian Chronology, to which no
objection can be made, unless the Astronomical
books in Sanscrit shall clearly ascertain the
places of the colures in some precise years of
the historical age, not by loose traditions, like
that of a coarse observation by Chiron, who
possibly never existed (for "he lived, says
"Newton, in the golden age," which must
long have preceded the Argonautick expedi-
tion), but by such evidence as our astrono-
mers and scholars shall allow to be unexcep-
tionable.
# CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE,

**According to**

*One of the Hypotheses intimated in the preceding Traité.*

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A
SUPPLEMENT TO THE ESSAY
ON
INDIAN CHRONOLOGY.
BY
THE PRESIDENT.

OUR ingenious associate Mr. Samuel Davis, whom I name with respect and applause, and who will soon, I trust, convince M. Bailly, that it is very possible, for an European to translate and explain the Sūrya Siddhānta, favoured me lately with a copy, taken by his Pandit, of the original passage, mentioned in his paper on the Astronomical Computations of the Hindus, concerning the places of the colures in the time of Vara'ha, compared with their position in the age of a certain Muni, or ancient Indian philosopher; and the passage appears to afford evidence of two actual observations, which will ascertain the chronology of the Hindus, if not by rigorous demonstration, at least by a near approach to it.

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

Before I produce the original verses, it may be useful to give you an idea of the *Aryā* measure, which will appear more distinctly in Latin than in any modern language of Europe:

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

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

Thoas, apros, tigridas nos venemur, pejoresque tyrannos:
Dic tibi cerva, lepus *tibi dic male quid egerit* herbivorus.

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

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

I now exhibit the five stanzas of *Varāha* in *European* characters, with an etching of the
two first, which are the most important, in the original Dévanágarí:

As'léshárdháddachhinamuttaramayanañ ravérdhanifś'hádyañ
Núnañ cadáchídásidýénóctán púrva s'aféréthu.
Sámpratamayanañ savituh carcat'acádyañ mrigúditas'cháñyat:
Ucákábhávë vicrítih prayacchahaperifshanair vyaçñih.
Dúrañ'hachihnavédyádudayé'śtamayé'pivá fahafránsoñ,
Ch'háyápravés anirgamachihnañrva mandálè mahati.
Aprápya macaramarcò vinivrítto hanti sápárán yáñyáñ,
Carcat'acamañapráptò vinivríttas'chóttañ saindríñ.
Uttaramayananamartítya vyávrittañ cshémás'as'ya vřñdhicarah,
Pracritifś'has'chápyévan vicrítigatir bhayaecudus'hnás'uh.

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

"Certainly the southern solstice was once in
the middle of As'éśhá, the northern in the
first degree of Dhanisťhá́, by what is recorded
in former Sásťras. At present one solstice is
in the first degree of Carcata, and the other in
the first of Macara: that which is recorded,
not appearing, a change must have happened;
and the proof arises from ocular demonstrations;
that is, by observing the remote object
and its marks at the rising or setting of the
sun, or by the marks, in a large graduated
circle, of the shadow's ingress and egress. The
sun, by turning back without having reached
Macara, destroys the south and the west; by
turning back without having reached Carcata,
the north and east. By returning, when he
" has just passed the summer solstitial point, he
" makes wealth secure and grain abundant,
" since he moves thus according to nature; but
" the sun, by moving unnaturally, excites ter-
" rour."

Now the Hindu Astronomers agree, that the
1st January 1790 was in the year 4891 of the
Caliyuga, or their fourth period, at the beginning
of which, they say, the equinoctial points were
in the first degrees of Mēṣha and Tula; but they
are also of opinion, that the vernal equinox of-
cillates from the third of Mīna to the twenty-
seventh of Mēṣha and back again in 7200 years,
which they divide into four pādas, and conse-
quently that it moves, in the two intermediate
pādas, from the first to the twenty-seventh of
Mēṣha and back again in 3600 years; the col-
lure cutting their ecliptick in the first of Mēṣha,
which coincides with the first of Asvinī, at the
beginning of every such oscillatory period. Va-
ra'ha, surnamed Mihira, or the Sun, from his
knowledge of Astronomy, and usually distin-
guished by the title of Achūrya, or teacher of
the Vedas, lived confessedly, when the Caliyuga
was far advanced; and, since by actual observa-
tion he found the solstitial points in the first de-
gresses of Carcata and Macara, the equinoctial
points were at the same time in the first of Mē-
ṣha and Tula: he lived, therefore, in the year
3600 of the fourth Indian period, or 1291 years before 1st January 1790, that is, about the year 499 of our era. This date corresponds with the ayanāsa, or precession, calculated by the rule of the Śūrya śiddhānta; for 19° 21' 54" would be the precession of the equinox in 1291 years according to the Hindu computation of 54" annually, which gives us the origin of the Indian Zodiac nearly; but by Newton's demonstrations, which agree as well with the phenomena, as the varying density of our earth will admit, the equinox recedes about 50" every year, and has receded 17° 55' 50" since the time of Vāraḥa, which gives us more nearly in our own sphere the first degree of Mēṇa in that of the Hindus. By the observation recorded in older Sāstras, the equinox had gone back 23° 20', or about 1680 years had intervened, between the age of the Muni and that of the modern astronomer: the former observation, therefore, must have been made about 2971 years before 1st January 1790, that is, 1181 before Christ.

We come now to the commentary, which contains information of the greatest importance. By former Sāstras are meant, says Bhattotpāla, the books of Paraśara and of other Munis; and he then cites from the Pārayantī Sanbītā the following passage, which is in mo-
dulated prose and in a style much resembling that of the Vedas:

Sravistádyát pausnhárdhántan charah sisirá; vaśántah pausnhárdhát róhinyántan; saumádyádasléshárdhántan gríshmah; právrídásléshár
dhát hañtántan; chitrádyát jyéshth’hárdhántan s’arát; hémantò jyéshth’hárdhát vaisnh’avántan.

"The season of Sisíra is from the first of "Dhanáshth’bá to the middle of Révatí; that of "Vášanta from the middle of Révatí to the end "of Róbiní; that of Gríshma from the begin-
ing of Mrígáisíras to the middle of As'éshbá; "that of Vésbhá from the middle of As'éshbá to "the end of Hañta; that of Sarad from the first "of Chitrá to the middle of Jyéshth’bá; that of "Hémanta from the middle of Jyéshth’bá to the "end of Srajaná."

This account of the six Indian seasons, each of which is co-extensive with two signs, or four lunar stations and a half, places the solstitial points, as Vará’ha has ascerted, in the first degree of Dhanáshth’bá, and the middle, or 6° 40‘, of As’éshbá, while the equinoctial points were in the tenth degree of Bhraná and 3° 20‘ of Viś-
áte’bá; but, in the time of Vará’ha, the solstitial colure passed through the 10th degree of Punárvasú and 3° 20‘ of Uttaráśhárá, while the equinoctial colure cut the Hindu ecliptick in the
first of Aśvinī and 6° 40′ of Chitrā, or the Rōga and only star of that mansion, which, by the way, is indubitably the Spike of the Virgin, from the known longitude of which all other points in the Indian Zodiack may be computed. It cannot escape notice, that Paraśara does not use in this passage the phrase at present, which occurs in the text of Varāha; so that the places of the colures might have been ascertained before his time, and a considerable change might have happened in their true position without any change in the phrases, by which the seasons were distinguished; as our popular language in astronomy remains unaltered, though the Zodiacal asterisms are now removed a whole sign from the places, where they have left their names: it is manifest, nevertheless, that Paraśara must have written within twelve centuries before the beginning of our era, and that single fact, as we shall presently shew, leads to very momentous consequences in regard to the system of Indian history and literature.

On the comparison, which might easily be made, between the colures of Paraśar and those ascribed by Eudoxus to Chiron, the supposed assistant and instructor of the Argo-

nautes, I shall say very little; because the whole Argonautick story (which neither was, accord-
ing to Herodotus, nor, indeed, could have been, originally Grecian), appears, even when stripped of its poetical and fabulous ornaments, extremely disputable; and, whether it was founded on a league of the Helladian princes and states for the purpose of checking, on a favourable opportunity, the overgrown power of Egypt, or with a view to secure the commerce of the Euxine and appropriate the wealth of Colchis, or, as I am disposed to believe, on an emigration from Africa and Asia of that adventurous race, who had first been established in Chaldea; whatever, in short, gave rise to the fable, which the old poets have so richly embellished, and the old historians have so inconsiderately adopted, it seems to me very clear even on the principles of Newton, and on the same authorities to which he refers that the voyage of the Argonauts must have preceded the year, in which his calculations led him to place it. Battus built Cyrene, says our great philosopher, on the site of Irosa, the city of Antaeus, in the year 633 before Christ; yet he soon after calls Eurypylus, with whom the Argonauts had a conference, king of Cyrene, and in both passages he cites Pindar, whom I acknowledge to have been the most learned, as well as the sublimest, of poets. Now, if I understand Pindar (which I will not assert,
and I neither possess nor remember at present the *Scholia*, which I formerly perused) the fourth *Pythian Ode* begins with a short panegyric on *Arcesilas* of *Cyrene*; "Where, says the "bard, the priests, who sat near the golden "eagles of Jove, prophesied of old, when "Apollo was not absent from his mansion, "that Battus, the colonizer of fruitful Lybia, "having just left the sacred isle (Thera), "should build a city excelling in cars, on the "splendid breast of earth, and, *with the seventh generation*, should refer to himself the "Theranean prediction of Medea, which that "princess of the Colchians, that impetuous "daughter of Æetes, breathed from her im-
mortal mouth, and thus delivered to the half-
divine mariners of the warriour Jason." From this introduction to the noblest and most animated of the *Argonautick* poems, it appears, that *fifteen complete generations* had intervened between the voyage of Jason and the emigration of Battus; so that, considering *three generations* as equal to *an hundred* or *an hundred and twenty years*, which Newton admits to be the Grecian mode of computing them, we must place that voyage at least *five* or *six hundred years* before the time fixed by Newton himself, according to his own computation, for the building of Cyrene; that is, *eleven or twelve*
hundred and thirty-three years before Christ; an age very near on a medium to that of Parāśara. If the poet means afterwards to say, as I understand him, that Arcesilas, his contemporary, was the eighth in descent from Battus, we shall draw nearly the same conclusion, without having recourse to the unnatural reckoning of thirty-three or forty years to a generation; for Pindar was forty years old, when the Persians, having crossed the Hellespont, were nobly refuted at Thermopylae and gloriously defeated at Salamis: he was born, therefore, about the sixty-fifth Olympiad, or five hundred and twenty years before our era; so that, by allowing more naturally six or seven hundred years to twenty-three generations, we may at a medium place the voyage of Jason about one thousand one hundred and seventy years before our Saviour, or about forty-five years before the beginning of the Newtonian chronology.

The description of the old colures by Eudoxus, if we implicitly rely on his testimony and that of Hipparchus, who was, indisputably, a great astronomer for the age, in which he lived, affords, I allow, sufficient evidence of some rude observation about 937 years before the Christian epoch; and, if the cardinal points had receded from those colures
36° 29' 10" at the beginning of the year 1690, and 37° 52' 30" on the first of January in the present year, they must have gone back 3° 23' 20" between the observation implied by Paramārtha and that recorded by Eudoxus; or, in other words, 244 years must have elapsed between the two observations: but, this disquisition having little relation to our principal subject, I proceed to the last couplets of our Indian astronomer Varāha Miśira, which, though merely astrological and consequently absurd, will give occasion to remarks of no small importance. They imply, that, when the solstices are not in the first degrees of Carcata and Macara, the motion of the sun is contrary to nature, and being caused, as the commentator intimates, by some utpāta, or preternatural agency, must necessarily be productive of misfortune; and this vain idea seems to indicate a very superficial knowledge even of the system, which Varāha undertook to explain; but he might have adopted it solely as a religious tenet, on the authority of Garga, a priest of eminent sanctity, who expresses the same wild notion in the following couplet:

Yadā nivartate prāptah svasīsthamuttarāyanē,  
Aflecīhān dacśhīne prāptaśtadāvidyānāmabhāyan

"When the sun returns, not having reached
“Dhanisht'hà in the northern solstice, or not
“having reached Asi'shà in the southern, then
“let a man feel great apprehension of danger.”

Para'sara himself entertained a similar opinion, that any irregularity in the solstices would indicate approaching calamity: Yadhåprépto vaisñavántam, says he, udanmargè prepadyate, dacśiné asāśbáṁ và mabhåbhaya-yà, that is, “When, having reached the end of Sravanan, "in the northern path, or half of Asia'shà in "the southern, he still advances, it is a cause of "great fear.” This notion possibly had its rise, before the regular precession of the cardinal points had been observed; but we may also remark, that some of the lunar mansions were considered as inauspicious, and others as fortunate: thus Menu, the first Indian lawgiver, ordains, that certain rites shall be performed under the influence of a happy Nacshatra; and, where he forbids any female name to be taken from a constellation, the most learned commentator gives Ardra and Révati as examples of ill-omened names, appearing by design to skip over others, that must first have occurred to him. Whether Dhanisht’hà and Asi’shà were inauspicious or prosperous, I have not learned; but, whatever might be the ground of Vara'ha’s astrological rule, we may collect from his astronomy, which was grounded on observation,
that the solstice had receded at least $23^\circ 20'$ between his time and that of Parāśāra; for, though he refers his position to the signs, instead of the lunar mansions, yet all the Pandits, with whom I have conversed on the subject, unanimously assert, that the first degrees of Mēṣha and Aświni are coincident; since the two ancient sages name only the lunar afterisms, it is probable, that the solar division of the Zodiac into twelve signs was not generally used in their days; and we know from the comment on the Sūrya Siddhānta, that the lunar month, by which all religious ceremonies are still regulated, was in use before the solar. When M. Bailly asks, "why the Hindus established the beginning of the precession, according to their ideas of it, in the year of Christ 499," to which his calculations also had led him, we answer, because in that year the vernal equinox was found by observation in the origin of their ecliptic; and since they were of opinion, that it must have had the same position in the first year of the Caliugya, they were induced by their erroneous theory to fix the beginning of their fourth period 3600 years before the time of Varāha, and to account for Parāśāra's observation by supposing an utpāta, or prodigy.

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

All the Brâhmens agree, that only one PARA'SARA is named in their sacred records; that he composed the astronomical book before-cited, and a law-tract, which is now in my possession; that he was the grandson of VASISHT'HA, another astronomer and legislator, whose works are still extant, and who was the preceptor of RA'MA, king of AYO'DHYÀ; that he was the father of VYA'SA, by whom the Védas were arranged in the form, which they now bear, and whom CRISHNA himself names with exalted praise in the Gità; so that, by the admission of the Pandits themselves, we find only three generations between two of the RA'MAS, whom they consider as incarnate portions of the divinity; and PARA'SAR might have lived till the beginning of the Caliyuga, which the mistaken doctrine of an oscillation in the cardinal points has compelled the Hindus to place 1920 years too early. This error, added to their fanciful arrangement of the four ages, has been the source of many absurdities; for they insist, that VA'L-
MIEC, whom they cannot but allow to have been contemporary with RA'MACHANDRA, lived in the age of VYA'SA, who consulted him on the composition of the Mahabharat, and who was personally known to BALARA'MA, the brother of CRISHNA: when a very learned Brähmen had repeated to me an agreeable story of a conversation between VA'LMIC and VYA'SA, I expressed my surprise at an interview between two bards, whose ages were separated by a period of 864,000 years; but he soon reconciled himself to so monstrous an anachronism, by observing that the longevity of the Munis was preternatural, and that no limit could be set to divine power. By the same recourse to miracles or to prophecy, he would have answered another objection equally fatal to his chronological system: it is agreed by all, that the lawyer YA'GYAWALCYA was an attendant on the court of JANACA, whose daughter SI'TA was the constant, but unfortunate, wife of the great RA'MA, the hero of VA'LMIC's poem; but that lawyer himself, at the very opening of his work, which now lies before me, names both PARA'SAR and VYA'SA among twenty authors, whose tracts form the body of original Indian law. By the way, since VASISHT'HA is more than once named in the Mánavisñanbítà, we may be certain, that the laws ascribed to MÉNU, in whatever age they
might have been first promulgated, could not have received the form, in which we now see them, above three thousand years ago. The age and functions of Garga lead to consequences yet more interesting: he was confessedly the purôbîta, or officiating priest, of Crîshna himself, who, when only a herdsman's boy at Mâtrîpurâ, revealed his divine character to Garga, by running to him with more than mortal benignity on his countenance, when the priest had invoked Na'ra'yan. His daughter was eminent for her piety and her learning, and the Brâhmanas admit, without considering the consequence of their admission, that she is thus addressed in the Vêda itself: Yata urdbwan nô va samópi, Ga'rgî, esha âdityô dyâmûrdbânañ tapati, dyâ va bbûmin tapati, bbûmyâ subbran tapati, lòcân tapati, antaran tapatyantarantara tapati; or, "That sun, O daughter of Garga, than which "nothing is higher, to which nothing is equal, "enlightens the summit of the sky; with the "sky enlightens the earth; with the earth en- "lightens the lower worlds; enlightens the "higher worlds, enlightens other worlds; it "enlightens the breast, enlightens all besides "the breast." From these facts, which the Brâhmanas cannot deny, and from these concessions, which they unanimously make, we may reasonably infer, that if Vya'sâ was not the
composer of the *Vedas*, he added at least something of his own to the scattered fragments of a more ancient work, or perhaps to the loose traditions, which he had collected; but, whatever be the comparative antiquity of the *Hindu* scriptures, we may safely conclude, that the *Mosaiick* and *Indian* chronologies are perfectly consistent; that *MENU*, son of *Brahma*, was the *Adima*, or first, created mortal, and consequently our *Adam*; that *MENU*, child of the Sun, was preserved with seven others, in a *habitra* or capacious ark, from an universal deluge, and must, therefore, be our *Noah*; that *HIRANYACASIPU*, the giant *with a golden axe*, and *Vali* or *Bali*, were impious and arrogant monarchs, and, most probably, our *Nimrod* and *Belus*; that the three *RAMAS*, two of whom were invincible warriors, and the third, not only valiant in war, but the patron of agriculture and *wine*, which derives an epithet from his name, were different representations of the *Grecian Bacchus*, and either the *Ra'Ma* of Scripture, or his colony personified, or the Sun first adored by his idolatrous family, that a considerable emigration from *Chaldea* into *Greece*, *Italy*, and *India*, happened about twelve centuries before the birth of our Saviour; that *Sa'CYA*, or *Si'SAK*, about two hundred years after *VyASA*, either in person or by a colony from *Egypt*, imported into this
country the mild heresy of the ancient Baud-
dbas; and that the dawn of true Indian history
appears only three or four centuries before the
Christian era, the preceding ages being clouded
by allegory or fable.

As a specimen of that fabling and allegorizing
spirit, which has ever induced the Brāhmens to
disguise their whole system of history, philoso-
phy, and religion, I produce a passage from the
Bhāgavat, which, however strange and ridic-
ulous, is very curious in itself and closely con-
ected with the subject of this essay: it is taken
from the fifth Scandya, or section, which is
written in modulated prose. "There are some,
"says the Indian author, who, for the purpose
"of meditating intensely on the holy son of
"Vasudeva, imagine you celestial sphere to
"represent the figure of that aquatic animal,
"which we call Sisumāra: its head being
"turned downwards, and its body bent in a
"circle, they conceive Dhrurva, or the pole-star,
"to be fixed on the point of its tail; on the
"middle part of the tail they see four stars, Pre-
"jāpati, Agni, Indra, Dherma, and on its base
"two others, Dūatrī and Vidhātrī: on its
"rump are the Septarshis, or seven stars of the
"Sacata, or Wain; on its back the path of the
"Sun, called Ajavit'bi, or the Series of Kids;
"on its belly the Gangā of the sky: Punarvasu
“and Pushya gleam respectively on its right and left haunches; Ardrā and As'leśbā on its right and left feet or fins; Abbijit and Uttarābād’bā in its right and left nostrils; Sravanā and Purvābād’bā in its right and left eyes; Dha- nīśēt’bā and Mūla on its right and left ears. Eight constellations, belonging to the summer solstice, Magbā, Pūrvap’balgūṇi, Uttarap’bal- gūṇi, Haśṭā, Chitrā, Swātī, Vīṣṇ’bā, Anurāddbā, may be conceived in the ribs of its left side; and as many asterisms, connected with the winter solstice, Mrigasīras, Rōhinī, Critticā, Bharani, Aswini, Rēvatī, Uttarābhadrāpadā, Pūrvabha- drāpadā, may be imagined on the ribs of its right side in an inverse order: let Satabbiśbā and Šyēśēt’bā be placed on its right and left shoulders. In its upper jaw is Agaśīya, in its lower Yama; in its mouth the planet Man- gala: in its part of generation, Sanaischarā; on its hump, Vrihaspati; in its breast, the Sun; in its heart, Nārāyan; in its front the moon; in its navel, Uśanas; on its two nipp- les the two Aświnas; in its ascending and descending breaths, Budha; on its throat, Rābu; in all its limbs, Cētus, or comets; and in its hairs, or bristles, the whole multitude of stars.” It is necessary to remark, that, although the situmāra be generally described as the sea-bog, or porpoise, which we frequently
have seen playing in the Ganges, yet süsmär, which seems derived from the Sanscrit, means in Persian a large lizard: the passage just exhibited may nevertheless relate to an animal of the cetaceous order, and possibly to the dolphin of the ancients. Before I leave the sphere of the Hindus, I cannot help mentioning a singular fact: in the Sanscrit language Ricsba means a constellation and a bear, so that Mabarcsba may denote either a great bear or a great asterism. Etymologists may, perhaps, derive the Megas arctos of the Greeks from an Indian compound ill understood; but I will only observe, with the wild American, that a bear with a very long tail could never have occurred to the imagination of any one, who had seen the animal. I may be permitted to add, on the subject of the Indian Zodiac, that, if I have erred, in a former essay, where the longitude of the lunar mansions is computed from the first star in our constellation of the Ram, I have been led into error by the very learned and ingenious M. Bailly, who relied, I presume, on the authority of M. Le Gentil: the origin of the Hindu Zodiac, according to the Súrya Siddhánta, must be nearly $^\text{r} 19^\circ 21' 54''$, in our sphere, and the longitude of Čhitra, or the Spike, must of course be $199^\circ 21' 54''$ from the vernal equinox; but, since it is difficult by that computation, to ar-
range the twenty-seven mansions and their several stars, as they are delineated and enumerated in the Retnamálà, I must for the present suppose with M. Bailly, that the Zodiack of the Hindus had two origins, one constant and the other variable; and a farther inquiry into the subject must be reserved for a season of retirement and leisure.
NOTE

TO

MR. VANSITTART'S PAPER

ON THE

AFGHANS BEING DESCENDED FROM THE JEWS.

BY THE PRESIDENT.

THIS account of the Afgbâns may lead to a very interesting discovery. We learn from Esdras, that the Ten Tribes, after a wandering journey, came to a country called Arsfareth; where, we may suppose, they settled: now the Afgbâns are said by the best Persian historians to be descended from the Jews; they have traditions among themselves of such a descent; and it is even asserted that their families are distinguished by the names of Jewish tribes, although, since their conversion to the Islam, they studiously conceal their origin; the Pushto language, of which I have seen a dictionary, has a manifest resemblance to the Chaldaick; and a considerable district under their dominion is called Hazâreb, or Hazâret, which might easily have been changed into the word used by Esdras. I strongly recommend an inquiry into the literature and history of the Afgbâns.
ON
THE ANTIQUITY
of
THE INDIAN ZODIACK.

BY THE PRESIDENT.

I ENGAGE to support an opinion (which the learned and industrious M. Montucla seems to treat with extreme contempt), that the Indian division of the Zodiack was not borrowed from the Greeks or Arabs, but, having been known in this country from time immemorial, and being the same in part with that used by other nations of the old Hindu race, was probably invented by the first progenitors of that race before their dispersion. "The Indians, he says, "have two divisions of the Zodiack; one, like "that of the Arabs, relating to the moon, and "consisting of twenty-seven equal parts, by "which they can tell very nearly the hour of "the night; another relating to the sun, and, "like ours, containing twelve signs, to which "they have given as many names corresponding "with those, which we have borrowed from "the Greeks." All that is true; but he
adds: "It is highly probable that they received " them at some time or another by the inter- " vention of the Arabs; for no man, surely, " can persuade himself, that it is the ancient " division of the Zodiack formed, according to " some authors, by the forefathers of mankind " and still preserved among the Hindus." Now I undertake to prove, that the Indian Zodiack was not borrowed mediately or directly from the Arabs or Greeks; and, since the solar divi- sion of it in India is the same in substance with that used in Greece, we may reasonably con- clude, that both Greeks and Hindus received it from an older nation, who first gave names to the luminaries of heaven, and from whom both Greeks and Hindus, as their similitude in lan- guage and religion fully evinces, had a com- mon descent.

The same writer afterwards intimates, that " the time, when Indian Astronomy received " its most considerable improvement, from which " it has now, as he imagines, wholly declined, " was either the age, when the Arabs, who " established themselves in Persia' and Sogdiana, " had a great intercourse with the Hindus, or " that, when the succesors of Chengiz united " both Arabs and Hindus under one vast domi- " nion." It is not the object of this essay, to correct the historical errors in the passage laft
cited, nor to defend the astronomers of India from the charge of gross ignorance in regard to the figure of the earth and the distances of the heavenly bodies; a charge, which Montucla very boldly makes on the authority, I believe, of father Soüciêt: I will only remark, that in our conversations with the Pandits, we must never confound the system of the Jyautishicas, or mathematical astronomers, with that of the Pauránicas, or poetical fabulists; for to such a confusion alone must we impute the many mistakes of Europeans on the subject of Indian science. A venerable mathematician of this province, named Ramachandra, now in his eightieth year, visited me lately at Crishnaghar, and part of his discourse was so applicable to the inquiries, which I was then making, that, as soon as he left me, I committed it to writing. "The Pauránics, he said, will tell you, that our earth is a plane figure studded with eight mountains, and surrounded by seven seas of milk, nectar, and other fluids; that the part, which we inhabit, is one of seven islands, to which eleven smaller isles are subordinate; that a God, riding on a huge elephant, guards each of the eight regions; and that a mountain of gold rises and gleams in the centre; but we believe the earth to be shaped like a Cadamba fruit, or spheroidal, and admit only four oceans of
"salt water, all which we name from the four
"cardinal points, and in which are many great
"peninsulas with innumerable islands: they
"will tell you, that a dragon's head swallows
"the moon, and thus causes an eclipse; but we
"know, that the supposed head and tail of the
"dragon mean only the nodes, or points formed
"by interseotions of the ecliptick and the
"moon's orbit; in short, they have imagined
"a system, which exists only in their fancy;
"but we consider nothing as true without such
"evidence as cannot be questioned." I could
not perfectly understand the old Gymnosophist,
when he told me, that the Rāśiḥacra or Circle
of Signs (for so he called the Zodiack) was like
a Dhushura flower; meaning the Datura, to
which the Sanscrit name has been softened, and
the flower of which is conical or shaped like a
funnel: at first I thought, that he alluded to a
projection of the hemisphere on the plane of
the colure, and to the angle formed by the
ecliptick and equator; but a younger astronomer
named Vinayaca, who came afterwards to see me, assured me that they meant only the
circular mouth of the funnel, or the base of
the cone, and that it was usual among their
ancient writers, to borrow from fruits and
flowers their appellations of several plane and
solid figures.

From the two Brāhmans, whom I have just
named, I learned the following curious particulars; and you may depend on my accuracy in repeating them, since I wrote them in their presence, and corrected what I had written, till they pronounced it perfect. They divide a great circle, as we do, into three hundred and sixty degrees, called by them ansas or portions; of which they, like us, allot thirty to each of the twelve signs in this order:

1. Meṣha, the Ram. 11. Tula, the Balance.
2. Vṛśṭa, the Bull. 8. Vṛśāchica, the Scorpion.
3. Mithuna, the Pair. 9. Dhanus, the Bow.
4. Carci, the Crab. 10. Makara, the Sea-Monster.
5. Sinha, the Lion. 11. Cumbha, the Ewer.
6. Canvā, the Virgin. 12. Mina, the Fish.

The figures of the twelve asterisms, thus denominated with respect to the sun, are specified, by Śrīperti, author of the Rātanmālā, in Sanscrit verses; which I produce, as my vouchers, in the original with a verbal translation:

Mēhādayo nāma śamānarūpī,
Vīnāgadād'nyam mit'hunam nṛyugmam,
Pradiṣpa'sayē dadhati carābhyaṃ
Nāvī t'hitā vārin'i canyacaiva.
Tulā tulābhrit pretimānapānir
Dhanur dhanuḥmān hayawat parāngah,
Mrīganah s'yan macaro't'ha cumbhah
Scandhē nerō ric'tghat'am dadhānāh,
Anyanyapuchc'h'ḥāhimuc'hō hi minah
Matśyadwayam swaś'halachārinōmi.
"The ram, bull, crab, lion, and scorpion, have the figures of those five animals respectively: the pair are a damsel playing on a Vinā and a youth wielding a mace: the virgin stands on a boat in water, holding in one hand a lamp, in the other an ear of ricecorn: the bâ lance is held by a weigher with a weight in one hand: the bow by an archer, whose hinder parts are like those of a horse: the sea monster has the face of an antelope: the ewer is a waterpot borne on the shoulder of a man, who empties it: the fīb are two with their heads turned to each other's tails; and all these are supposed to be in such places as suit their several natures."

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

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aśvinī</td>
<td>Magbā</td>
<td>Mūla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bharani</td>
<td>Pūrva p'halogunu</td>
<td>Pūrvābādha'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crītācā</td>
<td>Uttara p'halogunu</td>
<td>Uttarakāhādha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rōhini</td>
<td>Hafta</td>
<td>Sravand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrigashiras</td>
<td>Chitrā</td>
<td>Dhanifgha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A'rdrā</td>
<td>Swāti</td>
<td>Satabhisgha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punarvasu</td>
<td>Vīsāchā</td>
<td>Pūrva bhadrāpadā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puṣyā</td>
<td>Anurādhā</td>
<td>Uttarabhadrāpadā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9. As'leśhā. 18. Ḫēṣṭ'hā. 27. Révāṭi.
Between the twenty-first and twenty-second constellations, we find in the plate three stars called \textit{Abhijit}; but they are the last quarter of the asterism immediately preceding, or the latter \textit{Aśbār}, as the word is commonly pronounced. A complete revolution of the moon, with respect to the stars, being made in twenty-seven days, odd hours, minutes, and seconds, and perfect exactness being either not attained by the \textit{Hindus} or not required by them, they fixed on the number twenty-seven, and inserted \textit{Abhijit} for some astrological purpose in their nuptial ceremonies. The drawing, from which the plate was engraved, seems intended to represent the figures of the twenty-seven constellations, together with \textit{Abhijit}, as they are described in three stanzas by the author of the \textit{Retnamalā};

1. Turağamuc'haḍadrīcsham yónirūpam eṣhurābhām,
   Sacat'asamam at'hain'asyottamāṅgēna tulyam,
   Man'igrīhas'ara chacrabhāni sālōpamam bham,
   Sayanafadris'amanyachchātra paryancarūpam.

2. Haṣtācārayutam cha maṇēṭicasamam
   chānyat pravālōpamam,
   Dhrībhyan tōrana fannibham balinibham,
   fateund'alābham param;
   Crudhyateśarivivarīcamēna fadris'am,
   s'ayyāsamanam param,
   Anyad dentivilīsavaṃ it'hitamataḥ
   s'rīṅgāt acavyaḍti bham.
ON THE ANTIQUITY OF

3. Trivicramábham cha mridangarúpam,
    Vrttam tatónyadyamalábhwayábham,
    Paryancarúpam murajánucáram,
    Ityévam as'wádibhachacrarúpam.

"A horse's head; yóni or bhaga; a razor; a
wheeled carriage; the head of an antelope;
gem; a house; an arrow; a wheel; an-
other house; a bedstead; another bedstead; a
hand; a pearl; a piece of coral; a festoon of
leaves; an oblation to the Gods; a rich ear-
ing; the tail of a fierce lion; a couch; the
tooth of a wanton elephant, near which is the
kernel of the sringátaca nut; the three foot-
steps of Vishnu; a tabor; a circular jewel;
a two-faced image; another couch; and a
smaller sort of tabor: such are the figures of
Aswini and the rest in the circle of lunar con-
stellations."

The Hindu draughtsman has very ill repre-
sented most of the figures; and he has trans-
posed the two Asbáras as well as the two Bha-
drapads; but his figure of Abbijit, which looks
like our ace of hearts, has a resemblance to the
kernel of the trapa, a curious water-plant de-
scribed in a separate essay. In another Sanscrit
book the figures of the same constellations are
thus varied:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yóni or bhaga.</td>
<td>Two stars S. to N.</td>
<td>A winnowing fan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A flame.</td>
<td>Two, N. to S.</td>
<td>Another.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A waggon. A hand. An arrow.
One bright star. Red saffron. A circle of stars.
A bow. A festoon. A staff for burdens.
A child’s pencil. A snake. The beam of a balance.


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

A’swina. Chaitra.
Cártica. 8. Vaisác’ha.
Márgas’ríśha. Jyaiśt’ha.
Mágha. Srávana.
P’hálguna. 12, Bhádra.
The third month is also called Agrahayana (whence the common word Agran is corrupted) from another name of Mrigasiras.

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

Vahni tri rittishu gunendu citāgnibhūta,  
Bānas'winetra s'ara bhūcu yugabhī rāmāh,  
Rudrābdhirāmagunavēdas'atā dwiyugma,  
Dentā budhatrabhibhitāh cramas'ō bhatarāh.

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

If the stanza was correctly repeated to me, the two Ashārās are considered as one asterism, and
Abbijit as three separate stars; but I suspect an error in the third line, because dwibhâna or two and five would suit the metre as well as bdbirâma; and because there were only three Védas in the early age, when, it is probable, the stars were enumerated and the technical verse composed.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Months</th>
<th>Solar Asterisms</th>
<th>Mansiones</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aświn</td>
<td>Méth</td>
<td>A + bh + ( \frac{e}{4} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cártic</td>
<td>Vrîsh</td>
<td>( \frac{3c}{4} + \frac{r\partial}{2} + \frac{M}{2} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A'grahāyan</td>
<td>Mit'hun</td>
<td>( \frac{M}{2} + \frac{p}{2} + \frac{á}{4} + \frac{SP}{4} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paush</td>
<td>Carcat' 4.</td>
<td>( \frac{p}{4} + p + s'l. 9 )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mágh</td>
<td>Sinh</td>
<td>m + PU + ( \frac{U}{4} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P'hālgun</td>
<td>Canyà</td>
<td>( \frac{3U}{4} + h + \frac{ch}{2} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaitr</td>
<td>Tulâ</td>
<td>( \frac{3U}{4} + s + \frac{3v}{4} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaśāc'h</td>
<td>Vrischic 8.</td>
<td>( \frac{v}{4} + a + j.18 )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Hence we may readily know the stars in each mansion, as they follow in order:


Aswinī.  Ram.  Three, in and near the head.
Bharani.  ———  Three, in the tail.
Criticā.  Bull.  Six, of the Pleiads.
Rohini.  ———  Five, in the head and neck.
Mrígasiras.  Pair.  Three, in or near the feet,
              or perhaps in the Galaxy.
Ardra.  ———  One, on the knee.
Punarvasu.  ———  Four, in the heads, breast
              and shoulder.
Pushya.  Crab.  Three, in the body and claws.
As'leśha.  Lion.  Five, in the face and mane.
Magha.  ———  Five, in the leg and haunch.
Púrvap'halguni.  ———  Two; one in the tail.
Uttarap'halguni.  Virgin.  Two, on the arm and zone.
Hafta.  ———  Five, near the hand.
Chitra.  ———  One, in the spike.
Swāti.  Balance.  One, in the N. Scale.
Vis'ac'hā.  ———  Four, beyond it.
Anurādhā.  Scorpion.  Four, in the body.
Jyeṣṭha.  ———  Three, in the tail.
Mūla.  Bow.  Eleven, to the point of the arrow.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lunar Mansions</th>
<th>Solar Asterisms</th>
<th>Stars</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Púrvāśāra</td>
<td>Sea-monster</td>
<td>Two, in the leg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uttarāśāra</td>
<td></td>
<td>Two, in the horn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sravanā</td>
<td></td>
<td>Three, in the tail.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhanishtā</td>
<td>Ewer</td>
<td>Four, in the arm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satabhishā</td>
<td></td>
<td>Many, in the stream.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Púrvabhadrapadā</td>
<td>Figh</td>
<td>Two, in the first fish.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uttarabhadrapadā</td>
<td></td>
<td>Two, in the cord.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Révaṭī</td>
<td></td>
<td>{Thirty-two, in the second fis and cord.}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

For the assistance of those, who may be inclined to re-examine the twenty-seven constellations with a chart before them, I subjoin a table of the degrees, to which the nāsbatras extend respectively from the first star in the asterism of Aries, which we now see near the beginning of the sign Taurus, as it was placed in the ancient sphere.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N.</th>
<th>D. M.</th>
<th>N.</th>
<th>D. M.</th>
<th>N.</th>
<th>D. M.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>13° 20'</td>
<td>X.</td>
<td>133° 20'</td>
<td>XIX.</td>
<td>253° 20'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.</td>
<td>26° 40'</td>
<td>XI.</td>
<td>146° 40'</td>
<td>XX.</td>
<td>266° 40'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.</td>
<td>40° 0'</td>
<td>XII.</td>
<td>160° 0'</td>
<td>XXI.</td>
<td>280° 0'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV.</td>
<td>53° 20'</td>
<td>XIII.</td>
<td>173° 20'</td>
<td>XXII.</td>
<td>293° 20'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.</td>
<td>66° 40'</td>
<td>XIV.</td>
<td>186° 40'</td>
<td>XXIII.</td>
<td>306° 40'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI.</td>
<td>80° 0'</td>
<td>XV.</td>
<td>200° 0'</td>
<td>XXIV.</td>
<td>320° 0'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII.</td>
<td>93° 20'</td>
<td>XVI.</td>
<td>213° 20'</td>
<td>XXV.</td>
<td>333° 20'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII.</td>
<td>106° 40'</td>
<td>XVII.</td>
<td>226° 40'</td>
<td>XXVI.</td>
<td>346° 40'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX.</td>
<td>120° 0'</td>
<td>XVIII.</td>
<td>240° 0'</td>
<td>XXVII.</td>
<td>360° 0'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The asterisms of the first column are in the signs of Taurus, Gemini, Cancer, Leo; those of the second, in Virgo, Libra, Scorpio, Sagittarius; and those of the third, in Capricornus, Aquarius, Pisces, Aries: we cannot err much, therefore, in any series of three constellations; for, by counting 13° 20' forwards and backwards, we find the spaces occupied by the two extremes, and the intermediate space belongs of course to the middlemost. It is not meant, that the division of the Hindu Zodiac into such spaces is exact to a minute, or that every star of each asterism must necessarily be found in the space to which it belongs; but the computation will be accurate enough for our purpose, and no lunar mansion can be very remote from the path of the moon: how Father Soucié could dream, that Visāc'bā was in the Northern Crown, I can hardly comprehend; but it surpasses all comprehension, that M. Baily
should copy his dream, and give reasons to support it; especially as four stars, arranged pretty much like those in the Indian figure, present themselves obviously near the balance or the scorpion. I have not the boldness to exhibit the individual stars in each mansion, distinguished in Bayer's method by Greek letters; because, though I have little doubt, that the five stars of Aśleshā, in the form of a wheel, are π, γ, ζ, μ, ν, of the Lion, and those of Mūla, γ, ζ, μ, ν, σ, τ, υ, ι, ξ, π, of the Sagittary, and though I think many of the others equally clear, yet, where the number of stars in a mansion is less than three, or even than four, it is not easy to fix on them with confidence; and I must wait, until some young Hindu astronomer, with a good memory and good eyes, can attend my leisure on serene nights at the proper seasons, to point out in the firmament itself the several stars of all the constellations, for which he can find names in the Sanscrit language: the only stars, except those in the Zodiac, that have yet been distinctly named to me, are the Septarśi, Dhrupa, Arundhati, Vishnupad, Mātrimandel, and, in the southern hemisphere, Agāśya, or Canopus. The twenty-seven Yōga stars, indeed, have particular names, in the order of the nacṣṭhatras, to which they belong; and since we learn, that the Hindus
have determined the latitude, longitude, and right ascension of each, it might be useful to exhibit the lift of them: but at present I can only subjoin the names of twenty-seven Yógas, or divisions of the Ecliptick.

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<td>Prīti.</td>
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<td>Dbruva.</td>
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<td>Saubhāgya.</td>
<td>Vyāghāta.</td>
<td>Sādhyā.</td>
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<td>Sōbhana.</td>
<td>Herśbana.</td>
<td>Subha.</td>
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<td>Dbrīti.</td>
<td>Vyatipāta.</td>
<td>Indra.</td>
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Having shown in what manner the Hindus arrange the Zodiacal stars with respect to the sun and moon, let us proceed to our principal subject, the antiquity of that double arrangement. In the first place, the Brāhmańś were always too proud to borrow their science from the Greeks, Arabs, Moguls, or any nation of Mlēch-bhas, as they call those, who are ignorant of the Vēdas, and have not studied the language of the Gods: they have often repeated to me the fragment of an old verse, which they now use proverbially, na nīchō yavanātparb, or no base creature can be lower than a Yavan; by which name they formerly meant an Ionian or Greek, and now mean a Mogul, or, generally, a Musel-
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<th>Vīścambha</th>
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<td>A'yūbmat.</td>
<td>Dbruva.</td>
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Oriental Zodiack.

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pa. 36.

man. When I mentioned to different Pandits, at several times and in several places, the opinion of Montucla, they could not prevail on themselves to oppose it by serious argument; but some laughed heartily; others, with a farcaustick smile, said it was a pleasant imagination; and all seemed to think it a notion bordering on phrensy. In fact, although the figures of the twelve Indian signs bear a wonderful resemblance to those of the Grecian, yet they are too much varied for a mere copy, and the nature of the variation proves them to be original; nor is the resemblance more extraordinary than that, which has often been observed, between our Gothick days of the week and those of the Hindus, which are dedicated to the same luminaries, and (what is yet more singular) revolve in the same order: Ravi, the Sun; Soma, the Moon; Mangala, Tuiscio; Budha, Woden; Vribaspati, Thor; Sucra, Freya; Sani, Sater; yet no man ever imagined, that the Indians borrowed so remarkable an arrangement from the Goths or Germans. On the planets I will only observe, that Sucra, the regent of Venus, is, like all the rest, a male deity, named also Usanas, and believed to be a sace of infinite learning; but Zohrah, the Na'hi'd of the Persians, is a goddess like the Freya of our Saxon progenitors: the drawing, therefore, of the planets,
which was brought into Bengal by Mr. Johnson, relates to the Persian system, and represents the genii supposed to preside over them, exactly as they are described by the poet Hatifi: "He bedecked the firmament with stars, "and ennobled this earth with the race of men; "he gently turned the auspicious new moon of "the festival, like a bright jewel, round the "ankle of the sky; he placed the Hindu Sanskrit on the seat of that refractive elephant, the "revolving sphere, and put the rainbow into "his hand, as a hook to coerce the intoxicated "beast; he made silken strings of sun-beams "for the lute of Venus; and presented Jupiter, who saw the felicity of true religion, "with a rosary of clustering Pleiads. The bow "of the sky became that of Mars, when he "was honoured with the command of the celestial host; for God conferred sovereignty on "the Sun, and squadrons of stars were his "army."

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

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<tr>
<td>Thu'rayyá.</td>
<td>Jábah.</td>
<td>Içlí.</td>
<td>Suúd.'</td>
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Now, if we can trust the Arabian lexicographers, the number of stars in their several menzils rarely agrees with those of the Indians; and two such nations must naturally have observed, and might naturally have named, the principal stars, near which the moon passes in the course of each day, without any communication on the subject: there is no evidence, indeed, of a communication between the Hindus and Arabs on any subject of literature or science; for, though we have reason to believe, that a commercial intercourse subsisted in very early times between Yemen and the western coast of India, yet the Bráhmans, who alone are permitted to read the six Védángas, one of which is the astronomical
Sāstra, were not then commercial, and, most probably, neither could nor would have conversed with Arabian merchants. The hostile irruption of the Arabs into Hindustān, in the eighth century, and that of the Moguls under Chengi'z, in the thirteenth, were not likely to change the astronomical system of the Hindus; but the supposed consequences of modern revolutions are out of the question; for, if any historical records be true, we know with as positive certainty, that Amarsinh and Ca'lia's composed their works before the birth of Christ, as that Menander and Terence wrote before that important epoch: now the twelve signs and twenty-seven mansions are mentioned, by the several names before exhibited, in a Sanskrit vocabulary by the first of those Indian authors, and the second of them frequently alludes to Rōbinā and the rest by name in his Fatal Ring, his Children of the Sun, and his Birth of Cumā'ra; from which poem I produce two lines, that my evidence may not seem to be collected from mere conversation:

Maitre muhũrtē s'as'ālānch'hanēna,
Yogam gatăsuttarap'halganifhu.

"When the stars of Uttarap'halgun had
joined in a fortunate hour the fawn-spotted
moon."
THE INDIAN ZODIAC.

