THE WORKS OF SIR WILLIAM JONES.

WITH THE LIFE OF THE AUTHOR.

BY LORD TEIGNMOUTH.

IN THIRTEEN VOLUMES.

VOLUME III.

AGAM PRAKASHAN DELHI
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A
DISCOURSE
DELIVERED AT A MEETING OF THE
ASIATICk SOCIETY,
IN CALCUTTA,
ON THE
TWENTY-SECOND OF MAY, 1794.

BY THE HONOURABLE
SIR JOHN SHORE, BART*.
PRESIDENT.

* Since Lord Teignmouth.
A

DISCOURSE, &c.

GENTLEMEN,

If I had consulted my competency only, for the station which your choice has conferred upon me, I must without hesitation have declined the honour of being the President of this Society; and although I must cheerfully accept your invitation, with every inclination to assist, as far as my abilities extend, in promoting the laudable views of your association, I must still retain the consciousness of those disqualifications, which you have been pleased to overlook.

It was lately our boast to possess a President, whose name, talents, and character, would have been honourable to any institution; it is now our misfortune to lament, that Sir William Jones exists, but in the affections of his friends, and in the esteem, veneration, and regret of all.

I cannot, I flatter myself, offer a more grateful tribute to the Society, than by making his character the subject of my first address to you;
and if in the delineation of it, fondness or affection for the man should appear blended with my reverence for his genius and abilities, in the sympathy of your feelings I shall find my apology.

To define with accuracy the variety, value, and extent of his literary attainments, requires more learning than I pretend to possess, and I am therefore to solicit your indulgence for an imperfect sketch, rather than expect your approbation for a complete description of the talents, and knowledge, of your late and lamented President.

I shall begin with mentioning his wonderful capacity for the acquisition of languages, which has never been excelled. In Greek and Roman literature, his early proficiency was the subject of admiration and applause; and knowledge, of whatever nature, once obtained by him, was ever afterwards progressive. The more elegant dialects of modern Europe, the French, the Spanish, and the Italian, he spoke and wrote with the greatest fluency and precision; and the German and Portuguese were familiar to him. At an early period of life his application to Oriental literature commenced; he studied the Hebrew with ease and success, and many of the most learned Asiatics have the candour to avow, that his knowledge of Arabick and Persian was as accurate and extensive as their own:
he was also conversant in the Turkish idiom, and the Chinese had even attracted his notice, so far as to induce him to learn the radical characters of that language, with a view perhaps to farther improvements. It was to be expected, after his arrival in India, that he would eagerly embrace the opportunity of making himself master of the Sanscrit; and the most enlightened professors of the doctrines of Brahma confess with pride, delight, and surprise, that his knowledge of their sacred dialect was most critically correct and profound. The Pandits, who were in the habit of attending him, when I saw them after his death, at a public Durbar, could neither suppress their tears for his loss, nor find terms to express their admiration at the wonderful progress he had made in their sciences.

Before the expiration of his twenty-second year, he had completed his Commentaries on the Poetry of the Asiaticks, although a considerable time afterwards elapsed before their publication; and this work, if no other monument of his labours existed, would at once furnish proofs of his consummate skill in the Oriental dialects, of his proficiency in those of Rome and Greece, of taste and erudition far beyond his years, and of talents and application without example.
But the judgement of Sir William Jones was too discerning to consider language in any other light than as the key of science, and he would have despised the reputation of a mere linguist. Knowledge and truth, were the object of all his studies, and his ambition was to be useful to mankind; with these views, he extended his researches to all languages, nations, and times.

Such were the motives that induced him to propose to the Government of this country, what he justly denominated a work of national utility and importance, the compilation of a copious digest of Hindu and Mahommedan Law, from Sanscrit and Arabick originals, with an offer of his services to superintend the compilation, and with a promise to translate it. He had foreseen, previous to his departure from Europe, that without the aid of such a work, the wise and benevolent intentions of the legislature of Great Britain, in leaving, to a certain extent, the natives of these provinces in possession of their own laws, could not be completely fulfilled; and his experience, after a short residence in India, confirmed what his sagacity had anticipated, that without principles to refer to, in a language familiar to the judges of the courts, adjudications amongst the natives must too
often be subject to an uncertain and erroneous exposition, or wilful misinterpretation of their laws.

To the superintendence of this work, which was immediately undertaken at his suggestion, he assiduously devoted those hours which he could spare from his professional duties. After tracing the plan of the digest, he prescribed its arrangement and mode of execution, and selected from the most learned Hindus and Mahommedans fit persons for the task of compiling it; flattered by his attention, and encouraged by his applause, the Pandits prosecuted their labours with cheerful zeal, to a satisfactory conclusion. The Molavees have also nearly finished their portion of the work, but we must ever regret, that the promised translation, as well as the meditated preliminary dissertation, have been frustrated by that decree, which so often intercepts the performance of human purposes.

During the course of this compilation, and as auxiliary to it, he was led to study the works of Meno, reputed by the Hindus to be the oldest, and holiest of legislatures; and finding them to comprise a system of religious and civil duties, and of law in all its branches, so comprehensive and minutely exact, that it might be considered as the Institutes of Hindu law, he
presented a translation of them to the Government of Bengal. During the same period, deeming no labour excessive or superfluous that tended, in any respect, to promote the welfare or happiness of mankind, he gave the public an English version of the Arabick text of the Sira-Jiyah, or Mabommedan Law of Inheritance, with a Commentary. He had already published in England, a translation of a Tract on the same subject, by another Mabommedan Lawyer, containing, as his own words express, "a lively and elegant epitome of the law of Inheritance, according to Zaid."

To these learned and important works, so far out of the road of amusement, nothing could have engaged his application, but that desire which he ever professed, of rendering his knowledge useful to his nation, and beneficial to the inhabitants of these provinces.

Without attending to the chronological order of their publication, I shall briefly recapitulate his other performances in Asiatick Literature, as far as my knowledge and recollection of them extend.

The vanity and petulance of Anquetil du Perron, with his illiberal reflections on some of the learned members of the University of Oxford, extorted from him a letter, in the French language, which has been admired for accurate
criticism, just satire, and elegant composition. A regard for the literary reputation of his country, induced him to translate, from a Persian original into French, the life of Nadir Shah, that it might not be carried out of England, with a reflection, that no person had been found in the British dominions capable of translating it. The students of Persian literature must ever be grateful to him, for a grammar of that language, in which he has shown the possibility of combining taste, and elegance, with the precision of a grammarian; and every admirer of Arabick poetry, must acknowledge his obligations to him, for an English version of the seven celebrated poems, so well known by the name of Moallakat, from the distinction to which their excellence had entitled them, of being suspended in the temple of Mecca: I should scarcely think it of importance to mention, that he did not disdain the office of Editor of a Sanscrit and Persian work, if it did not afford me an opportunity of adding, that the latter was published at his own expence, and was sold for the benefit of insolvent debtors. A similar application was made of the produce of the Sirajiya.

Of his lighter productions, the elegant amusements of his leisure hours, comprehending hymns on the Hindu mythology, poems
consisting chiefly of translations from the Asiatic languages, and the version of Sacon
tala, an ancient Indian drama, it would be unbecoming to speak in a style of importance
which he did not himself annex to them. They show the activity of a vigorous mind, its ferti-
licity, its genius, and its taste. Nor shall I particularly dwell on the discourses addressed to this
Society, which we have all perused or heard, or on the other learned and interesting disserta-
tions, which form so large, and valuable a portion of the records of our Researches; let us
lament, that the spirit which dictated them is to us extinct, and that the voice to which
we listened with improvement, and rapture, will be heard by us no more.

But I cannot pass over a paper, which has fallen into my possession since his demise, in
the handwriting of Sir William Jones himself, entitled Desiderata, as more explanatory than any thing I can say, of the
comprehensive views of his enlightened mind. It contains, as a perusal of it will show, whatever is most curious, important, and attainable
in the sciences and histories of India, Arabia, China, and Tartary; subjects, which he had
already most amply discussed in the disqui-
sitions which he laid before the Society.
DESIDERATA.

INDIA.

1.—The Ancient Geography of India, &c. from the Puranas.
2.—A Botanical Description of Indian Plants, from the Coshas, &c.
3.—A Grammar of the Sanscrit Language, from Panini, &c.
4.—A Dictionary of the Sanscrit Language, from thirty-two original vocabularies and Niruçti.
5.—On the Ancient Music of the Indians.
6.—On the Medical Substances of India, and the Indian Art of Medicine.
7.—On the Philosophy of the Ancient Indians.
8.—A Translation of the Veda.
9.—On Ancient Indian Geometry, Astronomy, and Algebra.
10.—A Translation of the Puranas.
11.—A Translation of the Mahabbarat and Ramayan.
12.—On the Indian Theatre, &c. &c. &c.
13.—On the Indian Constellations, with their Mythology, from the Puranas.
14.—The History of India before the Mahomedan conquest, from the Sanscrit-Cashmir Histories.
ARABIA.

15.—The History of Arabia before Mahommed.
16.—A Translation of the Hamasa.
17.—A Translation of Hariri.
18.—A Translation of the Facahatul Khulafa.

Of the Cafsiah.

PERSIA.

19.—The History of Persia from Authorities in Sanscrit, Arabick, Greek, Turkish, Persian, ancient and modern.

Firdauisi's Khosrau nama.

20.—The five Poems of Nizami, translated in prose.


CHINA.

21.—A Translation of the Shi-king.
22.—The text of Can-fu-tsou verbally translated.

TARTARY.

23.—A History of the Tartar Nations, chiefly of the Moguls and Othmans, from the Turkish and Persian.
We are not authorised to conclude, that he had himself formed a determination to complete the works which his genius and knowledge had thus sketched; the task seems to require a period, beyond the probable duration of any human life; but we, who had the happiness to know Sir William Jones, who were witnesses of his indefatigable perseverance in the pursuit of knowledge, and of his ardour to accomplish whatever he deemed important; who saw the extent of his intellectual powers, his wonderful attainments in literature and science, and the facility with which all his compositions were made, cannot doubt, if it had pleased Providence to protract the date of his existence, that he would have ably executed much, of what he had so extensively planned.

I have hitherto principally confined my discourse to the pursuits of our late President in Oriental literature, which, from their extent, might appear to have occupied all his time; but they neither precluded his attention to professional studies, nor to science in general; amongst his publications in Europe, in polite literature, exclusive of various compositions in prose and verse, I find a translation of the speeches of Isæus, with a learned comment; and, in law, an Essay on the Law of Bailments;
upon the subject of this last work, I cannot
deny myself the gratification of quoting the sen-
timents of a celebrated historian: "Sir William
Jones has given an ingenious and rational
essay on the law of Bailments. He is per-
haps the only lawyer equally conversant with
the year books of Westminster, the commen-
taries of Ulpian, the Attic pleadings of
Isæus, and the sentences of Arabian and
Persian Cadhis."

His professional studies did not commence
before his twenty-second year, and I have his
own authority for asserting, that the first book
of English jurisprudence which he ever studied,
was Fortescue's essay in praise of the laws
of England.

Of the ability and conscientious integrity,
with which he discharged the functions of a
Magistrate, and the duties of a Judge of the
Supreme Court of Judicature in this settlement,
the public voice and public regret bear ample
and merited testimony. The same penetration
which marked his scientific researches, distingui-
shed his legal investigations and decisions;
and he deemed no inquiries burthensome, which
had for their object substantial justice under the
rules of law.

His addresses to the jurors, are not less dif-
titled for philanthropy, and liberality of sentiment, than for just expositions of the law, perspicuity, and elegance of diction; and his oratory was as captivating as his arguments were convincing.

In an epilogue to his commentaries on Asiatick poetry, he bids farewell to polite literature, without relinquishing his affection for it; and concludes with an intimation of his intention to study law, expressed in a wish, which we now know to have been prophetic.

Mihi sit, oro, non inutilis toga,
Nec indiscreta lingua, nec turpis manus!

I have already enumerated attainments and works, which, from their diversity and extent, seem far beyond the capacity of the most enlarged minds; but the catalogue may yet be augmented. To a proficiency in the languages of Greece, Rome, and Asia, he added the knowledge of the philosophy of those countries, and of everything curious and valuable that had been taught in them. The doctrines of the Academy, the Lyceum, or the Portico, were not more familiar to him than the tenets of the Vedas, the mysticism of the Sufis, or the religion of the ancient Persians; and whilst with a kindred genius he perused with
rapture the heroic, lyric, or moral compositions, of the most renowned poets of Greece, Rome, and Asia, he could turn with equal delight and knowledge, to the sublime speculations, or mathematical calculations, of Barrow and Newton. With them also, he professed his conviction of the truth of the Christian religion, and he justly deemed it no inconsiderable advantage, that his researches had corroborated the multiplied evidence of revelation, by confirming the Melesick account of the primitive world. We all recollect, and can refer to, the following sentiments in his eighth anniversary discourse.

"Theological inquiries are no part of my present subject; but I cannot refrain from adding, that the collection of tracts, which we call from their excellence the Scriptures, contain, independently of a divine origin, more true sublimity, more exquisite beauty, purer morality, more important history, and finer strains both of poetry and eloquence, than could be collected within the same compass from all other books, that were ever composed in any age, or in any idiom. The two parts, of which the Scriptures consist, are connected by a chain of compositions, which bear no resemblance in form or style to any that can be produced
from the stores of Grecian, Indian, Persian, or even Arabian learning; the antiquity of those compositions no man doubts, and the unstrained application of them to events long subsequent to their publication, is a solid ground of belief, that they were genuine predictions, and consequently inspired.

There were in truth few sciences, in which he had not acquired considerable proficiency; in most, his knowledge was profound. The theory of music was familiar to him; nor had he neglected to make himself acquainted with the interesting discoveries lately made in chemistry; and I have heard him assert, that his admiration of the structure of the human frame, had induced him to attend for a season to a course of anatomical lectures delivered by his friend, the celebrated Hunter.

His last and favourite pursuit, was the study of Botany, which he originally began under the confinement of a severe and lingering disorder, which with most minds, would have proved a disqualification from any application. It constituted the principal amusement of his leisure hours. In the arrangements of Linnaeus he discovered system, truth, and science, which never failed to captivate and engage his attention; and from the proofs which he has
exhibited of his progress in Botany, we may conclude that he would have extended his discoveries in that science. The last composition which he read in this Society, was a description of select Indian plants, and I hope his Executors will allow us to fulfil his intention of publishing it, as a number in our Researches.

It cannot be deemed useless or superfluous to inquire, by what arts or method he was enabled to attain to a degree of knowledge almost universal, and apparently beyond the powers of man, during a life little exceeding forty-seven years.

The faculties of his mind, by nature vigorous, were improved by constant exercise; and his memory, by habitual practice, had acquired a capacity of retaining whatever had once been impressed upon it. To an unextinguished ardour for universal knowledge, he joined a perseverance in the pursuit of it, which subdued all obstacles; his studies began with the dawn, and during the intermissions of professional duties, were continued throughout the day; reflection and meditation strengthened and confirmed what industry and investigation had accumulated. It was a fixed principle with him, from which he never voluntarily deviated, not to be deterred by any difficulties that were fur-
mountable, from prosecuting to a successful termination, what he had once deliberately undertaken.

But what appears to me more particularly to have enabled him to employ his talents so much to his own and the public advantage, was the regular allotment of his time to particular occupations, and a scrupulous adherence to the distribution which he had fixed; hence, all his studies were pursued without interruption or confusion: nor can I here omit remarking, what may probably have attracted your observation as well as mine, the candour and complacency with which he gave his attention to all persons, of whatsoever quality, talents, or education; he justly concluded, that curious or important information, might be gained even from the illiterate; and wherever it was to be obtained, he sought and seized it.

Of the private and social virtues of our lamented President, our hearts are the best records; to you, who knew him, it cannot be necessary for me to expatiate on the independence of his integrity, his humanity, probity, or benevolence, which every living creature participated; on the affability of his conversation and manners, or his modest unassuming deportment: nor need I remark, that he was totally free from pedantry, as well as
from arrogance and self-sufficiency, which sometimes accompany and disgrace the greatest abilities; his presence was the delight of every society, which his conversation exhilarated and improved; and the public have not only to lament the loss of his talents and abilities, but that of his example.

To him, as the founder of our Institution, and whilst he lived, its firmest support, our reverence is more particularly due; instructed, animated, and encouraged by him, genius was called forth into exertion, and modest merit was excited to distinguish itself. Anxious for the reputation of the Society, he was indefatigable in his own endeavours to promote it, whilst he cheerfully assisted those of others. In losing him, we have not only been deprived of our brightest ornament, but of a guide and patron, on whose instructions, judgment, and candour, we could implicitly rely.

But it will, I trust, be long, very long, before the remembrance of his virtues, his genius, and abilities, lose that influence over the members of this Society, which his living example had maintained; and if previous to his demise he had been asked, by what posthumous honours or attentions we could best show our respect for his memory? I may venture to assert he would have replied, “By exerting yourselves
"to support the credit of the Society;" applying to it, perhaps, the dying wish of father Paul, "esto perpetua!"

In this wish we must all concur, and with it, I close this address to you.
A DISCOURSE ON THE INSTITUTION OF A
SOCIETY,
FOR INQUIRING INTO THE
HISTORY, CIVIL AND NATURAL, THE ANTIQUITIES, ARTS,
SCIENCES, AND LITERATURE, OF
ASIA.

BY THE PRESIDENT.

GENTLEMEN,

WHEN I was at sea last August, on my voyage to this country, which I had long and ardently desired to visit, I found one evening, on inspecting the observations of the day, that India lay before us, and Persia on our left, whilst a breeze from Arabia blew nearly on our stern. A situation so pleasing in itself, and to me so new, could not fail to awaken a train of reflections in a mind, which had early been accustomed to
contemplate with delight the eventful histories and agreeable fictions of this eastern world. It gave me inexpressible pleasure to find myself in the midst of so noble an amphitheatre, almost encircled by the vast regions of Asia, which has ever been esteemed the nurse of sciences, the inventress of delightful and useful arts, the scene of glorious actions, fertile in the productions of human genius, abounding in natural wonders, and infinitely diversified in the forms of religion and government, in the laws, manners, customs, and languages, as well as in the features and complexions, of men. I could not help remarking, how important and extensive a field was yet unexplored, and how many solid advantages unimproved; and when I considered, with pain, that, in this fluctuating, imperfect, and limited condition of life, such inquiries and improvements could only be made by the united efforts of many, who are not easily brought, without some pressing inducement or strong impulse, to converge in a common point, I consoled myself with a hope, founded on opinions which it might have the appearance of flattery to mention, that, if in any country or community, such an union could be effected, it was among my countrymen in Bengal, with some of whom I already had, and with most was desirous of having, the pleasure of being intimately acquainted.
THE PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE.

You have realized that hope, gentlemen, and even anticipated a declaration of my wishes, by your alacrity in laying the foundation of a society for inquiring into the history and antiquities, the natural productions, arts, sciences, and literature of Asia. I may confidently foretell, that an institution so likely to afford entertainment, and convey knowledge, to mankind, will advance to maturity by slow, yet certain, degrees; as the Royal Society, which at first was only a meeting of a few literary friends at Oxford, rose gradually to that splendid zenith, at which a Halley was their secretary, and a Newton their president.

Although it is my humble opinion, that, in order to ensure our success and permanence, we must keep a middle course between a languid remissness, and an over zealous activity, and that the tree, which you have auspiciously planted, will produce fairer blossoms, and more exquisite fruit, if it be not at first exposed to too great a glare of sunshine, yet I take the liberty of submitting to your consideration a few general ideas on the plan of our society; assuring you, that, whether you reject or approve them, your correction will give me both pleasure and instruction, as your flattering attentions have already conferred on me the highest honour.

It is your design, I conceive, to take an ample
space for your learned investigations, bounding them only by the geographical limits of Asia; so that, considering Hindustan as a centre, and turning your eyes in idea to the North, you have on your right, many important kingdoms in the Eastern peninsula, the ancient and wonderful empire of China with all her Tartarian dependencies, and that of Japan, with the cluster of precious islands, in which many singular curiosities have too long been concealed: before you lies that prodigious chain of mountains, which formerly perhaps were a barrier against the violence of the sea, and beyond them the very interesting country of Tibet, and the vast regions of Tartary, from which, as from the Trojan horse of the poets, have issued so many consummate warriors, whose domain has extended at least from the banks of the Iphasis to the mouths of the Ganges: on your left are the beautiful and celebrated provinces of Iran or Persia, the unmeasured, and perhaps unmeasurable deserts of Arabia, and the once flourishing kingdom of Yemen, with the pleasant isles that the Arabs have subdued or colonized; and farther westward, the Asiatick dominions of the Turkish sultans, whose moon seems approaching rapidly to its wane.—By this great circumference, the field of your useful researches will be inclosed; but, since Egypt had unquestionably an old con-
nection with this country, if not with China, since the language and literature of the Abyssinians bear a manifest affinity to those of Asia, since the Arabian arms prevailed along the African coast of the Mediterranean, and even erected a powerful dynasty on the continent of Europe, you may not be displeased occasionally to follow the streams of Asiatick learning a little beyond its natural boundary; and, if it be necessary or convenient, that a short name or epithet be given to our society, in order to distinguish it in the world, that of Asiatick appears both classical and proper, whether we consider the place or the object of the institution, and preferable to Oriental, which is in truth a word merely relative, and, though commonly used in Europe, conveys no very distinct idea.

If now it be asked, what are the intended objects of our inquiries within these spacious limits, we answer, MAN and NATURE; whatever is performed by the one, or produced by the other. Human knowledge has been elegantly analysed according to the three great faculties of the mind, memory, reason, and imagination, which we constantly find employed in arranging and retaining, comparing and distinguishing, combining and diversifying, the ideas, which we receive through our senses, or acquire by reflection; hence the three main branches of learning are
history, science, and art: the first comprehends either an account of natural productions, or the genuine records of empires and states; the second embraces the whole circle of pure and mixed mathematicks, together with ethicks and law, as far as they depend on the reasoning faculty; and the third includes all the beauties of imagery and the charms of invention, displayed in modulated language, or represented by colour, figure, or found.

Agreeably to this analysis, you will investigate whatever is rare in the stupendous fabrick of nature, will correct the geography of Asia by new observations and discoveries; will trace the annals, and even traditions, of those nations, who from time to time have peopled or desolated it; and will bring to light their various forms of government, with their institutions civil and religious; you will examine their improvements and methods in arithmetick and geometry, in trigonometry, mensuration, mechanicks, opticks, astronomy, and general physicks; their systems of morality, grammar, rhetorick, and dialectick; their skill in chirurgery and medicine, and their advancement, whatever it may be, in anatomy and chymistry. To this you will add researches into their agriculture, manufactures, trade; and, whilst you inquire with pleasure into their musick, architecture,
painting, and poetry, will not neglect those inferior arts, by which the comforts and even elegances of social life are supplied or improved. You may observe, that I have omitted their languages, the diversity and difficulty of which are a sad obstacle to the progress of useful knowledge; but I have ever considered languages as the mere instruments of real learning, and think them improperly confounded with learning itself: the attainment of them is, however, indispensably necessary; and if to the Persian, Armenian, Turkish, and Arabick, could be added not only the Sanscrit, the treasures of which we may now hope to see unlocked, but even the Chinese, Tartarian, Japanese, and the various insular dialects, an immense mine would then be open, in which we might labour with equal delight and advantage.

Having submitted to you these imperfect thoughts on the limits and objects of our future society, I request your permission to add a few hints on the conduct of it in its present immature state.

Lucian begins one of his satirical pieces against historians, with declaring that the only true proposition in his work was, that it should contain nothing true; and perhaps it may be advisable at first, in order to prevent any difference of sentiment on particular points not immediately
before us, to establish but one rule, namely, to have no rules at all. This only I mean, that, in the infancy of any society, there ought to be no confinement, no trouble, no expense, no unnecessary formality. Let us, if you please, for the present, have weekly evening meetings in this hall, for the purpose of hearing original papers read on such subjects, as fall within the circle of our inquiries. Let all curious and learned men be invited to send their tracts to our secretary, for which they ought immediately to receive our thanks; and if, towards the end of each year, we should be supplied with a sufficiency of valuable materials to fill a volume, let us present our Asiatick miscellany to the literary world, who have derived so much pleasure and information from the agreeable work of Kämpfer, than which we can scarce propose a better model, that they will accept with eagerness any fresh entertainment of the same kind. You will not perhaps be disposed to admit mere translations of considerable length, except of such unpublished essays or treatises as may be transmitted to us by native authors; but, whether you will enrol as members any number of learned natives, you will hereafter decide, with many other questions as they happen to arise; and you will think, I presume, that all questions should be decided on a ballot, by a majority of two
thirds, and that nine members should be requisite to constitute a board for such decisions. These points, however, and all others I submit entirely, gentlemen, to your determination, having neither wish nor pretension to claim any more than my single right of suffrage. One thing only, as essential to your dignity, I recommend with earnestness, on no account to admit a new member, who has not expressed a voluntary desire to become so; and in that case, you will not require, I suppose, any other qualification than a love of knowledge, and a zeal for the promotion of it.

Your institution, I am persuaded, will ripen of itself, and your meetings will be amply supplied with interesting and amusing papers, as soon as the object of your inquiries shall be generally known. There are, it may not be delicate to name them, but there are many, from whose important studies I cannot but conceive high expectations; and, as far as mere labour will avail, I sincerely promise, that, if in my allotted sphere of jurisprudence, or in any intellectual excursion, that I may have leisure to make, I should be so fortunate as to collect, by accident, either fruits or flowers, which may seem valuable or pleasing, I shall offer my humble Nexr to your society with as much respectful zeal as to the greatest potentate on earth.
GENTLEMEN,

If the Deity of the Hindus, by whom all their just requests are believed to be granted with singular indulgence, had proposed last year to gratify my warmest wishes, I could have desired nothing more ardently than the success of your institution; because I can desire nothing in preference to the general good, which your plan seems calculated to promote, by bringing to light many useful and interesting tracts, which, being too short for separate publication, might lie many years concealed, or, perhaps, irrecoverably perish: my wishes are accomplished, without an invocation to Camadhe'nu; and your Society, having already passed its infant state, is advancing to maturity with every mark of a healthy and robust constitution. When I reflect, indeed, on the variety of subjects, which have been discussed before you, concerning the his-
tory, laws, manners, arts, and antiquities of Asia, I am unable to decide whether my pleasure or my surprise be the greater; for I will not dissemble, that your progress has far exceeded my expectations; and, though we must seriously deplore the loss of those excellent men, who have lately departed from this Capital, yet there is a prospect still of large contributions to your stock of Asiatick learning, which, I am persuaded, will continually increase. My late journey to Benares has enabled me to assure you, that many of your members, who reside at a distance, employ a part of their leisure in preparing additions to your archives; and, unless I am too sanguine, you will soon receive light from them on several topics entirely new in the republick of letters.

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

Whoever travels in Asia, especially if he be conversant with the literature of the countries through which he passes, must naturally remark the superiority of European talents: the observation, indeed, is at least as old as Alexander; and, though we cannot agree with the sage preceptor of that ambitious Prince, that "the Asiatics are born to be slaves," yet the Athenian poet seems perfectly in the right, when he represents Europe as a sovereign Princess, and Asia as her Handmaid: but, if the mistress be transcendently majestic, it cannot be denied that the attendant has many beauties, and some advantages peculiar to herself. The ancients were accustomed to pronounce panegyricks on their own countrymen at the expense of all other nations, with a political view, perhaps, of stimulating them by praise, and exciting them to still greater exertions; but such arts are here unnecessary; nor would they, indeed, become a society, who seek nothing but truth unadorned by rhetorick; and, although we must be conscious of our superior advancement in all kinds of useful knowledge, yet we ought not therefore to contemn the people of Asia, from whose researches into nature, works of art, and inventions of fancy, many valuable hints may be de-
rived for our own improvement and advantage. If that, indeed, were not the principal object of your institution, little else could arise from it but the mere gratification of curiosity; and I should not receive so much delight from the humble share, which you have allowed me to take, in promoting it.

To form an exact parallel between the works and actions of the Western and Eastern worlds, would require a tract of no inconsiderable length; but we may decide on the whole, that reason and taste are the grand prerogatives of European minds, while the Asiaticks have soared to loftier heights in the sphere of imagination. The civil history of their vast empires, and of India in particular, must be highly interesting to our common country; but we have a still nearer interest in knowing all former modes of ruling these inestimable provinces, on the prosperity of which so much of our national welfare, and individual benefit, seems to depend. A minute geographical knowledge, not only of Bengal and Babar, but, for evident reasons, of all the kingdoms bordering on them, is closely connected with an account of their many revolutions: but the natural productions of these territories, especially in the vegetable and mineral systems, are momentous objects of research to an imperial,
but, which is a character of equal dignity, a commercial, people.

If Botany may be described by metaphors drawn from the science itself, we may justly pronounce a minute acquaintance with plants, their classes, orders, kinds, and species, to be its flowers, which can only produce fruit by an application of that knowledge to the purposes of life, particularly to diet, by which diseases may be avoided, and to medicine, by which they may be remedied: for the improvement of the last mentioned art, than which none surely can be more beneficial to mankind, the virtues of minerals also should be accurately known. So highly has medical skill been prized by the ancient Indians, that one of the fourteen Retna's, or precious things, which their Gods are believed to have produced by churning the ocean with the mountain Mandara, was a learned physician. What their old books contain on this subject, we ought certainly to discover, and that without loss of time; lest the venerable but abstruse language, in which they are composed, should cease to be perfectly intelligible, even to the best educated natives, through a want of powerful invitation to study it. Bernier, who was himself of the Faculty, mentions approved medical books in Sanscrit, and cites a few aphorisms,
which appear judicious and rational; but we
can expect nothing so important from the works
of Hindu or Muselman physicians, as the know-
ledge, which experience must have given them,
of simple medicines. I have seen an Indian
prescription of fifty-four, and another of sixty-
six, ingredients; but such compositions are always
to be suspected, since the effect of one ingredient
may destroy that of another; and it were better
to find certain accounts of a single leaf or berry,
than to be acquainted with the most elaborate
compounds, unless they too have been proved
by a multitude of successful experiments. The
noble deobstruent oil, extracted from the Eranda
nut, the whole family of Balsams, the incom-
parable stomachick root from Columbo, the fine
astringent ridiculously called Japan earth, but
in truth produced by the decoction of an Indian
plant, have long been used in Asia; and who
can foretell what glorious discoveries of other oils,
roots, and salutary juices, may be made by your
society? If it be doubtful whether the Peruvian
bark be always efficacious in this country, its
place may, perhaps, be supplied by some indi-
genous vegetable equally antiseptic, and more
congenial to the climate. Whether any trea-
tises on Agriculture have been written by ex-
perienced natives of these provinces, I am not
yet informed; but since the court of Spain ex-
pect to find useful remarks in an Arabick tract preserved in the Escorial, on the cultivation of land in that kingdom, we should inquire for similar compositions, and examine the contents of such as we can procure.

The sublime science of Chymistry, which I was on the point of calling divine, must be added, as a key to the richest treasuries of nature; and it is impossible to foresee how greatly it may improve our manufactures, especially if it can fix those brilliant dyes, which want nothing of perfect beauty but a longer continuance of their splendour; or how far it may lead to new methods of fluxing and compounding metals, which the Indians, as well as the Chinese, are thought to have practised in higher perfection than ourselves.

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

The poetical works of the Arabs and Persians, which differ surprisingly in their style and form, are here pretty generally known; and, though tastes, concerning which there can be no disputing, are divided in regard to their merit, yet we may safely say of them, what Abulfażl pronounces of the Mabābbārat, that, “although they abound with extravagant images and descriptions, they are in the highest degree enter- taining and instructive.” Poets of the greatest genius, Pindar, Æschylus, Dante, Pe-
Trarca, Shakespeare, Spenser, have most abounded in images not far from the brink of absurdity; but, if their luxuriant fancies, or those of Abulola, Firdausi, Nizami, were pruned away at the hazard of their strength and majesty, we should lose many pleasures by the amputation. If we may form a just opinion of the Sanscrit poetry from the specimens already exhibited, (though we can only judge perfectly by consulting the originals), we cannot but thirst for the whole work of Vyasa, with which a member of our society, whose presence deters me from saying more of him, will in due time gratify the publick. The poetry of Mathura, which is the Parnassian land of the Hindus, has a softer and less elevated strain; but, since the inhabitants of the districts near Agra, and principally of the Duab, are said to surpass all other Indians in eloquence, and to have composed many agreeable tales and lovesongs, which are still extant, the Bhasa, or vernacular idiom of Vraja, in which they are written, should not be neglected. No specimens of genuine Oratory can be expected from nations, among whom the form of government precludes even the idea of popular eloquence; but the art of writing, in elegant and modulated periods, has been cultivated in Asia from the earliest ages: the Veda's, as well as the Alcoran, are written in measured
prose; and the compositions of Isocrates are
not more highly polished than those of the best
Arabian and Persian authors.

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

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

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

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

No contributions, except those of the literary kind, will be requisite for the support of the society; but, if each of us were occasionally to contribute a succinct description of such manuscripts as he had perused or inspected, with their dates and the names of their owners, and to propose for solution such questions as had occurred to him concerning Asiatick Art, Science, and History, natural or civil, we should possess without labour, and almost by imperceptible degrees, a fuller catalogue of Oriental books, than has hitherto been exhibited, and our correspondents would be apprised of those points, to which we chiefly direct our investigations. Much may, I am confident, be expected from the communications of learned natives, whether lawyers, physicians, or private scholars, who would eagerly, on the first invitation, send us their Mekamât
and Risâlahs on a variety of subjects; some for the sake of advancing general knowledge, but most of them from a desire, neither uncommon nor unreasonable, of attracting notice, and recommending themselves to favour. With a view to avail ourselves of this disposition, and to bring their latent science under our inspection, it might be advisable to print and circulate a short memorial, in Persian and Hindi, setting forth, in a style accommodated to their own habits and prejudices, the design of our institution; nor would it be impossible hereafter, to give a medal annually, with inscriptions in Persian on one side, and on the reverse in Sanscrit, as the prize of merit, to the writer of the best essay or dissertation. To instruct others is the prescribed duty of learned Brahmans, and, if they be men of substance, without reward; but they would all be flattered with an honorary mark of distinction; and the Mahomedans have not only the permission, but the positive command, of their law-giver, to search for learning even in the remotest parts of the globe. It were superfluous to suggest, with how much correctness and facility their compositions might be translated for our use, since their languages are now more generally and perfectly understood than they have ever been by any nation of Europe.

I have detained you, I fear, too long by this
address, though it has been my endeavour to reconcile comprehensiveness with brevity: the subjects, which I have lightly sketched, would be found, if minutely examined, to be inexhaustible; and, since no limits can be set to your researches but the boundaries of Asia itself, I may not improperly conclude with wishing for your society, what the Commentator on the Laws, prays for the constitution, of our country, that it may be perpetual.
THE THIRD
ANNIVERSARY DISCOURSE,
DELIVERED 2 FEBRUARY, 1786.

BY
THE PRESIDENT.

IN the former discourses, which I had the honour of addressing to you, Gentlemen, on the institution and objects of our Society, I confined myself purposely to general topicks; giving in the first a distant prospect of the vast career, on which we were entering, and, in the second, exhibiting a more diffuse, but still superficial, sketch of the various discoveries in History, Science, and Art, which we might justly expect from our inquiries into the literature of Asia. I now propose to fill up that outline so comprehensively as to omit nothing essential, yet so concisely as to avoid being tedious; and, if the state of my health shall suffer me to continue long enough in this climate, it is my design, with your permission, to prepare for our annual meetings a series of short dissertations, unconnected in their titles and subjects, but all tending
to a common point of no small importance in the pursuit of interesting truths.

Of all the works, which have been published in our own age, or, perhaps, in any other, on the History of the Ancient World, and the first population of this habitable globe, that of Mr. Jacob Bryant, whom I name with reverence and affection, has the best claim to the praise of deep erudition ingeniously applied, and new theories happily illustrated by an assemblage of numberless converging rays from a most extensive circumference: it falls, nevertheless, as every human work must fall, short of perfection; and the least satisfactory part of it seems to be that, which relates to the derivation of words from Asiatick languages. Etymology has, no doubt, some use in historical researches; but it is a medium of proof so very fallacious, that, where it elucidates one fact, it obscures a thousand, and more frequently borders on the ridiculous, than leads to any solid conclusion: it rarely carries with it any internal power of conviction from a resemblance of sounds or similarity of letters; yet often, where it is wholly unassisted by those advantages, it may be indisputably proved by extrinsic evidence. We know à posteriori, that both fitz and hijo, by the nature of two several dialects, are derived from filius; that uncle comes from avus, and stranger from extra; that jour
is deducible, through the *Italian*, from *dies*; and *rossignol* from *luscinia*, or the *singer in groves*; that *sciuro, écureuil*, and *squirrel* are compounded of two *Greek* words descriptive of the animal; which etymologies, though they could not have been demonstrated *à priori*, might serve to confirm, if any such confirmation were necessary, the proofs of a connection between the members of one great Empire; but, when we derive our *banger*, or *short pendent sword*, from the *Persian*, because ignorant travellers thus mis-spell the word *khanjar*, which in truth means a different weapon, or *sandal-wood* from the *Greek*, because we suppose, that *sandals* were sometimes made of it, we gain no ground in proving the affinity of nations, and only weaken arguments, which might otherwise be firmly supported. That *Cu's* then, or, as it certainly is written in one ancient dialect, *Cu'T*, and in others, probably, *CA's*, enters into the composition of many proper names, we may very reasonably believe; and that *Algeziras* takes its name from the *Arabick* word for an *island*, cannot be doubted; but, when we are told from *Europe*, that places and provinces in *India* were clearly denominated from those words, we cannot but observe, in the first instance, that the town, in which we now are assembled, is properly written and pronounced *Calicàtà*; that
both Cátá and Cut unquestionably mean places of strength, or, in general, any inclosures; and that Gujarat is at least as remote from Jezirah in found, as it is in situation.

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

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

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

India then, on its most enlarged scale, in which the ancients appear to have understood it, comprises an area of near forty degrees on each
side, including a space almost as large as all Europe; being divided on the west from Persia by the Arachosian mountains, limited on the east by the Chinese part of the farther peninsula, confined on the north by the wilds of Tartary, and extending to the south as far as the isles of Java. This trapezium, therefore, comprehends the stupendous hills of Potyid or Tibet, the beautiful valley of Cashmir, and all the domains of the old IndoScythians, the countries of Nepal and Butant, Camrup or Asam, together with Siam, Ava, Rakan, and the bordering kingdoms, as far as the China of the Hindus or Sin of the Arabian Geographers; not to mention the whole western peninsula with the celebrated island of Sinbala, or Lion-like men, at its southern extremity. By India, in short, I mean that whole extent of country, in which the primitive religion and languages of the Hindus prevail at this day with more or less of their ancient purity, and in which the Nagari letters are still used with more or less deviation from their original form.

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

The inhabitants of this extensive tract are described by Mr. Lord with great exactness, and with a picturesque elegance peculiar to our ancient language: "A people, says he, presented themselves to mine eyes, clothed in linen garments somewhat low descending, of a gesture and garb, as I may say, maidenly and well
"nigh effeminate, of a countenance shy and
somewhat estranged, yet smiling out a glozed
and bashful familiarity." Mr. Orme, the
Hiltorian of India who unites an exquisite taste
for every fine art with an accurate knowledge of
Asiatick manners, observes, in his elegant pre-
liminary Dissertation, that this "country has
been inhabited from the earliest antiquity by
a people, who have no resemblance, either in
their figure or manners, with any of the na-
tions contiguous to them," and that, "although
conquerors have established themselves at dif-
ferent times in different parts of India, yet the
original inhabitants have lost very little of
their original character." The ancients, in
fact, give a description of them, which our early
travellers confirmed, and our own personal knowl-
dge of them nearly verifies; as you will per-
cieve from a passage in the Geographical Poem
of Dionysius, which the Analyst of Ancient
Mythology has translated with great spirit:

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

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

I. It is much to be lamented, that neither the Greeks, who attended Alexander into India, nor those who were long connected with it under the Bactrian Princes, have left us any means of knowing with accuracy, what vernacular languages they found on their arrival in this Empire. The Mohammedans, we know, heard the people of proper Hindustan, or India on a limited scale, speaking a Bhāṣā, or living tongue of a very singular construction, the purest dialect of which was current in the districts round Agrā, and chiefly on the poetical ground of Mat'burā; and this is commonly called the idiom of Vraja. Five words in six, perhaps, of this language were derived from the Sanscrit, in which books of religion and science were composed, and which appears to have been formed by an exquisite grammatical arrangement, as the name itself implies, from some unpolished idiom; but the basis of the Hindustāni, particularly the inflexions and regimen of verbs, differed as widely from both those tongues, as Arabick differs from Persian, or German from Greek. Now the general effect of conquest is to leave the current language of the conquered people unchanged, or very little altered, in its groundwork, but to blend with it a considerable number of exotick names both for things and for actions; as it has happened in every country, that I can
recollect, where the conquerors have not preserved their own tongue unmixed with that of the natives, like the Turks in Greece, and the Saxons in Britain; and this analogy might induce us to believe, that the pure Hindi, whether of Tartarian or Chaldean origin, was primeval in Upper India, into which the Sanscrit was introduced by conquerors from other kingdoms in some very remote age; for we cannot doubt that the language of the Vĕda’s was used in the great extent of country, which has before been delineated, as long as the religion of Brabmā has prevailed in it.

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

The characters, in which the languages of India were originally written, are called Nāgarī, from Nagara, a city with the word Déva sometimes prefixed, because they are believed to have been taught by the Divinity himself, who prescribed the artificial order of them in a voice from heaven. These letters, with no greater variation in their form by the change of straight lines to curves, or conversely, than the Cufick alphabet has received in its way to India, are still adopted in more than twenty kingdoms and states, from the borders of Cašbgar and Khoten, to Rāma's bridge, and from the Sindhu to the river of Siam; nor can I help believing, although the polished and elegant Dévanágari may not be so ancient as the monumental characters in the caverns of Jārasandha, that the square Chaldaich letters, in which most Hebrew books are copied, were originally the same, or derived from the same prototype, both with the Indian and Arabian characters: that the Phenician, from which the Greek and Roman alphabets were formed by various changes and inversions, had a similar origin, there can be little doubt; and the inscriptions at Canárab, of which you now possess a most accurate copy, seem to be compounded of Nāgarī and Ethio-
pick letters, which bear a close relation to each other, both in the mode of writing from the left hand, and in the singular manner of connecting the vowels with the consonants. These remarks may favour an opinion entertained by many, that all the symbols of sound, which at first, probably, were only rude outlines of the different organs of speech, had a common origin: the symbols of ideas, now used in China and Japan, and formerly, perhaps, in Egypt and Mexico, are quite of a distinct nature; but it is very remarkable, that the order of sounds in the Chinese grammars corresponds nearly with that observed in Tibet, and hardly differs from that, which the Hindus consider as the invention of their Gods.

II. Of the Indian Religion and Philosophy, I shall here say but little; because a full account of each would require a separate volume: it will be sufficient in this dissertation to assume, what might be proved beyond controversy, that we now live among the adorers of those very deities, who were worshipped under different names in old Greece and Italy, and among the professors of those philosophical tenets, which the Ionick and Attick writers illustrated with all the beauties of their melodious language. On one hand we see the trident of Neptune, the eagle of Jupiter, the satyrs of Bacchus, the bow of Cupid,
and the chariot of the Sun; on another we hear the cymbals of Rhea, the songs of the Muse, and the pastoral tales of Apollo Nomius. In more retired scenes, in groves, and in seminaries of learning, we may perceive the Brâhmans and the Sarmanes, mentioned by Clemens, disputing in the forms of logick, or discoursing on the vanity of human enjoyments, on the immortality of the soul, her emanation from the eternal mind, her debasement, wanderings, and final union with her source. The six philosophical schools, whose principles are explained in the Dersana Sàstra, comprise all the metaphysicks of the old Academy, the Stoa, the Lyceum; nor is it possible to read the Védánta, or the many fine compositions in illustration of it, without believing, that Pythagoras and Plato derived their sublime theories from the same fountain with the sages of India. The Scythian and Hyperborean doctrines and mythology may also be traced in every part of these eastern regions; nor can we doubt, that Wod or Oden, whose religion, as the northern historians admit, was introduced into Scandinavia by a foreign race, was the same with Boddh, whose rites were probably imported into India nearly at the same time, though received much later by the Chinese, who soften his name into FO'.

This may be a proper place to ascertain an
important point in the Chronology of the Hindus; for the priests of Buddha left in Tibet and China the precise epoch of his appearance, real or imagined, in this Empire; and their information, which had been preserved in writing, was compared by the Christian Missionaries and scholars with our own era. Couplet, De Guignes, Giorgi, and Bailly, differ a little in their accounts of this epoch, but that of Couplet seems the most correct: on taking, however, the medium of the four several dates, we may fix the time of Buddha, or the ninth great incarnation of Vishnu, in the year one thousand and fourteen before the birth of Christ, or two thousand seven hundred and ninety-nine years ago. Now the Cásbmirians, who boast of his descent in their kingdom, assert that he appeared on earth about two centuries after Crishna the Indian Apollo, who took so decided a part in the war of the Mahábhárat; and, if an Etymologist were to suppose, that the Athenians had embellished their poetical history of Pandion’s expulsion and the restoration of Ægeus with the Asiatick tale of the Pandus and Yudhishtir, neither of which words they could have articulated, I should not hastily deride his conjecture: certain it is, that Pándumandel is called by the Greeks the country of Pandion. We have, therefore, determined another interest-
ing epoch, by fixing the age of Crishna near the three thousandth year from the present time; and, as the three first Avatars, or descents of Vishnu, relate no less clearly to an Universal Deluge, in which eight persons only were saved, than the fourth and fifth do to the punishment of impiety and the humiliation of the proud, we may for the present assume, that the second, or silver, age of the Hindus was subsequent to the dispersion from Babel; so that we have only a dark interval of about a thousand years, which were employed in the settlement of nations, the foundation of states or empires, and the cultivation of civil society. The great incarnate Gods of this intermediate age are both named Rama but with different epithets; one of whom bears a wonderful resemblance to the Indian Bacchus, and his wars are the subject of several heroick poems. He is represented as a descendent from Surya, or the Sun, as the husband of Sita, and the son of a princess named Causeya: it is very remarkable, that the Peruvians, whose Incas boasted of the same descent, styled their greatest festival Ramasitoa; whence we may suppose, that South America was peopled by the same race, who imported into the farthest parts of Asia the rites and fabulous history of Rama. These rites and this history are extremely curious; and, although I cannot believe
with Newton, that ancient mythology was nothing but historical truth in a poetical dress, nor, with Bacon, that it consisted solely of moral and metaphysical allegories, nor with Bryant, that all the heathen divinities are only different attributes and representations of the Sun or of deceased progenitors, but conceive that the whole system of religious fables rose, like the Nile, from several distinct sources, yet I cannot but agree, that one great spring and fountain of all idolatry in the four quarters of the globe was the veneration paid by men to the vast body of fire, which "looks from his sole dominion like the God of this world;" and another, the immoderate respect shown to the memory of powerful or virtuous ancestors, especially the founders of kingdoms, legislators, and warriors, of whom the Sun or the Moon were wildly supposed to be the parents.