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This testimony being decisive against the conjecture of M. Montucla, I need not urge the great antiquity of Menu's Institutes, in which the twenty-seven asterisms are called the daughters of Dacsha and the consorts of So'ma, or the Moon, nor rely on the testimony of the Brâbmans, who assure me with one voice, that the names of the Zodiacal stars occur in the Vedas; three of which I firmly believe, from internal and external evidence, to be more than three thousand years old. Having therefore proved what I engaged to prove, I will close my essay with a general observation. The result of Newton's researches into the history of the primitive sphere was, "that the practice of observing the stars began in Egypt in the days of Ammon, and was propagated thence by conquest in the reign of his son Sisac, into Africk, Europe, and Asia; since which time Atlas formed the sphere of the Lybians; Chiron, that of the Greeks; and the Chaldeans, a sphere of their own:" now I hope, on some other occasions, to satisfy the publick, as I have perfectly satisfied myself, that the practice of observing the stars began, with the rudiments of civil society, in the country of those whom we call Chaldeans; from which it was propagated into Egypt, India, Greece, Italy, and Scandinavia, before the reign of
"Sisac or Sacya, who by conquest spread a new system of religion and philosophy from the Nile to the Ganges about a thousand years before Christ; but that Chiron and Atlas were allegorical or mythological personages, and ought to have no place in the serious history of our species."
ON THE

LITERATURE OF THE HINDUS,

FROM THE SANSKRIT.

COMMUNICATED BY GOVERDHAN CAUL,

TRANSLATED, WITH A SHORT COMMENTARY.

BY

THE PRESIDENT.

THE TEXT.

There are eighteen Vidyās, or parts of true Knowledge, and some branches of Knowledge falsely so called; of both which a short account shall here be exhibited.

The first four are the immortal Vēda's evidently revealed by God; which are entitled, in one compound word, Rigyajubśamāt'harva, or, in separate words, Rich, Yajush, Sāman, and At'harvan: the Rigvēda consists of five sections; the Yajurvēda, of eighty-six; the Sāmavēda, of a thousand; and the At'harvavēda, of nine; with eleven hundred s'āc'ha's, or Branches, in various divisions and subdivisions. The Vēda's in truth are infinite; but were reduced by
VYASA to this number and order; the principal part of them is that, which explains the Duties of Man in a methodical arrangement; and in the fourth is a system of divine ordinances.

From these are deduced the four Upavedas, namely, Ayush, Gandharva, Dhanush, and Sthapata; the first of which, or Ayurveda, was delivered to mankind by Brahma', Indra, Dhanwantari, and five other Deities; and comprizes the theory of Disorders and Medicines, with the practical methods of curing Diseases. The second, or Musick, was invented and explained by Bharata: it is chiefly useful in raising the mind by devotion to the felicity of the Divine nature. The third Upaveda was composed by Viswamitra on the fabrication and use of arms and implements handled in war by the tribe of CShatriya's. Viswacarman revealed the fourth in various treatises on sixty-four Mechanical Arts, for the improvement of such as exercise them.

Six Anga's, or Bodies of Learning, are also derived from the same source: their names are, Sicshà, Calpa, Vyacarana, Ch'bandas, Jyotish, and Nirudi. The first was written by Pa'Nini, an inspired Saint, on the pronunciation of vocal sounds; the second contains a detail of religious acts and ceremonies from the first to the last;
and from the branches of these works a variety of rules have been framed by Aśwalaśayaṇa, and others: the third, or the Grammar, entitled Pāṇiniya, consisting of eight lectures or chapters (Vṛiddhiradāja, and so forth), was the production of three Rishis, or holy men, and teaches the proper discriminations of words in construction; but other less abstruse Grammars, compiled merely for popular use, are not considered as Anga's: the fourth, or Prosody, was taught by a Muni, named Pingala, and treats of charms and incantations in verses aptly framed and variously measured; such as the Gāyatris, and a thousand others. Astronomy is the fifth of the Vedaṅga's, as it was delivered by Su'rya, and other divine persons: it is necessary in calculations of time. The sixth, or Ni-ruci, was composed by Yaśca (so is the manuscript; but, perhaps, it should be Vyaśa) on the signification of difficult words and phrases in the Veda's.

Lastly, there are four Upaṅga's, called Purāṇa, Nyāya, Mīmāṃsā, and Dherma sāstra. Eighteen Purāṇa's, that of Brahma, and the rest, were composed by Vyaśa for the instruction and entertainment of mankind in general. Nyāya is derived from the root ni, to acquire or apprehend; and, in this sense, the books on apprehension, reasoning, and judgement, are called Nyāya:
the principal of these are the work of Gautama in five chapters, and that of Cana'da in ten; both teaching the meaning of sacred texts, the difference between just and unjust, right and wrong, and the principles of knowledge, all arranged under twenty-three heads. Mimansa is also two-fold; both showing what acts are pure or impure, what objects are to be desired or avoided, and by what means the soul may ascend to the First Principle: the former, or Carma Mimansa, comprised in twelve chapters, was written by Jaimini, and discusses questions of moral Duties and Law; next follows the Upasandha Canda in four lectures (San-carshana and the rest), containing a survey of Religious Duties; to which part belong the rules of Sa'ndilya, and others, on devotion and duty to God. Such are the contents of the Purva, or former, Mimansa. The Uttara, or latter, abounding in questions on the Divine Nature and other sublime speculations, was composed by Vyasa, in four chapters and sixteen sections: it may be considered as the brain and spring of all the Anga's; it exposes the heretical opinions of Rama'nuja, Madhwa, Valabha, and other Sophists; and, in a manner suited to the comprehension of adepts, it treats on the true nature of Ganesa, Bhascara, or the Sun, Nilacanta, Lacshmi, and
other forms of One Divine Being. A similar work was written by S'rI S'ancara, demonstrating the Supreme Power, Goodness, and Eternity of God.

The Body of Law, called Smṛiti, consists of eighteen books, each divided under three general heads, the duties of religion, the administration of justice, and the punishment or expiation of crimes: they were delivered, for the instruction of the human species, by Menu, and other sacred personages.

As to Ethicks, the Veda's contain all that relates to the duties of Kings; the Purāna's, what belongs to the relation of husband and wife; and the duties of friendship and society (which complete the triple division) are taught succinctly in both: this double division of Anga's and Upānga's may be considered as denoting the double benefit arising from them in theory and practice.

The Bhārata and Rāmāyana, which are both Epick Poems, comprize the most valuable part of ancient History.

For the information of the lower classes in religious knowledge, the Pāśūpata, the Pancha-rātra, and other works, fit for nightly meditation, were composed by Siva, and others, in an hundred and ninety-two parts on different subjects.
What follow are not really divine, but contain infinite contradictions. Sánc'bya is twofold, that with Is'wara and that without Is'wara: the former is entitled Pátanjala in one chapter of four sections, and is useful in removing doubts by pious contemplation; the second, or Cápila, is in six chapters on the production of all things by the union of Prácríti, or Nature, and Purusha, or the First Male: it comprizes also, in eight parts, rules for devotion, thoughts on the invisible power, and other topics. Both these works contain a studied and accurate enumeration of natural bodies and their principles; whence this philosophy is named Sánc'bya. Others hold, that it was so called from its reckoning three sorts of pain.

The Mímánsá, therefore, is into two parts; the Nyáya, in two; and the Sánc'bya, in two; and these six Schools comprehend all the doctrine of the Theists.

Last of all appears a work written by Buddha; and there are also six Atheistical systems of Philosophy, entitled Yóghábrá, Saúdbánta, Vaibháśbica, Mándhyamica, Dígambara, and Chárvác; all full of indeterminate phrases, errors in sense, confusion between distinct qualities, incomprehensible notions, opinions not duly weighed, tenets destructive of natural equality, containing a jumble of Atheism and Ethicks;
distributed, like our Orthodox books, into a number of sections, which omit what ought to be expressed, and express what ought to be omitted; abounding in false propositions, idle propositions, impertinent propositions: some assert, that the heterodox Schools have no Upán-ga's; others, that they have six Anga's, and as many Sánga's, or Bodies and other Appendices.

Such is the analysis of universal knowledge, Practical and Speculative.

THE COMMENTARY.

This first chapter of a rare Sanscrit Book, entitled Vidyádéra, or a View of Learning, is written in so close and concise a style, that some parts of it are very obscure, and the whole requires an explanation. From the beginning of it we learn, that the Véda's are considered by the Hindus as the fountain of all knowledge human and divine; whence the verses of them are said in the Gité to be the leaves of that holy tree, to which the Almighty himself is compared:

urdhwa múlam adhah śáchā ham as'watt'ham prábhavavgyam ch'handányi yaśya pernaí yaśtam véda sa védvit.

"The wise have called the Incorruptible One " an As'watt'ha with its roots above and its " branches below; the leaves of which are the
"sacred measures: he, who knows this tree, "knows the Védà's."

All the Pandits insist, that As'watt'ha means the Pippala, or Religious Fig-tree with heart-shaped pointed and tremulous leaves; but the comparison of heavenly knowledge, descending and taking root on earth, to the Vat'a, or great Indian Fig-tree, which has most conspicuously its roots on high, or at least has radicating branches, would have been far more exact and striking.

The Védà's consists of three Cán'd'a's or General Heads; namely, Carma, Jñyána, Upásanà, or Works, Faith, and Worfship; to the first of which the Author of the Vidyáderfà wisely gives the preference, as Menu himself prefers universal benevolence to the ceremonies of religion:

Japýénaiva tu sánśiddhyàédbrahmanó nátra sánśayaḥ:
Cúryádanyatrává cúryánmaitró bráhmana uchatè.

that is: "By silent adoration undoubtedly a "Brahman attains holiness; but every benevo-
"lent man, whether he perform or omit that "ceremony, is justly styled a Brahman." This triple division of the Védà's may seem at first to throw light on a very obscure line in the Gítà:

Traigunyavíbhyab védà nístraigunya bhavárijuna

or, "The Védà's are attended with three quali-
"ties: be not thou a man of three qualities, O
"Arjuna."

But several Pandits are of opinion, that the phrase must relate to the three guna's, or qualities of the mind, that of excellency, that of passion, and that of darkness; from the last of which a Hero should be wholly exempt, though examples of it occur in the Vedâ's, where animals are ordered to be sacrificed, and where horrid incantations are inserted for the destruction of enemies.

It is extremely singular, as Mr. Wilkins has already observed, that, notwithstanding the fable of Brahma's four mouths, each of which uttered a Vedâ, yet most ancient writers mention only three Vedâ's, in order as they occur in the compound word Rigyajushâma; whence it is inferred, that the At'harvan was written or collected after the three first; and the two following arguments, which are entirely new, will strongly confirm this inference. In the eleventh book of Menu, a work ascribed to the first age of mankind, and certainly of high antiquity, the At'harvan is mentioned by name, and styled the Vedâ of Vedâ's; a phrase, which countenances the notion of Da'ra' Shecu'h, who asserts, in the preface to his Upanishat, that "the three first Vedas are named separately, because the At'harvan is a corollary from
"them all, and contains the quintessence of " them." But this verse of Menu, which oc-
curs in a modern copy of the work brought from Bánáras, and which would support the anti-
cuity and excellence of the fourth Véda, is en-
tirely omitted in the best copies, and particu-
larly in a very fine one written at Gayá, where it was accurately collated by a learned Brábman ;
so that, as Menu himself in other places names only three Véda's, we must believe this line to
be an interpolation by some admirer of the At'harvan; and such an artifice overthrows the
very doctrine, which it was intended to sustain.

The next argument is yet stronger, since it arises from internal evidence; and of this we are now enabled to judge by the noble zeal of Colonel Polier in collecting Indian curiosities; which has been so judiciously applied and so happily exerted, that he now possesses a complete copy of the four Védas in eleven large volumes.

On a cursory inspection of those books it ap-
ppears, that even a learner of Sanscrit may read a considerable part of the At'harva-véda without a dictionary; but that the style of the other three is so obsolete, as to seem almost a different dialect: when we are informed, therefore, that few Brábmans at Bánáras can understand any part of the Véda's, we must presume, that none
are meant, but the *Rich, Yajush, and Sāman,* with an exception of the *Āṭharvan,* the language of which is comparatively modern; as the learned will perceive from the following specimen:

*Yatra brahma vidō yānti dīṣṭhayā tapasā saba ag-nirmāntatra nayatwagānīmedhān dedbātumē, ag-nayē swābā. vāyurman tatra nayatu vāyub prānān dedbātu mē, vāyuwē swābā. sūryō mān tatra nayatu chaśsbub sūryō dedbātu mē, sūryāya swābā; cbandrō mān tatra nayatu manashcbandrō dedbātu mē, cbandrāya swābā. sōmō mān tatra nayatu payah sōmō dedbātu mē, sōmāya swābā. Indrō mān tatra nayatu balamindrō dedbātu mē, indrāya swābā. āpō mān tatra nayatwāmrītam- mōpatisbtatu, adbbyah swābā. yatra brahma vidō yānti dīṣṭhayā tapasā saba, brahmā mān tatra nayatu brahma brahmā dedbātu mē, brahmānē swābā.*

that is, “Where they, who know the Great
“One, go, through holy rites and through piety, thither may *fire* raise me! May fire receive my sacrifices! Mysterious praise to fire! May *air* waft me thither! May air, increase my spirits! Mysterious praise to air!
“May the *Sun* draw me thither! May the sun enlighten my eye! Mysterious praise to the
“sun! May the Moon bear me thither! May the moon receive my mind! Mysterious praise to the moon! May the plant Sôma lead me thither! May Sôma bestow on me its hollowed milk! Mysterious praise to Sôma! May Indra, or the firmament, carry me thither! May Indra give me strength! Mysterious praise to Indra! May water bear me thither! May water bring me the stream of immortality! Mysterious praise to the waters! Where they, who know the Great One, go, through holy rites and through piety, thither may Brahma’ conduct me! May Brahma’ lead me to the Great One! Mysterious praise to Brahma’!

Several other passages might have been cited from the first book of the Ṛt’harvan, particularly a tremendous incantation with consecrated graft, called Darbba, and a sublime Hymn to Cûla, or time; but a single passage will suffice to show the style and language of this extraordinary work. It would not be so easy to produce a genuine extract from the other Véda’s: indeed, in a book, entitled Sivavédánta, written in Sanscrit, but in Cašmirian letters, a stanza from the Yajuvéda is introduced; which deserves for its sublimity to be quoted here; though the regular cadence of the verses, and the polished elegance of the language, cannot but induce a
suspicion, that it is a more modern paraphrase of some text in the ancient Scripture.

The Sūryā bhāti nācchā chandra tāraca, němā vidyutō bhānti cuta ēva vabhīn: tāmēva bhāntam anubbāti servam, tasya bhāsa' servamidam vibhāti.

that is, "There the sun shines not, nor the moon and stars; these lightnings flash not in that place; how should even fire blaze there? God irradiates all this bright substance; and by its effulgence the universe is enlightened."

After all, the books on divine Knowledge, called Vēda, or what is known, and Sruti, or what has been heard, from revelation, are still supposed to be very numerous; and the four here mentioned are thought to have been selected, as containing all the information necessary for man. Mohsani Fa'ni', the very candid and ingenious author of the Dabistan, describes in his first chapter a race of old Persian sages, who appear from the whole of his account to have been Hindus; and we cannot doubt, that the book of Mahāba'd, or Menu, which was written, he says, in a celestial dialect, means the Vēda; so that, as Zera'tusht was only a reformer, we find in India the true source of the ancient Persian religion. To this head belong the numerous Tantra, Mantra, Agama, and Nigama, Sāstra's, which consist of incanta-
tions and other texts of the Védas, with remarks on the occasions, on which they may be successfully applied. It must not be omitted, that the Commentaries on the Hindu Scriptures, among which that of Vasishtha seems to be reputed the most excellent, are innumerable; but, while we have access to the fountains, we need not waste our time in tracing the rivulets.

From the Védas are immediately deduced the practical arts of Chirurgery and Medicine, Music and Dancing, Archery, which comprizes the whole art of war, and Architecture, under which the system of Mechanical arts is included. According to the Pandits, who instructed Abu'l Fazl, each of the four Scriptures gave rise to one of the Upavéda's, or Sub-Scriptures, in the order in which they have been mentioned; but this exactness of analogy seems to favour of refinement.

Infinite advantage may be derived by Europeans from the various Medical books in Sanscrit, which contain the names and descriptions of Indian plants and minerals, with their uses, discovered by experience, in curing disorders: there is a vast collection of them from the Chérraca, which is considered as a work of Siva, to the Róganirúpana and the Nidána, which are comparatively modern. A number of books, in prose and verse, have been written on Mu-
sick, with specimens of Hindu airs in a very elegant notation; but the Silpa sāstra, or Body of Treatises on Mechanical arts, is believed to be lost.

Next in order to these are the six Vēdāṅga's, three of which belong to Grammar; one relates to religious ceremonies; a fifth to the whole compass of Mathematicks, in which the author of Lilāwati was esteemed the most skilful man of his time; and the sixth, to the explanation of obscure words or phrases in the Vēdas. The grammatical work of Panini, a writer supposed to have been inspired, is entitled Siddhānta Cau- mudi, and is so abstruse, as to require the lucubrations of many years, before it can be perfectly understood. When Cāsinātha Sermon, who attended Mr. Wilkins, was asked what he thought of the Pāniniya, he answered very expressively, that "it was a forest;" but, since Grammar is only an instrument, not the end, of true knowledge, there can be little occasion to travel over so rough and gloomy a path; which contains, however, probably some acute speculations in Metaphysicks. The Sanscrit Prosfody is easy and beautiful: the learned will find in it almost all the measures of the Greeks; and it is remarkable, that the language of the Brāh- mans runs very naturally into Sapphicks, Al- caicks, and Lambicks. Astronomical works in
this language are exceedingly numerous: seventy-nine of them are specified in one list; and, if they contain the names of the principal stars visible in India, with observations on their positions in different ages, what discoveries may be made in Science, and what certainty attained in ancient Chronology?

Subordinate to these Anga's (though the reason of the arrangement is not obvious) are the series of Sacred Poems, the Body of Law, and the six Philosophical s'āstra's; which the author of our text reduces to two, each consisting of two parts, and rejects a third, in two parts also, as not perfectly orthodox, that is, not strictly conformable to his own principles.

The first Indian Poet was Valmi'ci, author of the Rāmāyana, a complete Epick Poem on one continued, interesting, and heroick, action; and the next in celebrity, if it be not superior in reputation for holiness, was the Mahābhārata of Vyasā: to him are ascribed the sacred Purāna's, which are called, for their excellence, the Eighteen, and which have the following titles: Brahme, or the Great One, Pedma, or the Lotos, Brahma'nd'a, or the Mundane Egg, and Agni, or Fire (these four relate to the Creation), Vishnu, or the Pervader, Ga-rūd'a, or his Eagle, the Transformations of Brahma, Siva, Linga, Na'reda, son of
Brahma'. Scanda son of Siva, Marcan-de'ya, of the Immortal Man, and Bhawishya, or the Prediction of Futurity (these nine belong to the attributes and powers of the Deity), and four others, Matsya, Va'ra'ha, Curma, Va'mena, or as many incarnations of the Great One in his character of Preserver; all containing ancient traditions embellished by poetry or disguised by fable: the eighteenth is the Bhagawata, or Life of Crishna, with which the same poet is by some imagined to have crowned the whole series; though others, with more reason, assign them different composers.

The system of Hindu Law, besides the fine work, called Menusmriti, or 'what is remembered from Menu,' that of Yajnyawal-ya, and those of sixteen other Muni's, with Commentaries on them all, consists of many tracts in high estimation, among which those current in Bengal are, an excellent treatise on Inheritances by Jir'muta Va'hana, and a complete Digest, in twenty-seven volumes, compiled a few centuries ago by Raghunandan, the Tribonian of India, whose work is the grand repository of all that can be known on a subject so curious in itself, and so interesting to the British Government.

Of the Philosophical Schools it will be sufficient here to remark, that the first Nyaya seems
analogous to the Porripatetick, the second, sometimes called Vais’êbica, to the Ionick, the two Mimânsa’s, of which the second is often distinguished by the name of Vêdânta, to the Platonic, the first Sânc’bya to the Italick, and the second, or Pâtanjala, to the Stoick, Philosophy; so that Gautama corresponds with Aristotle; Cana’da, with Thales; Jaimini with Socrates; Vya’âsa with Plato; Capila with Pythagoras; Patanjali with Zeno: but an accurate comparison between the Grecian and Indian Schools would require a considerable volume. The original works of those Philosophers are very succinct; but, like all the other Sâstras, they are explained, or obscured, by the Upadersana or Commentaries without end: one of the finest compositions on the Philosophy of the Vêdânta is entitled Yôga Vâsisht’ha, and contains the instructions of the great Vasishtha to his pupil, Ra‘ma, king of Ayôtbya.

It results from this analysis of Hindu Literature, that the Véda, Upavéda, Vêdânga, Purâna, Dberma, and Ders’ana are the Six great Sâstras, in which all knowledge, divine and human, is supposed to be comprehended; and here we must not forget, that the word Sâstra, derived from a root signifying to ordain, means generally an Ordinance, and particularly a Sacred
Ordinance delivered by inspiration: properly, therefore, this word is applied only to sacred literature, of which the text exhibits an accurate sketch.

The Súdra's, or fourth class of Hindus, are not permitted to study the six proper Sástra's before-enumerated; but an ample field remains for them in the study of profane literature, comprised in a multitude of popular books, which correspond with the several Sástra's, and abound with beauties of every kind. All the tracts on Medicine must, indeed, be studied by the Vaidya's, or those, who are born Physicians; and they have often more learning, with far less pride, than any of the Bráhmans: they are usually Poets, Grammarians, Rhetoricians, Moralists; and may be esteemed in general the most virtuous and amiable of the Hindus. Instead of the Véda's they study the Rájaníti, or Instruction of Princes, and instead of Law, the Nitisástra, or general system of Ethicks: their Sabitia, or Cávya Sástra, consists of innumerable poems, written chiefly by the Medical tribe, and supplying the place of the Purána's, since they contain all the stories of the Rámáyana, Bhárata, and Bhágawata: they have access to many treatises of Alancára, or Rhetorick, with a variety of works in modulated prose; to Uptac'hyána, or Civil History, called also Rája-
tarangini; to the Nātaca, which answers to the Gāṇḍharvavāṇēda, consisting of regular Dramatick pieces in Sanscrit and Prācīt; besides which they commonly get by heart some entire Dictionary and Grammar. The best Lexicon or Vocabulary was composed in verse, for the assistance of the memory, by the illustrious Ama-
rasinha; but there are seventeen others in great repute: the best Grammar is the Mugdha-
bodha, or the Beauty of Knowledge, written by Gōswāmi, named Vo’pade’va, and comprehending, in two hundred short pages, all that a learner of the language can have occasion to know. To the Cōṣha’s, or dictionaries, are usually annexed very ample Tīcā’s, or Etymological Commentaries.

We need say no more of the heterodox writings, than that those on the religion and philosophy of BuDDha seem to be connected with some of the most curious parts of Asiatick History, and contain, perhaps, all that could be found in the Pālī, or sacred language of the Eastern Indian peninsula. It is asserted in Ben-
gal, that Amarāsinha himself was a Buauddha; but he seems to have been a theist of tolerant principles, and, like Abu’lfażl, desirous of reconciling the different religions of IndiA.

Wherever we direct our attention to Hindu Literature, the notion of infinity presents itself;
and the longest life would not be sufficient for the perusal of near five hundred thousand stanzas in the Purâna's, with a million more perhaps in the other works before mentioned: we may, however, select the best from each Sâstra and gather the fruits of science, without loading ourselves with the leaves and branches; while we have the pleasure to find, that the learned Hindus, encouraged by the mildness of our government and manners, are at least as eager to communicate their knowledge of all kinds, as we can be to receive it. Since Europeans are indebted to the Dutch for almost all they know of Arabick, and to the French for all they know of Chinese, let them now receive from our nation the first accurate knowledge of Sanscrit, and of the valuable works composed in it; but, if they wish to form a correct idea of Indian religion and literature, let them begin with forgetting all that has been written on the subject, by ancients or moderns, before the publication of the Gîtâ.
ON

THE SECOND CLASSICAL BOOK

OF THE CHINESE.

BY

THE PRESIDENT.

THE vicinity of China to our Indian territories, from the capital of which there are not more than six hundred miles to the province of Yü'na'n, must necessarily draw our attention to that most ancient and wonderful Empire, even if we had no commercial intercourse with its more distant and maritime provinces; and the benefits, that might be derived from a more intimate connexion with a nation long famed for their useful arts, and for the valuable productions of their country, are too apparent to require any proof or illustration. My own inclinations and the course of my studies lead me rather to consider at present their laws, politicks, and morals, with which their general literature is closely blended, than their manufactures and trade; nor will I spare either pains or expense
to procure translations of their most approved law-tracts; that I may return to Europe with distinct ideas, drawn from the fountain-head, of the wisest Asiatick legislation. It will probably be a long time before accurate returns can be made to my inquiries concerning the Chinese Laws; and, in the interval, the Society will not, perhaps, be displeased to know, that a translation of a most venerable and excellent work may be expected from Canton through the kind assistance of an inestimable correspondent.

According to a Chinese Writer, named Li Yang Ping, 'the ancient characters used in his country were the outlines of visible objects earthly and celestial; but, as things merely intellectual could not be expressed by those figures, the grammarians of China contrived to represent the various operations of the mind by metaphors drawn from the productions of nature; thus the idea of roughness and of rotundity, of motion and rest, were conveyed to the eye by signs representing a mountain, the sky, a river and the earth; the figures of the sun, the moon, and the stars, differently combined, stood for smoothness and splendour, for any thing artfully wrought, or woven with delicate workmanship; extension, growth, increase, and many other qualities
were painted in characters taken from clouds, from the firmament, and from the vegetable part of the creation; the different ways of moving, agility and slowness, idleness and diligence, were expressed by various insects, birds, fish, and quadrupeds: in this manner passions and sentiments were traced by the pencil, and ideas not subject to any sense were exhibited to the sight; until by degrees new combinations were invented, new expressions added; the characters deviated imperceptibly from their primitive shape, and the Chinese language became not only clear and forcible, but rich and elegant in the highest degree.

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

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

The Second Classical work of the Chinese contains three hundred Odes, or short poems, in praise of ancient sovereigns and legislators, or descriptive of ancient manners, and recommending an imitation of them in the discharge of all publick and domestic duties: they abound in wise maxims, and excellent precepts, 'their whole doctrine, according to Cun-fu-tsu, in the Lu'nyu' or Moral Discourses, being reducible to this grand rule, that we should not even entertain a thought of any thing base or culpable; but the copies of the Shi' King, for that is the title of the book, are supposed to have been much disfigured, since the time of that great Philosopher, by spurious passages and exceptionable interpolations; and the style of the Poems is in some parts too metaphorical, while the brevity of other parts renders them obscure, though many think even this obscurity
sublime and venerable, like that of ancient cloysters and temples, 'Shedding, as Milton expresses it, a dim religious light.' There is another passage in the Lu'nyu', which deserves to be set down at length: 'Why, my sons, do you not study the book of Odes? If we creep on the ground, if we lie useless and inglorious, those poems will raise us to true glory; in them we see, as in a mirror, what may best become us, and what will be unbecoming; by their influence we shall be made social, affable, benevolent; for, as musick combines sounds in just melody, so the ancient poetry tempers and compotes our passions: the Odes teach us our duty to our parents at home, and abroad to our prince; they instruct us also delightfully in the various productions of nature.' 'Haft thou studied, said the Philosopher to his son Peyu, the first of the three hundred Odes on the nuptials of Prince Venva'M, and the virtuous Tai-jin? He, who studies them not, resembles a man with his face against a wall, unable to advance a step in virtue and wisdom.' Most of those Odes are near three thousand years old, and some, if we give credit to the Chinese annals, considerably older; but others are somewhat more recent, having been composed under the later Emperors of the third family, called Sheu. The work
is printed in *four* volumes; and, towards the end of the *first*, we find the Ode, which *Couplet* has accurately translated at the beginning of the *Ta Hio*, or *Great Science*, where it is finely amplified by the Philosopher: I produce the original from the *Shi King* itself, and from the book, in which it is cited, together with a double version, one verbal and another metrical; the only method of doing justice to the poetical compositions of the *Asiaticks*. It is a panegyrick on *Vucun*, Prince of *Guey* in the province of *Honang*, who died, near a century old, in the *thirteenth* year of the Emperor *Pingvang*, *seven hundred and fifty-six years* before the birth of *Christ*, or *one hundred and forty-eight*, according to Sir *Isaac Newton*, after the taking of *Troy*, so that the Chinese Poet might have been contemporary with *Hesiod* and *Homer*, or at least must have written the Ode before the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were carried into *Greece* by *Lycurgus*.

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

1. Behold you reach of the river  
2. Its green reeds how luxuriant! how luxuriant!  
3. Thus is our Prince adorned with virtues;  
4. As a carver, as a filer, of ivory,
ON THE SECOND CLASSICAL

As a cutter, as a polisher, of gems.
O how elate and sagacious! O how dauntless and composed!
How worthy of fame! How worthy of reverence!
We have a Prince adorned with virtues,
Whom to the end of time we can not forget.

THE PARAPHRASE.

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

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

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

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

What soft, yet awful, dignity!
What meek, yet manly, grace!
What sweetness dances in his eye,
And blossoms in his face!

So shines our Prince! A sky-born crowd
Of Virtues round him blaze:
Ne'er shall Oblivion's murky cloud
Obscure his deathless praise.
欲간부간

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

In the tenth leaf of the Ta' Hio a beautiful comparison is quoted from another Ode in the Shi' King, which deserves to be exhibited in the same form with the preceding:

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

The simile may thus be rendered:

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

So softly smiles the blooming bride
By love and conscious Virtue led
O'er her new mansion to preside,
And placid joys around her spread.

The next leaf exhibits a comparison of a different nature, rather sublime than agreeable and conveying rather censure than praise:
O how horridly impends yon southern mountain!
Its rocks in how vast, how rude a heap!
Thus loftily thou sittest, O minister of YN;
All the people look up to thee with dread.

Which may be thus paraphrased:

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

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

It was a very ancient practice in China to paint or engrave moral sentences and approved verses on vessels in constant use; as the words Renew Thyself Daily were inscribed on the bason of the Emperor Tang, and the poem of Kien Long, who is now on the throne, in praise of Tea, has been published on a set of porcelain cups; and, if the description just cited of a selfish and insolent statesman were, in the same manner, constantly presented to the eyes and attention of rulers, it might produce some benefit to their subjects and to themselves; especially if the comment of Tsem Tsu, who may be called the Xenophon, as Cun Fu'
Tsû' was the Socrates, and Mem Tsû the Plato, of China; were added to illustrate and enforce it.

If the rest of the three hundred Odes be similar to the specimens adduced by those great moralists in their works which the French have made publick, I should be very solicitous to procure our nation the honour of bringing to light the second Classical book of the Chinese. The third, called Yēking, or the book of Changes, believed to have been written by Fo, the Hermes of the East, and consisting of right lines variously disposed, is hardly intelligible to the most learned Mandarins; and Cun Fu Tsû' himself, who was prevented by death from accomplishing his design of elucidating it, was dissatisfied with all the interpretations of the earliest commentators. As to the fifth, or Līki, which that excellent man compiled from old monuments, it consists chiefly of the Chinese ritual, and of tracts on Moral Duties; but the fourth entitled Chung Cieu, or Spring and Autumn, by which the same incomparable writer meant the flourishing state of an Empire, under a virtuous monarch, and the fall of kingdoms, under bad governors, must be an interesting work in every nation. The powers, however, of an indi-
vidual are so limited, and the field of knowledge is so vast, that I dare not promise more, than to procure, if any exertions of mine will avail, a complete translation of the Shi King, together with an authentick abridgement of the Chinese Laws, civil and criminal. A native of Canton, whom I knew some years ago in England, and who passed his first examinations with credit in his way to literary distinctions, but was afterwards allured from the pursuit of learning by a prospect of success in trade, has favoured me with the Three Hundred Odes in the original, together with the Lu'n Yu', a faithful version of which was published at Paris near a century ago; but he seems to think, that it would require three or four years to complete a translation of them; and Mr. Cox informs me, that none of the Chinese, to whom he has access, possess leisure and perseverance enough for such a task; yet he hopes, with the assistance of Whang Atong, to send me next season some of the poems translated into English. A little encouragement would induce this young Chinese to visit India, and some of his countrymen would, perhaps, accompany him; but, though considerable advantage to the publick, as well as to letters, might be reaped from the knowledge and ingenuity of
such emigrants, yet we must wait for a time of greater national wealth and prosperity, before such a measure can be formally recommended by us to our patrons at the helm of government.
THE

LUNAR YEAR OF THE HINDUS,

by

THE PRESIDENT.

HAVING lately met by accident with a wonderfully curious tract of the learned and celebrated RAGHUNANDANA, containing a full account of all the rites and ceremonies in the lunar year, I twice perused it with eagerness, and present the Society with a correct outline of it, in the form of a calendar, illustrated with short notes: the many passages quoted in it from the Védas, the Puráñas, the Sástras of law and astronomy, the Calpa, or sacred ritual, and other works of immemorial antiquity and reputed holiness, would be thought highly interesting by such as take pleasure in researches concerning the Hindus; but a translation of them all would fill a considerable volume, and such only are exhibited as appeared most distinguished for elegance or novelty.
THE LUNAR YEAR OF THE HINDUS. 127

The lunar year of three hundred and sixty days, is apparently more ancient in India than the solar, and began, as we may infer from a verse in the Mātaśya, with the month Aśvin, so called, because the moon was at the full, when that name was imposed, in the first lunar station of the Hindu ecliptick, the origin of which, being diametrically opposite to the bright star Chitrā, may be ascertained in our sphere with exactness; but, although most of the Indian fasts and festivals be regulated by the days of the moon, yet the most solemn and remarkable of them have a manifest reference to the supposed motions of the sun; the Durgōtsava and Hōlica relating as clearly to the autumnal and vernal equinoxes, as the sleep and rise of Viśnu relate to the solstices; the Sancrāntis, or days on which the sun enters a new sign, especially those of Tulā and Mēša, are great festivals of the solar year, which anciently began with Pausha near the winter solstice, whence the month Mārgaśirṣha has the name of A'grabāyana, or the year is next before. The twelve months, now denominated from as many stations of the moon, seem to have been formerly peculiar to the lunar year; for the old solar months, beginning with Chaitra, have the following very different names in a curious text of the Vēda on the order of the six Indian seasons; Madhu,
Mādhava, Sucra, Suchi, Nabbas, Nabbasyā, Isā, Urja, Sabas, Sabasya, Tapas, Tapasya. It is necessary to premise, that the muciḥya chāndra, or primary lunar month, ends with the conjunction, and the gauna chāndra, or secondary, with the opposition: both modes of reckoning are authorized by the several Purāṇas; but, although the astronomers of Čāhī have adopted the gauna month, and place in Bbādra the birth-day of their pastoral god, the muciḥya is here preferred, because it is generally used in this province, and especially at the ancient seminary of Brāhmens at Māyāpur, now called Navadwīpa, because a new island has been formed by the Ganges on the site of the old academy. The Hindus define a tit'hi, or lunar day, to be the time in which the moon passes through twelve degrees of her path, and to each pacsīha, or half month, they allot fifteen tit'his, though they divide the moon's orb into sixteen phases, named Calās, one of which they suppose constant, and compare to the string of a necklace or chaplet, round which are placed moveable gems and flowers: the Mahācalā is the day of the conjunction, called Amā, or Amāvāisyā, and defined by Gobhila, the day of the nearest approach to the sun; on which obsequies are performed to the manes of the Pitrīs, or certain progenitors of the human race,
to whom the darker fortnight is peculiarly sacred. Many subtle points are discussed by my author concerning the junctioin of two or even three lunar days in forming one fast or festival; but such a detail can be useful only to the Brāhmans, who could not guide their flocks, as the Raja of Crishnanagar assures me, without the assistance of Raghunandan. So fond are the Hindus of mythological personifications, that they represent each of the thirty tit'shis as a beautiful nymph; and the Gāyatritāntra, of which Sannyāsī made me a present, though he considered it as the holiest book after the Veda, contains flowery descriptions of each nymph, much resembling the delineations of the thirty Rāginis, in the treatises on Indian music.

In what manner the Hindus contrive so far to reconcile the lunar and solar years, as to make them proceed concurrently in their ephemerides, might easily have been shown by exhibiting a version of the Nadiya or Varānes almanack; but their modes of intercalation form no part of my present subject, and would injure the simplicity of my work, without throwing any light on the religion of the Hindus. The following tables have been very diligently compared by myself with two Sanscrit almanacks, with a superficial chapter in the work of Abu'L-Fazl, and with a list of Indian holidays pub-
lished at Calcutta; in which there are nine or 
ten fasts, called Jryantis, distinguished chiefly 
by the titles of the Avatāras, and twelve or 
thirteen days marked as the beginnings of as 
many Calpas, or very long periods, an hundred 
of which constitute Brahma’s age; but having 
found no authority for those holidays, I have 
omitted them: some festivals, however, or fasts, 
which are passed over in silence by Raghunanda, 
are here printed in Italick letters; be-
cause they may be mentioned in other books, 
and kept holy in other provinces or by partic-
ular sects. I cannot refrain from adding, that 
human sacrifices were anciently made on the 
Mahanavami; and it is declared in the Bha-
wishya Purāna, that the head of a slaughtered 
man gives Durga a thousand times more satis-
faction than that of a buffalo:

Nārāṇa śirasā vīra pūjītā vidhiwanṛṣpa, 
triptā bhavād bhriśam Durgā verṣāni laksamāvachā.

But in the Brāhma every neramédbha, or sacrifice 
of a man, is expressly forbidden; and in the 
fifth book of the Bhāgawat are the following 
emphatical words: “Ye twiba vai pūrūṣbāh pū-
“ruṣpamédbéna yajanté, yáscha śṛiyó nrīpasāṃn
“c’hādanti, tāṃsca tāṃsca tē pāsava iba nibatā,
“yama sādanē yātayanē, rācśhōgana saunicā
“iva sudbittinā ’vadāyasyāh pīvanti;” that is,
"Whatever men in this world sacrifice human victims, and, whatever women eat the flesh of male cattle, those men and those women shall the animals here flain torment in the mansion of Yama, and, like slaughtering giants, having cleaved their limbs with axes, shall quaff their blood." It may seem strange, that a human sacrifice by a man should be no greater crime than eating the flesh of a male beast by a woman; but it is held a mortal offence to kill any creature, except for sacrifice, and none but males must ever be sacrificed, nor must women, except after the performance of a śrāddha by their husbands, taste the flesh even of victims. Many strange ceremonies at the Durgótsava still subsist among the Hindus both male and female, an account of which might elucidate some very obscure parts of the Mosaick law; but this is not a place for such disquisitions. The ceremony of swinging with iron hooks through the muscles, on the day of the Cherec, was introduced, as I am credibly informed, in modern times, by a superstitious prince, named Vána, who was a Saiva of the most austere sect: but the custom is bitterly censured by learned Hindus, and the day is, therefore, omitted in the following abridgement of the Tit'hi tatwa.
Aświna.

I. Navarātrīcam. a.
II.
III. Acshayā. b.
IV.
V. Sāyam-adhivāsa. c.
VI. Shaśtyādicalpa bōdhanam. d.
VII. Patricā-pravēsa. e.
VIII. Mahāśhttāmi sandhipūjā.
IX. Mahānnavamī. f. Manwantarā. g.
X. Vijaya. b.
XI.
XII.
XIII.
XIV.
XV. Aświni Cōjāgara. i.

a. By some the first nine nights are allotted to the decoration of Durgā' with ceremonies peculiar to each. Bhawishyottara.

b. When certain days of the moon fall on certain days of the week, they are called acshayās, or unperishable.

c. The evening preparation for her dress.

d. On this day she is commonly awakened, and her festival begins. Devi-purāna.

e. She is invited to a bower of leaves from nine plants, of which the Bilva is the chief.
The last of the three great days. "The sacrified beasts must be killed at one blow with a broad sword or a sharp axe."

Cālicāpurāṇa.

g. The fourteen days, named Manwantarās, are supposed to be the first of as many very long periods, each of which was the reign of a Menu: they are all placed according to the Bhawishya and Mātśya.

b. The goddess dismissed with reverence, and her image cast into the river, but without Mantras.

Baudhāyana.

i. On this full moon the fiend Nicumbha led his army against Durga; and Lācshmi descended, promising wealth to those who were awake: hence the night is passed in playing at ancient chiefs. Cuve'ra also and Indra are worshipped.

Lainga and Brāhma.
Aswina:
or Cártica.

I.
II.
III.
IV.
V.
VI.
VII.
VIII. Dagdhá. a.
IX.
X.
XI.
XII.
XIII.
XIV. Bhútachaturdasā Yamaterpanam. b.
XV. Lacshmípujá dipánwitá. c. Syámápujá, Ulcádánam. d.

a. The days called dagdba, or burnt, are variable, and depend on some inauspicious conjunctions.

Vidyá-sirómani.

b. Bathing and libations to Yama, regent of the south or the lower world, and judge of departed spirits.

Lainga.

c. A fast all day, and a great festival at night, in honour of Lacshmi, with illuminations on trees and houses: invocations are made at the same time to Cuvéra.

Rudra-dera.
"On this night, when the Gods, having been delivered by Cēsava, were slumbering on the rocks, that bounded the sea of milk, Lacshmi, no longer fearing the Dāityas, slept apart on a lotos." Brāhma.

d. Flowers are also offered on this day to Śyāmā, or the black, an epithet of Bhavaṇi, who appears in the Calijug, as a damsel twelve years old. Vārānasi Panjičā.

Torches and flaming brands are kindled and consecrated, to burn the bodies of kinsmen, who may be dead in battle or in a foreign country, and to light them through the shades of death to the mansion of Yama. Brāhma.

These rites bear a striking resemblance to those of Cēres and Proserpine.
THE LUNAR YEAR

CA'RTICA.

I. Dyúta pratipat. a. Belipújá. b.
II. Bhrátrí dwitiyá. c.
III.
IV.
V.
VI.
VII. Acshayá.
VIII. Gósht'háśhtamí. d.
IX. Durgá navami. e. Yugádyá. f.
X.
XI. Utt'hánaicádasí. g. Baca panchacam.
XII. Manwantará.
XIII.
XIV. Sriherérutt'hánam.
XV. Cárticí. Manwantará. Dánámaavasyacam. h.

a. MAHA'DE'VA was beaten on this day at a game of chance by PA'RVATI': hence games of chance are allowed in the morning; and the winner expects a fortunate year. Bráhma.

b. A nightly festival, with illuminations and offerings of flowers, in honour of the ancient king BeL. Váména.

c. YAMA, child of the Sun, was entertained on this lunar day by the river-goddess YAMUNÁ', his younger sister: hence the day is
sacred to them both; and sisters give entertainments to their brothers, who make presents in return.  

Lainga Mahābhārata.

d. Cows are on this day to be fed, cared for, and attended in their pastures; and the Hindus are to walk round them with ceremony, keeping them always to the right hand.

Bhima parācrama.

e. "To eat nothing but dry rice on this day of the moon for nine successive years, will secure the favour of Durga." Cālīcā purāṇa.

f. The first day of the Trētā Yuga.

Vaishnava. Brāhma.

g. Vīshnu rises on this day, and in some years on the fourteenth, from his slumber of four months. He is waked by this incantation: "The clouds are dispersed; the full moon will appear in perfect brightness; and I come, in hope of acquiring purity, to offer the fresh flowers of the season: awake from thy long slumber, awake, O Lord of all worlds!"

Vāraṇa. Mātṣya.

The Lord of all worlds neither slumbers nor sleeps.

A strict fast is observed on the eleventh; and even the Baka, a water-bird, abstains, it is said, from his usual food.

Vidyā śrōmanī.

b. Gifts to Brāhmaṇs are indispensably necessary on this day.

Rāmāyaṇa.
Ca'rtica:
or Márgastrśha.

I.
II.
III.
IV.
V.
VI.
VII.
VIII.
IX.
X.
XI.
XII.
XIII.
XIV. Acšhayá.
XV. Góśahāfrí. a.

a. Bathing in the Gangá, and other appointed ceremonies, on this day will be equally rewarded with a gift of a thousand cows to the Brāhmens.

Vyāśa.
OF THE HINDUS.

MA’RGASI’RSHA.

I.
II.
III.
IV.
V.
VI. Guha shashtí. a.
VII. Mitra septamí, b. Navánnam.
VIII. Navánnam.
IX.
X.
XI.
XII. Ac’bandá dwádasí. Navánnam.
XIII.
XIV. Páshána chaturdasi. c.
XV. Márgasírshí. Navánnam.

a. Sacred to Scanda, or Ca’rticeya,
God of Arms. Bhawishya.
b. In honour of the Sun. Navánnám signifies new grain, oblations of which are made on any of the days to which the word is annexed.
c. Gaurti' to be worshipped at night, and cakes of rice to be eaten in the form of large pebbles. Bhawishya.
Ma'rgasi'rsha:
or Pausha.

I.
II.
III.
IV.
V.
VI.
VII.
VIII. Pupáśhtacá. a.
IX. Dagdbá.
X.
XI.
XII.
XIII.
XIV.
XV.

a. Cakes of rice are offered on this day, which is also called Aindrà, from Indra, to the Manes of ancestors. Gobhila.
PAUSHA.

I. The morning of the Gods, or beginning of the old Hindu year.

II. Dagdbá.

III.

IV.

V.

VI.

VII.

VIII.

IX.

X.

XI. Manwantará.

XII.

XIII.

XIV.

XV. Paushí.
Pausha:  
or Māgha.

I.  
II.  
III.  
IV.  
V.  
VI.  
VII.  
VIII. Mānsāshtacā.  
a.  
IX.  
X.  
XI.  
XII.  
XIII.  
XIV. Rātanti, or the waters speak.  
b.  
XV.  

a. On this day, called also Prājāpatyā, from Prajāpati, or the Lord of Creatures, the flesh of male kids or wild deer is offered to the Manes.  

Gōbhila.

“On the eighth lunar day, Icshwa'cu spoke “thus to his son Vicucshī: Go, robust youth, “and having slain a male deer, bring his flesh “for the funeral oblation.”  

Herivans'a.

b. Bathing at the first appearance of Aruna, or the dawn.  

Yama.
Ma'gha.