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

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

We are told by the Grecian writers, that the Indians were the wisest of nations; and in moral wisdom, they were certainly eminent: their Niti Sāstra, or System of Ethicks, is yet preferred, and the Fables of Vishnuserman, whom we ridiculously call Pilpay, are the most beautiful, if not the most ancient, collection of apologues in the world: they were first translated from the Sanscrit, in the sixth century, by the order of Buzerchumihr, or Bright as the Sun, the chief physician and afterwards Vezir of the great Anushirevan, and are extant under various names in more than twenty languages; but their original title is Hitopadesa, or Amicable Instruction; and, as the very existence of Esop, whom the Arabs believe to have been an Abyssinian, appears rather doubtful, I am not disinclined to suppose, that the first moral fables, which appeared in Europe, were of Indian or Ethiopian origin.
The Hindus are said to have boasted of three inventions, all of which, indeed, are admirable, the method of instructing by apologues, the decimal scale adopted now by all civilized nations, and the game of Chess, on which they have some curious treatises; but, if their numerous works on Grammar, Logick, Rhetorick, Music, all which are extant and accessible, were explained in some language generally known, it would be found, that they had yet higher pretensions to the praise of a fertile and inventive genius. Their lighter Poems are lively and elegant; their Epic, magnificent and sublime in the highest degree; their Purana's comprise a series of mythological Histories in blank verse from the Creation to the supposed incarnation of Buddha; and their Vedas, as far as we can judge from that compendium of them, which is called Upanishat, abound with noble speculations in metaphysics, and fine discourses on the being and attributes of God. Their most ancient medical book, entitled Chereca, is believed to be the work of Siva; for each of the divinities in their Triad has at least one sacred composition ascribed to him; but, as to mere human works on History and Geography, though they are said to be extant in Cashmir, it has not been yet in my power to procure them. What their astronomical and mathematical writings contain, will
not, I trust, remain long a secret: they are easily procured, and their importance cannot be doubted. The Philosopher, whose works are said to include a system of the universe founded on the principle of *Attraction* and the *Central* position of the sun, is named *Yavan Achārya*, because he had travelled, we are told, into *Ionia*: if this be true, he might have been one of those, who conversed with *Pythagoras*; this at least is undeniable, that a book on astronomy in *Sanskrit* bears the title of *Yavana Jātica*, which may signify the *Ionic Sect*; nor is it improbable, that the names of the planets and *Zodiacal* stars, which the *Arabs* borrowed from the *Greeks*, but which we find in the oldest *Indian* records, were originally devised by the same ingenious and enterprising race, from whom both *Greece* and *India* were peopled; the race who, as *Dionysius* describes them,

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

Of these cursory observations on the *Hindus*, which it would require volumes to expand and illustrate, this is the result: that they had an immemorial affinity with the old *Persians*, *Ethiopians*, and *Egyptians*, the *Phenicians*, *Greeks*,

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

ANNIVERSARY DISCOURSE,

DELIVERED 15 FEBRUARY, 1787.

BY

THE PRESIDENT.

GENTLEMEN,

I HAD the honour last year of opening to you my intention, to discourse at our annual meetings on the five principal nations, who have peopled the continent and islands of Asia; so as to trace, by an historical and philological analysis, the number of ancient items, from which those five branches have severally sprung, and the central region, from which they appear to have proceeded: you may, therefore, expect, that, having submitted to your consideration a few general remarks on the old inhabitants of India, I should now offer my sentiments on some other nation, who, from a similarity of language, religion, arts, and manners, may be supposed to have had an early connection with the Hindus; but, since we find some Asiatick nations totally dissimilar to them in all or most of those particulars, and since the difference will strike you more forcibly by an immediate and close comparison,
I design at present to give a short account of a wonderful people, who seem in every respect so strongly contrasted to the original natives of this country, that they must have been for ages a distinct and separate race.

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

Arabia, thus divided from India by a vast ocean, or at least by a broad bay, could hardly have been connected in any degree with this country, until navigation and commerce had been considerably improved: yet, as the Hindus and the people of Yemen were both commercial nations in a very early age, they were probably the first instruments of conveying to the western
world the gold, ivory, and perfumes of India, as well as the fragrant wood, called alluwwa in Arabick and aguru in Sanscrit, which grows in the greatest perfection in Anam or Cochinchina. It is possible too, that a part of the Arabian Idolatry might have been derived from the same source with that of the Hindus; but such an intercourse may be considered as partial and accidental only; nor am I more convinced, than I was fifteen years ago, when I took the liberty to animadvert on a passage in the History of Prince Kantermir, that the Turks have any just reason for holding the coast of Yemen to be a part of India, and calling its inhabitants Yellow Indians.

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

It is deplorable, that the ancient History of this majestick race should be as little known in detail before the time of Dhū Yezen, as that of the Hindus before Vicramaditya; for, although the vast historical work of Alnuwairi, and the Murūjuldbabab, or Golden Meadows, of Almasjīūdi, contain chapters on the kings of Himyar, Gbasān, and Hirab, with lists of them and
sketches of their several reigns, and although Gene-
nealogical Tables, from which chronology might
be better ascertained, are prefixed to many com-
positions of the old Arabian Poets, yet most ma-
nuscripts are so incorrect, and so many contra-
dictions are found in the best of them, that we
can scarce lean upon tradition with security, and
must have recourse to the same media for inves-
tigating the history of the Arabs, that I before
adopted in regard to that of the Indians; name-
ly, their language, letters and religion, their an-
cient monuments, and the certain remains of their
arts; on each of which heads I shall touch very
concisely, having premised, that my observations
will in general be confined to the state of Arabia
before that singular revolution, at the beginning
of the seventh century, the effects of which we
feel at this day from the Pyrenean mountains
and the Danube, to the farthest parts of the In-
dian Empire, and even to the Eastern Islands.

I. For the knowledge, which any European,
who pleases, may attain of the Arabian language,
we are principally indebted to the university of
Leyden; for, though several Italians have affli-
duously laboured in the same wide field, yet the
fruit of their labours has been rendered almost
useless by more commodious and more accurate
works printed in Holland; and, though Pocock
certainly accomplished much, and was able to
accomplish any thing, yet the _Academical_ ease, which he enjoyed, and his theological pursuits, induced him to leave unfinished the valuable work of _Maidáni_, which he had prepared for publication; nor, even if that rich mine of _Arabian_ Philology had seen the light, would it have borne any comparison with the fifty dissertations of _Hariri_, which the first _Albert Schultens_ translated and explained, though he sent abroad but few of them, and has left his worthy grandson, from whom perhaps _Maidáni_ also may be expected, the honour of publishing the rest: but the palm of glory in this branch of literature is due to _Golius_, whose works are equally profound and elegant; so perspicuous in method, that they may always be consulted without fatigue, and read without languor, yet so abundant in matter, that any man, who shall begin with his noble edition of the Grammar compiled by his master _Erpenius_, and proceed, with the help of his incomparable dictionary, to study his History of _Taimúr_ by _Ibni Arabsháh_, and shall make himself complete master of that sublime work, will understand the learned _Arabick_ better than the deepest scholar at _Constantinople_ or at _Mecca_. The _Arabick_ language, therefore, is almost wholly in our power; and, as it is unquestionably one of the most ancient in the world, so it yields to none ever spoken by mortals in
the number of its words and the precision of its phrases; but it is equally true and wonderful, that it bears not the least resemblance, either in words or the structure of them, to the Sanscrit, or great parent of the Indian dialects; of which dissimilarity I will mention two remarkable instances: the Sanscrit, like the Greek, Persian, and German, delights in compounds, but, in a much higher degree, and indeed to such excess, that I could produce words of more than twenty syllables, not formed ludicrously, like that by which the buffoon in Aristophanes describes a feast, but with perfect seriousness, on the most solemn occasions, and in the most elegant works; while the Arabick, on the other hand, and all its sister dialects, abhor the composition of words, and invariably express very complex ideas by circumlocution; so that, if a compound word be found in any genuine language of the Arabian Peninsula, (zenmerdah for instance, which occurs in the Hamāṣah) it may at once be pronounced an exotick. Again; it is the genius of the Sanscrit, and other languages of the same stock, that the roots of verbs be almost universally biliteral, so that five and twenty hundred such roots might be formed by the composition of the fifty Indian letters; but the Arabick roots are as universally trilateral, so that the composition of the twenty-eight Arabian letters would
give near two and twenty thousand elements of the language: and this will demonstrate the surprising extent of it; for, although great numbers of its roots are confessedly lost, and some, perhaps, were never in use, yet, if we suppose ten thousand of them (without reckoning quadrilaterals) to exist, and each of them to admit only five variations, one with another, in forming derivative nouns, even then a perfect Arabick dictionary ought to contain fifty thousand words, each of which may receive a multitude of changes by the rules of grammar. The derivatives in Sanscrit are considerably more numerous: but a farther comparison between the two languages is here unnecessary; since, in whatever light we view them, they seem totally distinct, and must have been invented by two different races of men; nor do I recollect a single word in common between them, except Suruj, the plural of Siraj, meaning both a lamp and the sun, the Sanscrit name of which is, in Bengal, pronounced Surja; and even this resemblance may be purely accidental. We may easily believe with the Hindus, that not even Indra himself and his heavenly bands, much less any mortal, ever comprehended in his mind such an ocean of words as their sacred language contains, and with the Arabs, that no man uninspired was ever a complete master of Arabick: in fact no
person, I believe, now living in Europe or Asia, can read without study an hundred couplets together in any collection of ancient Arabian poems; and we are told, that the great author of the Kāmūs learned by accident from the mouth of a child, in a village of Arabia, the meaning of three words which he had long sought in vain from grammarians, and from books, of the highest reputation. It is by approximation alone, that a knowledge of these two venerable languages can be acquired; and, with moderate attention, enough of them both may be known, to delight and instruct us in an infinite degree:

I conclude this head with remarking, that the nature of the Ethiopic dialect seems to prove an early establishment of the Arabs in part of Ethiopia, from which they were afterwards expelled, and attacked even in their own country by the Abyssinians, who had been invited over as auxiliaries against the tyrant of Yemen about a century before the birth of Muhammad.

Of the characters, in which the old compositions of Arabia were written, we know but little; except that the Korān originally appeared in those of Cisíb, from which the modern Arabian letters, with all their elegant variations, were derived, and which unquestionably had a common origin with the Hebrew or Chaldaick; but, as to the Himyarick letters, or those which
we see mentioned by the name of Almusnad, we are still in total darkness; the traveller Niebuhr having been unfortunately prevented from visiting some ancient monuments in Yemen, which are said to have inscriptions on them: if those letters bear a strong resemblance to the Nágarí, and if a story current in India be true, that some Hindu merchants heard the Sanscrit language spoken in Arabia the Happy, we might be confirmed in our opinion, that an intercourse formerly subsisted between the two nations of opposite coasts, but should have no reason to believe, that they sprang from the same immediate stock. The first syllable of Hamyar, as many Europeans write it, might perhaps induce an Etymologist to derive the Arabs of Yemen from the great ancestor of the Indians; but we must observe, that Himyar is the proper appellation of those Arabs; and many reasons concur to prove, that the word is purely Arabick: the similarity of some proper names on the borders of India to those of Arabia, as the river Arabius, a place called Araba, a people named Aribes or Arabies, and another called Sabai, is indeed remarkable, and may hereafter furnish me with observations of some importance, but not at all inconsistent with my present ideas.

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

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

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

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

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

The supposed houses of the people called Tbamūd are also still to be seen in excavations of rocks; and, in the time of Tabrizi the Grammarian, a castle was extant in Yemen, which bore the name of Aladbat, an old bard and warriour, who first, we are told, formed his army, thence called ʾalḥamīs, in five parts, by which arrangement he defeated the troops of Himyar in an expedition against Sanād.

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

The Cābab, or quadrangular edifice at Meccab, is indisputably so ancient, that its original
use, and the name of its builder, are lost in a cloud of idle traditions. An Arab told me gravely, that it was raised by Abraham, who, as I assured him, was never there; others ascribe it, with more probability, to Ismail, or one of his immediate descendants; but whether it was built as a place of divine worship, as a fortress, as a sepulchre, or as a monument of the treaty between the old possessors of Arabia and the sons of Kedar, antiquaries may dispute, but no mortal can determine. It is thought by Reland to have been the mansion of some ancient Patriarch, and revered on that account by his posterity; but the room, in which we now are assembled, would contain the whole Arabian edifice; and, if it were large enough for the dwelling-house of a patriarchal family, it would seem ill adapted to the pastoral manners of the Kedarites: a Persian author insists, that the true name of Meccah is Mabcadah, or the Temple of the Moon; but, although we may smile at his etymology, we cannot but think it probable, that the Cabab was originally designed for religious purposes. Three couplets are cited in an Arabick History of this Building, which, from their extreme simplicity, have less appearance of imposture than other verses of the same kind: they are ascribed to Asad, a Tobbá, or king by succession, who is generally allowed to have reign-
ed in *Yemen* an hundred and twenty-eight years before Christ's birth, and they commemorate, without any poetical imagery, the magnificence of the prince *in covering the holy temple with striped cloth and fine linen, and in making keys for its gate*. This temple, however, the sanctity of which was restored by *Muhammed*, had been strangely profaned at the time of his birth, when it was usual to decorate its walls with poems on all subjects, and often on the triumphs of *Arabian* gallantry and the praises of *Grecian* wine, which the merchants of *Syria* brought for sale into the deserts.

From the want of materials on the subject of *Arabian* antiquity, we find it very difficult to fix the Chronology of the *Ismailites* with accuracy beyond the time of *Adnan*, from whom the impostor was descended in the *twenty-first* degree; and, although we have genealogies of *Alkamah* and other *Hymyarick* bards as high as the *thirtieth* degree, or for a period of *nine hundred* years at least, yet we can hardly depend on them so far, as to establish a complete chronological system: by reasoning downwards, however, we may ascertain some points of considerable importance. The universal tradition of *Yemen* is, that *Yoktan*, the son of *Eber*, first settled his family in that country; which settlement, by the computation admitted in *Europe*,
must have been above *three thousand six hundred* years ago, and nearly at the time, when the *Hindus*, under the *conduct of Rama*, were subduing the first inhabitants of these regions, and extending the *Indian Empire from Ayodhya* or *Audh* as far as the *isle of Sinhal* or *Silan*. According to this calculation, *Nuuman*, king of *Yemen* in the *ninth* generation from *Eber*, was contemporary with *Joseph*; and, if a *verse composed* by that prince, and quoted by *Abulfeda*, was really preserved, as it might easily have been, by oral tradition, it proves the great antiquity of the *Arabian* language and metre. This is a literal version of the couplet: 'When 'thou, who art in power, *conductest* affairs with 'courtesy, thou *attainest* the high honours of 'those, who are most exalted, *and* whose man-'dates are obeyed.' We are told, that, from an *elegant verb* in this distich, the royal poet acquired the *surname of Almuááfer*, or the *Courteous*. Now the reasons for believing this verse genuine are its brevity, which made it easy to be remembered, and the good sense comprized in it, which made it become proverbial; to which we may add, that the dialect is apparently old, and differs in three words from the *idiom of Hejaz*; the reasons for doubting are, that *sentences and verses* of *indefinite antiquity* are sometimes ascribed by the *Arabs* to particular
persons of eminence; and they even go so far as to cite a pathetick elegy of Adam himself on the death of Abel, but in very good Arabick and correct measure. Such are the doubts, which necessarily must arise on such a subject; yet we have no need of ancient monuments or traditions to prove all that our analysis requires, namely, that the Arabs, both of Hejâz and Yemen, sprang from a stock entirely different from that of the Hindus, and that their first establishments in the respective countries, where we now find them, were nearly coeval.

I cannot finish this article without observing, that, when the King of Denmark's ministers instructed the Danish travellers to collect historical books in Arabick, but not to busy themselves with procuring Arabian poems, they certainly were ignorant, that the only monuments of old Arabian History are collections of poetical pieces and the commentaries on them; that all memorable transactions in Arabia were recorded in verse; and that more certain facts may be known by reading the Hamâsâb, the Diwân of Hudhâbil, and the valuable work of Obaidullâb, than by turning over a hundred volumes in prose, unless indeed those poems are cited by the historians as their authors.

IV. The manners of the Hejâzi Arabs which
have continued, we know, from the time of Solomon to the present age, were by no means favourable to the cultivation of arts; and, as to sciences, we have no reason to believe, that they were acquainted with any; for the mere amusement of giving names to stars, which were useful to them in their pastoral or predatory rambles through the deserts, and in their observations on the weather, can hardly be considered as a material part of astronomy. The only arts, in which they pretended to excellence (I except horsemanship and military accomplishments) were poetry and rhetorick: that we have none of their compositions in prose before the Koran, may be ascribed, perhaps, to the little skill, which they seem to have had, in writing; to their predilection in favour of poetical measure, and to the facility, with which verses are committed to memory; but all their stories prove, that they were eloquent in a high degree, and possessed wonderful powers of speaking without preparation in flowing and forcible periods. I have never been able to discover, what was meant by their books, called Rawasim, but suppose, that they were collections of their common, or customary, law. Writing was so little practised among them, that their old poems, which are now accessible to us, may almost be considered
as originally unwritten; and I am inclined to think, that Samuel Johnson's reasoning, on the extreme imperfection of unwritten languages, was too general; since a language, that is only spoken, may nevertheless be highly polished by a people, who, like the ancient Arabs, make the improvement of their idiom a national concern, appoint solemn assemblies for the purpose of displaying their poetical talents, and hold it a duty to exercise their children in getting by heart their most approved compositions.

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

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

But I have detained you too long, gentlemen, with a nation, who have ever been my favourites, and hope at our next anniversary meeting to travel with you over a part of Asia, which exhibits a race of men distinct both from the Hindus and from the Arabs. In the mean time it shall be my care to superintend the publication of your transactions, in which, if the learned in Europe have not raised their expectations too high, they will not, I believe, be disappointed: my own imperfect essays I always except; but, though my other engagements have prevented my attendance on your society for the greatest part of last year, and I have set an example of that freedom from restraint, without which no society can flourish, yet, as my few hours of leisure
will now be devoted to Sanscrit literature, I cannot but hope, though my chief object be a knowledge of Hindu Law, to make some discovery in other sciences, which I shall impart with humility, and which you will, I doubt not, receive with indulgence.
AT the close of my last address to you, Gentlemen, I declared my design of introducing to your notice a people of Asia, who seemed as different in most respects from the Hindus and Arabs, as those two nations had been shown to differ from each other; I meant the people, whom we call Tartars: but I enter with extreme diffidence on my present subject, because I have little knowledge of the Tartarian dialects; and the gross errors of European writers on Asiatick literature have long convinced me, that no satisfactory account can be given of any nation, with whose language we are not perfectly acquainted. Such evidence, however, as I have procured by attentive reading and scrupulous inquiries, I will now lay before you, interspersing such remarks as I could not but make on that
evidence, and submitting the whole to your im-
partial decision.

Conformably to the method before adopted in
describing Arabia and India, I consider Tartary
also, for the purpose of this discourse, on its most
extensive scale, and request your attention, whilst
I trace the largest boundaries that are assignable
to it: conceive a line drawn from the mouth
of the Oby to that of the Dnieper, and, bringing
it back eastward across the Euxine, so as to in-
clude the peninsula of Krim, extend it along the
foot of Caucasus, by the rivers Cur and Aras, to
the Caspian lake, from the opposite shore of
which follow the course of the Jaibun and the
chain of Caucasean hills as far as those of Imaus:
whence continue the line beyond the Chinese
card to the White Mountain and the country of
Yetso; skirting the borders of Persia, India,
China, Corea, but including part of Russia, with
all the districts which lie between the Glacial
sea, and that of Japan. M. De Guignes,
whose great work on the Huns abounds more in
solid learning than in rhetorical ornaments, pre-
sents us, however, with a magnificent image of
this wide region; describing it as a stupendous
edifice, the beams and pillars of which are many
ranges of lofty hills, and the dome, one pro-
digious mountain, to which the Chinese give the
epithet of Celestial, with a considerable number
of broad rivers flowing down its sides: if the
mansion be so amazingly sublime, the land
around it is proportionably extended, but more
wonderfully diversified; for some parts of it are
incrusted with ice, others parched with inflamed
air and covered with a kind of lava; here we
meet with immense tracts of sandy deserts and
forests almost impenetrable; there, with gardens,
groves, and meadows, perfumed with musk,
watered by numberless rivulets, and abounding
in fruits and flowers; and, from east to west,
lie many considerable provinces, which appear
as valleys in comparison of the hills towering
above them, but in truth are the flat summits of
the highest mountains in the world, or at least
the highest in Asia. Near one fourth in latitude
of this extraordinary region is in the same charm-
ing climate with Greece, Italy, and Provence;
and another fourth in that of England, Ger-
many, and the northern parts of France; but
the Hyperborean countries can have few beauties
to recommend them, at least in the present state
of the earth's temperature: to the south, on the
frontiers of Iran are the beautiful vales of Sogd
with the celebrated cities of Samarkand and
Bokbārā; on those of Tibet are the territories of
Casbghar, Khoten, Chegil and Khātā, all famed
for perfumes and for the beauty of their in-
habitants; and on those of China lies the coun-
try of Chin, anciently a powerful kingdom, which name, like that of Khâta, has in modern times been given to the whole Chinese empire, where such an appellation would be thought an insult. We must not omit the fine territory of Tancut, which was known to the Greeks by the name of Serica, and considered by them as the farthest eastern extremity of the habitable globe.

Scythia seems to be the general name, which the ancient Europeans gave to as much as they knew of the country thus bounded and described; but, whether that word be derived, as Pliny seems to intimate, from Sacai, a people known by a similar name to the Greeks and Persians, or, as Bryant imagines, from Cuthia, or, as Colonel Vallancey believes, from words denoting navigation, or, as it might have been supposed, from a Greek root implying wrath and ferocity, this at least is certain, that as India, China, Persia, Japan, are not appellations of those countries in the languages of the nations, who inhabit them, so neither Scythia nor Tartary are names, by which the inhabitants of the country now under our consideration have ever distinguished themselves. Tâ-târistân is, indeed, a word used by the Persians for the south-western part of Scythia, where the musk-deer is said to be common; and the name Tâtâr is by some considered as that of a parti-
cular tribe; by others, as that of a small river only; while Turān, as opposed to Irān, seems to mean the ancient dominion of Afrā'siāb to the north and east of the Oxus. There is nothing more idle than a debate concerning names, which after all are of little consequence, when our ideas are distinct without them: having given, therefore, a correct notion of the country, which I proposed to examine, I shall not scruple to call it by the general name of Tartary; though I am conscious of using a term equally improper in the pronunciation and the application of it.

Tartary then, which contained, according to Pliny, an innumerable multitude of nations, by whom the rest of Asia and all Europe has in different ages been over-run, is denominated, as various images have presented themselves to various fancies, the great hive of the northern swarms, the nursery of irresistible legions, and, by a stronger metaphor, the foundery of the human race; but M. Bailly, a wonderfully ingenious man and a very lively writer, seems first to have considered it as the cradle of our species, and to have supported an opinion, that the whole ancient world was enlightened by sciences brought from the most northern parts of Scythia, particularly from the banks of the Jenisea, or from the Hyperborean regions: all
the fables of old Greece, Italy, Persia, India, he derives from the north; and it must be owned, that he maintains his paradox with acuteness and learning. Great learning and great acuteness, together with the charms of a most engaging style, were indeed necessary to render even tolerable a system, which places an earthly paradise, the gardens of Hesperus, the islands of the Macares, the groves of Elysium, if not of Eden, the heaven of Indra, the Peristàm, or fairy-land, of the Persian poets, with its city of diamonds and its country of Shâddâm, so named from Pleasure and Love, not in any climate, which the common sense of mankind considers as the seat of delights, but beyond the mouth of the Ohy, in the Frozen Sea, in a region equalled only by that, where the wild imagination of Dante led him to fix the worst of criminals in a state of punishment after death, and of which he could not, he says, even think without shivering. A very curious passage in a tract of Plutarch on the figure in the Moon's orb, naturally induced M. Bailly to place Ogygia in the north, and he concludes that island, as others have concluded rather fallaciously, to be the Atlantis of Plato, but is at a loss to determine, whether it was Išeland or Grænland, Spitzberg or New Zembla: among so many charms it was difficult, indeed, to give a pre-
ference; but our philosopher, though as much perplexed by an option of beauties as the shepherd of Ida, seems on the whole to think Zembla the most worthy of the golden fruit; because it is indisputably an island, and lies opposite to a gulph near a continent, from which a great number of rivers descend into the ocean. He appears equally distressed among five nations, real and imaginary, to fix upon that, which the Greeks named Atlantes; and his conclusion in both cases must remind us of the showman at Eton, who, having pointed out in his box all the crowned heads of the world, and being asked by the schoolboys, who looked through the glass, which was the Emperor, which the Pope, which the Sultan, and which the Great Mogul, answered eagerly, 'which you please, young gentlemen, which you please.' His letters, however, to Voltaire, in which he unfolds his new system to his friend, whom he had not been able to convince, are by no means to be derided; and his general proposition, that arts and sciences had, their source in Tartary, deserves a longer examination than can be given to it in this discourse: I shall, nevertheless, with your permission, shortly discuss the question under the several heads, that will present themselves in order.

Although we may naturally suppose, that the
numberless communities of Tartars, some of whom are established in great cities, and some encamped on plains in ambulatory mansions, which they remove from pasture to pasture, must be as different in their features as in their dialects, yet, among those who have not emigrated into another country and mixed with another nation, we may discern a family likeness, especially in their eyes and countenance, and in that configuration of lineaments, which we generally call a Tartar face; but, without making anxious inquiries, whether all the inhabitants of the vast region before described have similar features, we may conclude from those, whom we have seen, and from the original portraits of Taimur and his descendants, that the Tartars in general differ wholly in complexion and countenance from the Hindus and from the Arabs; an observation, which tends in some degree to confirm the account given by modern Tartars themselves of their descent from a common ancestor. Unhappily their lineage cannot be proved by authentick pedigrees or historical monuments; for all their writings extant, even those in the Mogul dialect, are long subsequent to the time of Mohammed; nor is it possible to distinguish their genuine traditions from those of the Arabs, whose religious opinions they have in general adopted. At the beginning of the
fourteenth century, Khwâjâb Rashî’d, surnamed Fad’lul’làh, a native of Kazvin; compiled his account of the Tartars and Mongals from the papers of one Pu’lâ’d, whom the great grandson of Holâcu’ had sent into Tâtarîstân for the sole purpose of collecting historical information; and the commission itself shows, how little the Tartarian Princes really knew of their own origin. From this work of Rashî’d, and from other materials, Abu’lghâ’zi’, King of Khwârezm, composed in the Mogul language his Genealogical History, which, having been purchased from a merchant of Bokhârà by some Swedish officers, prisoners of war in Siberia, has found its way into several European tongues: it contains much valuable matter, but, like all Muhammedan histories, exhibits tribes or nations as individual sovereigns; and, if Baron De Tott had not strangely neglected to procure a copy of the Tartarian history, for the original of which he unnecessarily offered a large sum, we should probably have found, that it begins with an account of the deluge taken from the Korân, and proceeds to rank Turc, Chi’n, Tata’r, and Mongal, among the sons of Ya’fet. The genuine traditional history of the Tartars, in all the books that I have inspected, seems to begin with Oghu’z, as that of the Hindus does with Ra’ma: they place their miraculous Hero and
Patriarch four thousand years before Chengiz Khan, who was born in the year 1164, and with whose reign their historical period commences. It is rather surprizing, that M. Bailly, who makes frequent appeals to Etymological arguments, has not derived Ogyges from Oghuz and Atlas from Altai, or the Golden mountain of Tartary: the Greek terminations might have been rejected from both words; and a mere transposition of letters is no difficulty with an Etymologist.

My remarks in this address, gentlemen, will be confined to the period preceding Chengiz; and, although the learned labours of M. De Guignes and the fathers Visdelou, Demailla, and Gaubil, who have made an incomparable use of their Chinese literature, exhibit probable accounts of the Tartars from a very early age, yet the old historians of China were not only foreign, but generally hostile, to them, and for both those reasons, either through ignorance or malignity, may be suspected of misrepresented their transactions: if they speak truth, the ancient history of the Tartars presents us, like most other histories, with a series of assassinations, plots, treasons, massacres, and all the natural fruits of selfish ambition. I should have no inclination to give you a sketch of such horrors, even if the occasion called for it: and will
barely observe, that the first king of the Hyummus or Huns began his reign, according to Visde lou, about three thousand five hundred and sixty years ago, not long after the time fixed in my former discourses for the first regular establishments of the Hindus and Arabs in their several countries.

I. Our first inquiry, concerning the languages and letters of the Tartars, presents us with a deplorable void, or with a prospect as barren and dreary as that of their deserts. The Tartars, in general, had no literature: (in this point all authorities appear to concur) the Turks had no letters: the Huns, according to Procopius, had not even heard of them: the magnificent Chingiz, whose Empire included an area of near eighty square degrees, could find none of his own Mongals, as the best authors inform us, able to write his dispatches; and Tai'mu'r, a savage of strong natural parts and passionately fond of hearing histories read to him, could himself neither write nor read. It is true, that Ibnu Arabshah mentions a set of characters called Dilberjin, which were used in Khātā: 'he had seen them, he says, and found them to consist of forty-one letters, a distinct symbol being appropriated to each long and short vowel, and to each consonant hard or soft, or otherwise varied in pronunciation;' but Khātā was in southern Tartary on the confines of India; and,
from his description of the characters there in use, we cannot but suspect them to have been those of Tibet, which are manifestly Indian, bearing a greater resemblance to those of Bengal than to Devanāgarī. The learned and eloquent Arab adds, 'that the Tatīrs of Khātā write, in the Dilberjīn letters, all their tales and histories, their journals, poems, and miscellaneous, their diplomas, records of state and justice, the laws of Chengiz, their publick registers and their compositions of every species:' if this be true, the people of Khātā must have been a polished and even a lettered nation; and it may be true, without affecting the general position, that the Tartars were illiterate; but Ibn Arabshaḥ was a professed rhetorician, and it is impossible to read the original passage, without full conviction that his object in writing it, was to display his power of words in a flowing and modulated period. He says further, that in Jaghatai the people of Oigbur, as he calls them, 'have a system of fourteen letters only, denominated from themselves Oigbūri;' and those are the characters, which the Mongals are supposed by most authors to have borrowed: AbūlGHazi' tells us only, that Chengiz employed the natives of Eīgbūr as excellent penmen; but the Chinese assert, that he was forced to employ them, because he had no writers at all
among his natural-born subjects; and we are assured by many, that Kublaikha'n ordered letters to be invented for his nation by a Tibetan; whom he rewarded with the dignity of chief Lama. The small number of Eigburi letters might induce us to believe, that they were Zend or Pakhlavi, which must have been current in that country, when it was governed by the sons of Feridun; and, if the alphabet ascribed to the Eigburiens by M. Des Hautesrayes be correct, we may safely decide, that in many of its letters it resembles both the Zend and the Syriack, with a remarkable difference in the mode of connecting them; but, as we can scarce hope to see a genuine specimen of them, our doubt must remain in regard to their form and origin: the page, exhibited by Hyde as Khatay writing, is evidently a sort of broken Cufick; and the fine manuscript at Oxford, from which it was taken, is more probably a Mendeian work on some religious subject than, as he imagined, a code of Tartarian laws. That very learned man appears to have made a worse mistake in giving us for Mongal characters a page of writing, which has the appearance of Japanese, or mutilated Chinese, letters.

If the Tartars in general, as we have every reason to believe, had no written memorials, it cannot be thought wonderful, that their lan-
guages, like those of America, should have been in perpetual fluctuation, and that more than fifty dialects, as Hyde had been credibly informed, should be spoken between Moscow and China, by the many kindred tribes or their several branches, which are enumerated by Abu’l-Gha’zi. What those dialects are, and whether they really sprang from a common stock, we shall probably learn from Mr. Pallas, and other indefatigable men employed by the Russian court; and it is from the Russians, that we must expect the most accurate information concerning their Asiatic subjects: I persuade myself, that, if their inquiries be judiciously made and faithfully reported, the result of them will prove, that all the languages properly Tartarian arose from one common source; excepting always the jargons of such wanderers or mountaineers, as, having long been divided from the main body of the nation, must in a course of ages have framed separate idioms for themselves. The only Tartarian language, of which I have any knowledge, is the Turkish of Constantinople, which is however so copious, that whoever shall know it perfectly, will easily understand, as we are assured by intelligent authors, the dialects of Tātāristān; and we may collect from Abu’l-Gha’zi, that he would find little difficulty in the Calmac and the Mogul: I will not offend your ears by a dry ca-
talogue of similar words in those different languages; but a careful investigation has convinced me, that, as the Indian and Arabian tongues are severally descended from a common parent, so those of Tartary might be traced to one ancient stem essentially differing from the two others. It appears, indeed, from a story told by Abu"l-Ghazi, that the Virâts and the Mongols could not understand each other; but no more can the Danes and the English, yet their dialects beyond a doubt are branches of the same Gothick tree. The dialect of the Moguls, in which some histories of Taimur and his descendents were originally composed, is called in India, where a learned native set me right when I used another word, Turci; not that it is precisely the same with the Turkish of the Othmânlu's, but the two idioms differ, perhaps, less then Swedish and German, or Spanish and Portuguese, and certainly less than Welch and Irish: in hope of ascertaining this point, I have long searched in vain for the original works ascribed to Taimur and Baber; but all the Moguls, with whom I have conversed in this country, resemble the crow in one of their popular fables, who, having long affected to walk like a pheasant, was unable after all to acquire the gracefulness of that elegant bird, and in the mean time unlearned his
own natural gait: they have not learned the dia-
lectic of Persia, but have wholly forgotten that of
their ancestors. A very considerable part of the
old Tartarian language, which in Asia would
probably have been lost, is happily preserved in
Europe; and, if the groundwork of the western
Turkish, when separated from the Persian and
Arabick, with which it is embellished, be a
branch of the loft Oghuzian tongue, I can assert
with confidence, that it has not the least resem-
blance either to Arabick or Sanscrit, and must
have been invented by a race of men wholly
distinct from the Arabs or Hindus. This fact
alone overthrows the system of M. Bailly, who
considers the Sanscrit, of which he gives in se-
veral places a most erroneous account; as 'a fine
monument of his primeval Scythians, the precep-
tors of mankind and planters of a sublime phi-
losophy even in India;' for he holds it an incon-
testable truth, that a language, which is dead,
supposes a nation, which is destroyed; and he
seems to think such reasoning perfectly decisive
of the question, without having recourse to astro-
nomical arguments or the spirit of ancient insti-
tutions: for my part, I desire no better proof
than that, which the language of the Brâhmans
affords, of an immemorial and total difference
between the Savages of the Mountains, as the old
Chinese justly called the Tartars, and the studious, placid, contemplative inhabitants of these Indian plains.

II. The geographical reasoning of M. Bailly may, perhaps, be thought equally shallow, if not inconsistent in some degree with itself. "An adoration of the sun and of fire, says he, must necessarily have arisen in a cold region: therefore, it must have been foreign to India, Persia, Arabia; therefore, it must have been derived from Tartary." No man, I believe, who has travelled in winter through Babar, or has even passed a cold season at Calcutta within the tropick, can doubt that the solar warmth is often desirable by all, and might have been considered as adorable by the ignorant, in these climates, or that the return of spring deserves all the salutations, which it receives from the Persian and Indian poets; not to rely on certain historical evidence, that Antarah, a celebrated warrior and bard, actually perished with cold on a mountain of Arabia. To meet, however, an objection, which might naturally be made to the voluntary settlement, and amazing population, of his primitive race in the icy regions of the north, he takes refuge in the hypothesis of M. Buffon, who imagines, that our whole globe was at first of a white heat, and has been gradually cooling from the poles to the equator; so that the Hy-
Perborean countries had once a delightful temperature, and Siberia itself was even better than the climate of our temperate zones, that is, was in too hot a climate, by his first proposition, for the primary worship of the sun. That the temperature of countries has not sustained a change in the lapse of ages, I will by no means insist; but we can hardly reason conclusively from a variation of temperature to the cultivation and diffusion of science: if as many female elephants and tigresses, as we now find in Bengal, had formerly littered in the Siberian forests, and if their young, as the earth cooled, had fought a genial warmth in the climates of the south, it would not follow, that other savages, who migrated in the same direction and on the same account, brought religion and philosophy, language and writing, art and science, into the southern latitudes.

We are told by Abu'lgha'zi, that the primitive religion of human creatures, or the pure adoration of One Creator, prevailed in Tartary during the first generations from Ya'fet, but was extinct before the birth of Oghu'z, who restored it in his dominions; that, some ages after him, the Mongols and the Tures relapsed into gross idolatry; but that Chengiz was a Theist, and, in a conversation with the Mohammedan Doctors, admitted their arguments for
the being and attributes of the Deity to be unanswerable, while he contested the evidence of their Prophet's legation. From old Grecian authorities we learn, that the Massagetae worshipped the sun; and the narrative of an embassy from Justin to the Khakân, or Emperor, who then resided in a fine vale near the source of the Irtîsh, mentions the Tartarian ceremony of purifying the Roman Ambassadors by conducting them between two fires: the Tartars of that age are represented as adorers of the four elements, and believers in an invisible spirit, to whom they sacrificed bulls and rams. Modern travellers relate, that, in the festivals of some Tartarian tribes, they pour a few drops of a consecrated liquor on the statues of their Gods; after which an attendant sprinkles a little of what remains three times toward the south in honour of fire, toward the west and east in honour of water and air, and as often toward the north in honour of the earth, which contained the relics of their deceased ancestors: now all this may be very true, without proving a national affinity between the Tartars and Hindus; for the Arabs adored the planets and the powers of nature, the Arabs had carved images, and made libations on a black stone, the Arabs turned in prayer to different quarters of the heavens; yet we know with certainty, that the Arabs are a distinct race
from the Tartars; and we might as well infer, that they were the same people, because they had each their Nomades, or wanderers for pasture, and because the Turcmans, described by Ibnu Arabshah and by him called Tatar's, are, like most Arabian tribes, pastoral and war-like, hospitable and generous, wintering and summering on different plains, and rich in herds and flocks, horses and camels; but this agreement in manners proceeds from the similar nature of their several deserts and their similar choice of a free rambling life, without evincing a community of origin, which they could scarce have had without preserving some remnant at least of a common language.

Many Lamas, we are assured, or Priests of Buddha, have been found settled in Siberia; but it can hardly be doubted, that the Lamas had travelled thither from Tibet, whence it is more than probable, that the religion of the Buddhist's was imported into southerns, or Chinese, Tartary; since we know, that rolls of Tibetan writing have been brought even from the borders of the Caspian. The complexion of Buddha himself, which, according to the Hindus, was between white and ruddy, would perhaps have convinced M. Bailly, had he known the Indian tradition, that the last great legislator and God of the East was a Tartar;
but the *Chinese* consider him as a native of *India*,
the *Brahmans* insist, that he was born in a forest
near *Gaya*, and many reasons may lead us to
suspect, that his religion was carried from the
west and the south to those eastern and northern
countries, in which it prevails. On the whole
we meet with few or no traces in *Scythia* of
*Indian* rites and superstitions, or of that poetical
mythology, with which the *Sanskrit* poems are
decorated; and we may allow the *Tartars* to
have adored the Sun with more reason than any
southern people, without admitting them to have
been the sole original inventors of that universal
folly: we may even doubt the originality of
their veneration for the *four elements*, which
forms a principal part of the ritual introduced
by *Zer'atusht*, a native of *Rai* in *Persia*, born
in the reign of *Gushtasp*, whose son *Pash'ut-
ten* is believed by the *Parfi's* to have resided
long in *Tartary* at a place called *Cangidiz*,
where a magnificent palace is said to have been
built by the father of *Cyrus*, and where the
*Persian* prince, who was a zealot in the new
faith, would naturally have disseminated its tenets
among the neighbouring *Tartars*.

Of any Philosophy, except natural Ethicks,
which the rudest society requires and experience
teaches, we find no more vestiges in *Asiatick
Scythia* than in ancient *Arabia*; nor would the
name of a Philosopher and a Scythian have been ever connected, if Anacharsis had not visited Athens and Lydia for that instruction, which his birthplace could not have afforded him: but Anacharsis was the son of a Grecian woman, who had taught him her language, and he soon learned to despise his own. He was unquestionably a man of a sound understanding and fine parts; and, among the lively sayings, which gained him the reputation of a wit even in Greece, it is related by Diogenes Laertius, that, when an Athenian reproached him with being a Scythian, he answered: 'my country is, indeed, a disgrace to me, but thou art a disgrace to thy country.' What his country was, in regard to manners and civil duties, we may learn from his fate in it; for when, on his return from Athens, he attempted to reform it by introducing the wise laws of his friend Solon, he was killed on a hunting party with an arrow shot by his own brother, a Scythian Chieftain. Such was the philosophy of M. Bailly's Atlantes, the first and most enlightened of nations! We are assured, however, by the learned author of the Dabistan, that the Tartars under Chengiz and his descendants were lovers of truth; and would not even preserve their lives by a violation of it: De Guignes ascribes the same veracity, the parent of all virtues, to the Huns;
and Strabo, who might only mean to lash the Greeks by praising Barbarians, as Horace extolled the wandering Scythians merely to satirize his luxurious countrymen, informs us, that the nations of Scythia deserved the praise due to wisdom, heroick friendship, and justice; and this praise we may readily allow them on his authority, without supposing them to have been the preceptors of mankind.

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

III. Had the religious opinions and allegorical fables of the Hindus been actually borrowed from Scythia, travellers must have discovered in that country some ancient monuments of them, such as pieces of grotesque sculpture, images of
the Gods and *Avatârs*, and inscriptions on pillars or in caverns, analogous to those, which remain in every part of the western peninsula, or to those, which many of us have seen in Babâr and at Bandras; but (except a few detached idols) the only great monuments of Tartarian antiquity are a line of ramparts on the west and east of the Cas-phan, ascribed indeed by ignorant Muselmans to Yâjûj and Mäjûj, or Gog and Magog, that is to the Scythians, but manifestly raised by a very different nation in order to stop their predatory inroads through the passes of Caucasus. The Chinese wall was built or finished, on a similar construction and for a similar purpose, by an Emperor, who died only two hundred and ten years before the beginning of our era; and the other mounds were very probably constructed by the old Persians, though, like many works of unknown origin, they are given to Secan-der, not the Macedonian, but a more ancient Hero supposed by some to have been Jemshi'd. It is related, that pyramids and tombs have been found in Tûtâristân, or western Scythia, and some remnants of edifices in the lake Saisan; that vestiges of a deserted city have been recently discovered by the Russians near the Caspian sea, and the Mountain of Eagles; and that golden ornaments and utensils, figures of elks and other quadrupeds in metal, weapons of
various kinds, and even implements for mining, but made of copper instead of iron, have been dug up in the country of the *Tshudés*; whence M. Bailly infers, with great reason, the high antiquity of that people: but the high antiquity of the *Tartars*, and their establishment in that country near four thousand years ago, no man disputes; we are inquiring into their ancient religion and philosophy, which neither ornaments of gold, nor tools of copper, will prove to have had an affinity with the religious rites and the sciences of India. The golden utensils might possibly have been fabricated by the *Tartars* themselves; but it is possible too, that they were carried from *Rome* or from *China*, whence occasional embassies were sent to the Kings of *Eigbur*. Towards the end of the tenth century the *Chinese* Emperor dispatched an ambassador to a Prince, named *Erslan*, which, in the *Turkish* of *Constantinople*, signifies a *lion*, who resided near the Golden Mountain in the same station, perhaps, where the *Romans* had been received in the middle of the sixth century; the *Chinese* on his return home reported the *Eigburis* to be a grave people, with fair complexions, diligent workmen, and ingenious artificers not only in gold, silver, and iron, but in jasper and fine stones; and the *Romans* had before described their magnificent reception in a rich palace
adorned with Chinese manufactures: but these times were comparatively modern; and, even if we should admit, that the Eighuris, who are said to have been governed for a period of two thousand years by an Idécut, or sovereign of their own race, were in some very early age a literary and polished nation, it would prove nothing in favour of the Huns, Turcs, Mongals, and other savages to the north of Pekin, who seem in all ages, before Muhammed, to have been equally ferocious and illiterate.

Without actual inspection of the manuscripts, that have been found near the Caspian, it would be impossible to give a correct opinion concerning them; but one of them, described as written on blue silky paper in letters of gold and silver not unlike Hebrew, was probably a Tibetan composition of the same kind with that, which lay near the source of the Irtish, and of which Cassiano I believe, made the first accurate version: another, if we may judge from the description of it, was probably modern Turkißb; and none of them could have been of great antiquity.

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

Before I left Europe, I had insinuated in conversation, that the Tuzuc, translated by Major Davy, was never written by Taimur himself, at least not as Caesar wrote his commentaries, for one very plain reason, that no Tartarian king of his age could write at all; and, in support of my opinion, I had cited Ibnu Arabsha'h, who,
though justly hostile to the savage, by whom his native city, Damascus, had been ruined, yet praises his talents and the real greatness of his mind, but adds: "He was wholly illiterate; he neither read nor wrote any thing; and he knew nothing of Arabick; though of Persian, Turkish, and the Mogul dialect, he knew as much as was sufficient for his purpose, and no more: he used with pleasure to hear histories read to him, and so frequently heard the same book, that he was able by memory to correct an inaccurate reader." This passage had no effect on the translator, whom great and learned men in India had assured, it seems, that the work was authentick, by which he meant composed by the conqueror himself: but the great in this country might have been unlearned, or the learned might not have been great enough to answer any leading question in a manner that opposed the declared inclination of a British inquirer; and, in either case, since no witnesses are named, so general a reference to them will hardly be thought conclusive evidence. On my part, I will name a Muselman, whom we all know, and who has enough both of greatness and of learning to decide the question both impartially and satisfactorily: the Nawwāb Mozaffer Jang informed me of his own accord, that no man of sense in Hinduśtan believed the work to have

been composed by Taimur, but that his favourite, surnamed Hindu Shah, was known to have written that book and others ascribed to his patron, after many confidential discourses with the Emir, and, perhaps, nearly in the Prince’s words as well as in his person; a story, which Ali of Yazd, who attended the court of Taimur, and has given us a flowery panegyrick instead of a history, renders highly probable, by confirming the latter part of the Arabian account, and by total silence as to the literary productions of his master. It is true, that a very ingenious but indigent native, whom Davy supported, has given me a written memorial on the subject, in which he mentions Taimur as the author of two works in Turkisb; but the credit of his information is overcast by a strange apocryphal story of a king of Yemen, who invaded, he says, the Emir’s dominions, and in whose library the manuscript was afterwards found, and translated by order of Alisheir, first minister of Taimur’s grandson; and Major Davy himself, before he departed from Bengal, told me, that he was greatly perplexed by finding in a very accurate and old copy of the Tuzuc, which he designed to republish with considerable additions, a particular account, written unquestionably by Taimur, of his own death. No evidence, therefore, has been adduced to shake my opinion,
that, the Moguls and Tartars, before their conquest of India and Persia, were wholly unlettered; although it may be possible, that, even without art or science, they had, like the Huns, both warriours and lawgivers in their own country some centuries before the birth of Christ.