I.
II.
III.
IV. Varadá chaturt’hí. Gaurípújá. a.
V. Srí panchamí. b.
VI.
VII. Bháscara septamí. c. Mácarí. Man-wantará.
VIII. Bhíshmáśhtamí. d.
IX. Mahánandá.
X.
XI. Bhaimí. e.
XII. Sháttiladánam. f.
XIII.
XIV.
XV. Mághi. Yugádyà. g. Dánamávasy-acam.

a. The worship of Gaurí, surnamed Varadá, or granting boons. Bhawishyottara.

b. On this lunar day Saraswatí, here called Srí, the goddess of arts and eloquence, is worshipped with offerings of perfumes, flowers, and dressed rice: even the implements of writing and books are treated with respect and not used on this holiday. Samvatsara pradípa.

A Meditation on Saraswatí.

' May the goddess of speech enable us to
attain all possible felicity; she, who wears on her locks a young moon, who shines with exquisite lustre, whose body bends with the weight of her full breasts, who sits reclined on a white lotos, and from the crimson lotos of her hands pours radiance on the instruments of writing, and on the books produced by her favour! Sáradá tilaka.

c. A fast in honour of the Sun, as a form of Vishnu. Várāha purāna.

It is called also Mácarì from the constellation of Macara, into which the Sun enters on the first of the solar Māgha. Cṛitya calpa taru.

This day has also the names of Rat'byà and Rat'ha septamì, because it was the beginning of a Manwantara, when a new Sun ascended his car. Náraśinba. Māṭya.

d. A libation of holy water is offered by all the four classes to the Manes of the valiant and pious Bhi'shma, son of Ganga'. Bhaśīṣṭhottara.

e. Ceremonies with tila, or fesamum, in honour of Bhi'ma. Vishnu dherma.

f. Tila offered in six different modes. Māṭya.

g. The first day of the Cāliyuga. Brāhma.
Ma'gha:
or P'hálguna.

I.
II.
III.
IV.
V.
VI.
VII.
VIII. Sácáshtacá. a.
IX.
X.
XI.
XII.
XIII.
XIV. Siva ratri. b.
XV.

a. Green vegetables are offered on this day to the Manes of ancestors: it is called also Vaisvédéviste from the Vaisvédéváh, or certain paternal progenitors. Góbbila.

b. A rigorous fast, with extraordinary ceremonies in honour of the Sivalinga or Phallus. Isána sambitá.
P'ha'lguna.

I.
II.
III.
IV. Dagdhá.
V.
VI.
VII.
VIII.
IX.
X.
XI.
XII. Góvinda dwádasî. 

XIII.
XIV.

a. Bathing in the Gangá for the remission of mortal sins.

Pádma.

b. Hálicâ, or P'halgútsava, vulgarly Húli, the great festival on the approach of the vernal equinox.

Kings and people sport on this day in honour of Govinda, who is carried in a dólâ, or palanquin.

Bráhma. Scánda.
OF THE HINDUS.

P'ha'lguna:
or Chaitra.

I.
II.
III.
IV.
V.
VI.
VII.
VIII. Sitalá pújá.
IX.
X.
XI.
XII.
XIII. Maháváruni?
XIV.

Chaitra.

I. The *lunisolar* year of *Vicrama'ditya* begins.

II.

III. Manwantará.

IV.

V.

VI. Scanda-shashti. *a*.

VII.

VIII. Asócáshtamí. *b*.

IX. Sríráma-navamí. *c*.

X.

XI.

XII.

XIII. Madana-trayódasí. *d*.

XIV. Madana-chaturdasí. *e*.

XV. Chaitrí. Manwantará.

*a*. Sacred to Ca'rtice'ya, the God of War. *Devi-purána.*

*b*. Men and women of all classes ought to bathe in some holy stream, and, if possible, in the *Brabmaputra*: they should also drink water with buds of the *Asóca* floating on it. *Scánda.*

*c*. The birthday of Ra'ma Chandra. Ceremonies are to be performed with the mystical stone Sálagráma and leaves of Tulasi. *Agastya.*
d. A festival in honour of Ca'\(\text{\textit{ma de'\textit{va,}}\)
God of Love.
\textit{Bhawishya.}

\(\text{\textit{e. The same continued with musick and}}\)
bathing.
\textit{Saur\text{\textit{\textae}}\text{\textit{gama. \textit{\textae}}\text{\textit{v\text{\textae}}}}}\)
\textit{\textit{De\text{\textae}}\text{\textit{vala.}}}

The Hymn to Ca'\(\text{\textit{ma.}}\)

1. Hail, God of the flowery bow; hail, war
\(\text{\textit{rior with a fish on thy banner; hail, powerful}}\)
divinity, who causest the firmness of the sage to
forfake him, and subduedst the guardian deities
of eight regions!

2. O Ca\(\text{\textit{ndarp\text{\textae}}}, \text{\textit{thou son of Ma'}\text{\textit{dhava!}}}
O Ma\(\text{\textit{ra, thou foe of Sambhra!}}\) Glory be
given to thee, who lovest the goddes\textit{s Reti}; to
thee, by whom all worlds are subdued; to thee,
who springest from the heart!

3. Glory be to Ma\(\text{\textit{dana, to Ca\(\text{\textit{ma;}}\)}
\text{\textit{to Him, who is formed as the God of Gods; to}}\)
\text{\textit{Him, by whom Brahma', Vishnu, Siva,}}\)
\textit{Indra, are filled with emotions of rapture!}

4. May all my mental cares be removed, all
my corporal sufferings terminate! May the ob
\(\text{\textit{ject of my soul be attained, and my felicity con}}\)
tinue for ever!
\textit{Bhawishya-pur\text{\textae}}\text{\textit{na.}}
Chaitra:
or Vaisāc'ha.

I.
II. Dagdbá.
III.
IV.
V.
VI.
VII.
VIII.
IX.
X.
XI.
XII.
XIII. Várūnī. a.
XIV. Angāraca dinam. b.
XV.

a. So called from Vārūna, or the lunar constellation Satabhisbā: when it falls on Saturday, it is named Mahāvārunī. Bathing by day and at night in the Gangā. Scānda.

b. Sacred, I believe, to the planet Mangala. "A branch of Snubī (Euphorbia) in a whitened vessel, placed with a red flag on the house-top, on the fourteenth of the dark half of Chaitra, drives away sin and disease." Rāja mártanda.
VAISA'CH'HA.

I.
II.
IV.
V.
VI. Dāgdhā.
VII. Jāhunu septamī.
VIII.
IX.
X.
XI.
XII. Pīpitaca dwādasi. c.
XIII.
XIV. Nṛśīnha chaturdasi.
XV. Vaisac'hī. Dānānāvasyacam.

a. Gifts on this day of water and grain, especially of barley, with oblations to Crishna of perfumes, and other religious rites, produce fruit without end in the next world.


b. The first day of the Satya yuga.

Brāhma. Vaishnava.

"Water and oil of tila, offered on the Yugā-dyās to the Pitrīs, or progenitors of mankind, are equal to obleries continued for a thousand sand years." Vishnu-purāna.
This was also the day, on which the river Gangá flowed from the foot of Vishnu down upon Himálaya, where she was received on the head of Siva, and led afterwards to the ocean by king Bhágirat'ha: hence adoration is now paid to Gangá, Himálaya, Sancara, and his mountain Cailása; nor must Bhágirat'ha be neglected.

Bráhma.

c. Libations to the Manes. Ragbunandan.

Note on p. 146.

Dólayátra. b.

Compare this holiday and the superstition on the fourth of Bhádra with the two Egyptian festivals mentioned by Plutarch; one called the entrance of Osiris into the Moon, and the other his confinement or inclosure in an Ark.

The people usually claim four other days for their sports, and sprinkle one another with a red powder in imitation of vernal flowers: it is commonly made with the mucilaginous root of a fragrant plant, coloured with Bakkam, or Sap-pan-wood, a little alum being added to extract and fix the redness.
VAISA'CH'A:
or 'SYAISHIT'BA.

I.
II.
III.
IV. Daghá.
V.
VI.
VII.
VIII.
IX.
X.
XI.
XII.
XIII.
XIV. Sávitrí vratam. a.
XV.

a. A fast, with ceremonies by women, at the roots of the Indian fig-tree, to preserve them from widowhood.

Jyaishtha.

I.
II.
III. Rembhá tritiyá. a.
IV.
V.
VI. Aranya shashti. b.
VII. Acshaya.
VIII.
IX.
X. Dafahara. c.
XI. Nirjalaicadasí. d.
XII.
XIII.
XIV. Champaca chaturdasí. c.
XV. Jyaishththi. Manwantará.

a. On this day of the moon the Hindu women imitate Rembhá', the seaborne goddess of beauty, who bathed on the same day, with particular ceremonies. Bhawishyottara.

b. Women walk in the forests with a fan in one hand, and eat certain vegetables in hope of beautiful children. Raja mārtanda.

See the account given by Pliny of the Druidical mistletoe, or viscum, which was to be gathered, when the moon was six days old, as a preservative from sterility.
c. The word means ten-removing, or removing ten sins, an epithet of Gangá, who effaces ten sins, how heinous soever, committed in ten previous births by such as bathe in her waters.

Brahma-vaiśvēnāṭa.

A Couple by Ṣanc'ha.

"On the tenth of Ṣyaśṭē, in the bright half of the month, on the day of Mangala, son of the Earth, when the moon was in Ḥaśā, this daughter of Jáhnu burst from the rocks, and flowed over the land inhabited by mortals: on this lunar day, therefore, the washes off ten sins (thus have the venerable sages declared) and gives an hundred times more felicity, than could be attained by a myriad of Áśwamédhas, or sacrifices of a horse."

d. A fast so strict, that even water must not be tasted.

e. A festival, I suppose, with the flowers of the Champaca.
Jyaisht'ha:
or Asharba.

I.
II.
III.
IV. Dagdbá.
V.
VI.
VII.
VIII.
IX.
X. Ambuváchí pradam. a.
XI.
XII.
XIII. Ambuváchí tyághah.
XIV.
XV. Góshahafri.

a. The Earth in her courses till the thirteenth.

Jyotish.
A'шаd'ha.

I.
II. Rat'ha Yátrá.  a.
III.
IV.
V.
VI.
VII.
VIII.
IX.
X. Manwantará.
XI. Sayanaicádasí. Rátrau s'ayanam.  b.
XII.
XIII.
XIV.

a. The image of Crishna, in the character of Jagannát'ha, or Lord of the Universe, is borne by day in a car, together with those of Balara'ma and Subhadr'á: when the moon rises, the feast begins, but must end, as soon as it sets. Scánda.

b. The night of the Gods beginning with the summer solstice, Vishnu reposes four months on the serpent Se'sha.

Bhágavata, Mátsya. Váráha.
Aśhād'ha:
or Srāvana.

I.
II.
III.
IV.
V. Manasāpanchamī. a.
VI. Dagdbā.
VII.
VIII. Manwantarā.
IX.
X.
XI.
XII.
XIII.
XIV.
XV.

a. In honour of Devi, the goddess of nature, surnamed Manasā, who, while Vishnu and all the Gods were sleeping, fast in the shape of a serpent on a branch of Snumi, to preserve mankind from the venom of snakes.

Garuda. Devīpurāṇa.
Sraʻvana.

I.
II.
III.
IV.
V. Nágapanchamí. a.
VI.
VII.
VIII.
IX.
X.
XI.
XII.
XIII.
XIV.
XV. Srávaní.

a. Sacred to the demigods in the form of Serpents, who are enumerated in the Pedma, and Garuda, puránas. Doors of houses are smeared with cow-dung and Nimba-leaves, as a preservative from poisonous reptiles.

Bhavishya. Retnácara.

Both in the Pádma and Gáruḍa we find the serpent Cāliya, whom Crishna flew in his childhood, among the deities worshipped on this day; as the Pythian snake, according to Clemens, was adored with Apollo at Delphi.
Sra'vana: or Bhadra.

I. 
II. 
III. 
IV. 
V. 
VI. 
VII. Dagdbá.
VIII. Crishnajanmáshtami. a. Jayanti b.
IX. 
X. 
XI. 
XII. 
XIII. Yugádyá. c.
XIV. 
XV. Amávásyá.

a. The birthday of Crishna, son of Maha'-
ma'ya in the form of De'vac'y.

Vasi'sht'ha. Bhawishyottara.

b. A strict fast from midnight. In the book,
entitled Dwatta nirnaya, it is said that the
Jayanti yóga happens, whenever the moon is in
Róbinì on the eighth of any dark fortnight; but
Vara'ha Mihira confines it to the time,
when the Sun is in Sinba. This fast, during
which Chandra and Róhinì are worshipped,
is also called Róbinì vrata. Bráhmánda.

c. The first day of the Dwápara Yuga.

Bráhma.
OF THE HINDUS.

Bhadra.

I.
II.
III. Manwantarā.
V. Rṛṣbi panchamī.
VI.
VII. Acīhayā lalitā. b.
VIII. Dūrvāśhtamī. c.
IX.
X.
XI. Pārśwaperivertanam. d.
XII. S'acrōtt'hānam. e.
XIII.
XIV. Ananta vratam. f.
XV. Bhādri.

a. Crīshna, falsely accused in his childhood of having stolen a gem from Prase'na, who had been killed by a lion, bid himself in the moon; to see which on the two fourth days of Bhādra is inauspicious. Brāhma. Bhōjadēva.

b. A ceremony, called Cuccuti vratam, performed by women in honour of Sīva and Durgā.

Bhāwisbya.

c. "The family of him, who performs holy rites on this lunar day, shall flourish and in-

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"creafe like the grafs dūrvā." It is the rayed
Agrostis. Bhawīsḥyōttara.

d. Vishnu sleeping turns on his side.

Mātsya. Bhawīsḥya.

e. Princes erect poles adorned with flowers,
by way of standards, in honour of Īndra: the
ceremonies are minutely described in the Cālicā
purāṇa.

f. Sacred to Vishnu with the title of
Ananta, or Infinite. Bhawīsḥyōttara,
Bha'dra:
or A'swina.

I. Aparapacsha.  *Brahma sāvitrī.*  
II.  
III.  
IV. Naśtha-chandra. 
V.  
VI.  
VII. Agastyodayah.  *a.*  
VIII.  
IX. Bōdhanam.  *b.*  
X.  
XI.  
XII.  
XIII. *Maghātrayōdasi śrāddham.*  
XIV.  
XV. Mahālayā. Amāvāsyā.  

*a.* Three days before the sun enters the constellation of Canyakā, let the people, who dwell in Gaura, offer a dish of flowers to Agastya.

*Brahma-vaiśvarta.*

Having poured water into a sea-shell, let the votary fill it with white flowers and unground rice: then, turning to the south, let him offer it with this incantation: 'Hail, Cumbhayo'ni, 'born in the sight of Mitra and Varuna,
bright as the blossom of the grass cáśa; thou, who sprangest from Agni and Ma'ruta.' Cáśa is the Spontaneous Saccharum.

Náraśinha.

This is properly a festival of the solar year, in honour of the sage Agastya, supposed, after his death, to preside over the star Canopus.

b. Some begin on this day, and continue till the ninth of the new moon, the great festival, called Durgāśava, in honour of Durgā, the goddess of nature; who is now awakened with sports and musick, as she was waked in the beginning by Brahma during the night of the Gods.

Cālicā purāṇa.

Note on p. 136.

Utt'hānaicādasi. g.

In one almanack I see on this day Tulasi-vivāha, or the Marriage of Tulasī, but have no other authority for mentioning such a festival. Tulasī was a Nymph beloved by Črīṣhna, but transformed by him into the Parnāsā, or black Ocimum, which commonly bears her name.

General Note.

If the festivals of the old Greeks, Romans, Persians, Egyptians, and Goths, could be ar-
ranged with exactness in the same form with these Indian tables, there would be found, I am persuaded, a striking resemblance among them; and an attentive comparison of them all might throw great light on the religion, and, perhaps, on the history, of the primitive world.
ON

THE MUSICAL MODES

OF

THE HINDUS:

WRITTEN IN 1784, AND SINCE MUCH ENLARGED.

BY THE PRESIDENT.

MUSICK belongs, as a Science, to an interesting part of natural philosophy, which, by mathematical deductions from constant phenomena, explains the causes and properties of sound, limits the number of mixed, or harmonick, sounds to a certain series, which perpetually recurs, and fixes the ratio, which they bear to each other or to one leading term; but, considered as an Art, it combines the sounds, which philosophy distinguishes, in such a manner as to gratify our ears, or affect our imaginations, or, by uniting both objects, to captivate the fancy while it pleases the sense, and, speaking, as it were, the language of beautiful nature, to raise correspondent ideas and emotions in the mind of the hearer: it then, and then only, becomes what we call a fine art, allied very nearly to
verse, painting, and rhetorick, but subordinate in its functions to pathetick poetry, and inferior in its power to genuine eloquence.

Thus it is the province of the philosopher, to discover the true direction and divergence of sound propagated by the successive compressions and expansions of air, as the vibrating body advances and recedes; to show why sounds themselves may excite a tremulous motion in particular bodies, as in the known experiment of instruments tuned in unison; to demonstrate the law, by which all the particles of air, when it undulates with great quickness, are continually accelerated and retarded; to compare the number of pulses in agitated air with that of the vibrations, which cause them; to compute the velocities and intervals of those pulses in atmospheres of different density and elasticity; to account, as well as he can, for the affections, which music produces; and, generally, to investigate the causes of the many wonderful appearances, which it exhibits: but the artist, without considering, and even without knowing, any of the sublime theorems in the philosophy of sound, may attain his end by a happy selection of melodies and accents adapted to passionate verse, and of times conformable to regular metre; and, above all, by modulation, or the choice and variation of those modes, as they are
called, of which, as they are contrived and arranged by the Hindus, it is my design, and shall be my endeavour, to give you a general notion with all the perspicuity, that the subject will admit.

Although we must assign the first rank, transcendently and beyond all comparison, to that powerful musick, which may be denominated the sister of poetry and eloquence, yet the lower art of pleasing the sense by a succession of agreeable sounds, not only has merit and even charms, but may, I persuade myself, be applied on a variety of occasions to salutary purposes: whether, indeed, the sensation of hearing be caused, as many suspect, by the vibrations of an elastic ether flowing over the auditory nerves and propelled along their solid capillaments, or whether the fibres of our nerves, which seem indefinitely divisible, have, like the strings of a lute, peculiar vibrations proportioned to their length and degree of tension, we have not sufficient evidence to decide; but we are very sure, that the whole nervous system is affected in a singular manner by combinations of sound, and that melody alone will often relieve the mind, when it is oppressed by intense application to business or study. The old musician, who rather figuratively, we may suppose, than with philosophical seriousness, declared the soul itself to be
nothing but harmony, provoked the sprightly remark of Cicero, that he drew his philosophy from the art, which he professed; but if, without departing from his own art, he had merely described the human frame as the noblest and sweetest of musical instruments, endued with a natural disposition to resonance and sympathy, alternately affecting and affected by the soul, which pervades it, his description might, perhaps, have been physically just, and certainly ought not to have been hastily ridiculed: that any medical purpose may be fully answered by musick, I dare not assert; but after food, when the operations of digestion and absorption give so much employment to the vessels, that a temporary state of mental repose must be found, especially in hot climates, essential to health, it seems reasonable to believe, that a few agreeable airs, either heard or played without effort, must have all the good effects of sleep and none of its disadvantages; putting the soul in tune, as Milton says, for any subsequent exertion; an experiment, which has often been successfully made by myself, and which any one, who pleases, may easily repeat. Of what I am going to add, I cannot give equal evidence; but hardly know how to disbelieve the testimony of men, who had no system of their own to support, and could have no interest in deceiv-
ing me: first, I have been assured by a credible eye witness, that two wild antelopes used often to come from their woods to the place, where a more savage beast, Sira'juddaulah, entertained himself with concerts, and that they listened to the strains with an appearance of pleasure, till the monster, in whose soul there was no musick, shot one of them to display his archery: secondly, a learned native of this country told me, that he had frequently seen the most venomous and malignant snakes leave their holes, upon hearing tunes on a flute, which, as he supposed, gave them peculiar delight; and, thirdly, an intelligent Persian, who repeated his story again and again, and permitted me to write it down from his lips, declared, he had more than once been present, when a celebrated lutaniist, Mirzá Mohammed, surnamed Bulbul, was playing to a large company in a grove near Shtráz, where he distinctly saw the nightingales trying to vie with the musician, sometimes warbling on the trees, sometimes fluttering from branch to branch, as if they wished to approach the instrument, whence the melody proceeded, and at length dropping on the ground in a kind of extasy, from which they were soon raised, he assured me, by a change of the mode.

The astonishing effects ascribed to musick by
the old Greeks, and, in our days, by the Chinese, Persians, and Indians, have probably been exaggerated and embellished; nor, if such effects had been really produced, could they be imputed, I think, to the mere influence of sounds however combined or modified: it may, therefore, be suspected (not that the accounts are wholly fictitious, but) that such wonders were performed by music in its largest sense, as it is now described by the Hindus, that is, by the union of voices, instruments, and action; for such is the complex idea conveyed by the word Sangita, the simple meaning of which is no more than symphony; but most of the Indian books on this art consist accordingly of three parts, gana, vadya, nritya, or song, percussion, and dancing; the first of which comprises the measures of poetry, the second extends to instrumental music of all sorts, and the third includes the whole compass of theatrical representation. Now it may easily be conceived, that such an alliance, with the potent auxiliaries of distinct articulation, graceful gesture, and well adapted scenery, must have a strong general effect, and may, from particular associations, operate so forcibly on very sensible minds, as to excite copious tears, change the colour and countenance, heat or chill the blood, make the heart palpitate with violence, or even compel the hearer to start from
his feat with the look, speech, and actions of a man in a phrensy: the effect must be yet stronger, if the subject be religious, as that of the old Indian dramas, both great and small (I mean both regular plays in many acts and shorter dramatick pieces on divine love) seems in general to have been. In this way only can we attempt to account for the indubitable effects of the great airs and impassioned recitative in the modern Italian dramas, where three beautiful arts, like the Graces united in a dance, are together exhibited in a state of excellence, which the ancient world could not have surpassed, and probably could not have equalled: an heroic opera of Metastasio, set by Pergolesi, or by some artist of his incomparable school, and represented at Naples, displays at once the perfection of human genius, awakens all the affections, and captivates the imagination at the same instant through all the senses.

When such aids, as a perfect theatre would afford, are not accessible, the power of musick must in proportion be less; but it will ever be very considerable, if the words of the song be fine in themselves, and not only well translated into the language of melody, with a complete union of musical and rhetorical accents, but clearly pronounced by an accomplished finger, who feels what he fings, and fully understand
OF THE HINDUS.

by a hearer, who has passions to be moved; especially if the composer has availed himself in his translation (for such may his composition very justly be called) of all those advantages, with which nature, ever sedulous to promote our innocent gratifications, abundantly supplies him. The first of those natural advantages is the variety of modes, or manners, in which the seven harmonick sounds are perceived to move in succession, as each of them takes the lead, and consequently bears a new relation to the six others. Next to the phenomenon of seven sounds perpetually circulating in a geometrical progression, according to the length of the strings or the number of their vibrations, every ear must be sensible, that two of the seven intervals in the complete series, or octave, whether we consider it as placed in a circular form, or in a right line with the first sound repeated, are much shorter than the five other intervals; and on these two phenomena the modes of the Hindus (who seem ignorant of our complicated harmony) are principally constructed. The longer intervals we shall call tones, and the shorter (in compliance with custom) semitones, without mentioning their exact ratios; and it is evident, that, as the places of the semitones admit seven variations relative to one fundamental sound, there are as many modes, which may be called
primary; but we must not confound them with our modern modes, which result from the system of accords now established in Europe: they may rather be compared with those of the Roman Church, where some valuable remnants of old Grecian musick are preserved in the sweet, majestic, simple, and affecting strains of the Plain Song. Now, since each of the tones may be divided, we find twelve semitones in the whole series; and, since each semitone may in its turn become the leader of a series formed after the model of every primary mode, we have seven times twelve, or eighty-four, modes in all, of which seventy-seven may be named secondary; and we shall see accordingly that the Persian and the Hindus (at least in their most popular system) have exactly eighty-four modes, though distinguished by different appellations and arranged in different classes: but, since many of them are unpleasing to the ear, others difficult in execution, and few sufficiently marked by a character of sentiment and expression, which the higher musick always requires, the genius of the Indians has enabled them to retain the number of modes, which nature seems to have indicated, and to give each of them a character of its own by a happy and beautiful contrivance. Why any one series of sounds, the ratios of which are ascertained by observation and expressible by
figures, should have a peculiar effect on the organ of hearing, and, by the auditory nerves, on the mind, will then only be known by mortals, when they shall know why each of the seven colours in the rainbow, where a proportion, analogous to that of musical sounds, most wonderfully prevails, has a certain specific effect on our eyes; why the shades of green and blue, for instance, are soft and soothing, while those of red and yellow distress and dazzle the sight; but, without striving to account for the phenomena, let us be satisfied with knowing, that some of the modes have distinct perceptible properties, and may be applied to the expression of various mental emotions; a fact, which ought well to be considered by those performers, who would reduce them all to a dull uniformity, and sacrifice the true beauties of their art to an in-judicious temperament.

The ancient Greeks, among whom this delightful art was long in the hands of poets, and of mathematicians, who had much less to do with it, ascribe almost all its magick to the diversity of their Modes, but have left us little more than the names of them, without such discriminations, as might have enabled us to compare them with our own, and apply them to practice; their writers addressed themselves to Greeks, who could not but know their national
musick; and most of those writers were pro-
fessed men of science, who thought more of
calculating ratios than of inventing melody; so
that, whenever we speak of the soft Eolian mode,
of the tender Lydian, the voluptuous Ionick, the
manly Dorian, or the animating Phrygian, we
use mere phrases, I believe, without clear ideas.
For all that is known concerning the musick of
Greece, let me refer those, who have no in-
clination to read the dry works of the Greeks
themselves, to a little tract of the learned Wallis,
which he printed as an Appendix to the
Harmonicks of Ptolemy; to the Dictionary
of Musick by Rousseau, whose pen, formed
to elucidate all the arts, had the property of
spreading light before it on the darkest subjects,
as if he had written with phosphorus on the
sides of a cavern; and, lastly, to the disserta-
ton Dr. Burney, who, passing slightly over all
that is obscure, explains with perspicuity what-
ever is explicable, and gives dignity to the cha-
racter of a modern musician by uniting it with
that of a scholar and philosopher.

The unexampled felicity of our nation, who
diffuse the blessings of a mild government over
the finest part of India, would enable us to at-
tain a perfect knowledge of the oriental musick,
which is known and practised in these British
dominions not by mercenary performers only,
but even by Muselmans and Hindus of eminent rank and learning: a native of Cásbán, lately resident at Mursbedábd, had a complete acquaintance with the Persian theory and practice; and the best artists in Hindustán would cheerfully attend our concerts: we have an easy access to approved Asiatick treatises on musical composition, and need not lament with Chardin, that he neglected to procure at Isfábán the explanation of a small tract on that subject, which he carried to Europe: we may here examine the best instruments of Asia, may be masters of them, if we please, or at least may compare them with ours; the concurrent labours, or rather amusements, of several in our own body, may facilitate the attainment of correct ideas on a subject so delightfully interesting; and a free communication from time to time of their respective discoveries would conduct them more surely and speedily, as well as more agreeably, to their desired end. Such would be the advantages of union, or, to borrow a term from the art before us, of harmonious accord, in all our pursuits, and above all in that of knowledge.

On Persian musick, which is not the subject of this paper, it would be improper to enlarge: the whole system of it is explained in a celebrated collection of tracts on pure and mixed
mathematicks, entitled *Durratu’ltâj*, and composed by a very learned man, so generally called *Allāmī Shīrāzī*, or the great philosopher of Shīrāz, that his proper name is almost forgotten; but, as the modern Persians had access, I believe, to Ptolemy’s harmonicks, their mathematical writers on musick treat it rather as a science than as an art, and seem, like the Greeks, to be more intent on splitting tones into quarters and eighth parts, of which they compute the ratios to show their arithmetick, than on displaying the principles of modulation, as it may affect the passions. I apply the same observation to a short, but masterly, tract of the famed Abu’sīnā’, and suspect that it is applicable to an elegant essay in Persian, called *Shamsu’lāfswat*, of which I have not had courage to read more than the preface. It will be sufficient to subjoin on this head, that the Persians distribute their eighty-four modes, according to an idea of locality, into twelve rooms, twenty-four recesses, and forty-eight angles or corners: in the beautiful tale, known by the title of the Four Dervises, originally written in Persia with great purity and elegance, we find the description of a concert, where four singers, with as many different instruments, are represented “modulating in twelve makâms or perdabs, twenty-four "shâbabs, and forty-eight gûshas, and beginning
"a mirthful song of Ha’fiz, on vernal delight
in the perdabs named raft, or direct.” All
the twelve perdabs, with their appropriated shō-
babs, are enumerated by Amî’n, a writer and
musician of Hindustân, who mentions an opinion
of the learned, that only seven primary modes
were in use before the reign of Parviz, whose
musical entertainments are magnificently de-
scribed by the incomparable Nizâ’mî: the modes
are chiefly denominated, like those of the Greeks
and Hindus, from different regions or towns; as,
among the perdabs, we see Hijáz, Irâk, Isfâ-
bân; and, among the shobahs, or secondary
modes, Zâbul, Nishápûr, and the like. In a
Sanskrit book, which shall soon be particularly
mentioned, I find the scale of a mode, named
Hijéja, specified in the following verse:

Mâni’agraba sa nyâsî’chîl’d bijéjaʃtu sâyâhne.

The name of this mode is not Indian; and,
if I am right in believing it a corruption of
Hijáz, which could hardly be written otherwise
in the Nâgari letters, we must conclude, that it
was imported from Persia: we have discovered
then a Persian or Arabian mode with this dia-
pason,

D, E, F#, G#, A, B, C#, D;

where the first semitone appears between the
fourth and fifth notes, and the second between
the seventh and eighth; as in the natural scale Fa, sol, la, si, ut, re, mi, fa: but the C♯, and G♯, or ga and ni of the Indian author, are variously changed, and probably the series may be formed in a manner not very different (though certainly there is a diversity) from our major mode of D. This melody must necessarily end with the fifth note from the tonick, and begin with the tonick itself; and it would be a gross violation of musical decorum in India, to sing it at any time except at the close of day: these rules are comprized in the verse above cited; but the species of octave is arranged according to Mr. Fowke's remarks on the Víná, compared with the fixed Swaragráma, or gamut, of all the Hindu musicians.

Let us proceed to the Indian system, which is minutely explained in a great number of Sanscrit books, by authors, who leave arithmetick and geometry to their astronomers, and properly discourse on musick as an art confined to the pleasures of imagination. The Pandits of this province unanimously prefer the Dámódara to any of the popular Sangítas; but I have not been able to procure a good copy of it, and am perfectly satisfied with the Náráyan, which I received from Benáres, and in which the Dámodar is frequently quoted. The Persian book, entitled a Present from India, was composed,
under the patronage of Aazem Sha'\textsuperscript{h}, by the very diligent and ingenious Mirza Khan, and contains a minute account of Hindu literature in all, or most of, its branches: he professes to have extracted his elaborate chapter on musick, with the assistance of Pandits from the R\textsuperscript{A}g\textsuperscript{a}r\textsuperscript{n}ava, or Sea of Passions, the R\textsuperscript{A}g\textsuperscript{a}derpana, or Mirror of Modes, the Sad\textsuperscript{b}\textsuperscript{a}vin\textsuperscript{o}da, or Delight of Assemblies, and some other approved treatises in Sanscrit. The Sangita\textsuperscript{d}erpan, which he also names among his authorities, has been translated into Persian; but my experience justifies me in pronouncing, that the Moghols have no idea of accurate translation, and give that name to a mixture of gloss and text with a flimsy paraphrase of them both; that they are wholly unable, yet always pretend, to write Sanscrit words in Arabick letters; that a man, who knows the Hindus only from Persian books, does not know the Hindus; and that an European, who follows the muddy rivulets of Muselman writers on India, instead of drinking from the pure fountain of Hindu learning, will be in perpetual danger of misleading himself and others. From the just severity of this censure I except neither Abu'lfazl, nor his brother Faiz'i, nor Mohsani Fa'n'i, nor Mirza Khan himself; and I speak of all four after an attentive perusal of their works. A tract on musick in the idiom
of Mat'burā, with several essays in pure Hindustāni, lately passed through my hands; and I possess a dissertation on the same art in the soft dialect of Panjab, or Panchanada, where the national melody has, I am told, a peculiar and striking character; but I am very little acquainted with those dialects, and persuade myself, that nothing has been written in them, which may not be found more copiously and beautifully expressed in the language, as the Hindus perpetually call it, of the Gods, that is, of their ancient bards, philosophers, and legislators.

The most valuable work, that I have seen, and perhaps the most valuable that exists, on the subject of Indian musick, is named Rāgavi-bōdha, or The Doctrine of Musical Modes; and it ought here to be mentioned very particularly, because none of the Pandits, in our provinces, nor any of those from Cāfi or Casmīr, to whom I have shown it, appear to have known that it was extant; and it may be considered as a treasure in the history of the art, which the zeal of Colonel Polier has brought into light, and perhaps has preserved from destruction. He had purchased, among other curiosities, a volume containing a number of separate essays on musick in prose and verse, and in a great variety of idioms: besides tracts in Arabick,
Hindi, and Persian, it included a short essay in Latin by Alstedius, with an interlinear Persian translation, in which the passages quoted from Lucretius and Virgil made a singular appearance; but the brightest gem in the string was the Rāgavibōdha, which the Colonel permitted my Nāgari writer to transcribe, and the transcript was diligently collated with the original by my Pandit and myself. It seems a very ancient composition, but is less old unquestionably than the Ratnacāra by Sa'nga Deva, which is more than once mentioned in it, and a copy of which Mr. Burrow procured in his journey to Heridwar: the name of the author was So'Ma, and he appears to have been a practical musician as well as a great scholar and an elegant poet; for the whole book, without excepting the strains noted in letters, which fill the fifth and last chapter of it, consists of masterly couplets in the melodious metre called Aryan; the first, third, and fourth chapters explain the doctrine of musical sounds, their division and succession, the variations of scales by temperament, and the enumeration of modes on a system totally different from those, which will presently be mentioned; and the second chapter contains a minute description of different Vinās with rules for playing on them. This book alone would enable me, were I master of my
time, to compose a treatise on the music of India, with assistance, in the practical part, from an European professor and a native player on the Vina; but I have leisure only to present you with an essay, and even that, I am conscious, must be very superficial; it may be sometimes, but, I trust, not often, erroneous; and I have spared no pains to secure myself from error.

In the literature of the Hindus all nature is animated and personified; every fine art is declared to have been revealed from heaven; and all knowledge, divine and human, is traced to its source in the Vedas; among which the Samaveda was intended to be sung, whence the reader, or singer of it is called Udgatri or Sama: in Colonel Polier's copy of it the strains are noted in figures, which it may not be impossible to decipher. On account of this distinction, say the Brahmans, the supreme preserving power, in the form of Krishna, having enumerated in the Gita various orders of beings, to the chief of which he compares himself, pronounces, that "among the Vedas he was the Sama." From that Veda was accordingly derived the Upaveda of the Gandharbas, or musicians in Indra's heaven; so that the divine art was communicated to our species by Brahma himself or by his active power Sereswati, the
Goddes of Speech; and their mythological son Na'red, who was in truth an ancient lawgiver and astronomer, invented the Vinā, called also Cach'bapī, or Teśudo; a very remarkable fact, which may be added to the other proofs of a resemblance between that Indian God, and the Mercury of the Latians. Among inspired mortals the first musician is believed to have been the sage Bherat, who was the inventor, they say, of Nātacī, or dramas, represented with songs and dances, and author of a musical system, which bears his name. If we can rely on Mi'rzakha'īn, there are four principal Mātsas, or systems, the first of which is ascribed to Iswara, or Osiris; the second to Bherat; the third to Hanumat, or Pa'van, the Pan of India, supposed to be the son of Pavana, the regent of air; and the fourth to Callina't'h, a Ṛṣhi, or Indian philosopher, eminently skilled in musick, theoretical and practical: all four are mentioned by Soma; and it is the third of them, which must be very ancient, and seems to have been extremely popular, that I propose to explain after a few introductory remarks; but I may here observe with Soma, who exhibits a system of his own, and with the author of the Nārāyan, who mentions a great many others, that almost every kingdom and province had a peculiar style of melody, and
very different names for the modes, as well as a different arrangement and enumeration of them.

The two phenomena, which have already been stated as the foundation of musical modes, could not long have escaped the attention of the Hindus, and their flexible language readily supplied them with names for the seven Swaras, or sounds, which they dispose in the following order, shadja, pronounced sharja, rishabha, gandhara, madhyama, panchama, dhaivata, niśadha; but the first of them is emphatically named swara, or the sound, from the important office, which it bears in the scale; and hence, by taking the seven initial letters or syllables of those words, they contrived a notation for their airs, and at the same time exhibited a gamut, at least as convenient as that of Guido they call it swaragrāma or septaca, and express it in this form:

Sa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dba, ni,
three of which syllables are, by a singular concurrence, exactly the same, though not all in the same places, with three of those invented by David Mostare, as a substitute for the troublesome gamut used in his time, and which he arranges thus:

Bo, ce, di, ga, la, ma, ni.

As to the notation of melody, since every Indian
Scale of the Fingertboard of the Vina, reduced \( \frac{3}{5} \) the whole length being 21 inches \( \frac{2}{3} \) from the Nut to the highest Fret.

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consonant includes by its nature the short vowel $a$, five of the sounds are denoted by single consonants, and the two others have different short vowels taken from their full names; by substituting long vowels, the time of each note is doubled, and other marks are used for a farther elongation of them; the octaves above and below the mean scale, the connection and acceleration of notes, the graces of execution or manners of fingerling the instrument, are expressed very clearly by small circles and ellipses, by little chains, by curves, by straight lines horizontal or perpendicular, and by crescents, all in various positions: the close of a strain is distinguished by a lotos-flower; but the time and measure are determined by the prosody of the verse and by the comparative length of each syllable, with which every note or assemblage of notes respectively corresponds. If I understand the native musicians, they have not only the chromatic, but even the second, or new, enharmonic, genus; for they unanimously reckon twenty-two śrutis, or quarters and thirds of a tone, in their octave: they do not pretend that those minute intervals are mathematically equal, but consider them as equal in practice, and allot them to the several notes in the following order: to $fa$, $ma$, and $pa$, four; to $ri$ and $dba$, three; to $ga$ and $ni$, two; giving very smooth and significant names to
each sruti. Their original scale, therefore, stands thus,

\[ Sa, \text{ ri, ga, ma, pa, } \text{dba, } ni, \text{ fa.} \]

The semitones accordingly are placed as in our diatonick scale: the intervals between the fourth and fifth, and between the first and second, are major tones; but that between the fifth and sixth, which is minor in our scale, appears to be major in theirs; and the two scales are made to coincide by taking a sruti from pa and adding it to dba, or, in the language of Indian artists, by raising Servaretnā to the class of Sāntā and her sisters; for every sruti they consider as a little nymph, and the nymphs of Panbama, or the fifth note, are Mālinī, Chapalā, Lōlā, and Servaretnā, while Sāntā and her two sisters regularly belong to Dbaivata: such at least is the system of Co'hala, one of the ancient bards, who has left a treatise on musick.

Some seems to admit, that a quarter or third of a tone cannot be separately and distinctly heard from the Vinā; but he takes for granted, that its effect is very perceptible in their arrangement of modes; and their sixth, I imagine, is almost universally diminished by one sruti; for he only mentions two modes, in which all the seven notes are unaltered. I tried in vain to
discover any difference in practice between the Indian scale, and that of our own; but, knowing my ear to be very insufficiently exercised, I requested a German professor of musick to accompany with his violin a Hindu lutanist, who sung by note some popular airs on the loves of Crishna and Radhá; he assured me, that the scales were the same; and Mr. Shore afterwards informed me, that, when the voice of a native singer was in tune with his harpsichord, he found the Hindu series of seven notes to ascend, like ours, by a sharp third.

For the construction and character of the Vina, I must refer you to the very accurate and valuable paper of Mr. Fowke in the first volume of your Transactions; and I now exhibit a scale of its finger board, which I received from him with the drawing of the instrument, and on the correctness of which you may confidently depend: the regular Indian gamut answers, I believe pretty nearly to our major mode:

\[ Ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la, si, ut, \]

and, when the same syllables are applied to the notes, which compose our minor mode, they are distinguished by epithets expressing the change, which they suffer. It may be necessary to add, before we come to the Rāgas, or modes of the Hindus, that the twenty-one múrch'banas, which Mr. Shore's native musician confounded with
the two and twenty śrutiś, appear to be no more than seven species of diapason multiplied by three, according to the difference of pitch in the compass of three octaves.

Rāga which I translate a mode, properly signifies a passion or affection of the mind, each mode being intended, according to Bherat's definition of it, to move one or another of our simple or mixed affections; and we learn accordingly from the Nārāyan, that, in the days of Crīshna, there were sixteen thousand modes, each of the Gopīs at Mat'burā chusing to sing in one of them, in order to captivate the heart of their pastoral God. The very learned So'ma, who mixes no mythology with his accurate system of Rāgas, enumerates nine hundred and sixty possible variations by the means of temperament, but selects from them, as applicable to practice, only twenty-three primary modes, from which he deduces many others; though he allows, that, by a diversity of ornament and by various contrivances, the Rāgas might, like the waves of the sea, be multiplied to an infinite number. We have already observed, that eighty-four modes or manners, might naturally be formed by giving the lead to each of our twelve sounds, and varying in seven different ways the position of the semitones; but, since many of those modes would be insufferable in practice, and
some would have no character sufficiently marked, the Indians appear to have retained with predilection the number indicated by nature, and to have enforced their system by two powerful aids, the association of ideas, and the mutilation of the regular scales.

Whether it had occurred to the Hindu musicians, that the velocity or slowness of sounds must depend, in a certain ratio, upon the rarefaction and condensation of the air, so that their motion must be quicker in summer than in spring or autumn, and much quicker than in winter, I cannot assure myself; but am persuaded, that their primary modes, in the system ascribed to Pa\'vana, were first arranged according to the number of Indian seasons.

The year is distributed by the Hindus into six ritus, or seasons, each consisting of two months; and the first season, according to the Amarc\'\'oba, began with M\'argai\'s\'\'ba, near the time of the winter solstice, to which month accordingly we see Cr\'ishna compared in the Git\'\'a; but the old lunar year began, I believe, with As\'\'wina, or near the autumnal equinox, when the moon was at the full in the first mansion: hence the musical season, which takes the lead, includes the months of As\'\'win and C\'\'\'\'rtic, and bears the name of Sarad, corresponding with part of our autumn; the next in order are
Hemanta and Sisira, derived from words, which signify frost and dew; then come Vasanta, or spring, called also Surabhi or fragrant, and Push-pamaya, or the flower time; Grisoma, or heat; and Vrishna, or the season of rain. By appropriating a different mode to each of the different seasons, the artists of India connected certain strains with certain ideas, and were able to recall the memory of autumnal merriment at the close of the harvest, or of separation and melancholy (very different from our ideas at Calcutta) during the cold months; of reviving hilarity on the appearance of blossoms, and complete vernal delight in the month of Madhu or honey; of languor during the dry heats, and of refreshment by the first rains, which cause in this climate a second spring. Yet farther: since the lunar year, by which festivals and superstitious duties are constantly regulated, proceeds concurrently with the solar year, to which the seasons are necessarily referred, devotion comes also to the aid of musick, and all the powers of nature, which are allegorically worshipped as gods and goddesses on their several holidays, contribute to the influence of song on minds naturally susceptible of religious emotions. Hence it was, I imagine, that Pavan, or the inventor of his musical system, reduced the number of original modes from seven to six; but even this was not
enough for his purpose; and he had recourse to the five principal divisions of the day, which are the morning, noon, and evening, called trisandhya, with the two intervals between them, or the forenoon and afternoon: by adding two divisions, or intervals, of the night, and by leaving one species of melody without any such restriction, So'ma reckons eight variations in respect of time; and the system of Pa'van retains that number also in the second order of derivative modes. Every branch of knowledge in this country has been embellished by poetical fables; and the inventive talents of the Greeks never suggested a more charming allegory than the lovely families of the six Râgas, named, in the order of seasons above exhibited, Bhairava, Malava, Sri'raga, Hindola or Vasanta, Dipaca, and Megha; each of whom is a Genius, or Demigod, wedded to five Râginis, or Nymphs, and father of eight little Genii, called his Putras, or Sons: the fancy of Shakes-peare and the pencil of Albano might have been finely employed in giving speech and form to this assemblage of new aërial beings, who people the fairy-land of Indian imagination; nor have the Hindu poets and painters loft the advantages, with which so beautiful a subject presented them. A whole chapter of the Ná-ráyan contains descriptions of the Râgas and

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their consorts, extracted chiefly from the Dámó-
dar, the Caláncura, the Retnamálá, the Chandricá,
and a metrical tract on musick ascribed to the
God Na'red himself, from which, as among so
many beauties a particular selection would be
very perplexing, I present you with the first that
occurs, and have no doubt, that you will think
the Sánscrit language equal to Italian in softness
and elegance:

Lilá viháréna vanántarálé,
Chinvan prasúnáni vadhú saháyah,
Viláfi vésódita divya múrtih
Srúga ésha prat'hitah prit'hivyám.

"The demigod Sri'ra'ga, famed over all this
earth, sweetly sports with his nymphs, gathering
fresh blossoms in the bosom of yon grove;
and his divine lineaments are distinguished
through his graceful vesture."

These and similar images, but wonderfully
diversified, are expressed in a variety of mea-
sures, and represented by delicate pencils in the
Rágamálás, which all of us have examined, and
among which the most beautiful are in the pos-
tession of Mr. R. Johnson and Mr. Hay. A
noble work might be composed by any musician
and scholar, who enjoyed leisure and disregarded
expence, if he would exhibit a perfect system of
Indian musick from Sanscrit authorities, with
the old melodies of So'ma applied to the songs
of Jayade'va, embellished with descriptions of all the modes accurately translated, and with Mr. Hay's Rāgamālā delineated and engraved by the scholars of Cipriani and Bartolozzi.

Let us proceed to the second artifice of the Hindu musicians, in giving their modes a distinct character and a very agreeable diversity of expression. A curious passage from Plutarch's treatise on Musick is translated and explained by Dr. Burney, and stands as the text of the most interesting chapter in his dissertation; since I cannot procure the original, I exhibit a paraphrase of his translation, on the correctness of which I can rely; but I have avoided, as much as possible, the technical words of the Greeks, which it might be necessary to explain at some length. "We are informed, says Plutarch, "by Aristoxenus, that musicians ascribe to "Olympus of Myssia the invention of enbar-"monick melody, and conjecture, that, when he "was playing diatonically on his flute, and fre-"quently passed from the highest of four sounds "to the lowest but one, or conversely, skipping "over the second in descent, or the third in "ascent, of that series, he perceived a singular "beauty of expression, which induced him to "dispose the whole series of seven or eight "sounds by similar skips, and to frame by the "same analogy his Dorian mode, omitting every
"found peculiar to the diatonick and chromatick melodies then in use, but without adding any that have since been made essential to the new enharmonick: in this genus, they say, he composed the Nome, or strain, called Spondean, because it was used in temples at the time of religious libations. Those, it seems, were the first enharmonick melodies; and are still retained by some, who play on the flute in the antique style without any division of a semitone; for it was after the age of Olympus, that the quarter of a tone was admitted into the Lydian and Phrygian modes; and it was he, therefore, who, by introducing an exquisite melody before unknown in Greece, became the author and parent of the most beautiful and affecting musick."

This method then of adding to the character and effect of a mode by diminishing the number of its primitive sounds, was introduced by a Greek of the lower Asia, who flourished, according to the learned and accurate writer of the Travels of Anacharsis about the middle of the thirteenth century before Christ; but it must have been older still among the Hindus, if the system, to which I now return, was actually invented in the age of Rama.

Since it appears from the Nāḍyān, that thirty-six modes are in general use, and the rest very
rarely applied to practice, I shall exhibit only
the scales of the six Rāgas and thirty Rāginis,
according to So'ma, the authors quoted in the
Nārāyan, and the books explained by Pandits
to Mirza'khā'n; on whose credit I must rely
for that of Cacubbā, which I cannot find in my
Sanskrit treatises on musick: had I depended on
him for information of greater consequence, he
would have led me into a very serious mistake;
for he affirms, what I now find erroneous, that
the graba is the first note of every mode, with
which every song, that is composed in it, must
invariably begin and end. Three distinguished
sounds in each mode are called graba, nyāṣa,
ans'ā, and the writer of the Nārāyan defines
them in the two following couplets:

Graba śvarah sa ityucito yō gītādau āmparpitah,
Nyāṣa śvarāṣtu sa prōcito yō gītādi lāmāpticah:
Yō vyaśtivyanjacō gānē, yasyā servē, nuggestināh,
Yasyā servatīra bāhulyam vādy ans'ō pi nrīpōtamah.

"The note, called graba, is placed at the begin-
ning, and that named nyāṣa, at the end, of a
song: that note, which displays the peculiar
melody, and to which all the others are sub-
ordinate, that, which is always of the greatest
use, is like a sovereign, though a mere ans'ā,
or portion."

"By the word vādi, says the commentator,
he means the note, which announces and af-
"certains the Rāga, and which may be consi-
dered as the parent and origin of the graha and nyásā:" this clearly shows, I think, that the ans'ā must be the tonick; and we shall find, that the two other notes are generally its third and fifth, or the mediant and the dominant. In the poem entitled Māgha there is a musical simile, which may illustrate and confirm our idea:

Anapativat pradhánatwád ans'atyévétarafwaráh,
Vijigifhórnipatayah prayánti pericháratám.

"From the greatness, from the transcendent qualities, of that Hero, eager for conquest, other kings march in subordination to him, as other notes are subordinate to the ans'ā."

If the ans'ā be the tonick, or modal note, of the Hindus, we may confidently exhibit the scales of the Indian modes, according to So'MA, denoting by an afterisk the omission of a note.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bhairava:</th>
<th>ma, pa, , ni, fa, ri, *, ma, pa, dha, ni.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Varúti:</td>
<td>fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medhyamádi:</td>
<td>ma, pa, , ni, fa, * . ga.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhairavāt:</td>
<td>fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengáli:</td>
<td>fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malava:</td>
<td>ni, fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tódā:</td>
<td>ga, ma, pa, dha, ni, fa, ri.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gondacár:</td>
<td>fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, * . ní.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sūbhávatī:</td>
<td>not in So'MA.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cacubbā:</td>
<td>not in So'MA.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Srira'ga: \{ ni, fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha. \\
Malavars'ri: \{ fa, *, ga, ma, pa, *, ni. \\
Marav: \{ ga, ma, pa, *, ni, fa, *. \\
Dhanayati: \{ fa, *, ga, ma, pa, *, ni. \\
Vajant: \{ fa, ri, ga, ma, *, dha, ni. \\
Asawer: \{ ma, pa, dha, ni, fa, ri, ga. \\
Hindo'la: \{ ma, *, dha, ni, fa, *, ga. \\
Ramantr: \{ fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni. \\
Dei'acesti: \{ ga, ma, pa, dha, *, fa, ri. \\
Leilat: \{ fa, ri, ga, ma, *, dha, ni. \\
Velavali: \{ dha, ni, fa, *, ga, ma, *. \\
Patamanjari: not in Som'a.
D'ipaca: not in So'ma.
De'li: \{ ri, *, ma, pa, dha, ni, fa. \\
Cambodi: \{ fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, *. \\
Netra: \{ fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni. \\
Cedari: \{ ni, fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha. \\
Carnti: \{ ni, fa, *, ga, ma, pa, *. \\
Me'gha: not in So'ma.
Tacc: \{ fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni. \\
Mellari: \{ dha, *, fa, ri, *, ma, pa. \\
Gurji: \{ ri, ga, ma, *, dha, ni, fa. \\
Bhupali: \{ ga, *, pa, dha, *, fa, ri. \\
Deshaci: \{ fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni.

It is impossible that I should have erred much, if at all, in the preceding table, because the regularity of the Sanscrit metre has in general enabled me to correct the manuscript: but I have some doubt as to Velavali, of which pa is declared to be the ania or tonick, though it is said in the same line, that both pa and ri may be omitted: I, therefore, have supposed dha to be
the true reading, both Mirzakhan and the Náráyan exhibiting that note as the leader of the mode. The notes printed in Italick letters are variously changed by temperament or by shakes and other graces; but, even if I were able to give you in words a distinct notion of those changes, the account of each mode would be insufferably tedious, and scarce intelligible without the assistance of a masterly performer on the Indian lyre. According to the best authorities adduced in the Náráyan, the thirty-six modes are, in some provinces, arranged in these forms:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Bhairava} &: \{ \text{dha, ni, fa, ri, ga, ma, pa} \\
\text{Varáti} &: \{ \text{fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni} \\
\text{Medhyamádi} &: \{ \text{ni, fa, *, ga, ma, pa, dha} \\
\text{Bhairav} &: \{ \text{fa, *, ga, ma, *, dha, ni} \\
\text{Sáindhav} &: \{ \text{pa, dha, ni, fa, ri, ga, ma} \\
\text{Bengáli} &: \{ \text{fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni} \\
\text{Ma'ává} &: \{ \text{ma, *, dha, ni, fa, ri, ga} \\
\text{Tód} &: \{ \text{ma, pa, dha, ni, fa, ri, ga} \\
\text{Gádá} &: \{ \text{ni, fa, ri, ga, ma, *} \\
\text{Gondací} &: \{ \text{fa, *, ga, ma, pa, *}, \text{dha} \} \\
\text{Sývávád} &: \{ \text{dha, ni, fa, ri, ga, ma, *} \\
\text{Cacubba} &: \{ \text{not in the Náráyan} \}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Srí'rágá} &: \{ \text{fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni} \\
\text{Málavast} &: \{ \text{fa, ri, ga, ma, pa; dha, ni} \\
\text{Márovi} &: \{ \text{fa, *, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni} \\
\text{Dhonya} &: \{ \text{fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni} \\
\text{Vasanta} &: \{ \text{fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni} \\
\text{A'áver} &: \{ \text{ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni, fa} \}
\end{align*}
\]
Among the scales just enumerated we may safely fix on that of *Sriñaga* for our own major mode, since its form and character are thus described in a Sanscrit couplet:

>Jatinyāsagrahagrāmāṃśēthu śhādījō' ṭopānchamah,
>SRINGARAVIRAYORJNÉYAH SRTRĀGŌ GITACÓVIDAIH.

"Musicians know *Srīrāga* to have *fa* for its principal note and the first of its scale, with *pa* diminished, and to be used for expressing "heroick love and valour." Now the diminution of *pa* by one *sruti* gives us the modern European scale,

>ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la, si, ut.
with a minor tone, or, as the Indians would express it, with three s'rutis, between the fifth and sixth notes.

On the formulas exhibited by Mir'za Khán I have less reliance; but, since he professes to give them from Sanscrit authorities, it seemed proper to transcribe them:

**Bhairava:**
- Varúti:
  - Medhyanadí:
  - Saindhaví:
  - Bengúli:
  - Ma'łava:
  - Todi:
  - Gaúdi:
  - Gondací:
  - Safhávati:
  - Cacubbá:
  - Srírá'ga:
  - Málavasí:
  - Márví:
  - Dhanyáslí:
  - Vajanti:
  - Asáverí:
  - Hindola:
  - Rámaçrí:
  - Dés ácshí:
  - Leghá:
  - Vêlaví:
  - Patamanjála:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>G</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Dha   | ni | fa | * | ga | ma | *
| Fa    | ri | ga | ma | pa | dha | ni |
| Ma    | pa | dha | ni | fa | ri | ga |
| Fa    | ri | ga | ma | pa | dha | ni |
| Fa    | ri | ga | ma | pa | dha | ni |
| Fa    | ri | ga | ma | pa | dha | ni |
| Fa    | ri | ga | ma | pa | dha | ni |
| Fa    | ri | ga | ma | pa | dha | ni |
| Fa    | pa | dha | ni | ri | ga | *
| Fa    | ri | ga | ma | pa | dha | ni |
| Fa    | * | pa | ga | ma | dha | ni |
| Fa    | pa | dha | ni | ri | ga | *
| Fa    | ri | ga | ma | pa | dha | ni |
| Fa    | * | ga | ma | pa | * | ni |
| Fa    | * | ga | ma | pa | * | ni |
| Ga    | ma | pa | dha | ni | fa | *
| Dha   | ni | fa | * | * | ma | pa |
| Fa    | ri | * | ga | ma | pa | * |
| Fa    | * | ga | ma | pa | dha | ni |
| Fa    | ri | ga | ma | pa | dha | ni |
| Fa    | ri | * | ga | ma | pa | * |
| Fa    | dha | ni | fa | * | ga | ma | * | pa | dha | ni | ri | ga | ma |
OF THE HINDUS.

Dīpaca:
Dēṣṭ:
Cambódī:
Netta:
Cēdari:
Carnati:
Megha:
Tacca:
Mellari:
Gurjari:
Bhāupali:
Dēṣaṟī:

\{ \begin{align*}
\text{fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni.} \\
\text{ri, ga, ma, *}, \text{dha, ni, fa.} \\
\text{dha, ni, fa, ri, ga, ma, pa.} \\
\text{fa, ni, dha, pa, ma, ga, ri.} \\
\text{ni, fa, *}, \text{ga, ma, pa, *}. \\
\text{ni, fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha.} \\
\text{dha, ni, fa, ri, ga, *}, \text{*}. \\
\text{fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni.} \\
\text{dha, ni, *}, \text{ri, ga, ma, *}. \\
\text{ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni, fa.} \\
\text{fa, ga, ma, dha, ni, pa, ri.} \\
\text{fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni.}
\end{align*} \}

It may reasonably be suspected, that the Mogbol writer could not have shown the distinction, which must necessarily have been made, between the different modes, to which he assigns the same formula; and, as to his inversions of the notes in some of the Rāginis, I can only say, that no such changes appear in the Sanscrit books, which I have inspected. I leave our scholars and musicians to find, among the scales here exhibited, the Dorian mode of Olympus; but it cannot escape notice, that the Chinese scale C, D, E, *, G, A, *, corresponds very nearly with ga, ma, pa, *, ni, fa, *, or the Māravi of Sōma: we have long known in Bengal, from the information of a Scotch gentleman skilled in musick, that the wild, but charming melodies of the ancient highlanders were formed by a similar mutilation of the natural scale. By such mutilations, and by various alterations of the notes
in tuning the \textit{Vinā}, the number of modes might be augmented indefinitely; and \textit{Callina'T'Ha} admits \textit{ninetyn} into his system, allowing \textit{six nymphs}, instead of \textit{five}, to each of his musical deities: for \textit{Dipaca}, which is generally considered as a loft mode (though \textit{Mi'rzā'Khan} exhibits the notes of it), he substitutes \textit{Panchama}; for \textit{Hindola}, he gives us \textit{Vasanta}, or the Spring; and for \textit{Mālava, Natanárāyan or Crishna the Dancer}; all with scales rather different from those of \textit{Pā'van}. The system of \textit{Iswara}, which may have had some affinity with the old \textit{Egyptian} musick invented or improved by \textit{Osiris}, nearly resembles that of \textit{Hanumat}, but the names and scales are a little varied: in all the systems, the names of the modes are significant, and some of them as fanciful as those of the fairies in the Midsummer Night's Dream. Forty-eight new modes were added by \textit{Bherat}, who \textit{marries} a nymph, thence called \textit{Bhāryā}, to each \textit{Putra}, or Son, of a \textit{Rāga}; thus admitting, in his musical school, an \textit{hundred and thirty-two manners} of arranging the series of notes.

Had the \textit{Indian} empire continued in full energy for the last two thousand years, religion would, no doubt, have given permanence to systems of musick invented, as the \textit{Hindus} believe, by their Gods, and adapted to mystical poetry; but such have been the revolutions of
their government since the time of **Alexander**, that, although the **Sanskrit** books have preserved the theory of their musical composition, the practice of it seems almost wholly lost (as all the **Pandits** and **Rajas** confess) in **Gaur** and **Magarba**, or the provinces of **Bengal** and **Bebar**. When I first read the songs of **Jayadeva**, who has prefixed to each of them the name of the mode, in which it was anciently sung, I had hopes of procuring the original musick; but the **Pandits** of the south referred me to those of the west, and the **Brâhmins** of the west would have sent me to those of the north; while they, I mean those of **Népâl** and **Cashmir**, declared that they had no ancient musick, but imagined, that the notes to the **Gita-govinda** must exist, if any where, in one of the southern provinces, where the Poet was born: from all this I collect, that the art, which flourished in **India** many centuries ago, has faded for want of due culture, though some scanty remnants of it may, perhaps, be preserved in the pastoral roundelays of **Mat'hrâ** on the loves and sports of the **Indian Apollo**. We must not, therefore, be surprised, if modern performers on the **Vina** have little or no **modulation**, or **change of mode**, to which passionate musick owes nearly all its enchantment: but that the old musicians of **India**, having fixed on a leading **mode to express the**
general character of the song, which they were translating into the musical language, varied that mode, by certain rules, according to the variation of sentiment or passion in the poetical phrases, and always returned to it at the close of the air, many reasons induce me to believe; though I cannot but admit, that their modulation must have been greatly confined by the restriction of certain modes to certain seasons and hours, unless those restrictions belonged merely to the principal mode. The scale of the Vina, we find, comprized both our European modes, and, if some of the notes can be raised a semitone by a stronger pressure on the frets, a delicate and experienced singer might produce the effect of minute enharmonick intervals: the construction of the instrument, therefore, seems to favour my conjecture; and an excellent judge of the subject informs us, that, “the open wires are from time to time struck in a manner, that prepares the ear for a change of modulation, to which the uncommonly full and fine tones of those notes greatly contribute.” We may add, that the Hindu poets never fail to change the metre, which is their mode, according to the change of subject or sentiment in the same piece; and I could produce instances of poetical modulation (if such a phrase may be used) at least equal to the most affecting modulations of our greatest com-
posers: now the musician must naturally have emulated the poet, as every translator endeavours to resemble his original; and, since each of the Indian modes is appropriated to a certain affection of the mind, it is hardly possible, that, where the passion is varied, a skilful musician could avoid a variation of the mode. The rules for modulation seem to be contained in the chapters on mixed modes, for an intermixture of Mellārī with Tōḍī and Saindbhāvī means, I suppose, a transition, however short, from one to another: but the question must remain undecided, unless we can find in the Sangītas a clearer account of modulation, than I am able to produce, or unless we can procure a copy of the Gitagovinda with the musick, to which it was set, before the time of Calīdās, in some notation, that may be easily decyphered. It is obvious, that I have not been speaking of a modulation regulated by harmony, with which the Hindus, I believe, were unacquainted; though, like the Greeks, they distinguish the consonant and dissonant sounds: I mean only such a transition from one series of notes to another, as we see described by the Greek musicians, who were ignorant of harmony in the modern sense of the word, and, perhaps, if they had known it ever so perfectly, would have applied it solely to the support of melody, which alone speaks the language of passion and sentiment.
It would give me pleasure to close this essay with several specimens of old Indian airs from the fifth chapter of So'ma; but I have leisure only to present you with one of them in our own characters accompanied with the original notes: I selected the mode of Vasanti, because it was adapted by Jayade'va himself to the most beautiful of his odes, and because the number of notes in So'ma compared with that of the syllables in the Sanscrit stanza, may lead us to guess, that the strain itself was applied by the musician to the very words of the poet. The words are:

Lalita lavanga latá perisílana cómala malaya samíré,
Madhucara nicara carambita cócila cójita cunja cutíré
Viharati heririha sarasa vaasanté
Nṛityati yuvati janéna sāman jách'hi virahi janaśya duránté.

"While the soft gale of Malaya wafts perfume from the beautiful clove-plant, and the recess of each flowery arbour sweetly resounds with the strains of the Cócila mingled with the murmurs of the honey-making swarms, Heri dances, O lovely friend, with a company of damsels in this vernal season; a season full of delights, but painful to separated lovers."

I have noted So'ma's air in the major mode of A, or fa, which, from its gaiety and brilliancy, well expresses the general hilarity of the song; but the sentiment offender pain, even in
a season of delights, from the remembrance of pleasures no longer attainable, would require in our musick a change to the minor mode; and the air might be disposed in the form of a rondeau ending with the second line, or even with the third, where the sense is equally full, if it should be thought proper to express by another modulation that imitative melody, which the poet has manifestly attempted: the measure is very rapid, and the air should be gay, or even quick, in exact proportion to it.

AN OLD INDIAN AIR.

\[ \text{La li ta la vanga la ta pe ri si la na co mula ma la ya sa mire mad huca ra ni ca ra ca ram bi ta co ci la cu ji ta cu nja cu ti re vi ha ra ti he ri ri ha sa ra sa va san te nrit ya ti yu va ti ja ne na sa mansachi vi ra hi ja nasyadu ran te sa ri ga ma pa dha ni sa} \]
The preceding is a strain in the mode of Hindo'la, beginning and ending with the fifth note fa, but wanting pa, and ri, or the second and sixth: I could easily have found words for it in the Gītagovinda, but the united charms of poetry and musick would lead me too far; and I must now with reluctance bid farewel to a subject, which I despair of having leisure to resume.
ON

THE MYSTICAL POETRY

OF

THE PERSIANS AND HINDUS.

BY

THE PRESIDENT.

A FIGURATIVE mode of expressing the fervour of devotion, or the ardent love of created spirits towards their benificent Creator, has prevailed from time immemorial in Asia; particularly among the Persian theists, both ancient Hūshangis and modern Sūfis, who seem to have borrowed it from the Indian philosophers of the Vēdānta school; and their doctrines are also believed to be the source of that sublime, but poetical, theology, which glows and sparkles in the writings of the old Academicks. "Plato travelled into "Italy and Egypt, says Claude Fleury, to "learn the Theology of the Pagans at its fountain head:" its true fountain, however, was neither in Italy nor in Egypt (though considerable streams of it had been conducted thither by Pythagoras and by the family of Misra),
but in *Persia* or *India*, which the founder of the *Italick* sect had visited with a similar design. What the *Grecian* travellers learned among the sages of the east, may perhaps be fully explained, at a season of leisure, in another dissertation; but we confine this essay to a singular species of poetry, which consists almost wholly of a mystical religious allegory, though it seems on a transient view to contain only the sentiments of a wild and voluptuous libertinism: now, admitting the danger of a poetical style, in which the limits between vice and enthusiasm are so minute as to be hardly distinguishable, we must beware of censuring it severely, and must allow it to be natural, though a warm imagination may carry it to a culpable excess; for an ardently grateful piety is congenial to the undepraved nature of man, whose mind, sinking under the magnitude of the subject, and struggling to express its emotions, has recourse to metaphors and allegories, which it sometimes extends beyond the bounds of cool reason, and often to the brink of absurdity. *Barrow*, who would have been the sublimest mathematician, if his religious turn of mind had not made him the deepest theologian of his age, describes Love as "an affection or inclination of the soul toward an object, proceeding from an apprehension and esteem of some excellence or convenience"
in it, as its beauty, worth, or utility, and producing, if it be absent, a proportionable desire, and consequently an endeavour, to obtain such a property in it, such possession of it, such an approximation to it, or union with it, as the thing is capable of; with a regret and displeasure in failing to obtain it, or in the want and loss of it; begetting likewise a complacency, satisfaction, and delight in its presence, possession, or enjoyment, which is moreover attended with a good will toward it, suitable to its nature; that is, with a desire, that it should arrive at, or continue in, its best state; with a delight to perceive it thrive and flourish; with a displeasure to see it suffer or decay; with a consequent endeavour to advance it in all good and preserve it from all evil.” Agreeably to this description, which consists of two parts, and was designed to comprize the tender love of the Creator towards created spirits, the great philosopher bursts forth in another place, with his usual animation and command of language, into the following panegyrick on the pious love of human souls toward the Author of their happiness: “Love is the sweetest and most delectable of all passions; and, when by the conduct of wisdom it is directed in a rational way toward a worthy, congruous, and attainable object, it cannot otherwise than fill
"the heart with ravishing delight; such, in all
"respects superlatively such, is God; who, in-
"finitely beyond all other things, deserveth our
"affection, as most perfectly amiable and de-
"sirable: as having obliged us by innumerable
"and inestimable benefits; all the good, that
"we have ever enjoyed, or can ever expect,
"being derived from his pure bounty; all
"things in the world, in competition with him
"being mean and ugly; all things, without
"him, vain, unprofitable, and hurtful to us.
"He is the most proper object of our love; for
"we chiefly were framed, and it is the prime law
"of our nature, to love him; our soul, from its
"original instinct, vergeth toward him as its cen-
"tre, and can have no rest, till it be fixed on him:
"he alone can satisfy the vast capacity of our
"minds, and fill our boundless desires. He, of
"all lovely things, most certainly and easily
"may be attained; for, whereas commonly men
"are crossed in their affection, and their love is
"embittered from their affecting things ima-
"ginary, which they cannot reach, or coy things,
"which disdain and reject them, it is with God
"quite otherwise: He is most ready to impart
"himself; he most earnestly desireth and woo-
"eth our love; he is not only most willing to
"correspond in affection, but even doth pre-
"vent us therein: He doth cherish and encourage
"our love by sweetest influences and most consoling embraces; by kindest expressions of favour, by most beneficial returns; and, whereas all other objects do in the enjoyment much fail our expectation, he doth ever far exceed it. Wherefore in all affectionate motions of our hearts toward God; in desiring him, or seeking his favour and friendship; in embracing him, or setting our esteem, our good will, our confidence on him; in enjoying him by devotional meditations and addresses to him; in a reflective sense of our interest and propriety in him; in that mysterious union of spirit, whereby we do closely adhere to, and are, as it were, inserted in him; in a hearty complacence in his benignity, a grateful sense of his kindness, and a zealous desire of yielding some requital for it, we cannot but feel very pleasant transports: indeed, that celestial flame, kindled in our hearts by the spirit of love, cannot be void of warmth; we cannot fix our eyes upon infinite beauty, we cannot taste infinite sweetness, we cannot cleave to infinite felicity, without also perpetually rejoicing in the first daughter of Love to God, Charity toward men; which, in complection and careful disposition, doth much resemble her mother; for she doth rid us from all those gloomy, keen, turbulent imaginations and passions, which cloud our mind, which fret our heart, which
"discompose the frame of our soul; from burning anger, from storming contention, from gnawing envy, from rankling spite, from racking suspicion, from distracting ambition and avarice; and consequently doth settle our mind in an even temper, in a sedate humour, in an harmonious order, in that pleasant state of tranquillity, which naturally doth result from the voidance of irregular passions." Now this passage from Barrow (which borders, I admit, on quietism and enthusiastic devotion) differs only from the mystical theology of the Súfi's and Tógis, as the flowers and fruits of Europe differ in scent and flavour from those of Asia, or as European differs from Asiatick eloquence; the same strain, in poetical measure, would rise up to the odes of Spenser on Divine Love and Beauty, and, in a higher key with richer embellishments, to the songs of Hafiz and Jayade'va, the raptures of the Māṣnavī, and the mysteries of the Bbágavat.

Before we come to the Persians and Indians, let me produce another specimen of European theology, collected from a late excellent work of the illustrious M. Necker. "Were men animated, says he, with sublime thoughts, did they respect the intellectual power, with which they are adorned, and take an interest in the dignity of their nature, they would embrace with transport that sense of religion, which
ennobles their faculties, keeps their minds in full strength, and unites them in idea with him, whose immensity overwhelms them with astonishment: considering themselves as an emanation from that infinite Being, the source and cause of all things, they would then disdain to be misled by a gloomy and false philosophy, and would cherish the idea of a God, who created, who regenerates, who preserves this universe by invariable laws, and by a continued chain of similar causes producing similar effects; who pervades all nature with his divine spirit, as an universal soul, which moves, directs, and restrains the wonderful fabric of this world. The blissful idea of a God sweetens every moment of our time, and embelishes before us the path of life; unites us delightfully to all the beauties of nature, and associates us with every thing that lives or moves. Yes; the whisper of the gales, the murmur of waters, the peaceful agitation of trees and shrubs, would concur to engage our minds and affect our souls with tenderness, if our thoughts were elevated to one universal cause, if we recognized on all sides the work of Him, whom we love; if we marked the traces of his august steps and benignant intentions, if we believed ourselves actually present at the display of his boundless power and the
"magnificent exertions of his unlimited goodness. Benevolence, among all the virtues, has a character more than human, and a certain amiable simplicity in its nature, which seems analogous to the first idea, the original intention of conferring delight, which we necessarily suppose in the Creator, when we presume to seek his motive in bestowing existence: benevolence is that virtue, or, to speak more emphatically, that primordial beauty, which preceded all times and all worlds; and, when we reflect on it, there appears an analogy, obscure indeed at present, and to us imperfectly known, between our moral nature and a time yet very remote, when we shall satisfy our ardent wishes and lively hopes, which constitute perhaps a sixth, and (if the phrase may be used) a distant; sense. It may even be imagined, that love, the brightest ornament of our nature, love, enchanting and sublime, is a mysterious pledge for the assurance of those hopes; since love, by disengaging us from ourselves, by transporting us beyond the limits of our own being, is the first step in our progress to a joyful immortality; and, by affording both the notion and example of a cherished object distinct from our own souls, may be considered as an interpreter to our hearts of something, which
"our intellects cannot conceive. We may seem
even to hear the Supreme Intelligence and
Eternal Soul of all nature, give this commis-
sion to the spirits, which emaned from him:
Go; admire a small portion of my works, and
study them; make your first trial of happiness,
and learn to love him, who bestowed it; but seek
not to remove the veil spread over the secret of
your existence; your nature is composed of those
divine particles, which, at an infinite distance,
constitute my own essence; but you would be too
near me, were you permitted to penetrate the
mystery of our separation and union: wait the
moment ordained by my wisdom; and, until that
moment come, hope to approach me only by adora-
tion and gratitude."

If these two passages were translated into Sanscrit and Persian, I am confident, that the Vedántis and Súfis would consider them as an epitome of their common system; for they concur in believing, that the souls of men differ infinitely in degree, but not at all in kind, from the divine spirit, of which they are particles, and in which they will ultimately be absorbed; that the spirit of God pervades the universe, always immediately present to his work, and consequently always in substance, that he alone is perfect benevolence, perfect truth, perfect beauty; that the love of him alone is real and
genuine love, while that of all other objects is absurd and illusory, that the beauties of nature are faint resemblances, like images in a mirror, of the divine charms; that, from eternity without beginning to eternity without end, the supreme benevolence is occupied in bestowing happiness or the means of attaining it; that men can only attain it by performing their part of the primal covenant between them and the Creator; that nothing has a pure absolute existence but mind or spirit; that material substances, as the ignorant call them, are no more than gay pictures presented continually to our minds by the sempiternal Artist; that we must beware of attachment to such phantoms, and attach ourselves exclusively to God, who truly exists in us, as we exist solely in him; that we retain even in this forlorn state of separation from our beloved, the idea of heavenly beauty, and the remembrance of our primeval vows; that sweet musick, gentle breezes, fragrant flowers, perpetually renew the primary idea, refresh our fading memory, and melt us with tender affections; that we must cherish those affections, and by abstracting our souls from vanity, that is, from all but God, approximate to his essence, in our final union with which will consist our supreme beatitude. From these principles flow a thousand metaphors and
poetical figures, which abound in the sacred poems of the Persians and Hindus, who seem to mean the same thing in substance, and differ only in expression as their languages differ in idiom! The modern Su"fis, who profess a belief in the Koran, suppose with great sublimity both of thought and of diction, an express contract, on the day of eternity without beginning, between the assemblage of created spirits and the supreme soul, from which they were detached, when a celestial voice pronounced these words, addressed to each spirit separately, "Art thou not with thy Lord?" that is, art thou not bound by a solemn contract with him? and all the spirits answered with one voice, "Yes:" hence it is, that alif, or art thou not, and beth, or yes, incessantly occur in the mystical verses of the Persians, and of the Turkish poets, who imitate them, as the Romans imitated the Greeks. The Hindus describe the same covenant under the figurative notion, so finely expressed by Isaiah, of a nuptial contract; for considering God in the three characters of Creator, Regenerator and Preserver, and supposing the power of Preservation and Benevolence to have become incarnate in the person of Crishna, they represent him as married to Radha, a word signifying atonement, pacification, or satisfaction, but applied allegorically to the soul of man, or
rather to the whole assemblage of created souls, between whom and the benevolent Creator they suppose that reciprocal love, which Barrow describes with a glow of expression perfectly oriental, and which our most orthodox theologians believe to have been mystically shadowed in the song of Solomon, while they admit, that, in a literal sense, it is an epitalamium on the marriage of the sapient king with the princess of Egypt. The very learned author of the prelections on sacred poetry declared his opinion, that the canticles were founded on historical truth, but involved an allegory of that sort, which he named mystical; and the beautiful poem on the loves of Laili and Majnun by the inimitable Nizami (to say nothing of other poems on the same subject) is indisputably built on true history, yet avowedly allegorical and mysterious; for the introduction to it is a continued rapture on divine love; and the name of Laili seems to be used in the Masnavi and the odes of Hafiz for the omnipresent spirit of God.

It has been made a question, whether the poems of Hafiz must be taken in a literal or in a figurative sense; but the question does not admit of a general and direct answer; for even the most enthusiastic of his commentators allow, that some of them are to be taken literally, and his editors ought to have distinguished
them, as our Spenser has distinguished his four Odes on Love and Beauty, instead of mixing the profane with the divine, by a childish arrangement according to the alphabetical order of the rhymes. Hafiz never pretended to more than human virtues, and it is known that he had human propensities; for in his youth he was passionately in love with a girl surnamed Shákhi Nebât, or the Branch of Sugarcane, and the prince of Shiraz was his rival: since there is an agreeable wildness in the story, and since the poet himself alludes to it in one of his odes, I give it you at length from the commentary. There is a place called Pirîjebz, or the Green old man, about four Persian leagues from the city; and a popular opinion had long prevailed, that a youth, who should pass forty successive nights in Pirîjebz without sleep, would infallibly become an excellent poet; young Hafiz had accordingly made a vow, that he would serve that apprenticeship with the utmost exactness, and for thirty-nine days he rigorously discharged his duty, walking every morning before the house of his coy mistress, taking some refreshment and rest at noon, and passing the night awake at his poetical station; but, on the fortieth morning, he was transported with joy on seeing the girl beckon to him through the lattices, and invite him to enter: she received him
with rapture, declared her preference of a bright
genius to the son of a king, and would have de-
tained him all night, if he had not recollected
his vow, and, resolving to keep it inviolate, re-
turned to his post. The people of Shiraz add
(and the fiction is grounded on a couplet of
Hafiz), that, early next morning an old man,
in a green mantle, who was no less a personage
than Khiza himself, approached him at Pirisebzi
with a cup brimful of nectar, which the Greeks
would have called the water of Aganippe, and
rewarded his perseverance with an inspiring
draught of it. After his juvenile passions had
subsided, we may suppose that his mind took
that religious bent, which appears in most of
his compositions; for there can be no doubt
that the following distichs, collected from dif-
ferent odes, relate to the mystical theology of
the Sufis:

"In eternity without beginning, a ray of thy
beauty began to gleam; when Love sprang
into being, and cast flames over all nature;
"On that day thy cheek sparkled even under
thy veil, and all this beautiful imagery ap-
peared on the mirror of our fancies.
"Rife, my soul; that I may pour thee forth
on the pencil of that supreme Artist, who
comprized in a turn of his compass all this
"wonderful scenery!"
"From the moment, when I heard the divine sentence, I have breathed into man a portion of my spirit, I was assured, that we were His, and He ours.

"Where are the glad tidings of union with thee, that I may abandon all desire of life? I am a bird of holiness, and would fain escape from the net of this world.

"Shed, O Lord, from the cloud of heavenly guidance one cheering shower, before the moment, when I must rise up like a particle of dry dust!

"The sum of our transactions in this universe, is nothing: bring us the wine of devotion; for the possessious of this world vanish.

"The true object of heart and soul is the glory of union with our beloved: that object really exists, but without it both heart and soul would have no existence.

"O the bliss of that day, when I shall depart from this desolate mansion; shall seek rest for my soul; and shall follow the traces of my beloved:

"Dancing, with love of his beauty, like a mote in a sun-beam, till I reach the spring and fountain of light, whence yon sun derives all his lusitre!"

The couplets, which follow, relate as indubitably to human love and sensual gratifications:
“May the hand never shake, which gathered
the grapes! May the foot never slip, which
pressed them!
“That poignant liquor, which the zealot calls
the mother of sins, is pleasanter and sweeter to
me than the kisses of a maiden.
“Wine two years old and a damsel of fourteen are sufficient society for me, above all
companies great or small.
“How delightful is dancing to lively notes
and the cheerful melody of the flute, espe-
cially when we touch the hand of a beautiful
girl!
“Call for wine, and scatter flowers around:
what more canst thou ask from fate? Thus
spoke the nightingale this morning: what
sayest thou, sweet rose, to his precepts?
“Bring thy couch to the garden of roses, that
thou mayest kiss the cheeks and lips of lovely
damsels, quaff rich wine, and smell odoriferous
blossoms.
“O branch of an exquisite rose-plant, for
whose sake dost thou grow? Ah! on whom
will that smiling rose-bud confer delight?
“The rose would have discoursed on the
beauties of my charmer, but the gale was
jealous, and stole her breath, before she
spoke.
“In this age, the only friends, who are free
from blemish, are a flask of pure wine and a
volume of elegant love songs.

"O the joy of that moment, when the self-
sufficiency of inebriation rendered me inde-
pendent of the prince and of his minister!"

Many zealous admirers of \textit{Hafiz} insist, that
\textit{by wine} he invariably means \textit{devotion}; and they
have gone so far as to compose a dictionary of
words in the \textit{language}, as they call it, of the
Sufi: in that vocabulary \textit{sleep} is explained by
\textit{meditation} on the divine perfections, and \textit{perfume}
by \textit{hope} of the divine favour; \textit{gales} are \textit{illapses}
of grace; \textit{kisses and embraces}, the \textit{raptures of}
piety; \textit{idolaters}, \textit{infidels}, and \textit{libertines} are men
of the purest \textit{religion}, and their \textit{idol} is the
Creator himself; the \textit{tavern} is a retired oratory,
and its \textit{keeper}, a sage instructor; \textit{beauty} denotes
the \textit{perfection} of the Supreme Being; \textit{tresses} are
the \textit{expansion} of his glory; \textit{lips}, the hidden
mysteries of his \textit{essence}; \textit{down} on the cheek,
the world of spirits, who encircle his \textit{throne};
and a \textit{black mole}, the \textit{point} of indivisible unity;
lastly, \textit{wantonness}, \textit{mirth}, and \textit{ebriety}, mean reli-
gious ardour and abstraction from all terrestrial
thoughts. The poet himself gives a colour in
many passages to such an interpretation; and
without it, we can hardly conceive, that his
poems, or those of his numerous imitators,
would be tolerated in a \textit{Moslem} country, es-
pecially at Constantinople, where they are venerated as divine compositions: it must be admitted, that the sublimity of the mystical allegory, which, like metaphors and comparisons, should be general only, not minutely exact, is diminished, if not destroyed, by an attempt at particular and distinct resemblances; and that the style itself is open to dangerous misinterpretation, while it supplies real infidels with a pretext for laughing at religion itself.

On this occasion I cannot refrain from producing a most extraordinary ode by a Sufi of Bokbára, who assumed the poetical surname of Ismat: a more modern poet, by prefixing three lines to each couplet, which rhyme with the first hemistich, has very elegantly and ingeniously converted the Kasidah into a Mokhammes, but I present you only with a literal version of the original distichs:

"Yesterday, half inebriated, I passed by the "quarter, where the vintners dwell, to seek the "daughter of an infidel who sells wine. "At the end of the street, there advanced "before me a damsel with a fairy's cheeks, who, "in the manner of a pagan, wore her tresses "dishevelled over her shoulder like the lacern- "dotal thread. I said: O thou, to the arch of "whose eye-brow the new moon is a slave, what "quarter is this and where is thy mansion?"
"She answered: Cast thy rosary on the ground; bind on thy shoulder the thread of paganism; throw stones at the glass of piety; and quaff wine from a full goblet; After that come before me, that I may whisper a word in thine ear: thou wilt accomplish thy journey, if thou listen to my discourse.

Abandoning my heart and rapt in ecstasy, I ran after her, till I came to a place, in which religion and reason forsook me.

At a distance I beheld a company, all insane and inebriated, who came boiling and roaring with ardour from the wine of love; Without cymbals, or lutes, or viols, yet all full of mirth and melody; without wine, or goblet, or flask, yet all incessantly drinking.

When the cord of restraint slipped from my hand, I desired to ask her one question, but she said: Silence!

This is no square temple, to the gate of which thou canst arrive precipitately: this is no mosque to which thou canst come with tumult, but without knowledge. This is the banquet-house of insidels, and within it all are intoxicated; all, from the dawn of eternity to the day of resurrection, lost in astonishment.

Depart then from the cloister, and take the way to the tavern; cast off the cloak of a dervise, and wear the robe of a libertine.
"I obeyed; and, if thou desirerst the same strain and colour with Isamat, imitate him, and fell this world and the next for one drop of pure wine."

Such is the strange religion, and stranger language of the Sufis; but most of the Asiatick poets are of that religion, and, if we think it worth while to read their poems, we must think it worth while to understand them: their great Maulavi assures us, that "they profess eager desire, but with no carnal affection, and circulate the cup, but no material goblet; since all things are spiritual in their sect, all is mystery within mystery;" consistently with which declaration he opens his astonishing work, entitled the Masnavi, with the following couplets:

Hear, how yon reed in sadly-pleasing tales
Departed bliss and present woe bewails!
* With me, from native banks untimely torn,
* Love-warbling youths and soft-ey'd virgins mourn.
* O! Let the heart, by fatal absence rent,
* Feel what I sing, and bleed when I lament:
* Who roams in exile from his parent bow'r,
* Pants to return, and chides each ling'ring hour.
* My notes, in circles of the grave and gay,
* Have hail'd the rising, cheer'd the closing day:
* Each in my fond affections claim'd a part,
* But none discern'd the secret of my heart.
* What though my strains and sorrows slow combin'd!
* Yet ears are slow, and carnal eyes are blind.
* Free through each mortal form the spirits roll,
* But sight avails not. Can we see the soul?"
OF THE PERSIANS AND HINDUS.

Such notes breath'd gently from yon vocal frame:
Breath'd said I? no; 'twas all enlivining flame.
'Tis love, that fills the reed with warmth divine;
'Tis love, that sparkles in the racy wine.

Me, plaintive wand'rer from my peerless maid.
The reed has fir'd, and all my soul betray'd.
He gives the bane, and he with balsam cures;
Afflict, yet sooths; impassions, yet allures.
Delightful pangs his am'rous tales prolong;
And Laili's frantick lover lives in song.
Not he, who reasons best, this wisdom knows:
Ears only drink what rapt'rous tongues disclose.
Nor fruitless deem the reed's heart-piercing pain:
See sweetness dropping from the parted cane.

Alternate hope and fear my days divide:
I courted Grief, and Anguish was my bride.
Flow on, sad stream of life! I smile secure:
Thou livest! Thou, the purest of the pure!
Rise! vig'rous youth! be free; be nobly bold:
Shall chains confine you, though they blaze with gold?
Go; to your vase the gather'd main convey:
What were your stores? The pittance of a day!
New plans for wealth your fancies would invent;
Yet shells, to nourish pearls, must lie content.
The man, whose robe love's purple arrows rend
Bids av'rice rest, and toils tumultuous end.

Hail, heav'nly love! true source of endless gains!
Thy balm restores me, and thy skill sustains.
Oh, more than Galen learn'd, than Plato wise!
My guide, my law, my joy supreme arise!

Love warms this frigid clay with mystick fire,
And dancing mountains leap with young desire.
Blest is the soul, that swims in seas of love,
And long the life sustaine'd by food above.

With forms imperfect can perfection dwell?

Here pause, my song; and thou, vain world, farewell.
A volume might be filled with similar passages from the Súfí poets; from Sa'íb, Orfí, Mír Khosrau, Ja'mí, Hazín, and Sa'bík, who are next in beauty of composition to Hâ- fiz and Sádî, but next at a considerable distance; from Mesí'hí, the most elegant of their Türkísh imitators; from a few Hindi poets of our own times, and from Ibnul Fâ'íred, who wrote mystical odes in Arabick; but we may close this account of the Súfís with a passage from the third book of the Bustân, the declared subject of which is divine love; referring you for a particular detail of their metaphysics and theology to the Dabistán of Mohsání Fáni, and to the pleasing essay, called the Junction of two Seas, by that amiable and unfortunate prince, Dá'rá' Shecú'h:

"The love of a being composed, like thyself, of water and clay, destroys thy patience and peace of mind; it excites thee, in thy waking hours with minute beauties, and engages thee, in thy sleep, with vain imaginations: with such real affection dost thou lay thy head on her foot, that the universe, in comparison of her, vanishes into nothing before thee; and, since thy gold allures not her eye, gold and mere earth appear equal in thine. Not a breath dost thou utter to any one else, for with her thou haft no room for any other;
"thou declarest that her abode is in thine eye,
"or, when thou closest it, in thy heart; thou
"haist no fear of censure from any man; thou
"haist no power to be at rest for a moment; if
"she demands thy soul, it runs instantly to thy
"lip; and if she waves a cimeter over thee, thy
"head falls immediately under it. Since an
"absurd love, with its basis on air, affects thee
"so violently, and commands with a sway so
"despotic, canst thou wonder, that they, who
"walk in the true path, are drowned in the sea
"of mysterious adoration? They disregard life
"through affection for its giver; they abandon
"the world through remembrance of its maker;
"they are inebriated with the melody of amor-
"ous complaints; they remember their beloved,
"and resign to him both this life and the next.
"Through remembrance of God, they shun all
"mankind: they are so enamoured of the cup-
bearer, that they spill the wine from the cup.
"No panacea can heal them, for no mortal can
"be apprized of their malady; so loudly has
"rung in their ears, from eternity without be-
ginning, the divine word alef, with beli, the
"tumultuous exclamation of all spirits. They
"are a sect fully employed, but sitting in re-
tirement; their feet are of earth, but their
"breath is a flame; with a single yell they
"could rend a mountain from its base; with a
"Single cry they could throw a city into confusion: like wind, they are concealed and move nimbly; like stone, they are silent, yet repeat God's praises. At early dawn their tears flow so copiously as to wash from their eyes the black powder of sleep: though the courser of their fancy ran so swiftly all night, yet the morning finds them left behind in disorder: night and day are they plunged in an ocean of ardent desire, till they are unable, through astonishment, to distinguish night from day. So enraptured are they with the beauty of Him, who decorated the human form, that with the beauty of the form itself, they have no concern; and, if ever they behold a beautiful shape, they see in it the mystery of God's work.

"The wise take not the husk in exchange for the kernel; and he, who makes that choice, has no understanding. He only has drunk the pure wine of unity, who has forgotten, by remembering God, all things else in both worlds."