If learning was ever anciently cultivated in the regions to the north of India, the seats of it, I have reason to suspect, must have been Eighbur, Cashgar, Khatū, Chin, Tancūt, and other countries of Chinese Tartary, which lie between the thirty-fifth and forty-fifth degrees of northern latitude; but I shall, in another discourse, produce my reasons for supposing, that those very countries were peopled by a race allied to the Hindus, or enlightened at least by their vicinity to India and China; yet in Tancūt, which by some is annexed to Tibet, and even among its old inhabitants, the Seres, we have no certain accounts of uncommon talents or great improvements: they were famed, indeed, for the faithful discharge of moral duties, for a pacifick disposition, and for that longevity, which is often the reward of patient virtues and a calm temper; but they are said to have been wholly indifferent, in former ages, to the elegant arts and even to commerce; though Fadlu'llah had been informed, that, near the close of the thirteenth century, many
branches of natural philosophy were cultivated in Cam-cheu, then the metropolis of Serica.

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

Thus has it been proved, and, in my humble opinion, beyond controversy, that the far greater part of Asia has been peopled and immemorially possessed by three considerable nations, whom, for want of better names, we may call Hindus, Arabs, and Tartars; each of them divided and subdivided into an infinite number of branches, and all of them so different in form and features,
language, manners and religion, that, if they sprang originally from a common root, they must have been separated for ages: whether more than three primitive stocks can be found, or, in other words, whether the Chinese, Japanese, and Persians, are entirely distinct from them, or formed by their intermixture, I shall hereafter, if your indulgence to me continue, diligently inquire. To what conclusions these inquiries will lead, I cannot yet clearly discern; but, if they lead to truth, we shall not regret our journey through this dark region of ancient history, in which, while we proceed step by step, and follow every glimmering of certain light, that presents itself, we must beware of those false rays and luminous vapours, which mislead Asiatick travellers by an appearance of water, but are found on a near approach to be deserts of sand.
THE SIXTH
DISCOURSE;
ON THE
PERSIANS,
DELIVERED 19 FEBRUARY, 1789.

GENTLEMEN,

I TURN with delight from the vast mountains
and barren deserts of Turan, over which we tra-
velled last year with no perfect knowledge of our
course, and request you now to accompany me
on a literary journey through one of the most
celebrated and most beautiful countries in the
world; a country, the history and languages of
which, both ancient and modern, I have long
attentively studied, and on which I may without
arrogance promise you more positive informa-
tion, than I could possibly procure on a na-
tion so disunited and so unlettered as the Tar-
tars: I mean that, which Europeans improperly
call Persia, the name of a single province being
applied to the whole Empire of Iran, as it is cor-
rectly denominated by the present natives of it,
and by all the learned Muselmans, who reside in these British territories. To give you an idea of its largest boundaries, agreeably to my former mode of describing India, Arabia, and Tartary, between which it lies, let us begin with the source of the great Assyrian stream, Euphrates, (as the Greeks, according to their custom, were pleased to miscall the Forat) and thence descend to its mouth in the Green Sea, or Persian Gulf, including in our line some considerable districts and towns on both sides the river; then coasting Persia, properly so named, and other Iranian provinces, we come to the delta of the Sindhu or Indus; whence ascending to the mountains of Cashgbar, we discover its fountains and those of the Jaibun, down which we are conducted to the Caspian, which formerly perhaps it entered, though it lose itself now in the fands and lakes of Khwarezm: we next are led from the sea of Khozar, by the banks of the Cur, or Cyrus, and along the Caucasian ridges, to the shore of the Euxine, and thence, by the several Grecian seas, to the point, whence we took our departure, at no considerable distance from the Mediterranean. We cannot but include the lower Asia within this outline, because it was unquestionably a part of the Persian, if not of the old Assyrian, Empire; for we know, that it was under the dominion of Caikhosrau; and Diodorus, we
find, affirms, that the kingdom of Troas was dependent on Assyria, since Priam implored and obtained succours from his Emperor Teutamas, whose name approaches nearer to Tahmu'ras, than to that of any other Assyrian monarch. Thus may we look on Iran as the noblest Island, (for so the Greeks and the Arabs would have called it), or at least as the noblest peninsula, on this habitable globe; and if M. Bailly had fixed on it as the Atlantis of Plato, he might have supported his opinion with far stronger arguments than any, that he has adduced in favour of New Zembla: if the account, indeed, of the Atlantes be not purely an Egyptian, or an Utopian, fable, I should be more inclined to place them in Iran than in any region, with which I am acquainted.

It may seem strange, that the ancient history of so distinguished an Empire should be yet so imperfectly known; but very satisfactory reasons may be assigned for our ignorance of it: the principal of them are the superficial knowledge of the Greeks and Jews, and the loss of Persian archives or historical compositions. That the Grecian writers, before Xenophon, had no acquaintance with Persia, and that all their accounts of it are wholly fabulous, is a paradox too extravagant to be seriously maintained; but their connection with it in war or peace had, indeed,
been generally confined to bordering kingdoms under feudatory princes; and the first Persian Emperor, whose life and character they seem to have known with tolerable accuracy, was the great Cyrus, whom I call, without fear of contradiction, Caikhosrau; for I shall then only doubt that the Khosrau of Firdausi' was the Cyrus of the first Greek historian, and the Hero of the oldest political and moral romance, when I doubt that Louis Quatorze and Lewis the Fourteenth were one and the same French King: it is utterly incredible, that two different princes of Persia should each have been born in a foreign and hostile territory; should each have been doomed to death in his infancy by his maternal grandfather in consequence of portentous dreams, real or invented; should each have been saved by the remorse of his destined murderer, and should each, after a similar education among herdsmen, as the son of a herdsman, have found means to revisit his paternal kingdom, and having delivered it, after a long and triumphant war, from the tyrant, who had invaded it, should have restored it to the summit of power and magnificence. Whether so romantick a story, which is the subject of an Epick Poem, as majestic and entire as the Iliad, be historically true, we may feel perhaps an inclination to doubt; but it cannot with reason be denied,
that the outline of it related to a single Hero, whom the Asiaticks, conversing with the father of European history, described according to their popular traditions by his true name, which the Greek alphabet could not express: nor will a difference of names affect the question; since the Greeks had little regard for truth, which they sacrificed willingly to the Graces of their language, and the nicety of their ears; and, if they could render foreign words melodious, they were never solicitous to make them exact; hence they probably formed Cambyses from Ca'mbakhsh, or Granting desires, a title rather than a name, and Xerxes from Shi'ru'y1, a Prince and warrior in the Shābnāmah, or from Shi'rsha'h, which might also have been a title; for the Asiatick Princes have constantly assumed new titles or epithets at different periods of their lives, or on different occasions; a custom, which we have seen prevalent in our own times both in Iran and Hindustān, and which has been a source of great confusion even in the scriptural accounts of Babylonian occurrences: both Greeks and Jews have in fact accommodated Persian names to their own articulation; and both seem to have disregarded the native literature of Iran, without which they could at most attain a general and imperfect knowledge of the country. As to the Persians themselves, who were contemporary
with the Jews and Greeks, they must have been acquainted with the history of their own times, and with the traditional accounts of past ages; but for a reason, which will presently appear, they chose to consider CAYUMERS as the founder of the empire; and, in the numerous distractions, which followed the overthrow of Da'ra, especially in the great revolution on the defeat of YEZDEGIRD, their civil histories were lost, as those of India have unhappily been, from the solicitude of the priests, the only depositaries of their learning, to preserve their books of law and religion at the expense of all others: hence it has happened, that nothing remains of genuine Persian history before the dynasty of SA'SA'N, except a few rustic traditions and fables, which furnished materials for the Shâhnâmeh, and which are still supposed to exist in the Pahlavi language. The annals of the PISHDADI, or ASSYRIAN, race must be considered as dark and fabulous; and those of the Cayani family, or the Medes and Persians, as heroic and poetical; though the lunar eclipses, said to be mentioned by PTOLEMY, fix the time of GUSHTASP, the prince, by whom ZERA'TUSHT was protected: of the Partbian kings descended from ARSCHRAC or ARSACES, we know little more than the names; but the Sâ'Jâ'Ns had so long an intercourse with the Emperors of Rome and Byzantium, that the period
of their dominion may be called an historical age. In attempting to ascertain the beginning of the *Assyrian* empire, we are deluded, as in a thousand instances, by names arbitrarily imposed: it had been *settled* by chronologers, that the first monarchy established in *Persia* was the *Assyrian*; and *Newton*, finding some of opinion, that it rose in the first century after the Flood, but unable by his own calculations to extend it farther back than *seven hundred and ninety* years before *Christ*, rejected part of the old system and adopted the rest of it; concluding, that the *Assyrian* Monarchs began to reign about two hundred years after *Solomon*, and that, in all preceding ages, the government of *Iran* had been divided into several petty states and principalities. Of this opinion I confess myself to have been; when, disregarding the wild chronology of the *Muselmans* and *Gabrs*, I had allowed the utmost natural duration to the reigns of eleven *Pisbdadi* kings, without being able to add more than a hundred years to *Newton*’s computation. It seemed, indeed, unaccountably strange, that, although *Abraham* had found a regular monarchy in *Egypt*, although the kingdom of *Yemen* had just pretensions to very high antiquity, although the *Chinese*, in the twelfth century before our era, had made approaches at least to the present form of their extensive dominion, and although we
can hardly suppose the first Indian monarchs to have reigned less than three thousand years ago, yet Persia, the most delightful, the most compact, the most desirable country of them all, should have remained for so many ages unsettled and disunited. A fortunate discovery, for which I was first indebted to Mir Muhammed Husain, one of the most intelligent Muselmans in India, has at once dissipated the cloud, and cast a gleam of light on the primeval history of Iràn and of the human race, of which I had long despaired, and which could hardly have dawned from any other quarter.

The rare and interesting tract on twelve different religions, entitled the Dabistàn, and composed by a Mohammedan traveller, a native of Cashmir, named Mohsan, but distinguished by the assumed surname of Fanî, or Perishable, begins with a wonderfully curious chapter on the religion of Hushang, which was long anterior to that of Zera’tusht, but had continued to be secretly professed by many learned Persians even to the author’s time; and several of the most eminent of them, dissenting in many points from the Gabrs, and persecuted by the ruling powers of their country, had retired to India; where they compiled a number of books, now extremely scarce, which Mohsan had perused, and with the writers of which, or with many of
them, he had contracted an intimate friendship: from them he learned, that a powerful monarchy had been established for ages in Iràn before the accession of Cayumers, that it was called the Mabâbadian dynasty, for a reason which will soon be mentioned, and that many princes, of whom seven or eight only are named in the Dabistan, and among them Mahbul, or Mahâ Béli, had raised their empire to the zenith of human glory. If we can rely on this evidence, which to me appears unexceptionable, the Irânian monarchy must have been the oldest in the world; but it will remain dubious, to which of the three stocks, Hindu, Arabian, or Tartar, the first Kings of Iràn belonged, or whether they sprang from a fourth race distinct from any of the others; and these are questions, which we shall be able, I imagine, to answer precisely, when we have carefully inquired into the languages and letters, religion and philosophy, and incidentally into the arts and sciences, of the ancient Persians.

I. In the new and important remarks, which I am going to offer, on the ancient languages and characters of Iràn, I am sensible, that you must give me credit for many assertions, which on this occasion it is impossible to prove; for I should ill deserve your indulgent attention, if I were to abuse it by repeating a dry list of detached words,
and presenting you with a vocabulary instead of a dissertation; but, since I have no system to maintain, and have not suffered imagination to delude my judgement; since I have habituated myself to form opinions of men and things from evidence, which is the only solid basis of civil, as experiment is of natural, knowledge; and since I have maturely considered the questions which I mean to discuss; you will not, I am persuaded, suspect my testimony, or think that I go too far, when I assure you, that I will assert nothing positively, which I am not able satisfactorily to demonstrate. When Muhammed was born, and Anu'sh iravan, whom he calls the Just King, sat on the throne of Persia, two languages appear to have been generally prevalent in the great empire of Iran; that of the Court, thence named Deri, which was only a refined and elegant dialect of the Parsi, so called from the province, of which Shiraz is now the capital, and that of the learned, in which most books were composed, and which had the name of Pahlavi, either from the heroes, who spoke it in former times, or from Pahlu, a tract of land, which included, we are told, some considerable cities of Irak: the ruder dialects of both were, and, I believe, still are, spoken by the rusticks in several provinces; and in many of them, as Herat, Zabul, Sistan and others, distinct idioms
were vernacular, as it happens in every kingdom of great extent. Besides the Pārsi and Pahlavi, a very ancient and abstruse tongue was known to the priests and philosophers, called the language of the Zend, because a book on religious and moral duties, which they held sacred, and which bore that name, had been written in it; while the Pāzend, or comment on that work, was composed in Pahlavi, as a more popular idiom; but a learned follower of Zerā'tusht, named Bahman, who lately died at Calcutta, where he had lived with me as a Persian reader about three years, assured me, that the letters of his prophet's book were properly called Zend, and the language, Avestā, as the words of the Vēda's are Sanscrit, and the characters, Nāgari; or as the old Saga's and poems of Iceland were expressed in Runick letters: let us however, in compliance with custom, give the name of Zend to the sacred language of Persia, until we can find, as we shall very soon, a fitter appellation for it. The Zend and the old Pahlavi are almost extinct in Irān; for among six or seven thousand Gabrs, who reside chiefly at Yezd, and in Cirmān, there are very few, who can read Pahlavi, and scarce any, who even boast of knowing the Zend; while the Parsi, which remains almost pure in the Shāhbnāmah, has now become by the intermixture of numberless Arabick words,
and many imperceptible changes, a new language exquisitely polished by a series of fine writers in prose and verse, and analogous to the different idioms gradually formed in Europe after the subversion of the Roman empire: but with modern Persian we have no concern in our present inquiry, which I confine to the ages, that preceded the Mohammedan conquest. Having twice read the works of Firdaust with great attention, since I applied myself to the study of old Indian literature, I can assure you with confidence, that hundreds of Parsi nouns are pure Sanscrit, with no other change than such as may be observed in the numerous bhásbás, or vernacular dialects, of India; that very many Persian imperatives are the roots of Sanscrit verbs; and that even the moods and tenses of the Persian verb substantive, which is the model of all the rest, are deducible from the Sanscrit by an easy and clear analogy: we may hence conclude, that the Parsi was derived, like the various Indian dialects, from the language of the Brâhmans; and I must add, that in the pure Persian I find no trace of any Arabian tongue, except what proceeded from the known intercourse between the Persians and Arabs, especially in the time of Bâhrâm, who was educated in Arabia, and whose Arabick verses are still extant, together with his heroic line in Deri, which many suppose to be
the first attempt at Persian versification in Arabian metre: but, without having recourse to other arguments, the composition of words, in which the genius of the Persian delights, and which that of the Arabick abhors, is a decisive proof, that the Parsi sprang from an Indian, and not from an Arabian, stock. Considering languages as mere instruments of knowledge, and having strong reasons to doubt the existence of genuine books in Zend or Pahlavi (especially since the well-informed author of the Dabistán affirms the work of Zeratusht to have been lost, and its place supplied by a recent compilation) I had no inducement, though I had an opportunity, to learn what remains of those ancient languages; but I often conversed on them with my friend Bahman, and both of us were convinced after full consideration, that the Zend bore a strong resemblance to Sanscrit, and the Pahlavi to Arabick. He had at my request translated into Pahlavi the fine inscription, exhibited in the Gulistan, on the diadem of Cyrus; and I had the patience to read the list of words from the Pâzènd in the appendix to the Farhangi Fehângiri: this examination gave me perfect conviction, that the Pahlavi was a dialect of the Chaldaick; and of this curious fact I will exhibit a short proof. By the nature of the Chaldean tongue most words ended in the first
long vowel like šemīdā, heaven; and that very word, unaltered in a single letter, we find in the Pāzend, together with lašiš, night, meyā, water, nīrā, fire, matrā, rain, and a multitude of others, all Arabick or Hebrew with a Chaldean termination: so zamar, by a beautiful metaphor from pruning trees, means in Hebrew to compose verses, and thence, by an easy transition, to sing them; and in Pahlavi we see the verb zam-rūniten, to sing, with its forms zam-rūnemī, I sing, and zam-rūnīd, he sang; the verbal terminations of the Persian being added to the Chaldaick root. Now all those words are integral parts of the language, not adventitious to it like the Arabick nouns and verbals engrafted on modern Persian; and this distinction convinces me, that the dialect of the Gubrs, which they pretend to be that of Že-rā’tūsht, and of which Bahman gave me a variety of written specimens, is a late invention of their priests, or subsequent at least to the Muselman invasion; for, although it may be possible, that a few of their sacred books were preserved, as he used to assert, in sheets of lead or copper at the bottom of wells near Yezd, yet as the conquerors had not only a spiritual, but a political, interest in persecuting a warlike, robust, and indignant race of irreconcilable conquered subjects, a long time must have elapsed, before the hidden scriptures could have been safely
brought to light, and few, who could perfectly understand them, must then have remained; but, as they continued to profess among themselves the religion of their forefathers, it became expedient for the Mubeds to supply the lost or mutilated works of their legislator by new compositions, partly from their imperfect recollection, and partly from such moral and religious knowledge, as they gleaned, most probably, among the Christians, with whom they had an intercourse. One rule we may fairly establish in deciding the question, whether the books of the modern Gabrs were anterior to the invasion of the Arabs: when an Arabick noun occurs in them changed only by the spirit of the Chaldean idiom, as wertâ, for werd, a rose, dabâ, for dhbabab, gold, or demân, for zemân, time, we may allow it to have been ancient Paablavi; but, when we meet with verbal nouns or infinitives, evidently formed by the rules of Arabian grammar, we may be sure, that the phrases, in which they occur, are comparatively modern; and not a single passage, which BAHMAN produced from the books of his religion, would abide this test.

We come now to the language of the Zend; and here I must impart a discovery, which I lately made, and from which we may draw the most interesting consequences. M. ANQUETIL,
who had the merit of undertaking a voyage to India, in his earliest youth, with no other view than to recover the writings of Zera'tusht, and who would have acquired a brilliant reputation in France, if he had not sullied it by his immoderate vanity and virulence of temper, which alienated the good will even of his own countrymen, has exhibited in his work, entitled Zendávestà, two vocabularies in Zend and Pahlavi, which he had found in an approved collection of Rawáyát, or Traditional Pieces, in modern Persian: of his Pahlavi no more needs be said, than that it strongly confirms my opinion concerning the Chaldaick origin of that language; but, when I perused the Zend glossary, I was inexpressibly surprized to find, that six or seven words in ten were pure Sanscrit, and even some of their inflexions formed by the rules of the Védacarán; as yusbmácam, the genitive plural of yusbmad. Now M. Anquetil most certainly, and the Persian compiler most probably, had no knowledge of Sanscrit; and could not, therefore, have invented a list of Sanscrit words: it is, therefore, an authentick list of Zend words, which had been preserved in books or by tradition; and it follows, that the language of the Zend was at least a dialect of the Sanscrit, approaching perhaps as nearly to it as the Prácrit, or other popular idioms, which
we know to have been spoken in India two thousand years ago. From all these facts it is a necessary consequence, that the oldest discoverable languages of Persia were Chaldaick and Sanscrit; and that, when they had ceased to be vernacular, the Pahlavi and Zend were deduced from them respectively, and the Parsi either from the Zend, or immediately from the dialect of the Brähmans; but all had perhaps a mixture of Tartarian; for the best lexicographers assert, that numberless words in ancient Persian are taken from the language of the Cimmerians, or the Tartars of Kipchak; so that the three families, whose lineage we have examined in former discourses, had left visible traces of themselves in Iran, long before the Tartars and Arabs had rushed from their deserts, and returned to that very country, from which in all probability they originally proceeded, and which the Hindus had abandoned in an earlier age, with positive commands from their legislators to revisit it no more. I close this head with observing, that no supposition of a mere political or commercial intercourse between the different nations will account for the Sanscrit and Chaldaick words, which we find in the old Persian tongues; because they are, in the first place, too numerous to have been introduced by such means, and, secondly, are not the names of exotick animals,
commodities, or arts, but those of material elements, parts of the body, natural objects and relations, affections of the mind, and other ideas common to the whole race of man.

If a nation of Hindus, it may be urged, ever possessed and governed the country of Irân, we should find on the very ancient ruins of the temple or palace, now called the throne of Jemshid, some inscriptions in Devanâgari, or at least in the characters on the stones at Elephanta, where the sculpture is unquestionably Indian, or in those on the Staff of Firuz Shah, which exist in the heart of India; and such inscriptions we probably should have found, if that edifice had not been erected after the migration of the Brâhmans from Iran, and the violent schism in the Persian religion, of which we shall presently speak; for, although the popular name of the building at Istakhr, or Persepolis, be no certain proof that it was raised in the time of Jemshid, yet such a fact might easily have been preserved by tradition, and we shall soon have abundant evidence, that the temple was posterior to the reign of the Hindu monarchs: the cypresses indeed, which are represented with the figures in procession, might induce a reader of the Shâh-nâmâh to believe, that the sculptures related to the new faith introduced by Zera Tush; but, as a cypress is a beautiful ornament, and as
many of the figures appear inconsistent with the reformed adoration of fire, we must have recourse to stronger proofs, that the Takht Jemshid was erected after Cayumers. The building has ately been visited, and the characters on it examined, by Mr. Francklin; from whom we learn, that Niebuhr has delineated them with great accuracy: but without such testimony I should have suspected the correctness of the delineation; because the Danish traveller has exhibited two inscriptions in modern Persian, and one of them from the same place, which cannot have been exactly transcribed: they are very elegant verses of Nizami and Sadi on the instability of human greatness, but so ill engraved or so ill copied, that, if I had not had them nearly by heart, I should not have been able to read them; and M. Rousseau of Isfahan, who translated them with shameful inaccuracy, must have been deceived by the badness of the copy; or he never would have created a new king Wakam, by forming one word of Jem and the particle prefixed to it. Assuming, however, that we may reason as conclusively on the characters published by Niebuhr, as we might on the monuments themselves, were they now before us, we may begin with observing, as Chardin had observed on the very spot, that they bear no resemblance
whatever to the letters used by the Gabrs in their copies of the Vendidad: this I once urged, in an amicable debate with Bahman, as a proof, that the Zend letters were a modern invention; but he seemed to hear me without surprize, and insisted, that the letters, to which I alluded, and which he had often seen, were monumental characters never used in books, and intended either to conceal some religious mysteries from the vulgar, or to display the art of the sculptor, like the embellished Cufick and Nagari on several Arabian and India monuments. He wondered, that any man could seriously doubt the antiquity of the Pahlavi letters; and in truth the inscription behind the horse of Ruslam, which Niebuhr has also given us, is apparently Pahlavi, and might with some pains be deciphered: that character was extremely rude, and seems to have been written, like the Roman and the Arabick, in a variety of hands; for I remember to have examined a rare collection of old Persian coins in the Museum of the great Anatomist, William Hunter, and, though I believed the legends to be Pahlavi, and had no doubt, that they were coins of Parthian kings, yet I could not read the inscriptions without wasting more time, than I had then at command, in comparing the letters and ascertaining the proportions, in which they severally occurred.
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The gross Pahlavi was improved by Zerā- tushr or his disciples into an elegant and perspicuous character, in which the Zendāvesta was copied; and both were written from the right hand to the left like other Chaldaick alphabets; for they are manifestly both of Chaldean origin; but the Zend has the singular advantage of expressing all the long and short vowels, by distinct marks, in the body of each word, and all the words are distinguished by full points between them; so that, if modern Persian were unmixed with Arabick, it might be written in Zend with the greatest convenience, as any one may perceive by copying in that character a few pages of the Shābnamah. As to the unknown inscriptions in the palace of Jemshid, it may reasonably be doubted, whether they contain a system of letters, which any nation ever adopted: in five of them the letters, which are separated by points, may be reduced to forty, at least I can distinguish no more essentially different; and they all seem to be regular variations and compositions of a straight line and an angular figure like the head of a javelin, or a leaf (to use the language of botanists) hearted and lanced. Many of the Runick letters appear to have been formed of similar elements; and it has been observed, that the writing at Persepolis bears a strong resemblance to that, which the Irish call Ogham:
the word *Agam* in *Sanskrit* means *mysterious knowledge*; but I dare not affirm, that the two words had a common origin, and only mean to suggest, that, if the characters in question be really alphabetical, they were probably secret and sacerdotal, or a mere cypher, perhaps, of which the priests only had the key. They might, I imagine, be decyphered, if the language were certainly known; but, in all the other inscriptions of the same sort, the characters are too complex, and the variations of them too numerous, to admit an opinion, that they could be symbols of articulate sounds; for even the *Nàgari* system, which has more distinct letters than any known alphabet, consists only of forty-nine simple characters, two of which are mere substitutions, and four of little use in *Sanskrit* or in any other language; while the more complicated figures, exhibited by NIEBUHR, must be as numerous at least as the *Chinese* keys, which are the signs of *ideas* only, and some of which resemble the old *Persian* letters at *Istakhr*; the *Danish* traveller was convinced from his own observation, that they were written from the left hand, like all the characters used by *Hindu* nations; but I must leave this dark subject, which I cannot illuminate, with a remark formerly made by myself, that the square *Chaldaick* letters, a few of which are found on the *Persian*
ruins, appear to have been originally the same with the Devanagari, before the latter were enclosed, as we now see them, in angular frames.

II. The primeval religion of Iran, if we rely on the authorities adduced by Mohsani Fani, was that, which Newton calls the oldest (and it may justly be called the noblest) of all religions; "a firm belief, that One Supreme God made the world by his power, and continually governed it by his providence; a pious fear, love, and adoration of Him; a due reverence for parents and aged persons; a fraternal affection for the whole human species, and a compassionate tenderness even for the brute creation." A system of devotion so pure and sublime could hardly among mortals be of long duration; and we learn from the Dabistan, that the popular worship of the Iranians under Hushang was purely Sabian; a word, of which I cannot offer any certain etymology, but which has been deduced by grammarians from Sab, a host, and, particularly the host of heaven, or the celestial bodies, in the adoration of which the Sabian ritual is believed to have consisted: there is a description, in the learned work just mentioned, of the several Persian temples dedicated to the Sun and Planets, of the images adored in them, and of the magnificent processions to them on prescribed festivals, one of which is probably
represented by sculpture in the ruined city of Jemshid; but the planetary worship in Persia seems only a part of a far more complicated religion, which we now find in these Indian provinces; for Mohsan assures us, that, in the opinion of the best informed Persians, who professed the faith of Hu'shang, distinguished from that of Zera'tusht, the first monarch of Iran and of the whole earth was Mahabād, a word apparently Sanserit, who divided the people into four orders, the religious, the military, the commercial, and the servile, to which he assigned names unquestionably the same in their origin with those now applied to the four primary classes of the Hindus. They added, that He received from the creator, and promulgated among men, a sacred book in a heavenly language, to which the Muselman author gives the Arabick title of desāṭir, or regulations, but the original name of which he has not mentioned; and that fourteen Mahā'ba'ds had appeared or would appear in human shapes for the government of this world; now when we know, that the Hindus believe in fourteen Menu's, or celestial personages with similar functions, the first of whom left a book of regulations, or divine ordinances, which they hold equal to the Vēda, and the language of which they believe to be that of the Gods, we can hardly doubt, that the first corruption of the
purest and oldest religion was the system of Indian Theology, invented by the Brâhmans and prevalent in these territories, where the book of Mahâbâd or Menu is at this hour the standard of all religious and moral duties. The accession of Cayûmers to the throne of Persia, in the eighth or ninth century before Christ, seems to have been accompanied by a considerable revolution both in government and religion: he was most probably of a different race from the Mahâbâdians, who preceded him, and began perhaps the new system of national faith, which Hu'shang, whose name it bears, completed; but the reformation was partial; for, while they rejected the complex polytheism of their predecessors, they retained the laws of Mahâbâd, with a superstitious veneration for the sun, the planets, and fire; thus resembling the Hindu sects, called Saura's and Sâgnica's, the second of which is very numerous at Banares, where many agnihotra's are continually blazing, and where the Sâgnica's, when they enter on their facerdotal office, kindle, with two pieces of the hard wood Semî, a fire which they keep lighted through their lives for their nuptial ceremony, the performance of solemn sacrifices, the obsequies of departed ancestors, and their own funeral pile. This remarkable rite was continued by Zera'tusht; who reformed the old religion by
the addition of genii, or angels, presiding over months and days, of new ceremonies in the veneration shown to fire, of a new work, which he pretended to have received from heaven, and, above all, by establishing the actual adoration of One Supreme Being: he was born, according to Mohsan, in the district of Rai; and it was He, not, as Ammianus affirms, his protector Gush tasb, who travelled into India, that he might receive information from the Brâhmans in theology and ethicks. It is barely possible, that Pythagoras knew him in the capital of Irak; but the Grecian sage must then have been far advanced in years, and we have no certain evidence of an intercourse between the two philosophers. The reformed religion of Persia continued in force, till that country was subdued by the Muselmans; and, without studying the Zend, we have ample information concerning it in the modern Persian writings of several, who professed it. Bahman always named Zera' tusht, with reverence; but he was in truth a pure Theist, and strongly disclaimed any adoration of the fire or other elements: he denied, that the doctrine of two coeval principles, supremely good and supremely bad, formed any part of his faith; and he often repeated with emphasis the verses of Firdausi on the prostration of Cyrus and his paternal grandfather
before the blazing altar: "Think not, that they "were adorers of fire; for that element was "only an exalted object, on the lustre of which "they fixed their eyes; they humbled them- "selves a whole week before God; and, if thy "understanding be ever so little exerted, thou "must acknowledge thy dependence on the "being supremely pure." In a story of Sadi, near the close of his beautiful Bûstân, concerning the idol of So'mana't'h, or Ma'hâ'de'va, he confounds the religion of the Hindus with that of the Gabrs, calling the Brâhmans not only Moghs, (which might be justified by a passage in the Me'snavi) but even readers of the Zend and Pâzend: now, whether this confusion proceeded from real or pretended ignorance, I cannot de- cide, but am as firmly convinced, that the doc- trines of the Zend were distinct from those of the Vêda, as I am that the religion of the Brâhmans, with whom we converse every day, pre- vailed in Persia before the accession of Cayû- mers, whom the Pârsi's, from respect to his memory, consider as the first of men, although they believe in an universal deluge before his reign.

With the religion of the old Persians their philosophy (or as much as we know of it) was intimately connected; for they were affiduous observers of the luminaries, which they adored,
and established, according to Mohsan, who confirms in some degree the fragments of Berossus, a number of artificial cycles with distinct names, which seem to indicate a knowledge of the period, in which the equinoxes appear to revolve: they are said also to have known the most wonderful powers of nature, and thence to have acquired the fame of magicians and enchanters; but I will only detain you with a few remarks on that metaphysical theology, which has been professed immemorially by a numerous sect of Persians and Hindus, was carried in part into Greece, and prevails even now among the learned Muselmans, who sometimes avow it without reserve. The modern philosophers of this persuasion are called Sufi's, either from the Greek word for a sage, or from the woollen mantle, which they used to wear in some provinces of Persia: their fundamental tenets are, that nothing exists absolutely but God: that the human soul is an emanation from his essence, and, though divided for a time from its heavenly source, will be finally re-united with it; that the highest possible happiness will arise from its reunion, and that the chief good of mankind, in this transitory world, consists in as perfect an union with the Eternal Spirit as the incumbrances of a mortal frame will allow; that, for this purpose, they should break all connexion (or ta'alluk,
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as they call it), with extrinseick objects, and pass through life without attachments, as a swimmer in the ocean strikes freely without the impediment of clothes; that they should be straight and free as the cypresses, whose fruit is hardly perceptible, and not sink under a load, like fruit-trees attached to a trellis; that, if mere earthly charms have power to influence the soul, the idea of celestial beauty must overwhelm it in extatick delight; that, for want of apt words to express the divine perfections and the ardour of devotion, we must borrow such expressions as approach the nearest to our ideas, and speak of Beauty and Love in a transcendent and mystical sense; that, like a reed torn from its native bank, like wax separated from its delicious honey, the soul of man bewails its disunion with melancholy musick, and sheds burning tears, like the lighted taper, waiting passionately for the moment of its extinction, as a disengagement from earthly trammels, and the means of returning to its Only Beloved. Such in part (for I omit the minuter and more subtil metaphysicks of the Súfí's, which are mentioned in the Dabíflán) is the wild and enthusiastick religion of the modern Persian poets, especially of the sweet Ha'fíz and the great Maulavi: such is the system of the Védánti philosophers and best lyric poets of India; and, as it was a system of the highest an-
tiquity in both nations, it may be added to the many other proofs of an immemorial affinity between them.

III. On the ancient *monuments* of *Persian* sculpture and architecture we have already made such observations, as were sufficient for our purpose; nor will you be surprized at the diversity between the figures at *Elephanta*, which are manifestly Hindu, and those at *Persepolis*, which are merely *Sabian*, if you concur with me in believing, that the *Takhti Jemshid* was erected after the time of *Cayumers*, when the *Brāhmans* had migrated from *Iran*, and when their intricate mythology had been superseded by the simpler adoration of the planets and of fire.

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

Thus has it been proved by clear evidence and plain reasoning, that a powerful monarchy was established in Iran long before the Assyrian, or Pishdadi, government; that it was in truth a Hindu monarchy. though, if any choose to call it Cusan, Casdean, or Scythian, we shall not enter into a debate on mere names; that it subsisted many centuries, and that its history has been ingrafted on that of the Hindus, who founded the monarchies of Ayodhya and Indraprastha; that the language of the first Persian empire was the mother of the Sanscrit, and consequently of the Zend, and Parsi, as well as of Greek, Latin, and Gothick; that the language of the Assyrians was the parent of Chaldaick and Pablavi, and that the primary Tartarian language also had been current in the same empire; although, as the Tartars had no books or even letters, we cannot with certainty trace their unpolished and variable idioms. We discover, therefore, in Persia, at the earliest dawn of history, the three distinct races of men, whom we described on former occasions as possessors of India, Arabia, Tartary; and, whether they were collected in Iran from distant regions, or diverged from it, as from a common centre, we shall easily determine by the following considerations. Let us observe in the
first place the central position of Iràn, which is bounded by Arabia, by Tartary, and by India; whilst Arabia lies contiguous to Iràn only, but is remote from Tartary, and divided even from the skirts of India by a considerable gulf; no country, therefore, but Persia seems likely to have sent forth its colonies to all the kingdoms of Asia: the Brāhmins could never have migrated from India to Iràn, because they are expressly forbidden by their oldest existing laws to leave the region, which they inhabit at this day; the Arabs have not even a tradition of an emigration into Persia before Mohammed, nor had they indeed any inducement to quit their beautiful and extensive domains; and, as to the Tartars, we have no trace in history of their departure from their plains and forests, till the invasion of the Medes, who, according to etymologists, were the sons of Madai, and even they were conducted by princes of an Assyrian family. The three races, therefore, whom we have already mentioned, (and more than three we have not yet found) migrated from Iràn, as from their common country; and thus the Saxon chronicle, I presume from good authority, brings the first inhabitants of Britain from Armenia; while a late very learned writer concludes, after all his laborious researches, that the Goths or Scythians came from Persia; and another contends with
great force, that both the Irish and old Britons proceeded severally from the borders of the Caphian; a coincidence of conclusions from different media by persons wholly unconnected, which could scarce have happened, if they were not grounded on solid principles. We may therefore hold this proposition firmly established, that Iran, or Persia in its largest sense, was the true centre of population, of knowledge, of languages, and of arts; which, instead of travelling westward only, as it has been fancifully supposed, or eastward, as might with equal reason have been asserted, were expanded in all directions to all the regions of the world, in which the Hindu race had settled under various denominations: but, whether Asia has not produced other races of men, distinct from the Hindus, the Arabs, or the Tartars, or whether any apparent diversity may not have sprung from an intermixture of those three in different proportions, must be the subject of a future inquiry. There is another question of more immediate importance, which you, gentlemen, only can decide: namely, "by " what means we can preserve our Society from " dying gradually away, as it has advanced gra-" dually to its present (shall I say flourishing or " languishing?) state." It has subsisted five years without any expense to the members of it, until the first volume of our Transactions was published;
and the price of that large volume, if we compare the different values of money in Bengal and in England, is not more than equal to the annual contribution towards the charges of the Royal Society by each of its fellows, who may not have chosen to compound for it on his admission: this I mention, not from an idea that any of us could object to the purchase of one copy at least, but from a wish to inculcate the necessity of our common exertions in promoting the sale of the work both here and in London.

In vain shall we meet, as a literary body, if our meetings shall cease to be supplied with original dissertations and memorials; and in vain shall we collect the most interesting papers, if we cannot publish them occasionally without exposing the Superintendents of the Company's press, who undertake to print them at their own hazard, to the danger of a considerable loss: by united efforts the French have compiled their stupendous repositories of universal knowledge; and by united efforts only can we hope to rival them, or to diffuse over our own country and the rest of Europe the lights attainable by our Asiatick Researches.
THE SEVENTH
ANNIVERSARY DISCOURSE,
DELIVERED 25 FEBRUARY, 1790.

BY
THE PRESIDENT.

GENTLEMEN,

ALTHOUGH we are at this moment consider-
ably nearer to the frontier of China than to the
farthest limit of the British dominions in Hind-
dustan, yet the first step, that we shall take in
the philosophical journey, which I propose for
your entertainment at the present meeting, will
carry us to the utmost verge of the habitable
globe known to the best geographers of old
Greece and Egypt; beyond the boundary of
whose knowledge we shall discern from the
heights of the northern mountains an empire
nearly equal in surface to a square of fifteen de-
grees; an empire, of which I do not mean to
assign the precise limits, but which we may con-
sider, for the purpose of this dissertation, as em-
braced on two sides by Tartary and India, while
the ocean separates its other sides from various Asiatick isles of great importance in the commercial system of Europe: annexed to that immense tract of land is the peninsula of Corea, which a vast oval basin divides from Nifon or Japan, a celebrated and imperial island, bearing in arts and in arms, in advantage of situation but not in felicity of government, a pre-eminence among eastern kingdoms analogous to that of Britain among the nations of the west. So many climates are included in so prodigious an area, that, while the principal emporium of China lies nearly under the tropick, its metropolis enjoys the temperature of Samarkand; such too is the diversity of soil in its fifteen provinces, that, while some of them are exquisitely fertile, richly cultivated, and extremely populous, others are barren and rocky, dry and unfruitful, with plains as wild or mountains as rugged as any in Scythia, and those either wholly deserted, or peopled by savage hordes, who, if they be not still independent, have been very lately subdued by the perfidy, rather than the valour, of a monarch, who has perpetuated his own breach of faith in a Chinese poem, of which I have seen a translation.

The word China, concerning which I shall offer some new remarks, is well known to the people, whom we call the Chinese; but they
never apply it (I speak of the learned among them) to themselves or to their country: themselves, according to Father Visdelou, they describe as the people of Han, or of some other illustrious family, by the memory of whose actions they flatter their national pride; and their country they call Chium-cuè, or the Central Kingdom, representing it in their symbolical characters by a parallelogram exactly bisected: at other times they distinguish it by the words Tien-bia, or What is under Heaven, meaning all that is valuable on Earth. Since they never name themselves with moderation, they would have no right to complain, if they knew, that European authors have ever spoken of them in the extremes of applause or of censure: by some they have been extolled as the oldest and the wisest, as the most learned and most ingenious, of nations; whilst others have derided their pretensions to antiquity, condemned their government as abominable, and arraigned their manners as inhuman, without allowing them an element of science, or a single art, for which they have not been indebted to some more ancient and more civilized race of men. The truth perhaps lies, where we usually find it, between the extremes; but it is not my design to accuse or to defend the Chinese, to depress or to aggrandize them: I shall confine myself to the dif-
cussion of a question connected with my former discourses, and far less easy to be solved than any hitherto started. "Whence came the singular people, who long had governed China, before they were conquered by the Tartars?" On this problem, the solution of which has no concern, indeed, with our political or commercial interests, but a very material connection, if I mistake not, with interests of a higher nature, four opinions have been advanced, and all rather peremptorily asserted, than supported by argument and evidence. By a few writers it has been urged, that the Chinese are an original race, who have dwelled for ages, if not from eternity, in the land, which they now possess; by others, and chiefly by the missionaries, it is insisted, that they sprang from the same stock with the Hebrews and Arabs; a third assertion is that of the Arabs themselves and of M. Pauw, who hold it indubitable, that they were originally Tartars descending in wild clans from the steeps of Inaus; and a fourth, at least as dogmatically pronounced as any of the preceding, is that of the Brâhmins, who decide, without allowing any appeal from their decision, that the Chinas (for so they are named in Sanscrit) were Hindus of the Cshatriya, or military, clafs, who, abandoning the privileges of their tribe, rambled in different bodies to the north-east of Bengal; and, forgetting by degrees
the rites and religion of their ancestors, established separate principalities, which were afterwards united in the plains and valleys, which are now possessed by them. If any one of the three last opinions be just, the first of them must necessarily be relinquished; but of those three, the first cannot possibly be sustained; because it rests on no firmer support than a foolish remark, whether true or false, that Sem in Chinese means life and procreation; and because a tea-plant is not more different from a palm, than a Chinese from an Arab: they are men, indeed, as the tea and the palm are vegetables; but human sagacity could not, I believe, discover any other trace of resemblance between them. One of the Arabs, indeed, an account of whose voyage to India and China has been translated by RENAUDOT, thought the Chinese not only handsomer (according to his ideas of beauty) than the Hindus, but even more like his own countrymen in features, habiliments, carriages, manners and ceremonies; and this may be true, without proving an actual resemblance between the Chinese and Arabs, except in dress and complexion. The next opinion is more connected with that of the Brahmins, than M. PAUW, probably, imagined; for though he tells us expressly, that by Scythians he meant the Turks or Tartars; yet the dragon on the standard, and some other peculiarities, from
which he would infer a clear affinity between the old Tartars and the Chinese, belonged indubitably to those Scythians, who are known to have been Goths; and the Goths had manifestly a common lineage with the Hindus, if his own argument, in the preface to his Researches, on the similarity of language, be, as all men agree that it is, irrefragable. That the Chinese were anciently of a Tartarian stock, is a proposition, which I cannot otherwise disprove for the present, than by insisting on the total dissimilarity of the two races in manners and arts, particularly in the fine arts of imagination, which the Tartars, by their own account, never cultivated; but, if we show strong grounds for believing, that the first Chinese were actually of an Indian race, it will follow that M. Pauw and the Arabs are mistaken: it is to the discussion of this new and, in my opinion, very interesting point, that I shall confine the remainder of my discourse.

In the Sanscrit Institutes of Civil and Religious Duties, revealed, as the Hindus believe, by Menu, the son of Brahma, we find the following curious passage: "Many families of the military class, having gradually abandoned the ordinances of the Veda, and the company of Brâhmens, lived in a state of degradation; as the people of Pundraca and Odra, those of Dravira and Camboja, the Yavanas and Sacas,
"the Páradas and Pahlavas, the Chinas and some other nations." A full comment on this text would here be superfluous; but, since the testimony of the Indian author, who, though certainly not a divine personage, was as certainly a very ancient lawyer, moralist, and historian, is direct and positive, disinterested and unsuspected, it would, I think, decide the question before us, if we could be sure, that the word China signified a Chinese, as all the Pandits, whom I have separately consulted, affirm with one voice: they assure me, that the Chinas of Menu settled in a fine country to the north-east of Gaur, and to the east of Cánarip and Népál; that they have long been, and still are, famed as ingenious artificers; and that they had themselves seen old Chinese idols, which bore a manifest relation to the primitive religion of India before Buddha's appearance in it. A well-informed Pandit showed me a Sanscrit book in Cashmirian letters, which, he said, was revealed by Siva himself, and entitled Saéтиsangama: he read to me a whole chapter of it on the heterodox opinions of the Chinas, who were divided, says the author, into near two hundred clans. I then laid before him a map of Asia; and, when I pointed to Cashmir, his own country, he instantly placed his finger on the north-western provinces of China, where the Chinas, he said,
first established themselves; but he added, that *Mahábhárata*, which was also mentioned in his book, extended to the eastern and southern oceans. I believe, nevertheless, that the *Chinese* empire, as we now call it, was not formed when the laws of *Ménu* were collected; and for this belief, so repugnant to the general opinion, I am bound to offer my reasons. If the outline of history and chronology for the last two thousand years be correctly traced, (and we must be hardy scepticks to doubt it) the poems of *Cá-lida's* were composed before the beginning of our era: now it is clear, from internal and external evidence, that the *Rámáyan* and *Mahábhárat* were considerably older than the productions of that poet; and it appears from the style and metre of the *Dherma Sástra* revealed by *Ménu*, that it was reduced to writing long before the age of *Va'lmic* or *Vya'sa*, the second of whom names it with applause: we shall not, therefore, be thought extravagant, if we place the compiler of those laws between a thousand and fifteen hundred years before Christ; especially as *Buddha*, whose age is pretty well ascertained, is not mentioned in them; but, in the twelfth century before our era, the *Chinese* empire was at least in its cradle. This fact it is necessary to prove; and my first witness is *Confucius* himself. I know to what keen satire I
shall expose myself by citing that philosopher, after the bitter sarcasms of Mr. Pauw against him and against the translators of his mutilated, but valuable, works: yet I quote without scruple the book entitled Lùn Yù, of which I possess the original with a verbal translation, and which I know to be sufficiently authentick for my present purpose: in the second part of it Con-fu-tsú declares, that "Although he, like other men, "could relate, as mere lessons of morality, the "histories of the first and second imperial houses, "yet, for want of evidence, he could give no "certain account of them." Now, if the Chi-
inese themselves do not even pretend, that any historical monuments existed, in the age of Confucius, preceding the rise of their third dynasty about eleven hundred years before the Christian epoch, we may justly conclude, that the reign of Vu'vam was in the infancy of their empire, which hardly grew to maturity till some ages after that prince; and it has been asserted by very learned Europeans, that even of the third dynasty, which he has the fame of having raised, no unsuspected memorial can now be produced. It was not till the eighth century before the birth of our Saviour, that a small kingdom was erected in the province of Shen-si, the capital of which stood nearly in the thirty-fifth degree of northern latitude, and about five degrees to the west of
Si-gan: both the country and its metropolis were called Chin; and the dominion of its princes was gradually extended to the east and west. A king of Chin, who makes a figure in the Sháh-námah among the allies of Afra'siyáb, was, I presume, a sovereign of the country just mentioned; and the river of Chin, which the poet frequently names as the limit of his eastern geography, seems to have been the Yellow River, which the Chinese introduce at the beginning of their fabulous annals: I should be tempted to expatiiate on so curious a subject; but the present occasion allows nothing superfluous, and permits me only to add, that Mangúkhán died, in the middle of the thirteenth century, before the city of Chin, which was afterwards taken by Kublái, and that the poets of Irán perpetually allude to the districts around it which they celebrate, with Chegil and Khoten, for a number of musk-animals roving on their hills. The territory of Chin, so called by the old Hindus, by the Persians, and by the Chinese (while the Greeks and Arabs were obliged by their defective articulation to misplace it Sin) gave its name to a race of emperors, whose tyranny made their memory so unpopular, that the modern inhabitants of China hold the word in abhorrence, and speak of themselves as the people of a milder and more virtuous dynasty; but it is highly
probable that the whole nation descended from the Chinas of Menu, and, mixing with the Tartars, by whom the plains of Honan and the more southern provinces were thinly inhabited, formed by degrees the race of men, whom we now see in possession of the noblest empire in Asia.

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

The declared and fixed opinion of M. de Guignes, on the subject before us, is nearly connected with that of the Brâhmens: he maintains, that the Chinese were emigrants from Egypt; and the Egyptians, or Ethiopians, (for they were clearly the same people) had indubitably a common origin with the old natives of India, as the affinity of their languages, and of their institutions, both religious and political, fully evinces; but that China was peopled a few centuries before our era by a colony from the banks of the Nile, though neither Persians nor Arabs; Tartars nor Hindus, ever heard of such an emigration, is a paradox, which the bare authority even of so learned a man cannot support; and, since reason grounded on facts can alone decide such a question, we have a right to demand clearer evidence and stronger arguments, than any that he has adduced. The hieroglyphicks of Egypt bear, indeed, a strong resem-
blance to the mythological sculptures and paintings of India, but seem wholly dissimilar to the symbolical system of the Chinesè, which might easily have been invented (as they assert) by an individual, and might very naturally have been contrived by the first Chinas, or out-cast Hindus, who either never knew, or had forgotten, the alphabetical characters of their wiser ancestors. As to the table and busts of Isis, they seem to be given up as modern forgeries; but, if they were indisputably genuine, they would be nothing to the purpose; for the letters on the bust appear to have been designed as alphabetical; and the fabricator of them (if they really were fabricated in Europe) was uncommonly happy, since two or three of them are exactly the same with those on a metal pillar yet standing in the north of India. In Egypt, if we can rely on the testimony of the Greeks, who studied no language but their own, there were two sets of alphabetical characters; the one popular, like the various letters used in our Indian provinces; and the other sacerdotal, like the Devanagari, especially that form of it, which we see in the Veda; besides which they had two sorts of sacred sculpture; the one simple, like the figures of Buddha and the three Ra'mas; and the other, allegorical, like the images of Ganesa, or Divine Wisdom, and Isa'ni', or Nature, with all
their emblematical accompaniments; but the real character of the Chinese appears wholly distinct from any Egyptian writing, either mysterious or popular; and, as to the fancy of M. de Guignes, that the complicated symbols of China were at first no more than Phenician monograms, let us hope, that he has abandoned so wild a conceit, which he started probably with no other view than to display his ingenuity and learning.

We have ocular proof, that the few radical characters of the Chinese were originally (like our astronomical and chymical symbols) the pictures or outlines of visible objects, or figurative signs for simple ideas, which they have multiplied by the most ingenious combinations and the liveliest metaphors; but, as the system is peculiar, I believe, to themselves and the Japanese, it would be idly ostentatious to enlarge on it at present; and, for the reasons already intimated, it neither corroborates nor weakens the opinion, which I endeavour to support. The same may as truly be said of their spoken language; for, independently of its constant fluctuation during a series of ages, it has the peculiarity of excluding four or five sounds, which other nations articulate, and is clipped into monosyllables, even when the ideas expressed by them, and the written symbols for those ideas, are very complex. This has arisen,
ON THE CHINESE.

I suppose, from the singular habits of the people; for, though their common tongue be so musically accented as to form a kind of recitative, yet it wants those grammatical accents, without which all human tongues would appear monosyllabick: thus Amita, with an accent on the first syllable, means, in the Sanscrit language, immeasurable; and the natives of Bengal pronounce it Omito; but, when the religion of BUDDHA, the son of MA'YA', was carried hence into China, the people of that country, unable to pronounce the name of their new God, called him FOE, the son of Mo-ye, and divided his epithet Amita into three syllables O-MI-TO, annexing to them certain ideas of their own, and expressing them in writing by three distinct symbols. We may judge from this instance, whether a comparison of their spoken tongue with the dialects of other nations can lead to any certain conclusion as to their origin; yet the instance, which I have given, supplies me with an argument from analogy, which I produce as conjectural only, but which appears more and more plausible, the oftener I consider it. The BUDDHA of the Hindus is unquestionably the FOE of China; but the great progenitor of the Chinese is also named by them FO-HI, where the second monosyllable signifies, it seems, a victim: now the ancestor of that military tribe, whom the Hindus call the
Chandravansa, or Children of the Moon, was, according to their Puránas or legonds, Budha, or the genius of the planet Mercury, from whom, in the fifth degree, descended a prince named Druhya; whom his father Yayatí sent in exile to the east of Hindustán, with this imprecation, “may thy progeny be ignorant of the “Védas.” The name of the banished prince could not be pronounced by the modern Chinese; and, though I dare not conjecture, that the last syllable of it has been changed into Yao, I may nevertheless observe that Yao was the fifth in descent from Fo-hi, or at least the fifth mortal in the first imperial dynasty; that all Chinese history before him is considered by Chinese themselves as poetical or fabulous; that his father Ti-co, like the Indian king Yayatí, was the first prince who married several women; and that Fo-hi, the head of their race, appeared, say the Chinese, in a province of the west, and held his court in the territory of Chin, where the rovers, mentioned by the Indian legislator, are supposed to have settled. Another circumstance in the parallel is very remarkable: according to father De Prémare, in his tract on Chinese mythology, the mother of Fo-hi was the Daughter of Heaven, surnamed Flower-loving, and, as the nymph was walking alone on the bank of a river with a similar name, she found herself on a
sudden encircled by a rain-bow; soon after which she became pregnant, and at the end of twelve years was delivered of a son radiant as herself, who, among other titles, had that of Su'i, or Star of the Year. Now in the mythological system of the Hindus, the nymph Rohini, who presides over the fourth lunar mansion, was the favourite mistress of Soma, or the Moon, among whose numerous epithets we find Cumudanayaca, or Delighting in a species of water-flower, that blossoms at night; and their offspring was Budha, regent of a planet, and called also, from the names of his parents, Rauhineya or Saumya: it is true, that the learned missionary explains the word Su'i by Jupiter; but an exact resemblance between two such fables could not have been expected; and it is sufficient for my purpose, that they seem to have a family likeness. The God Budha, say the Indians, married Ila, whose father was preserved in a miraculous ark from an universal deluge: now, although I cannot insist with confidence, that the rain-bow in the Chinese fable alludes to the Mosick narrative of the flood, nor build any solid argument on the divine personage Niu-va, of whose character, and even of whose sex, the historians of China speak very doubtfully, I may, nevertheless, assure you, after full inquiry and consideration, that the Chinese, like the Hindus, believe this
earth to have been wholly covered with water, which, in works of undisputed authenticity, they describe as flowing abundantly, then subsiding, and separating the higher from the lower age of mankind; that the division of time, from which their poetical history begins, just preceded the appearance of Fo-hi on the mountains of Chin, but that the great inundation in the reign of Yao was either confined to the lowlands of his kingdom, if the whole account of it be not a fable, or, if it contain any allusion to the flood of Noah, has been ignorantly misplaced by the Chinese annalists.

The importation of a new religion into China, in the first century of our era, must lead us to suppose, that the former system, whatever it was, had been found inadequate to the purpose of restraining the great body of the people from those offences against conscience and virtue, which the civil power could not reach; and it is hardly possible that, without such restrictions, any government could long have subsisted with felicity; for no government can long subsist without equal justice, and justice cannot be administered without the sanctions of religion. Of the religious opinions, entertained by Confucius and his followers, we may glean a general notion from the fragments of their works translated by Couplet: they professed a firm belief in the
supreme God, and gave a demonstration of his being and of his providence from the exquisite beauty and perfection of the celestial bodies, and the wonderful order of nature in the whole fabric of the visible world. From this belief they deduced a system of Ethicks, which the philosopher sums up in a few words at the close of the Lên-yû: "He," says Confucius, "who shall be fully persuaded, that the Lord of Heaven governs the universe, who shall in all things chuse moderation, who shall perfectly know his own species, and so act among them, that his life and manners may conform to his knowledge of God and man, may be truly said to discharge all the duties of a sage, and to be far exalted above the common herd of the human race." But such a religion and such morality could never have been general; and we find, that the people of China had an ancient system of ceremonies and superstitions, which the government and the philosophers appear to have encouraged, and which has an apparent affinity with some parts of the oldest Indian worship: they believed in the agency of genii or tutelary spirits, presiding over the stars and the clouds, over lakes and rivers, mountains, valleys, and woods, over certain regions and towns, over all the elements (of which, like the Hindus, they reckoned five) and particularly
over fire, the most brilliant of them: to those deities they offered victims on high places; and the following passage from the Śbī-cin, or Book of Odes, is very much in the style of the Brāhmaṇas: "Even they, who perform a sacrifice with due reverence, cannot perfectly assure themselves, that the divine spirits accept their oblations; and far less can they, who adore the Gods with languor and obscenity, clearly perceive their sacred lapsedes." These are imperfect traces indeed, but they are traces, of an affinity between the religion of Mēnu and that of the Chinias, whom he names among the apostates from it: M. Le Gentil observed, he says, a strong resemblance between the funeral rites of the Chinese and the Srāddha of the Hindus: and M. Bailly, after a learned investigation, concludes, that "Even the puerile and absurd stories of the Chinese fabulists contain a remnant of ancient Indian history, with a faint sketch of the first Hindu ages." As the Bauddhas, indeed, were Hindus, it may naturally be imagined, that they carried into China many ceremonies practised in their own country; but the Bauddhas positively forbade the immolation of cattle; yet we know, that various animals, even bulls and men, were anciently sacrificed by the Chinese; besides which we discover many singular marks of relation between
them and the old *Hindus*: as in the remarkable period of *four hundred and thirty two thousand*, and the cycle of *sixty*, years; in the predilection for the mystical number *nine*; in many similar facts and great festivals, especially at the solstices and equinoxes; in the just-mentioned obsequies consisting of rice and fruits offered to the manes of their ancestors; in the dread of dying childless, lest such offerings should be intermitted; and, perhaps, in their common abhorrence of *red* objects, which the Indians carried so far, that Menu himself, where he allows a *Brâhmen* to trade, if he cannot otherwise support life, absolutely forbids "his trafficking in any sort of *red* cloths, whether linen or woollen, or made "of woven bark." All the circumstances, which have been mentioned under the two heads of *literature* and *religion*, seem collectively to prove (as far as such a question admits proof) that the *Chinese* and *Hindus* were originally the same people, but having been separated near four thousand years, have retained few strong features of their ancient consanguinity, especially as the *Hindus* have preserved their old language and ritual, while the *Chinese* very soon lost both, and the *Hindus* have constantly intermarried among themselves, while the *Chinese*, by a mixture of *Tartarian* blood from the time of their first establishment, have at length formed a race
distinct in appearance both from Indians and Tartars.

A similar diversity has arisen, I believe, from similar causes, between the people of China and Japan; on the second of which nations we have now, or soon shall have, as correct and as ample instruction as can possibly be obtained without a perfect acquaintance with the Chinese characters. Kämpfer has taken from M. Titsingh the honour of being the first, and he from Kämpfer that of being the only, European, who, by a long residence in Japan, and a familiar intercourse with the principal natives of it, has been able to collect authentic materials for the natural and civil history of a country secluded, as the Romans used to say of our own island, from the rest of the world: the works of those illustrious travellers will confirm and embellish each other; and, when M. Titsingh shall have acquired a knowledge of Chinese, to which a part of his leisure in Java will be devoted, his precious collection of books in that language, on the laws and revolutions, the natural productions, the arts, manufactures and sciences of Japan, will be in his hands an inexhaustible mine of new and important information. Both he and his predecessor assert with confidence, and, I doubt not, with truth, that the Japanese would resent, as an insult on their dignity, the bare
suggestion of their descent from the Chinese, whom they surpass in several of the mechanical arts, and, what is of greater consequence, in military spirit; but they do not, I understand, mean to deny, that they are a branch of the same ancient stem with the people of China; and, were that fact ever so warmly contested by them, it might be proved by an invincible argument, if the preceding part of this discourse, on the origin of the Chinese, be thought to contain just reasoning. In the first place, it seems inconceivable, that the Japanese, who never appear to have been conquerors or conquered, should have adopted the whole system of Chinese literature with all its inconveniences and intricacies, if an immemorial connexion had not subsisted between the two nations, or, in other words, if the bold and ingenious race, who peopled Japan in the middle of the thirteenth century before Christ, and, about six hundred years afterwards, established their monarchy, had not carried with them the letters and learning, which they and the Chinese had possessed in common; but my principal argument is, that the Hindu or Egyptian idolatry has prevailed in Japan from the earliest ages; and among the idols worshipped, according to Kämpfer, in that country, before the innovations of Sācyā or Buddha, whom the Japanese also call Amida,
we find many of those, which we see every day in the temples of Bengal; particularly the goddess with many arms, representing the powers of Nature, in Egypt named Isis and here Isan'or Isi', whose image, as it is exhibited by the German traveller, all the Brāhmans, to whom I showed it, immediately recognized with a mixture of pleasure and enthusiasm. It is very true, that the Chinese differ widely from the natives of Japan in their vernacular dialects, in external manners, and perhaps in the strength of their mental faculties; but as wide a difference is observable among all the nations of the Gothisk family; and we might account even for a greater dissimilarity, by considering the number of ages, during which the several swarms have been separated from the great Indian hive, to which they primarily belonged. The modern Japanese gave Kämpfer the idea of polished Tartars; and it is reasonable to believe, that the people of Japan, who were originally Hindus of the martial class and advanced farther eastward than the Chinas, have, like them, insensibly changed their features and characters by intermarriages with various Tartar tribes, whom they found loosely scattered over their isles, or who afterwards fixed their abode in them.

Having now shown in five discourses, that the Arabs and Tartars were originally distinct races,
while the Hindus, Chinese, and Japanese proceeded from another ancient stem, and that all the three stems may be traced to Iran, as to a common centre, from which it is highly probable, that they diverged in various directions about four thousand years ago, I may seem to have accomplished my design of investigating the origin of the Asiatic nations; but the questions, which I undertook to discuss, are not yet ripe for a strict analytical argument; and it will first be necessary to examine with scrupulous attention all the detached or insulated races of men, who either inhabit the borders of India, Arabia, Tartary, Persia, and China, or are interspersed in the mountainous and uncultivated parts of those extensive regions. To this examination I shall, at our next annual meeting, allot an entire discourse; and if, after all our inquiries, no more than three primitive races can be found, it will be a subsequent consideration, whether those three stocks had one common root, and, if they had, by what means that root was preserved amid the violent shocks, which our whole globe appears evidently to have sustained.
THE EIGHTH

ANNIVERSARY DISCOURSE,

DELIVERED 24 FEBRUARY, 1791.

BY

THE PRESIDENT.

GENTLEMEN,

We have taken a general view, at our five last annual meetings, of as many celebrated nations, whom we have proved, as far as the subject admits of proof, to have descended from three primitive stocks, which we call for the present Indian, Arabian, Tartarian; and we have nearly travelled over all Asia, if not with a perfect coincidence of sentiment, at least, with as much unanimity, as can be naturally expected in a large body of men, each of whom must assert it as his right, and consider it as his duty, to decide on all points for himself, and never to decide on obscure points without the best evidence, that can possibly be adduced: our travels will this day be concluded, but our historical researches would have been left incomplete, if we had passed without attention over the numerous
races of borderers, who have long been established on the limits of Arabia, Persia, India, China, and Tartary; over the wild tribes residing in the mountainous parts of those extensive regions; and the more civilized inhabitants of the islands annexed by geographers to their Asiatick division of this globe.

Let us take our departure from Idume near the gulf of Elanitis, and, having encircled Asia, with such deviations from our course as the subject may require, let us return to the point, from which we began; endeavouring, if we are able, to find a nation, who may clearly be shown, by just reasoning from their language, religion, and manners, to be neither Indians, Arabs, nor Tartars, pure or mixed; but always remembering, that any small family detached in an early age from their parent stock, without letters, with few ideas beyond objects of the first necessity, and consequently with few words, and fixing their abode on a range of mountains, in an island, or even in a wide region before uninhabited, might in four or five centuries people their new country, and would necessarily form a new language with no perceptible traces, perhaps, of that spoken by their ancestors. Edom or Idume, and Erythra or Phenice, had originally, as many believe, a similar meaning, and were derived from words denoting a red colour;
but, whatever be their derivation, it seems indubitable, that a race of men were anciently settled in Idume and in Median, whom the oldest and best Greek authors call Erythreans; who were very distinct from the Arabs; and whom, from the concurrence of many strong testimonies, we may safely refer to the Indian item. M. D’Herbelot mentions a tradition (which he treats, indeed, as a fable), that a colony of those Idumeans had migrated from the northern shores of the Erythrean sea, and failed across the Mediterranean to Europe, at the time fixed by Chronologers for the passage of Evander with his Arcadians into Italy, and that both Greeks and Romans were the progeny of those emigrants. It is not on vague and suspected traditions, that we must build our belief of such events; but Newton, who advanced nothing in science without demonstration, and nothing in history without such evidence as he thought conclusive, affirms from authorities, which he had carefully examined, that the Idumean voyagers "carried with them both arts and sciences, "among which were their astronomy, navigation, and letters; for in Idume, says he, they "had letters, and names for constellations, before "the days of Job, who mentions them." Job, indeed, or the author of the book, which takes its name from him, was of the Arabian stock,
as the language of that sublime work incontestably proves; but the invention and propagation of letters and astronomy are by all so justly ascribed to the Indian family, that, if Strabo and Herodotus were not grossly deceived, the adventurous Idumeans, who first gave names to the stars, and hazarded long voyages in ships of their own construction, could be no other than a branch of the Hindu race: in all events, there is no ground for believing them of a fourth distinct lineage; and we need say no more of them, till we meet them again, on our return, under the name of Phenicians.

As we pass down the formidable sea, which rolls over its coral bed between the coast of the Arabs, or those, who speak the pure language of Ismaïl, and that of the Ajans, or those, who mutter it barbarously, we find no certain traces, on the Arabian side, of any people, who were not originally Arabs of the genuine or mixed breed: anciently, perhaps, there were Troglohytes in part of the peninsula, but they seem to have been long supplanted by the Nomades, or wandering herdsmen; and who those Troglohytes were, we shall see very clearly, if we devote a few moments from our intended path, and make a short excursion into countries very lately explored on the Western, or African, side of the Red Sea.
That the written *Abyssinian* language, which we call *Ethiopick*, is a dialect of old *Chaldean*, and a sister of *Arabick* and *Hebrew*, we know with certainty, not only from the great multitude of identical words, but (which is a far stronger proof) from the similar grammatical arrangement of the several idioms: we know at the same time, that it is written, like all the *Indian* characters, from the left hand to the right, and that the vowels are annexed, as in *Devanágari*, to the consonants; with which they form a syllabick system extremely clear and convenient, but disposed in a less artificial order than the system of letters now exhibited in the *Sanskrit* grammars; whence it may justly be inferred, that the order contrived by *Pa'ñin* or his disciples is comparatively modern; and I have no doubt, from a cursory examination of many old inscriptions on pillars and in caves, which have obligingly been sent to me from all parts of *India*, that the *Nágari* and *Ethiopian* letters had at first a similar form. It has long been my opinion, that the *Abyssinians* of the *Arabian* stock, having no symbols of their own to represent articulate sounds, borrowed those of the black pagans, whom the *Greeks* call *Troglodytes*, from their primeval habitations in natural caverns, or in mountains excavated by their own labour: they were probably the first inhabitants of *Africa*, where they be-
came in time the builders of magnificent cities, the founders of seminaries for the advancement of science and philosophy, and the inventors (if they were not rather the importers) of symbolical characters. I believe on the whole, that the *Ethiops* of *Meroë* were the same people with the first *Egyptians*, and consequently, as it might easily be shown, with the original *Hindus*. To the ardent and intrepid Mr. *Bruce*, whose travels are to my taste uniformly agreeable and satisfactory, though he thinks very differently from me on the language and genius of the *Arabs*, we are indebted for more important, and, I believe, more accurate, information concerning the nations established near the *Nile* from its fountains to its mouths, than all *Europe* united could before have supplied; but, since he has not been at the pains to compare the seven languages, of which he has exhibited a specimen, and since I have not leisure to make the comparison, I must be satisfied with observing, on his authority, that the dialects of the *Gufsots* and the *Gallas*, the *Agows* of both races, and the *Falasfas*, who must originally have used a *Chaldean* idiom, were never preserved in writing, and the *Ambarick* only in modern times: they must, therefore, have been for ages in fluctuation, and can lead, perhaps, to no certain conclusion as to the origin of the several tribes, who an-
ciently spoke them. It is very remarkable, as Mr. Bruce and Mr. Bryant have proved, that the Greeks gave the appellation of Indians both to the southern nations of Africk and to the people, among we now live; nor is it less observable, that, according to Ephorus quoted by Strabo, they called all the southern nations in the world Ethiopians, thus using Indian and Ethiop as convertible terms: but we must leave the gymnosophists of Ethiopia, who seem to have professed the doctrines of Buddha, and enter the great Indian ocean, of which their Asiatick and African brethren were probably the first navigators.

On the islands near Yemen we have little to remark: they appear now to be peopled chiefly by Mohammedans, and afford no marks of discrimination, with which I am acquainted, either in language or manners; but I cannot bid farewell to the coast of Arabia, without assuring you, that, whatever may be said of Ommán, and the Scythian colonies, who, it is imagined, were formerly settled there, I have met with no trace in the maritime part of Yemen, from Aden to Mascat, of any nation, who were not either Arabs or Abyssinian invaders.

Between that country and Irán are some islands, which, from their insignificance in our present inquiry, may here be neglected; and, as
to the Curds, or other independent races, who inhabit the branches of Taurus or the banks of Euphrates and Tigris, they have, I believe, no written language, nor any certain memorials of their origin: it has, indeed, been asserted by travellers, that a race of wanderers in Diyârbecir yet speak the Chaldaick of our scripture; and the rambling Turcmâns have retained, I imagine, some traces of their Tartarian idioms; but, since no vestige appears, from the gulf of Persia to the rivers Cur and Aras, of any people distinct from the Arabs, Persians, or Tartars, we may conclude, that no such people exists in the Iranian mountains, and return to those, which separate Irán from India. The principal inhabitants of the mountains, called Pârsici, where they run towards the west, Parvetti, from a known Sanscrit word, where they turn in an eastern direction, and Paropamisus, where they join Imaus in the north, were anciently distinguished among the Brâbmans by the name of Deradas, but seem to have been destroyed or expelled by the numerous tribes of Afghâns or Patans, among whom are the Balojas, who give their name to a mountainous district; and there is very solid ground for believing, that the Afghâns descended from the Jews; because they sometimes in confidence avow that unpopular origin, which in general they sedulously conceal,
and which other Muselmans positively assert; because Hazaret, which appears to be the Asareth of Esdras, is one of their territories; and, principally, because their language is evidently a dialect of the scriptural Chaldaick.

We come now to the river Sindhu and the country named from it: near its mouths we find a district, called by Nearchus, in his journal, Sangada; which M. D'Anville justly supposes to be the seat of the Sanganians, a barbarous and piratical nation mentioned by modern travellers, and well known at present by our countrymen in the west of India. Mr. Malet, now resident at Puna on the part of the British government, procured at my request the Sanganian letters, which are a sort of Nagari, and a specimen of their language, which is apparently derived, like other Indian dialects, from the Sanscrit; nor can I doubt, from the descriptions, which I have received, of their persons and manners, that they are Pâmeras, as the Brâhmans call them, or outcast Hindus, immemorially separated from the rest of the nation. It seems agreed, that the singular people, called Egyptians, and, by corruption, Gypsies, passed the Mediterranean immediately from Egypt; and their motley language, of which Mr. Grellmann exhibits a copious vocabulary, contains so many Sanscrit words, that their Indian origin can
hardly be doubted: the authenticity of that vocabulary seems established by a multitude of Gypsy words, as angár, charcoal, cásthth, wood, pár, a bank, bhú, earth, and a hundred more, for which the collector of them could find no parallel in the vulgar dialect of Hindustán, though we know them to be pure Sanscrit scarce changed in a single letter. A very ingenious friend, to whom this remarkable fact was imparted, suggested to me, that those very words might have been taken from old Egyptian, and that the Gypsies were Troglodytes from the rocks near Thebes, where a race of banditti still resemble them in their habits and features; but, as we have no other evidence of so strong an affinity between the popular dialects of old Egypt and India, it seems more probable, that the Gypsies, whom the Italians call Zingaros, and Zinganos, were no other than Zinganians, as M. D’Anville also writes the word, who might, in some piratical expedition, have landed on the coast of Arabia or Africa, whence they might have rambled to Egypt, and at length have migrated, or been driven into Europe. To the kindness of Mr. Malet I am also indebted for an account of the Boras; a remarkable race of men inhabiting chiefly the cities of Gujarát, who, though Muselmans in religion, are Jews in features, genius, and manners: they form in
all places a distinct fraternity, and are everywhere noted for address in bargaining, for minute thrift, and constant attention to lucre, but profess total ignorance of their own origin; though it seems probable; that they came first with their brethren the Afsghans to the borders of India, where they learned in time to prefer a gainful and secure occupation in populous towns to perpetual wars and laborious exertions on the mountains. As to the Moplas, in the western parts of the Indian empire, I have seen their books in Arabick, and am persuaded, that, like the people called Malays, they descended from Arabian traders and mariners after the age of Muhammed.

On the continent of India, between the river Vipāsa, or Hyphasis, to the west, the mountains of Tripura and Camarupa to the east, and Himalaya to the north, we find many races of wild people with more or less of that pristine ferocity, which induced their ancestors to secede from the civilized inhabitants of the plains and valleys: in the most ancient Sanscrit books they are called Sacas, Ciratas, Colas, Pulindas, Barbaras, and are all known to Europeans, though not all by their true names; but many Hindu pilgrims, who have travelled through their haunts, have fully described them to me; and I have found reasons for believing, that they sprang
from the old Indian stem, though some of them were soon intermixed with the first ramblers from Tartary, whose language seems to have been the basis of that now spoken by the Moguls.

We come back to the Indian islands, and hasten to those, which lie to the south-east of Silán, or Taprobane; for Silán itself, as we know from the languages, letters, religion, and old monuments of its various inhabitants, was peopled beyond time of memory by the Hindu race, and formerly, perhaps, extended much farther to the west and to the south, so as to include Lancà, or the equinoctial point of the Indian astronomers; nor can we reasonably doubt, that the same enterprising family planted colonies in the other isles of the same ocean from the Malayadwipas, which take their name from the mountain of Malaya, to the Moluccas, or Mallicás, and probably far beyond them. Captain Forrest assured me, that he found the isle of Bali (a great name in the historical poems of India) chiefly peopled by Hindus, who worshipped the same idols, which he had seen in this province; and that of Madhurà must have been so denominated, like the well known territory in the western peninsula, by a nation, who understood Sanscrit. We need not be surprized, that M. D'Anville was unable to assign a rea-
son, why the Jabadius, or Taxadwipa, of Problem was rendered in the old Latin version the isle of Barley; but we must admire the inquisitive spirit and patient labour of the Greeks and Romans, whom nothing observable seems to have escaped: Yava means barley in Sanscrit; and, though that word, or its regular derivative, be now applied solely to Java, yet the great French geographer adduces very strong reasons for believing, that the ancients applied it to Sumatra. In whatever way the name of the last mentioned island may be written by Europeans, it is clearly an Indian word, implying abundance or excellence; but we cannot help wondering, that neither the natives of it, nor the best informed of our Pandits, know it by any such appellation; especially as it still exhibits visible traces of a primeval connexion with India: from the very accurate and interesting account of it by a learned and ingenious member of our own body, we discover, without any recourse to etymological conjecture, that multitudes of pure Sanscrit words occur in the principal dialects of the Sumatrans; that, among their laws, two positive rules concerning sureties and interest appear to be taken word for word from the Indian legislators Narēd and Hāritā; and, what is yet more observable, that the system of letters, used by the people of Rejang and Lampun, has
the same artificial order with the Devanágarí; but in every series one letter is omitted, because it is never found in the languages of those islanders. If Mr. Marsden has proved (as he firmly believes, and as we, from our knowledge of his accuracy, may fairly presume) that clear vestiges of one ancient language are discernible in all the insular dialects of the southern seas from Madagascar to the Philippines and even to the remotest islands lately discovered, we may infer from the specimens in his account of Sumatra, that the parent of them all was no other than the Sanscrit; and with this observation, having nothing of consequence to add on the Chinese isles or on those of Japan, I leave the farthest eastern verge of this continent, and turn to the countries, now under the government of China, between the northern limits of India, and the extensive domain of those Tartars, who are still independent.

That the people of Pótyid or Tibet were Hindus, who grafted the heresies of Bødha on their old mythological religion, we know from the researches of Cassiano, who long had resided among them; and whose disquisitions on their language and letters, their tenets and forms of worship, are inserted by Giorgi in his curious but prolix compilation, which I have had the patience to read from the first to the last of nine
hundred rugged pages: their characters are apparently Indian, but their language has now the disadvantage of being written with more letters than are ever pronounced; for, although it was anciently Sanscrit and polysyllabic, it seems at present, from the influence of Chinese manners, to consist of monosyllables, to form which, with some regard to grammatical derivation, it has become necessary to suppress in common discourse many letters, which we see in their books; and thus we are enabled to trace in their writing a number of Sanscrit words and phrases, which in their spoken dialect are quite undistinguishable.

The two engravings in Grorgi's book, from sketches by a Tibetan painter, exhibit a system of Egyptian and Indian mythology; and a complete explanation of them would have done the learned author more credit than his fanciful etymologies, which are always ridiculous, and often grossly erroneous.

The Tartars having been wholly unlettered, as they freely confess, before their conversion to the religion of Arabia, we cannot but suspect, that the natives of Eighur, Tuncüt, and Khatà, who had systems of letters and are even said to have cultivated liberal arts, were not of the Tartarian, but of the Indian, family; and I apply the same remark to the nation, whom we call Barmas, but who are known to the Pandits by
the name of Brabmachinas, and seem to have been the Brachmani of Ptolemy: they were probably rambling Hindus, who, descending from the northern parts of the eastern peninsula, carried with them the letters now used in Ava, which are no more than a round Nagari derived from the square characters, in which the Páli, or sacred language of Buddha's priests in that country, was ancienly written; a language, by the way, very nearly allied to the Sanscrit, if we can depend on the testimony of M. De La Loubere; who, though always an acute observer, and in general a faithful reporter, of facts, is charged by Carpanius with having mistaken the Barma for the Páli letters; and when, on his authority, I spoke of the Bali writing to a young chief of Aracan, who read with facility the books of the Barmas, he corrected me with politeness, and assured me, that the Páli language was written by the priests in a much older character.

Let us now return eastward to the farthest Asiatick dominions of Russia, and, rounding them on the northeast, pass directly to the Hyperboreans; who, from all that can be learned of their old religion and manners, appear like the Massagette, and some other nations usually considered as Tartars, to have been really of the Gotbick, that is of the Hindu, race; for I con-
fidently assume, that the Goths and the Hindus had originally the same language, gave the same appellations to the stars and planets, adored the same false deities, performed the same bloody sacrifices, and professed the same notions of rewards and punishments after death. I would not insist with M. Bailly, that the people of Finland were Goths, merely because they have the word *ship* in their language; while the rest of it appears wholly distinct from any of the Gothick idioms: the publishers of the Lord's Prayer in many languages represent the Finnish and Lapponian as nearly alike, and the Hungarian as totally different from them; but this must be an error, if it be true, that a Russian author has lately traced the Hungarian from its primitive seat between the Caspian and the Euxine, as far as Lapland itself; and, since the Huns were confessedly Tartars, we may conclude, that all the northern languages, except the Gothick, had a Tartarian origin, like that universally ascribed to the various branches of Scavonian.

On the Armenian, which I never studied, because I could not hear of any original compositions in it, I can offer nothing decisive; but am convinced, from the best information procurable in Bengal, that its basis was ancient Persian of the same Indian stock with the Zend, and that
it has been gradually changed since the time, when Armenia ceased to be a province of Irán: the letters, in which it now appears, are allowed to be comparatively modern; and, though the learned editor of the tract by Carpanius on the literature of Ava, compares them with the Pâli characters, yet, if they be not, as I should rather imagine, derived from the Pahlavi, they are probably an invention of some learned Armenian in the middle of the fifth century. Moses of Khoren, than whom no man was more able to elucidate the subject, has inserted in his historical work a disquisition on the language of Armenia, from which we might collect some curious information, if the present occasion required it; but to all the races of men, who inhabit the branches of Caucasius and the northern limits of Irán, I apply the remark, before announced generally, that ferocious and hardy tribes, who retire for the sake of liberty to mountainous regions, and form by degrees a separate nation, must also form in the end a separate language by agreeing on new words to express new ideas; provided that the language, which they carried with them, was not fixed by writing and sufficiently copious. The Armenian damsels are said by Strabo to have sacrificed in the temple of the goddess Anaitis, whom we know, from other authorities, to be the Naḥīd,
or *Venus*, of the old *Periians*; and it is for many reasons highly probable, that one and the same religion prevailed through the whole empire of *Cyrus*.

Having travelled round the continent, and among the islands, of *Asia*, we come again to the coast of the *Mediterranean*; and the principal nations of antiquity, who first demand our attention, are the *Greeks* and *Phrygians*, who, though differing somewhat in manners, and perhaps in dialect, had an apparent affinity in religion as well as in language: the *Dorian*, *Ionian*, and *Eolian* families having emigrated from *Europe*, to which it is universally agreed that they first passed from *Egypt*, I can add nothing to what has been advanced concerning them in former discourses; and, no written monuments of old *Phrygia* being extant, I shall only observe, on the authority of the *Greeks*, that the grand object of mysterious worship in that country was the Mother of the Gods, or Nature personified, as we see her among the *Indians* in a thousand forms and under a thousand names. She was called in the *Phrygian* dialect *Ma*, and represented in a car drawn by lions, with a drum in her hand, and a towered coronet on her head: her mysteries (which seem to be alluded to in the *Mosuick* law) are solemnized at the autumnal equinox in these provinces,
where she is named, in one of her characters, Ma, is adored, in all of them, as the great Mother, is figured sitting on a lion, and appears in some of her temples with a diadem or mitre of turrets: a drum is called dindima both in Sanscrit and Phrygian; and the title of Dindymene seems rather derived from that word, than from the name of a mountain. The Diana of Ephesus was manifestly the same goddess in the character of productive Nature; and the Astarte of the Syrians and Phenicians (to whom we now return) was, I doubt not, the same in another form: I may on the whole assure you, that the learned works of Selden and Jablonski, on the Gods of Syria and Egypt, would receive more illustration from the little Sanscrit book, entitled Chandi, than from all the fragments of oriental mythology, that are dispersed in the whole compass of Grecian, Roman, and Hebrew literature. We are told, that the Phenicians, like the Hindus, adored the Sun, and asserted water to be the first of created things; nor can we doubt, that Syria, Samaria, and Phenice, or the long strip of land on the shore of the Mediterranean, were anciently peopled by a branch of the Indian stock, but were afterwards inhabited by that race, which for the present we call Arabian: in all three the oldest religion was the Assyrian, as it is called by Selden, and the
Samaritan letters appear to have been the same at first with those of Phenice; but the Syriack language, of which ample remains are preserved, and the Punic, of which we have a clear specimen in Plautus and on monuments lately brought to light, were indisputably of a Chaldaick, or Arabick, origin.

The seat of the first Phenicians having extended to Idume, with which we began, we have now completed the circuit of Asia; but we must not pass over in silence a most extraordinary people, who escaped the attention, as Barrow observes more than once, of the diligent and inquisitive Herodotus: I mean the people of Judea, whose language demonstrates their affinity with the Arabs, but whose manners, literature, and history are wonderfully distinguished from the rest of mankind. Barrow loads them with the severe, but just, epithets of malignant, unsocial, obstinate, distrustful, fordid, changeable, turbulent; and describes them as furiously zealous in succouring their own countrymen, but implacably hostile to other nations; yet, with all the sottish perverseness, the stupid arrogance, and the brutal atrocity of their character, they had the peculiar merit, among all races of men under heaven, of preserving a rational and pure system of devotion in the midst of wild polytheism, inhuman or obscene rites, and a dark labyrinth
of errors produced by ignorance and supported by interested fraud. Theological inquiries are no part of my present subject; but I cannot refrain from adding, that the collection of tracts, which we call from their excellence the Scriptures, contain, independently of a divine origin, more true sublimity, more exquisite beauty, purer morality, more important history, and finer strains both of poetry and eloquence, than could be collected within the same compass from all other books, that were ever composed in any age or in any idiom. The two parts, of which the Scriptures consist, are connected by a chain of compositions, which bear no resemblance in form or style to any that can be produced from the stores of Grecian, Indian, Persian, or even Arabian, learning: the antiquity of those compositions no man doubts; and the unstrained application of them to events long subsequent to their publication is a solid ground of belief, that they were genuine predictions, and consequently inspired; but, if any thing be the absolute exclusive property of each individual, it is his belief; and, I hope, I should be one of the last men living, who could harbour a thought of obtruding my own belief on the free minds of others. I mean only to assume, what, I trust, will be readily conceded, that the first Hebrew historian must be entitled, merely as such, to an
equal degree of credit, in his account of all civil transactions, with any other historian of antiquity: how far that most ancient writer confirms the result of our inquiries into the genealogy of nations, I propose to show at our next anniversary meeting; when, after an approach to demonstration, in the strict method of the old analysis, I shall resume the whole argument concisely and synthetically; and shall then have condensed in seven discourses a mass of evidence, which, if brevity had not been my object, might have been expanded into seven large volumes with no other trouble than that of holding the pen; but (to borrow a turn of expression from one of our poets) "for what I have produced, I claim only your indulgence; it is for what I have suppressed, that I am entitled to your thanks."
DISCOURSE THE NINTH.

ON

THE ORIGIN AND FAMILIES OF NATIONS.

DELIVERED 23 FEBRUARY, 1702,

BY

THE PRESIDENT.

YOU have attended, gentlemen, with so much indulgence to my discourses on the five Asiatick nations, and on the various tribes established along their several borders or interspersed over their mountains, that I cannot but flatter myself with an assurance of being heard with equal attention, while I trace to one centre the three great families, from which those nations appear to have proceeded, and then hazard a few conjectures on the different courses, which they may be supposed to have taken toward the countries, in which we find them settled at the dawn of all genuine history.

Let us begin with a short review of the propositions, to which we have gradually been led, and separate such as are morally certain, from such as are only probable: that the first race of
Persians and Indians, to whom we may add the Romans and Greeks, the Goths, and the old Egyptians or Ethiops, originally spoke the same language and professed the same popular faith, is capable, in my humble opinion, of incontestable proof; that the Jews and Arabs, the Assyrians, or second Persian race, the people who spoke Syriack, and a numerous tribe of Abyssinians, used one primitive dialect wholly distinct from the idiom just mentioned, is, I believe, undisputed, and, I am sure, indisputable; but that the settlers in China and Japan had a common origin with the Hindus, is no more than highly probable; and, that all the Tartars, as they are inaccurately called, were primarily of a third separate branch, totally differing from the two others in language, manners, and features, may indeed be plausibly conjectured, but cannot, for the reasons alleged in a former essay, be perspicuously shown, and for the present therefore must be merely assumed. Could these facts be verified by the best attainable evidence, it would not, I presume, be doubted, that the whole earth was peopled by a variety of shoots from the Indian, Arabian, and Tartarian branches, or by such intermixtures of them, as, in a course of ages, might naturally have happened.

Now I admit without hesitation the aphorism of Linnaeus, that "in the beginning God
created one pair only of every living species, which has a diversity of sex; but, since that incomparable naturalist argues principally from the wonderful diffusion of vegetables, and from an hypothesis, that the water on this globe has been continually subsiding, I venture to produce a shorter and closer argument in support of his doctrine. That Nature, of which simplicity appears a distinguishing attribute, does nothing in vain, is a maxim in philosophy; and against those, who deny maxims, we cannot dispute; but it is vain and superfluous to do by many means what may be done by fewer, and this is another axiom received into courts of judicature from the schools of philosophers: we must not, therefore, says our great Newton, admit more causes of natural things, than those, which are true, and sufficiently account for natural phenomena; but it is true, that one pair at least of every living species must at first have been created; and that one human pair was sufficient for the population of our globe in a period of no considerable length (on the very moderate supposition of lawyers and political arithmeticians, that every pair of ancestors left on an average two children, and each of them two more), is evident from the rapid increase of numbers in geometrical progression, so well known to those, who have ever taken the trouble to sum a series
of as many terms, as they suppose generations of men in two or three thousand years. It follows, that the Author of Nature (for all nature proclaims its divine author) created but one pair of our species; yet, had it not been (among other reasons) for the devastations, which history has recorded, of water and fire, wars, famine, and pestilence, this earth would not now have had room for its multiplied inhabitants. If the human race then be, as we may confidently assume, of one natural species, they must all have proceeded from one pair; and if perfect justice be, as it is most indubitably, an essential attribute of GOD, that pair must have been gifted with sufficient wisdom and strength to be virtuous, and, as far as their nature admitted, happy, but intrusted with freedom of will to be vicious and consequently degraded: whatever might be their option, they must people in time the region where they first were established, and their numerous descendants must necessarily seek new countries, as inclination might prompt, or accident lead, them; they would of course migrate in separate families and clans, which, forgetting by degrees the language of their common progenitor, would form new dialects to convey new ideas, both simple and complex; natural affection would unite them at first, and a sense of reciprocal utility, the great and only cement of
sociable union in the absence of publick honour and justice, for which in evil times it is a general substitute, would combine them at length in communities more or less regular; laws would be proposed by a part of each community, but enacted by the whole; and governments would be variously arranged for the happiness or misery of the governed, according to their own virtue and wisdom, or depravity and folly; so that, in less than three thousand years, the world would exhibit the same appearances, which we may actually observe on it in the age of the great Arabian impostor.

On that part of it, to which our united researches are generally confined, we see five races of men peculiarly distinguished, in the time of Muhammed, for their multitude and extent of dominion; but we have reduced them to three, because we can discover no more, that essentially differ in language, religion, manners, and other known characteristics: now those three races, however variously forever they may at present be dispersed and intermixed, must (if the preceding conclusions be justly drawn) have migrated originally from a central country, to find which is the problem proposed for solution. Suppose it solved; and give any arbitrary name to that centre: let it, if you please, be Iràn. The three primitive languages, therefore, must at first have
been concentrated in Iràn, and there only in fact we see traces of them in the earliest historical age; but, for the sake of greater precision, conceive the whole empire of Iràn, with all its mountains and valleys, plains and rivers, to be every way infinitely diminished; the first winding courses, therefore, of all the nations proceeding from it by land, and nearly at the same time, will be little right lines, but without intersections, because those courses could not have thwarted and crossed one another: if then you consider the seats of all the migrating nations as points in a surrounding figure, you will perceive, that the several rays, diverging from Iràn, may be drawn to them without any intersection; but this will not happen, if you assume as a centre Arabia, or Egypt; India, Tartary, or China: it follows, that Iràn, or Persia (I contend for the meaning, not the name), was the central country, which we sought. This mode of reasoning I have adopted, not from any affectation (as you will do me the justice to believe) of a scientific diction, but for the sake of conciseness and variety, and from a wish to avoid repetitions; the substance of my argument having been detailed in a different form at the close of another discourse; nor does the argument in any form rise to demonstration, which the question by no means admits: it amounts, however, to such a proof,
grounded on written evidence and credible testimony, as all mankind hold sufficient for decisions affecting property, freedom, and life.

Thus then have we proved, that the inhabitants of Asia, and consequently, as it might be proved, of the whole earth, sprang from three branches of one stem: and that those branches have shot into their present state of luxuriance in a period comparatively short, is apparent from a fact universally acknowledged, that we find no certain monument, or even probable tradition, of nations planted, empires and states raised, laws enacted, cities built, navigation improved, commerce encouraged, arts invented, or letters contrived, above twelve or at most fifteen or sixteen centuries before the birth of Christ, and from another fact, which cannot be controverted, that seven hundred or a thousand years would have been fully adequate to the supposed propagation, diffusion and establishment of the human race.

The most ancient history of that race, and the oldest composition perhaps in the world, is a work in Hebrew, which we may suppose at first, for the sake of our argument, to have no higher authority than any other work of equal antiquity, that the researches of the curious had accidentally brought to light: it is ascribed to MusaH; for so he writes his own name, which,
after the Greeks and Romans, we have changed into Moses; and, though it was manifestly his object to give an historical account of a single family, he has introduced it with a short view of the primitive world, and his introduction has been divided, perhaps improperly, into eleven chapters. After describing with awful sublimity the creation of this universe, he asserts, that one pair of every animal species was called from nothing into existence; that the human pair were strong enough to be happy, but free to be miserable; that, from delusion and temerity, they disobeyed their supreme benefactor, whose goodness could not pardon them consistently with his justice; and that they received a punishment adequate to their disobedience, but softened by a mysterious promise to be accomplished in their descendants. We cannot but believe, on the supposition just made of a history uninspired, that these facts were delivered by tradition from the first pair, and related by Moses in a figurative style; not in that sort of allegory, which rhetoricians describe as a mere assemblage of metaphors, but in the symbolical mode of writing adopted by eastern sages, to embellish and dignify historical truth; and, if this were a time for such illustrations, we might produce the same account of the creation and the fall, expressed by symbols very nearly similar, from the Puránas
themselves, and even from the Veda, which appears to stand next in antiquity to the five books of Moses.

The sketch of antediluvian history, in which we find many dark passages, is followed by the narrative of a deluge, which destroyed the whole race of man, except four pairs; an historical fact admitted as true by every nation, to whose literature we have access, and particularly by the ancient Hindus, who have allotted an entire Purana to the detail of that event, which they relate, as usual, in symbols or allegories. I concur most heartily with those, who insist, that, in proportion as any fact mentioned in history seems repugnant to the course of nature, or, in one word, miraculous, the stronger evidence is required to induce a rational belief of it; but we hear without incredulity, that cities have been overwhelmed by eruptions from burning mountains, territories laid waste by hurricanes, and whole islands depopulated by earthquakes; if then we look at the firmament sprinkled with innumerable stars; if we conclude by a fair analogy, that every star is a sun, attracting, like ours, a system of inhabited planets; and if our ardent fancy, soaring hand in hand with sound reason, waft us beyond the visible sphere into regions of immensity, disclosing other celestial expanses and other systems of suns and worlds on all sides
without number or end, we cannot but consider the submersion of our little spheroid as an infinitely less event in respect of the immeasurable universe, than the destruction of a city or an isle in respect of this habitable globe. Let a general flood, however, be supposed improbable in proportion to the magnitude of so ruinous an event, yet the concurrent evidences of it are completely adequate to the supposed improbability; but, as we cannot here expatiate on those proofs, we proceed to the fourth important fact recorded in the Mosaic history; I mean the first propagation and early dispersion of mankind in separate families to separate places of residence.