Let us return to the Hindus, among whom we now find the same emblematical theology, which Pythagoras admired and adopted. The loves of Crishna and Radha, or the reciprocal attraction between the divine goodness and the human soul, are told at large in the tenth
book of the Bhāgavat, and are the subject of a little Pastoral Drama, entitled Gītagōvinda: it was the work of Jayadeva, who flourished, it is said, before Calidas, and was born, as he tells us himself, in Cenduli, which many believe to be in Calinga: but, since there is a town of a similar name in Berdwan, the natives of it insist that the finest lyric poet of India was their countryman, and celebrate in honour of him an annual jubilee, passing a whole night in representing his drama, and in singing his beautiful songs. After having translated the Gītagōvinda word for word, I reduced my translation to the form, in which it is now exhibited; omitting only those passages, which are too luxuriant and too bold for an European taste, and the prefatory ode on the ten incarnations of Vishnu, with which you have been presented on another occasion: the phrases in Italicks, are the burdens of the several songs; and you may be assured, that not a single image or idea has been added by the translator.
GÍTAGÓVINDA:

or,

THE SONGS OF JAYADEVA.

'The firmament is obscured by clouds; the woodlands are black with Támála-trees; that youth, who roves in the forest, will be fearful in the gloom of night: go, my daughter; bring the wanderer home to my rustic mansion.' Such was the command of Nánda, the fortunate herdsman; and hence arose the love of Rá'dha and Má'dhava, who sported on the bank of Yamuna, or hastened eagerly to the secret bower.

If thy soul be delighted with the remembrance of Heri, or sensible to the raptures of love, listen to the voice of Jayadeva, whose notes are both sweet and brilliant. O thou, who reclinest on the bosom of Camala: whose ears flame with gems, and whose locks are embellished with sylvan flowers; thou, from whom the day star derived his effulgence, who slewest
the venom-breathing Caliya, who beamedst, like a sun, on the tribe of Yadu, that flourished like a lotos; thou, who sittest on the plumage of Garura, who, by subduing demons, gavest exquisite joy to the assembly of immortals; thou, for whom the daughter of Janaca was decked in gay apparel, by whom Du'shana was overthrown; thou, whose eye sparkles like the water-lily, who calledst three worlds into existence; thou, by whom the rocks of Mandar were easily supported, who sippest nectar from the radiant lips of Pedma', as the fluttering Chacora drinks the moon-beams; be victorious, O Heri, lord of conquest.

Ra'dha' sought him long in vain, and her thoughts were confounded by the fever of desire: she roved in the vernal morning among the twining Vasantis covered with soft blossoms, when a damsel thus addressed her with youthful hilarity: 'The gale, that has wantoned round the beautiful clove-plants, breathes now from the hills of Maylaya; the circling arbours resound with the notes of the Cocali and the murmurs of honey-making swarms. Now the hearts of damsels, whose lovers travel at a distance, are pierced with anguish; while the blossoms of Bacul are conspicuous among the flowrets covered with bees. The Tamala, with leaves dark and odorous, claims a tribute
from the musk, which it vanquishes; and the
clustering flowers of the Palāsa resemble the
nails of Ca'ma, with which he rends the hearts
of the young. The full-blown Cēśara gleams
like the sceptre of the world's monarch, Love;
and the pointed thyrse of the Cētaca resembles
the darts, by which lovers are wounded. See
the bunches of Pātali-flowers filled with bees,
like the quiver of Smara full of shafts; while
the tender blossom of the Caruna smiles to see
the whole world laying shame aside. The far-
scented Mādhavī beautifies the trees, round
which it twines; and the fresh Mallicā seduces
with rich perfume even the hearts of hermits;
while the Amra-tree with blooming tresses is
embraced by the gay creeper Atimuēta, and
the blue streams of Yamunā wind round the
groves of Vrindāvan. In this charming season,
which gives pain to separated lovers, young Heri
sports and dances with a company of damsels.
A breeze, like the breath of love, from the frag-
grant flowers of the Cētaca, kindles every
heart, whilst it perfumes the woods with the
duft, which it shakes from the Mallicā with
half-opened buds; and the Cōcīla bursts into
song, when he sees the blossoms glistening on
the lovely Rasha.'

The jealous Ra'pha gave no answer; and,
soon after, her officious friend, perceiving the
foe of MURA in the forest eager for the rapturous embraces of the herdsmen's daughters, with whom he was dancing, thus again addressed his forgotten mistress: 'With a garland of wild flowers descending even to the yellow mantle, that girds his azure limbs, distinguished by smiling cheeks and by ear-rings, that sparkle, as he plays, HERI exults in the assemblage of amorous damsels. One of them presses him with her swelling breast while she warbles with exquisite melody. Another, affected by a glance from his eye, stands meditating on the lotus of his face. A third, on pretence of whispering a secret in his ear, approaches his temples, and kisses them with ardour. One seizes his mantle and draws him towards her, pointing to the bower on the banks of Yamuna, where elegant Vanjulas interweave their branches. He applauds another, who dances in the sportive circle, whilst her bracelets ring, as she beats time with her palms. Now he kisses one, and kisses another, smiling on a third with complacency; and now he chases her, whose beauty has mostallured him. Thus the wanton HERI frolics, in the season of sweets, among the maids of Vraja, who rush to his embraces, as if he were Pleasure itself assuming a human form; and one of them, under a pretext of hymning his divine
"perfections, whispers in his ear: "Thy lips, "my beloved, are nectar."

**Radha** remains in the forest; but resenting the promiscuous passion of **Hari**, and his neglect of her beauty, which he once thought superior, she retires to a bower of twining plants, the summit of which resounds with the humming of swarms engaged in their sweet labours; and there, falling languid on the ground, she thus addresses her female companion. **Though be take recreation in my absence, and smile on all around him, yet my soul remembers him, whose beguiling reed modulates a tune sweetened by the nectar of his quivering lip, while his ear sparkles with gems, and his eye darts amorous glances; Him, whose locks are decked with the plumes of peacocks resplendent with many-coloured moons, and whose mantle gleams like a dark blue cloud illumined with rain-bows; Him, whose graceful smile gives new lustre to his lips, brilliant and soft as a dewy leaf, sweet and ruddy as the blossom of **Bandhuja**, while they tremble with eagerness to kiss the daughters of the herdsmen; Him, who disperses the gloom with beams from the jewels, which decorate his bosom, his wrists, and his ankles, on whose forehead shines a circlet of sandal-wood, which makes even the moon contemptible, when it fails through irra-
diated clouds; Him, whose ear-rings are formed of entire gems in the shape of the fish Macar on the banners of Love; even the yellow-robed God, whose attendants are the chiefs of deities, of holy men, and of demons; Him, who reclines under a gay Cadamba-tree; who formerly delighted me, while he gracefully waved in the dance, and all his soul sparkled in his eye. My weak mind thus enumerates his qualities; and, though offended, strives to banish offence. What else can it do? It cannot part with its affection for Krishna, whose love is excited by other damsels, and who sports in the absence of Radha. Bring, O friend, that vanquisher of the demon Ces'i, to sport with me, who am repairing to a secret bower, who look timidly on all sides, who meditate with amorous fancy on his divine transfiguration. Bring him, whose discourse was once composed of the gentlest words, to converse with me, who am bashful on his first approach, and express my thoughts with a smile sweet as honey. Bring him, who formerly slept on my bosom, to recline with me on a green bed of leaves just gathered, while his lip sheds dew, and my arms enfold him. Bring him, who has attained the perfection of skill in love's art, whose hand used to press these firm and delicate spheres to play with me, whose voice rivals
that of the Cōcil, and whose tresses are bound
with waving blossoms. Bring him, who for-
merly drew me by the locks to his embrace,
to repose with me, whose feet tinkle, as they
move, with rings of gold and of gems, whose
loosened zone sounds, as it falls; and whose
limbs are slender and flexible as the creeping
plant. That God, whose cheeks are beautified
by the nectar of his smiles, whose pipe drops
in his ecstasy, I saw in the grove encircled by
the damsels of Vraja, who gazed on him
askance from the corners of their eyes: I saw
him in the grove with happier damsels, yet
the sight of him delighted me. Soft is the
gale, which breathes over yon clear pool, and
expands the clustering blossoms of the voluble
Asōca; soft, yet grievous to me in the absence
of the foe of Madhu. Delightful are the
flowers of Amra-trees on the mountain-top,
while the murmuring bees pursue their volupt-
tuous toil; delightful, yet afflicting to me, O
friend, in the absence of the youthful Cē-
sāva.'

Meantime the destroyer of Cansa, having
brought to his remembrance the amiable Ra-
dha', forsook the beautiful damsels of Vraja:
he sought her in all parts of the forest; his old
wound from love's arrow bled again; he re-
pented of his levity, and, seated in a bower near
the bank of Yamunā, the blue daughter of the sun, thus poured forth his lamentation.

"She is departed—she saw me, no doubt, surrounded by the wanton shepherdesses; yet, conscious of my fault, I durst not intercept her flight. Wo is me! she feels a sense of injured honour, and is departed in wrath. How will she conduct herself? How will she express her pain in so long a separation? What is wealth to me? What are numerous attendants? What are the pleasures of the world? What joy can I receive from a heavenly abode? I seem to behold her face with eye-brows contracting themselves through her just resentment; it resembles a fresh lotus, over which two black bees are fluttering: I seem, so present is she to my imagination, even now to care for her with eagerness. Why then do I seek her in this forest? Why do I lament without cause? O slender damsel, anger, I know, has torn thy soft bosom; but whither thou art retired, I know not. How can I invite thee to return? Thou art seen by me, indeed, in a vision; thou seemest to move before me. Ah! why dost thou not rush, as before, to my embrace? Do but forgive me: never again will I commit a similar offence. Grant me but a sight of thee, O lovely RA' DHICA', for my passion torments me. I am
not the terrible Mahe'sa: a garland of water-lilies with subtil threads decks my shoulders;
not serpents with twisted folds: the blue petals
of the lotos glitter on my neck; not the azure
gleam of poison; powdered sandal-wood is
sprinkled on my limbs; not pale ashes: O
God of Love, mistake me not for Mahadeva.
Wound me not again; approach me not
in anger; I love already but too passionately;
yet I have lost my beloved. Hold not in thy
hand that shaft barbed with an Amra-flower!
Brace not thy bow, thou conqueror of the
world! Is it valour to slay one who faints?
My heart is already pierced by arrows from
Radha's eyes, black and keen as those of an
antelope; yet mine eyes are not gratified with
her presence. Her eyes are full of shafts; her
eye-brows are bows; and the tips of her ears
are silken strings: thus armed by Ananga,
the God of Desire, she marches, herself a god-
defs, to ensure his triumph over the vanquished
universe. I meditate on her delightful em-
brace, on the ravishing glances darted from
her eye, on the fragrant lotos of her mouth,
on her nectar-dropping speech; on her lips
ruddy as the berries of the Bimba; yet even
my fixed meditation on such an assemblage of
charms encreases, instead of alleviating, the
misery of separation.
The damsel, commissioned by Ra'dha', found the disconsolate God under an arbour of spreading Vāniras by the side of Yamunā; where, presenting herself gracefully before him, she thus described the affliction of his beloved:

' She despises essence of sandal-wood, and even by moon-light fits brooding over her gloomy sorrow; she declares the gale of Malaya to be venom, and the sandal-trees, through which it has breathed, to have been the haunt of serpents. Thus, O Ma'dhava, is she afflicted in thy absence with the pain, which love's dart has occasioned: her soul is fixed on thee. Fresh arrows of desire are continually afflicting her, and she forms a net of lotos-leaves as armour for her heart, which thou alone shouldst fortify. She makes her own bed of the arrows darted by the flowery-shafted God; but, when she hoped for thy embrace, she had formed for thee a couch of soft blossoms. Her face is like a water-lily, veiled in the dew of tears, and her eyes appear like moons eclipsed, which let fall their gathered nectar through pain caused by the tooth of the furious dragon. She draws thy image with musk in the character of the Deity with five shafts, having subdued the Macar, or horned shark, and holding an arrow tipped with an Amra-flower; thus she draws thy picture, and worships it. At the close of
every sentence, "O Ma'dhava, she ex-
claims, at thy feet am I fallen, and in thy ab-
sence even the moon, though it be a vase 
full of nectar, inflames my limbs." Then, 
by the power of imagination, she figures thee 
standing before her; thee, who art not easily 
attained: she sighs, she smiles, she mourns, the 
weep, she moves from side to side, she la-
ments and rejoices by turns. Her abode is a 
forest; the circle of her female companions is 
a net; her sighs are flames of fire kindled in a 
thicket; herself (alas! through thy absence) 
is become a timid roe; and Love is the tiger, 
who springs on her like Yama, the Genius of 
Death. So emaciated is her beautiful body, 
that even the light garland, which waves over 
her bosom, she thinks a load. Such, O bright-
haired God, is Ra'dha when thou art absent. 
If powder of sandal-wood finely levigated be 
moistened and applied to her breasts, she starts, 
and mistakes it for poison. Her sighs form a 
breeze long extended, and burn her like the 
flame, which reduced Candarpa to ashes. 
She throws around her eyes, like blue water-
lilies with broken stalks, dropping lucid streams. 
Even her bed of tender leaves appear in her 
flight like a kindled fire. The palm of her 
hand supports her aching temple, motionless 
as the crescent rising at eve. "Heri, Heri,"
thus in silence she meditates on thy name, as
if her wish were gratified, and she were dying
through thy absence. She rends her locks;
she pants; she laments inarticulately; she
trembles; she pines; she muses; she moves
from place to place; she closes her eyes; she
falls; she rises again; she faints: in such a
fever of love, she may live, O celestial phy-
sician, if thou administer the remedy; but,
shouldst Thou be unkind, her malady will be
desperate. Thus, O divine healer, by the
nectar of thy love must RA'DHA' be restored
to health; and, if thou refuse it, thy heart
must be harder than the thunderstone. Long
has her soul pined, and long has she been
heated with sandal wood, moon-light, and
water-lilies, with which others are cooled;
yet she patiently and in secret meditates on
Thee, who alone canst relieve her. Shouldst
thou be inconstant, how can she, wasted as she
is to a shadow, support life a single moment?
How can she, who lately could not endure
thy absence even an instanta, forbear sighing
now, when she looks with half-closed eyes on
the Rasála with bloomy branches, which re-
mind her of the vernal season, when she first
beheld thee with rapture?
Here have I chosen my abode: go quickly
to RA'DHA'; soothe her with my message,
and conduct her hither.' So spoke the foe of Madhu to the anxious damsel, who hastened back, and thus addressed her companion; 'Whilst a sweet breeze from the hills of Malaya comes wafting on his plumes the young God of Desire; while many a flower points his extended petals to pierce the bosom of separated lovers, the Deity crowned with sylvan blossoms, lament, O friend, in thy absence. Even the dewy rays of the moon burn him; and, as the shaft of love is descending, he mourns inarticulately with increasing distraction. When the bees murmur softly, he covers his ears; misery fits fixed in his heart, and every returning night adds anguish to anguish. He quits his radiant palace for the wild forest, where he sinks on a bed of cold clay, and frequently mutters thy name. In yon bower, to which the pilgrims of love are used to repair, he meditates on thy form, repeating in silence some enchanting word, which once dropped from thy lips, and thirsting for the nectar which they alone can supply. Delay not, O love-lieft of women; follow the lord of thy heart: behold, he seeks the appointed shade, bright with the ornaments of love, and confident of the promised bliss. Having bound his locks with forest-flowers, he hastens to thy arbour, where a soft gale breathes over the banks of
Yamunā: there, again pronouncing thy name, 
he modulates his divine reed. Oh! with what 
rapture doth he gaze on the golden dust, which 
the breeze shakes from expanded blossoms; 
the breeze, which has kissed thy cheek! With 
a mind, languid as a dropping wing, feeble as 
a trembling leaf, he doubtfully expects thy ap- 
proach, and timidly looks on the path which 
thee must tread. Leave behind thee, O friend, 
the ring which tinkles on thy delicate ankle, 
when thou sportest in the dance: hastily cast 
over thee thy azure mantle, and run to the 
gloomy bower. The reward of thy speed, O 
thy who sparklest like lightning, will be to 
shine on the blue bosom of Murāri, which 
resembles a vernal cloud, decked with a string 
of pearls like a flock of white water-birds flut- 
tering in the air. Disappoint not, O thou 
lotos-eyed, the vanquisher of Madhu; ac- 
complish his desire; but go quickly: it is 
night; and the night also will quickly depart. 
Again and again he sighs; he looks around; 
he re-enters the arbour; he can scarce articu- 
late thy sweet name; he again smooths his 
flowery couch; he looks wild; he becomes 
frantick: thy beloved will perish through de- 
fire. The bright-beamed God sinks in the 
west, and thy pain of separation may also be 
removed: the blackness of the night is in-
creased, and the passionate imagination of Govinda has acquired additional gloom. My address to thee has equalled in length and in sweetness the song of the Coccila delay will make thee miserable, O my beautiful friend. Seize the moment of delight in the place of assignation with the son of Devaci, who descended from heaven to remove the burdens of the universe; he is a blue gem on the forehead of the three worlds, and longs to sip honey, like the bee, from the fragrant lotos of thy cheek.

But the solicitous maid, perceiving that Radha was unable, through debility, to move from her arbour of flowery creepers, returned to Govinda, who was himself disordered with love, and thus described her situation.

She mourns, O sovereign of the world, in her verdant bower; she looks eagerly on all sides in hope of thy approach; then, gaining strength from the delightful idea of the proposed meeting, she advances a few steps, and falls languid on the ground. When she rises, she weaves bracelets of fresh leaves; she dresses herself like her beloved, and, looking at herself in sport, exclaims, "Behold the vanquisher of Madhu!" Then she repeats again and again the name of Heri, and, catching at a dark blue cloud, strives to embrace it, say-
"It is my beloved who approaches." Thus, while thou art dilatory, she lies expect- ing thee; she mourns; she weeps; she puts on her gayest ornaments to receive her lord; she compresses her deep sighs within her bosom; and then, meditating on thee, O cruel, she is drowned in a sea of rapturous imagina- tions. If a leaf but quiver, she supposes thee arrived; she spreads her couch; she forms in her mind a hundred modes of delight: yet if thou go not to her bower, she must die this night through excessive anguish.

By this time the moon spread a net of beams over the groves of Vrindâvan, and looked like a drop of liquid sandal on the face of the sky, which smiled like a beautiful damsel; while its orb with many spots betrayed, as it were, a consciousness of guilt, in having often attended amorous maids to the loss of their family honour. The moon, with a black fawn couched on its disc, advanced in its nightly course; but Madhava had not advanced to the bower of Radha, who thus bewailed his delay with notes of varied lamentation.

The appointed moment is come; but Heri, alas! comes not to the grove. Must the sea- son of my unblemished youth pass thus idly away? Oh! what refuge can I seek, deluded as I am by the guile of my female adviser? The
God with five arrows has wounded my heart; and I am deserted by Him, for whose sake I have sought at night the darkest recess of the forest. Since my best beloved friends have deceived me, it is my wish to die: since my senses are disordered, and my bosom is on fire, why stay I longer in this world? The coolness of this vernal night gives me pain, instead of refreshment: some happier damsel enjoys my beloved; whilst I, alas! am looking at the gems in my bracelets, which are blackened by the flames of my passion. My neck, more delicate than the tenderest blossom, is hurt by the garland, that encircles it: flowers are, indeed, the arrows of Love, and he plays with them cruelly. I make this wood my dwelling: I regard not the roughness of the Vētąś-trees; but the destroyer of Madhu holds me not in his remembrance! Why comes he not to the bower of bloomy Vanjulas, assigned for our meeting? Some ardent rival, no doubt, keeps him locked in her embrace: or have his companions detained him with mirthful recreations? Else why roams he not through the cool shades? Perhaps, the heart-sick lover is unable through weakness to advance even a step!—So saying, she raised her eyes; and, seeing her damsel return silent and mournful, unaccompanied by Madhava, she was alarmed.
even to phrensy; and, as if she actually beheld him in the arms of a rival, she thus described the vision which overpowered her intellect.

'Yes; in habiliments becoming the war of love, and with tresses waving like flowery banners, a damsel, more alluring than Radha, enjoys the conqueror of Madhu. Her form is transfigured by the touch of her divine lover; her garland quivers over her swelling bosom; her face like the moon is graced with clouds of dark hair, and trembles, while she quaffs the nectarous dew of his lip; her bright earrings dance over her cheeks, which they irradiate; and the small bells on her girdle tinkle as she moves. Bashful at first, she smiles at length on her embracer, and expresses her joy with inarticulate murmurs; while she floats on the waves of desire, and closes her eyes dazzled with the blaze of approaching Cama: and now this heroine in love's warfare falls exhausted and vanquished by the resolute Murari, but alas! in my bosom prevails the flame of jealousy, and yon moon, which dispels the sorrow of others, increases mine. See again, where the foe of Murari sports in yon grove on the bank of the Yamuna! See, how he kisses the lip of my rival, and imprints on her forehead an ornament of pure musk, black as the young antelope on the lunar orb! Now
like the husband of Reti, he fixes white
blossoms on her dark locks, where they gleam
like flashes of lightning among the curled
clouds. On her breasts, like two firmaments,
he places a string of gems like a radiant con-
stellation: he binds on her arms, graceful as
the stalks of the water-lily, and adorned with
hands glowing like the petals of its flower, a
bracelet of sapphires, which resemble a cluster of
bees. Ah! see, how he ties round her waist
a rich girdle illumined with golden bells, which
seem to laugh, as they tinkle, at the inferior
brightness of the leafy garlands, which lovers
hang on their bowers to propitiate the God of
Desire. He places her soft foot, as he reclines
by her side, on his ardent bosom, and stains it
with the ruddy hue of Yāvaca. Say, my
friend, why pales I my nights in this tangled
forest without joy, and without hope, while
the faithless brother of Haladhara clasps
my rival in his arms? Yet why, my com-
panion, shouldest thou mourn, though my per-
fidious youth has disappointed me? What
offence is it of thine, if he sport with a crowd
of damsels happier than I? Mark, how my
soul, attracted by his irresistible charms, bursts
from its mortal frame, and rushes to mix with
its beloved. She, whom the God enjoys, crowned
with sylvan flowers, sits carelessly on a bed of
leaves with Him, whose wanton eyes resemble blue water-lilies agitated by the breeze.
She feels no flame from the gales of Malaya with Him, whose words are sweeter than the water of life. She derides the shafts of soul-born Cāma, with Him, whose lips are like a red lotos in full bloom. She is cooled by the moon’s dewy beams, while she reclines with Him, whose hands and feet glow like vernal flowers. No female companion deludes her, while she sports with Him, whose vesture blazes like tried gold. She faints not through excess of passion, while she carelessly that youth, who surpasses in beauty the inhabitants of all worlds. O gale, scented with sandal, who breathest love from the regions of the south, be propitious but for a moment: when thou hast brought my beloved before my eyes, thou mayest freely waft away my soul. Love, with eyes like blue water-lilies, again affails me and triumphs; and, while the perfidy of my beloved rends my heart, my female friend is my foe, the cool breeze scorches me like a flame, and the nectar-dropping moon is my poison. Bring disease and death, O gale of Malaya! Seize my spirit, O God with five arrows! I ask not mercy from thee: no more will I dwell in the cottage of my father. Receive me in thy azure waves, O sister of Yama,
that the ardour of my heart may be al-
layed!

Pierced by the arrows of love, she passed the night in the agonies of despair, and at early dawn thus rebuked her lover, whom she saw lying prostrate before her and imploring her forgiveness.

'Alas! alas! Go, Ma'dhava, depart, O Ce'sava; speak not the language of guile; follow her, O lotos-eyed God, follow her, who dispels thy care. Look at his eye half-opened, red with continued waking through the pleas-
surable night, yet smiling still with affection for my rival! Thy teeth, O cerulean youth, are azure as thy complexion from the kisses, which thou haft imprinted on the beautiful eyes of thy darling graced with dark blue powder; and thy limbs marked with punctures in love's warfare, exhibit a letter of conquest, written on polished sapphires with liquid gold. That broad bosom, stained by the bright lotos of her foot, displays a vesture of ruddy leaves over the tree of thy heart, which trembles within it. The pressure of her lip on thine wounds me to the soul. Ah! how canst thou assert, that we are one, since our sensations differ thus widely? Thy soul, O dark-limbed God, shows its blackness exter-
nally. How couldst thou deceive a girl, who
relieved on thee; a girl who burned in the fever of love? Thou rovest in woods, and females are thy prey: what wonder? Even thy childish heart was malignant; and thou gavest death to the nurse, who would have given thee milk. Since thy tenderness for me, of which these forests used to talk, has now vanished, and since thy breast, reddened by the feet of my rival, glows as if thy ardent passion for her were bursting from it, the sight of thee, O deceiver, makes me (ah! must I say it?) blush at my own affection.

Having thus inveighed against her beloved, she sat overwhelmed in grief, and silently meditated on his charms; when her damsel softly addressed her.

He is gone: the light air has wafted him away. What pleasure now, my beloved, remains in thy mansion? Continue not, resentful woman, thy indignation against the beautiful Madhava. Why shouldst thou render vain those round smooth vases, ample and ripe as the sweet fruit of yon Tála-tree? How often and how recently have I said: "forfake not the blooming Heri?" Why fittest thou so mournful? Why weepest thou with distraction, when the damsels are laughing around thee? Thou hast formed a couch of soft lotus-leaves: let thy darling charm thy sight, while
he repose on it. Afflict not thy soul with extreme anguish; but attend to my words, which conceal no guile. Suffer Česava to approach: let him speak with exquisite sweetness, and dissipate all thy sorrows. If thou art harsh to him, who is amiable; if thou art proudly silent, when he deprecates thy wrath with lowly prostrations; if thou shourest aversion to him, who loves thee passionately; if, when he bends before thee, thy face be turned contemptuously away; by the same rule of contrariety, the dust of sandal-wood, which thou hast sprinkled, may become poison; the moon, with cool beams, a scorching sun; the fresh dew, a consuming flame; and the sports of love be changed into agony.

Mādhava was not absent long: he returned to his beloved; whose cheeks were heated by the fultry gale of her sighs. Her anger was diminished, not wholly abated; but she secretly rejoiced at his return, while the shades of night also were approaching, she looked abashed at her damsel, while He, with faltering accents, implored her forgiveness.

Speak but one mild word, and the rays of thy sparkling teeth will dispel the gloom of my fears. My trembling lips, like thirsty Chucbras, long to drink the moon-beams of thy cheek. O my darling, who art naturally
So tender-hearted, abandon thy causeless indignation. At this moment the flame of desire consumes my heart: Oh! grant me a draught of honey from the lotos of thy mouth. Or, if thou beest inexorable, grant me death from the arrows of thy keen eyes; make thy arms my chains; and punish me according to thy pleasure. Thou art my life; thou art my ornament; thou art a pearl in the ocean of my mortal birth: oh! be favourable now, and my heart shall eternally be grateful. Thine eyes, which nature formed like blue water-lilies, are become, through thy resentment, like petals of the crimson lotos: oh! tinge with their effulgence these my dark limbs, that they may glow like the shafts of Love tipped with flowers. Place on my head that foot like a fresh leaf, and shade me from the sun of my passion, whose beams I am unable to bear. Spread a string of gems on those two soft globes; let the golden bells of thy zone tinkle, and proclaim the mild edict of love. Say, O damsel with delicate speech, shall I dye red with the juice of alacitaca those beautiful feet, which will make the full-blown land-lotus blush with shame? Abandon thy doubts of my heart, now indeed fluttering through fear of thy displeasure, but hereafter to be fixed wholly on thee; a heart, which has no room in it for
another: none else can enter it, but Love, the
bodiless God. Let him wing his arrows; let
him wound me mortally; decline not, O
cruel, the pleasure of seeing me expire. Thy
face is bright as the moon, though its beams
drop the venom of maddening desire: let thy
nectarous lip be the charmer, who alone has
power to lull the serpent or supply an antidote
for his poison. Thy silence afflicts me: oh!
speak with the voice of musick, and let thy
sweet accents allay my ardour. Abandon thy
wrath, but abandon not a lover, who surpasses
in beauty the sons of men, and who kneels
before thee, O thou most beautiful among
women. Thy lips are a Bandhuja-flower;
the luftre of the Madhuca beams on thy cheek;
thine eye outshines the blue lotus; thy nose
is a bud of the Tila; the Cunda-blossom yields
to thy teeth: thus the flowery-shafted God
borrows from thee the points of his darts, and
subdues the universe. Surely, thou descendeft
from heaven, O slender damsel, attended by a
company of youthful goddesses; and all their
beauties are collected in thee.

He spake; and, seeing her appeased by his
homage, flew to his bower, clad in a gay mant-
le. The night, now veiled all visible objects;
and the damsel thus exhorted Radha, while
she decked her with beaming ornaments.
'Follow, gentle Radhica', follow the foe of Madhu: his discourse was elegantly composed of sweet phrases; he prostrated himself at thy feet; and he now hastens to his delightful couch by yon grove of branching Vanjulas. Bind round thy ankle rings beaming with gems; and advance with mincing steps, like the pearl-fed Marāla. Drink with ravished ears the soft accents of Heri; and feast on love, while the warbling Cóciías obey the mild ordinance of the flower-darting God. Abandon delay: see, the whole assembly of slender plants, pointing to the bower with fingers of young leaves agitated by the gale, make signals for thy departure. Ask those two round hillocks, which receive pure dew-drops from the garland playing on thy neck, and the buds on whose top start aloft with the thought of thy darling; ask, and they will tell, that thy soul is intent on the warfare of love; advance, fervid warrior, advance with alacrity, while the sound of thy tinkling waist-bells shall represent martial musick. Lead with thee some favoured maid; grasp her hand with thine, whose fingers are long and smooth as love's arrows: march; and, with the noise of thy bracelets, proclaim thy approach to the youth, who will own himself thy slave: "She will come; she will exult on beholding me;
"she will pour accents of delight; she will en-
fold me with eager arms; she will melt with
affection;" Such are his thoughts at this mo-
ment: and, thus thinking, he looks through
the long avenue; he trembles; he rejoices;
he burns; he moves from place to place; he
faints, when he sees thee not coming, and falls
in his gloomy bower. The night now dresses
in habiliments fit for secrecy, the many dam-
sels, who hasten to their places of assignation:
she sets off with blackness their beautiful eyes;
fixes dark Tamāla-leaves behind their ears;
decks their locks with the deep azure of water-
lilies, and sprinkles musk on their panting bo-
soms. The nocturnal sky, black as the touch-
stone, tries now the gold of their affection, and
is marked with rich lines from the flashes of
their beauty, in which they surpass the brightest
Cashmirians."

Ra'ḍha', thus incited, tripped through the
forest; but shame overpowered her, when, by
the light of innumerable gems, on the arms, the
feet, and the neck of her beloved, she saw him
at the door of his flowery mansion: then her
damself again addressed her with ardent exulta-
tion.

'Enter, sweet Ra'ḍha', the bower of Hēri:
'seek delight, O thou, whose bosom laughs
'with the forerun of happiness. Enter, sweet
'Ra'dha', the bower graced with a bed of 'Asoca leaves: seek delight, O thou, whose garland leaps with joy on thy breast. Enter, 'sweet Ra'dha', the bower illumined with gay blossoms; seek delight, O thou, whose limbs far excel them in softness. Enter, O Ra'dha', the bower made cool and fragrant by gales from the woods of Malaya: seek delight, O thou, whose amorous lays are softer than breezes. Enter, O Ra'dha', the bower spread with leaves of twining creepers: seek delight, O thou, whose arms have been long inflexible. Enter, O Ra'dha', the bower which resounds with the murmur of honey-making bees: seek delight, O thou, whose embrace yields more exquisite sweetness. Enter, O Ra'dha', the bower attuned by the melodious band of Coci-las: seek delight, O thou, whose lips, which outshine the grains of the pomegranate, are embellished, when thou speakest, by the brightness of thy teeth. Long has he borne thee in his mind: and now, in an agony of desire, he pants to taste nectar from thy lip. Deign to restore thy slave, who will bend before the lotos of thy foot, and press it to his irradiated bosom; a slave, who acknowledges himself bought by thee for a single glance from thy eye, and a toss of thy disdainful eye-brow.'

She ended; and Ra'dha' with timid joy,
darting her eyes on Go'vinda, while she musically founded the rings of her ankles and the bells of her zone, entered the mystic bower of her only beloved. There she beheld her Ma' dhava, who delighted in her alone; who so long had sighed for her embrace; and whose countenance then gleamed with excessive rapture: his heart was agitated by her sight, as the waves of the deep are affected by the lunar orb. His azure breast glittered with pearls of unblemished lustre, like the full bed of the cerulean Yamuna, interspersed with curls of white foam. From his grateful waist, flowed a pale yellow robe, which resembled the golden dust of the water-lily, scattered over its blue petals. His passion was inflamed by the glances of her eyes, which played like a pair of water-birds with azure plumage, that sport near a full-blown lotus on a pool in the season of dew. Bright ear-rings, like two suns, displayed in full expansion the flowers of his cheeks and lips, which glistened with the liquid radiance of smiles. His locks, interwoven with blossoms, were like a cloud variegated with moon-beams, and on his forehead shone a circle of odorous oil, extracted from the sandal of Malaya, like the moon just appearing on the dunky horizon; while his whole body seemed in a flame from the blaze of unnumbered gems. Tears of transport gushed in a
stream from the full eyes of Radha, and their watery glances beamed on her best beloved. Even shame, which before had taken its abode in their dark pupils, was itself ashamed and departed, when the fawn-eyed Radha gazed on the brightened face of Krishna, while she passed by the soft edge of his couch, and the bevy of his attendant nymphs, pretending to strike the gnats from their cheeks in order to conceal their smiles, warily retired from his bower.

Govinda, seeing his beloved cheerful and serene, her lips sparkling with smiles, and her eye speaking desire, thus eagerly addressed her; while she carelessly reclined on the leafy bed strewn with soft blossoms.

"Set the lotos of thy foot on this azure bosom; and let this couch be victorious over all, who rebel against love. Give short rapture, sweet Radha, to Narayana, thy adorer. I do thee homage; I press with my blooming palms thy feet, weary with so long a walk. O that I were the golden ring, that plays round thy ankle! Speak but one gentle word; bid nectar drop from the bright moon of thy mouth. Since the pain of absence is removed, let me thus remove the thin veil that enviously hides thy charms. Blest should I be, if those raised globes were fixed on my bosom, and
the ardour of my passion allayed. O! suffer
me to quaff the liquid bliss of those lips; re-
store, with their water of life thy slave, who
has long been lifeless, whom the fire of sepae-
ration has consumed. Long have these ears
been afflicted, in thy absence, by the notes of
the Cécila: relieve them with the sound of thy
tinkling waist-bells, which yield musick, al-
most equal to the melody of thy voice. Why
are those eyes half closed? Are they ashamed
of seeing a youth, to whom thy careless re-
sentment gave anguish? O! let affliction
cease: and let ecstas[y] drown the remembrance
of sorrow.

In the morning she rose disarrayed, and her
eyes betrayed a night without slumber; when
the yellow-robed God, who gazed on her with
transport, thus meditated on her charms in his
heavenly mind: 'Though her locks be diffused
at random, though the lustre of her lips be
faded, though her garland and zone be fallen
from their enchanting stations, and though she
hide their places with her hands, looking to-
ward me with bashful silence, yet even thus
'disarranged, she fills me with extatic delight.'
But Radha', preparing to array herself, be-
fore the company of nymphs could see her
confusion, spake thus with exultation to her
obsequious lover.
Place, O son of Yadu, with fingers cooler than sandal-wood, place a circlet of musk on this breast, which resembles a vase of consecrated water, crowned with fresh leaves, and fixed near a vernal bower, to propitiate the God of Love. Place, my darling, the glossy powder, which would make the blackest bee envious, on this eye, whose glances are keener than arrows darted by the husband of Reti.

Fix, O accomplished youth, the two gems, which form part of love's chain, in these ears, whence the antelopes of thine eyes may run downwards and sport at pleasure. Place now a fresh circle of musk, black as the lunar spots, on the moon of my forehead; and mix gay flowers on my tresses with a peacock's feathers, in graceful order, that they may wave like the banners of Cama. Now replace, O tender hearted, the loose ornaments of my vesture; and refix the golden bells of my girdle on their destined station, which resembles those hills, where the God with five shafts, who destroyed Sambar, keeps his elephant ready for battle.

While she spake, the heart of Yadava triumphed; and, obeying her sportful behests, he placed musky spots on her bosom and forehead, dyed her temples with radiant hues, embellished her eyes with additional blackness, decked her
braided hair and her neck with fresh garlands, and tied on her wrists the loosened bracelets, on her ankles the beamy rings, and round her waist the zone of bells, that sounded with ravishing melody.

Whatever is delightful in the modes of music, whatever is divine in meditations on Vishnu, whatever is exquisite in the sweet art of love, whatever is graceful in the fine strains of poetry, all that let the happy and wise learn from the songs of Jayadeva, whose soul is united with the foot of Narayana. May that Heri be your support, who expanded himself into an infinity of bright forms, when, eager to gaze with myriads of eyes on the daughter of the ocean, he displayed his great character of the all-pervading deity, by the multiplied reflections of his divine person in the numberless gems on the many heads of the king of serpents, whom he chose for his couch; that Heri, who removing the lucid veil from the bosom of Pema, and fixing his eyes on the delicious buds, that grew on it, diverted her attention by declaring that, when she had chosen him as her bridegroom near the sea of milk, the disappointed husband of Pervati drank in despair the venom, which dyed his neck azure!
REMARKS

ON

THE ISLAND OF

HINZUAN OR JOHANNA.

BY

THE PRESIDENT.

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

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

The frigate was presently surrounded with 
canoes, and the deck soon crowded with na-
tives of all ranks, from the high-born chief, who 
waited linen, to the half-naked slave, who only 
paddled. Most of them had letters of recom-
mandation from Englishmen, which none of 
them were able to read, though they spoke 
English intelligibly; and some appeared vain of

* Lat. 122° 10'. 47'. S. Long. 44° 25'. 5'. E. by the 
Master.
titles, which our countrymen had given them in play, according to their supposed stations: we had Lords, Dukes, and Princes on board, soliciting our custom and importuning us for presents. In fact they were too sensible to be proud of empty sounds, but justly imagined, that those ridiculous titles would serve as marks of distinction, and, by attracting notice, procure for them something substantial. The only men of real consequence in the island, whom we saw before we landed, were the Governor Abdulla, second cousin to the king, and his brother Alwi, with their several sons; all of whom will again be particularly mentioned: they understood Arabick, seemed zealots in the Mohammedan faith, and admired my copies of the Alkoran; some verses of which they read, whilst Alwi perused the opening of another Arabian manuscript, and explained it in English more accurately than could have been expected.

The next morning showed us the island in all its beauty; and the scene was so diversified, that a distinct view of it could hardly have been exhibited by the best pencil: you must, therefore, be satisfied with a mere description, written on the very spot and compared attentively with the natural landscape. We were at anchor in a fine bay, and before us was a vast amphitheatre, of which you may form a general notion
by picturing in your minds a multitude of hills infinitely varied in size and figure and then supposing them to be thrown together, with a kind of artless symmetry, in all imaginable positions. The back ground was a series of mountains, one of which is pointed near half a mile perpendicularly high from the level of the sea, and little more than three miles from the shore: all of them were richly clothed with wood, chiefly fruit-trees, of an exquisite verdure. I had seen many a mountain of a stupendous height in Wales and Switzerland, but never saw one before, round the bosom of which the clouds were almost continually rolling, while its green summit rose flourishing above them, and received from them an additional brightness. Next to this distant range of hills was another tier, part of which appeared charmingly verdant, and part rather barren; but the contrast of colours changed even this nakedness into a beauty: nearer still were innumerable mountains, or rather cliffs, which brought down their verdure and fertility quite to the beach; so that every shade of green, the sweetest of colours, was displayed at one view by land and by water. But nothing conduced more to the variety of this enchanting prospect, than the many rows of palm-trees, especially the tall and graceful Areca's, on the shores, in the valleys, and on
the ridges of hills, where one might almost sup-
pose them to have been planted regularly by
design. A more beautiful appearance can scarce
be conceived, than such a number of elegant
palms in such a situation, with luxuriant tops,
like verdant plumes, placed at just intervals,
and showing between them part of the remoter
landscape, while they left the rest to be supplied
by the beholder’s imagination. The town of
Matsamúdó lay on our left, remarkable at a
distance for the tower of the principal mosque,
which was built by Halí’mah, a queen of the
island, from whom the present king is descended:
a little on our right was a small town, called
Bantáni. Neither the territory of Nice, with
its olives, date-trees, and cypresses, nor the isles
of Hieres, with their delightful orange-groves,
appeared so charming to me, as the view from
the road of Hinzúán; which, nevertheless, is
far surpassed, as the Captain of the Crocodile af-
sured us, by many of the islands in the southern
ocean. If life were not too short for the com-
plete discharge of all our respective duties, pub-
lic and private, and for the acquisition even of
necessary knowledge in any degree of perfection,
with how much pleasure and improvement
might a great part of it be spent in admiring
the beauties of this wonderful orb, and contem-
plating the nature of man in all its varieties!

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We hastened to tread on firm land, to which we had been so long disused, and went on shore, after breakfast, to see the town, and return the Governor's visit. As we walked, attended by a crowd of natives, I surprized them by reading aloud an Arabick inscription over the gate of a mosque, and still more, when I entered it, by explaining four sentences, which were written very distinctly on the wall, signifying, "that the world was given us for our own edification, not for the purpose of raising sumptuous buildings; life, for the discharge of moral and religious duties, not for pleasurable indulgences; wealth, to be liberally bestowed, not avariciously hoarded; and learning, to produce good actions, not empty disputes." We could not but respect the temple even of a false prophet, in which we found such excellent morality: we saw nothing better among the Romish trumpery in the church at Madera. When we came to Abdullah's house, we were conducted through a small court-yard into an open room, on each side of which was a large and convenient sofa, and above it a high bed-place in a dark recess, over which a chintz counterpoint hung down from the ceiling: this is the general form of the best rooms in the island; and most of the tolerable houses have a similar apartment on the opposite side of the court, that
there may be at all hours a place in the shade for dinner or for repose. We were entertained with ripe dates from Yemen, and the milk of cocoa-nuts; but the heat of the room, which seemed accessible to all, who chose to enter it, and the scent of musk or civet, with which it was perfumed, soon made us desirous of breathing a purer air; nor could I be detained long by the Arabick manuscripts, which the Governor produced, but which appeared of little use, and consequently of no value, except to such as love mere curiosities: one of them, indeed, relating to the penal law of the Mohammedans, I would gladly have purchased at a just price; but he knew not what to ask, and I knew, that better books on that subject might be procured in Bengal. He then offered me a black boy for one of my Alligators, and pressed me to barter an Indian dress, which he had seen on board the ship, for a cow and calf: the golden slippers attracted him most, since his wife, he said, would like to wear them; and, for that reason, I made him a present of them; but had destined the book and the robe for his superior. No higher opinion could be formed of Sayyad Abdullah, who seemed very eager for gain, and very servile where he expected it.

Our next visit was to Shaikh Salim, the king's eldest son; and, if we had seen him first,
the state of civilization in *Hinzuàn* would have appeared at its lowest ebb: the worst *English* hackney in the worst stable is better lodged, and looks more princely than this heir apparent; but, though his mean and apparel were extremely savage, yet allowance should have been made for his illness; which, as we afterwards learned, was an abscess in the spleen, a disorder not uncommon in that country, and frequently cured, agreeably to the *Arabian* practice, by the actual cautery. He was incessantly chewing pieces of the *Areca-nut* with shell-lime; a custom borrowed, I suppose, from the *Indians*, who greatly improve the composition with spices and betel-leaves, to which they formerly added camphor: all the natives of rank chewed it, but not, I think, to so great an excess. Prince *Sa’lim* from time to time gazed at himself with complacency in a piece of broken looking-glass, which was glued on a small board; a specimen of wretchedness, which we observed in no other house; but many circumstances convinced us, that the apparently low condition of his royal highness, who was not on bad terms with his father, and seemed not to want authority, proceeded wholly from avarice. His brother *Hamdullah*, who generally resides in the town of *Domoni*, has a very different character, being esteemed a man of worth, good sense, and learn-
ing: he had come, the day before, to Matsamaudo, on hearing that an English frigate was in the road; and I, having gone out for a few minutes to read an Arabick inscription, found him, on my return, devouring a manuscript, which I had left with some of the company. He is a Kadri, or Mohammedan judge; and, as he seemed to have more knowledge than his countrymen, I was extremely concerned, that I had so little conversation with him. The king, Shaikh Ahmed, has a younger son, named Abdullah, whose usual residence is in the town of Wani, which he seldom leaves, as the state of his health is very infirm. Since the succession to the title and authority of Sultän is not unalterably fixed in one line, but requires confirmation by the chiefs of the island, it is not improbable that they may hereafter be conferred on prince Hamdullah.

A little beyond the hole, in which Salim received us, was his haram, or the apartment of his women, which he permitted us all to see, not through politeness to strangers, as we believed at first, but, as I learned afterwards from his own lips, in expectation of a present; we saw only two or three miserable creatures with their heads covered, while the favourite, as we supposed, stood behind a coarse curtain, and showed her ankles under it loaded with silver
rings; which, if she was capable of reflection, she must have considered as glittering fetters rather than ornaments; but a rational being would have preferred the condition of a wild beast, exposed to perils and hunger in a forest, to the splendid misery of being wife or mistress to Sa'lim.