Three sons of the just and virtuous man, whose lineage was preserved from the general inundation, travelled, we are told, as they began to multiply, in three large divisions variously subdivided: the children of Japhet seem, from the traces of Sklavonian names, and the mention of their being enlarged, to have spread themselves far and wide, and to have produced the race, which, for want of a correct appellation, we call Tartarian; the colonies, formed by the sons of Ham and Shem, appear to have been nearly simultaneous; and, among those of the latter branch, we find so many names incontestably preserved at this hour in Arabia, that we cannot
hesitate in pronouncing them the same people, whom hitherto we have denominated Arabs; while the former branch, the most powerful and adventurous of whom were the progeny of Cush, Misr, and Rama (names remaining unchanged in Sanscrit, and highly revered by the Hindus), were, in all probability, the race, which I call Indian, and to which we may now give any other name, that may seem more proper and comprehensive.

The general introduction to the Jewish history closes with a very concise and obscure account of a presumptuous and mad attempt, by a particular colony, to build a splendid city and raise a fabrick of immense height, independently of the divine aid, and, it should seem, in defiance of the divine power; a project, which was baffled by means appearing at first view inadequate to the purpose, but ending in violent dissention among the projectors, and in the ultimate separation of them: this event also seems to be recorded by the ancient Hindus in two of their Puranas; and it will be proved I trust, on some future occasion, that the lion bursting from a pillar to destroy a blaspheming giant, and the dwarf, who beguiled and held in derision the magnificent Beli, are one and the same story related in a symbolical style.

Now these primeval events are described as
having happened between the Oxus and Euphrates, the mountains of Caucasus and the borders of India, that is, within the limits of Iran; for, though most of the Mosaic names have been considerably altered, yet numbers of them remain unchanged: we still find Harrán in Mesopotamia, and travellers appear unanimous in fixing the site of ancient Babel.

Thus, on the preceding supposition, that the first eleven chapters of the book, which it is thought proper to call Genesis, are merely a preface to the oldest civil history now extant, we see the truth of them confirmed by antecedent reasoning, and by evidence in part highly probable, and in part certain; but the connection of the Mosaic history with that of the Gospel by a chain of sublime predictions unquestionably ancient, and apparently fulfilled, must induce us to think the Hebrew narrative more than human in its origin, and consequently true in every substantial part of it, though possibly expressed in figurative language; as many learned and pious men have believed, and as the most pious may believe without injury, and perhaps with advantage, to the cause of revealed religion. If Moses then was endued with supernatural knowledge, it is no longer probable only, but absolutely certain, that the whole race of man proceeded from Iran, as from a centre, whence they
migrated at first in three great colonies; and that those three branches grew from a common stock, which had been miraculously preserved in a general convulsion and inundation of this globe.

Having arrived by a different path at the same conclusion with Mr. Bryant as to one of those families, the most ingenious and enterprising of the three, but arrogant, cruel, and idolatrous, which we both conclude to be various shoots from the Hamian or Amonian branch, I shall add but little to my former observations on his profound and agreeable work, which I have thrice perused with increased attention and pleasure, though not with perfect acquiescence in the other less important parts of his plausible system. The sum of his argument seems reducible to three heads. First; "if the deluge really happened at the time recorded by Moses, those nations, whose monuments are preserved or whose writings are accessible, must have retained memorials of an event so stupendous and comparatively so recent; but in fact they have retained such memorials:" this reasoning seems just, and the fact is true beyond controversy: Secondly; "those memorials were expressed by the race of Ham, before the use of letters, in rude sculpture or painting, and mostly in symbolical figures of the
"ark, the eight persons concealed in it, and the
birds, which first were dismissed from it: this
fact is probable, but, I think, not sufficiently
certained." Thirdly; "all ancient Mythology
(except what was purely Sabian) had
its primary source in those various symbols
misunderstood; so that ancient Mythology
stands now in the place of symbolical sculpture
or painting, and must be explained on the
same principles, on which we should begin to
decipher the originals, if they now existed:"
this part of the system is, in my opinion, carried
too far; nor can I persuade myself (to give one
instance out of many) that the beautiful allegory
of Cupid and Psyche had the remotest allusion
to the deluge, or that Hymen signified the veil,
which covered the patriarch and his family.
These propositions, however, are supported with
great ingenuity and solid erudition, but, unpro-
fitably for the argument, and unfortunately, per-
haps, for the fame of the work itself, recourse is
had to etymological conjecture, than which no
mode of reasoning is in general weaker or more
delusive. He, who professes to derive the words
of any one language from those of another, must
expose himself to the danger of perpetual errours,
unless he be perfectly acquainted with both; yet
my respectable friend, though eminently skilled
in the idioms of Greece and Rome, has no fort
of acquaintance with any Asiatick dialect, except Hebrew; and he has consequently made mistakes, which every learner of Arabick and Persian must instantly detect. Among fifty radical words (ma, taph, and ram being included), eighteen are purely of Arabian origin, twelve merely Indian, and seventeen both Sanscrit and Arabick, but in senses totally different; while two are Greek only, and one Egyptian, or barbarous: if it be urged, that those radicals (which ought surely to have concluded, instead of preceding, an analytical inquiry) are precious traces of the primitive language, from which all others were derived, or to which at least they were subsequent, I can only declare my belief, that the language of Noah is lost irretrievably, and assure you, that after a diligent search, I cannot find a single word used in common by the Arabian, Indian, and Tartar families, before the intermixture of dialects occasioned by Mohammedan conquests. There are, indeed, very obvious traces of the Hamian language, and some hundreds of words might be produced, which were formerly used promiscuously by most nations of that race; but I beg leave, as a philologer, to enter my protest against conjectural etymology in historical researches, and principally against the licentiousness of etymologists in transposing and inserting letters, in substituting at pleasure.
any consonant for another of the same order, and in totally disregarding the vowels: for such permutations few radical words would be more convenient than Cus or Cush, since, dentals being changed for dentals, and palatials for palatials, it instantly becomes coot, goose, and, by transposition, duck, all water-birds, and evidently symbolical; it next is the goat worshipped in Egypt, and, by a metathesis, the dog adored as an emblem of Sirius, or, more obviously, a cat, not the domestic animal, but a sort of ship, and, the Catos, or great sea-fish, of the Dorians. It will hardly be imagined, that I mean by this irony to insult an author, whom I respect and esteem; but no consideration should induce me to asift by my silence in the diffusion of error; and I contend, that almost any word or nation might be derived from any other, if such licences, as I am opposing, were permitted in etymological histories: when we find, indeed, the same words, letter for letter, and in a sense precisely the same, in different languages, we can scarce hesitate in allowing them a common origin; and, not to depart from the example before us, when we see Cush or Cus (for the Sanscrit name also is variously pronounced) among the sons of Brahma, that is, among the progenitors of the Hindus, and at the head of an ancient pedigree preserved in the Rámayan; when we meet with
his name again in the family of Ra'ma; when we know, that the name is venerated in the highest degree, and given to a sacred grass, described as a Poa by Koenig, which is used with a thousand ceremonies in the oblations to fire, ordained by Menus to form the sacrificial zone of the Brahmans, and solemnly declared in the Vêda to have sprung up soon after the deluge, whence the Paurânicks consider it as the bristly hair of the boar which supported the globe; when we add, that one of the seven dwipas, or great peninsulas of this earth, has the same appellation, we can hardly doubt that the Cush of Moses and Valmic was the same personage and an ancestor of the Indian race.

From the testimonies adduced in the six last annual discourses, and from the additional proofs laid before you, or rather opened, on the present occasion, it seems to follow, that the only human family after the flood established themselves in the northern parts of Iran; that, as they multiplied, they were divided into three distinct branches, each retaining little at first, and losing the whole by degrees, of their common primary language, but agreeing severally on new expressions for new ideas; that the branch of Yafet was enlarged in many scattered shoots over the north of Europe and Asia, diffusing themselves as far as the western and eastern seas, and, at
length in the infancy of navigation, beyond them both: that they cultivated no liberal arts, and had no use of letters, but formed a variety of dialects, as their tribes were variously ramified; that, secondly, the children of Ham, who founded in Iran itself the monarchy of the first Chaldeans, invented letters, observed and named the luminaries of the firmament, calculated the known Indian period of four hundred and thirty-two thousand years, or an hundred and twenty repetitions of the jaros, and contrived the old system of Mythology, partly allegorical, and partly grounded on idolatrous veneration for their sages and lawgivers; that they were dispersed at various intervals and in various colonies over land and ocean; that the tribes of Misr, Cush, and Rama settled in Africk and India; while some of them, having improved the art of sailing, passed from Egypt, Phenice, and Phrygia, into Italy and Greece, which they found thinly peopled by former emigrants, of whom they supplanted some tribes, and united themselves with others; whilst a swarm from the same hive moved by a northerly course into Scandinavia, and another, by the head of the Oxus, and through the pass of Imaus, into Cashgbar and Eigrur, Khaté and Kboten, as far as the territories of Chin and Tan-cit, where letters have been used and arts immemorially cultivated; nor is it unreasonable
to believe, that some of them found their way from the eastern isles into Mexico and Peru, where traces were discovered of rude literature and Mythology analogous to those of Egypt and India; that, thirdly, the old Chaldean empire being overthrown by the Assyrians under Cayumers, other migrations took place, especially into India, while the rest of Shem's progeny, some of whom had before settled on the Red Sea, peopled the whole Arabian peninsula, pressing close on the nations of Syria and Phenice; that, lastly, from all the three families were detached many bold adventurers of an ardent spirit and a roving disposition, who disdained subordination and wandered in separate clans, till they settled in distant isles or in deserts and mountainous regions; that, on the whole, some colonies might have migrated before the death of their venerable progenitor, but that states and empires could scarce have assumed a regular form, till fifteen or sixteen hundred years before the Christian epoch, and that, for the first thousand years of that period, we have no history unmixed with fable, except that of the turbulent and variable, but eminently distinguished, nation descended from Abraham.

My design, gentlemen, of tracing the origin and progress of the five principal nations, who have peopled Asia, and of whom there were
considerable remains in their several countries at the time of Muhammad's birth, is now accomplished; succinctly, from the nature of these essays; imperfectly, from the darkness of the subject and scantiness of my materials, but clearly and comprehensively enough to form a basis for subsequent researches: you have seen, as distinctly as I am able to show, who those nations originally were, whence and when they moved toward their final stations; and, in my future annual discourses, I propose to enlarge on the particular advantages to our country and to mankind, which may result from our sedulous and united inquiries into the history, science, and arts, of these Asiatick regions, especially of the British dominions in India, which we may consider as the centre (not of the human race, but) of our common exertions to promote its true interests; and we shall concur, I trust, in opinion, that the race of man, to advance whose manly happiness is our duty and will of course be our endeavour, cannot long be happy without virtue, nor actively virtuous without freedom, nor securely free without rational knowledge.
THE TENTH
ANNIVERSARY DISCOURSE,
DELIVERED 28 FEBRUARY, 1793.

BY

THE PRESIDENT.

ON ASIATIC HISTORY, CIVIL AND NATURAL.

BEFORE our entrance, gentlemen, into the disquisition, promised at the close of my ninth annual discourse, on the particular advantages, which may be derived from our concurrent researches in Asia, it seems necessary to fix with precision the sense, in which we mean to speak of advantage or utility: now, as we have described the five Asiatic regions on their largest scale, and have expanded our conceptions in proportion to the magnitude of that wide field, we should use those words, which comprehend the fruit of all our inquiries, in their most extensive acceptation; including not only the solid conveniences and comforts of social life, but its elegances and innocent pleasures, and even the gratification of a natural and laudable curiosity; for, though labour be clearly the lot of man in
this world, yet, in the midst of his most active exertions, he cannot but feel the substantial benefit of every liberal amusement, which may lull his passions to rest, and afford him a sort of repose without the pain of total inaction, and the real usefulness of every pursuit, which may enlarge and diversify his ideas, without interfering with the principal objects of his civil station or economical duties; nor should we wholly exclude even the trivial and worldly sense of utility, which too many consider as merely synonymous with lucre, but should reckon among useful objects those practical, and by no means illiberal, arts, which may eventually conduce both to national and to private emolument. With a view then to advantages thus explained, let us examine every point in the whole circle of arts and sciences, according to the received order of their dependence on the faculties of the mind, their mutual connexion, and the different subjects, with which they are conversant: our inquiries indeed, of which Nature and Man are the primary objects, must of course be chiefly historical; but, since we propose to investigate the actions of the several Asiatick nations, together with their respective progress in science and art, we may arrange our investigations under the same three heads, to which our European analysts have ingeniously reduced all the branches
of human knowledge; and my present address to the society shall be confined to history, civil and natural, or the observation and remembrance of mere facts, independently of ratiocination, which belongs to philosophy, or of imitations and substitutions, which are the province of art.

Were a superior created intelligence to delineate a map of general knowledge (exclusively of that sublime and stupendous theology, which himself could only hope humbly to know by an infinite approximation) he would probably begin by tracing with Newton the system of the universe, in which he would assign the true place to our little globe; and, having enumerated its various inhabitants, contents, and productions, would proceed to man in his natural station among animals, exhibiting a detail of all the knowledge attained or attainable by the human race; and thus observing, perhaps, the same order, in which he had before described other beings in other inhabited worlds: but, though Bacon seems to have had a similar reason for placing the history of Nature before that of Man, or the whole before one of its parts, yet, consistently with our chief object already mentioned, we may properly begin with the civil history of the five Asiatick nations, which necessarily comprises their Geography, or a de-
scription of the places, where they have acted, and their astronomy, which may enable us to fix with some accuracy the time of their actions: we shall thence be led to the history of such other animals, of such minerals, and of such vegetables, as they may be supposed to have found in their several migrations and settlements, and shall end with the uses to which they have applied, or may apply, the rich assemblage of natural substances.

I. In the first place, we cannot surely deem it an inconsiderable advantage, that all our historical researches have confirmed the Mosaic accounts of the primitive world; and our testimony on that subject ought to have the greater weight, because, if the result of our observations had been totally different, we should nevertheless have published them, not indeed with equal pleasure, but with equal confidence; for Truth is mighty, and, whatever be its consequences, must always prevail: but, independently of our interest in corroborating the multiplied evidences of revealed religion, we could scarce gratify our minds with a more useful and rational entertainment, than the contemplation of those wonderful revolutions in kingdoms and states, which have happened within little more than four thousand years; revolutions, almost as fully demonstrative of an all-ruling Providence, as the
structure of the universe and the final causes, which are discernible in its whole extent and even in its minutest parts. Figure to your imaginations a moving picture of that eventful period, or rather a succession of crowded scenes rapidly changed. Three families migrate in different courses from one region, and, in about four centuries, establish very distant governments and various modes of society: Egyptians, Indians, Goths, Phenicians, Celts, Greeks, Latians, Chinese, Peruvians, Mexicans, all sprung from the same immediate stem, appear to start nearly at one time, and occupy at length those countries, to which they have given, or from which they have derived, their names: in twelve or thirteen hundred years more the Greeks overrun the land of their forefathers, invade India, conquer Egypt, and aim at universal dominion; but the Romans appropriate to themselves the whole empire of Greece, and carry their arms into Britain, of which they speak with haughty contempt: the Goths, in the fulness of time, break to pieces the unwieldy Colossus of Roman power, and seize on the whole of Britain, except its wild mountains; but even those wilds become subject to other invaders of the same Gothick lineage: during all these transactions, the Arabs possess both coasts of the Red Sea, subdue the old seat of their first progenitors, and
extend their conquests on one side, through Africk, into Europe itself; on another, beyond the borders of India, part of which they annex to their flourishing empire: in the same interval the Tartars, widely diffused over the rest of the globe, swarm in the north-east, whence they rush to complete the reduction of Constantine's beautiful domains, to subjugate China, to raise in these Indian realms a dynasty splendid and powerful, and to ravage, like the two other families, the devoted regions of Iran: by this time the Mexicans and Peruvians, with many races of adventurers variously intermixed, have peopled the continent and isles of America, which the Spaniards, having restored their old government in Europe, discover and in part overcome: but a colony from Britain, of which Cicero ignorantly declared, that it contained nothing valuable, obtain the possession, and finally the sovereign dominion, of extensive American districts; whilst other British subjects acquire a subordinate empire in the finest provinces of India, which the victorious troops of Alexander were unwilling to attack. This outline of human transactions, as far as it includes the limits of Asia, we can only hope to fill up, to strengthen, and to colour, by the help of Asiatick literature; for in history, as in law, we must not follow streams, when we may investigate foun-
tains, nor admit any secondary proof, where primary evidence is attainable: I should, nevertheless, make a bad return for your indulgent attention, were I to repeat a dry list of all the Muselman historians, whose works are preserved in Arabick, Persian, and Turkish, or expatiate on the histories and medals of China and Japan, which may in time be accessible to members of our Society, and from which alone we can expect information concerning the ancient state of the Tartars; but on the history of India, which we naturally consider as the centre of our enquiries, it may not be superfluous to present you with a few particular observations.

Our knowledge of civil Asiatick history (I always except that of the Hebrews) exhibits a short evening twilight in the venerable introduction to the first book of Moses, followed by a gloomy night, in which different watches are faintly discernible, and at length we see a dawn succeeded by a sunrise more or less early according to the diversity of regions. That no Hindu nation, but the Cashmirians, have left us regular histories in their ancient language, we must ever lament; but from Sanscrit literature, which our country has the honour of having unveiled, we may still collect some rays of historical truth, though time and a series of revolutions have obscured that light which we might reasonably
have expected from so diligent and ingenious a people. The numerous Puránas and Itihásas, or poems mythological and heroick, are completely in our power; and from them we may recover some disfigured, but valuable, pictures of ancient manners and governments; while the popular tales of the Hindus, in prose and in verse, contain fragments of history; and even in their dramas we may find as many real characters and events, as a future age might find in our own plays, if all histories of England were, like those of India, to be irrecoverably lost: for example, a most beautiful poem by So'made'va, comprising a very long chain of instructive and agreeable stories, begins with the famed revolution at Pátaliputra by the murder of King Nanda, with his eight sons, and the usurpation of Chandragúpta; and the same revolution is the subject of a tragedy in Sanscrit, entitled the Coronation of Chandra, the abbreviated name of that able and adventurous usurper. From these, once concealed but now accessible, compositions, we are enabled to exhibit a more accurate sketch of old Indian history than the world has yet seen, especially with the aid of well-attested observations on the places of the colures. It is now clearly proved, that the first Purána contains an account of the deluge, between which and the Mohammedián conquests
the history of genuine Hindu government must of course be comprehended; but we know from an arrangement of the seasons in the astronomical work of Paraśara, that the war of the Pandavas could not have happened earlier than the close of the twelfth century before Christ, and Seleucus must, therefore, have reigned about nine centuries after that war: now the age of Vicrama'ditya is given; and, if we can fix on an Indian prince, contemporary with Seleucus, we shall have three given points in the line of time between Rama, or the first Indian colony, and Chandrabīja, the last Hindu monarch, who reigned in Bebār; so that only eight hundred or a thousand years will remain almost wholly dark; and they must have been employed in raising empires or states, in framing laws, in improving languages and arts, and in observing the apparent motions of the celestial bodies. A Sanscrit history of the celebrated Vicrama'ditya was inspected at Banares by a Pandit, who would not have deceived me, and could not himself have been deceived; but the owner of the book is dead and his family dispersed; nor have my friends in that city been able, with all their exertions, to procure a copy of it: as to the Mogul conquests, with which modern Indian history begins, we have ample accounts of them in Persian, from
Ali of Yezd and the translations of Turkish books composed even by some of the conquerors, to Ghula’m Husain, whom many of us personally know, and whose impartiality deserves the highest applause, though his unrewarded merit will give no encouragement to other contemporary historians, who, to use his own phrase in a letter to myself, may, like him, consider plain truth as the beauty of historical composition. From all these materials, and from these alone, a perfect history of India (if a mere compilation, however elegant, could deserve such a title) might be collected by any studious man, who had a competent knowledge of Sanscrit, Persian, and Arabick; but, even in the work of a writer so qualified, we could only give absolute credence to the general outline; for, while the abstract sciences are all truth, and the fine arts all fiction, we cannot but own, that, in the details of history, truth and fiction are so blended as to be scarce distinguishable.

The practical use of history, in affording particular examples of civil and military wisdom, has been greatly exaggerated; but principles of action may certainly be collected from it; and even the narrative of wars and revolutions may serve as a lesson to nations and an admonition to sovereigns: a desire, indeed, of knowing past events, while the future cannot be known, and
a view of the present gives often more pain than delight, seems natural to the human mind; and a happy propensity would it be, if every reader of history would open his eyes to some very important corollaries, which flow from the whole extent of it. He could not but remark the constant effect of despotism in benumbing and debasing all those faculties, which distinguish men from the herd, that grazes; and to that cause he would impute the decided inferiority of most Asiatick nations, ancient and modern, to those in Europe, who are blest with happier governments; he would see the Arabs rising to glory, while they adhered to the free maxims of their bold ancestors, and sinking to misery from the moment, when those maxims were abandoned. On the other hand he would observe with regret, that such republican governments as tend to produce virtue and happiness, cannot in their nature be permanent, but are generally succeeded by Oligarchies, which no good man would wish to be durable. He would then, like the king of Lydia, remember Solon, the wisest, bravest, and most accomplished of men, who affirms, in four nervous lines, that, "as hail and snow, which mar the labours of husbandmen, proceed from elevated clouds, and, "as the destructive thunderbolt follows the brillian flash, thus is a free state ruined by men
"exalted in power and splendid in wealth, while the people, from gross ignorance, chuse rather to become the slaves of one tyrant, that they may escape from the domination of many, than to preserve themselves from tyranny of any kind by their union and their virtues."

Since, therefore, no unmixed form of government could both deserve permanence and enjoy it, and since changes even from the worst to the best, are always attended with much temporary mischief, he would fix on our British constitution (I mean our publick law, not the actual state of things in any given period) as the best form ever established, though we can only make distant approaches to its theoretical perfection. In these Indian territories, which providence has thrown into the arms of Britain for their protection and welfare, the religion, manners, and laws of the natives preclude even the idea of political freedom; but their histories may possibly suggest hints for their prosperity, while our country derives essential benefit from the diligence of a placid and submissive people, who multiply with such increase, even after the ravages of famine, that, in one collectorship out of twenty-four, and that by no means the largest or best cultivated (I mean Čṛṣṇa-nagar) there, have lately been found, by an actual enumeration, a million and three hundred thousand
native inhabitants; whence it should seem, that in all India there cannot now be fewer than thirty millions of black British subjects.

Let us proceed to geography and chronology, without which history would be no certain guide, but would resemble a kindled vapour without either a settled place or a steady light. For a reason before intimated I shall not name the various cosmographical books, which are extant in Arabick and Persian, nor give an account of those, which the Turks have beautifully printed in their own improved language, but shall expatiate a little on the geography and astronomy of India; having first observed generally, that all the Asiatick nations must be far better acquainted with their several countries than mere European scholars and travellers; that, consequently, we must learn their geography from their own writings; and that, by collating many copies of the same work, we may correct the blunders of transcribers in tables, names, and descriptions.

Geography, astronomy, and chronology have, in this part of Asia, shared the fate of authentick history, and, like that, have been so masked and bedecked in the fantastick robes of mythology and metaphor, that the real system of Indian philosophers and mathematicians can scarce be distinguished: an accurate knowledge of Sanscrit and a confidential intercourse with learned
Brāhmens, are the only means of separating truth from fable; and we may expect the most important discoveries from two of our members; concerning whom it may be safely asserted, that, if our society should have produced no other advantage than the invitation given to them for the publick display of their talents, we should have a claim to the thanks of our country and of all Europe. Lieutenant Wilford has exhibited an interesting specimen of the geographical knowledge deducible from the Pu-rānas, and will in time present you with so complete a treatise on the ancient world known to the Hindus, that the light acquired by the Greeks will appear but a glimmering in comparison of that, which He will diffuse; while Mr. Davis, who has given us a distinct idea of Indian computations and cycles, and ascertained the place of the colures at a time of great importance in history, will hereafter disclose the systems of Hindu astronomers from Na'red and Para'sar to Meya, Varā'hamihir, and Bha'scar, and will soon, I trust, lay before you a perfect delineation of all the Indian asterisms in both hemispheres, where you will perceive so strong a general resemblance to the constellations of the Greeks, as to prove that the two systems were originally one and the same, yet with such a diversity in parts, as to show incon-
teftably, that neither fystem was copied from the other; whence it will follow, that they muft have had some common fource.

The jurisprudence of the Hindus and Arabs being the field, which I have chosen for my peculiar toil, you cannot expect, that I should greatly enlarge your collection of historical knowledge; but I may be able to offer you fome occasional tribute, and I cannot help mentioning a discovery, which accident threw in my way; though my proofs muft be reserved for an essay, which I have destined for the fourth volume of your Transactions. To fix the situation of that Palibothea (for there may have been feveral of the name), which was visited and defcribed by Megafthenes had always appeared a very difficult problem; for, though it could not have been Prayaga, where no ancient metropolis ever stood, nor Cancubja, which has no epithet at all resembling the word used by the Greeks, nor Gaur, otherwise called Lacsbanavati, which all know to be a town comparatively modern, yet we could not confidently decide that it was Pataliputra, though names and moft circumstances nearly correspond, becaufe that renowned capital extended from the confluence of the Sone and the Ganges to the fcite of Patna, while Palibothea stood at the junctfon of the Ganges and Erannoboas, which
the accurate M. D'Anville had pronounced to be the Yamunâ: but this only difficulty was removed, when I found in a classical Sanscrit book, near two thousand years old, that Hiranyabâhu, or golden-armed, which the Greeks changed into Erannoboa, or the river with a lovely murmur, was in fact another name for the Sôna itself, though Megasthenes, from ignorance or inattention, has named them separately. This discovery led to another of greater moment; for Chandragupta, who, from a military adventurer, became, like Sandracottus, the sovereign of upper Hindustân, actually fixed the seat of his empire at Pataliputra, where he received ambassadors from foreign princes, and was no other than that very Sandracottus, who concluded a treaty with Seleucus Nicator; so that we have solved another problem, to which we before alluded, and may in round numbers consider the twelve and three hundredth years before Christ as two certain epochs between Râma, who conquered Silân a few centuries after the flood, and Vicrama'ditya, who died at Ujjayini fifty-seven years before the beginning of our era.

II. Since these discussions would lead us too far, I proceed to the history of Nature distinguished, for our present purpose, from that of Man; and divided into that of other animals,
who inhabit this globe, of the mineral substances, which it contains, and of the vegetables, which so luxuriantly and so beautifully adorn it.

1. Could the figure, instincts, and qualities of birds, beasts, insects, reptiles, and fish be ascertained, either on the plan of Buffon, or on that of Linnaeus, without giving pain to the objects of our examination, few studies would afford us more solid instruction or more exquisite delight; but I never could learn by what right, nor conceive with what feelings, a naturalist can occasion the misery of an innocent bird and leave its young, perhaps, to perish in a cold nest, because it has gay plumage and has never been accurately delineated, or deprive even a butterfly of its natural enjoyments, because it has the misfortune to be rare or beautiful; nor shall I ever forget the couplet of Firdausi, for which Sadi, who cites it with applause, pours blessings on his departed spirit:

Ah! spare yon emmet, rich in hoarded grain:
He lives with pleasure, and he dies with pain.

This may be only a confession of weakness, and it certainly is not meant as a boast of peculiar sensibility; but, whatever name may be given to my opinion, it has such an effect on my conduct, that I never would suffer the Cõcila, whose wild native woodnotes announce the approach of
spring, to be caught in my garden for the sake of comparing it with Buffon's description; though I have often examined the domestick and engaging Mayanà, which bids us good morrow at our windows, and expects, as its reward, little more than security: even when a fine young Manis or Pangolin was brought me, against my wish, from the mountains, I solicited his restoration to his beloved rocks, because I found it impossible to preserve him in comfort at a distance from them. There are several treatises on animals in Arabick, and very particular accounts of them in Chinese with elegant outlines of their external appearance; but I have met with nothing valuable concerning them in Persian, except what may be gleaned from the medical dictionaries; nor have I yet seen a book in Sanscrit, that expressly treats of them: on the whole, though rare animals may be found in all Asia, yet I can only recommend an examination of them with this condition, that they be left, as much as possible, in a state of natural freedom, or made as happy as possible, if it be necessary to keep them confined.

2. The history of minerals, to which no such objection can be made, is extremely simple and easy, if we merely consider their exterior look and configuration, and their visible texture; but the analysis of their internal properties belongs
particularly to the sublime researches of Chymistry, on which we may hope to find useful disquisitions in Sanscrit, since the old Hindus unquestionably applied themselves to that enchanting study; and even from their treatises on alchemy we may possibly collect the results of actual experiment, as their ancient astrological works have preserved many valuable facts relating to the Indian sphere and the precession of the equinox: both in Persian and Sanscrit there are books on metals and minerals, particularly on gems, which the Hindu philosophers considered (with an exception of the diamond) as varieties of one crystalline substance either simple or compound; but we must not expect from the chymists of Asia those beautiful examples of analysis which have but lately been displayed in the laboratories of Europe.

3. We now come to Botany, the loveliest and most copious division in the history of nature; and, all disputes on the comparative merit of systems being at length, I hope, condemned to one perpetual night of undisturbed slumber, we cannot employ our leisure more delightfully, than in describing all new Asiatick plants in the Linnean style and method, or in correcting the descriptions of those already known, but of which dry specimens only, or drawings, can have been seen by most European botanists: in this
part of natural history we have an ample field yet unexplored; for, though many plants of Arabia have been made known by Garcia, Prosper Alpinus, and Forsköl, of Persia, by Garcin, of Tartary, by Gmelin and Pallas, of China and Japan, by Kämpfer, Osbeck, and Thunberg, of India, by Rheede and Rumphius, the two Burmans, and the much-lamented Koenig, yet none of those naturalists were deeply versed in the literature of the several countries, from which their vegetable treasures had been procured; and the numerous works in Sanscrit on medical substances, and chiefly on plants, have never been inspected, or never at least understood, by any European attached to the study of nature. Until the garden of the India Company shall be fully stored (as it will be, no doubt, in due time) with Arabian, Persian, and Chinese plants, we may well be satisfied with examining the native flowers of our own provinces; but, unless we can discover the Sanscrit names of all celebrated vegetables, we shall neither comprehend the allusions, which Indian poets perpetually make to them, nor (what is far worse) be able to find accounts of their tried virtues in the writings of Indian physicians; and (what is worst of all) we shall miss an opportunity, which never again may present itself; for the Pandits themselves have almost
wholly forgotten their ancient appellations of particular plants, and, with all my pains, I have not yet ascertained more than two hundred out of twice that number, which are named in their medical or poetical compositions. It is much to be deplored, that the illustrious Van Rheede had no acquaintance with Sanscrit, which even his three Bràhmens, who composed the short preface engraved in that language, appear to have understood very imperfectly, and certainly wrote with disgraceful inaccuracy: in all his twelve volumes I recollect only Punarnavà, in which the Nàgari letters are tolerably right; the Hindu words in Arabian characters are shamefully incorrect; and the Malabar, I am credibly informed, is as bad as the rest. His delineations, indeed, are in general excellent; and, though Linnaeus himself could not extract from his written descriptions the natural character of every plant in the collection, yet we shall be able, I hope, to describe them all from the life, and to add a considerable number of new species, if not of new genera, which Rheede, with all his noble exertions, could never procure. Such of our learned members, as profess medicine, will, no doubt, cheerfully assist in these researches, either by their own observations, when they have leisure to make any, or by communications from other observers among their
acquaintance, who may reside in different parts of the country: and the mention of their art leads me to the various uses of natural substances, in the three kingdoms or classes to which they are generally reduced.

III. You cannot but have remarked, that almost all the sciences, as the French call them, which are distinguished by Greek names and arranged under the head of philosophy, belong for the most part to history; such are philology, chymistry, physicks, anatomy, and even metaphysics, when we barely relate the phenomena of the human mind; for, in all branches of knowledge, we are only historians, when we announce facts, and philosophers, only when we reason on them: the same may be confidently said of law and of medicine, the first of which belongs principally to civil, and the second chiefly to natural, history. Here, therefore, I speak of medicine, as far only as it is grounded on experiment; and, without believing implicitly what Arabs, Persians, Chinese, or Hindus may have written on the virtues of medicinal substances, we may, surely, hope to find in their writings what our own experiments may confirm or disprove, and what might never have occurred to us without such intimations.

Europeans enumerate more than two hundred and fifty mechanical arts, by which the pro-
ductions of nature may be variously prepared for the convenience and ornament of life; and, though the Silpfas̄ṭra reduce them to sixty-four, yet Abu’l Faζı had been assured, that the Hindus reckoned three hundred arts and sciences: now, their sciences being comparatively few, we may conclude, that they anciently practised at least as many useful arts as ourselves. Several Pandits have informed me, that the treatises on art, which they call Upavēdas and believe to have been inspired, are not so entirely lost, but that considerable fragments of them may be found at Banares; and they certainly possess many popular, but ancient, works on that interesting subject. The manufactures of sugar and indigo have been well known in these provinces for more than two thousand years; and we cannot entertain a doubt, that their Sanskrit books on dying and metallurgy contain very curious facts, which might, indeed, be discovered by accident in a long course of years, but which we may soon bring to light, by the help of Indian literature, for the benefit of manufacturers and artists, and consequently of our nation, who are interested in their prosperity. Discoveries of the same kind might be collected from the writings of other Asiatick nations, especially of the Chinese; but, though Persian, Arabick, Turkish and Sanscrit are languages now so accessible, that,
in order to obtain a sufficient knowledge of them, little more seems required than a strong inclination to learn them, yet the supposed number and intricacy of the Chinese characters have deterred our most diligent students from attempting to find their way through so vast a labyrinth: it is certain, however, that the difficulty has been magnified beyond the truth; for the perspicuous grammar by M. Fourmont, together with a copious dictionary, which I possess, in Chinese and Latin, would enable any man, who pleased, to compare the original works of Confucius, which are easily procured, with the literal translation of them by Couplet; and, having made that first step with attention, he would probably find, that he had traversed at least half of his career. But I should be led beyond the limits assigned to me on this occasion, if I were to expatiate farther on the historical division of the knowledge comprised in the literature of Asia; and I must postpone till next year my remarks on Asiatick philosophy and on those arts, which depend on imagination; promising you with confidence, that, in the course of the present year, your inquiries into the civil and natural history of this eastern world will be greatly promoted by the learned labours of many among our associates and correspondents.
DISCOURSE THE ELEVENTH.

ON

THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE ASIATICKS.

DELIVERED 20 FEBRUARY, 1794.

BY

THE PRESIDENT.

HAD it been of any importance, gentlemen, to arrange these anniversary dissertations according to the ordinary progress of the human mind, in the gradual expansion of its three most considerable powers, memory, imagination, and reason, I should certainly have presented you with an essay on the liberal arts of the five Asiatick nations, before I produced my remarks on their abstract sciences; because, from my own observation at least, it seems evident, that fancy, or the faculty of combining our ideas agreeably by various modes of imitation and substitution, is in general earlier exercised, and sooner attains maturity, than the power of separating and comparing those ideas by the laborious exertions of intellect; and hence, I believe, it has happened, that all nations in the world had poets before
they had mere philosophers: but, as M. D'Alembert has deliberately placed science before art, as the question of precedence is, on this occasion, of no moment whatever, and as many new facts on the subject of Asiatick philosophy are fresh in my remembrance, I propose to address you now on the sciences of Asia, reserving for our next annual meeting a disquisition concerning those fine arts, which have immemorially been cultivated, with different success and in very different modes, within the circle of our common inquiries.

By science I mean an assemblage of transcendental propositions discoverable by human reason, and reducible to first principles, axioms, or maxims, from which they may all be derived in a regular succession; and there are consequently as many sciences as there are general objects of our intellectual powers: when man first exerts those powers, his objects are himself and the rest of nature; himself he perceives to be composed of body and mind, and in his individual capacity, he reasons on the uses of his animal frame and of its parts both exterior and internal, on the disorders impeding the regular functions of those parts, and on the most probable methods of preventing those disorders or of removing them; he soon feels the close connexion between his corporeal and mental faculties, and when
his mind is reflected on itself, he discourses on its essence and its operations; in his social character, he analyzes his various duties and rights both private and publick; and in the leisure, which the fullest discharge of those duties always admits, his intellect is directed to nature at large, to the substance of natural bodies, to their several properties, and to their quantity both separate and united, finite and infinite; from all which objects he deduces notions, either purely abstract and universal, or mixed with undoubted facts, he argues from phenomena to theorems, from those theorems to other phenomena, from causes to effects, from effects to causes, and thus arrives at the demonstration of a first intelligent cause; whence his collected wisdom, being arranged in the form of science, chiefly consists of physiology and medicine, metaphysicks and logick, ethicks and jurisprudence, natural philosophy and mathematicks; from which the religion of nature (since revealed religion must be referred to history, as alone affording evidence of it) has in all ages and in all nations been the sublime and confoling result. Without professing to have given a logical definition of science, or to have exhibited a perfect enumeration of its objects, I shall confine myself to those five divisions of Asiatick philosophy, enlarging for the most part on the progress which the Hindus have made in
them, and occasionally introducing the sciences of the Arabs and Persians, the Tartars, and the Chinese; but, how extensive soever may be the range which I have chosen, I shall beware of exhausting your patience with tedious discussions, and of exceeding those limits, which the occasion of our present meeting has necessarily prescribed.

I. The first article affords little scope; since I have no evidence, that, in any language of Asia, there exists one original treatise on medicine considered as a science: phisick, indeed, appears in these regions to have been from time immemorial, as we see it practised at this day by Hindus and Muselmans, a mere empirical history of diseases and remedies; useful, I admit, in a high degree, and worthy of attentive examination, but wholly foreign to the subject before us: though the Arabs, however, have chiefly followed the Greeks in this branch of knowledge, and have themselves been implicitly followed by other Mohammedan writers, yet (not to mention the Chinese, of whose medical works I can at present say nothing with confidence) we still have access to a number of Sanscrit books on the old Indian practice of phisick, from which, if the Hindus had a theoretical system, we might easily collect it. The Ayurveda, supposed to be the work of a celestial
physician, is almost entirely lost, unfortunately perhaps for the curious European, but happily for the patient Hindu; since a revealed science precludes improvement from experience, to which that of medicine ought, above all others, to be left perpetually open; but I have myself met with curious fragments of that primeval work, and, in the Veda itself, I found with astonishment an entire Upanisbad on the internal parts of the human body; with an enumeration of nerves, veins, and arteries, a description of the heart, spleen, and liver, and various disquisitions on the formation and growth of the fetus: from the laws, indeed, of Menu, which have lately appeared in our own language, we may perceive, that the ancient Hindus were fond of reasoning in their way on the mysteries of animal generation, and on the comparative influence of the sexes in the production of perfect offspring; and we may collect from the authorities adduced in the learned Essay on Egypt and the Nile, that their physiological disputes led to violent schisms in religion, and even to bloody wars. On the whole, we cannot expect to acquire many valuable truths from an examination of eastern books on the science of medicine; but examine them we must, if we wish to complete the history of universal philosophy, and to sup-
ply the scholars of Europe with authentick materials for an account of the opinions ancienly formed on this head by the philosophers of Asia: to know, indeed, with certainty, that so much and no more can be known on any branch of science, would in itself be very important and useful knowledge, if it had no other effect than to check the boundless curiosity of mankind, and to fix them in the straight path of attainable science, especially of such as relates to their duties and may conduce to their happiness.

II. We have an ample field in the next division, and a field almost wholly new; since the mytaphysicks and logick of the Brāhmens, comprised in their six philosophical Sāstras, and explained by numerous glosses or comments, have never yet been accessible to Europeans; and, by the help of the Sanscrit language, we now may read the works of the Saugatas, Baudhbas, Arbatas, Jainas, and other heterodox philosophers, whence we may gather the metaphysical tenets prevalent in China and Japan, in the eastern peninsula of India, and in many considerable nations of Tartary: there are also some valuable tracts on these branches of science in Persian and Arabick, partly copied from the Greeks, and partly comprising the doctrines of the Sûfis which ancienly prevailed, and still
prevail in great measure over this oriental world, and which the Greeks themselves condescended to borrow from eastern ages.

The little treatise in four chapters, ascribed to Vyāsa, is the only philosophical Sāstra, the original text of which I have had leisure to peruse with a Brāhmen of the Vēdānti school: it is extremely obscure, and, though composed in sentences elegantly modulated, has more resemblance to a table of contents, or an accurate summary, than to a regular systematical tract; but all its obscurity has been cleared by the labour of the very judicious and most learned Sancara, whose commentary on the Vēdānta, which I read also with great attention, not only elucidates every word of the text, but exhibits a perspicuous account of all other Indian schools, from that of Capila to those of the more modern heretics. It is not possible, indeed, to speak with too much applause of so excellent a work; and I am confident in asserting, that, until an accurate translation of it shall appear in some European language, the general history of philosophy must remain incomplete; for I perfectly agree with those, who are of opinion, that one correct version of any celebrated Hindu book would be of greater value than all the dissertations or essays, that could be composed on the same subject; you will not, however, ex-
pect, that, in such a discourse as I am now delivering, I should expatiate on the diversity of Indian philosophical schools, on the several founders of them, on the doctrines, which they respectively taught, or on their many disciples, who dissented from their instructors in some particular points. On the present occasion, it will be sufficient to say, that the oldest head of a sect, whose entire work is preserved, was (according to some authors) Capila; not the divine personage, a reputed grandson of Brahma, to whom Chrisna compares himself in the Gita, but a sage of his name, who invented the Sanc'bya, or Numerall, philosophy, which Chrisna himself appears to impugn in his conversation with Arjuna, and which, as far as I can recollect it from a few original texts, resembled in part the metaphysics of Pythagoras, and in part the theology of Zeno: his doctrines were enforced and illustrated, with some additions, by the venerable Patanjali, who has also left us a fine comment on the grammatical rules of Panini, which are more obscure, without a gloss, than the darkest oracle: and here by the way let me add, that I refer to metaphysics the curious and important science of universal grammar, on which many subtil disquisitions may be found interspersed in the particular grammars of the ancient Hindus, and in
those of the more modern Arabs. The next founder, I believe, of a philosophical school was Gotama, if, indeed, he was not the most ancient of all; for his wife Ahalya was, according to Indian legends, restored to a human shape by the great Ra'ama; and a sage of his name, whom we have no reason to suppose a different personage, is frequently mentioned in the Veda itself; to his rational doctrines those of Canda were in general conformable; and the philosophy of them both is usually called Nyaya, or logical, a title aptly bestowed; for it seems to be a system of metaphysics and logick better accommodated than any other anciently known in India, to the natural reason and common sense of mankind; admitting the actual existence of material substance in the popular acceptation of the word matter, and comprising not only a body of sublime dialectics, but an artificial method of reasoning, with distinct names for the three parts of a proposition, and even for those of a regular syllogism. Here I cannot refrain from introducing a singular tradition, which prevailed, according to the well-informed author of the Dabistan, in the Panjab and in several Persian provinces, that, "among other Indian curiosities, which Callisthenes transmitted to his uncle, was a technical system of logick, which the Bráhmens had communicated
"to the inquisitive Greek," and—which the Mohammedan writer supposes to have been the groundwork of the famous Aristotelean method: if this be true, it is one of the most interesting facts, that I have met with in Asia; and if it be false, it is very extraordinary, that such a story should have been fabricated either by the candid Mohsani Fâni; or by the simple Pârsis Pandits, with whom he had conversed; but, not having had leisure to study the Nyâya Sâstra, I can only assure you, that I have frequently seen perfect syllogisms in the philosophical writings of the Brâhmenṣ, and have often heard them used in their verbal controversies. Whatever might have been the merit or age of Gôtama, yet the most celebrated Indian school is that, with which I began, founded by Vyâ'sa, and supported in most respects by his pupil Jaimini, whose dissent on a few points is mentioned by his master with respectful moderation: their several systems are frequently distinguished by the names of the first and second Mimânṣā, a word, which, like Nyâya, denotes the operations and conclusions of reason; but the tract of Vyâ'sa has in general the appellation of Vêdânta, or the scope and end of the Vêda, on the texts of which, as they were understood by the philosopher, who collected them, his doctrines are principally grounded. The fundamental tenet
of the Védánti school, to which in a more modern age the incomparable Sancara was a firm and illustrious adherent, insisted, not in denying the existence of matter, that is, of solidity, impenetrability, and extended figure (to deny which would be lunacy), but, in correcting the popular notion of it, and in contending, that it has no essence independent of mental perception; that existence and perceptibility are convertible terms, that external appearances and sensations are illusory, and would vanish into nothing, if the divine energy, which alone sustains them, were suspended but for a moment; an opinion, which Epicarmus and Plato seem to have adopted, and which has been maintained in the present century with great elegance, but with little publick applause; partly because it has been misunderstood, and partly because it has been misapplied by the false reasoning of some unpopular writers, who are said to have disbelieved in the moral attributes of God, whose omnipresence, wisdom, and goodness are the basis of the Indian philosophy: I have not sufficient evidence on the subject to profess a belief in the doctrine of the Védánta, which human reason alone could, perhaps, neither fully demonstrate, nor fully disprove; but it is manifest, that nothing can be farther removed from impiety than a system wholly built on the purest
devotion; and the inexpressible difficulty, which any man, who shall make the attempt, will assuredly find in giving a satisfactory definition of material substance, must induce us to deliberate with coolness, before we censure the learned and pious restorer of the ancient Vêda; though we cannot but admit, that, if the common opinions of mankind be the criterion of philosophical truth, we must adhere to the system of Gôta-mâ, which the Brâhmens of this province almost universally follow.

If the metaphysicks of the Védântis be wild and erroneous, the pupils of Buddha have run, it is asserted, into an error diametrically opposite; for they are charged with denying the existence of pure spirit, and with believing nothing absolutely and really to exist but material substance; a heavy accusation which ought only to have been made on positive and incontestable proof, especially by the orthodox Brâhmens, who, as Buddha disented from their ancestors in regard to bloody sacrifices, which the Vêda certainly prescribes, may not unjustly be suspected of low and interested malignity. Though I cannot credit the charge, yet I am unable to prove it entirely false, having only read a few pages of a Saugata book, which Captain Kirkpatrick had lately the kindness to give me; but it begins, like other Hindbooks, with the
word *Om*, which we know to be a symbol of the divine attributes: then follows, indeed, a mysterious hymn to the Goddess of Nature, by the name of *Aryā*, but with several other titles, which the *Brāhmens* themselves continually be-fow on their *Devi*; now the *Brāhmens*, who have no idea, that any such personage exists as *Devi*, or the Goddess, and only mean to express allegorically the *power* of God, exerted in creating, preserving and renovating this universe, we cannot with justice infer, that the dissenters admit no deity but *visible nature*: the Pandit, who now attends me, and who told Mr. Wilkins, that the *Saugatas* were atheists, would not have attempted to resist the decisive evidence of the contrary, which appears in the very instrument, on which he was consulted, if his understanding had not been blinded by the intolerant zeal of a mercenary priesthood. A literal version of the book just mentioned (if any studious man had learning and industry equal to the task) would be an inestimable treasure to the compiler of such a history as that of the laborious Brucker, but let us proceed to the *morals* and *jurisprudence* of the Asiaticks, on which I could expatiate, if the occasion admitted a full discussion of the subject, with correctness and confidence.