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

Early the next morning a black messenger, with a tawny lad as his interpreter, came from
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prince SA'lim; who, having broken his perspective-glass, wished to procure another by purchase or barter: a polite answer was returned, and steps taken to gratify his wishes. As we on our part expressed a desire to visit the king at Domoni, the prince's messenger told us, that his master would, no doubt, lend us palanquins (for there was not a horse in the island) and order a sufficient number of his vassals to carry us, whom we might pay for their trouble, as we thought just: we commissioned him, therefore, to ask that favour, and begged, that all might be ready for our excursion before sun-rise; that we might escape the heat of the noon, which, though it was the middle of winter, we had found excessive. The boy, whose name was Combo Madi, stayed with us longer than his companion: there was something in his look so ingenuous, and in his broken English so simple, that we encouraged him to continue his innocent prattle. He wrote and read Arabick tolerably well, and set down at my desire the names of several towns in the island, which, He first told me, was properly called Hinzuan. The fault of begging for whatever he liked, he had in common with the governor and other nobles; but hardly in a greater degree: his first petition for some lavender-water was readily granted; and a small bottle of it
was so acceptable to him, that, if we had suffered him, he would have kissed our feet; but it was not for himself that he rejoiced so extravagantly: he told us with tears starting from his eyes, that his mother would be pleased with it, and the idea of her pleasure seemed to fill him with rapture: never did I see filial affection more warmly felt or more tenderly and, in my opinion, unaffectedly expressed; yet this boy was not a favourite of the officers, who thought him artful. His mother's name, he said, was Fa'tima; and he importuned us to visit her; conceiving, I suppose, that all mankind must love and admire her: we promised to gratify him; and, having made him several presents, permitted him to return. As he reminded me of Aladdin in the Arabian tale, I designed to give him that name in a recommendatory letter, which he pressed me to write, instead of St. Domingo, as some European visitor had ridiculously called him; but, since the allusion would not have been generally known, and since the title of Allau'l'din, or Eminence in Faith, might have offended his superiors, I thought it advisable for him to keep his African name. A very indifferent dinner was prepared for us at the house of the Governor, whom we did not see the whole day, as it was the beginning of Ramadân, the Mohammedan lent, and
he was engaged in his devotions, or made them his excuse; but his eldest son sat by us, while we dined, together with Mu'sa, who was employed, jointly with his brother Husain, as purveyor to the Captain of the frigate.

Having observed a very elegant shrub, that grew about six feet high in the court-yard, but was not then in flower, I learned with pleasure, that it was binna, of which I had read so much in Arabian poems, and which European Botanists have ridiculously named Lawsonia: Mu'sa bruised some of the leaves, and, having moistened them with water, applied them to our nails, and the tips of our fingers, which in a short time became of a dark orange-scarlet. I had before conceived a different idea of this dye, and imagined, that it was used by the Arabs to imitate the natural redness of those parts in young and healthy persons, which in all countries must be considered as a beauty: perhaps a less quantity of binna, or the same differently prepared, might have produced that effect. The old men in Arabia used the same dye to conceal their grey hair, while their daughters were dying their lips and gums black, to set off the whiteness of their teeth: so universal in all nations and ages are personal vanity, and a love of disguising truth; though in all cases, the farther our species recede from nature,
the farther they depart from true beauty: and men at least should disdain to use artifice or deceit for any purpose or on any occasion; if the women of rank at Paris, or those in London who wish to imitate them, be inclined to call the Arabs barbarians; let them view their own head-dresses and cheeks in a glass, and, if they have left no room for blushes, be inwardly at least ashamed of their censure.

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

We received no answer from Sa'lim; nor, indeed, expected one; since we took for granted, that he could not but approve our intention of visiting his father; and we went on shore before sunrise, in full expectation of a pleasant excursion to Domoni: but we were happily disappointed. The servants, at the prince's door, told us coolly, that their master was indisposed, and, as they believed, asleep; that he had given them no orders concerning his palanquins, and that they durst not disturb him. Alwi soon came to pay us his compliments; and was followed by his eldest son, Ahmed, with whom we walked to the gardens of the two princes Sa'lim and HAMDULLAH; the situation was naturally good, but wild and desolate; and, in Sa'lim's garden, which we entered through a miserable hovel, we saw a convenient bathing-place, well-built with stone, but then in great disorder, and a shed, by way of summer-house, like that under which we dined at the governor's, but smaller and less neat. On the ground lay a kind of cradle about
fix feet long, and little more than one foot in breadth, made of cords twisted in a sort of clumsy network, with a long thick bambu fixed to each side of it: this, we heard with surprise, was a royal palanquin, and one of the vehicles, in which we were to have been rocked on men's shoulders over the mountains. I had much conversation with Ahmed, whom I found intelligent and communicative: he told me, that several of his countrymen composed songs and tunes; that he was himself a passionate lover of poetry and musick; and that, if we would dine at his house, he would play and sing to us. We declined his invitation to dinner; as we had made a conditional promise, if ever we passed a day at Matsamudo, to eat our curry with Banà Gibu, an honest man, of whom we purchased eggs and vegetables, and to whom some Englishman had given the title of lord, which made him extremely vain: we could, therefore, make Sayyad Ahmed only a morning visit. He sung a hymn or two in Arabick, and accompanied his drawling, though pathetick, psalmody with a kind of mandoline, which he touched with an awkward quill: the instrument was very imperfect, but seemed to give him delight. The names of the strings were written on it in Arabian or Indian figures, simple and compounded; but I could not think
them worth copying. He gave Captain William, who wished to present some literary curiosities to the library at Dublin, a small roll containing a hymn in Arabick letters, but in the language of Mombaza, which was mixed with Arabick; but it hardly deserved examination, since the study of languages has little intrinsic value, and is only useful as the instrument of real knowledge, which we can scarce expect from the poets of the Mozambique. Ahmed would, I believe, have heard our European airs (I always except French melody) with rapture, for his favourite tune was a common Irish jig, with which he seemed wonderfully affected.

On our return to the beach I thought of visiting old Alwi', according to my promise, and prince Salim, whose character I had not then discovered: I resolved for that purpose to stay on shore alone, our dinner with Gibu having been fixed at an early hour. Alwi' showed me his manuscripts, which chiefly related to the ceremonies and ordinances of his own religion; and one of them, which I had formerly seen in Europe, was a collection of sublime and elegant hymns in praise of Mohammed, with explanatory notes in the margin; I requested him to read one of them after the manner of the Arabs, and he chanted it in a strain by no means unpleas-
ing; but I am persuaded, that he understood it very imperfectly. The room, which was open to the street, was presently crowded with visitors, most of whom were Mufti's, or Expounders of the Law; and Alwi', desirous, perhaps, to display his zeal before them at the expense of good breeding, directed my attention to a passage in a commentary on the Korân, which I found levelled at the Chriftians. The commentator, having related with some additions (but, on the whole, not inaccurately) the circumstances of the temptation, puts this speech into the mouth of the tempter: "though I am unable to delude thee, yet I will mislead, by thy means, more human creatures, than thou wilt set right."

Nor was this menace vain (says the Mohamme
dan writer), for the inhabitants of a region many thousand leagues in extent are still so deluded by the devil, that they impiously call Isa the son of God: heaven preserve us, he adds, from blaspheming Chriftians as well as blaspheming Jews.' Although a religious dispute with those obstinate zealots would have been unseasonable and fruitless, yet they deserved, I thought, a slight reprehension, as the attack seemed to be concerted among them. 'The commentator, said I, was much to blame for passing so indiscriminate and hasty a censure: the title, which gave your legislator, and gives
'you, such offence, was often applied in Judea,
by a bold figure agreeable to the Hebrew
idiom, though unusual in Arabick, to angels,
to holy men, and even to all mankind, who are
commanded to call God their Father; and in
this large sense, the Apostle to the Romans calls
the elect the children of God, and the Mess-
siah the first-born among many brethren; but
the words only begotten are applied transcen-
dently and incomparably to him alone*; and,
as for me, who believe the scriptures, which
you also profess to believe, though you assert
without proof that we have altered them, I
cannot refuse him an appellation, though far
surpassing our reason, by which he is distin-
guished in the Gospel; and the believers in
Muhammed, who expressly names him the
Messiah, and pronounces him to have been
born of a virgin, which alone might fully jus-
tify the phrase condemned by this author, are
themselves condemnable for cavilling at words,
when they cannot object to the substance of
our faith consistently with their own.' The
Muselmans had nothing to say in reply; and
the conversation was changed.

I was astonished at the questions which Alwi'
put to me concerning the late peace and the inde-

* Rom. 8. 29. See 1 John 8. 1. II. Barrow, 231, 232, 251.
pendence of America; the several powers and resources of Britain and France, Spain and Holland; the character and supposed views of the Emperor; the comparative strength of the Russian, Imperial, and Ottoman armies, and their respective modes of bringing their forces to action: I answered him without reserve, except on the state of our possessions in India; nor were my answers lost; for I observed, that all the company were variously affected by them; generally with amazement, often with concern; especially when I described to them the great force and admirable discipline of the Austrian army, and the stupid prejudices of the Turks, whom nothing can induce to abandon their old Tartarian habits, and exposed the weakness of their empire in Africa, and even in the more distant provinces of Asia. In return he gave me clear, but general, information concerning the government and commerce of his island: "his country, he said, was poor, and produced few articles of trade; but, if they could get money, which they now preferred to playthings (those were his words), they might easily, he added, procure foreign commodities, and ex-change them advantageously with their neigh-bours in the islands and on the continent: thus with a little money, said he, we purchase muskets, powder, balls, cutlasses, knives,
cloths, raw cotton, and other articles brought from Bombay, and with those we trade to Madagascar for the natural produce of the country or for dollars, with which the French buy cattle, honey, butter, and so forth, in that island. With gold, which we receive from your ships, we can procure elephants' teeth from the natives of Mozambique, who barter them also for ammunition and bars of iron, and the Portuguezè in that country give us cloths of various kinds in exchange for our commodities: those cloths we dispose of lucrative in the three neighbouring islands; whence we bring rice, cattle, a kind of bread-fruit, which grows in Comara, and slaves, which we buy also at other places, to which we trade; and we carry on this traffic in our own vessels.

Here I could not help expressing my abhorrence of their slave-trade, and asked him by what law they claimed a property in rational beings; since our Creator had given our species a dominion, to be moderately exercised, over the beasts of the field and the fowls of the air, but none to man over man. "By no law, answered he, unless necessity be a law. There are nations in Madagascar and in Africa, who know neither God, nor his Prophet, nor Moses, nor David, nor the Messiah:
those nations are in perpetual war, and take
many captives; whom, if they could not sell,
they would certainly kill. Individuals among
them are in extreme poverty, and have num-
bers of children; who, if they cannot be dis-
posed of, must perish through hunger, togeth-
er with their miserable parents: by pur-
chasing these wretches, we preserve their lives,
and, perhaps, those of many others, whom
our money relieves. The sum of the argu-
ment is this: if we buy them, they will live:
if they become valuable servants, they will
live comfortably; but, if they are not sold,
they must die miserably." 'There may
be, said I, such cases; but you fallaciously
draw a general conclusion from a few parti-
cular instances; and this is the very fallacy,
which, on a thousand other occasions, deludes
mankind. It is not to be doubted, that a con-
stant and gainful traffic in human creatures
foments war, in which captives are always
made, and keeps up that perpetual enmity,
which you pretend to be the cause of a
practice in itself reprehensible, while in truth
it is its effect; the same traffic encourages la-
ziness in some parents, who might in general
support their families by proper industry, and
seduces others to stifle their natural feelings:
at most your redemption of those unhappy
children can amount only to a personal contract, implied between you, for gratitude and reasonable service on their part, for kindness and humanity on yours; but can you think your part performed by disposing of them against their wills with as much indifference, as if you were selling cattle; especially as they might become readers of the Korán, and pillars of your faith?” “The law, said he, forbids our selling them, when they are believers in the Prophet; and little children only are sold; nor they often, or by all masters.”

You, who believe in Muhammed, said I, are bound by the spirit and letter of his laws to take pains, that they also may believe in him; and, if you neglect so important a duty for sordid gain, I do not see how you can hope for prosperity in this world, or for happiness in the next.” My old friend and the Mufti’s assented, and muttered a few prayers; but probably forgot my preaching, before many minutes had passed.

So much time had slipped away in this conversation, that I could make but a short visit to prince Salim; and my view in visiting him was to fix the time of our journey to Domeini as early as possible on the next morning. His appearance was more savage than ever; and I found him in a disposition to complain bitterly
of the English: "No acknowledgement, he said, had been made for the kind attentions of himself and the chief men in his country to the officers and people of the Brilliant, though a whole year had elapsed since the wreck." I really wondered at the forgetfulness, to which alone such a neglect could be imputed; and assured him, that I would express my opinion both in Bengal and in letters to England. "We have little, said he, to hope from letters; for, when we have been paid with them, instead of money, and have shown them on board your ships, we have commonly been treated with disdain, and often with imprecations." I assured him, that either those letters must have been written coldly and by very obscure persons, or shown to very ill-bred men, of whom there were too many in all nations; but that a few instances of rudeness ought not to give him a general prejudice against our national character. "But you, said he, are a wealthy nation; and we are indigent: yet, though all our groves of cocoa-trees, our fruits, and our cattle, are ever at your service, you always try to make hard bargains with us for what you chuse to dispose of, and frequently will neither sell nor give those things, which we principally want." "To form, said I, a just opinion of Englishmen, you must visit us in our
"own island, or at least in India; here we are
"strangers and travellers: many of us have no
"design to trade in any country, and none of
"us think of trading in Hinzuan, where we stop
"only for refreshment. The clothes, arms, or
"instruments, which you may want, are com-
"monly necessary or convenient to us; but, if
"Sayyad Alwi' or his sons were to be strangers
"in our country you would have no reason to
"boast of superior hospitality." He then showed
me, a second time, a part of an old silk vest
with the star of the order of the Thistle, and
begged me to explain the motto: expressing a
wish, that the order might be conferred on him
by the King of England in return for his good
offices to the English. I represented to him the
impossibility of his being gratified, and took oc-
casion to say, that there was more true dignity
in their own native titles, than in those of prince,
duke, and lord, which had been idly given them,
but had no conformity to their manners or the
constitution of their government.

This conversation being agreeable to neither
of us, I changed it by desiring, that the palan-
quins and bearers might be ready next morn-
ing as early as possible: he answered, that his
palanquins were at our service for nothing, but
that we must pay him ten dollars for each set of
bearers; that it was the stated price; and that
Mr. Hastings had paid it, when he went to visit the king. This, as I learned afterwards, was false; but, in all events, I knew, that he would keep the dollars himself, and give nothing to the bearers, who deserved them better, and whom he would compel to leave their cottages, and toil for his profit. "Can you imagine, I replied, that we would employ four and twenty men to bear us so far on their shoulders without rewarding them amply? But since they are free men (so he had assured me) and not your slaves, we will pay them in proportion to their diligence and good behaviour; and it becomes neither your dignity nor ours to make a previous bargain." I showed him an elegant copy of the Koran, which I destined for his father, and described the rest of my present; but he coldly asked, "if that was all:" had he been king, a purse of dry dollars would have given him more pleasure than the finest or holiest manuscript. Finding him, in conversing on a variety of subjects, utterly void of intelligence or principle, I took my leave, and saw him no more; but promised to let him know for certain whether we should make our intended excursion.

We dined in tolerable comfort, and had occasion, in the course of the day, to observe the manners of the natives in the middle rank, who
are called Bānas, and all of whom have slaves constantly at work for them: we visited the
mother of Comboma’di, who seemed in a station but little raised above indigence; and her
husband, who was a mariner, bartered an Arabick treatise on astronomy and navigation, which
he had read, for a sea compass, of which he well knew the use.

In the morning I had conversed with two very old Arabs of Yemen, who had brought some
articles of trade to Hinzuan; and in the afternoon I met another, who had come from Maskat (where at that time there was a civil war) to purchase, if he could, an hundred stand of arms. I told them all that I loved their nation, and they returned my compliments with great warmth; especially the two old men, who were near fourscore, and reminded me of Zohaír and Ha’reth.

So bad an account had been given me of the road over the mountains, that I dissuaded my companions from thinking of the journey, to which the Captain became rather disinclined; but, as I wished to be fully acquainted with a country, which I might never see again, I wrote the next day to Salim, requesting him to lend me one palanquin, and to order a sufficient number of men: he sent me no written answer; which I ascribe rather to his incapacity than to
rudeness; but the Governor, with Alwi and two of his sons, came on board in the evening, and said, that they had seen my letter; that all should be ready; but that I could not pay less for the men than ten dollars. I said I would pay more, but it should be to the men themselves, according to their behaviour. They returned somewhat dissatisfied, after I had played at chess with Alwi's younger son, in whose manner and address there was something remarkably pleasing.

Before sunrise on the 2d of August I went alone on shore, with a small basket of such provisions, as I might want in the course of the day, and with some cushions to make the prince's palanquin at least a tolerable vehicle; but the prince was resolved to receive the dollars, to which his men were entitled; and he knew, that, as I was eager for the journey, he could prescribe his own terms. Old Alwi met me on the beach, and brought excuses from Salim; who, he said, was indisposed. He conducted me to his house; and seemed rather desirous of persuading me to abandon my design of visiting the king; but I assured him, that, if the prince would not supply me with proper attendants, I would walk to Domoni with my own servants and a guide. 'Shaikh Salim, he said, 'was miserably avaricious; that he was ashamed
of a kinsman with such a disposition; but that
he was no less obstinate than covetous; and
that, without ten dollars paid in hand, it
would be impossible to procure bearers.' I
then gave him three guineas, which he carried,
or pretended to carry, to Sa'lim, but returned
without the change, alledging that he had no
silver, and promising to give me on my return
the few dollars that remained. In about an
hour the ridiculous vehicle was brought by nine
sturdy blacks, who could not speak a word of
Arabick; so that I expected no information
concerning the country, through which I was
to travel; but Alwi' assisted me in a point of
the utmost consequence. 'You cannot go, said
he, without an interpreter; for the king speaks
only the language of this island; but I have a
servant, whose name is Tumu'ni, a sensible
and worthy man, who understands English, and
is much esteemed by the king: he is known
and valued all over Hinzu'an. This man shall
attend you; and you will soon be sensible of
his worth.'

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

About five miles from Matsamudo lies the town of Wani, where Shaikh Abdullah, who has already been mentioned, usually resides: I saw it at a distance, and it seemed to be agreeably situated. When I had passed the rocky part of the road, I came to a stony beach, where the sea appeared to have lost some ground, since there was a fine sand to the left, and beyond it a beautiful bay, which resembled that of Weymouth, and seemed equally convenient for bathing; but it did not appear to me, that the stones, over which I was carried, had been recently covered with water. Here I saw the frigate, and, taking leave of it for two days, turned from the coast into a fine country very neatly cultivated, and consisting partly of hillocks exquisitely green, partly of plains, which were then in a gaudy dress of rich yellow blossoms; my guide informed me, that they were plantations of a kind of vetch, which was eaten
by the natives. Cottages and farms were interspersed all over this gay champaign, and the whole scene was delightful; but it was soon changed for beauties of a different sort. We descended into a cool valley, through which ran a rivulet of perfectly clear water; and there, finding my vehicle uneasy, though from the laughter and merriment of my bearers I concluded them to be quite at their ease, I bade them set me down, and walked before them all the rest of the way. Mountains, clothed with fine trees and flowering shrubs, presented themselves on our ascent from the vale; and we proceeded for half an hour through pleasant woodwalks, where I regretted the impossibility of loitering a while to examine the variety of new blossoms, which succeeded one another at every step, and the virtues, as well as names, of which seemed familiar to Tumuni. At length we descended into a valley of greater extent than the former; a river or large wintry torrent ran through it, and fell down a steep declivity at the end of it, where it seemed to be lost among rocks. Cattle were grazing on the banks of the river, and the huts of their owners appeared on the hills: a more agreeable spot I had not before seen even in Switzerland or Merionethshire; but it was followed by an assemblage of natural beauties, which I hardly expected to find in a
little island twelve degrees to the south of the Line. I was not sufficiently pleased with my solitary journey to discover charms, which had no actual existence, and the first effect of the contrast between St. Jago and Hinzuán had ceased; but, without any disposition to give the landscape a high colouring, I may truly say, what I thought at the time, that the whole country, which next presented itself, as far surpassed Emeronville or Blenheim, or any other imitations of nature, which I had seen in France or England, as the finest bay surpasses an artificial piece of water. Two very high mountains, covered to the summit with the richest verdure, were at some distance on my right hand, and separated from me by meadows diversified with cottages and herds, or by valleys resounding with torrents and water-falls; on my left was the sea, to which there were beautiful openings from the hills and woods; and the road was a smooth path, naturally winding through a forest of spicy shrubs, fruit-trees, and palms. Some high trees were spangled with white blossoms equal in fragrance to orange-flowers: my guide called them Monongo's, but the day was declining so fast, that it was impossible to examine them: the variety of fruits, flowers, and birds, of which I had a transient view in this magnificent garden, would have supplied a naturalist
with amusement for a month; but I saw no remarkable insect, and no reptile of any kind. The woodland was diversified by a few pleasant glades, and new prospects were continually opened: at length a noble view of the sea burst upon me unexpectedly; and, having passed a hill or two, we came to the beach, beyond which were several hills and cottages. We turned from the shore; and, on the next eminence, I saw the town of Domôni at a little distance below us: I was met by a number of natives, a few of whom spoke Arabick, and thinking it a convenient place for repose, I sent my guide to apprise the king of my intended visit. He returned in half an hour with a polite message; and I walked into the town, which seemed large and populous. A great crowd accompanied me, and I was conducted to a house built on the same plan with the best houses at Matsamúdo: in the middle of the court-yard stood a large Monongo-tree, which perfumed the air; the apartment on the left was empty; and, in that on the right, sat the king on a sofa or bench covered with an ordinary carpet. He rose, when I entered, and, grasping my hands, placed me near him on the right; but, as he could speak only the language of Hinzuán, I had recourse to my friend Tumu'ní, than whom a readier or more accurate interpreter could not
have been found. I presented the king with a very handsome Indian dress of blue silk with golden flowers, which had been worn only once at a masquerade, and with a beautiful copy of the Koran, from which I read a few verses to him: he took them with great complacency, and said, "he wished I had come by sea, that he might have loaded one of my boats with fruit and with some of his finest cattle. He had seen me, he said, on board the frigate, where he had been, according to his custom, in disguise, and had heard of me from his son Shaikb Hamdullah." I gave him an account of my journey, and extolled the beauties of his country: he put many questions concerning mine, and professed great regard for our nation. "But I hear, said he, that you are a magistrate, and consequently profess peace: why are you armed with a broad sword?" "I was a man, I said, before I was a magistrate; and, if it should ever happen, that law could not protect me, I must protect myself." He seemed about sixty years old, had a very cheerful countenance, and great appearance of good nature mixed with a certain dignity, which distinguished him from the crowd of ministers and officers, who attended him. Our conversation was interrupted by notice, that it was the time for evening prayers; and, when he rose, he
said: "this house is yours, and I will visit you " in it, after you have taken some refreshment." Soon after, his servants brought a roast fowl, a rice-pudding, and some other dishes, with pa-

payas, and very good pomegranates: my own basket supplied the rest of my supper. The room was hung with old red cloth, and deco-

rated with pieces of porcelain and festoons of English bottles; the lamps were placed on the ground in large sea-shells; and the bed place was a recess, concealed by a chintz hanging, opposite to the sofa, on which we had been sit-

ting: though it was not a place that invited re-

go, and the gnats were inexpressibly trouble-

some, yet the fatigue of the day procured me very comfortable slumber. I was waked by the return of the king and his train; some of whom were Arabs; for I heard one of them say buwa rākid, or be is sleeping: there was immediate silence, and I passed the night with little dis-

turbance, except from the unwelcome songs of the mosquitos. In the morning all was equally silent and solitary; the house appeared to be deserted; and I began to wonder what had be-

come of Tumû'ni: he came at length with concern on his countenance, and told me, that the bearers had run away in the night; but that the king, who wished to see me in another of his houses, would supply me with bearers if he
could not prevail on me to stay, till a boat could be sent for. I went immediately to the king, whom I found sitting on a raised sofa in a large room, the walls of which were adorned with sentences from the Koran in very legible characters: about fifty of his subjects were seated on the ground in a semicircle before him; and my interpreter took his place in the midst of them. The good old king laughed heartily, when he heard the adventure of the night, and said: "you will now be my guest for a week, "I hope; but seriously if you must return soon, "I will send into the country for some peasants "to carry you." He then apologized for the behaviour of Sbaikh Salim, which he had heard from Tumu'ni, who told me afterwards, that he was much displeased with it, and would not fail to express his displeasure: he concluded with a long harangue on the advantage, which the English might derive, from sending a ship every year from Bombay to trade with his subjects, and on the wonderful cheapness of their commodities, especially of their cowries. Ridiculous as this idea might seem, it showed an enlargement of mind, a desire of promoting the interest of his people, and a sense of the benefits arising from trade, which could hardly have been expected from a petty African chief, and which, if he had been sovereign of Yemen,
might have been expanded into rational projects proportioned to the extent of his dominions. I answered, that I was imperfectly acquainted with the commerce of India; but that I would report the substance of his conversation, and would ever bear testimony to his noble zeal for the good of his country, and to the mildness with which he governed it. As I had no inclination to pass a second night in the island, I requested leave to return without waiting for bearers: he seemed very sincere in pressing me to lengthen my visit, but had too much Arabian politeness to be importunate. We, therefore, parted; and, at the request of Tumun, who assured me that little time would be lost in showing attention to one of the worthiest men in Hinzuan, I made a visit to the Governor of the town, whose name was Mutekka; his manners were very pleasing, and he showed me some letters from the officers of the Brilliant, which appeared to flow warm from the heart, and contained the strongest eulogies of his courtesy and liberality. He insisted on filling my basket with some of the finest pomegranates I had ever seen; and I left the town, impressed with a very favourable opinion of the king and his governor. When I reascended the hill, attended by many of the natives, one of them told me in Arabick, that I was going to receive the highest mark of
distinction, that it was in the king's power to show me; and he had scarce ended, when I heard the report of a single gun: Shaikh Ahmed had saluted me with the whole of his ordnance. I waved my hat, and said Allar Achar: the people shouted, and I continued my journey, not without fear of inconvenience from excessive heat and the fatigue of climbing rocks. The walk, however, was not on the whole unpleasant; I sometimes rested in the valleys, and forded all the rivulets, which refreshed me with their coolness, and supplied me with exquisite water to mix with the juice of my pomegranates, and occasionally with brandy. We were overtaken by some peasants, who came from the hills by a nearer way, and brought the king's present of a cow with her calf, and a she-goat with two kids: they had apparently been selected for their beauty, and were brought safe to Bengal. The prospects, which had so greatly delighted me the preceding day, had not yet lost their charms, though they wanted the recommendation of novelty: but I must confess, that the most delightful object in that day's walk of near ten miles was the black frigate, which I discerned at sunset from a rock near the Prince's Gardens. Close to the town I was met by a native, who perceiving me to be weary, opened a fine cocoa-nut, which afforded me a delicious
draught: he informed me, that one of his countrymen had been punished that afternoon for a theft on board the *Crocodile*, and added, that, in his opinion, the punishment was no less just, than the offence was disgraceful to his country. The offender, as I afterwards learned, was a youth of a good family, who had married a daughter of old Alwi; but, being left alone for a moment in the cabin, and seeing a pair of blue morocco slippers, could not resist the temptation, and concealed them so ill under his gown, that he was detected with the mainer.

This proves, that no principle of honour is instilled by education into the gentry of this island: even Alwi, when he had observed, that, "in the month of Ramadán, it was not "lawful to paint with *binna* or to *tell lies*," and when I asked, whether both were lawful all the rest of the year, answered, that "lies were in-"nocent, if no man was injured by them."

*Tumu'ni* took his leave, as well satisfied as myself with our excursion: I told him, before his master, that I transferred also to him the dollars, which were due to me out of the three guineas; and that, if ever they should part, I should be very glad to receive him into my service in *India*. Mr. *Roberts*, the master of the ship, had passed the day with *Sayyad Ahmed*, and had learned from him a few curious cir-
cumstances concerning the government of Hin-
zuån; which he found to be a monarchy li-
mited by an aristocracy. The king, he was
told, had no power of making war by his own
authority; but, if the assembly of nobles, who
were from time to time convened by him, re-
solved on a war with any of the neighbouring
islands, they defrayed the charges of it by vo-
luntary contributions, in return for which they
claimed as their own all the booty and captives,
that might be taken. The hope of gain or the
want of slaves is usually the real motive for
such enterprises, and obvious pretenses are
easily found: at that very time, he understood,
they meditated a war, because they wanted
hands for the following harvest. Their fleet
consisted of sixteen or seventeen small vessels,
which they manned with about two thousand
five hundred islanders armed with muskets and
cutlasses, or with bows and arrows. Near two
years before they had possessed themselves of
two towns in Mayâta, which they still kept and
garrisoned. The ordinary expenses of the go-

dernment were defrayed by a tax from two
hundred villages; but the three principal towns
were exempt from all taxes, except that they
paid annually to the Chief Musîî a fortieth part
of the value of all their moveable property, and
from that payment neither the king nor the no-
bles claimed an exemption. The kingly authority, by the principles of their constitution, was considered as elective, though the line of succession had not in fact been altered since the first election of a Sultan. He was informed, that a wandering Arab, who had settled in the island, had, by his intrepidity in several wars, acquired the rank of a chieftain, and afterwards of a king with limited powers; and that he was the Grandfather of Shaikb Ahmed: I had been assured that Queen Halimah was his Grandmother; and, that he was the sixth king; but it must be remarked, that the words jedd and jeddah in Arabick are used for a male and female ancestor indefinitely; and, without a correct pedigree of Ahmed’s family, which I expected to procure but was disappointed, it would scarce be possible to ascertain the time, when his forefather obtained the highest rank in the government. In the year 1600 Captain John Davis, who wrote an account of his voyage, found Mayata governed by a king, and Ansuaoue, or Hinzuan, by a queen, who showed him great marks of friendship: he anchored before the town of Demos (does he mean Domoni?) which was as large, he says, as Plymouth; and he concludes from the ruins around it, that it had once been a place of strength and grandeur. I can only say, that I observed no
such ruins. Fifteen years after, Captain Peyton and Sir Thomas Roe touched at the Comara islands, and from their several accounts it appears, that an old sultaness then resided in Hinzuán, but had a dominion paramount over all the isles, three of her sons governing Mobila in her name: if this be true, Sohaili' and the successors of Hali'mah must have lost their influence over the other islands; and, by renewing their dormant claim as it suits their convenience, they may always be furnished with a pretence for hostilities. Five generations of eldest sons would account for an hundred and seventy of the years, which have elapsed, since Davis and Peyton found Hinzuán ruled by a sultaness; and Ahmed was of such an age, that his reign may be reckoned equal to a generation: it is probable, on the whole, that Hali'mah was the widow of the first Arabian king, and that her mosque has been continued in repair by his descendants; so that we may reasonably suppose two centuries to have passed, since a single Arab had the courage and address to establish in that beautiful island a form of government, which, though bad enough in itself, appears to have been administered with advantage to the original inhabitants. We have lately heard of civil commotions in Hinzuán, which, we may venture to pronounce, were not excited
by any cruelty or violence of Ahmed, but were probably occasioned by the insolence of an oligarchy, naturally hostile to king and people. That the mountains in the Comara islands contain diamonds, and the precious metals, which are studiously concealed by the policy of the several governments, may be true, though I have no reason to believe it, and have only heard it asserted without evidence; but I hope, that neither an expectation of such treasures, nor of any other advantage, will ever induce an European power to violate the first principles of justice by assuming the sovereignty of Hinzuàn, which cannot answer a better purpose than that of supplying our fleets with reasonable refreshment; and, although the natives have an interest in receiving us with apparent cordiality, yet, if we wish their attachment to be unseigned and their dealings just, we must set them an example of strict honesty in the performance of our engagements. In truth our nation is not cordially loved by the inhabitants of Hinzuàn, who, as it commonly happens, form a general opinion from a few instances of violence or breach of faith. Not many years ago an European, who had been hospitably received and liberally supported at Matsamúdo, behaved rudely to a young married woman, who, being of low degree, was walking veiled through a street in
the evening: her husband ran to protect her, and resented the rudeness, probably with menaces, possibly with actual force; and the European is said to have given him a mortal wound with a knife or bayonet, which he brought, after the scuffle, from his lodging. This foul murder, which the law of nature would have justified the magistrate in punishing with death, was reported to the king, who told the governor (I use the very words of Alwi) that "it would be wiser to hush it up." Alwi mentioned a civil case of his own, which ought not to be concealed. When he was on the coast of Africa in the dominions of a very savage prince, a small European vessel was wrecked; and the prince not only seized all that could be saved from the wreck, but claimed the captain and the crew as his slaves, and treated them with ferocious insolence. Alwi assured me, that, when he heard of the accident, he hastened to the prince, fell prostrate before him, and by tears and importunity prevailed on him to give the Europeans their liberty; that he supported them at his own expense, enabled them to build another vessel, in which they sailed to Hinzuan, and departed thence for Europe or India: he showed me the Captain's promissory notes for sums, which to an African trader must be a considerable object, but which were no price for
liberty, safety, and, perhaps, life, which his good, though disinterested, offices had procured. I lamented, that, in my situation, it was wholly out of my power to assist Alwi in obtaining justice; but he urged me to deliver an Arabick letter from him, enclosing the notes, to the Governor General, who, as he said, knew him well; and I complied with his request. Since it is possible, that a substantial defence may be made by the person thus accused of injustice, I will not name either him or the vessel, which he had commanded; but, if he be living, and if this paper should fall into his hands, he may be induced to reflect how highly it imports our national honour, that a people, whom we call savage, but who administer to our convenience, may have no just cause to reproach us with a violation of our contracts.
A CONVERSATION

WITH

ABRAM, AN ABYSSINIAN,

CONCERNING

THE CITY OF GWENDER AND THE SOURCES OF THE NILE.

BY

THE PRESIDENT.

HAVING been informed, that a native of Abyssinia was in Calcutta, who spoke Arabick with tolerable fluency, I sent for and examined him attentively on several subjects, with which he seemed likely to be acquainted: his answers were so simple and precise, and his whole demeanour so remote from any suspicion of falsehood, that I made a minute of his examination, which may not perhaps be unacceptable to the Society. Gwender, which Bernier had long ago pronounced a Capital City, though Ludolf asserted it to be only a Military Station, and conjectured, that in a few years it would wholly disappear, is certainly, according to Abram, the Metropolis of Abyssinia. He says, that it is
nearly as large and as populous as Misr or Kábera, which he saw on his pilgrimage to Jerusalém; that it lies between two broad and deep rivers, named Cuba and Ancrih, both which flow into the Nile at the distance of about fifteen days' journey; that all the walls of the houses are of a red stone, and the roofs of thatch; that the streets are like those of Calcutta, but that the ways, by which the king passes, are very spacious; that the palace, which has a plastered roof, resembles a fortress, and stands in the heart of the City; that the markets of the town abound in pulse, and have also wheat and barley, but no rice; that sheep and goats are in plenty among them, and that the inhabitants are extremely fond of milk, cheese, and whey, but that the country people and soldiery make no scruple of drinking the blood and eating the raw flesh of an ox, which they cut without caring whether he is dead or alive; that this savage diet is, however, by no means general. Almonds, he says, and dates are not found in his country, but grapes and peaches ripen there, and in some of the distant provinces, especially at Cárudár, wine is made in abundance; but a kind of mead is the common inebriating liquor of the Abyssinians. The late King was Tilca Mahút (the first of which words means root or origin), and the present, his bro-
ther Tilca Jerjis. He represents the royal forces at Gwender as considerable, and asserts, perhaps at random, that near forty thousand horse are in that station; the troops are armed, he says, with muskets, lances, bows and arrows, cimeters and hangers. The council of state consists, by his account, of about forty Ministers, to whom almost all the executive part of government is committed. He was once in the service of a Vazir, in whose train he went to see the fountains of the Nile or Abey, usually called Alwey, about eight days' journey from Gwender: he saw three springs, one of which rises from the ground with a great noise, that may be heard at the distance of five or six miles. I showed him the description of the Nile by Gregory of Ambara, which Ludolf has printed in Ethiopick: he both read and explained it with great facility; whilst I compared his explanation with the Latin version, and found it perfectly exact. He asserted of his own accord, that the description was conformable to all that he had seen and heard in Ethiopia; and, for that reason, I annex it. When I interrogated him on the languages and learning of his country, he answered, that six or seven tongues at least were spoken there; that the most elegant idiom, which the King used, was the Ambarick; that the Ethiopick contained, as
it is well known, many *Arabick* words; that, besides their sacred books, as the prophecy of Enoch, and others, they had histories of *Abyssinia* and various literary compositions; that their language was taught in schools and colleges, of which there were several in the *Metropolis*. He said, that no Abyssinian doubted the existence of the royal prison called *Wabinin*, situated on a very lofty mountain, in which the sons and daughters of their Kings were confined; but that, from the nature of the thing, a particular description of it could not be obtained. "All these matters, said he, are explained, I suppose, in the writings of *Ya'ku'B*, whom I saw thirteen years ago in *Gwender*:

"He was a physician, and had attended the King's brother, who was also a *Vazir*, in his last illness: the prince died; yet the king loved *Ya'ku'B*, and, indeed, all the court and people loved him: the king received him in his palace as a guest, supplied him with every thing, that he could want; and, when he went to see the sources of the *Nile* and other curiosities (for he was extremely curious), he received every possible assistance and accommodation from the royal favour: he understood the languages, and wrote and collected many books, which he carried with him." It was impossible for me to doubt, especially
when he described the person of Yā'ku'B, that he meant James Bruce, Esq. who travelled in the dress of a Syrian physician, and probably assumed with judgement a name well known in Yemenia: he is still revered on Mount Sinai for his sagacity in discovering a spring, of which the monastery was in great need; he was known at Jedda by Mr. Mohammed Hussain, one of the most intelligent Mahommedans in India: and I have seen him mentioned with great regard in a letter from an Arabian merchant at Mokhā. It is probable, that he entered Yemenia by the way of Musuwrawa, a town in the possession of the Muselmans, and returned through the desert mentioned by Gregory in his description of the Nile. We may hope, that Mr. Bruce will publish an account of his interesting travels, with a version of the book of Enoch, which no man but himself can give us with fidelity. By the help of Yemenian records, great light may be thrown on the history of Yemen before the time of Mohammed, since it is generally known, that four Ethiop kings successively reigned in that country, having been invited over by the natives to oppose the tyrant Dhu' Nawas, and that they were in their turn expelled by the arms of the Himyarick princes with the aid of Anushirvan king of Persia, who did not fail, as it usually happens,
to keep in subjection the people, whom he had consented to relieve. If the annals of this period can be restored, it must be through the histories of Abyssinia, which will also correct the many errors of the best Asiatick writers on the Nile, and the countries which its fertilises.
THE COURSE OF THE NILE.

THE Nile, which the Abyssinians know by the names of Abéy and Alawy, or the Giant, gushes from several springs at a place, called Sucút, lying on the highest part of Dengalá near Gojjám, to the west of Bajemdir, and the lake of Dara or Wed; into which it runs with so strong and rapid a current, that it mixes not with the other waters, but rides or swims, as it were, above them.

All the rains, that fall in Abyssinia and descend in torrents from the hills, all streams and rivers, small and great, except the Hanázó, which washes the plains of Hengót, and the Ha-
wañb which flows by Dewár and Fetgár, are collected by this king of waters, and, like vassals, attend his march: thus enforced he rushes, like a hero exulting in his strength, and hastens to fertilise the land of Egypt, on which no rain falls. We must except also those Ethiopcean rivers, which rise in countries bordering on the ocean, as the kingdoms of Cambát, Gurújy,
Wáfy, Náriyah, Gáfy, Wej, and Zinjiro, whose waters are disembogued into the sea.

When the Alawy has passed the Lake, it proceeds between Gojjám and Bajemdir, and, leaving them to the west and east, pursues a direct course towards Ambárá, the skirts of which it bathes, and then turns again to the west, touching the borders of Walaka; whence it rolls along Múgár and Shawai, and, passing Bazáwá and Góngá, descends into the lowlands of Shánkila, the country of the Blacks: thus it forms a sort of spiral round the province of Gojjám, which it keeps for the most part on its right.

Here it bends a little to the east, from which quarter, before it reaches the districts of Sennár, it receives two large rivers, one called Tacaxxy, which runs from Tegri, and the other, Gwangue, which comes from Dembelá.

After it has visited Sennár, it washes the land of Dongolá, and proceeds thence to Nubia, where it again turns eastward, and reaches a country named Abris, where no vessels can be navigated, by reason of the rocks and crags, which obstruct the channel. The inhabitants of Sennár and Nubia may constantly drink of its water, which lies to the east of them like a strong bulwark; but the merchants of Abyssinia, who travel to Egypt, leave the Nile on their right, as soon as they have passed Nubia, and
are obliged to traverse a desert of sand and gravel, in which for fifteen days they find neither wood nor water; they meet it again in the country of Reif or Upper Egypt, where they find boats on the river, or ride on its banks, refreshing themselves with its salutary streams.

It is asserted by some travellers, that, when the Alawy has passed Sennár and Dongolá, but before it enters Nubia, it divides itself; that the great body of water flows entire into Egypt, where the smaller branch (the Niger) runs westward, not so as to reach Barbary, but towards the country of Alwáb, whence it rushes into the great sea. The truth of this fact I have verified, partly by my own observation, and partly by my inquiries among intelligent men; whose answers seemed the more credible, because, if so prodigious a mass of water were to roll over Egypt with all its wintry increase, not the land only, but the houses, and towns, of the Egyptians must be overflowed.
ON

THE INDIAN GAME OF CHESS.

BY

THE PRESIDENT.

If evidence be required to prove that chess was invented by the Hindus, we may be satisfied with the testimony of the Persians; who, though as much inclined as other nations to appropriate the ingenious inventions of a foreign people, unanimously agree, that the game was imported from the west of India, together with the charming fables of Vishnusarman, in the sixth century of our era: it seems to have been immemorially known in Hindustan by the name of Chaturanga, that is, the four anga’s, or members, of an army, which are said in the Amarakosha to be bashyas’warat’bapadatam, or elephants, horses, chariots, and foot-soldiers; and, in this sense, the word is frequently used by Epick poets in their descriptions of real armies. By a natural corruption of the pure Sanscrit word, it was changed by the old Persians into Chaturang, but the Arabs, who soon after took possession of their country, had neither the initial nor final
letter of that word in their alphabet, and consequently altered it further into *Shatranj*, which found its way presently into the modern *Persian*, and at length into the dialects of *India*, where the true derivation of the name is known only to the learned: thus has a very significant word in the sacred language of the *Brāhmans* been transformed by successive changes into *axedrez*, *scacchi*, *échecs*, *cheff*, and, by a whimsical concurrence of circumstances, given birth to the *English* work *check*, and even a name to the *Exchequer* of *Great Britain*. The beautiful simplicity and extreme perfection of the game, as it is commonly played in *Europe* and *Asia*, convince me, that it was invented by one effort of some great genius; not completed by gradual improvements, but formed, to use the phrase of *Italian* criticks, *by the first intention*; yet of this simple game, so exquisitely contrived, and so certainly invented in *India*, I cannot find any account in the classical writings of the *Brāhmans*. It is, indeed, confidently asserted, that *Sanskrit* books on *Chess* exist in this country, and, if they can be procured at *Banāres*, they will assuredly be sent to us: at present I can only exhibit a description of a very ancient *Indian* game of the same kind; but more complex, and, in my opinion, more modern, than the simple *Chess* of the *Persians*. This game is
also called Chaturanga, but more frequently Chaturājī, or the four Kings, since it is played by four persons representing as many princes, two allied armies combating on each side: the description is taken from the Bhawishya Purāṇ, in which Yudhisht'hir is represented conversing with Vyāsa, who explains at the king's request the form of the fictitious warfare and the principal rules of it: "having marked "eight" squares on all sides, says the Sage, place "the red army to the east, the green to the "south, the yellow to the west, and the black to "the north: let the elephant stand on the left of "the king; next to him, the horse; then, the "boat; and, before them all, four foot-soldiers; "but the boat must be placed in the angle of "the board." From this passage it clearly appears, that an army, with its four anga's, must be placed on each side of the board, since an elephant could not stand, in any other position, on the left hand of each king; and Ra'dha- ca'nt informed me, that the board consisted, like ours, of sixty-four squares, half of them occupied by the forces, and half, vacant: he added, that this game is mentioned in the oldest law-books, and that it was invented by the wife of Ra'van, king of Lanka, in order to amuse him with an image of war, while his metropolis was closely besieged by Ra'ma in the second
age of the world. He had not heard the story
told by Firdausi near the close of the Shâh-
nâmâh, and it was probably carried into Persia
from Cunyacvija by Borzu, the favourite phy-
sician, thence called Vaidyapriya, of the great
Anushiravân; but he said, that the Brâh-
mans of Gaur, or Bengal, were once celebrated
for superior skill in the game, and that his fa-
ther, together with his spiritual preceptor Ja-
ganâ'th, now living at Tribeni, had in-
structed two young Brâhmans in all the rules of
it, and had sent them to Jayanagar at the re-
quest of the late Râjâ, who had liberally re-
warded them. A sip, or boat, is substituted,
we see, in this complex game for the rat'b, or
armed chariot, which the Bengalese pronounce
rot'b, and which the Persians changed into rokh,
whence came the rook of some European nations;
as the vierge and fol of the French are supposed
to be corruptions ofёрz and fil, the prime mi-
nister and elephant of the Persians and Arabs:
it were vain to seek an etymology of the word
rook in the modern Persian language; for, in
all the passages extracted from Firdausi and
Ja'ami, where rokh is conceived to mean a bero,
or a fabulous bird, it signifies, I believe, no more
than a cheek or a face; as in the following de-
scription of a procession in Egypt: "when a
thousand youths, like cypresses, box-trees, and
GAME OF CHESS.