III. That both ethnicks and abstract law
might be reduced to the method of science, cannot surely be doubted; but, although such a method would be of infinite use in a system of universal, or even of national, jurisprudence, yet the principles of morality are so few, so luminous, and so ready to present themselves on every occasion, that the practical utility of a scientifical arrangement, in a treatise on ethics, may very justly be questioned. The moralists of the east have in general chosen to deliver their precepts in short sententious maxims, to illustrate them by sprightly comparisons, or to inculcate them in the very ancient form of agreeable apologues: there are, indeed, both in Arabick and Persian, philosophical tracts on ethics written with sound ratiocination and elegant perspicuity: but in every part of this eastern world, from Pekin to Damascus, the popular teachers of moral wisdom have immemorially been poets, and there would be no end of enumerating their works, which are still extant in the five principal languages of Asia. Our divine religion, the truth of which (if any history be true) is abundantly proved by historical evidence, has no need of such aids, as many are willing to give it, by asserting, that the wisest men of this world were ignorant of the two great maxims that we must act in respect of others, as we should wish them to act in respect of our-
selves, and that, instead of returning evil for evil, we should confer benefits even on those who injure us; but the first rule is implied in a speech of Lysias, and expressed in distinct phrases by Thales and Pittacus; and I have even seen it word for word in the original of Confucius, which I carefully compared with the Latin translation. It has been usual with zealous men, to ridicule and abuse all those, who dare on this point to quote the Chinese philosopher; but, instead of supporting their cause, they would shake it, if it could be shaken, by their uncandid asperity; for they ought to remember, that one great end of revelation, as it is most expressly declared, was not to instruct the wise and few, but the many and unenlightened. If the conversation, therefore, of the Pandits and Maulavis in this country shall ever be attempted by protestant missionaries, they must beware of asserting, while they teach the gospel of truth, what those Pandits and Maulavis would know to be false: the former would cite the beautiful Arya couplet, which was written at least three centuries before our era, and which pronounces the duty of a good man, even in the moment of his destruction, to consist not only in forgiving, but even in a desire of benefiting, his destroyer, as the Sandal-tree, in the instant of its overthrow, sheds perfume on the axe, which falls it; and the latter
would triumph in repeating the verse of Sadi, who represents a return of good for good as a slight reciprocity, but says to the virtuous man, "Confer benefits on him who has injured thee," using an Arabick sentence, and a maxim apparently of the ancient Arabs. Nor would the Muselmans fail to recite four distichs of Ha'Fiz, who has illustrated that maxim with fanciful but elegant allusions;

Learn from yon orient shell to love thy foe,
And store with pearls the hand, that brings thee wo:
Free, like yon rock, from base vindictive pride,
Imblaze with gems the wrist, that rends thy side:
Mark, where yon tree rewards the stony show'r
With fruit nectarous, or the balmy show'r:
All nature calls aloud: "Shall man do less
Than heal the smiter, and the railest blest?"

Now there is not a shadow of reason for believing, that the poet of Shiraz had borrowed this doctrine from the Christians; but, as the cause of Christianity could never be promoted by falsehood or errour, so it will never be obstructed by candour and veracity; for the lessons of Confucius and Chanacya, of Sadi and Ha'Fiz, are unknown even at this day to millions of Chinese and Hindus, Persians and other Mahommedans, who toil for their daily support; nor, were they known ever so perfectly, would they have a divine sanction with the multitude;
so that, in order to enlighten the minds of the ignorant, and to enforce the obedience of the perverse, it is evidently a priori, that a revealed religion was necessary in the great system of providence: but my principal motive for introducing this topic, was to give you a specimen of that ancient oriental morality, which is comprised in an infinite number of Persian, Arabick, and Sanscrit compositions.

Nearly one half of jurisprudence is closely connected with ethics; but, since the learned of Asia consider most of their laws as positive and divine institutions, and not as the mere conclusions of human reason, and since I have prepared a mass of extremely curious materials, which I reserve for an introduction to the digest of Indian laws, I proceed to the fourth division, which consists principally of science transcendently so named, or the knowledge of abstract quantities, of their limits, properties and relations, impressed on the understanding with the force of irresistible demonstration, which, as all other knowledge depends at best on our fallible senses, and in great measure on still more fallible testimony, can only be found, in pure mental abstractions; though for all the purposes of life, our own senses, and even the credible testimony of others, give us in most cases the highest degree of certainty, physical and moral.
IV. I have already had occasion to touch on
the Indian metaphysicks of natural bodies accord-
ing to the most celebrated of the Asiatick schools,
from which the Pythagoreans are supposed to
have borrowed many of their opinions; and, as
we learn from Cicero, that the old sages of
Europe had an idea of centripetal force and a
principle of universal gravitation (which they
never indeed attempted to demonstrate), so I
can venture to affirm, without meaning to pluck a
leaf from the neverfading laurels of our immortal
Newton, that the whole of his theology and
part of his philosophy may be found in the
Védas and even in the works of the Súfis: that
most subtil spirit, which he suspected to pervade
natural bodies, and, lying concealed in them, to
cause attraction and repulsion, the emission, re-
flexion, and refraction of light, electricity, ca-
lefaction, sensation, and muscular motion, is de-
scribed by the Hindus as a fifth element endued
with those very powers; and the Védas abound
with allusions to a force universally attractive,
which they chiefly ascribe to the Sun, thence
called Aditya, or the Attractor; a name designed
by the mythologists to mean the child of the
Godess Aditi; but the most wonderful pas-
sage on the theory of attraction occurs in the
charming allegorical poem of Shírí'n and
Ferhad, or the Divine Spirit and a human.
Soul disinterestedly pious; a work which from the first verse to the last, is a blaze of religious and poetical fire. The whole passage appears to me so curious, that I make no apology for giving you a faithful translation of it: "There is a strong propensity, which dances through every atom, and attracts the minutest particle to some peculiar object; search this universe from its base to its summit, from fire to air, from water to earth, from all below the Moon to all above the celestial spheres, and thou wilt not find a corpuscle destitute of that natural attractibility; the very point of the first thread, in this apparently tangled skein, is no other than such a principle of attraction, and all principles beside are void of a real basis; from such a propensity arises every motion perceived in heavenly or in terrestrial bodies; it is a disposition to be attracted, which taught hard steel to rush from its place and rivet itself on the magnet; it is the same disposition, which impels the light straw to attach itself firmly on amber; it is this quality, which gives every substance in nature a tendency toward another, and an inclination forcibly directed to a determinate point." These notions are vague, indeed, and unsatisfactory; but permit me to ask, whether the last paragraph of Newton's incomparable work goes much farther,
and whether any subsequent experiments have thrown light on a subject so abstruse and obscure: that the sublime astronomy and exquisitely beautiful geometry, with which that work is illumined, should in any degree be approached by the Mathematicians of Asia, while of all Europeans, who ever lived, Archimedes alone was capable of emulating them, would be a vain expectation; but we must suspend our opinion of Indian astronomical knowledge, till the Sūrya Siddhānta shall appear in our own language, and even then (to adopt a phrase of Cicero) our greedy and capacious ears will by no means be satisfied; for in order to complete an historical account of genuine Hindu astronomy, we require verbal translations of at least three other Sanscrit books; of the treatise by Parasara, for the first age of Indian science, of that by Varāha, with the copious comment of his very learned son, for the middle age, and of those written by Bhāscara, for times comparatively modern. The valuable and now accessible works of the last mentioned philosopher, contain also an universal, or specious, arithmetick, with one chapter at least on geometry; nor would it, surely, be difficult to procure, through our several residents with the Phiswd and with Scindhya, the older books on algebra, which Bhāscara mentions, and on which Mr. Davis would justly set a
very high value; but the Sanscrit work, from which we might expect the most ample and important information, is entitled C∫hêtrádersa, or a View of Geometrical Knowledge, and was compiled in a very large volume by order of the illustrious Jayasinha, comprising all that remains on that science in the sacred language of India: it was inspected in the west by a Pandit now in the service of Lieutenant Wilford, and might, I am persuaded, be purchased at Jayanagar, where Colonel Polier had permission from the Rájá to buy the four Vedas themselves. Thus have I answered, to the best of my power, the three first questions obligingly transmitted to us by professor Playfair; whether the Hindus have books in Sanscrit expressly on geometry, whether they have any such on arithmetick, and whether a translation of the Sûrya Siddhánta be not the great desideratum on the subject of Indian astronomy: to his three last questions, whether an accurate summary account of all the Sanscrit works on that subject, a delineation of the Indian celestial sphere, with correct remarks on it, and a description of the astronomical instruments used by the ancient Hindus, would not severally be of great utility, we cannot but answer in the affirmative, provided that the utmost critical sagacity were applied in distinguishing such works, constellations,
and instruments, as are clearly of Indian origin, from such as were introduced into this country by Musselman astronomers from Tartary and Persia, or in later days by Mathematicians from Europe.

V. From all the properties of man and of nature, from all the various branches of science, from all the deductions of human reason, the general corollary, admitted by Hindus, Arabs, and Tartars, by Persians, and by Chinese, is the supremacy of an all-creating and all-preserving spirit, infinitely wise, good, and powerful, but infinitely removed from the comprehension of his most exalted creatures; nor are there in any language (the ancient Hebrew always excepted) more pious and sublime addresses to the being of beings, more splendid enumerations of his attributes, or more beautiful descriptions of his visible works, than in Arabick, Persian and Sanscrit, especially in the Koran, the introductions to the poems of Sadi, Nizami, and Firdausi, the four Vedas and many parts of the numerous Puranas: but supplication and praise would not satisfy the boundless imagination of the Vedantists and Sufi theologists, who blending uncertain metaphysics with undoubted principles of religion, have presumed to reason confidently on the very nature and essence of the divine spirit, and asserted in a very remote age, what multitudes of
Hindus and Muselmans assert at this hour, that all spirit is homogeneous, that the spirit of God is in kind the same with that of man, though differing from it infinitely in degree, and that, as material substance is mere illusion, there exists in this universe only one generick spiritual substance, the sole primary cause, efficient, substantial and formal of all secondary causes and of all appearances whatever, but endued in its highest degree, with a sublime providential wisdom, and proceeding by ways incomprehensible to the spirits which emane from it; an opinion, which Gotama never taught, and which we have no authority to believe, but which, as it is grounded on the doctrine of an immaterial creator supremely wise, and a constant preserver supremely benevolent, differs as widely from the pantheism of Spinoza and Toland, as the affirmation of a proposition differs from the negation of it: though the last named professor of that insane philosophy had the baseness to conceal his meaning under the very words of Saint Paul, which are cited by Newton for a purpose totally different, and has even used a phrase, which occurs, indeed, in the Veda, but in a sense diametrically opposite to that, which he would have given it. The passage, to which I allude, is in a speech of Varuna to his son, where he says: "That spirit, from which these created..."
"beings proceed; through which having pro-
ceed from it, they live; toward which they
tend and in which they are ultimately absorb-
ed, that spirit study to know; that spirit is the
"Great One."

The subject of this discourse, gentlemen, is in-
exhaustible: it has been my endeavour to say as
much on it as possible in the fewest words; and,
at the beginning of next year, I hope to close these
general disquisitions with topicks measureless
in extent, but less abstruse than that, which has
this day been discussed, and better adapted to the
gaiety, which seems to have prevailed in the
learned banquets of the Greeks, and which ought,
surely, to prevail in every symposiack assembly.
### The System of Indian, Arabian & Persian Letters

**Soft and hard Breathings**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowels</th>
<th>Diphthongs and Semivowels</th>
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<tr>
<td>ãã</td>
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<td>ãã</td>
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**Consonants**

| ca     | ch,ha                     |
| ka     | kha                       |
| sa     | sha                       |
| òta    | òtha                      |
| ta     | {t'ha} {tha} da {d'ha} dha |
| pa     | {p'ha} {fa} ba {b'ha} va  |

**Compounds.**

cha  ch,ha  ja  jha  ñya
za   źa    ãa  csha  jïya
A DISSERTATION

ON THE

ORTHOGRAPHY OF ASIATICK WORDS

IN ROMAN LETTERS.

BY

THE PRESIDENT.

EVERY man, who has occasion to compose tracts on Asiatick Literature, or to translate from the Asiatick Languages, must always find it convenient, and sometimes necessary, to express Arabian, Indian, and Persian words, or sentences, in the characters generally used among Europeans; and almost every writer in those circumstances has a method of notation peculiar to himself; but none has yet appeared in the form of a complete system; so that each original found may be rendered invariably by one appropriated symbol, conformably to the natural order of articulation, and with a due regard to the primitive power of the Roman alphabet, which modern Europe has in general adopted. A want of attention to this object has occasioned great confusion in History and Geography. The
ancient Greeks, who made a voluntary sacrifice of truth to the delicacy of their ears, appear to have altered by design almost all the oriental names, which they introduced into their elegant, but romantick, Histories; and even their more modern Geographers, who were too vain, perhaps, of their own language to learn any other, have so strangely disguised the proper appellations of countries, cities, and rivers in Asia, that, without the guidance of the sagacious and indefatigable M. D'Anville, it would have been as troublesome to follow Alexander through the Panjab on the Ptolemaick map of Agathodæmon, as actually to travel over the same country in its present state of rudeness and disorder. They had an unwarrantable habit of moulding foreign names to a Grecian form, and giving them a resemblance to some derivative word in their own tongue: thus, they changed the Gogra into Agoranis, or a river of the assembly, Uchab into Oxydracæ, or sharp-eyed, and Re-nas into Aornos, or a rock inaccessible to birds; whence their poets, who delighted in wonders, embellished their works with new images, distinguishing regions and fortresses by properties, which existed only in imagination. If we have less liveliness of fancy than the Ancients, we have more accuracy, more love of truth, and, perhaps, more solidity of judgement; and, if our
works shall afford less delight to those, in respect of whom we shall be Ancients, it may be said without presumption, that we shall give them more correct information on the History and Geography of this eastern world; since no man can perfectly describe a country, who is unacquainted with the language of it. The learned and entertaining work of M. D'Herbelot, which professes to interpret and elucidate the names of persons and places, and the titles of books, abounds also in citations from the best writers of Arabia and Persia; yet, though his orthography will be found less defective than that of other writers on similar subjects, without excepting the illustrious Prince Kanteemir, still it requires more than a moderate knowledge of Persian, Arabick, and Turkish, to comprehend all the passages quoted by him in European characters; one instance of which I cannot forbear giving. In the account of Ibn Zaidun, a celebrated Andalusian poet, the first couplet of an elegy in Arabick is praised for its elegance, and expressed thus in Roman letters:

Iekad hein tenagikom dhamairna;
Iacdaa aulain alaffa laula taffina.

"The time, adds the translator, will soon come, when you will deliver us from all our cares: the remedy is assured, provided we
"have a little patience." When Dr. Hunt of Oxford, whom I am bound to name with gratitude and veneration, together with two or three others, attempted at my request to write the same distich in Arabian characters, they all wrote it differently, and all, in my present opinion, erroneously. I was then a very young student, and could not easily have procured Ibn Zaidun's works, which are, no doubt, preserved in the Bodley library, but which have not since fallen in my way. This admired couplet, therefore, I have never seen in the original characters, and confess myself at a loss to render them with certainty. Both verses are written by D'Herbelot without attention to the grammatical points, that is, in a form which no learned Arab would give them in recitation; but, although the French version be palpably erroneous, it is by no means easy to correct the error. If alasà or a remedy be the true reading, the negative particle must be absurd, since taaffainà signifies we are patient, and not we despair, but, if alasay or affliction be the proper word, some obscurity must arise from the verb, with which it agrees. On the whole I guess, that the distich should thus be written:

\[
یکَانِ حَیْنَ تُنِادِی کُنَّمُ ضَهَایْرُنا
یَغْصِی عَلِیْنَا ٱلَّذِینَا لُوَلِ ۡعَضَیْنِیْنَا
\]
"When our bosoms impart their secrets to you, anguish would almost fix our doom, if we were not mutually to console ourselves."

The principal verbs may have a future sense, and the last word may admit of a different interpretation. Dr. Hunt, I remember, had found in Giggeius the word *dbemâyêr*, which he conceived to be in the original. After all, the rhyme seems imperfect, and the measure irregular. Now I ask, whether such perplexities could have arisen, if D'Herbelot or his Editor had formed a regular system of expressing Arabic in Roman characters, and had apprized his readers of it in his introductory dissertation?

If a further proof be required, that such a system will be useful to the learned and essential to the student, let me remark, that a learner of Persian, who should read in our best histories the life of Sultan Azîm, and wish to write his name in Arabic letters, might express it thirty-nine different ways, and be wrong at last: the word should be written *Aázem* with three points on the first consonant.

There are two general modes of exhibiting Asiatick words in our own letters: they are founded on principles nearly opposite, but each
of them has its advantages, and each has been recommended by respectable authorities. The first professes to regard chiefly the pronunciation of the words intended to be expressed; and this method, as far as it can be pursued, is unquestionably useful: but new sounds are very inadequately presented to a sense not formed to receive them; and the reader must in the end be left to pronounce many letters and syllables precariously; besides, that by this mode of orthography all grammatical analogy is destroyed, simple sounds are represented by double characters, vowels of one denomination stand for those of another; and possibly with all our labour we perpetuate a provincial or inelegant pronunciation: all these objections may be made to the usual way of writing *Kummerbund*, in which neither the letters nor the true sound of them are preserved, while *Kemerbend*, or *Cemerbend*, as an ancient *Briton* would write it, clearly exhibits both the original characters and the *Persian* pronunciation of them. To set this point in a strong light, we need only suppose, that the *French* had adopted a system of letters wholly different from ours, and of which we had no types in our printing-houses: let us conceive an *Englishman* acquainted with their language to be pleased with *Malthus* well-known imitation of *Horace*, and desirous of
quoting it in some piece of criticism. He would read thus:

"La mort a des rigueurs à nulle autre pareilles;
'On a beau la prier:
'La cruelle qu'elle est se bouche les oreilles,
'Et nous laisse crier.

'Le pauvre en sa cabane, ou le chaume le couvre,
'Est sujet à ses loix,
'Et la garde, qui veille aux barrières du Louvre,
'N'en défend pas nos rois!"

Would he then express these eight verses, in Roman characters, exactly as the French themselves in fact express them, or would he decorate his composition with a passage more resembling the dialect of savages, than that of a polished nation? His pronunciation, good or bad, would, perhaps, be thus represented:

"Law more aw day reegyewrs aw nool otruh parelyuh,
'Onne aw bo law preeay:
'Law croocellyuh kellay fuh booluhuuh lays orellyuh,
'Ay noo layfuh creecay.

'Luh povre ong faw caubawn oo luh chomuh luh coovruh,
'Ay soozyet aw fay lwaw,
'Ay law gawrdhuh kee velly o bawryayruh dyoo Loooruh
'Nong daytong paw no rwaw!"

The second system of Asiatick Orthography consists in scrupulously rendering letter for letter,
without any particular care to preserve the pronunciation; and, as long as this mode proceeds by unvaried rules, it seems clearly entitled to preference.

For the first method of writing Persian words the warmest advocate, among my acquaintance, was the late Major Davy, a Member of our Society, and a man of parts, whom the world lost prematurely at a time, when he was meditating a literary retirement, and hoping to pass the remainder of his life in domestic happiness, and in the cultivation of his very useful talents. He valued himself particularly on his pronunciation of the Persian language, and on his new way of exhibiting it in our characters, which he instructed the learned and amiable Editor of his Institutes of Timour at Oxford to retain with minute attention throughout his work. Where he had acquired his refined articulation of the Persian, I never was informed; but it is evident, that he spells most proper names in a manner, which a native of Persia, who could read our letters, would be unable to comprehend. For instance: that the capital of Azarbajian is now called Tabriz, I know from the mouth of a person born in that city, as well as from other Iranians; and that it was so called sixteen hundred years ago, we all know from the Geography of Ptolemy; yet Major Davy always wrote it
Tubburaze, and insisted that it should thus be pronounced. Whether the natives of Semerkand, or Samarkand, who probably speak the dialect of Sogd with a Turanian pronunciation, call their birthplace, as Davy spelled it, Summurund, I have yet to learn; but I cannot believe it, and am convinced, that the former mode of writing the word expresses both the letters and the sound of them better than any other combination of characters. His method, therefore, has every defect; since it renders neither the original elements of words, nor the sounds represented by them in Persia, where alone we must seek for genuine Persian, as for French in France, and for Italian in Italy.

The second method has found two able supporters in Mr. Halliwell and Mr. Wilkins; to the first of whom the publick is indebted for a perspicuous and ample grammar of the Bengal language, and to the second for more advantages in Indian literature than Europe, or India, can ever sufficiently acknowledge.

Mr. Halliwell, having justly remarked 'that the two greatest defects in the orthography of any language are the application of the same letter to several different sounds, and of different letters to the same sound,' truly pronounces them both to be 'so common in English, that he was exceedingly embarrassed in the choice of letters
' to express the sound of the Bengal vowels, and was at last by no means satisfied with his own selection.' If any thing dissatisfies me, in his clear and accurate system, it is the use of double letters for the long vowels (which might however be justified) and the frequent intermixture of Italick with Roman letters in the same word; which both in writing and printing must be very inconvenient: perhaps it may be added, that his diphthongs are not expressed analogously to the sounds, of which they are composed.

The system of Mr. Wilkins has been equally well considered, and Mr. Halhed himself has indeed adopted it in his preface to the Compilation of Hindu Laws: it principally consists of double letters to signify our third and fifth vowels, and of the common prosodial marks to ascertain their brevity or their length; but those marks are so generally appropriated to books of prosody, that they never fail to convey an idea of metre; nor, if either prosodial sign were adopted, would both be necessary; since the omission of a long mark would evidently denote the shortness of the unmarked vowel, or conversely. On the whole, I cannot but approve this notation for Sanscrit words, yet require something more universally expressive of Asiatick letters: as it is perfect, however, in its kind, and will appear in the works of its learned inventor, I shall an-
nex, among the examples, four distichs from the
Bhagawat expressed both in his method and
mine*: a translation of them will be produced
on another occasion; but, in order to render this
tract as complete as possible, a fuller specimen of
Sanskrit will be subjoined with the original
printed in the characters of Bengal, into which
the Brāhmans of that province transpose all their
books, few of them being able to read the De-
vanāgari letters; so far has their indolence pre-
vailed over their piety!

Let me now proceed, not prescribing rules for
others, but explaining those which I have pre-
scribed for myself, to unfold my own system,
the convenience of which has been proved by
careful observation and long experience.

It would be superfluous to discourse on the
organs of speech, which have been a thousand
times dissected, and as often described by musi-
cians or anatomists; and the several powers of
which every man may perceive either by the
touch or by sight, if he will attentively observe
another person pronouncing the different classes
of letters, or pronounce them himself distinctly
before a mirror: but a short analysis of articulate
sounds may be proper to introduce an examina-
tion of every separate symbol.

* Plate IV.
All things abound with error, as the old searchers for truth remarked with despondence; but it is really deplorable, that our first step from total ignorance should be into gross inaccuracy, and that we should begin our education in England with learning to read the five vowels, two of which, as we are taught to pronounce them, are clearly diphthongs. There are, indeed, five simple vocal sounds in our language, as in that of Rome; which occur in the words an innocent bull, though not precisely in their natural order, for we have retained the true arrangement of the letters, while we capriciously disarrange them in pronunciation; so that our eyes are satisfied, and our ears disappointed. The primary elements of articulation are the soft and hard breathings, the spiritus lenis and spiritus asper of the Latin Grammarians. If the lips be opened ever so little, the breath suffered gently to pass through them, and the seeblest utterance attempted, a sound is formed of so simple a nature, that, when lengthened, it continues nearly the same, except that, by the least acuteness in the voice it becomes a cry, and is probably the first sound uttered by infants; but if, while this element is articulated, the breath be forced with an effort through the lips, we form an aspirate more or less harsh in proportion to the force exerted. When, in pro-
nouncing the simple vowel, we open our lips wider, we express a sound completely articulated, which most nations have agreed to place the first in their symbolical systems: by opening them wider still with the corners of them a little drawn back, we give birth to the second of the Roman vowels, and by a large aperture, with a farther inflexion of the lips and a higher elevation of the tongue, we utter the third of them. By pursing up our lips in the least degree, we convert the simple element into another sound of the same nature with the first vowel, and easily confounded with it in a broad pronunciation: when this new sound is lengthened, it approaches very nearly to the fourth vowel, which we form by a bolder and stronger roundness of the mouth; a farther contraction of it produces the fifth vowel, which in its elongation almost closes the lips, a small passage only being left for the breath. These are all short vowels; and, if an Italian were to read the words an innocent bull, he would give the sound of each corresponding long vowel, as in the monosyllables of his own language, ëä, ëi, ëo, ëu, ëu. Between these ten vowels are numberless gradations, and nice inflexions, which use only can teach; and, by the composition of them all, might be formed an hundred diphthongs, and a thousand triphthongs; many of which are found
in Italian, and were probably articulated by the Greeks: but we have only occasion, in this tract, for two diphthongs, which are compounded of the first vowel with the third, and with the fifth, and should be expressed by their constituent letters: as to those vocal compounds which begin with the third and fifth short vowels, they are generally and not inconveniently rendered by distinct characters, which are improperly ranged among the consonants. The tongue, which assists in forming some of the vowels, is the principal instrument in articulating two liquid sounds, which have something of a vocal nature; one, by striking the roots of the upper teeth, while the breath passes gently through the lips, another, by an inflexion upwards with a tremulous motion; and these two liquids coalesce with such ease, that a mixed letter, used in some languages, may be formed by the first of them followed by the second: when the breath is obstructed by the pressure of the tongue, and forced between the teeth on each side of it, a liquid is formed peculiar to the British dialect of the Celtick.

We may now consider in the same order, beginning with the root of the tongue and ending with the perfect close of the lips, those less musical sounds, which require the aid of a vowel, or at least of the simple breathing, to be fully ar-
ticulated; and it may here be premised, that the harsh breathing distinctly pronounced after each of these consonants, as they are named by grammarians, constitutes its proper aspirate.

By the assistance of the tongue and the palate are produced two congenial sounds, differing only as hard and soft; and these two may be formed still deeper in the throat, so as to imitate, with a long vowel after them, the voice of a raven; but if, while they are uttered, the breath be harshly protruded, two analogous articulations are heard, the second of which seems to characterize the pronunciation of the Arabs; while the nasal sound, very common among the Persians and Indians, may be considered as the soft palatine with part of the breath passing through the nose; which organ would by itself rather produce a vocal sound, common also in Arabia, and not unlike the cry of a young antelope and some other quadrupeds.

Next come different classes of dentals, and among the first of them should be placed the sibilants, which most nations express by an indented figure: each of the dental sounds is hard or soft, sharp or obtuse, and, by thrusting the tip of the tongue between the teeth, we form two sounds exceedingly common in Arabick and English, but changed into hisping sibilants by the Persians and French, while they on the
other hand have a sound unknown to the Arabs, and uncommon in our language, though it occurs in some words by the composition of the hard sibilant with our last vowel pronounced as a diphthong. The liquid nasal follows these, being formed by the tongue and roots of the teeth, with a little assistance from the other organ; and we must particularly remember, when we attend to the pronunciation of Indian dialects, that most sounds of this class are varied in a singular manner by turning the tongue upwards, and almost bending it back towards the palate, so as to exclude them nearly from the order, but not from the analogy, of dentals.

The labials form the last series, most of which are pronounced by the appulse of the lips on each other or on the teeth, and one of them by their perfect close: the letters, by which they are denoted, represent in most alphabets the curvature of one lip or of both; and a natural character for all articulate sounds might easily be agreed on, if nations would agree on any thing generally beneficial, by delineating the several organs of speech in the act of articulation, and selecting from each a distinct and elegant outline. A perfect language would be that, in which every idea, capable of entering the human mind, might be neatly and emphatically expressed by one specific word, simple if the idea were sim-
ple, complex, if complex; and on the same principle a perfect system of letters ought to contain one specifick symbol for every sound used in pronouncing the language to which they belonged: in this respect the old Persian or Zend approaches to perfection; but the Arabian alphabet, which all Mohammedan nations have inconsiderately adopted, appears to me so complete for the purpose of writing Arabick, that not a letter could be added or taken away without manifest inconvenience, and the same may indubitably be said of the Devanagari system; which, as it is more naturally arranged than any other, shall here be the standard of my particular observations on Asiatick letters. Our English alphabet and orthography are disgracefully and almost ridiculously imperfect; and it would be impossible to express either Indian, Persian, or Arabian words in Roman characters, as we are absurdly taught to pronounce them; but a mixture of new characters would be inconvenient, and by the help of the diacritical marks used by the French, with a few of those adopted in our own treatises on fluxions, we may apply our present alphabet so happily to the notation of all Asiatick languages, as to equal the Devanagari itself in precision and clearness, and so regularly that any one, who knew the original letters, might rapidly and unerringly transpose into them
all the proper names, appellatives, or cited passages, occurring in tracts of Asiatick literature.

This is the simplest element of articulation, or first vocal sound, concerning which enough has been said: the word America begins and ends with it; and its proper symbol therefore is A; though it may be often very conveniently expressed by E, for reasons, which I shall presently offer. In our own anomalous language we commonly mark this elementary sound by our fifth vowel, but sometimes express it by a strange variety both of vowels and diphthongs; as in the phrase, a mother bird flutters over her young; an irregularity, which no regard to the derivation of words or to blind custom can in any degree justify. The Nāgarī letter is called Acar, but is pronounced in Bengal like our fourth short vowel, and in the west of India, like our first: in all the dialects properly Indian it is considered as inherent in every consonant; and is placed last in the system of the Tibetans, because the letters, which include it, are first explained in their schools. If our double consonants were invariably connected, as in Sanscrit, it would certainly be the better way to omit the simple element, except when it begins a word. This letter answers to the fat-bbāb, or open sound of
आ आर र उ ऊ एट एट
ल ल ह र ह ए ओ ओ ए अः
क क क क क क क क क क क क क क क क क
क क क क क क क क क क क क क क क क
क ग घ घ घ घ घ घ घ घ घ
ट ट ट ट ट ट ट ट ट ट ट ट ट
ट ट ट ट ट ट ट ट ट ट ट ट ट
प ज ज ज ज ज ज ज ज ज ज
प ज ज ज ज ज ज ज ज ज ज
प प प प प प प प प प प प
پس از نه پس شن حس و روز شن من ها

ن دانستن آن آن آن

۴۱۳
the Arabs, and, in some few words, to the Zeber of the Persians, or an acute accent placed above the letter; but this Arabian mark, which was supplied in the Pahlavi by a distinct character, is more frequently pronounced at Isfahan either like our first or our second short vowel, as in chasbm and ferzend, and the distinction seems to depend, in general, on the nature of the consonant, which follows it. Two of our letters, therefore, are necessary for the complete notation of the ucar and zeber; and thus we may be able occasionally to avoid ridiculous or offensive equivocations in writing Oriental words, and to preserve the true pronunciation of the Persians, which differs as widely from that of the Munimans in India, as the language of our Court at St. James's differs from that of the rusticks in the Gentle Shepherd.

When the first vowel, as the Persians pronounce it in the word bakht, is doubled or prolonged as in bākht, it has the sound of the second Nāgari vowel, and of the first Arabick letter, that is, of our long vowel in cafi; but the Arabs deride the Persians for their broad pronunciation of this letter, which in Iran has always the sound of our vowel in call, and is often so prolated, as to resemble the fourth and even the fifth of our

-olds
long vowels. Its natural mark would be the short A *doubled*; but an *acute* accent in the middle of words, or a *grave* at the end of them, will be equally clear, and conformable to the practice of polished nations on the continent of *Europe*. The very broad sound of the *Arabian* letter, which they call *extended*, and which the *Persians* extend yet more, as in the word *ásan*, may aptly enough be represented by the prosodial sign, since it is constantly long; whereas the mark *bammzab* as constantly *shortens* the letter, and gives it the sound of the point above, or below, it; as in the words *osil* and *Islam*: the changes of this letter may perplex the learner, but his perplexity will soon vanish, as he advances. In writing *Asiatick* names, we frequently confound the broad à with its correspondent short vowel, which we improperly express by an O; thus we write *Coffim* for *Kásim* in defiance of analogy and correctness. Our vowel in *fond* occurs but seldom, if ever, in *Arabian, Indian, or Persian* words: it is placed, nevertheless, in the general system with the short prosodial mark, and stands at the head of the vowels, because it is in truth only a variation of the simple breathing.

Our *third* vowel, correctly pronounced, appears next in the *Nagari* system; for our *second*
short vowel has no place in it. This vocal sound is represented in Arabick by an acute accent *under* the letter; which at Mecca has almost invariably the same pronunciation; but, since, in the Zend, a character like the Greek $\varepsilon$-psilon represents both our second and third short vowels, the Persians often pronounce *zir* like *zeber*, calling this country *Hend*, and the natives of it *Hendus*: nevertheless it will be proper to denote the Sanskrit *icar*, and the Arabian *cafr* by one unaltered symbol; as in the words *Indra* and *Imám*.

The *third* vowel produced or lengthened is, for the reason before suggested, best marked by an accent either acute or grave, as in Italian:

Se cerca, se dice:
L’amico dov’è?
L’amico infelice,
Rispondi, morì!
Ah! no; sì gran duolo
Non darle per me.
Rispondi, ma solo:
Piangendo parti.

It was once my practice to represent this long vowel by two marks, as in the words *Lebeid* and *Deirtvan*, to denote the point in Arabick as well as the letter above it; but my present
opinion is, that Lebid and Diwan are more conformable to analogy, and to the Italian orthography, which of all European systems approaches nearest to perfection.

§

This is our fifth vowel; for our fourth short one is, like our second, rejected from the pure pronunciation of the Sanscrit in the west of India and at Bánáras, though the Bengalese retain it in the first Nagari letter, which they call ocdr: to the notation of this sound, our vowel in full and the Persian in gul should be constantly appropriated, since it is a simple articulation, and cannot without impropriety be represented by a double letter. It answers to bu-psilon, and, like that, is often confounded with iota: thus musbc has the sound of misbc among the modern Persians, as Nymphæ was pronounced Nympha by the Romans. The damm of the Arabs is, however, frequently founded, especially in Persia, like our short O in memory, and the choice of two marks for a variable sound is not improper in itself, and will sometimes be found very convenient.

§

The same lengthened, and properly expressed by an accent, as in the word virtù: it is a very long vowel in Persian, so as nearly to treble the
quantity of its correspondent short one; and this, indeed, may be observed of all the long vowels in the genuine Isfahaní pronunciation; but the letter vāu is often redundant, so as not to alter the sound of the short vowel preceding it; as in khośh and khod: it may, nevertheless, be right to express that letter by an accent.

A vocal sound peculiar to the Sanscrit language: it is formed by a gentle vibration of the tongue preceding our third vowel pronounced very short, and may be well expressed by the prosodical mark, as in Rīśbi, a Saint. When it is connected with a consonant, as in Črīśna, no part of it is used but the curve at the bottom. We have a similar sound in the word merrily, the second syllable of which is much shorter than the first syllable of riches.

The same complex sound considerably lengthened; and, therefore, distinguishable by the prosodical sign of a long vowel.

In Bengal, where the ra is often sunk in the pronunciation of compound syllables, this letter expresses both syllables of our word lily; but its
genuine sound, I believe, is īrī, a short triphthong peculiar to the Sanscrit language.

Whatever be the true pronunciation of the former symbol, this is only an elongation of it, and may, therefore, be distinguished by themetrical sign of a long vowel.

Our second long vowel, best represented, like the others, by an accent, as in Vēda, the sacred book of the Hindus, which is a derivative from the Sanscrit root vid, to know. The notation, which I recommend, will have this important advantage, that learned foreigners in Europe will in general pronounce the oriental words, expressed by it, with as much correctness and facility as our own nation.

This is a diphthong composed of our first and third vowels, and expressible, therefore, by them, as in the word Vaidya, derived from Vēda, and meaning a man of the medical cast: in Bengal it is pronounced as the Greek diphthong in poimēn, a shepherd, was probably sounded in ancient Greece. The Arabs and the English articulate this composition exactly alike, though we are
pleased to express it by a simple letter, which, on the continent of Europe, has its genuine sound. In the mouth of an Italian the constituent vowels in the words mai and miei do not perfectly coalesce, and, at the close of a verse, they are separated; but a Frenchman and a Persian would pronounce them nearly like the preceding long vowel; as in the word Mai, which at Paris means our month of the same name, and at Isfahan signifies wine: the Persian word, indeed, might with great propriety be written mei, as the diphthong seems rather to be composed of our second and third short vowels; a composition very common in Italian poetry.

3

Though a coalition of acar and ucar forms this sound in Sanscrit, as in the mystical word òm, yet it is in fact a simple articulation, and the fourth of our long vowels.

3

Here, indeed, we meet with a proper diphthong, compounded of our first and fifth vowels; and in Persia the constituent sounds are not perfectly united; as in the word Firdausì, which an Italian would pronounce exactly like a native of Isfahan. Perhaps, in Arabick words, it may be proper to represent by an accent the letters ような and ว่าม, which, preceded by the
genuine found, I believe, is īṛ, a short triphthong peculiar to the Sanscrit language.

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open vowel, form the respective diphthongs in Zohair and Jaúberi; but the omission of this accent would occasion little inconvenience.

This is no vowel, but an abbreviation, at the end of a syllable, of the nasal consonants: thus the Portuguese write Siaó for Siam with a nasal termination; and the accurate M. D'Anville expresses great unwillingness to write Siam for the country, and Siamois for the people of it, yet acknowledges his fear of innovating, ‘notwithstanding his attachment to the original and proper denominations of countries and places.’ It appears to me, that the addition of a distinct letter ga would be an improper and inconvenient mode of expressing the nasal sound, and that we cannot do better than adopt the Indian method of distinguishing it, in Sanscrit, Chinese, and Persian words, by a point above the letter; as in Siúba, a lion, Çánbi, the name of an illustrious Emperor, and Sámán, a household.

This too is an abbreviation or substitute, at the close of a syllable, for the strong aspirate, and may be distinguished in the middle of a word by a hyphen, as in dub-c’ba, pain, though it seems often to resemble the Arabian bâ, which gives only a more forcible sound to the vowel,
which precedes it, as in ḫbicmah, science. It is well known, that, when such Arabick words are used in construction, the final aspirate of the first noun has the sound of ta; but, as the letter remains unaltered, it should, I think, be preserved in our characters, and expressed either by two points above it, as in Arabick, or by an accentual mark; since if we write Zubdabulmule, or, the Flower of the Realm, with a comma to denote the suppression of the ālif, every learner will know, that the first word should be pronounced Zubdat. The bā is often omitted by us, when we write Persian in English letters, but ought invariably to be inserted, as in Shāhnamah; since the aspiration is very perceptibly founded in the true pronunciation of dergāb, rūbāh, and other similar words. The Sanscrīt character before us has the singular property of being interchangeable, by certain rules, both with ra, and fi; in the same manner as the Sylva of the Romans was formed from the Æolick word bīlva, and as arbos was used in old Latin for arbor.

 העסק

We come now to the first proper consonant of the Indian system, in which a series of letters, formed in the throat near the root of the tongue, properly takes the lead. This letter has the sound of our k and c in the words king and cannibal;
but there will be great convenience in expressing it uniformly by the second of those marks, whatever be the vowel following it. The Arabs, and perhaps all nations descended from S̱m, have a remarkable letter founded near the palate with a hard pressure, not unlike the cawing of a raven, as in the word ʿAṣīm; and for this particular sound the redundance of our own alphabet supplies us with an useful symbol: the common people in Ḥeṣāz and Egypt confound it, indeed, with the first letter of ḅār, and the Persians only add to that letter the hard palatine sound of the Arabian ʿāf; but, if we distinguish it invariably by ʿ, we shall find the utility of appropriating our ĉ to the notation of the Indian letter now before us. The third letter of the Roman alphabet was probably articulated like the καππα of the Greeks; and we may fairly suppose, that Cicero and Citbara were pronounced alike at Rome and at Athens: the Welsh apply this letter uniformly to the same sound, as in cac and cefn; and a little practice will render such words as citāb and cinnara familiar to our eyes.

We hear much of aspirated letters; but the only proper aspirates (those I mean, in which a strong breathing is distinctly heard after the consonants) are to be found in the languages of In-
dia; unless the word cachexy, which our medical writers have borrowed from the Greek, be thought an exception to the rule: this aspiration may be distinguished by a comma, as the letter before us is expressed in the word chānitra, a spade. The Arabian, Persian, and Tuscan aspirate, which is formed by a harsh protrusion of the breath, while the consonant is roughly articulated near the root of the tongue, may be written as in the word makhzen, a treasury.

Whatever vowel follow this letter, it should constantly be expressed as in the words gul, a flower, and gil, clay; and we may observe, as before, that a little use will reconcile us to this deviation from our irregular system. The Germans, whose pronunciation appears to be more consistent than our own, would scarce understand the Latin name of their own country, if an Englishman were to pronounce it, as he was taught at school.

The proper aspirate of the last letter, as in the word Raghuvansha: the Persians and Arabs pronounce their ghain with a bur in the throat, and a tremulous motion of the tongue, which gives it a sound resembling that of r, as it is pronounced in Northumberland; but it is in truth a compound
guttural, though frequently expressed by a simple letter, as in Gaza, which should be written Ghazzaah, a city of Palestine, and in gazelle, as the French naturalists call the ghazal, or antelope, of the Arabians. The Persian word Ḡlgh, a cloud, is megh'a in Sanscrit; as misb, a sheep, appears also to be derived from mešba, by that change of the long vowels, which generally distinguishes the Iranian from the Indian pronunciation.

This is the nasal palatine, which I have already proposed to denote by a point above the letter n; since the addition of a g would create confusion, and often suggest the idea of a different syllable. Thus ends the first series of Nagari letters, consisting of the bard and soft guttural, each attended by its proper aspirate, and followed by a nasal of the same class; which elegant arrangement is continued, as far as possible, through the Sanscrit system, and seems conformable to the beautiful analogy of nature.

The next is a series of compound letters, as most grammarians consider them, though some hold them to be simple sounds articulated near the palate. The first of them has no distinct sign in our own alphabet, but is expressed, as in the word China, by two letters, which are cer-
tainly not its component principles: it might, perhaps, be more properly denoted, as it is in the great work of M. D'Herbelot, by $t$/$b$; but the inconvenience of retaining our own symbol will be less than that of introducing a new combination, or inventing, after the example of Dr. Franklin, a new character. China is a Sanscrit word; and it will be convenient so to write it, though I feel an inclination to express it otherwise.

ঃ

The same composition with a strong breathing articulated after it. Harsh as it may seem, we cannot, if we continue the former symbol, avoid expressing this sound, as in the word চব্বিশ, metre.

ঊ

This too seems to have been considered by the Hindus as a simple palatine, but appears in truth to be the complex expression of $d$/$z$/$b$: perhaps the same letter may, by a small difference of articulation, partake of two different sounds. This at least we may observe, that the letter under consideration is confounded, as a simple sound, with $y$/$a$, and, as a compound, with $z$/$a$, one of its constituents: thus the $y$/$a$/$s$/$m$/$i$/$n$ of Arabia is by us called $j$/$a$/$s$/$m$/$i$/$n$, while the same man is
Giorgi at Rome and Zorzi at Venice; or (to give an example of both in a single word) yug, or junction, at Banáres, is jug in Bengal, and was pronounced zug, or, in the nominative, zugon at Athens. We should, however, invariably express the letter before us by ja.

The Arabian letters d’hald, d’ad, and d’bà are all pronounced in Persia like za, with a sort of lisp from an attempt to give them their genuine sound: they may be well expressed as in fluxionary characters, by a series of points above them, زةزةزة.

The preceding letter aspirated, as in the word ज्हास्वा, a fish.

This is the second nasal composed of the former and the letter ya. As the Italian word agnello and our onion contain a composition of n and y, they should regularly be written anyello and onyon; and the Indian sound differs only in the greater nasality of the first letter, which may be distinguished, as before, by a point. A very useful Sanskrit root, signifying to know, begins with the letter ja followed by this compound nasal, and should be written jnyâ; whence jnyâna, knowledge; but this harsh combination is in
Bengal softened into gyâ: it is expressed by a distinct character, which stands last in the plate annexed *

In the curious work entitled Tohsabul Hind, or The Present of India, this is the fourth series of Sanscrit letters; but in general it has the third rank, more agreeably, I think, to the analogy of the system. This class is pronounced with an inflexion of the tongue towards the roof of the mouth, which gives an obtuse sound to the consonant, and may be distinguished by an accent above it. The first is the Indian tâ, as in the word cotara, a rotten tree, and is commonly expressed in Persian writings by four points, but would be better marked by the Arabian tâ, which it very nearly resembles.

The same with a strong breathing after it, as in Vaicunt'ha, or unwearied, an epithet of Vishnu.

A remarkable letter, which the Muslims call the Indian dàl; and express also by four points over it; but it should, by analogy to the others, be distinguished by an accentual mark as in the word dan'da, punishment. When the

* Plate II.
tongue is inverted with a slight vibratory motion, this letter has a mixture of the ra, with which it is often, but incorrectly, confounded; as in the common word ber for bera, great. It resembles the Arabian d'ad.

The preceding letter aspirated, as in D'hacà, improperly pronounced Dacca. In the same manner may be written the Arabian d'há, but without the comma, since its aspirate is less distinctly heard than in the Indian found.

This is the nasal of the third series, and formed by a similar inversion of the tongue: in Sanscrit words it usually follows the letters ra and sba (as in Brâhména, derived from Brâhman, the Supreme Being; Vishnu, a name of his preserving power); or precedes the other letters of the third class.

Here begins the fourth series, on which we have little more to remark. The first letter of this class is the common ta, or hard dental, if it may not rather be considered as a lingual.

Its aspirate, which ought to be written with a comma, as in the word Aswatt'ha, the Indian
fig-tree, left it be confounded by our countrymen with the Arabian sound in thuraydâ, the Pleiads, which is precisely the English aspiration in think; a sound, which the Persians and French cannot easily articulate: in Persian it should be expressed by $s$ with a point above it.

The soft dental in Dévatâ, or Deity.

The same aspirated as in D'herma, justice, virtue, or piety. We must also distinguish this letter by a comma from the Arabian in dbabab, gold; a sound of difficult articulation in France and Persia, which we write thus very improperly, instead of retaining the genuine Anglo-Saxon letter, or expressing it, as we might with great convenience, $dbus$.

The simple nasal, founded by the teeth with a little assistance from the nostrils, but not so much as in many French and Persian words. Both this nasal and the former occur in the name Náráyena, or dwelling in water.

Next come the labials in the same order; and first the hard labial $pa$, formed by a strong compression of the lips; which so ill suits the
configuration of an *Arabian* mouth, that it cannot be articulated by an *Arab* without much effort.

The proper aspirate of *pa*, as in the word *shepherd*, but often pronounced like our *fa*, as in *fela*, instead of *phela*, fruit. In truth the *fa* is a distinct letter; and our *phu*, which in *English* is redundant, should be appropriated to the notation of this *Indian* labial.

The *soft* labial in *Budd’ha*, wise, and the second letter in most alphabets used by *Europeans*; which begin with a vowel, a labial, a palatine, and a lingual: it ought ever to be distinguished in *Nāgari* by a transverse bar, though the copyists often omit this useful distinction.

The *Indian* aspirate of the preceding letter, as in the word *bhāṣā*, or a spoken dialect. No comma is necessary in this notation, since the sound of *bha* cannot be confounded with any in our own language.

This is the last nasal, as in *Menu*, one of the first created beings according to the *Indians*: it
is formed by closing the lips entirely, whilst the breath passes gently through the nose; and here ends the regular arrangement of the Nāgāri letters. Another series might have been added, namely, ṣa, ṣba, xa, zha, which are in the same proportion as ta, tha, da, dha, and the rest; but the two last sounds are not used in Sanscrit.

\[\text{A}\]

Then follows a set of letters approaching to the nature of vowels: the first of them seems in truth to be no more than our third short vowel beginning a diphthong, and may, therefore, be thought a superfluous character: since this union, however, produces a kind of consonant articulated near the palate, it is ranked by many among the consonants, and often confounded with ja: hence Yamunā, a sacred river in India, called also the Daughter of the Sun, is written Jumanae by the Greeks, and Jumma, leis properly by the English.

\[\text{B}\]

The two liquids na and ma, one of which is a lingual and the other a labial, are kept apart, in order to preserve the analogy of the system; and the other two are introduced between the two semivowels: the first of these is ra, as in Ra'ma, the conqueror of Silan.
The second is la, in Laina, another name of that island both in Tibet, and in India. A defect in the organs of the common Bengalese often causes a confusion between these two liquids, and even the sound of na is frequently substituted for the letter before us.

When this character corresponds, as it sometimes does in Sanscrit, with our wa, it is in fact our fifth short vowel preceding another in forming a diphthong, and might easily be spared in our system of letters; but, when it has the sound of va, it is a labial formed by striking the lower lip against the upper teeth, and might thus be arranged in a series of proportionals, pa, fa, ba, va. It cannot easily be pronounced in this manner by the inhabitants of Bengal and some other provinces, who confound it with ba, from which it ought carefully to be distinguished; since we cannot conceive, that in so perfect a system as the Sanscrit, there could ever have been two symbols for the same sound. In fact the Montes Parvett of our ancient Geographers were so named from Parweta, not Parbeta, a mountain. The waw of the Arabs is always a vowel, either separate or coalescing with another in the form of a diphthong; but in Persian
words it is a consonant, and pronounced like our *va*, though with rather less force.

Then follow three *sibilants*, the first of which is often, very inaccurately, confounded with the second, and even with the third: it belongs to that class of consonants, which, in the notation here proposed, are expressed by acute accents above them to denote an inversion of the tongue towards the palate, whence this letter is called in *India* the *palatine* *s*ā. It occurs in a great number of words, and should be written as in *palāsā*, the name of a sacred tree with a very brilliant flower. In the same manner may be noted the *sād* of the *Arabs* and *Hebrews*, which last it resembles in shape, and probably resembled in sound; except that in *Cas'mur* and the provinces bordering on *Persia* it is hardly distinguishable from the following letter.

The *second* is improperly written *ṣba* in our *English* system, and *cba*, still more erroneously, in that of the *French*; but the form generally known may be retained, to avoid the inconvenience of too great a change even from wrong to right. This letter, of which *ṣa* and *ba* are not the component parts, is formed so far back in the head, that the *Indians* call it a cere-
bral: either it was not articulated by the Greeks, or they chose to express it by their Xi; since of the Persian word Ardasbîr they have formed Artaxerxes.

The dental sa, which resembles the Hebrew letter of the same sound, and, like that, is often mistaken by ignorant copyists for the ma.

The strong breathing ba, but rather misplaced in the Nâgârî system; since it is the second element of articulate sounds: the very hard breathing of the Arabs may be well expressed by doubling the mark of aspiration, as in Mubhammed, or by an accent above it in the manner of the long vowels, as in Ahmed.

The Indian system of letters closes with a compound of ca and ñba, as in the word paricñba, ordeal: it is analogous to our x, a superfluous character, of no use, that I know of, except in algebra. The Bengalese give it the sound of cya, or of our k in such words as kind and sky; but we may conclude, that the other pronunciation is very ancient, since the old Persians appear to have borrowed their word Raçhab from the Raçba, or demon of the Hindus, which is written with the letter before us. The Greeks
rendered this letter by their Kbi, changing Dac- 
shin, or the south, into Dakbin.

All the sounds used in Sanscrit, Arabick, Per-
"sian, and Hindi, are arranged systematically in
the table prefixed to this dissertation *; and the
ingular letter of the Arabs, which they call áin,
is placed immediately before the consonants. It
might have been classed, as the modern Jews
pronounce it, among the strong nasals of the
Indians; but, in Arabia and Persia, it has a
very different sound, of which no verbal de-
scription can give an idea, and may not improp-
perly be called a nasal vowel: it is uniformly
distinguished by a circumflex either above a short
vowel or over the letter preceding a long one,
as ılm, learning, ıdlim, learned.

Agreeably to the preceding analysis of letters,
if I were to adopt a new mode of English ortho-
graphy, I should write Addison's description of
the angel in the following manner, distingui-
shing the simple breathing, or first element, which
we cannot invariably omit, by a perpendicular
line above our first or second vowel:

Só hwen sôm énjel, bai divain cámmànd,
Widh raíní tempefts thécs a gílti land,
Sch az üb lèt ór pèl Britanya páft,
Cálm and siríñ hi draivz dhi syúryas bláft,
And, púz'd dh'álmaítiz árderz tù perfoérn,
Raids in dhi lwërllwind and daíreàts dhi ślàrm.

* Plate I.
This mode of writing poecy would be the touchstone of bad rhymes, which the eye as well as the ear would instantly detect; as in the first couplet of this description, and even in the last, according to the common pronunciation of the word perform. I close this paper with specimens of oriental writing, not as fixed standards of orthography, which no individual has a right to settle, but as examples of the method, which I recommend; and, in order to relieve the dryness of the subject, I annex translations of all but the first specimen, which I reserve for another occasion.

I.

_Four Dístichs from the Sríbha'gawat.*_

**Mr. Wilkins's Orthography.**

abhāmēvāśāmevāgrē nānyādyūt śādāśat pūrām
pāschrādahām yādētāchchā yōvēśētīyētā sōśmyēhām

rētētīhām yēt prūtēyētā nā prūtēyētā chāṁānēc
tādvēdyād ātmūo māvām vēthā bhāso yēthā tāmūh

yēthā mīḥēntīc bhōōtānēc bhōōtēbhōōc chchāvāchēshhwānōō
prāvēśētānēc prāvēśētānēc tāthā tēshōō nātēshhwāhām

etāvēdēvā jēējnasīyām tāttwā jēējnāsōōnātāmnāh
ānūyā vēutēcēkābhāyām yēt syāt sārvātrā sārvādā.

*See Plate IV. The Letters are in Plate II.*
श्रीभगवबुज्जन

अत्मवासमेवा नान्दवत्त मद्यसद परस्पर
पश्चाद्डाह्व अदेरत्त्व वावशिष्यत सोम्भहम्
अन्तर्द्वस्त्यतन प्रतियोक्त न प्रतियेत्वचाल्मि
तदिव्यादागमो भायः यश्च भासो यश्चात्मः
यथा महानं ग्रीतानि भृत्तप्रकाशवेषजः
प्रविधान्यप्रविधानि नाभानी नतेन तेधां
रतावदेव जिज्ञासेः तस्म जिज्ञासुमानः
अन्यय व्यतिरेकायम्या यत्स्पष्ट सर्वत्रसर्वस्वस्मा
This wonderful passage I should express in the following manner:

aham eva sam eva gré námyadyat fadaśat param
pas' chádaham yadétauchcha yóvas'iśhyétat fómyaham
riétér'ham yat pratiyéta na pratiyéta chátmani
tadvidyádatmanó máyám yat'há bhásó yat'há tamah
yat'há mahánti bhútáni bhútéshúchchávachéshwanu
pravisch'tánypapravisch táni tat'há tésfu na téshwaham
éávadéva jijnyáfryam tattwa jijnyáfunámanah
anwaya vyatiréécábhýam yat fyát servatra servadá.

II.

Mó'ha Mudgara.

The title of this fine piece properly signifies The Mallet of Delusion or Folly, but may be translated A Remedy for Distraction of Mind: it is composed in regular anapástick verses according to the strictest rules of Greek prosody, but in rhymed couplets, two of which here form a slóca.

मुष्टश्लीहिश्लाग्म्यमेका° दाससुध्वितिमलं सूर्वित्तका° ।
वल्लभानालिकम्योपातक° वित्त° तन्भिलोद्यतिितक° ॥

कांतरकासारेिप्रुः स° सांर्यमतीिविक्षिि ।
कस्कुक° दासमयायाणक° चिम्यवादित° भांजक° ॥
মাদবর্ণজলমোক্ষগর্ভঃ হরতিলিমেন্তাত্ত্বাকালঃ সার্বঃ ।
মায়ামমমিদমহিলঃ হিন্দুরূপবাদঃ পুরাণাশুশ্রুতি। ॥
গলিন্ধলভত্তলভবন অক্ষীসমস্তশিক্ষন। ॥
হরাংহসনুস গন্ধেবাচাত্বতত্ত্ববর্তব্রগুলেীক। ॥
হাবস্তন ভাবনব ভাবননিতীঞ্চক্ষুরন। ॥
ইতি সারেসুংত্বেতাদোহঃ কথামহামানবত্তৰ্ব্বেীক। ॥
দিনায়নোনালো প্রাতঃ শিশুবসনেীলব্যালামাতঃ ॥
কলঃ কৃষ্ণিতাঙ্গমুর্গুলিমৃক্ষবাপামূ। ॥
অঙ্গু গলিত পালিত মৃতঃ দর্শিনী জাতো ব্যক্ত। ॥
কর্মীতত্তবদেশোতিপদা তালিমৃক্ষবাপামূ। ॥
সুবর্মনিদর্শক্তলবাদ শাস্তিরক্ষমধিরিতি বাসঃ ॥
সর্বপন্ত্রভোগোযোগঃ কন্তুস্মুৎ নরমুটিরবিবাণ। ॥
শাংবৃহেতেহরোমাস্তামর্ত্যবর পরিহার্ষাস্মো ॥
তথামূচ্ছান সত্ত্ব তথাপি রাষ্ট্রচতুর্দ্বিফলেীক। ॥
mūḍ'ha jahīhi dhanágamattrīśhnām
curu tenubuddhimanah suvitrīśhnām
yallabhase njacarmopāttam
vittam tēna vinōdaya chittam.
cā tava cāntā caṅtē putrah
fanścārōyam atīvavichittraḥ
casya twam vā cuta āyāta
stattwam chintaya tadidam bhrātah.
mā curu dhanajanayauvanagarvam
harati nimēśhāt calah sarvam
māyāmayamidamac'hilam hitwā
brehmapadam previsā'su viditwā.
nalinídalagatajalavattaralam
tadvajjívánamatiš'aya chapalam
ešhenamiha sájjana sángatirécà
bhawati bhawárnavatarané naucá.
angam galitam palitam mund'ám
dantavihin'ám játam tund'ám
caradhritacampitas'óbhitadand'ám
tadapi namunchatyás'a bhánd'ám.
yávajjananam távanmarań'ám
távajjananì jat'harè sáyanam
iti sanfáre sp'hu'tatara dóśhah
cat'hamiha mánava tava sanóśhah.
dinayáminyau fáyam prátah
sís iravalantau punaráyátah
cálah críd ati gach'hatyáyu
štadapi na munchatyás'áváyuh.
suravaramandiratarutalaváśah
s'áyyà bhútalamajinam váśah
servaparigrahabhógatyágah
casya suc'ham na caróti virágah.
s'atrau mitrè putrè bandhau
mà curu yatnam vigráhasandhau
bhava samachittah servatra twam
váneh'hasyachirád yadi vishnuto'h
ástaculáchalalaseptasamúdrá
brehmapurándaradaradinacararudráh
natwam náham náyam lóca
štadapi cimart'ham criyatè s'ócah.
twayi mayi chányatraicò vishnur
vyart’ham cupyasi mayyasahishnuh
sérvam pas’yátmanyátmanam
sérvatrótsrija bhédajnýánam.
válástávat crid’ás’aGa
stárúnaśtávat tarúhracàtah
vriiddhastávach chintámagnah
peremé brahmañ’i cópi nalagnah.
dwádas’a pajj’hat’icábhiras’és’hah
sídhýánam ca’hítóbhyupadés’ah
yéshám naísha caróti vivécam
téshám cah curútámatirécam.

A verbal Translation.

1. Restrain, deluded mortal, thy thirst of acquiring wealth; excite an aversion from it in thy body, understanding, and inclination: with the riches, which thou acquirest by thy own actions, with these gratify thy soul.

2. Who is thy wife; who thy son; how extremely wonderful is even this world; whose creature thou also art; whence thou camest—meditate on this, O brother, and again on this.

3. Make no boast of opulence, attendants, youth; all these time snatches away in the twinkling of an eye: checking all this illusion like Mayà, set thy heart on the foot of Brahma, speedily gaining knowledge of him.
4. As a drop of water moves tremulous on the lotos-leaf, thus is human life inexpressibly slippery: the company of the virtuous endures here but for a moment; that is our ship in passing the ocean of the world.

5. The body is tottering; the head, grey; the mouth, toothless: the delicate staff trembles in the hand, which holds it: still the flaggon of covetousness remains unemptied.

6. How soon are we born! how soon dead! how long lying in the mother's womb! How great is the prevalence of vice in this world! Wherefore, O man, haft thou complacency here below?

7. Day and night, evening and morning, winter and spring depart and return: time sports, life passes on; yet the wind of expectation continues unrestrained.

8. To dwell under the mansion of the high Gods at the foot of a tree, to have the ground for a couch, and a hide for vesture; to renounce all extrinsic enjoyments,—whom doth not such devotion fill with delight?

9. Place not thy affections too strongly on foe or friend, on a son or a kinsman, in war or in peace: be thou even-minded towards all, if thou desirest speedily to attain the nature of Vishnu.
لا يمكنني قراءة النص العربي المكتوب بالخط العربي في الصورة المقدمة.
10. Eight original mountains, and seven seas, Brahme, Indra, the Sun, and Rudra, these are permanent: not thou, not I, not this or that people; wherefore then should anxiety be raised in our minds?

11. In thee, in me, in every other being is Vishnu; foolishly art thou offended with me, not bearing my approach: see every soul in thy own soul; in all places lay aside a notion of diversity.

12. The boy so long delights in his play; the youth so long pursues his damsel; the old man so long broods over uneasiness; that no one meditates on the Supreme Being.

13. This is the instruction of learners delivered in twelve distinct stanzas: what more can be done with such, as this work fills not with devotion?

III.

The following elegy, which is chosen as a specimen of Arabick *, was composed by a learned Philosopher and Scholar, Mr. Muhammad Husain, before his journey to Haidarabad with Richard Johnson, Esq.

má ānfa lá ānfa állati
jāat ilayya álät badbar

* Plate V. and Plate III.
דָּלְנָיוּמִו דָּתְבָּכָלָה יָסְנָנָבָּא וָדַןָּקָלְבּוּ תָּאָרְא בּיִיָּ דַּלְבָּוּר רָסְאָדָא דָּסָעְוּדָא קָאִינָנָבָּא פָּטָאקְבָּלְלָשָאָאָט מִנָּבָּא דָּלְגָּבָּאָר נָזָאָאָט קְבָּלְאָקְבָּילְלָאְנֵי לֵבָּא דָּלְלָא תָּבָּאִיְבָא בּיָסְבּאר תָּסְבְּכָא דָּלְטָ אֶרֹקָא לְדַבּּזְעָלְמָאְבּין פָּקָאָדָא בּיִיָּ נָגָיָּמָא דָּלְזָעָבְבּאר ןְיָלָלְאָבּיֵינ קָדָ כָּבָּבָּלְאָט בּיָסְבָּאָדָיְבּא הַיָּסְנָה דָּלְקָאָמָא וָאָ תֶרֶאַיְלְגָּבָּאְמָאְא הַזָּאִיְמּוּא הַלָּאָיָא יָסְבּאר תּבָּכְיֵי יָיַיֵּנוּנ הַלְּשְּנָאֶיְיַ הַלָּאָיְיַ הַדָּאָבָאִיְקְבּאָדָיְאָדָיְבּאָלְזָעָבְבּאר וָאָאָלְבָּרָקְו יָהָבֵּסְיַמְיֵעְיַיְבּוּ תָּבָּכְרַעְבּוּ הַיָּזָאֶבּוּנ הֵיָבָּאְטָיְלְגָּבָּיֵי הַגְּבָּיְיַוִּי וָאָאָלְבָּרָדָאָדָיְיַ לְדָאָּקְבּאָר הָדָּאָּסְמָאָקָבּאְיַ פְּיָ סְעְמִיַי דָּלְבָּ'אָיַּר פּוּבּאָטְבָּאְבּוּ תָּוָאָאָנְיֵיַעְיַקְו וָאָקָאָדְבָּדְבָּא דָּזּוּדָבְבּ הָדָּבְבָּדָרָאְט יָנְאָאְיַקְיַ מִיָּ קָבָּסוּר וָאָ לָדְדְלָמָאְיַ בְּלָאָ קְבּוּדְדָעְדָא וָאָפָּסְעָאְיַ הַיָּיַיְדָאֶיַנְי לִלָּעְדָוּבּ בּאָ ר וָאָתוּנָאָאְסְאָט יָדְבּּ הֶכָּלָאָמָא וָרָאָמָאְאָחַוִּפָּדְבּוּר דְּבָלָלָט תָּוָאָאָטְבּוּנְיַ הַלָּאָיְיַ הָנָּ יָעְדָוּ לִי דָּזָמָו מעַיְיַ זָפָּאָאְר קָעָלָא דָּדְבָּבְתָּא הַזָּוָדְוָדְוּגָנְדָא וָאָדְבָּבְקְ תאָ בּוּרָרְגְי זָפָּאָאְר
taasí áwàmera lilbawai
watutiiu nás'ib'aca álghudar
watedúru min árd'in' ilal
árd'in' wamá terd'ai álmekarr
yaumán tesiru bica álbibbáru
watárab'an' turmai bibarr
má dbá áfsádaca jaúlabon
baula álbiládi si'wai áld'ajar
aalifa ád'bbáa álfelá
wonesita árama álbaásher
ám kad meelta jiwaruná
yá wáib'á kbillin kad nafar
fárubem álai kalbi álladbi
ráma álfsuluwwa wamá kadar.

The Translation.

1. Never, oh! never shall I forget the fair one, who came to my tent with timid circum-
spection:

2. Sleep fat heavy on her eye-lids, and her
heart fluttered with fear.

3. She had marked the dragons of her tribe
(the sentinels), and had dismissed all dread of
danger from them:

4. She had laid aside the rings, which used
to grace her ankles; left the sound of them should
expose her to calamity:
5. She deplored the darkness of the way, which hid from her the morning-star.

6. It was a night, when the eye-lashes of the moon were tinged with the black powder (Alcobol) of the gloom:

7. A night, in which thou mightest have seen the clouds, like camels, eagerly grazing on the stars;

8. While the eyes of heaven wept on the bright borders of the sky;

9. The lightning displayed his shining teeth, with wonder at this change in the firmament;

10. And the thunder almost burst the ears of the deafened rocks.

11. She was desirous of embracing me, but, through modesty, declined my embrace.

12. Tears bedewed her cheeks, and, to my eyes, watered a bower of roses.

13. When she spake, her panting sighs blew flames into my heart.

14. She continued expostulating with me on my excessive desire of travel.

15. 'Thou hast melted my heart, she said, 'and made it feel inexpressible anguish.

16. 'Thou art perverse in thy conduct to her 'who loves thee, and obsequious to thy guileful 'adviser.
17. 'Thou goest round from country to country, and art never pleased with a fixed residence.

18. 'One while the seas roll with thee; and another while, thou art agitated on the shore.

19. 'What fruit, but painful fatigue, can arise from rambling over foreign regions?

20. 'Hast thou associated thyself with the wild antelopes of the desert, and forgotten the tame deer?

21. 'Art thou weary then of our neighbourhood? O wo to him, who flees from his beloved!

22. 'Have pity at length on my afflicted heart, which seeks relief, and cannot obtain it.'

Each couplet of the original consists of two Dimeter Iambicks, and must be read in the proper cadence.

IV.

As a specimen of the old Persian language and character, I subjoin a very curious passage from the Zend, which was communicated to me by Bahman the son of Bahram, a native of Tezd, and, as his name indicates, a Parsi: he wrote the passage from memory; since his books in Pahlavi and Deri are not
yet brought tc Bengal. It is a supposed an-
swer of I'zad or God to Zera'htusht,
who had asked by what means mankind could
attain happiness.

Az pid u mad che ce pid u mad ne khojhnid
bid bargiz bibisht ne viniid; be jayi cirmab bizab
viniid: meban ra be azarm nic darid, ceban ra be
bich gunab mayazarid: aj khisbavendi dervish
nang medarid: dad u vendad i khali ki yecta heb
car darid; az rislaabizi ten pasin endishb heb
mayaed; madad ca asbii ten khish ra duzakhi cu-
nid, va anche be khishben naflabad be casiin ma-
pasendid va ma cunid: berche be giti cunid be
mainu az aueb vazirab ayed*

A Verbal Translation.

"If you do that with which your father and
mother are not pleased, you shall never see
heaven; instead of good spirits, you shall see evil
beings: behave with honesty and with respect
to the great; and on no account injure the
mean: hold not your poor relations a reproach
to you: imitate the justice and goodness of the
Only Creator: meditate on the resurrection
of the future body; left you make your souls and
bodies the inhabitants of hell; and whatever

* Plate VII. The Zend Letters are in Plate III.
would be unpleasing to yourselves, think not that pleasing to others, and do it not: whatever good you do on earth, for that you shall receive a retribution in heaven."

It will, perhaps, be suspected (and the language itself may confirm the suspicion), that this doctrine has been taken from a religion very different both in age and authority, from that of Zera'h-tusht.

V.

The following story in modern Persian was given to me by Mirza Abdu'lrahhim of Isfahan: it seems extracted from one of the many poems on the loves of Mejmun and Laili, the Romeo and Juliet of the East. Each verse consists of a Cretick foot followed by two Choriambi, or a Choriambus and a Molossus.

 Sergei est Sreem Tal' am
Abgar kah Margilaiy Banau
Nal Rusaar khamon Mignon
Yafit Jorn Rah Khazheen Eshchi
Astan Sadaer Xami, Eshchi
Boroosh, Bashqen, Keshet Band
دربزیر طرفی گویانَست
نقل ازنقل صحاس با شیر
تمام می‌کنید و درون چشمان
برگل را آمیخت چیده
سیاهی نیز فراش بی‌ماق
دهی به طغی نورد سوز فرانق
یافته چون قصر آن رودسکال
کرد فرانک بغلانی در طال
شراب نمی‌شود روان نابزن زمین مرمر
پرمر زرد بسیار دلمه
لبی آن باز مک تجال
رفت و آورد رنگ در خال
کردهم شوبسوی دمی‌زد
پیام‌که مر سر در من
جامب زینت انیب جنون
آن بطرف سوز غم انداختم یا
زیور آوربرم آن سونزنگ را
رفت و مرکش مکت خاله
OF ASIATICK WORDS.

کسر اورا چونظر مرد ابیر
دید زاری بفم عشق اسپر
بیرش مخصوص نجنن کراوشن
زن میران بتنش بیراپن
موکی پیر بیرون کشتاربا
موزه از آباده پایر با
ضر ارزیک بیابان بر موس
مازنگار زیالن بورهور
کفته کهی کم شدگه دادگنیم
شج خواست کمی تختی دختم
لی آرم بپر خطر خواه
کفته نیا لب بعید است بعید
کفته خواست کهی راست بکو
کفته آن صغریر رضاسفرد
است برگوی بجان لیلی
یلغاداری کبکش ملی
کفته کا قره اوایل بهر
هرمل درر زلیا کافی است
هرخور سندی این جزوحیت
بیس لود بر توبی از پدر
کفته کریدی دستی دشت روان
وبدکریان وده اسکاته تشان
Shirmafti feri pīstāni dālem
Perveṛesb yaftebi dāmeni gbem
ābi rang o rokbi lailāyi jonūn
kbāli rokbsārebi bāmūn Mejnūn
yaf chūn rāb bi cāsbānebi ḫbk
āsitān ḫbūd bideri kbānebi ḫbk
ber feresb ḫbakbs'i jonūn sāyab sincand
kiss'ebi āāsbik āāb gāsbt boland
der ārab ber t'araftī gbaumgā ḫbud
nakli u nokli mejālis-bā ḫbud
būd āmrī biārab vālā ḫbān
sābībi mīcnat o farvät * biyebān
torc tāzi gbēmi bejrān didah
pur gulī dāgbī mob'abbat chidah
didah der t'īsliyī kbūd sūzi fērāk
talkhiyī zābī fērākesb bimezāk
yaf chūn kiss'ebi ān derd fīgāl
card fermān bīghulāmī der b'āl
cēb sūyī dajd kadam sāz zi fēr
fba u bēt tājīl ravān chūn sers'er
ān cēb dil bordab zi Mejnūn bi nīgāb
bēt berem zdūd biyāfer bemrāb
raft o āvard gbulāmac der b'āl
Lailī ān pādīsfābi mulci jemāl

* The reader will supply the point over s, when it stands for th.
beb gbúlám digaresb šbud ēr ūn ceb tō hem šbau bi sūyi daṣht rāvān jānibī zīnati ārbābi jonūn šbemi pur nūri mob'abbat Mejnūn xūd āver berem ān sūkhtab rā ān jīgarsūzi ghem āndūkhtab rā raft ō bergaṣht gbúlāmac cbū nīgāb vàliyī cībhāri ṣibkešb hemrāb card ūrā cbū nāzār mārdī āmīr dīd zārī bi ghemi ṣibk āsīr ber šeresb šadkūši jonūn cardāb vātēn zākbāmī bejrān bī tenešb pīrāben múyī fēr bī rēdenēš gāṣhtāb kōbā múṣab āz ʿābilābī pā bēr pā šbānāb āz kḥārī muğbilān bīr muṣb kḥīrkāb āz rīgī biyābān bīr dūṣb goft cāt gomšūdābī vàliyī ghem bich kbowābī cēb tememmāt dēbēm fērsfēzāt cūnām āz mīcīnāt ō jāb Lailī ārēm bīberēt kḥātēr kbowāb goft nī nī cēb bātīdēf bātīd zērreh rā hem nāzarī bā khorshīd goft kbowābī cēb cōnī rāfīt bigū fārī ān sāfībī rōkhsārī nīcū yā nēdārī bījemālēsī mālī rāfīt bērgūyī bī jānī Lailī
The Translation.

1. The man, who had inebriated himself with milk from the nipple of Anguish, who had been nourished in the lap of Affliction,

2. Mejinun, mad with the bright hue and fair face of Laili, himself a dark mole on the cheek of the desert,

3. Having found the way to the mansion of love, became fixed like the threshold on the door of love’s palace.

4. Over his head the form of Madness had cast her shadow: the tale of his passion was loudly celebrated.

5. Among the Arabs a tumult arose on all sides: the relation of his adventures was a desseert in their assemblies.

6. A powerful Prince reigned in Arabia, pos-
7. He had seen the depredations of Grief through absence from a beloved object: he had plucked many a black-spotted flower from the garden of love.

8. Even in his infancy he had felt the pain of separation: the bitter taste of that poison remained on his palate.

9. When he learned the story of that afflicted lover, he instantly gave an order to a slave,

10. Saying, 'Make thy head like thy feet in running towards Najd; go with celerity, like a violent wind:

11. 'Bring speedily with thee to my presence. Her, who has stolen the heart of Mejnu'n with a glance.'

12. The stripling ran, and in a short time brought Laili, that Empress in the dominion of beauty.

13. To another slave the Prince gave this order: 'Run thou also into the desert,

14. 'Go to that ornament of frantic lovers, Mejnu'n, the illumined taper of love.

15. 'Bring quickly before me that inflamed youth, that heart-consumed anguish-pierced lover.'

16. The boy went, and returned, in the twinkling of an eye, accompanied by the ruler in the territories of love.
17. When the Prince looked at him, he beheld a wretch in bondage to the misery of desire.

18. Madness had fixed her abode on this head: he was clothed, as with a vest, with the wounds of separation.

19. His locks flowed, like a mantle, over his body: his only sandal was the callus of his feet.

20. In his hair stuck a comb of Arabian thorns: a robe of sand from the desert covered his back.

21. 'O thou, said the Prince, who hast been lost in the valley of sorrow; dost thou not wish me to give thee the object of thy passion,

22. 'To exalt thee with dignity and power, to bring Lailì before thee gratifying thy soul?'

23. 'No, no; answered he, far, far is it from my wish, that an atom should be seen together with the sun.'

24. 'Speak truly, replied the Prince, art thou not willing to recreate thyself on the smooth plain of that beautiful cheek?

25. 'Or hast thou no inclination to enjoy her charms? I adjure thee, by the soul of Lailì, to declare the truth!'

26. He rejoined: 'O chief of men with generous hearts, a particle of dust from thy gate is a diadem on my head.'
27. 'The pain of my love for Laila is sufficient for my heart: a wish to enjoy her presence thus would be injustice.

28. 'To gratify this contemptible soul of mine, a single ray from that bright luminary would be enough.'

29. He spake, and ran towards the desert, his eye weeping, and his eye-lashes raining tears.

These couplets would fully answer the purpose of shewing the method, in which Persian may be written according to the original characters, with some regard also to the Isfahani pronunciation; but, since a very ingenious artist, named Mohammed Ghau'th, has engraved a tetraetich on copper, as a specimen of his art, and since no moveable types can equal the beauty of Persian writing, I annex his plate*, and add the four lines, which he has selected, in English letters: they are too easy to require a translation, and too insignificant to deserve it.

_Huwa'l aziz_
_Caššmi terab'bum zi tó dárim mà_  
_kéblab tóyì rù beceb ārim mà_  
_bájati mà áz tó ber āyed temmàm_  
_dámenat áz caš naguzárim mà._

* Plate VI.
ON THE ORTHOGRAPHY

VI.

The first specimen of Hindi, that occurs to me, is a little Ghazal or love-song, in a Choriam-bick measure, written by Gunnā' Beigum, the wife of Gha'ziul'dīn Khān, a man of consummate abilities and consummate wickedness, who has borne an active part in the modern transactions of Upper Hindūsīn.
Muddaître bemsë jokhan sëx bi sâliši bâî
ab tamennû cî yebân nuzbedei mâyûsî bâî
âb ab cafrati daghi gbëmi këbûbân së temâm
s'âsbâi sinah mërâ jilwâi t'âûsî bâî
bâî mérë tara'b jîgar knûni térâ muddatë
âl b'innà ciscë tujbê këbûbâbëi pûbûsî bâî
âwâizi derd mezë së wâb bberê bai'n sû rè
jis lebi zakham nê shemshëri térè chûsî bâî
thomâti jsbk âbas cartè bai'n mujbper Minnat
bâî yeb jsch milnë cî këbûbân së tû tuc këbûsî bâî.

The Translation.

1. My beloved foe speaks of me with diffi-
mulation; and now the tidings of despair are
brought hither to the desire of my soul.

2. Alas, that the smooth surface of my bosom,
through the marks of burning in the sad ab-
fence of lovely youths, is become like the plum-
age of a peacock.
3. Like me, O Hinnna (the fragrant and elegant shrub, with the leaves of which the nails of Arabian women are dyed crimson), thy heart has long been full of blood; whose foot art thou desirous of kissing?

4. Instead of pain, my beloved, every wound from thy cimeter sucks with its lips the sweetness, with which it is filled.

5. The suspicion of love is vainly cast on Minnat—Yes; true it is, that my nature rather leads me to the company of beautiful youths.

Thus have I explained, by observations and examples, my method of noting in Roman letters the principal languages of Asia; nor can I doubt, that Armenian, Turkish, and the various dialects of Tartary, may be expressed in the same manner with equal advantage; but, as Chinese words are not written in alphabetical characters, it is obvious, that they must be noted according to the best pronunciation used in China; which has, I imagine, few sounds incapable of being rendered by the symbols used in this essay.
ON

THE GODS OF GREECE, ITALY, AND INDIA,

WRITTEN IN 1784, AND SINCE REVISED.

BY

THE PRESIDENT.

We cannot justly conclude, by arguments preceding the proof of facts, that one idolatrous people must have borrowed their deities, rites, and tenets from another; since Gods of all shapes and dimensions may be framed by the boundless powers of imagination, or by the frauds and follies of men, in countries never connected; but, when features of resemblance, too strong to have been accidental, are observable in different systems of polytheism, without fancy or prejudice to colour them and improve the likeness, we can scarce help believing, that some connection has immemorially subsisted between the several nations, who have adopted them: it is my design in this essay, to point out such a resemblance between the popular worship of the old Greeks and Italians and that of the Hindus; nor can there be room to doubt of a great simi-
larity between their strange religions and that of Egypt, China, Persia, Phrygia, Phœnice, Syria; to which, perhaps, we may safely add some of the southern kingdoms and even islands of America; while the Gothick system, which prevailed in the northern regions of Europe, was not merely similar to those of Greece and Italy, but almost the same in another dress with an embroidery of images apparently Asiatick. From all this, if it be satisfactorily proved, we may infer a general union or affinity between the most distinguished inhabitants of the primitive world, at the time when they deviated, as they did too early deviate, from the rational adoration of the only true God.

There seem to have been four principal sources of all mythology. I Historical, or natural, truth has been perverted into fable by ignorance, imagination, flattery, or stupidity; as a king of Crete, whose tomb had been discovered in that island, was conceived to have been the God of Olympus, and Minos, a legislator of that country, to have been his son, and to hold a supreme appellate jurisdiction over departed souls; hence too probably flowed the tale of Cadmus, as Bochart learnedly traces it; hence beacons or volcanos became one-eyed giants and monsters vomiting flames; and two rocks, from their appearance to mariners in certain positions, were
supposed to crush all vessels attempting to pass between them; of which idle fictions many other instances might be collected from the *Odyssey* and the various *Argonautick* poems. The less we say of *Julian* stars, deifications of princes or warriors, altars raised, with those of *Apollo*, to the basest of men, and divine titles bestowed on such wretches as *Cajus Octavianus*, the less we shall expose the infamy of grave senators and fine poets, or the brutal folly of the low multitude: but we may be assured, that the mad apotheosis of truly great men, or of little men falsely called great, has been the origin of gross idolatrous errors in every part of the pagan world. II. The next source of them appears to have been a wild admiration of the heavenly bodies, and, after a time, the systems and calculations of Astronomers: hence came a considerable portion of *Egyptian* and *Grecian* fable; the *Sabian* worship in *Arabia*; the *Persian* types and emblems of *Mibr* or the sun, and the far extended adoration of the elements and the powers of nature; and hence perhaps, all the artificial Chronology of the *Chinese* and *Indians*, with the invention of demigods and heroes to fill the vacant niches in their extravagant and imaginary periods. III. Numberless divinities have been created solely by the magick of poetry; whose essential business it is, to personify
the most abstract notions, and to place a nymph or a genius in every grove and almost in every flower: hence Hygieia and Iaso, health and remedy, are the poetical daughters of Æsculapius, who was either a distinguished physician, or medical skill personified; and hence Chloris, or verdure, is married to the Zephyr. IV. The metaphors and allegories of moralists and metaphysicians have been also very fertile in Deities; of which a thousand examples might be adduced from Plato, Cicero, and the inventive commentators on Homer in their pedigrees of the Gods, and their fabulous lessons of morality: the richest and noblest stream from this abundant fountain is the charming philosophical tale of Psyche, or the Progress of the Soul; than which, to my taste, a more beautiful, sublime, and well supported allegory was never produced by the wisdom and ingenuity of man. Hence also the Indian Maya, or, as the word is explained by some Hindu scholars, "the first inclination of the Godhead to diversify himself (such is their phrase) by creating worlds," is feigned to be the mother of universal nature, and of all the inferior Gods; as a Cashmirian informed me, when I asked him, why Cama, or Love, was represented as her son; but the word Maya, or delusion, has a more subtile and recondite sense in the Védata philosophy,
where it signifies the system of perceptions, whether of secondary or of primary qualities, which the Deity was believed by Epicharmus, Plato, and many truly pious men, to raise by his omnipresent spirit in the minds of his creatures, but which had not, in their opinion, any existence independent of mind.

In drawing a parallel between the Gods of the Indian and European heathens, from whatever source they were derived, I shall remember, that nothing is less favourable to enquiries after truth than a systematical spirit, and shall call to mind the saying of a Hindu writer, "that whoever obstinately adheres to any set of opinions, may bring himself to believe that the freshest sandal wood is a flame of fire:" this will effectually prevent me from insisting, that such a God of India was the Jupiter of Greece; such, the Apollo; such, the Mercury: in fact, since all the causes of polytheism contributed largely to the assemblage of Grecian divinities (though Bacon reduces them all to refined allegories, and Newton to a poetical disguise of true history), we find many Joves, many Apollos, many Mercuries, with distinct attributes and capacities; nor shall I presume to suggest more, than that, in one capacity or another, there exists a striking similitude between the chief objects of worship in ancient Greece or Italy and in the
very interesting country, which we now inhabit.

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

Disquisitions concerning the manners and conduct of our species in early times, or indeed at any time, are always curious at least and amusing; but they are highly interesting to such, as can say of themselves with Chremes in the play, "We are men, and take an interest in all that relates to mankind." They may even be of solid importance in an age, when some intelligent and virtuous persons are inclined to doubt the authenticity of the accounts, delivered by Moses, concerning the primitive world;
since no modes or sources of reasoning can be unimportant, which have a tendency to remove such doubts. Either the first eleven chapters of Genesis, all due allowances being made for a figurative Eastern style, are true, or the whole fabric of our national religion is false; a conclusion, which none of us, I trust, would wish to be drawn. I, who cannot help believing the divinity of the Messiah, from the undisputed antiquity and manifest completion of many prophecies, especially those of Isaiah, in the only person recorded by history, to whom they are applicable, am obliged of course to believe the sanctity of the venerable books, to which that sacred person refers as genuine; but it is not the truth of our national religion, as such, that I have at heart: it is truth itself; and, if any cool unbiased reasoner will clearly convince me, that Moses drew his narrative through Egyptian conduits from the primeval fountains of Indian literature, I shall esteem him as a friend for having weeded my mind from a capital error, and promise to stand among the foremost in assisting to circulate the truth, which he has ascertained. After such a declaration, I cannot but persuade myself, that no candid man will be displeased, if, in the course of my work, I make as free with any arguments, that he may have advanced, as I should really desire
him to do with any of mine, that he may be disposed to controvert. Having no system of my own to maintain, I shall not pursue a very regular method, but shall take all the Gods, of whom I discourse, as they happen to present themselves; beginning, however, like the Romans and the Hindus, with Janu or Ganesa.

The titles and attributes of this old Italian deity are fully compriz'd in two choriambick verses of Sulpitius; and a farther account of him from Ovid would here be superfluous:

_Jane pater, Jane tuens, dive biceps, biforinis,
O cate rerum sator, O principium deorum!_

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

He was the God, we see, of Wisdom; whence he is represented on coins with two, and, on the Etruscan image found at Falerii, with four, faces; emblems of prudence and circumspection: thus is Ganesa, the God of Wisdom in Hindustan, painted with an Elephant's head, the symbol of sagacious discernment, and attended by a favourite rat, which the Indians consider as a wife and provident animal. His next great character (the plentiful source of many superstitious usages) was that, from which he is em-
phatically styled the father, and which the second verse before-cited more fully expresses, the origin and founder of all things: whence this notion arose, unless from a tradition that he first built shrines, raised altars, and instituted sacrifices, it is not easy to conjecture; hence it came however, that his name was invoked before any other God; that, in the old sacred rites, corn and wine, and, in later times, incense also, were first offered to Janus; that the doors or entrances to private houses were called Januae, and any pervious passage or thorough-fare, in the plural number, Jani, or with two beginnings; that he was represented holding a rod as guardian of ways, and a key, as opening, not gates only, but all important works and affairs of mankind; that he was thought to preside over the morning, or beginning of day; that, although the Roman year began regularly with March, yet the eleventh month, named Januarius, was considered as first of the twelve, whence the whole year was supposed to be under his guidance, and opened with great solemnity by the consuls inaugurated in his fane, where his statue was decorated on that occasion with fresh laurel; and, for the same reason, a solemn denunciation of war, than which there can hardly be a more momentous national act, was made by the military consul's opening the gates of his temple
with all the pomp of his magistracy. The twelve altars and twelve chapels of Janus might either denote, according to the general opinion, that he leads and governs twelve months, or that, as he says of himself in Ovid, all entrance and access must be made through him to the principal Gods, who were, to a proverb, of the same number. We may add, that Janus was imagined to preside over infants at their birth, or the beginning of life.

The Indian divinity has precisely the same character: all sacrifices and religious ceremonies, all addresses even to superior Gods, all serious compositions in writing, and all worldly affairs of moment, are begun by pious Hindus with an invocation of Ganesa; a word composed of isa, the governor or leader, and gana, or a company of deities, nine of which companies are enumerated in the Amarcósh. Instances of opening business auspiciously by an ejaculation to the Janus of India (if the lines of resemblance here traced will justify me in so calling him) might be multiplied with ease. Few books are begun without the words salutation to Gane's, and he is first invoked by the Bráhmans, who conduct the trial by ordeal, or perform the ceremony of the bōma, or sacrifice to fire: M. Sonnerat represents him as highly revered on the Coast of Coromandel; "where the Indians, he says,
"would not on any account build a house, with-
out having placed on the ground an image of
this deity, which they sprinkle with oil and
adorn every day with flowers; they set up his
figure in all their temples, in the streets, in the
high roads, and in open plains at the foot of
some tree; so that persons of all ranks may in-
voke him, before they undertake any business,
and travellers worship him, before they pro-
ceed on their journey." To this I may add,
from my own observation, that in the com-
modious and useful town, which now rises at
Dharmaranya or Gayâ, under the auspices of the
active and benevolent Thomas Law, Esq. col-
lector of Rotas, every new-built house, agree-
ably to an immemorial usage of the Hindus, has
the name of Ganesa superadded on its door;
and, in the old town, his image is placed over
the gates of the temples.

We come now to Saturn, the oldest of the
pagan Gods, of whose office and actions much is
recorded. The jargon of his being the son of
Earth and of Heaven, who was the son of the
Sky and the Day, is purely a confession of ig-
norance, who were his parents or who his pre-
deceivers; and there appears more sense in the
tradition said to be mentioned by the inquisitive
and well informed Plato, "that both Sa-
" turn of time, and his consort Cybele, or
the Earth, together with their attendants, were the children of Ocean and Thetis, or, in less poetical language, sprang from the waters of the great deep. Ceres, the goddess of harvests, was, it seems, their daughter; and Virgil describes the mother and nurse of all as crowned with turrets, in a car drawn by lions, and exulting in her hundred grandsons, all divine, all inhabiting splendid celestial mansions. As the God of time, or rather as time itself personified, Saturn was usually painted by the heathens holding a scythe in one hand, and, in the other, a snake with its tail in its mouth, the symbol of perpetual cycles and revolutions of ages: he was often represented in the act of devouring years, in the form of children, and, sometimes, encircled by the seasons appearing like boys and girls. By the Latins he was named Saturnus; and the most ingenious etymology of that word is given by Festus the grammarian; who traces it, by a learned analogy to many similar names, à satu, from planting, because, when he reigned in Italy, he introduced and improved agriculture: but his distinguishing character, which explains, indeed, all his other titles and functions, was expressed allegorically by the stern of a ship or galley on the reverse of his ancient coins; for which Ovid assigns a very unsatisfactory reason, because
“the divine stranger arrived in a ship on the
"Italian coast;" as if he could have been ex-
pected on horse-back or hovering through the
air.

The account, quoted by Pomey from Alex-
ander Polyhistor, casts a clearer light, if it
really came from genuine antiquity, on the whole
tale of Saturn; "that he predicted an ex-
traordinary fall of rain, and ordered the con-
struction of a vessel, in which it was necessary
to secure men, beasts, birds, and reptiles from
a general inundation."

Now it seems not easy to take a cool review
of all these testimonies concerning the birth,
kindred, offspring, character, occupations, and
entire life of Saturn, without assenting to the
opinion of Bochart, or admitting it at least to
be highly probable, that the fable was raised on
the true history of Noah; from whose flood a
new period of time was computed, and a new
series of ages may be said to have sprung; who
rose fresh, and, as it were, newly born from the
waves; whose wife was in fact the universal
mother, and, that the earth might soon be re-
peopled, was early blessed with numerous and
flourishing descendants: if we produce, there-
fore, an Indian king of divine birth, eminent for
his piety and beneficence, whose story seems
evidently to be that of Noah disguised by Asta-
tisk fiction, we may safely offer a conjecture, that he was also the same personage with Saturn. This was Menu, or Satyavrata, whose pratronymick name was Vaivasvata, or child of the Sun; and whom the Indians believed to have reigned over the whole world in the earliest age of their chronology, but to have resided in the country of Dravira, on the coast of the Eastern Indian Peninsula: the following narrative of the principal event in his life I have literally translated from the Bhagavat; and it is the subject of the first Purâna, entitled that of the Matsya, or Fish.