“firs, with locks as fragrant, cheeks as fair, and
“bosoms as delicate, as lilies of the valley, were
“marching gracefully along, thou wouldst have
“said, that the new spring was turning his face
“(not, as Hyde translates the words, carried on
“rokhs) from station to station;” and, as to
the battle of the duwázdéb rokh, which D’Her-
belot supposes to mean douxe preux chevaliers,
I am strongly inclined to think, that the phrase
only signifies a combat of twelve persons face to
face, or six on a side. I cannot agree with my
friend Ra’dhá’cánt, that a sbip is properly
introduced in this imaginary warfare instead of
a chariot, in which the old Indian warriours
constantly fought; for, though the king might
be supposed to fit in a car, so that the four
anga’s would be complete, and though it may
often be necessary in a real campaign to pass
rivers or lakes, yet no river is marked on the
Indian, as it is on the Chinese, chefs-board, and
the internixture of ships with horses, elephants,
and infantry embattled on a plain, is an ab-
furdity not to be defended. The use of dice
may, perhaps, be justified in a representation of
war, in which fortune has unquestionably a
great share, but it seems to exclude chefs from
the rank, which has been assigned to it, among
the sciences, and to give the game before us the
appearance of whist, except that pieces are used
 openly, instead of cards which are held concealed: nevertheless we find, that the moves in the game described by VYaSa were to a certain degree regulated by chance; for he proceeds to tell his royal pupil, that, "if cinque be " thrown, the king or a pawn must be moved; "if quatre, the elephant; if trois, the horse; and "if deux, the boat."

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

The bard next exhibits a few general rules and superficial directions for the conduct of the game: "the pawns and the ship both kill and " may be voluntarily killed; while the king, the " elephant, and the horse may slay the foe, but " cannot expose themselves to be slain. Let
each player preserve his own forces with ex-
treme care, securing his king above all, and
not sacrificing a superior, to keep an inferior,
piece.” Here the commentator on the Purāṇ
observes, that, the horse, who has the choice of
eight moves from any central position, must be
preferred to the bishop, who has only the choice
of four; but this argument would not have
equal weight in the common game, where the
bishop and tower command a whole line, and
where a knight is always of less value than a
tower in action, or the bishop of that side on
which the attack is begun. “It is by the over-
bearing power of the elephant, that the king
fights boldly; let the whole army, therefore,
be abandoned, in order to secure the elephant;
the king must never place one elephant before
another, according to the rule of Gotama,
unless he be compelled by want of room, for
he would thus commit a dangerous fault;
and, if he can slay one of two hostile ele-
phants, he must destroy that on his left hand.”
The last rule is extremely obscure; but, as Got-
am was an illustrious lawyer and philoso-
pher, he would not have condescended to leave
directions for the game of Chaturanga, if it had
not been held in great estimation by the ancient
ages of India.

All that remains of the passage, which was
copied for me by RA'ĐHA'CA'N'T and explained by him, relates to the several modes, in which a partial success or complete victory may be obtained by any one of the four players; for we shall see, that, as if a dispute had arisen between two allies, one of the kings may assume the command of all the forces, and aim at separate conquest. "First, when any one king has placed himself on the square of another king, which advantage is called Sinbāsana, or the throne, he wins a stake; which is doubled, if he kill the adverse monarch, when he seizes his place; and, if he can seat himself on the throne of his ally, he takes the command of the whole army." Secondly; "if he can occupy successively the thrones of all three princes, he obtains the victory, which is named Chatūrájī, and, the stake is doubled, if he kill the last of the three, just before he takes possession of his throne; but, if he kill him on his throne, the stake is quadrupled." Thus, as the commentator remarks, in a real warfare, a king may be considered as victorious, when he seizes the metropolis of his adversary; but, if he can destroy his foe, he displays greater heroism, and relieves his people from any further solicitude. "Both in gaining the Sinbāsana and the Chatūrájī, says VYASA, the king must be supported by the elephants or by all
"the forces united." Thirdly; "When one player has his own king on the board, but the king of his partner has been taken, he may replace his captive ally, if he can seize both the adverse kings; or, if he cannot effect their capture, he may exchange his king for one of them, against the general rule, and thus redeem the allied prince, who will supply his place." This advantage has the name of Nripácrishta, or recovered by the king; and the Naucácrishta seems to be analogous to it, but confined to the case of ships. Fourthly; "If a pawn can march to any square on the opposite extremity of the board, except that of the king, or that of the ship, he assumes whatever power belonged to that square; and this promotion is called Shatpada, or the six strides." Here we find the rule, with a singular exception, concerning the advancement of pawns, which often occasions a most interesting struggle at our common chess, and which has furnished the poets and moralists of Arabia and Persia with many lively reflections on human life. It appears, that "this privilege of Shatpada was not allowable, in the opinion of Gotama, when a player had three pawns on the board; but, when only one pawn and one ship remained, the pawn might advance even to the square of a king or a ship, and
"assume the power of either." Fifthly; "According to the Rācśhaśa's, or giants (that is, the people of Lancā, where the game was invented), there could be neither victory nor defeat, if a king were left on the plain without force; a situation which they named Ca-cacāb't'ba." Sixthly; "If three ships happen to meet, and the fourth ship can be brought up to them in the remaining angle, this has the name of Vṛibannaucā; and the player of the fourth seizes all the others." Two or three of the remaining couplets are so dark, either from an error in the manuscript or from the antiquity of the language, that I could not understand the Pandit's explanation of them, and suspect that they gave even him very indistinct ideas; but it would be easy, if it were worth while, to play at the game by the preceding rules; and a little practice would, perhaps, make the whole intelligible. One circumstance, in this extract from the Purāṇ, seems very surprizing: all games of hazard are positively forbidden by Menu, yet the game of Chaturanga, in which dice are used, is taught by the great Vyāśa himself, whose lawtract appears with that of Go'tama among the eighteen books, which form the Dbermāśāstra; but, as Ra'dhā'cā'nt and his preceptor Ja-ganna't'h are both employed by government
in compiling a Digest of Indian laws, and as both of them, especially the venerable Sage of Tribéni, understand the game, they are able, I presume, to assign reasons, why it should have been excepted from the general prohibition, and even openly taught by ancient and modern Bráhmans.
AN

INDIAN GRANT OF LAND
IN Y.C. 1018,

LITERALLY TRANSLATED FROM THE SANSKRIT,

BY THE PRESIDENT.

AS EXPLAINED BY

RAMALOC'HAN PANDIT, communicated by GENERAL CARNAC,

O'M. VICTORY AND ELEVATION!

STANZAS.

MAY He, who in all affairs claims precedence in adoration; may that Gaṇ'āndyaca, averting calamity, preserve you from danger!

2. May that Siva constantly preserve you, on whose head shines (Ganga') the daughter of Jahnū resembling—the-pure-crescent-rising-from— the-summit—of—Sumeru! (a compound word of sixteen syllables).

3. May that God, the cause of success, the cause of felicity, who keeps, placed even by himself on his forehead a section of the-moon-with-cool-beams, drawn-in—the-form—of—a—line—resembling—that—in—the—infinitely—bright spike—of—
Indian Grant of Land.

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a-fresh-blown - Cétaca (who is) adorned - with - a-
grove-of-thick-red locks-tied-with-the-Prince-of-
Serpents, be always present and favourable to 
you!

4. The son of Ji'mu'tace'tu ever affectionate, named Ji'mu'tava'hana, who, surely, 
preserved (the Serpent) S'anc'hachud'a from 
Garuda (the Eagle of Vishnu). was famed in 
the three worlds, having neglected his own 
body, as if it had been grass, for the sake of 
others.

5. (Two couplets in rhyme.) In his family 
was a monarch (named) Capardin (or, with 
thick hair, a title of Maha'de'va), chief of the 
race of Sil'ara, repressing the insolence of 
his foes; and from him came a son, named 
Pulas'acti, equal in encroasing glory to the 
sun's bright circle.

6. When that son of Capardin was a new-
born infant, through fear of him, homage was 
paid by all his collected enemies, with water 
held aloft in their hands, to the delight of his 
realm.

7. From him came a son, the only warriour 
on earth, named Sripappuvanna, a Hero 
in the theatre of battle.

8. His son, called Sri' Jhanjha, was highly
celebrated, and the preserver of his country; he afterwards became the Sovereign of Gógni: he had a beautiful form.

9. From him came a son, whose-renown-was-far-extented-and-who-confounded-the-mind-with-his-wonderful-acts, the fortunate Bajjada De'va: he was a monarch, a gem in-the-dia-dem-of-the-world's-circumference; who used only the forcible weapon of his two arms readily on the plain of combat; and in whose bosom the Fortune of Kings herself amorously played, as in the bosom of the foe of Mura (or Vishnu).

10. Like Jayanta, son to the foe of Vritta (or Indra), like Shanmuc'ha (or Cartice'ya) son to Purâri (or Mahade'va) then sprang from him a fortunate son, with a true heart, invincible;

11. Who in liberality was Carna before our eyes, in truth even Yudhishthira, in glory a blazing Sun, and the rod of Ca'la (or Yama, judge of the infernal regions) to his enemies;

12. By whom the great counsellors, who were under his protection, and others near him, are preserved in this world: he is a conqueror, named with propriety Sarana'gata Vajra-pañjarade'va.

13. By whom when this world was over-
shadowed with-continual-presents-of-gold, for his liberality he was named JAGADARTHI (or Enriching the World) in the midst of the three regions of the universe.

14. Those Kings assuredly, whoever they may be, who are endued with minds capable of ruling their respective dominions, praise him for the greatness of his veracity, generosity, and valour; and to those princes, who are deprived of their domains, and seek his protection, he allots a firm settlement: may he, the Grandfather of the Rā'ya, be victorious! he is the spiritual guide of his counsellors, and they are his pupils. Yet farther.

15. He, by whom the title of Gomma'ya was conferred on a person who attained the object of his desire; by whom the realm, shaken by a man named E'yapadeva, was even made firm, and by whom, being the prince of Mama-lambuva (I suppose, Mambéi, or Bombay) security from fear was given to me broken with affliction; He was the King, named Sri' Virudanca: how can he be otherwise painted? Here six syllables are effaced in one of the Grants; and this verse is not in the other.

16. His son was named Bajjadadeva, a gem on the forehead of monarchs, eminently skilled in morality; whose deep thoughts all
the people, clad in horrid armour, praise even to this day.

17. Then was born his brother the prince ARICE'SARI (a lion among his foes), the best of good men; who, by overthrowing the strong mountain of his proud enemies, did the act of a thunder-bolt; having formed great designs even in his childhood, and having seen the Lord of the Moon (MAHA'DE'VA) flanding before him, he marched by his father's order, attended by his troops, and by valour subdued the world.

Yet more———.

18. Having raised up his slain foe on his sharp sword, he so afflicted the women in the hostile palaces, that their forelocks fell disordered, their garlands of bright flowers dropped from their necks on the vases of their breasts, and the black lustre of their eyes disappeared.

19. A warriour, the plant of whose fame grows up over the temple of BRAHMA'S Egg (the universe), from-the repeated-watering-of-it-with-the-drops-that-fell-from-the-eyes-of-the-wives-of-his-slaughtered-foe.

Afterwards by the multitude of his innate virtues (then follows a compound word of an hundred and fifty-two syllables) the fortunate-ARI-
ce'sari-de'vara'ja—Lord-of: the-great-circle-
adorned-with-all-the-company-of-princes-with-
Vajrapanjara—of-whom-men—seek—the-pro-
tection-an-elephant's-hook—in—the-forehead-of-
the-world—pleaied—with—encreasing—vice—a—Fla-
mindo-bird—in—the-pool—decked—with-flowers—
like-those—of—paradise—and—with—Aditya—Pan-
dita—chief—of—the—districts—of—the—world—
through—the-liberality—of—the-lord—of—the—West-
ern—Sea—holder—of—inнатe—knowledge—who—bears—
a-golden-eagle—on—his—standard—descended—from—
the-stock—of J'mu'tavaha'ana—king—of—the—race—
of—Silara—Sovereign—of—the—City—of—Tagara—Su-
preme—ruler—of—exalted—counsellors—assembled—
when—extended—fame—had—been—attained (the mo-
narch thus described) governs—the—whole—region—
of—Concuna—consisting—of—fourteen—hundred—vi-
lages—with—cities—and—other—places—comprehended—
in—many—districts—acquired—by—his—arm. Thus—
he supports the burden of thought concerning—
this domain. The Chief-Minister S'ri' Vasapa-
aiya and the very—religiously—purified S'ri' Va'rdhiyapaiya—being—at—this—time—present—
his—fortunate Arice'saride'vara'ja, Sove-
reign of the great circle, thus addresses—even—all—
who inhabit—the-city—S'ri' Sthanaca (or the—
Mansion—of—Lacshm'i),—his—own—kinsmen—and—
others—there—assembled, princes—counsellors—
priests—ministers—superiors—inferiors—subject—to—his—
commands, also the-lords-of districts, the-Governors-of-towns, chiefs-of-villages, the-masters-of-families-employed-or-unemployed-servants-of the-King-and-bis-countrymen. Thus he greets all-the-holy-men-and-others-inhabiting-the-city-of Hanumana: reverence be to you, as it is becoming, with all the marks of respect, salutation, and praise!

STANZA.

Wealth is inconstant; youth, destroyed in an instant; and life, placed between the teeth of Critanta (or Yama before mentioned).

Nevertheless neglect is shown to the felicity of departed ancestors. Oh! how astonishing are the efforts of men!

And thus.—Youth is publickly swallowed-up by-the-giants's Old-Age admitted-into-its-inner mansion; and the bodily-frame-is-equally-obnoxious-to-the-assault-of-death-of-age-and-themisery-born-with-man-of-separation-between-united-friends-like-falling-from-heaven-into-the-lower regions: riches and life are two things more moveable than a drop of water trembling on-the-leaf-of-a-lotos-shaken-by-the-wind; and the world is like the first delicate foliage of a plantain-tree. Considering this in secret with a firm dispassionate understanding, and also the
fruit of liberal donations mentioned by the wife,
I called to mind these

STANZAS.

1. In the Satva, Trétá, and Dwáper Ages,
great piety was celebrated; but in this Caliyuga
the Muni's have nothing to commend but liber-
ality.

2. Not so productive of fruit is learning, not
so productive is piety, as liberality, say the Mu-
ni's, in this Càli Age. And, thus was it said by
the Divine Vya'sá:

3. Gold was the first offspring of Fire; the
Earth is the daughter of Vishnu, and kine are
the children of the Sun: the three worlds, there-
fore, are assuredly given by him, who makes a
gift of Gold, Earth, and Cattle.

4. Our deceased fathers clap their hands, our
Grandfathers exult: saying, "a donor of land
" is born in our family: he will redeem us."

5. A donation of land to good persons, for
holy pilgrimages, and on the (five) solemn days
of the moon, is the mean of passing over the
deep boundless ocean of the world.

6. White parasols, and elephants mad with
pride (the insignia of royalty) are the flowers of
a grant of land: the fruit is Indra in heaven.
Thus, confirming the declarations of the ancient Muni's learned in the distinction between justice and injustice, for the sake of benefit to my mother, my father, and myself, on the fifteenth of the bright moon of Cártica, in the middle of the year Pingala (perhaps of the Serpent), when nine hundred and forty years, save one, are reckoned as past from the time of King Saca, or, in figures, the year 939, of the bright moon of Cártica 15 (that is 1708—939 = 769 years ago from Y. C. 1787. The moon being then full and eclipsed, I having bathed in the opposite sea resembling the girdles round the waist of the female Earth, tinged with a variety of rays like many exceedingly bright rubies, pearls and other gems, with water whose mud was become musk through the frequent bathing of the fragrant bosom of beautiful Goddesses rising up after having dived in it; and having offered to the sun, the divine luminary, the gem of one circle of heaven, eye of the three worlds, Lord of the Lotos, a dish embellished with flowers of various sorts (this dish is filled with the plant Darbba, rice in the husk, different flowers, and sandal) have granted to him, who has viewed the preceptor of the Gods and of Demons, who has adored the Sovereign Deity the husband of Ambica (or Durga), has sacrificed caused others to sacri-
fice,—has read—caused—others—to—read—and—has—
performed—the—rest—of—the—six (Sacerdotal) func-
tions; who—is—eminently—skilled—in—the—whole—
business—of—performing—sacrifices, who—has—held—
up the—root—and—stalk—of—the—sacred—lotos; who—
inhabits—the—city—Sri St’ha’naca (or abode of
Fortune), descended from Jamadagni; who—
performs—due—rites—in—the—holy—stream; who—
distinctly—knows—the—mysterious—branches (of
the Vedas), the domestick priest, the reader, Sri
Ticcapaiya, son of Sri Chch’hintapaiya the
astronomer, for—the—purpose—of—sacrificing—
causing—others—to—sacrifice—reading—causing—others
to—read—and—discharging—the—rest—of—the—six—(Sa—
cerdotal—) duties, of performing—the (daily ser-
tice of) Vais’wadéva with offerings of rice,
milk, and materials of sacrifice, and—of—com-
pleting—with—due—solemnity the sacrifice—of—fire—
of doing—such—acts—as—must—continually—be—done,
and such—as—must—occasionally—be—performed, of
paying—due—honours to guests and strangers, and—
of—supporting his—own—family, the village of
Chávinára—standing—at—the—extremity—of—the—ter-
ritory of Vatsárája, and the boundaries of which
are, to the East the village of Púagambá and a
water—fall—from a mountain; to the South the
villages of Nágambá and Múldóngaricá; to the
West the river Sámbarapallicá; to the North
the villages of Sámbivé and Cát’iyálaca; and be—
sides this the full (district) of Tocabală Pallicà, the boundaries of which are to the East Sidabalỉ; to the South the river Mōr'bała; to the West Cacádeva, Hallapalicà, and Bādaviraca; to the North Talavali Pallicà; and also the Village of Aulaciyá, the boundaries of which (are) to the East Tādāga; to the South Gōvini; to the West Charicā, to the North Calibalāyacakli: (that land) thus surveyed-on-the-four-quarters-and limited to-its-proper bounds, with-its-herbage-wood-and-water, and with-power-of punishing-for-the-ten-crimes, except that before given as the portion of Déva, or of Brahmā, I have hereby released, and limited-by-the-duration-of-the-sun the-moon-and-mountains, confirmed with the ceremony-of adoration, with a copious effusion of water and with the highest acts-of-worship; and the same land shall be enjoyed by his lineal-and-collateral-heirs, or caused-to-be enjoyed, nor shall disturbance be given by any person whatever: since it is thus declared by great Muni's.

STANZAS.

1. The Earth is enjoyed by many kings, by Sa'gar, and by others: to whomsoever the soil at any time belongs, to him at that time belong the fruits of it.

2. A speedy gift is attended with no fatigue;
a continued support, with great trouble: therefore, even the \textit{Rishi}'s declare, that a continuance of support is better than a single gift.

3. Exalted Emperors of good dispositions have given land, as \textit{Ramabhadra} advises, again and again: this is the true bridge of justice for sovereigns: from time to time (O kings) that bridge must be repaired by you.

4. Those possessions here below, which have been granted in former times by sovereigns, given for the sake of religion-increase-of-wealth-or-of-fame, are exactly equal to flowers, which have been offered to a Deity: what good man would resume such gifts?

Thus, confirming the precepts of ancient \textit{Muni}'s, all future kings must gather the fruit-of-observing-religious-duties; and let not the stain-of-the-crime-of-destroying-this-grant be borne henceforth by any-one: since, whatever \textit{prince}, being supplicated, shall, through avarice, having-his-mind-wholly-surrounded-with-the-gloom-of-ignorance-contemptuously-dismiss-the-injured-suppliant, He, being guilty of five great and \textit{five} small crimes, shall long in darkness inhabit Raunava, Maháraunava, Ándha, Támisra, and the other places of punishment. And thus it is declared by the divine \textit{Vyaśa}:
1. He, who seizes land, given-by-himself or by-another (sovereign), will rot among worms, himself a worm, in the midst of ordure.

2. They, who seize granted-land, are born again, living with great fear, in dry cavities of trees in the unwatered forests on the Vindbbian (mountains).

3. By seizing one cow, one vesture, or even one nail’s breadth of ground, a king continues in hell till an universal destruction of the world has happened.

4. By (a gift of) a thousand gardens, and by (a gift of) a hundred pools of water, by (giving) a hundred lac of oxen, a disbeliever of (granted) land is not cleared from offence.

5. A grantor of land remains in heaven sixty thousand years; a disbeliever, and he, who refuses to do justice, continues as many (years) in hell.

And, agreeably to this, in what is written by the hand of the Secretary, (the King) having ordered it, declares his own intention; as it is written by the command of me, sovereign of the great Circle, the fortunate Ariešari De’varaJa, son of the Sovereign of the Great Circle, the Fortunate, invincible, De’varaJa.

And this is written, by order of the Fortunate
King, by me Jo'-uba, the brother's-son-of S'ri' Nagalaiya,—the great-Bard,—dwelling-in-the royal palace; engraved-on-plates-of-copper by Vedapaiya's son Mana Dhā'ra Paiya. Thus (it ends).

Whatever herein (may be) defective in-one-syllable, or have-one-syllable-redundant, all that is (nevertheless) complete evidence (of the grant). Thus (ends the whole).
INSCRIPTIONS

ON

THE STAFF OF FIRU'Z SHAH.

TRANSLATED FROM THE SANSKRIT,

AS EXPLAINED BY RADHACANTA SARMA.

BY

THE PRESIDENT.

ON a very singular monument near Dehli, an outline of which is here exhibited, and which the natives call the Staff of Firu'z Shah, are several old Inscriptions partly in ancient Nagari letters, and partly in a character yet unknown; and Lieutenant Colonel Polier, having procured exact impressions of them, presents the Society with an accurate copy of all the inscriptions. Five of them are in Sanscrit, and, for the most part, intelligible; but it will require great attention and leisure to decypher the others: if the language be Sanscrit, the powers of the unknown letters may perhaps hereafter be discovered by the usual mode of decyphering; and that mode, carefully applied even at first, may lead to a discovery of the language. In the mean time a literal version of the legible inscriptions is laid before you: they are on the
The Staff of FIRÚZSHAH
whole sufficiently clear, but the sense of one or two passages is at present inexplicable.

I.

The first, on the South-west side of the pillar, is perfectly detached from the rest: it is about seventeen feet from the base, and two feet higher than the other inscriptions.

OM.

In the year 1230, on the first day of the Bright half of the month Vaisăc'ō (a monument), of the Fortunate-Vi'sala-de'va-son of the Fortunate-Amilla De'va,-King-of-Sá-cambharī.

II.

The next, which is engraved as a specimen of the character, consists of two stanzas in four lines; but each hemistich is imperfect at the end, the two first wanting seven, and the two last five, syllables: the word Sá-cambharī in the former inscription enables us to supply the close of the third hemistich.

OM.

As far as Vindbya, as far as Himádri (the mountain of Snow), he was not deficient in celebrity ... ... making Aryáverta (the Land of Virtue, or India), even once more what its name signifies ... ... He having departed,
Prativa'hama'na Tilaca (is) king of Sācambhari: (Sācam only remains on the monument) by us (the region between) Himawat and Vindhya has been made tributary.

In the year from Sṛ Vicrama'ditya 123, in the Bright half of the month Vaisāc'ha, at that time the Rājaputra Sṛ Sallaca was Prime Minister.

The second stanza, supplied partly from the last inscription, and partly by conjecture, will run thus:

\[ \text{urītta ja pratīvāhamāna tilacaḥ sācambharībhūpatiḥ asmūbhīḥ caradam vyaḥ̄yā hi himawadeindhyāstavāmānād alam.} \]

The date 123 is here perfectly clear; at least it is clear, that only three figures are written, without even room for a cipher after them; whence we may guess, that the double circle in the former inscription was only an ornament, or the neutral termination am: if so, the date of both is the year of Christ sixty-seventh; but, if the double circle be a Zero, the monument of Vīśala Deva is as modern as the year 1174 or nineteen years before the conquest of Debli by Shiha'bu'ddi'n.

III. and IV.

The two next inscriptions were in the same words. but the stanzas, which in the fourth are extremely mutilated, are tolerably perfect in the
third, wanting only a few syllables at the beginning of the hemistichs:

yah cṣhīvēṣhū prahartā nripatīśhu vinamatcandharēśhū prasānnaḥ
—vah s'ambi purindrah jagati vijayatē vīsāla cṣhōnipālah
... da sājnya ētha vijayī santānajānātmanaj ah
... pūnān cṣhemāṣṭu bruvatamudyogas 'ūnyanmanah

He, who is resentful to kings intoxicated with pride, indulgent to those, whose necks are humbled, an Indra in the city of Causāmbi (I suspect Causāmbi, a city near Hastināpur, to be the true reading), who is victorious in the world, Vīśala, sovereign of the earth: he gives.... his commands being obeyed, he is a conqueror, the son of Santa'naJa'na, whose mind, when his foes say, 'Let there be mercy,' is free from further hostility.

This inscription was engraved, in the presence of Srī Tilaca Rāja, by Srīpati, the son of Ma'hava, a Cāyafl'ba, of a family in Gauda, or Bengal.

V.

The fifth seems to be an elegy on the death of a king named Vigrāha, who is represented as only flumbering: the last hemistich is hardly legible and very obscure; but the sense of both stanzas appears to be this.

O'M.

1. An offence to the eyes of (thy) enemy's conforth (thou) by-whom-fortune-was-given-to-
third, wanting only a few syllables at the begin-
ning of the hemistichs:

\[ \text{yah chhivēśhu prahartā nripatīśhu vinamatcandharēśhu prasannah} \\
\text{—vah s'ambi purindrah jagati vijayātē vīśala chtonipālah} \\
\text{... da-fājnya ēśha vijayī tantūnajānātmajah} \\
\text{... pūnān chemāśtu bravatamudyōgas'ūnyanmanah} \]

He, who is resentful to kings intoxicated with
pride, indulgent to those, whose necks are hum-
bled, an Indra in the city of Cauśāmbi (I sus-
pect Cauśāmbi, a city near Hastināpur, to be the
ture reading), who is victorious in the world,
Vīśala, sovereign of the earth: he gives....
his commands being obeyed, he is a conqueror,
the son of Santa'naJa'na, whose mind, when
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This inscription was engraved, in the pre-
fence of Srī Tīlaka Rā'ja, by Sripati, the
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Gauda, or Bengal.

V.

The fifth seems to be an elegy on the death
of a king named VīgraHa, who is represented
as only flumbering: the last hemistich is hardly
legible and very obscure; but the sense of both
stanzas appears to be this.

O'M.

1. An offence to the eyes of (thy) enemy's
confort (thou) by-whom-fortune-was-given-to-
every suppliant, thy fame, joined to extensive dominion, shines, as we desire, before us: the heart of (thy) foes was vacant, even as a path in a desert, where men are hindered from passing, O fortunate Vigraha Rajadeva, in the jubilee occasioned by thy march.

2. May thy abode, O Vigraha, sovereign of the world, be fixed, as in reason (it ought), in the bosoms, embellished with love's allurements and full of dignity, of the women with beautiful eyebrows, who were married to thy enemies! Whether thou art Indra, or Vishnu, or Siva, there is even no deciding: thy foes (are) fallen, like descending water; oh! why dost thou, through delusion, continue sleeping?
ON THE

BAYA, OR INDIAN GROSS-BEAK.

Described by At'har Ali Khan of Dehli.

TRANSLATED

BY THE PRESIDENT.

THE little bird, called Baya in Hindi, Berbera in Sanscrit, Bābūi in the dialect of Bengal, Cībā in Persian, and Tenawwōt in Arabick, from his remarkably pendent nest, is rather larger than a sparrow, with yellow-brown plumage, a yellowish head and feet, a light-coloured breast, and a conick beak very thick in proportion to his body. This bird is exceedingly common in Hinduflan: he is astonishingly sensible, faithful, and docile, never voluntarily deserting the place where his young were hatched, but not averse, like most other birds, to the society of mankind, and easily taught to perch on the hand of his master. In a state of nature he generally builds his nest on the highest tree, that he can find, especially on the palmyra, or on the Indian fig-tree, and he prefers that, which happens to overhang a well or a rivulet: he makes it of
grass, which he weaves like cloth and shapes like a large bottle, suspending it firmly on the branches, but so as to rock with the wind, and placing it with its entrance downwards to secure it from birds of prey. His nest usually consists of two or three chambers; and it is the popular belief, that he lights them with fire-flies, which he catches alive at night, and confines with moist clay, or with cow-dung: that such flies are often found in his nest, where pieces of cow-dung are also stuck, is indubitable; but, as their light could be of little use to him, it seems probable that he only feeds on them. He may be taught with ease to fetch a piece of paper, or any small thing, that his master points out to him: it is an attested fact, that, if a ring be dropped into a deep well, and a signal given to him, he will fly down with amazing celerity, catch the ring before it touches the water, and bring it up to his master with apparent exultation; and it is confidently asserted, that, if a house or any other place be shown to him once or twice, he will carry a note thither immediately on a proper signal being made. One instance of his docility I can myself mention with confidence, having often been an eye witness of it: the young Hindu women at Banaras and in other places wear very thin plates of gold, called tica's, slightly fixed by way of ornament
between their eye-brows; and, when they pass through the streets, it is not uncommon for the youthful libertines, who amuse themselves with training Bayâ's, to give them a sign which they understand, and send them to pluck the pieces of gold from the foreheads of their mistresses, which they bring in triumph to the lovers. The Bayâ feeds naturally on grasshoppers and other insects, but will subsist, when tame, on pulse macerated in water: his flesh is warm and drying, of easy digestion, and recommended, in medical books, as a solvent of stone in the bladder or kidneys; but of that virtue there is no sufficient proof. The female lays many beautiful eggs resembling large pearls: the white of them, when they are boiled, is transparent, and the flavour of them is exquisitely delicate. When many Bayâs are assembled on a high tree, they make a lively din, but it is rather chirping than singing; their want of musical talents is, however, amply supplied by their wonderful sagacity, in which they are not excelled by any feathered inhabitants of the forest.
ON

THE PANGOLIN OF BAHAR.

SENT BY MATTHEW LESLIE, ESQ.

AND DESCRIBED

BY THE PRESIDENT.

The singular animal, which M. Buffon describes by the name of Pangolin, is well known in Europe since the publication of his Natural History and Goldsmith's elegant abridgment of it; but, if the figure exhibited by Buffon was accurately delineated from the three animals, the spoils of which he had examined, we must consider that, which has been lately brought from Caracdiah to Chitra, and sent thence to the Presidency, as a remarkable variety, if not a different species, of the Pangolin: ours has hardly any neck, and, though some filaments are discernible between the scales, they can scarce be called bristles; but the principal difference is in the tail; that of Buffon's animal being long, and tapering almost to a point, while that of ours is much shorter, ends obtutely, and resembles in form and flexibility the tail of a
lobster. In other respects, as far as we can judge from the dead subject, it has all the characters of Buffon's *Pangolin*: a name derived from that by which the animal is distinguished in Java, and consequently preferable to *Manis* or *Pholidotus*, or any other appellation deduced from an European language. As to the scaly lizard, the scaled Armadillo, and the five-nailed Ant-eater, they are manifestly improper designations of this animal; which is neither a lizard, nor an armadillo in the common acceptation; and, though it be an ant-eater, yet it essentially differs from the hairy quadruped usually known by that general description. We are told, that the Malabar name of this animal is Alungu: the natives of Babar call it Bajar-cit, or, as they explain the word, Stone-vermine; and, in the stomach of the animal before us, was found about a teacupful of small stones, which had probably been swallowed for the purpose of facilitating digestion; but the name alludes, I believe, to the hardness of the scales; for Vajracita means in Sanscrit the Diamond, or Thunderbolt, reptile, and Vajra is a common figure in the Indian poetry for any thing excessively hard. The Vajracita is believed by the Pandits to be the animal, which gnaws their sacred stone, called Sálgrámasīlā; but the Pangolin has apparently no teeth, and the Sálgráms,
many of which look as if they had been worm-eaten, are perhaps only decayed in part by exposure to the air.

This animal had a long tongue shaped like that of a cameleon; and, if it was nearly adult, as we may conclude from the young one found in it, the dimensions of it were much less than those, which Buffon assigns generally to his Pangolin: for he describes its length as six, seven, or eight feet including the tail, which is almost, he says, as long as the body, when it has attained its full growth; whereas ours is but thirty-four inches long from the extremity of the tail to the point of the snout, and the length of the tail is fourteen inches; but, exclusively of the head, which is five inches long, the tail and body are, indeed, nearly of the same length; and the small difference between them may show, if Buffon be correct in this point, that the animal was young: the circumference of its body in the thickest part is twenty inches, and that of the tail, only twelve.

We cannot venture to say more of this extraordinary creature, which seems to constitute the first step from the quadruped to the reptile, until we have examined it alive, and observed its different instincts; but, as we are assured, that it is common in the country round Khân-pûr, and at Châtigâm, where the native Musel-
mans call it the Land-carp, we shall possibly be able to give on some future occasion a fuller account of it. There are in our Indian provinces many animals, and many hundreds of medicinal plants, which have either not been described at all, or, what is worse, ill described by the naturalists of Europe; and to procure perfect descriptions of them from actual examination, with accounts of their several uses in medicine, diet, or manufactures, appears to be one of the most important objects of our institution.
ON

THE LORIS,

or

SLOWPACED LEMUR.

BY THE PRESIDENT.

THE singular animal, which most of you saw alive, and of which I now lay before you a perfectly accurate figure, has been very correctly described by LINNÆUS; except that sickled would have been a juster epithet than awled for the bent claws on its hinder indices, and that the size of a squirrel seems an improper, because a variable, measure: its configuration and colours are particularized also with great accuracy by M. DAUBENTON; but the short account of the Loris by M. DE BUFFON appears unsatisfactory, and his engraved representation of it has little resemblance to nature; so little that, when I was endeavouring to find in his work a description of the quadrumane, which had just been sent me from Dacca, I
ON THE LORIS, &c. 361

passed over the chapter on the Loris, and ascertained it merely by seeing in a note the Linnean character of the slow-paced Lemur. The illustrious French naturalist, whom, even when we criticise a few parts of his noble work, we cannot but name with admiration, observes of the Loris, that, from the proportion of its body and limbs, one would not suppose it slow in walking or leaping, and intimates an opinion, that Séba gave this animal the epithet of slow-moving, from some fancied likeness to the sloth of America: but, though its body be remarkably long in proportion to the breadth of it, and the hinder legs, or more properly arms, much longer than those before, yet the Loris, in fact, walks or climbs very slowly; and is, probably, unable to leap. Neither its genus nor species, we find, are new: yet, as its temper and instincts are undescribed, and as the Natural History by M. De Buffon, or the System of Nature by Linneus, cannot always be readily procur'd, I have set down a few remarks on the form, the manners, the name, and the country of my little favourite, who engaged my affection, while he lived, and whose memory I wish to perpetuate.

I. This inmale animal had four hands, each five-fingered; palms, naked; nails, round; except those of the indices behind, which were long, curved, pointed; hair, very thick, espe-
cially on the haunches, extremely soft, mostly dark grey, varied above with brown and a tinge of russet; darker on the back, paler about the face and under the throat, reddish towards the rump; no tail, a dorsoal stripe, broad, chestnut-nut-coloured, narrower towards the neck: a head, almost spherical: a countenance, expressive and interesting; eyes, round, large, approximated, weak in the day time, glowing and animated at night; a white vertical stripe between them; eye-lashes, black, short; ears, dark, rounded, concave; great acuteness at night both in seeing and hearing; a face, hairy, flattish; a nose, pointed, not much elongated; the upper lip, cleft; canine teeth, comparatively long, very sharp.

More than this I could not observe on the living animal; and he died at a season, when I could neither attend a dissection of his body, nor with propriety request any of my medical friends to perform such an operation during the heats of August; but I opened his jaw and counted only two incisors above and as many below, which might have been a defect, in the individual; and it is mentioned simply as a fact without any intention to censure the generick arrangement of Linnaeus.

II. In his manners he was for the most part gentle, except in the cold season, when his tem-
per seemed wholly changed; and his creator, who made him so sensible of cold, to which he must often have been exposed even in his native forests, gave him, probably, for that reason his thick fur, which we rarely see on animals in these tropical climates: to me, who not only constantly fed him, but bathed him twice a week in water accommodated to the seasons, and whom he clearly distinguished from others, he was at all times grateful; but, when I disturbed him in winter, he was usually indignant, and seemed to reproach me with the uneasiness which he felt, though no possible precautions had been omitted to keep him in a proper degree of warmth. At all times he was pleased with being stroked on the head and throat, and frequently suffered me to touch his extremely sharp teeth; but at all times his temper was quick, and, when he was unseasonably disturbed, he expressed a little resentment by an obscure murmur, like that of a squirrel, or a greater degree of displeasure, by a peevish cry, especially in winter, when he was often as fierce, on being much importuned, as any beast of the woods. From half an hour after sunrise to half an hour before sunset, he slept without intermission rolled up like a hedge-hog; and as soon as he awoke, he began to prepare himself for the labours of his approaching day, licking and dressing himself
like a cat; an operation, which the flexibility of his neck and limbs enabled him to perform very completely: he was then ready for a slight breakfast, after which he commonly took a short nap; but, when the sun was quite set, he recovered all his vivacity. His ordinary food was the sweet fruit of this country; plantains always, and mangos during the season; but he refused peaches, and was not fond of mulberries, or even of guaiavas: milk he lapped eagerly, but was contented with plain water. In general he was not voracious, but never appeared satiated with grasshoppers; and passed the whole night, while the hot season lasted, in prowling for them: when a grasshopper, or any insect, alighted within his reach, his eyes, which he fixed on his prey, glowed with uncommon fire; and, having drawn himself back to spring on it with greater force, he seized the victim with both his forepaws, but held it in one of them, while he devoured it. For other purposes, and sometimes even for that of holding his food, he used all his paws indifferently as hands, and frequently grasped with one of them the higher part of his ample cage, while his three others were severally engaged at the bottom of it: but the posture, of which he seemed fondest, was to cling with all four of them to the upper wires, his body being inverted; and in the evening he
usually stood erect for many minutes playing on the wires with his fingers and rapidly moving his body from side to side, as if he had found the utility of exercise in his unnatural state of confinement. A little before day break, when my early hours gave me frequent opportunities of observing him, he seemed to solicit my attention; and, if I presented my finger to him, he licked or nibbled it with great gentleness, but eagerly took fruit, when I offered it; though he seldom ate much at his morning repast: when the day brought back his night, his eyes lost their lustre and strength, and he composed himself for a slumber of ten or eleven hours.

III. The names Loris and Lemur will, no doubt, be continued by the respective disciples of Buffon and Linnaeus; nor can I suggest any other, since the Pandits know little or nothing of the animal: the lower Hindus of this province generally call it Lajjábánar, or the Bashful Ape, and the Muselmans, retaining the sense of the epithet, give it the absurd appellation of a cat; but it is neither a cat nor bashful; for, though a Pandit, who saw my Lemur by day light, remarked that he was Lajjálu or modest (a word which the Hindus apply to all Sensitive Plants), yet he only seemed bashful, while in fact he was dim sighted and drowsy;
for at night, as you perceive by his figure, he had open eyes, and as much boldness as any of the *Lemures* poetical or *Linnean*.

IV. As to his country, the first of the species, that I saw in *India*, was in the district of *Tipra*, properly *Tripura*, whither it had been brought, like mine, from the *Garrow* mountains; and *Dr. Anderson* informs me, that it is found in the woods on the coast of *Coromandel*: another had been sent to a member of our society from one of the eastern isles; and, though the *Loris* may be also a native of *Sílán*, yet I cannot agree with *M. De Buffon*, that it is the minute, sociable, and docile animal mentioned by *Thevenot*, which it resembles neither in size nor in disposition.

My little friend was, on the whole, very engaging; and, when he was found lifeless, in the same posture in which he would naturally have slept, I consoled myself with believing, that he had died without pain, and lived with as much pleasure as he could have enjoyed in a state of captivity.
ON THE
CURE OF THE ELEPHANTIASIS.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

BY
THE PRESIDENT.

AMONG the afflicting maladies, which punish the vices and try the virtues of mankind, there are few disorders, of which the consequences are more dreadful or the remedy in general more desperate than the judhám of the Arabs or khórah of the Indians: it is also called in Arabia dāūl'āsad, a name corresponding with the Leontiasis of the Greeks, and supposed to have been given in allusion to the grim distracted and lionlike countenances of the miserable persons, who are affected with it. The more common name of the distemper is Elephantiasis, or, as Lucretius calls it, Elephas, because it renders the skin, like that of an Elephant, uneven and wrinkled, with many tubercles and furrows; but this complaint must not be confounded with
the dāūl'fil, or swelled legs, described by the Arabian physicians, and very common in this country. It has no fixed name in English, though HILLARY, in his Observations on the Diseases of Barbadoes, calls it the Leprosy of the joints, because it principally affects the extremities, which in the last stage of the malady are distorted and at length drop off; but, since it is in truth a distemper corrupting the whole mass of blood, and therefore considered by PAUL of Ægina as an universal ulcer, it requires a more general appellation, and may properly be named the Black Leprosy; which term is in fact adopted by M. Boissieu de SAUVAGES and GORRŒUS, in contradistinction to the White Leprosy, or the Beres of the Arabs and Leuce of the Greeks.

This disease, by whatever name we distinguish it, is peculiar to hot climates, and has rarely appeared in Europe: the philosophical Poet of Rome supposes it confined to the banks of the Nile; and it has certainly been imported from Africa into the West-India Islands by the black slaves, who carried with them their resentment and their revenge; but it has been long known in Hindustan, and the writer of the following Dissertation, whose father was Physician to NA'DIRSHA'H and accompanied him from Persia to Deblī, assures me that it rages with virulence among the native inhabitants of Cal-
cutta. His observation, that it is frequently a consequence of the venereal infection, would lead us to believe, that it might be radically cured by Mercury; which has, nevertheless, been found ineffectual, and even hurtful, as HILLARY reports, in the West Indies. The juice of hemlock, suggested by the learned Michaelis, and approved by his medical friend Roederer, might be very efficacious at the beginning of the disorder, or in the milder sorts of it; but, in the case of a malignant and inveterate juddam, we must either administer a remedy of the highest power, or, agreeably to the desponding opinion of Celsus, leave the patient to his fate, instead of teasing him with fruitless medicines, and suffer him, in the forcible words of Aretæus, to sink from inextricable slumber into death. The life of a man is, however, so dear to him by nature, and in general so valuable to society, that we should never despond, while a spark of it remains; and, whatever apprehensions may be formed of future danger from the distant effects of arsenick, even though it should eradicate a present malady, yet, as no such inconvenience has arisen from the use of it in India, and, as Experience must ever prevail over Theory, I cannot help wishing, that this ancient Hindu medicine may be fully tried under the inspection of our European Surgeons, whose minute accu-
racy and steady attention must always give them a claim to superiority over the most learned natives; but many of our countrymen have assured me, that they by no means entertain a contemptuous opinion of the native medicines, especially in diseases of the skin. Should it be thought, that the mixture of sulphur must render the poison less active, it may be advisable at first to administer orpiment, instead of the crystalline arsenick.
ON THE
CURE OF THE ELEPHANTIASIS,
AND
OTHER DISORDERS OF THE BLOOD.
TRANSLATED BY
THE PRESIDENT.

GOD is the all-powerful Healer.

IN the year of the Messiah 1783, when the worthy and respectable Máulaví Mír Muhammed Husaín, who excels in every branch of useful knowledge, accompanied Mr. Richard Johnson from Lac'bnau to Calcutta, he visited the humble writer of this tract, who had long been attached to him with sincere affection; and, in the course of their conversation, 'One of the fruits of my late excursion, said he, is a present for you, which suits your profession, and will be generally useful to our species: conceiving you to be worthy of it by reason of your affluence in medical inquiries, I have brought you a prescription, the ingredients of which are easily found, but not easily equalled
as a powerful remedy against all corruptions
of the blood, the judhäm, and the Pershan fire,
the remains of which are a source of infinite
maladies. It is an old secret of the Hindu
Physicians; who applied it also to the cure of
cold and moist distempers, as the palsy, distor-
tions of the face, relaxation of the nerves, and
similar diseases: its efficacy too has been proved
by long experience; and this is the method of
preparing it.

Take of white arsenick, fine and fresh, one
tōlā; of picked black pepper six times as
much: let both be well beaten at intervals for
four days successively in an iron mortar, and
then reduced to an impalpable powder in one
of stone with a stone pestle, and thus com-
pletely levigated, a little water being mixed
with them. Make pills of them as large as
tares or small pulse, and keep them dry in a
shady place*.

* The lowest weight in general use among the Hindus is
the reti, called in Sanscrit either retticâ or raeticâ, indicating
redness, and criʃbomâ from criʃbom, black: it is the red and
black seed of the gunjâ-plant (1), which is a creeper of the

(1) The gunjâ, I find, is the Abrus of our botanists, and I ven-
ture to describe it from the wild plant compared with a beautiful
drawing of the flower magnified, with which I was favoured by
Dr. Anderson.

Class XVII. Order IV.

Cal. Perianth funnel-shaped, indented above.
OF THE ELEPHANTIASIS.

One of those pills must be swallowed morning and evening with some betel-leaf, or, in countries where betel is not at hand, with cold water; if the body be cleansed from foulness and obstructions by gentle catharticks and fame clafs and order at least with the glycyrrhiza; but I take this from report, having never examined its blossoms. One ratticā is said to be of equal weight with three barley-corns or four grains of rice in the husk; and eight reti-weights, used by jewellers, are equal to seven carats. I have weighed a number of the feeds in diamond-scales, and find the average Apothecary's weight of one seed to be a grain and five-sixteenths. Now in the Hindu medical books ten of the ratticā-seeds are one māṭbaca, and eight māṭbaca's make a tōlaca or tōla; but in the law-books of Bengal a māṭbaca consists of sixteen ratticā's, and a tōlaca of five māṭbā's; and, according to some authorities, five reti's only go to one māṭbā, sixteen of which make a tōlaca. We may observe, that the silver reti-weights, used by the goldsmiths at Banáres, are twice as heavy as the seeds; and thence it is, that eight reti's are commonly said to constitute one māṭbā, that is, eight silver weights, or sixteen seeds; eighty of which seeds, or 105 grains, constitute the quantity of arsenick in the Hindu prescription.

COR. Cymbiform. Awning roundish, pointed, nervèd.
Wings, lanced, shorter than the awning.
Keel, rather longer than the wings.

STAM. Filaments nine, some shorter; united in two sets at the top of a divided, bent, awl-shaped body.
PST. Germ inserèted in the calyx. Style very minute at the bottom of the divided body. Stigma, to the naked eye, obtuse; in the microscope, feathered.

PER. A legume. Seeds, spheroidal; black, or white, or scarlet with black tips.

LEAVES, pinnated; some with, some without, an odd leaflet.
bleeding, before the medicine is administered, 
the remedy will be speedier.'

The principal ingredient of this medicine is
the arsēnick, which the Arabs call Shucc, the
Persians mergi mush, or mouse-bane, and the In-
dians, sanc'byā; a mineral substance ponderous
and crystalline: the orpiment, or yellow arsenick,
is the weaker fort. It is a deadly poison, and so
subtil, that, when mice are killed by it, the very
smell of the dead will destroy the living of that
species: after it has been kept about seven
years, it loses much of its force; its colour be-
comes turbid; and its weight is diminished.
This mineral is hot and dry in the fourth de-
gree: it causes suppuration, dissolves or unites,
according to the quantity given; and is very
useful in closing the lips of wounds, when the
pain is too intense to be borne. An unguent
made of it with oils of any sort is an effectual
remedy for some cutaneous disorders, and, mixed
with rose-water, it is good for cold tumours and
for the dropsy; but it must never be admini-
stered without the greatest caution; for such is
its power, that the smallest quantity of it in
powder, drawn, like alcohol, between the eye-
lashes, would in a single day entirely corrode
the coats and humors of the eye; and fourteen
retis of it would in the same time destroy life.
The best antidote against its effects are the scrap-
ings of leather reduced to ashes: if the quantity of arsenick taken be accurately known, four times as much of those ashes, mixed with water and drunk by the patient, will sheath and counteract the poison.

The writer, conformably to the directions of his learned friend, prepared the medicine; and, in the same year, gave it to numbers, who were reduced by the diseases above mentioned to the point of death: God is his witness, that they grew better from day to day, were at last completely cured, and are now living (except one or two, who died of other disorders) to attest the truth of this assertion. One of his first patients was a Parsi, named Menuchehr, who had come from Surat to this city, and had fixed his abode near the writer's house: he was so cruelly afflicted with a confirmed lues, here called the Persian Fire, that his hands and feet were entirely ulcerated and almost corroded, so that he became an object of disgust and abhorrence. This man consulted the writer on his case, the state of which he disclosed without reserve. Some blood was taken from him on the same day, and a cathartic was administered on the next. On the third day he began to take the arsenick-pills, and, by the blessing of God, the virulence of his disorder abated by degrees, until signs of returning health appeared; in a
fortnight his recovery was complete, and he was bathed, according to the practice of our Physicians: he seemed to have no virus left in his blood, and none has been since perceived by him.

But the power of this medicine has chiefly been tried in the cure of the juzām, as the word is pronounced in India; a disorder infecting the whole mass of blood, and thence called by some fisādi khūn. The former name is derived from an Arabick root signifying, in general, amputation, maiming, excision, and, particularly, the truncation or erosion of the fingers, which happens in the last stage of the disease. It is extremely contagious, and, for that reason, the Prophet said: ferrū minā'lmejdūmī camā tefserrū minā'l āṣad, or, 'Flee from a person afflicted with the jūdbām, as you would flee from a lion.' The author of the Bahbru'ljawāhir, or Sea of Pearls, ranks it as an infectious malady with the measles, the small-pox, and the plague. It is also hereditary, and, in that respect, classed by medical writers with the gout, the consumption, and the white leprosy.

A common cause of this distemper is the unwholesome diet of the natives, many of whom are accustomed, after eating a quantity of fisb, to swallow copious draughts of milk, which fail not to cause an accumulation of yellow and
black bile, which mingles itself with the blood and corrupts it: but it has other causes; for a Brábmen, who had never tasted fish in his life, applied lately to the composer of this essay, and appeared in the highest degree affected by a corruption of blood; which he might have inherited, or acquired by other means. Those, whose religion permits them to eat beef, are often exposed to the danger of heating their blood intensely through the knavery of the butchers in the Bázár, who fatten their calves with Baláwer; and those, who are so ill-advised as to take provocatives, a folly extremely common in India, at first are insensible of the mischief, but, as soon as the increased moisture is dispersed, find their whole mass of blood inflamed, and, as it were, adust; whence arises the disorder, of which we now are treating. The Persian, or venereal, Fire generally ends in this malady; as one De'vi' Prasa'd, lately in the service of Mr. Vansittart, and some others, have convinced me by an unreserved account of their several cases.

It may here be worth while to report a remarkable case, which was related to me by a man, who had been afflicted with the juzám near four years; before which time he had been disordered with the Persian fire, and, having closed an ulcer by the means of a strong healing
plaster, was attacked by a violent pain in his joints: on this he applied to a Cabirája, or Hindu Physician, who gave him some pills, with a positive assurance, that the use of them would remove his pain in a few days; and in a few days it was, in fact, wholly removed; but, a very short time after, the symptoms of the ja-żám appeared, which continually encroased to such a degree, that his fingers and toes were on the point of dropping off. It was afterwards discovered, that the pills, which he had taken, were made of cinnabar, a common preparation of the Hindus; the heat of which had first stirred the humours, which, on stopping the external discharge, had fallen on the joints, and then had occasioned a quantity of adult bile to mix itself with the blood and infect the whole mass.

Of this dreadful complaint, however caused, the first symptoms are a numbness and redness of the whole body, and principally of the face, an impeded hoarse voice, thin hair and even baldness, offensive perspiration and breath, and whilows on the nails. The cure is best begun with copious bleeding, and cooling drink, such as a decoction of the nilüfer, or Nymphaea, and of violets, with some doses of manna; after which stronger catharticks must be administerd. But no remedy has proved so efficacious as the
pills composed of arsenick and pepper: one instance of their effect may here be mentioned, and many more may be added, if required.

In the month of February in the year just mentioned, one Shaikh Ramaza'ni', who then was an upper-servant to the Board of Revenue, had so corrupt a mass of blood, that a black leprosy of his joints was approaching; and most of his limbs began to be ulcerated: in this condition he applied to the writer, and requested immediate assistance. Though the disordered state of his blood was evident on inspection, and required no particular declaration of it, yet many questions were put to him, and it was clear from his answers, that he had a confirmed juzám: he then lost a great deal of blood, and, after due preparation, took the arsenick-pills. After the first week his malady seemed alleviated; in the second it was considerably diminished, and, in the third, so entirely removed, that the patient went into the bath of health, as a token that he no longer needed a physician.
TALES AND FABLES

BY

NIZAMI.
ADVERTISEMENTS.

Nizami holds a distinguished rank among the Persian poets of the first class. Inferior to Firdausi alone in loftiness of thought and heroic majesty, to Moulavi Rumph, perhaps, in variety and liveliness, and to Sadi in elegant simplicity, he surpasses all others in richness of imagery and beauty of diction. With Anvari, Hafiz, and Khakani, he is not to be compared; because he wrote neither odes, elegies, nor satires; but confined himself to the composition of Mesnevi or verse in couplets; on which account he is said by the Persian Criticks to have attained supreme excellence in that species of versification. Five of his poems are so universally celebrated, that they are known by the title of Khamsah, or The Five, sometimes with his name added, and sometimes without it: one of the five, which was completed in the year of Christ 1157, is the Makhzeni Esrār, or Treasury of Secrets, in which the twenty following Tales and Fables are inserted at the close of as many Discourses on the subject of religious and moral duties. The metre of the poem, without a knowledge of which the couplets cannot be properly recited, is choriambick, according to this form:

\[ \text{Jane patér, Jane tuéns, omnium} \\
\text{Principiúm, fons, et origo Deùm} \]

with a strong accent on the last syllable of each foot.
ADVERTISEMENT.

The warmest admirers of Nizâmi cannot but allow, that the sententious brevity of his couplets often renders them obscure; and some of his works have been explained in very learned and elaborate commentaries. In the translation of the following fables, not only every attempt at elegance, but even the idiom of our language and the usual position of our words, have been designedly sacrificed to a scrupulous fidelity: the translator disapproves in general of such literal versions; but they are certainly useful to beginners. Those, who understand Persian, have no need of any translation: those, who are learning it, will be assisted by a verbal one, however inelegant; and those, who neither know nor intend to learn it, are at liberty, indeed, to say what they please of the images and sentiments, which such a version preserves, but have no right to give an opinion of the original composition.
I.

ON REPENTANCE *

THE TYRANT FORGIVEN.

A just Prince saw in sleep, by reason of his good conduct, the ghost of a Tyrant,

And said to him: "What hath God done with thee an oppressor? In thy night, after the day of oppressions, what hath he done?"

He said: "When life came to an end for me, I looked around upon all created beings: That I might discover from whom I should have hope of direction in the right way, or for whom the Almighty would have an eye of favour.

"No kindness from me was in the heart of any one: no opinion of mercy being shown me was in any person.

"A trembling fell upon me, like a willow, my face being ashamed and my heart hopeless;"

* The Mohammedans, we find, extend their ideas of divine mercy even to repentance after death.
ON REPENTANCE.

"I threw my useless baggage into a whirlpool: I made a pillow of hoping forgiveness from God.

I said: "Oh! I, wretched being, am full of shame on approaching thee: turn aside from this confusion, and pass over my offences.

"Although I have swerved from thy command, reject me not, since I have turned back from all my sins.

"Either make my chastisement with flames, or do an act opposite to the act of all creatures?"

When he saw my shame from those who might bring assistance, He, who is without companions, gave me aid.

"My speech prevailed on the effusion of mercy: he threw off my burden, and took me up."

Every sigh, which is uttered in penitence, will be a guard in the tumult of resurrection.

All thy words, O thou weigher of wind, are but measuring loss, and weighing sorrow.

While thou art remaining in eager search of stones and pearl, thy measure of wealth is become empty, and the cup of thy life, full.

Take a measurer of thy past years and months: having measured them, take this month and this year.

Since with this world thou mayst purchase
the next (or the faith), thou must not hear the evil being, who may say, 'do,' or 'do not.'

II.

ON JUSTICE.

NUSHIRAVAN AND HIS VAZIR.

The courser of Nushiravan, when hunting, was at a distance from the troops of princes. The companion of the monarch being his Vazir, that was enough: there were the king and his minister, and no person else.

The king in that quarter, where game might be found, saw a village desolate as the heart of an enemy.

Two birds there had come close together, and their notes were more contracted than the heart of the king.

He said to the Vazir: 'What are they uttering? What is the twittering, which they are making with each other?'

The Vazir said: 'O celebrated monarch, I
would tell it, if the king would be a learner by it.

These two voices are on account of a melodious conversation: it is a demand of a husband concerning females.

This bird had given his daughter to that bird, who demands, early in the morning, the bridal fortune.

Saying: This deserted village thou wilt give up to us; and so many besides thou wilt make over to us.

The other says to him: Depart from this proposal: see the injustice of the king; and go; be not anxious.

If the king be such, in no long time for this desolate village I will give thee a hundred thousand.

This saying had such an effect on the monarch, that he heaved a sigh, and raised a cry of sorrow.

He struck his hand on his head and wept for some time: what is the conclusion of iniquity but weeping?

For this tyranny of his he bit his finger with his teeth, and said, Behold this oppression which has even reached the birds.

See my tyranny, that, for the sake of earthly creatures, I make a feast for owls, instead of tame birds.
O me neglectful, who have been a worshipper of the world! it is long enough, that I strike my hand on my head for this business. I have taken so long the wealth of people by violence, that I am thoughtless of dying to-morrow and of the tomb.

How long, and how shall I commit robberies? Observe, what a sport I make with my own head.

The Creator gave me a kingdom to the intent, that I should not do that, which can produce no good.

I whose bras they have besmeared with gold, am doing those acts, which they have not ordered.

Why do I make my own name bad by tyranny? I do injury; alas! I do it to myself.

Let courtesy, which is better than this, be in my heart: either let me have shame before myself or before God!

To-day oppression was my amusement: alas! for my disgrace of to-morrow!

My unsuccessful body has been one continued burning; from this anguish my heart is inflamed again and again: (literally, my heart on my heart.)

How great has been the raising of the dust of tyranny: the shedding of my own lustre, and the blood of men!
ON JUSTICE.

"On the day of resurrection, from me a plunderer they will again ask an account, and will ask it again.

"I inflicted shame; should I not fit ashamed? "I am stone-hearted; how should my heart not be contracted?

"Do thou observe, how much censure I bear; for this ignominy I bear to the resurrection.

"Of these jewels and treasures, which it is impossible to count, what did Sám carry off, and what did Feridún bear away?

"Oh! what can I, from this city and dominion, which now exists, at the end of things bear away in my hand?"

The king, on this topic, was so warm, that by his breath the shoes of his horse were softened.

When he came to the station of his troops, and the standard, the scent of his lenity reached to his whole empire.

Now he removed his pen from that writing (of unjust mandates); he removed his bad habit and the way of injustice.

He diffused justice, and trampled on iniquity: till his last breath he departed not from that course;

Until from the many turns of his trials by fortune, he died; and the fame of justice remains in its place.
In the writing of every noble-minded man is found the coin of his name, the title of the just.

At length he found a good end: whoever has knocked at the door of justice, has found that name.

Pass thy life in the contentment of hearts, that the Creator may be contented with thee.

III.

ON LABOUR.

THE BIRD OF SOLOMON AND THE OLD FARMER.

One day, when a season of rest from business came, the wind of Solomon (which wafted his throne) came to a bright lamp (an enlightened man.)

His whole realm placed their furniture on the plain; while he placed his throne on that crystal floor (the air).

He saw in a manner that his heart was refreshed by it, an old husbandman in that level field,

Who had cleared his house of every handful
of grain, and had thrown it into the granary of God's mercy.

He was scattering grain in every corner, and from every grain of his grew an ear of corn.

In the way of the grain, which the husbandman placed, the bird of Soliman opened a discourse.

He said, 'Be generous, O old man, thus much has been done by thee: it is necessary to eat.

Thou art not a snare; scatter not grains: do not an injury to a bird like me.

Thou hast no harrow; scratch not the clod of the field: thou wilt not find water; sow not the barley of a husbandman.

We, who have sown in well-watered ground, what do we bear away of that, which we have sown.

Oh! in this sowing place, which burns the grain, how wilt thou bring to the day the grain sown without water?'

The old man said to him: 'Be not uneasy at my answer: I am unconcerned about the nourishment of earth and water!

With moist and with dry, I have no business; the grain from me is nourishment from the Creator.

My harrow, behold, is the tip of my finger: my water, behold, is the sweat of my back.
"It is he, who gives me good tidings of himself; a single grain gives me a hundred.
"Sow not grain in partnership with Shaitan, that from one seven hundred may come to thy use.
"I have no anxiety for dominion and empire; as long as I live this grain is a sufficiency for me.
"A proper grain will first be necessary; that the knot of the ear may open rightly.
"To every eye that they have (God has) enlightened, they have sewed a mantle by the measure of the body.
"The furniture of Mesthà not every ass draws: the confidential counsellor of state is not every head.
"A rhinoceros gnaws the neck of an elephant; the ant passes not from the foot of the locust.
"The sea, with a thousand rivers flowing into it, is calm; the Dijlah with a single torrent raises a martial noise.
"Within this azure circle, the rank of a man is adapted to the value of the man.
"A wealthy man must be endued with wariness, who, from a little luxury doth not come to stregts."
IV.

ON GOVERNMENT.

THE OLD WOMAN AND SANJAR.

An act of injustice oppressed an old woman, who struck her hands together and caught the skirts of Sanjar,

_Saying, ‘O king, I have seldom seen thy lenity, and from thee every year I have seen oppression._

‘A drunken officer of government, having come into my street, gave several kicks on my face.

‘He thrust me without any crime out of the house; pulling my hair he dragged me to the end of the street.

‘In the abode of oppression he gave me no time (no leisure): he placed the seal of injustice on the door of my dwelling-house.

‘He said, “In the middle of a certain night, “O crooked backed woman, who killed a certain man at the corner of thy street?”

‘He took away my dwelling; yet where is the murderer? O king, where is there disorder greater than this?”
Let the officer be drunk, that he may shed
blood! why should he act violently with an
old woman?

The weighers of provisions take away the
property of the realm; then they throw the
blame upon old women.

He, who has turned his view upon this
oppression, has taken away my veil (my ho-
nour) and the fame of thy justice.

My wounded bosom has been beaten:
nothing remains of me or of my vital spirit.

If thou do not give me justice, O monarch,
on the day of reckoning thou wilt have an
account with me.

I see no judgement and justice in thee:
and from oppression I behold thee not exempt.

From kings come strength and assistance:
from thee behold what ignominy comes upon
me.

To take the property of orphans is not
proper: depart from it, for this is not lawful
plunder.

Commit no robbery on the small property
of old women, take shame from the few grey
hairs of an old woman.

Thou art a slave, and makest a claim to
royalty: thou art not a king, if thou cause
ruin.

A king, who duly arranges his empire,
should command his people with due regard;

So that all may place their heads on the writing of his edict, and may place a love of him in their heart and in their soul.

Thou hast turned thy kingdom upside-down; as long as thou existest, after all, what virtuous act hast thou done?

The state of the Turks, which attained loftiness, acquired empire from the love of justice.

Since thou cherishest injustice, thou art no Turk: thou art an Hindu plunderer.

The habitations of the city are through thee deserted; the field of the husbandman is through thee without grain.

Make a reckoning of the approach of death: power comes upon thee; make some fortress.

Justice is a lamp for thee, enlightening night; it is to-day a companion to thee for to-morrow.

Make old women glad with mild words; and remember this address from old women.

With-hold thy hand from the head of the helpless; that thou mayst not taste the battle-axe of the afflicted.

How many arrows so-ever thou shootest in every corner, thou art unmindful of the forest without provision.
Thou camest a key to the conquest of the world; thou camest not to light for the sake of injustice.

Thou art a king, for that purpose that thou mayst diminish wrong; that, if others be wounded, thou mayst make a salve for them.

The manners of the weak would be honouring thee; and thy manners ought to be cherishing them.

Give ear to the suppliant tone of words; guard two or three who sit in corners.

Did Sanjar, who took the province of Khorásán, suffer diminution to his glory, in that he took this discourse complacently?

Justice, in this age, has cast her feathers: she has fixed her abode in the plumage of the fabulous Simorgh.

A sense of shame remains not within this blue vault; a gleam of honour remains not in this suspended earth.
ON INDEPENDENCE.

V.

THE OLD BRICK MAKER.

On the border of Shám was an old man, who, like a fairy, was attached to a corner, apart from mankind.

His own shirt he wove of vegetable threads: he made bricks, and thence found a livelihood.

The strikers with the sword, when they threw down their shields, made a shield of those bricks in the tomb.

Whoever had no veil but those bricks, although he had committed a crime, there was no punishment for him.

One day the old man was engaged in this work and burden; a troublesome fellow greatly increased his trouble.

Saying, 'What disorder and dejection is this? this is a work of clay; Service is the business of an ass.

'Rise, and strike thy sword on the head of this earth; for they will not withhold one loaf of bread from thee.
ON INDEPENDENCE.

' Throw the body of these bricks into the fire; cast thy bricks into another shape.
' As many tiles as thou makest with trouble, what dost thou possess in clay and waters?
' Number thyself among the old; leave the work of the young to young men.'

The old man said to him, 'Act not the part of youth: depart from the business, and be not troublesome.
' Let making bricks be the habit of old men; let carrying burdens be the work of captives.
' I have stretched out my hand to this habit, such as it is, that I may not stretch out my hand before any person.
' I have not been a stretcher out of hands to anyone for the sake of treasure. I receive this act of servility from the hand of sorrow.
' For this reason blame not my pain: if it be not so, hold me not a lawful companion.'

On the discourse of the old man, his young reprover departed weeping from before him.
VI.

ON HOPE.

THE HUNTER, THE DOG, AND THE FOX.

There was a hunter, wonderfully shapely-fitted, a traverser of deserts, and a chaser of long journeys.

He had a lion-dog, who, when he caught a scent, caught the passing shadow of the sun on the antelope.

The rhinoceros was terrified by his neck, and the wild ass by his elk-overthrowing teeth.

In his travel this dog had come as his companion and friend, for several nights and days he had come into use.

His heart, kindling affection, was placed upon him: the guard of night and the sustenance of his day was upon him.

That lion-dog was lost from the lion-man: the man, in that anguish of the liver, wept.

He said, 'In this road, where fate interposes, the head of a lion is the price of one dog's footprint.'

Though, in that affliction, he tore his heart
from his soul, yet he pressed his own liver with his teeth.

He acted with a patience, that was not naturally in him. Every barley-corn of patience brought money for interest.

A fox, taunting him, came from a distance, and said: 'Act not the patient man. O thou impatient!

'I hear that that excellent runner stays not with thee: wind must be thy remnant, if that dog remains not.

'Yesternight when from before thee he went for game, he made a keen run, and was only a taker of non-existence.

'That, which the dog this day has made thy game, may be enough for thee, O lion-man, for two months.

'Rise, and give some roast meat to thy wounded heart; do thou eat the flesh, give the hide to the poor.

'Thy lip fed on fatness before this; but thou wilt eat a fat fox no more.

'Thou art secure from the oil of our limbs; thy constitution has escaped from our bile, (occasioned by our flesh.)

'Thou art far from him: what fidelity is this? thou art not afflicted: what heart-breaking (liver-eating) is this?'}
The hunter said to him: 'The night is in labour with events; this grief of one day is to my mind, (or for my good).
'I am glad on that account, that in the narrow mansion of the world, joy and sorrow have neither of them duration.
'This is all dominion and all vassalage, there is not in this world any felicity.
'The stars and the spheres are in motion, pleasure and pain are in their passage.
'I am glad that my heart is sorrowful, because the coming of sorrow is the occasion of cheerfulness.
'To my wolf the condition of Yusuf has come; but I am not a wolf: I will not rend my vest.
'If they take him from me, O thou plotter of stratagems, they will bring him back to me with such game as thou'

He was in his speech; when a cloud of dust came; the dog became apparent from the veil of concealment.
'He came, and round him took two or three turns; then he caught the carrion hide of the fox in his teeth.

He said, 'I am come late to this contemptible animal; but let a fox know, that I am come, like a lion.'
ON PROTECTION.

'My collar was hung upon thy faith, the taunting speech of the fox was an incentive to thy lively hope.'

Whoever places his confidence in the supreme will, brings the conclusion of his work to happiness.

VII.

ON PROTECTION.

FERIDUN AND THE ANTELOPE.

One morning, with two or three persons of confidence, Feridun went out for recreation.

When he came hunting to a lawn, Feridun saw his game a little antelope.

Its neck and ear exempt from hostility; its eye and haunches employed in making intercession.

Thou mayst say, that, from the very place where it was caught by the eye, it had bounded out of the king's sight.

The king was so captivated by that game, that the whole of him was bounded by that prey.
He made Raksh (or Lightning, the name of a pied horse) hot upon it, like its liver; he made the back of his bow soft, like its bowels.

His arrow, with that excellence, passed from it; Raksh, in that course, came not to its dust.

The king said to the arrow: 'Where is that thy wing of vengeance?' He said to Raksh; 'Where is that thy swiftness of faith?

'Both of you in this affair are much wounded, are reproached by this little grass-eater.'

The arrow became a tongue, saying, 'O guard of the frontiers, this dumb animal is an object of thy regard;

'In the asylum of thy coat of mail, it frisks around; what harrow-head can pierce the head of thy armour?

'Since it has been favoured with a look of the fortunate, it would not be pleasant that only the hand of musicians should be on its cymbal (its hide).

'Seek the mark (the service) of the exalted, O intelligent man, that thou mayst be exalted above the mark (the burning) of the lofty.'
THE HERBMAN, THE CUTPURSE, AND THE FOX.

There was a fruit-seller, whose place of abode was Yemen: a little fox was the store-keeper of his ward-robe,

Who used to keep an eye of attention on the edge of the way: he used to guard the cottage of the herb-man.

A cut-purse contrived several deep schemes, but his depth produced no advantage.

He closed his eyes together, when the fox took his mark: be pretended that he slept, and by sleeping took the vein of his life.

When the fox saw the sleeping of that wolf, sleep came upon him, and he drew in his head.

The cut-purse reckoned that sleep a gift of fortune: he came, and took away that fortune's gift, the purse.

Whoever, in this passage through life make a place of slumber, either his head or his crown goes from his hand.
IX.

ON FATE AND FREEWILL.

THE RECLUSE TURNED LIBERTINE.

An attendant on the Mesjid was close shut up from calamities, but he became assiduous in frequenting the street of taverns:

He conveyed wine to his mouth, and like wine shed tears; saying, 'O me miserable! what refuge is there for me.

'The bird of desire was at rest in my heart;

'but the grains of my rosary were a snare to me.

'The Caba was the plunderer of my precious time; the house of Islam became a tavern.

'It was my bad ascendant: I was ill-starred:

'I was destined for the dwelling of profligate Kalandars.

'The eye of good breeding is under a veil for me; the street, where taverns are, is disordered through me.

'Let the blame of the world be upon me, who am driven from it; but let my own dust be far removed from my skirts.

'Were it not my fate, how could I and the
idol Lat come together? how could a servant of
the Mesjid and the place of taverns agree?"
A young fellow, who was hid in the same
veil, said with spirit from the place, whence he
had cast his eye,
"Hold this conduct remote from the way of
destiny: a hundred thousand, such as thou,
are a single barley-corn to the divine will.
"Come to the gate of asking pardon, and thou
wilt wash away thy sin, and then tell a different
story of this strain.
"When thou shalt go, the acceptor of ex-
cuses will take thee; if not, he will himself
come, and bear thee away captive.
"To feed on green vegetables from the sur-
face of the earth, is enough: this firmament
is a sufficient sugar-cane for thy milk.
"Till he shall take thy water from thee, make
a provision of it; for one short day seek a
corner of retirement on account of thy ap-
proaching dissolution.
"Thine eye drowned in bloody tears was not
pleasing; the living and the dead sunk in the
same slumber,
"Heaven saw thine eye thus drunken with
sleep, it concealed its face under a veil.
X.

ON CANDOUR AND DETRACTION.

THE BENEVOLENCE OF JESUS.

The foot of Mesihhâ, which was travelling the world, passed by the end of a little market place.

A wolf-dog had fallen in the path-way: his Yûsûf (his life) had escaped out of the pit (his body).

A crowd was gazing on the head of the dead beast, in the manner of carrion-eating vultures.

One said: 'The disgustfulness of this carcass brings offence to our brain, like wind on a lamp.'

And another said: 'That account is not sufficient: it is blindness to the eye, and torment to the heart.'

Every man produced a note in this strain, and showed spite against the head of the dead dog.

When the turn of Jesus came to speak, he laid blame aside, and came with moral wisdom.

He said, from that rich imagery, which is in the palace of his mind, 'pearls are not equal in whiteness to his teeth.'

And those two or three persons made their
own teeth white with that burned shell (meaning the carcase) from the fear of rebuke, and the hope of forgiveness.

Look not on the faults of people and the merits of thyself: cast thine eye down on thy own collar.

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XI.

ON THE INSTABILITY OF EARTHLY ADVANTAGES.

THE PHILOSOPHER AND THE GARDEN.

A philosopher from the realm of Hindustan took his way towards a garden.

He saw a station with a painted edifice; he found a royal mansion with ornamented tapestry.

The rose-bud, like the world, tucking up his robe for blood; the poppy not considering the shortness of his life.

Flowers of many a hue raised from the bower, wine mixed with sugar close confined (in the stalks or nectaria).

The thorn with its shield pierced by his own shaft, the willow trembling for his own life.
The locks of the violet forming a rope for his neck, the eye of the narcissus shedding coins into his lap.

The poppy receiving gems from the turquoisé throne of the rose; the poppy lasting for one breath (moment), the rose for one day.

Their duration is for one instant, no more; none of them are attentive to the end.

When the sage had departed from that bower of paradise, after some months he passed towards the same quarter.

For those flowers and nightingales which he had seen in that garden, he perceived the noise of drunkenness from kites and crows.

The verdure of the garden changed for an exhalation, the nosegay of flowers for daggers of thorns.

The old man looked on that quick departing beauty: he laughed at all the flowers, and wept for himself.

He said: 'In the time of display nothing has the property of permanence.

'Whoever has raised his head from a little earth and water, has been drawn in the end to desolation.

'Since there is no abode better than a desolate one, I have no other inclination than to retire in solitude.'

When he had received sight by the light of
confidence in heaven; he became acquainted with himself, and found God.

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XII.

ON A BAD CONSCIENCE.

THE TWO RIVAL PHYSICIANS.

Between two Physicians, by reason of their dwelling together, some discourse passed of alienated good will.

It was the boast of 'I am the man;' and 'thou art he,' was not turned up: it was the reign of one, and that of two was not admitted.

In truth, it is not proper that two should hear themselves called one; it is not fit, that both together should crop one harvest.

Who ever saw the banquet of two Jemshids in one apartment? Who ever saw the place of two sabres in one sheath?

It was the desire of the two sages themselves, that one of the two should appropriate the dwelling.

When this animosity took up the girdle of hatred, each took his own way to leave the chamber empty.

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Both of them in the morning uttered a strain of *malice*: they made an outcry like sellers of a house.

That they may depart from the cause of disarrangement; they severally eat, like sugar, their own contrivance.

That, which ever of them in that house is the more strong hearted, whose draught of poison is the more destructive,

Men would give to one art the dominion of both stores of wisdom; they would give to one body the life of two human forms.

The first rival formed a bowl of poison, which by its putrid effluviae, melted the hardest black stone.

That lion-man took his draught; with the recollection of sugar he drank the poison easily.

A nectarous herb, which sat in it, closed the passage of the venom with an antidote.

He burned like a moth, and found his wings again: like a taper he hastened back to the assembly.

The other plucked a flower from the harbour; he pronounced a charm, and breathed on the flower.

He gave to his enemy, on account of his violence, that flower more operative than his poison.

*His* enemy, from the flower, which the en-
chanter gave, through fear of it became senseless, and gave up the ghost.

*That rival* by a medicine carried the poison from his body; and this died through imagination, of a single flower.

*Such among the many-coloured flowers, which are in the garden of the earth, is a drop of blood from the heart of a man.*

N. B. He means, perhaps, that it would have the same strong effect on the mind of a murderer or tyrant, as the flower had on the imagination of the physician.

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**XIII.**

**ON RICHES.**

**THE PILGRIM, AND THE SUFI HIS DEPOSITARY.**

A **traveller** to the **Carah** began a preparation for the journey; he performed the ceremonies of those who visit the **Carah**.

That, which he held beyond the object of his business, *was* the sum of ten thousand *dinars* (pieces of gold) which he had.
A certain Sufi, a liberal man, said to him, 'Shorten thy sleeve from trouble.
' It has come into my heart that honesty in keeping a deposit is within it; good faith, if it be in no one else, is in it.'

The pilgrim went, and secretly carried it to his house: he delivered the ten thousand dinars to the Sufi,

And said, 'Keep the secret within this veil, that, when I come, thou mayst bring it to me again.'

The merchant took the way of the desert: the Shaikh took up the deposited gold,

Saying, 'O Lord! and beware!' which was itself so much, that the heart of the dervish was captivated by it.

He said, 'With this gold I have decorated my labours: I have found that treasure, which I was asking for.

'Let me devour quickly what God has given, that there may not be an obstacle from proceeding gently.'

He opened the chain from its links: he gave a loose to pleasure for several nights.

He put his hand on the bag of dinars; he made the locks of idols the strings of his holy girdle.

His frock and hassock were torn to pieces:
contraction of heart remaining, and abundant excuses.

He so devoured his game, that no mark of it remained: a drop of oil remained not for his lamp.

Our Hājī, when he came back from his journey, made an incursion, like a Turk, on his Hindu.

He said, 'Bring to me; O sharp-minded—,' the other said 'What?' He said 'my gold,' the Sūfī said to him, 'silence.'

'Suspend thy anger in generosity, and lay aside strife: from a desolate village who takes tribute?

'That sum of money has been expended in the air: from what place to what place is the distance between the bankrupt and the ten thousand pieces?

'No one has borne safely one incursion of Turks; no one has delivered securely his goods to an Hindu.

'Thy ingot of pure gold has broken the column of my heart: I have devoured that infamy, which fits heavy on me.

With a hundred smiles he had given his wealth to plunder: he went, and, with an hundred tears, flood by his feet.

The Sūfī said: 'the world is in labour with
injury; by an injurious act it is gone: the sin
lies upon me.

'O be merciful, for I am penitent; again, by
thy hand, I am become a Musselman.'
The Háji said to him with generosity, yet
with a hundred agitations, 'arise, for of this
strain nothing was proper.'

When the silver of God was gone back to
God, he became a destroyer of silver, and passed
away from it.

He became his own adviser, saying: 'In this
house make no bustle: he has nothing to re-
store: what can I take from nothing?

'How should I take gold, since he has not a
barley-corn? he has no pledge in his hand, but
his worship of God.

'Whatever concerns that wealth and this Súfi,
is a mim with a loop or a Cufick álf (that is
contains nothing).'

He said: 'Thou desirest that I would not
distress thee: that which was forbidden to
thee I make lawful for thee.

'Keep thy hand, O thou player with cups
and balls, like the sky, from a short sleeve and
a long hand.

'No heart is free from covetousness and envy;
there is not a faithful man on the surface of
this earth.
ON TRUTH.

'Faith is current coin; give it not to Shaitan; give not to a dog-keeper the rich collar of the Faghfur (emperor of China).'

If thou givest, O Khwâjah, an obligation is upon thee: the stock of an indigent man it is impossible to demand back.

This is the station of vice; making virtue thy provision, go, catch the skirts of faith, and retire to a corner.

The publick officer of this road is like a plunderer; a poor man is better off than one well attended.

Fortune strikes not the moneyless: she smites the caravan of the opulent.

I have seen from that station where the world is viewed, that the adversity of bees is from the sweetness of their comb.

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XIV.

ON TRUTH.

THE TYRANT AND THE SAGE.

There was a king, who oppressed his subjects: in his fondness of false evidence he had the manners of Hejjâj (a tyrant of Basrah).
Whatever in the night time was born (or conceived) from the morning was repeated in his palace at early dawn.

One morning a person went to the king, more apt to disclose secrets than the orb of the moon,

Who from the moon acquired nightly stratagems, and from the dawn learned the art of an informer.

He said: 'A certain old man in private has called thee a disturber, and a tyrant, and blood-thirsty.'

The king was enraged by his speech: he said, 'Even now I put him to death.'

He spread a cloth, and scattered sand on it: (to catch the blood) the devil himself fled from his madness.

A youth went, like the wind, to the face of the old man: he said, 'The king is ill disposed towards thee.

'Before this evil-minded tyrant has pronounced thy doom, arise, go to him, that thou mayst bring him to his right state of mind.'

The sage performed his ablution; took his shroud; went before the king, and took up his discourse.

The dark-minded monarch clapped his hands together; and, from a desire of revenge, his eye was bent back towards the heel of his foot.
ON TRUTH.

He said: 'I have heard that thou hast given loose to thy speech; thou hast called me revengeful and mad-headed.

'Art thou apprized of my monarchy like that of SOLIMAN? dost thou call me in this manner an oppressive demon?'

The old man said to him: 'I have not been sleeping: I have said worse of thee than what thou repeatest.

'Old and young are in peril from thy act; town and village are injured by thy ministry.

'I, who am thus enumerating thy faults, am holding a mirror to thee both for bad and good.

'When the mirror shows thy blemishes truly, break thyself: it is a crime to break the mirror.

'See my truth, and apply thy understanding to me; and, if it be not so, kill me on a gibbet.' When the sage made a confession with truth, the veracity of the old man had an effect on him.

When the king saw that veracity of his before him, he perceived his rectitude, his own crookedness.

He said: take away his spices and his shroud, bring in my sweet odours, and robe of honour.

He went back from the height of injustice: he became a just prince, cherishing his subjects.

No virtuous man has kept his truth con-
sealed; for a true speech no man has been injured.

Bring truth (rāfī) forward, that thou mayst be saved (raštīgār): truth from thee is victory from the Creator.

Though true words were all pearls, yet they would be harsh, very harsh, for 'truth is bitter,'

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XV.

ON BAD MINISTERS.

THE YOUNG KING AND HIS MINISTERS.

I have heard a tale, that, in the farthest limits of Marv, there was a prince, a youth like a cypress.

That country was disturbed by his government: the realm was treacherous to him, like fortune.

The old ministers reproved his inexperience: he was in peril from a disturbance half raised.

One night, with anxiety from that calamity, he dreamed, that an old man (or Saint) spoke to him in his sleep.
ON PRUDENCE.

Saying: 'O new moon, dig up thy old ram-
part, (or sign of the Zodiack) and. O fresh
flower, strike the old branch.

'The new bough cannot raise its head from
the cypress-grove, unless thou smite the neck
of the aged stem,

'That the dominion may be fixed on thee,
that thy life, like thy disposition, may be more
pleasant.'

When the king raised up his head from heavy
sleep, he removed those two or three persons
from among his ministers.

He raised the new, and erased the old: the
realm became fresh for the young king.

He, who makes a rent in the kingdom is
better overthrown; an army, ill performing its
engagements, is better dispersed.

XVI.

ON PRUDENCE.

THE SENSIBLE CHILD.

A child, from among those of liberal birth,
went out with two or three of the same age.

His foot from that running was joined to his
hand, *(he fell)*: he broke the joy of his heart, and the bone of his foot.

The breath of those two or three companions of the same age was more contracted than the distress of his situation.

He, who was most friendly to him, said: 'It will be necessary to hide him at the bottom of a pit,

'That the secret may not be revealed like the day; that we may not be full of shame from his father.'

One of them was his enemy, a child who most considered the end of things.

He said to *himself*: 'Certainly, by means of these companions, the process of this business cannot remain hidden.

'Since they consider me, among them all, as his enemy, they may throw upon me the suspicion of this accident?'

He went to the father, and made him acquainted *with it*; so that his father provided a remedy for the mischief.

Whoever has in him the jewel of prudence, has power over every thing.
XVII.

ON RETIREMENT AND TEMPTATION.

THE RECLUSE AND HIS PUPILS.

A TRAVELLER, from among the men of devotion, went abroad, and with the spiritual guide, were a thousand pupils:

In that caravan the sage resigned in a single moment the whole stock of his devotion to earthly depositaries, (earthly enjoyments).

Each of his scholars shook his sleeve in departing from him, till all departed: one person remained.

The old man said to him: 'What design has been formed, that all of them are gone, and thou stayest in thy place?'

The pupil said: 'Oh! my heart is thy station; the diadem of my head is the dust of the sole of thy foot.

'I came not, in the first moment, with the wind of levity, that I should go back with the same wind.

'Let him who expects justice, live justly; let him who comes with the gale go with the gale.'
The dust goes quickly; it was quickly settled: thence it has no permanence in one place.
The mountain by gentle degrees attains its height; by reason of that it is so durable.
It is the disposition of fortune to rend veils; it is the business of the patient to bear burdens.
Be not the bearer of evil, if thy robe be not defiled; bear not the burden of nature, if thou beest not an ass.

The taper, which every night is employed in shedding gold, (light) is like a truly devout man concealed under a mantle.

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XVIII.

ON SECRECY.

THE CONFIDENTIAL MINISTER.

There was a confidential intimate friend of Jemshid; he was more intimately connected than the moon with the sun.
The employment of this noble youth raised its head so high, that the king exalted him above all the world.
Since for fidelity he bore away the ball from
others, the king delivered to him his treasury with the office of superintendent.

With all his near approach to the king, the youth leaped to a farther distance, like an arrow from the bow.

The secret of the monarch pierced the heart of the excellent youth: he durst not mention that secret to any one.

An old woman found the way of the virtuous youth; she found his red poppy (his cheek) yellow as her clay (her complexion).

She said: 'O cypress, what autumn hast thou felt, who hast drunk water from the rivulet of kings.

'Why art thou pale, since thou drawest from that stream? What is this narrow-heartedness from that pleasantness of heart?

'On thee a youth why is the form of old age? Thou drinkest poppies (red wine): Why is thy complexion like a white violet?

'Thou art not the secret keeper of the king of the world. Expand thy countenance, like the heart of the world's monarch.

'The face of the subject should be red through the prince; especially the cheeks of the confidential officers of the army.'

The youth said: 'Thy mind is unaware of this; thou art ignorant of that which is in my heart.
My patience has made me the close companion of sorrow; patience (or aloe) has made my face so pale.

The king has placed, in proportion to his own greatness, the gem of his secrets in my heart.

That, which he has placed in this heart, is vast: I cannot reveal the secret of the great.

I have not thus closed my heart through his words: through my own deficiency I have confined my tongue.

Thence I open not with thee the door of smiles; that, by means of my tongue, the bird of the secret may not fly out.

If this secret should not pass out of my heart, I fix my mind to this, that my heart must be full of blood.

And if I should make the hidden secret publick, fortune would utter words of fear from my head!

The old woman said to him: 'Use not the person of any one: know thyself thy friend, thyself thy associate; and enough.

Hold not a single person the confident of this breath; hold not even thy own shadow thy confidential companion.

This face of thine, with the colour of a gold-coin, is better pale, than if it were red in a whirlpool of blood.'
ON SECRECY.

I myself hear, that in the night the head says several times to the tongue 'beware.'

Dost thou seek the summit (or the desired object)? make not thy tongue long and sharp like a sword; make not a window dispersing secrets.

A man, who binds down his tongue, may be happy; the mad dog is a stretcher out of his tongue.

Thy best security is thy tongue under the palate: a sabre is best liked in the sheath.

The solace of this mortal grief is in souls; for the calamity of heads is in tongues.

Keep thy tongue in this charger (of the world); that thy head may not say Ah! from a real charger.

Open not thy lip; although there be waters of life in it; since behind a wall are many ears.

Whilst men smell not thy fragrant breath, like the violet, they will not, as that flower, crop thy head, by reason of thy tongue.

Hear not bad speeches; it is a time for dullness of hearing: speak not bad words, it is a season for silence.
XIX.

ON TACITURNITY.

THE NIGHTINGALE AND THE HAWK.

When the rose-bush blossomed in the bower of a garden, a nightingale went up to a hawk, and said,

' From all birds, how hast thou, being silent, born away the ball? Produce at length the reason.

' Since thou hast drawn breath through thy closed lip, thou hast not spoken a pleasing word to any one.

' Yet thy abode is the wrist of Sanjar (the king): thy food is the breast of the most delicate partridge.

' I, who with one twinkling of an eye, by mysterious operation, produce a hundred fine gems from my pocket,

' Why is hunting for worms my nature? Why is my mansion on the top of thorns?

The hawk said to him: *For a moment be all ear: observe my taciturnity, and be silent.

' I, who am a little conversant in business, perform a hundred acts, and repeat not one.
ON THE PRIDE OF WEALTH.

'Go; for thou art beguiled by fortune; thou performest not one deed, nevertheless thou displayest a thousand.

'Since I am all intelligence at the place of hunting, the king gives me the breasts of partridges, and his wrist.

'Since thou art one entire motion of a tongue, eat worms, and sit on thorns; and so peace be with you.'

XX.

ON THE PRIDE OF WEALTH.

HA'RU'NU'RRASHID AND HIS BARBER.

When the period of the Khalâfet came to Hârûn, the standard of Abbas extended over the world.

One midnight he turned his back on the partner of his bed, and turned his face to the enjoyment of the warm bath.

A barber, who was shaving his head, cutting hair by hair dispelled his sorrow,

Saying, 'O thou, who haft been apprized of
my pre-eminence, connect me to thee this day
by making me thy son-in-law:
'Publish the discourse of my marriage; make
thy daughter betrothed to thy servant.'
The temper of the Khalifah grew a little
warm; but became again inclined to lenity.
He said: 'My dominion has turned his liver;
he has gotten wild stupidity through my amaz-
ing grandeur.
'His being beside himself, has made him a
talker of such nonsense: if not, he would not
have made this request and demand to me.'
The next day he tried him better: the same
impression was on the coin of his heart.
Thus he made trial of him several times: the
habit of the man departed not from its fixed
place.
Since a want of clearness carried the matter
from light, the king carried the story to a con-
sultation with his Vezir.
'Saying, 'From the rough pen of a hair-
cutter, has this event written on my forehead
by destiny fallen on my head.
'He must have the rank of being my son-in-
law! See what a want of good breeding sug-
gests to him.
'Whenever he comes, like fate, upon my
head, he throws stones upon me and upon my
gems.
'In his mouth is a poniard, and in his hand a sword, I will give him the edge of a sabre without fail.'

The Vezir said: 'Thou art secure from any design of his: perhaps his foot is on the top of a treasure.

'When the simple man shall come towards thy head, say, "turn aside from the place, where thy foot first stood."

'If he be refractory, strike off his neck; if not dig up the place, where he stepped first.'

The man with obedience, from the desire of compliance, which he had, changed his place in the manner, that was directed.

When he separated his foot from the first station, the manner of the barber was different.

While his foot was on the head of a treasure, the figure of royalty was in his mirror.

When he saw his foot devoid of the treasure, he saw again the cottage of his barber's business.

Having sewed up his mouth he saw the propriety of little speech; he had taught good-breeding to his eye and tongue.

They soon dug up the place, where he stood, and found a treasure under his foot.

Whoever sets his foot on the head of a treasure, by his own speech opens the door of the treasury.
ON THE PRIDE OF WEALTH.

The treasure of Nezami, who has thrown down the talisman, which concealed it, is a clear bosom and an enlightened heart.

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