Desiring the preservation of herds, and of Brâhmans, of genii and virtuous men, of the Vêdas, of law, and of precious things, the lord of the universe assumes many bodily shapes; but, though he pervades, like the air, a variety of beings, yet he is himself unvaried, since he has no quality subject to change. At the close of the last Calpa, there was a general destruction occasioned by the sleep of Brahma; whence his creatures in different worlds were drowned in a vast ocean. Brahma, being inclined to slumber, desiring repose after a lapse of ages, the strong demon Hayagriva came near him, and stole the Vêdas, which had flowed from his lips. When Heri, the preserver of the universe, discovered this
deed of the Prince of Dánavas, he took the
shape of a minute fish, called sap'bari. A
holy king, named Satyavrata, then reigned;
a servant of the spirit, which moved on the
waves, and so devout, that water was his only
sustenance. He was the child of the Sun,
and, in the present Calpa, is invested by Na-
ra'yan in the office of Menu, by the name of
Sra'ddhadeva, or the God of Obsequies.
One day, as he was making a libation in the
river Gritamálî, and held water in the palm
of his hand, he perceived a small fish moving
in it. The king of Dravira immediately
dropped the fish into the river together with
the water, which he had taken from it; when
the sap'bari thus pathetically addressed the be-
nevolent monarch: "How canst thou, O
king, who showest affection to the oppressed,
leave me in this river-water, where I am too
weak to resist the monsters of the stream,
who fill me with dread?" He, not knowing
who had assumed the form of a fish, applied
his mind to the preservation of the sap'bari,
both from good nature and from regard to his
own soul; and, having heard its very suppliant
address, he kindly placed it under his pro-
tection in a small vase full of water; but, in a
single night, its bulk was so increased, that it
could not be contained in the jar, and thus
again addressed the illustrious Prince: "I am not pleased with living miserably in this little vase; make me a large mansion, where I may dwell in comfort." The king, removing it thence, placed it in the water of a cistern; but it grew three cubits in less than fifty minutes, and said: "O king, it pleases me not to stay vainly in this narrow cistern: since thou hast granted me an asylum, give me a spacious habitation." He then removed it, and placed it in a pool, where, having ample space around its body, it became a fish of considerable size. This abode, O king, is not convenient for me, who must swim at large in the waters: exert thyself for my safety; and remove me to a deep lake." Thus addressed, the pious monarch threw the suppliant into a lake, and when it grew of equal bulk with that piece of water, he cast the vast fish into the sea. When the fish was thrown into the waves, he thus again spoke to Satyavrata: "here the horned sharks, and other monsters of great strength will devour me; thou shouldst not, O valiant man, leave me in this ocean." Thus repeatedly deluded by the fish, who had addressed him with gentle words, the king said: who art thou, that beguilest me in that assumed shape? Never before have I seen or heard of so prodigious an inhabitant of the waters, who,
"like thee, hast filled up, in a single day, a lake
an hundred leagues in circumference. Surely,
thou art Bhagavat, who appearest before
me; the great Heri, whose dwelling was on
the waves; and who now, in compassion to thy
servants, bearest the form of the natives of the
deep. Salutation and praise to thee, O first
male, the lord of creation, of preservation, of
destruction! Thou art the highest object, O
supreme ruler, of us thy adorers, who piously
seek thee. All thy delusive descents in this
world give existence to various beings: yet I
am anxious to know, for what cause that shape
has been assumed by thee. Let me not, O
lotos-eyed, approach in vain the feet of a
deity, whose perfect benevolence has been ex-
tended to all; when thou hast shewn us to
our amazement the appearance of other bodies
not in reality existing, but successively ex-
hibited." The lord of the universe, loving
the pious man, who thus implored him, and
intending to preserve him from the sea of de-
struction, caused by the depravity of the age,
thus told him how he was to act. "In seven
days from the present time, O thou tamer of
enemies, the three worlds will be plunged in
an ocean of death; but, in the midst of the
destroying waves, a large vessel, sent by me
for thy use, shall stand before thee. Then
 shalt thou take all medicinal herbs, all the variety of seeds; and, accompanied by seven Saints, encircled by pairs of all brute animals, thou shalt enter the spacious ark and continue in it, secure from the flood on one immense ocean without light, except the radiance of thy holy companions. When the ship shall be agitated by an impetuous wind, thou shalt fasten it with a large sea-serpent on my horn; for I will be near thee: drawing the vessel, with thee and thy attendants, I will remain on the ocean, O chief of men, until a night of Brahma shall be completely ended. Thou shalt then know my true greatness, rightly named the supreme Godhead; by my favour, all thy questions shall be answered, and thy mind abundantly instructed." Heri, having thus directed the monarch, disappeared; and Satyavrata humbly waited for the time, which the ruler of our senses had appointed. The pious king, having scattered towards the East the pointed blades of the grass darbha, and turning his face towards the North, sat meditating on the feet of the God, who had borne the form of a fish. The sea, overwhelming its shores, deluged the whole earth; and it was soon perceived to be augmented by showers from immense clouds. He, still meditating on the command of Bhagavat, saw the vessel
advancing, and entered it with the chiefs of
Brāhmans, having carried into it the medicinal
creepers and conformed to the directions of
HERI. The saints thus addressed him: "O
king, meditate on Cēsava; who will, surely,
deliver us from this danger, and grant us pro-
perity." The God, being invoked by the
monarch, appeared again distinctly on the vast
ocean in the form of a fish, blazing like gold,
extending a million of leagues, with one stu-
pendous horn; on which the king, as he had
before been commanded by HERI, tied the ship
with a cable made of a vast serpent, and, happy
in his preservation, stood praising the destroyer
of MADHU. When the monarch had finished
his hymn, the primeval male, BHAGAVAT,
who watched for his safety on the great ex-
panse of water, spoke aloud to his own divine
essence, pronouncing a sacred Purāṇa, which
contained the rules of the Sāṅc'hya philosophy:
but it was an infinite mystery to be concealed
within the breast of SATYAVRATA; who, fit-
ting in the vessel with the saints, heard the
principle of the soul, the Eternal Being, pro-
claimed by the preserving power. Then HERI,
rising together with BRAHMA, from the de-
structive deluge, which was abated, flew the
demon HAYAGRIVA, and recovered the sacred
books. SATYAVRATA, instructed in all divine
and human knowledge, was appointed in the present Calpa, by the favour of Vishnu, the seventh Menu, surnamed Vaivasvata: but the appearance of a horned fish to the religious monarch was Mayā, or delusion; and he, who shall devoutly hear this important allegorical narrative, will be delivered from the bondage of sin.

This epitome of the first Indian History, that is now extant, appears to me very curious and very important; for the story, though whimsically dressed up in the form of an allegory, seems to prove a primeval tradition in this country of the universal deluge described by Moses, and fixes consequently the time, when the genuine Hindu Chronology actually begins. We find, it is true, in the Purāṇ, from which the narrative is extracted, another deluge which happened towards the close of the third age, when Yudhisthir was labouring under the persecution of his inveterate foe Duryodhan, and when Crishna, who had recently become incarnate for the purpose of succouring the pious and of destroying the wicked, was performing wonders in the country of Mat'burā; but the second flood was merely local and intended only to affect the people of Vraja: they, it seems, had offended Indra, the God of the firmament, by their enthusiasmick adoration of the wonderful child,
"who lifted up the mountain Góverdhena, as if it had been a flower, and, by sheltering all the herdsmen and shepherdesseis from the storm, convinced Indra of his supremacy." That the Satya, or (if we may venture so to call it) the Saturnian, age was in truth the age of the general flood, will appear from a close examination of the ten Avatárs, or Descents, of the deity in his capacity of preserver; since of the four, which are declared to have happened in the Satya yug, the three first apparently relate to some stupendous convulsion of our globe from the fountains of the deep, and the fourth exhibits the miraculous punishment of pride and impiety: first, as we have shown, there was, in the opinion of the Hindus, an interposition of Providence to preserve a devout person and his family (for all the Pandits agree, that his wife, though not named, must be understood to have been saved with him) from an inundation, by which all the wicked were destroyed; next, the power of the deity descends in the form of a Boar, the symbol of strength, to draw up and support on his tusks the whole earth, which had been sunk beneath the ocean; thirdly, the same power is represented as a tortoise sustaining the globe, which had been convulsed by the violent assaults of demons, while the Gods churned the sea with the mountain Mandar, and forced it to disgorge the
sacred things and animals, together with the water of life, which it had swallowed: these three stories relate, I think, to the same event, shadowed by a moral, a metaphysical, and an astronomical, allegory; and all three seem connected with the hieroglyphical sculptures of the old Egyptians. The fourth Avatār was a lion issuing from a bursting column of marble to devour a blaspheming monarch, who would otherwise have slain his religious son; and of the remaining six, not one has the least relation to a deluge: the three, which are ascribed to the Tré-táyug, when tyranny and irreligion are said to have been introduced, were ordained for the overthrow of Tyrants, or, their natural types, Giants with a thousand arms formed for the most extensive oppression; and, in the Dwáparyug, the incarnation of Crishna was partly for a similar purpose, and partly with a view to thin the world of unjust and impious men, who had multiplied in that age, and began to swarm on the approach of the Caliyug, or the age of contention and balesness. As to Buddha, he seems to have been a reformer of the doctrines contained in the Védas; and, though his good nature led him to censure those ancient books, because they enjoined sacrifices of cattle, yet he is admitted as the ninth Avatār even by the Brāhmans of Cāsi, and his praises are sung by the
poet Jayadeva: his character is in many respects very extraordinary; but, as an account of it belongs rather to History than to Mythology, it is reserved for another dissertation. The tenth Avatar, we are told, is yet to come, and is expected to appear mounted (like the crowned conqueror in the Apocalyps) on a white horse, with a cimeter blazing like a comet to mow down all incorrigible and impenitent offenders, who shall then be on earth.

These four Yugs have so apparent an affinity with the Grecian and Roman ages, that one origin may be naturally assigned to both systems: the first in both is distinguished as abounding in gold, though Satya mean truth and probity, which were found, if ever, in the times immediately following so tremendous an exertion of the divine power as the destruction of mankind by a general deluge; the next is characterized by silver, and the third, by copper; though their usual names allude to proportions imagined in each between vice and virtue: the present, or earthen, age seems more properly discriminated than by iron, as in ancient Europe; since that metal is not baser or less useful, though more common in our times and consequently less precious, than copper; while mere earth conveys an idea of the lowest degradation. We may here observe, that the true History of the
World seems obviously divisible into four ages or periods; which may be called, first, the Diluvian, or purest age; namely, the times preceding the deluge, and those succeeding it till the mad introduction of idolatry at Babel; next, the Patriarchal, or pure, age; in which, indeed, there were mighty hunters of beasts and of men, from the rise of patriarchs in the family of Sem to the simultaneous establishment of great Empires by the descendants of his brother Ham; thirdly, the Mosiack, or less pure, age; from the legation of Moses, and during the time, when his ordinances were comparatively well-observed and uncorrupted; lastly, the Prophetical, or impure, age, beginning with the vehement warnings given by the Prophets to apostate Kings and degenerate nations, but still subsisting and to subsist, until all genuine prophecies shall be fully accomplished. The duration of the Historical ages must needs be very unequal and disproportionate; while that of the Indian Yugs is disposed so regularly and artificially, that it cannot be admitted as natural or probable: men do not become reprobate in a geometrical progression or at the termination of regular periods; yet so well-proportioned are the Yugs, that even the length of human life is diminished, as they advance, from an hundred thousand years in a subdecuple ratio; and, as the number of principal
Avatārs in each decreases arithmetically from four, so the number of years in each decreases geometrically, and all together constitute the extravagant sum of four million three hundred and twenty thousand years, which aggregate, multiplied by seventy-one, is the period, in which every Mēnu is believed to preside over the world. Such a period, one might conceive, would have satisfied Archytas, the measurer of sea and earth and the numberer of their sands, or Archimèdes, who invented a notation, that was capable of expressing the number of them; but the comprehensive mind of an Indian Chronologist has no limits; and the reigns of fourteen Menus are only a single day of Brahma, fifty of which days have elapsed, according to the Hindus, from the time of the Creation: that all this puerility, as it seems at first view, may be only an astronomical riddle, and allude to the apparent revolution of the fixed stars, of which the Brāhmans made a mystery, I readily admit, and am even inclined to believe; but so technical an arrangement excludes all idea of serious History. I am sensible, how much these remarks will offend the warm advocates for Indian antiquity; but we must not sacrifice truth to a base fear of giving offence: that the Vēdas were actually written before the flood, I shall never believe; nor can we infer from the preceding
story, that the learned Hindus believe it; for the allegorical slumber of Brahma and the theft of the sacred books mean only, in simpler language, that the human race was become corrupt; but that the Vedas are very ancient, and far older than other Sanscrit compositions, I will venture to assert from my own examination of them, and a comparison of their style with that of the Purâns and the Dharma Sâstra. A similar comparison justifies me in pronouncing, that the excellent law-book ascribed to Swayambhûva Menu, though not even pretended to have been written by him, is more ancient than the Bha'gavat; but that it was composed in the first age of the world, the Brâhmans would find it hard to persuade me; and the date, which has been assigned to it, does not appear in either of the two copies, which I possess, or in any other, that has been collated for me: in fact the supposed date is comprised in a verse, which flatly contradicts the work itself; for it was not Menu who composed the system of law, by the command of his father Brahma, but a holy personage or demigod, named Bhri-gu, who revealed to men what Menu had delivered at the request of him and other saints or patriarchs. In the Manava Sâstra, to conclude this digression, the measure is so uniform and melodious, and the style so perfectly Sanscrit,
or polished, that the book must be more modern than the scriptures of Moses, in which the simplicity, or rather nakedness, of the Hebrew dialect, metre, and style, must convince every unbiassed man of their superior antiquity.

I leave etymologists, who decide every thing, to decide whether the word Menu, or, in the nominative case, Menus, has any connexion with Minos, the Lawgiver, and supposed son of Jove: the Cretans, according to Diodorus of Sicily, used to feign, that most of the great men, who had been deified, in return for the benefits which they had conferred on mankind, were born in their island; and hence a doubt may be raised, whether Minos was really a Cretan. The Indian legislator was the first, not the seventh Menus, or Satyavrata, whom I suppose to be the Saturn of Italy: part of Saturn's character, indeed, was that of a great lawgiver,

Qui genus indocile ac dispersum montibus altis
Composuit, legisque dedit,

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

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

The fable of Saturn having been thus analysed, let us proceed to his descendents; and begin, as the Poet advises, with Jupiter, whose
supremacy, thunder, and libertinism every boy learns from Ovid; while his great offices of Creator, Preserver, and Destroyer, are not generally considered in the systems of European mythology. The Romans had, as we have before observed, many Jupiters, one of whom was only the Firmament personified, as Ennius clearly expresses it:

Aspice hoc sublime candens, quem invocant omnes Iovem.

This Jupiter or Diespiter is the Indian God of the visible heavens, called Indra, or the King, and Diespeter, or Lord of the Sky, who has also the character of the Roman Genius, or Chief of the good spirits; but most of his epithets in Sanscrit are the same with those of the Ennian Jove. His consort is named Sachi; his celestial city, Amarañat; his palace, Vaijayanta; his garden, Nandana; his chief elephant, Airavat; his charioteer, Matali; and his weapon. Vajra, or the thunderbolt: he is the regent of winds and showers, and, though the East is peculiarly under his care, yet his Olympus is Meru, or the north pole allegorically represented as a mountain of gold and gems. With all his power he is considered as a subordinate Deity, and far inferior to the Indian Triad, Brahma, Vishnu, and Maha' Deva or Siva, who are three forms of one
and the same Godhead: thus the principal divinity of the Greeks and Latins, whom they called Zeus and Jupiter, with irregular inflexions Dios and Jovis, was not merely Fulminator, the Thunderer, but, like the destroying power of India, Magnus Divus, Ultor, Genitor; like the preserving power, Conservator, Soter, Opitulus, Altor, Ruminus, and, like the creating power, the Giver of Life; an attribute, which I mention here on the authority of Cornutus, a consummate master of mythological learning. We are advised by Plato himself to search for the roots of Greek words in some barbarous, that is, foreign, soil; but, since I look upon etymological conjectures as a weak basis for historical inquiries, I hardly dare suggest, that Zev, Siv, and Jov, are the same syllable differently pronounced: it must, however be admitted, that the Greeks having no palatial sigma, like that of the Indians, might have expressed it by their zeta, and that the initial letters of zugon and jugum are (as the instance proves) easily interchangeable.

Let us now descend, from these general and introductory remarks, to some particular observations on the resemblance of Zeus or Jupiter to the triple divinity Vishnu, Siva, Brahma; for that is the order, in which they are expressed by the letters A, U, and M, which coalesce and
form the mystical word O'M; a word, which never escapes the lips of a pious Hindu, who meditates on it in silence: whether the Egyptian ON, which is commonly supposed to mean the Sun, be the Sanscrit monosyllable, I leave others to determine. It must always be remembered, that the learned Indians, as they are instructed by their own books, in truth acknowledge only One Supreme Being, whom they call Brahma, or the Great One in the neuter gender: they believe his Essence to be infinitely removed from the comprehension of any mind but his own; and they suppose him to manifest his power by the operation of his divine spirit, whom they name Vishnu, the Pervader, and Narayana, or Moving on the waters, both in the masculine gender, whence he is often denominated the First Male; and by this power they believe, that the whole order of nature is preserved and supported; but the Vedantis, unable to form a distinct idea of brute matter independent of mind, or to conceive that the work of Supreme Goodness was left a moment to itself, imagine that the Deity is ever present to his work, and constantly supports a series of perceptions, which, in one sense, they call illusory, though they cannot but admit the reality of all created forms, as far as the happiness of creatures can be affected by them. When they consider the divine power
exerted in creating, or in giving existence to that which existed not before, they call the deity Brāma 'in the masculine gender also; and, when they view him in the light of Destroyer, or rather Changer of forms, they give him a thousand names, of which Siva, ūśa, or ūśwara, Rūdra, Hara, Sambhu, and Maha`de`va or Maheśa, are the most common. The first operations of these three Powers are variously described in the different Purāṇas by a number of allegories, and from them we may deduce the Ionian Philosophy of primeval water, the doctrine of the Mundane Egg, and the veneration paid to the Nymphava, or Lotos, which was anciently revered in Egypt, as it is at present in Hindustān, Tibet, and Népal: the Tibetians are said to embellish their temples and altars with it, and a native of Népal made prostrations before it on entering my study, where the fine plant and beautiful flowers lay for examination. Mr. Holwel, in explaining his first plate, supposes Brāhma' to be floating on a leaf of betel in the midst of the abyss; but it was manifestly intended by a bad painter for a lotos-leaf, or for that of the Indian fig-tree; nor is the species of pepper, known in Bengal by the name of Tāmbula, and on the Coast of Malabar by that of betel, held sacred, as he asserts, by the Hindus, or necessarily cultivated under the inspection of Brāhmans; though, as
the vines are tender, all the plantations of them are carefully secured, and ought to be cultivated by a particular tribe of Sūdras, who are thence called Tāmbūli’s.

That water was the primitive element and first work of the Creative Power, is the uniform opinion of the Indian Philosophers; but, as they give so particular an account of the general deluge and of the Creation, it can never be admitted, that their whole system arose from traditions concerning the flood only, and must appear indubitable, that their doctrine is in part borrowed from the opening of Birāsit or Genesis, than which a sublimier passage, from the first word to the last, never flowed or will flow from any human pen: "In the beginning God created the "heavens and the earth.—And the earth was "void and waste, and darkness was on the face "of the deep, and the spirit of God moved upon "the face of the waters; and God said: Let "Light be—and Light was." The sublimity of this passage is considerably diminished by the Indian paraphrase of it, with which Menu, the son of Brahma’, begins his address to the sages, who consulted him on the formation of the universe: "This world, says he, was all darkness, "undiscernible, undistinguishable, altogether as "in a profound sleep; till the self-existent in-"visible God, making it manifest with five cle-
ments and other glorious forms, perfectly dis-
pelled the gloom. He, desiring to raise up
various creatures by an emanation from his
own glory, first created the waters, and im-
pressed them with a power of motion: by that
power was produced a golden Egg, blazing
like a thousand suns, in which was born
Brahma, self-existing, the great parent of all
rational beings. The waters are called nàrā,
since they are the offspring of Néra (or Ís-
vara; and thence was Nārayana named,
because his first áyana, or moving, was on
them.

That which is, the invisible cause, etern-
al, self-existing, but unperceived, becoming
masculine from neuter, is celebrated among all
creatures by the name of Brahma. That
God, having dwelled in the Egg, through re-
volving years, Himself meditating on Himself,
divided it into two equal parts; and from
those halves formed the heavens and the earth,
placing in the midst the subtil ether, the eight
points of the world, and the permanent recep-
tacle of waters."

To this curious description, with which the
Mānava Sāstra begins, I cannot refrain from
subjoining the four verses, which are the text of
the Bhāgavat, and are believed to have been pro-
nounced by the Supreme Being to BRAHMA:
the following version is most scrupulously literal*.

"Even I was even at first, not any other thing; that, which exists, unperceived; supreme: afterwards I am that which is; and he, who must remain, am I.

"Except the First Cause, whatever may appear, and may not appear, in the mind, know that to be the mind's MA'YA' (or Delusion), as light, as darkness.

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

"Even thus far may inquiry be made by him, who seeks to know the principle of mind, in union and separation, which must be Every WHERE ALWAYS."

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

As to the creation of the world, in the opinion of the Romans, Ovid, who might naturally have been expected to describe it with learning and

* See the Original, p. 294. Plate IV.
elegance, leaves us wholly in the dark, *which of the Gods was the actor in it*: other Mythologists are more explicit; and we may rely on the authority of Cornutus, that the old *European* heathens considered *Jove* (not the son of *Saturn*, but of the *Ether*, that is of an unknown parent) as the great *Life-giver*, and *Father of Gods and men*; to which may be added the *Orphic* doctrine, preserved by Proclus, that "the abyss and empyreum, the earth and sea, the Gods and Goddesses, were produced by *Zeus or Jupiter*." In this character he corresponds with *Brahma*; and, perhaps, with that God of the *Babylonians* (if we can rely on the accounts of their ancient religion), who, like *Brahma*, reduced the universe to order, and, like *Brahma*, *lost his head*, with the blood of which new animals were instantly formed: I allude to the common story, the meaning of which I cannot discover, that *Brahma* had five heads till one of them was cut off by *Na'rayan*.

That, in another capacity, *Jove* was the *Helper* and *Supporter* of all, we may collect from his old *Latin* epithets, and from Cicero, who informs us, that his usual name is a contraction of *fuvans Pater*; an etymology, which shows the idea entertained of his character, though we may have some doubt of its accuracy. Calli-
MACHUS, we know, addresses him as the be-
stower of all good, and of security from grief; and,
since neither wealth without virtue, nor virtue
without wealth, give complete happiness, he prays,
like a wise poet, for both. An Indian prayer
for riches would be directed to LACSHMI, the
wife of VISHNU, since the Hindu Goddesses are
believed to be the powers of their respective
lords: as to CUEVERA, the Indian PLUTUS, one
of whose names is Paulastya, he is revered, in-
deed, as a magnificent Deity, residing in the
palace of ALACA, or borne through the sky in a
splendid car named Pushpaca, but is manifestly
subordinate, like the other, seven Genii, to the
three principal Gods, or rather to the principal
God considered in three capacities. As the soul
of the world, or the pervading mind, so finely
described by VIRGIL, we see Jove represented
by several Roman poets; and with great sub-
limity by LUCAN in the known speech of CATO
concerning the Ammonian oracle, "JUPITER is,
"wherever we look, wherever we move." This
is precisely the Indian idea of VISHNU, accord-
ing to the four verses above exhibited, not that
the Brâhmans imagine their male Divinity to
be the divine Essence of the great one, which
they declare to be wholly incomprehensible;
but, since the power of preserving created things
by a superintending providence, belongs emi-
nently to the Godhead, they hold that power to exist transcendently in the preserving member of the Triad, whom they suppose to be every where always, not in substance; but in spirit and energy: here, however, I speak of the Vaishnava's; for the Saiva's ascribe a sort of pre-eminence to Siva, whose attributes are now to be concisely examined.

It was in the capacity of Avenger and Destroyer, that Jove encountered and overthrew the Titans and Giants, whom Typhon, Briares, Titius, and the rest of their fraternity, led against the God of Olympus; to whom an Eagle brought lightning and thunderbolts during the warfare: thus, in a similar contest between Siva and the Daityas, or children of Diti, who frequently rebelled against heaven, Brahma is believed to have presented the God of Destruction with fiery shafts. One of the many poems, entitled Râmâyana, the last book of which has been translated into Italian, contains an extraordinary dialogue between the crow Bhubunda, and a rational Eagle, named Garuda, who is often painted with the face of a beautiful youth, and the body of an imaginary bird; and one of the eighteen Purânas bears his name and comprises his whole history. M. Sonnerat informs us, that Vishnu is represented in some places riding on the Garuda, which he sup-
poses to be the *Pondicheri* Eagle of *Brisson*, especially as the *Brāhmaṇs* of the Coast highly venerate that class of birds, and provide food for numbers of them at stated hours: I rather conceive the *Garuda* to be a fabulous bird, but agree with him, that the *Hindu* God, who rides on it, resembles the ancient *Jupiter*. In the old temples at *Gayā*, *Vishnu* is either mounted on this poetical bird or attended by it together with a little page; but, left an etymologist should find *Ganymed* in *Garud*, I must observe that the Sanscrit word is pronounced *Garura*; though I admit, that the *Grecian* and *Indian* stories of the celestial bird and the page appear to have some resemblance. As the *Olympian Jupiter* fixed his Court and held his Councils on a lofty and brilliant mountain, so the appropriated seat of *Mahādeva*, whom the *Śaiva*’s consider as the Chief of the Deities, was mount *Cailásu*, every splinter of whose rocks was an inestimable gem: his terrestrial haunts are the snowy hills of *Himālaya*, or that branch of them to the East of the *Brāhmaṇputra*, which has the name of *Chandraśicbhu*, or the *Mountain of the Moon*. When, after all these circumstances, we learn that *Śiva* is believed to have *three* eyes, whence he is named also *Triločhan*, and know from *Pausanias*, not only that *Triophthbalmos* was an epithet of
Zeus, but that a statue of him had been found, so early as the taking of Troy, with a third eye in his forehead, as we see him represented by the Hindus, we must conclude, that the identity of the two Gods falls little short of being demonstrated.

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

There is yet another attribute of Mahadeva, by which he is too visibly distinguished in the drawings and temples of Bengal. To destroy, according to the Vedantis of India, the Sufis of Persia, and many Philosophers of our European schools, is only to generate and reproduce in another form: hence the God of Destruction is holden in this country to preside over Generation; as a symbol of which he rides on a white bull. Can we doubt, that the loves and feats of Jupiter Genitor (not forgetting the white bull of Europa) and his extraordinary title of Lapis, for which no satisfactory reason is commonly given, have a connexion with the Indian Philosophy and Mythology? As to the deity of Lampsacus, he was originally a mere scare-crow, and ought not to have a place in any mythological system; and, in regard to Bacchus, the God of Vintage (between whose acts and those of Jupiter we find, as Bacon
observes, a wonderful affinity), his Ithyphallic images, measures, and ceremonies alluded probably to the supposed relation of Love and Wine; unless we believe them to have belonged originally to Siva, one of whose names is Vagis or Bagis, and to have been afterwards improperly applied. Though, in an Essay on the Gods of India, where the Brāhmans are positively forbidden to taste fermented liquors, we can have little to do with Bacchus, as God of Wine, who was probably no more than the imaginary President over the vintage in Italy, Greece, and the lower Asia, yet we must not omit Suradevi the Goddess of Wine, who arose, say the Hindus, from the ocean, when it was churned with the mountain Mandar: and this fable seems to indicate, that the Indians came from a country, in which wine was anciently made and considered as a blessing; though the dangerous effects of intemperance induced their early legislators to prohibit the use of all spirituous liquors; and it were much to be wished, that so wise a law had never been violated.

Here may be introduced the Jupiter Marinus, or Neptune, of the Romans, as resembling Mahadeva in his generative character; especially as the Hindu God is the husband of Bhavani, whose relation to the waters is evidently marked by her image being restored to
them at the conclusion of her great festival called Durgośava: she is known also to have attributes exactly similar to those of Venus Marina, whose birth from the sea-foam and splendid rise from the Conch, in which she had been cradled, have afforded so many charming subjects to ancient and modern artists; and it is very remarkable, that the Rembha' of Indra's court, who seems to correspond with the popular Venus, or Goddess of Beauty, was produced, according to the Indian Fabulists, from the froth of the churned ocean. The identity of the trisūla and the trident, the weapon of Siva and of Neptune, seems to establish this analogy; and the veneration paid all over India to the large buccinum, especially when it can be found with the spiral line and mouth turned from left to right, brings instantly to our mind the museck of Triton. The Genius of Water is Varuna; but he, like the rest, is far inferior to Maheša, and even to Indra, who is the Prince of the beneficent genii.

This way of considering the Gods as individual substances, but as distinct persons in distinct characters, is common to the European and Indian systems; as well as the custom of giving the highest of them the greatest number of names: hence, not to repeat what has been said of Jupiter, came the triple capacity of Diana,
and hence her petition in Callimachus, that she might be polyonymous or many-titled. The con-
fort of Siva is more eminently marked by these distincions than those of Brahma or Vish-
nu: she resembles the Isis Myrionymos, to whom an ancient marble, described by Gruter, is ded-
icated; but her leading names and characters are Parvatí, Durga, Bhabaní.

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

The attributes of Durga, or Difficult of access, are also conspicuous in the festival above-mentioned, which is called by her name, and in this character she resembles Minerva, not the peaceful inventress of the fine and useful arts, but Pallas, armed with a helmet and spear: both represent heroick Virtue, or Valour united with Wisdom; both slew Demons and Giants with their own hands, and both protected the wife and virtuous, who paid them due adoration. As Pallas, they say, takes her name from vibrating a lance, and usually appears in complete armour, thus Curtis, the old Latian word for a spear, was one of Juno’s titles; and so, if Giraldus be correct, was Hoplosmia, which at Elis, it seems, meant a female dressed in panoply or complete accoutrements. The unarmed Minerva of the Romans apparently corresponds, as patroness of Science and Genius, with Sereswati, the wife of Brahma, and the emblem of his principal Creative Power: both goddesses have given their names to celebrated grammatical works; but the Sāreswata of Sarupacharya is far more concise as well as more useful and agreeable than the Minerva of Sanctius. The Minerva of Italy invented the flute, and
SERESWATÍ presides over melody: the protectress of Athens was even, on the same account, surnamed Musice.

Many learned Mythologists, with Giraldus at their head, consider the peaceful Minerva as the Isis of Egypt; from whose temple at Sais a wonderful inscription is quoted by Plutarch, which has a resemblance to the four Sanscrit verses above exhibited as the text of the Bhágavat: "I am all, that hath been, and is, and shall be; and my veil no mortal hath ever removed."

For my part I have no doubt, that the śwara and śi of the Hindus are the Osiris and Isis of the Egyptians; though a distinct essay in the manner of Plutarch would be requisite in order to demonstrate their identity: they mean, I conceive, the Powers of Nature considered as Male and Female; and Isis, like the other goddesses, represents the active power of her lord, whose eight forms, under which he becomes visible to man, were thus enumerated by Caitidaśa near two thousand years ago: "Water was the first work of the Creator; and Fire receives the oblation of clarified butter, as the law ordains; the Sacrifice is performed with solemnity; the two Lights of heaven distinguish time; the subtil Ether, which is the vehicle of sound, pervades the universe; the Earth is the natural parent of all increase; and by Air all
things breathing are animated: may isa, the power propitiously apparent in these eight forms, bless and sustain you!" The five elements, therefore, as well as the Sun and Moon, are considered as isa or the Ruler, from which word isi may be regularly formed, though isa'ni be the usual name of his active Power, adored as the Goddess of Nature. I have not yet found in Sanscrit the wild, though poetical, tale of Io; but am persuaded, that, by means of the Puranas, we shall in time discover all the learning of the Egyptians without deciphering their hieroglyphicks: the bull of iswara seems to be Apis, or Ap, as he is more correctly named in the true reading of a passage in Jeremiah; and, if the veneration shown both in Tibet and India to so amiable and useful a quadruped as the Cow, together with the regeneration of the Lama himself, have not some affinity with the religion of Egypt and the idolatry of Israel, we must at least allow that circumstances have wonderfully coincided. Bhava'ni now demands our attention; and in this character I suppose the wife of Mahade'va to be as well the Juno Cinxia or Lucina of the Romans (called also by them Diana Solvizona, and by the Greeks Ilithyia) as Venus herself; not the Italian queen of laughter and jollity, who, with her Nymphs and Graces, was the beautiful
child of poetical imagination, and answers to the Indian Rembha with her celestial train of Ap-sarā's, or damsels of paradise; but Venus Urania, so luxuriantly painted by Lucretius, and so properly invoked by him at the opening of a poem on nature; Venus, presiding over generation, and, on that account, exhibited sometimes of both sexes (an union very common in the Indian sculptures), as in her bearded statue at Rome, in the images perhaps called Hermathena, and in those figures of her, which had the form of a conical marble; "for the reason of which figure we are left, says Tacitus, in the dark:" the reason appears too clearly in the temples and paintings of Hindustan; where it never seems to have entered the heads of the legislators or people that any thing natural could be offensively obscene; a singularity, which pervades all their writings and conversation, but is no proof of depravity in their morals. Both Plato and Cicero speak of Eros, or the Heavenly Cupid, as the son of Venus and Jupiter; which proves, that the monarch of Olympus and the Goddess of Fecundity were connected as Mahadeva and Bhavani: the God Cama, indeed, had Maya and Casyapa, or Uranus, for his parents, at least according to the Mythologists of Cashmir; but, in most respects, he seems the twin-brother of Cupid with richer and more
lively appendages. One of his many epithets is Dipaca, the Inflamer, which is erroneously written Dipuc; and I am now convinced, that the sort of resemblance, which has been observed between his Latin and Sanscrit names, is accidental: in each name the three first letters are the root, and between them there is no affinity. Whether any Mythological connection subsisted between the amaracus, with the fragrant leaves of which Hymen bound his temples, and the tulasi of India, must be left undetermined: the botanical relation of the two plants (if amaracus be properly translated marjoram) is extremely near.

One of the most remarkable ceremonies, in the festival of the Indian Goddess, is that before-mentioned of casting her image into the river: the Pandits, of whom I inquired concerning its origin and import, answered, "that it was pre scried by the Veda, they knew not why;" but this custom has, I conceive, a relation to the doctrine, that water is a form of Iswara, and consequently of Isani, who is even represented by some as the patroness of that element, to which her figure is restored, after having received all due honours on earth, which is considered as another form of the God of Nature, though subsequent, in the order of Creation, to the primeval fluid. There seems no decisive
proof of one original system among idolatrous nations in the worship of river-gods and river-goddesses, nor in the homage paid to their streams, and the ideas of purification annexed to them: since Greeks, Italians, Egyptians, and Hindus might (without any communication with each other) have adored the several divinities of their great rivers, from which they derived pleasure, health, and abundance. The notion of Doctor Musgrave, that large rivers were supposed, from their strength and rapidity, to be conducted by Gods, while rivulets only were protected by female deities, is, like most other notions of Grammarians on the genders of nouns, overthrown by facts. Most of the great Indian rivers are feminine; and the three goddesses of the waters, whom the Hindus chiefly venerate, are Ganga, who sprang, like armed Pallas, from the head of the Indian Jove; Yamuna, daughter of the Sun, and River-watí: all three meet at Prayaga, thence called Triveni, or the three plaited locks; but River-watí, according to the popular belief, sinks under ground, and rises at another Triveni near Hugli, where she rejoins her beloved Ganga. The Brahmaputra is, indeed, a male river; and, as his name signifies the Son of Brahma, I thence took occasion to feign that he was married to Ganga, though I have not yet seen any
mention of him, as a God, in the Sanscrit books.

Two incarnate deities of the first rank, Rama and Crishna, must now be introduced, and their several attributes distinctly explained. The first of them, I believe, was the Dionysos of the Greeks, whom they named Bomius, without knowing why, and Bugenes, when they represented him borned, as well as Lyaios and Eleutherios, the Deliverer, and Triambos or Dithyrambos, the Triumphant: most of these titles were adopted by the Romans, by whom he was called Bruma, Tauriformis, Liber, Triumphus; and both nations had records or traditionary accounts of his giving laws to men and deciding their contests, of his improving navigation and commerce, and, what may appear yet more observable, of his conquering India and other countries with an army of Satyrs, commanded by no less a personage than Pan; whom Lilius Giraldus, on what authority I know not, afferts to have resided in Iberia, "when he had returned, says the learned Mythologist, from the Indian war, "in which he accompanied Bacchus." It were superfluous in a mere essay, to run any length in the parallel between this European God and the sovereign of Ayodhya, whom the Hindus believe to have been an appearance on
earth of the Preserving Power; to have been a
Conqueror of the highest renown, and the De-
liverer of nations from tyrants, as well as of
his confort Sītā from the giant Rāvan, king
of Lankā, and to have commanded in chief a
numerous and intrepid race of those large Mon-
keys, which our naturalists, or some of them,
have denominated Indian Satyrs: his General,
the Prince of Satyrs, was named Hanumat,
or with high cheek bones; and, with workmen
of such agility, he soon raised a bridge of rocks
over the sea, part of which, say the Hindus,
yet remains; and it is, probably, the series of
rocks, to which the Muselmans or the Portugese
have given the foolish name of Adam’s (it
should be called Rāma’s) bridge. Might not
this army of Satyrs have been only a race of
mountaineers, whom Rāma, if such a monarch
ever existed, had civilized? However that may
be, the large breed of Indian Apes is at this
moment held in high veneration by the Hīn-
dus, and fed with devotion by the Brāhmans,
who seem, in two or three places on the banks
of the Ganges, to have a regular endowment
for the support of them: they live in tribes of
three or four hundred, are wonderfully gentle
(I speak as an eye-witness), and appear to have
some kind of order and subordination in their
little sylvan polity. We must not omit, that
the father of Hanumāt was the God of Wind, named Pavaṇ, one of the eight Genii; and, as Pana improved the pipe by adding six reeds, and "played exquisitely on the cithern a few "moments after his birth," so one of the four systems of Indian musick bears the name of Hanumāt, or Hanuma'n in the nominative, as its inventor, and is now in general estimation.

The war of Lankā is dramatically represented at the festival of Ra'ma on the ninth day of the new moon of Chaitra; and the drama concludes (says Holwel, who had often seen it) with an exhibition of the fire-ordeal, by which the victor's wife Sīta gave proof of her con-
nubial fidelity: "the dialogue, he adds, is taken "from one of the Eighteen holy books," mean-
ing, I suppose, the Purānas; but the Hindus have a great number of regular dramas at least two thousand years old, and among them are several very fine ones on the story of Ra'ma. The first poet of the Hindus was the great Va'lmīc, and his Raṃḍyān is an Epic Poem on the same subject, which, in unity of action, magnificence of imagery, and elegance of style, far surpasses the learned and elaborate work of Nonnus, entitled Dionysiaca, half of which, or twenty-four books, I perused with great eagerness, when I was very young, and should have travelled to the conclusion of it, if other pur-
fuits had not engaged me: I shall never have leisure to compare the Dionysacks with the Ramäyan, but am confident, that an accurate comparison of the two poems would prove Dionysos and Räma to have been the same person; and I incline to think, that he was Rä'ma, the son of Cù'sh, who might have established the first regular government in this part of Asia. I had almost forgotten, that Meros is said by the Greeks to have been a mountain of India, on which their Dionysos was born, and that Mëru, though it generally means the north pole in the Indian geography, is also a mountain near the city of Naibhada or Nysa, called by the Grecian geographers Dionysopolis, and universally celebrated in the Sanscrit poems; though the birth place of Räma is supposed to have been Ayodhyâ or Audh. That ancient city extended, if we believe the Brâhmans, over a line of ten Tojans, or about forty miles, and the present city of Lac'bnau, pronounced Lucknow, was only a lodge for one of its gates, called Lacshmanadwara, or the gate of Lacshman, a brother of Räma: M. Sonnerat supposes Ayodhyâ to have been Siam; a most erroneous and unfounded supposition! which would have been of little consequence, if he had not grounded an argument on it, that Räma was the same person with Buddha,
who must have appeared many centuries after
the conquest of Lancá.

The second great divinity, Críshña, passed
a life, according to the Indians, of a most ex-
trordinary and incomprehensible nature. He was
the son of Devaci by Vasudeva; but his
birth was concealed through fear of the tyrant
Cansa, to whom it had been predicted, that
a child born at that time in that family would
destroy him: he was fostered, therefore, in Mat-
burá by an honest herdsman, surnamed Anan-
da, or Happy, and his amiable wife Yasoda,
who, like another Pales, was constantly oc-
cupied in her pastures and her dairy. In their
family were a multitude of young Gópa's or Cow-
herds, and beautiful Gopi's, or milkmaids, who
were his playfellows during his infancy; and, in
his early youth, he selected nine damsels as his
favourites, with whom he passed his gay hours
in dancing, sporting, and playing on his flute.
For the remarkable number of his Gopi's I have
no authority but a whimsical picture, where nine
girls are grouped in the form of an elephant, on
which he sits and pipes; and, unfortunately, the
word nava signifies both nine and new or young;
so that, in the following stanza, it may admit of
two interpretations:

taraníjátpulíné navaballavi
perisudá sabu cēlicutúbalát
drutavilamsritachardhurbhrinam
berimaham brdayena sadavah.

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

Both he and the three Rāmas are described
as youths of perfect beauty; but the princesses
of Hinduśāna, as well as the damsels of Nanda's
farm, were passionately in love with
Crisna, who continues to this hour the dar-
ing God of the Indian women. The sect of
Hindus, who adore him with enthusiasm, and
almost exclusive, devotion, have broached a
doctrine, which they maintain with eagerness,
and which seems general in these provinces;
that he was distinct from all the Avatārs, who
had only an aṣṭa, or portion, of his divinity;
while Crisna was the person of Viśnu
himself in a human form: hence they consider
the third Rāma, his elder brother, as the eighth
Avatār invested with an emanation of his divine
radiance; and, in the principal Sanskrit dic-
tionary, compiled about two thousand years ago,
Crisna, Vaśadeva, Gośinda, and other
names of the Shepherd God, are intermixed
with epithets of Naśāyan, or the Divine
Spirit. All the Avatārs are painted with gem-
med *Ethiopian*, or *Parthian*, coronets; with rays encircling their heads; jewels in their ears; two necklaces, one straight, and one pendent on their bosoms with dropping gems; garlands of well-disposed many-coloured flowers, or collars of pearls, hanging down below their waists; loose mantles of golden tissue or dyed silk, embroidered on their hems with flowers, elegantly thrown over one shoulder, and folded, like ribbands, across the breast; with bracelets too on one arm, and on each wrist: they are naked to the waists, and uniformly with *dark azure flesh*, in allusion, probably, to the tint of that primordial fluid, on which *Narayān* moved in the beginning of time; but their skirts are bright yellow, the colour of the curious pericarpium in the centre of the water-lily, where *Nature*, as Dr. *Murray* observes, *in some degree discloses her secrets*, each seed containing, before it germinates, a few perfect leaves: they are sometimes drawn with that flower in one hand; a radiated elliptical ring, used as a missile weapon, in a second; the sacred shell, or lefthanded buccinum, in a third; and a mace or battle-ax, in a fourth; but *Crisna*, when he appears, as he sometimes does appear, among the *Avatārs*, is more splendidly decorated than any, and wears a rich garland of sylvan flowers, whence he is named *Vanamāli*, as low as
SURYA.

शाबिष्ठाविंश्च मान
his ankles, which are adorned with strings of pearls. Dark blue, approaching to black, which is the meaning of the word Críshna, is believed to have been his complexion; and hence the large bee of that colour is consecrated to him, and is often drawn fluttering over his head: that azure tint, which approaches to blackness, is peculiar, as we have already remarked, to Víshnu; and hence, in the great reservoir or cistern at Cátmandu the capital of Népal, there is placed in a recumbent posture a large well-proportioned image of blue marble, representing Nárayan floating on the waters. But let us return to the actions of Críshna; who was not less heroick, than lovely, and, when a boy, flew the terrible serpent Cálíya with a number of giants and monsters: at a more advanced age, he put to death his cruel enemy Cansa; and, having taken under his protection the king Yudhíshthér and the other Pándus, who had been grievously oppressed by the Curus, and their tyrannical chief, he kindled the war described in the great Epick Poem, entitled the Mahábhárat, at the prosperous conclusion of which he returned to his heavenly seat in Váiconthá, having left the instructions comprised in the Gítá with his disconsolate friend Arjún, whose grandson became sovereign of India.

In this picture it is impossible not to discover,
at the first glance, the features of Apollo, surnamed Nomios, or the Pastoral, in Greece, and Opifer in Italy; who fed the herds of Admetus, and flew the serpent Python; a God amorous, beautiful, and warlike: the word Govinda may be literally translated Nomios, as Cesava, is Crinitus, or with fine hair; but whether Gopala, or the herdsman, has any relation to Apollo, let our Etymologists determine. Colonel Vallancey, whose learned enquiries into the ancient literature of Ireland are highly interesting, assures me, that Krishna in Irish means the Sun; and we find Apollo and Sol considered by the Roman poets as the same deity: I am inclined, indeed, to believe, that not only Krishna or Vishnu, but even Brahma and Siva, when united, and expressed by the mythical word Om, were designed by the first idolaters to represent the Solar fire; but Phœbus, or the orb of the Sun personified, is adored by the Indians as the God Su'rya, whence the sect, who pay him particular adoration, are called Sauras: their poets and painters describe his car as drawn by seven green horses, preceded by Arun, or the Dawn, who acts as his charioteer, and followed by thousands of Genii worshipping him and modulating his praises. He has a multitude of names, and among them twelve epithets or titles, which
denote his distinct powers in each of the twelve months: those powers are called Adityas, or sons of Aditi by Casyapa, the Indian Uranus; and one of them has, according to some authorities, the name of Vishnu or Pervader. Surya is believed to have descended frequently from his car in a human shape, and to have left a race on earth, who are equally renowned in the Indian stories with the Heliadai of Greece: it is very singular, that his two sons called Aswinau or Aswini Cumarau, in the dual, should be considered as twin-brothers, and painted like Castor and Pollux, but they have each the character of Aesculapius among the Gods, and are believed to have been born of a nymph, who, in the form of a mare, was impregnated with sun-beams. I suspect the whole fable of Casyapa and his progeny to be astronomical; and cannot but imagine, that the Greek name Cassiopeia has a relation to it. Another great Indian family are called the Children of the Moon, or Chandra; who is a male Deity, and consequently not to be compared with Artemis or Diana; nor have I yet found a parallel in India for the Goddess of the Chase, who seems to have been the daughter of an European fancy, and very naturally created by the invention of Bucolick and Georgick poets: yet, since the Moon is a form of
ISWARA, the God of Nature, according to the verse of CALIDASA, and since ISA NI has been shown to be his comfort or power, we may consider her, in one of her characters, as LUNA; especially as we shall soon be convinced that, in the shades below, she corresponds with the HECATE of Europe.

The worship of Solar, or Vestal, Fire may be ascribed, like that of OSIRIS and ISIS, to the second source of mythology, or an enthusiastick admiration of Nature's wonderful powers; and it seems, as far as I can yet understand the Vedas, to be the principal worship recommended in them. We have seen, that MAHA DEVA himself is personated by Fire; but, subordinate to him, is the God AGNI, often called PAVACA, or the Purifier, who answers to the VULCAN of Egypt, where he was a Deity of high rank; and his wife SWAHA resembles the younger VESTA, or VESTIA, as the Eoliens pronounced the Greek word for a hearth: BHAVA'NI, or VENUS, is the consort of the Supreme Destructive and Generative Power; but the Greeks and Romans, whose system is less regular than that of the Indians, married her to their divine artist, whom they also named HEPHAISTOS and VULCAN, and who seems to be the Indian VISWACARMAN, the forger of arms for the Gods, and inventor of the AGNAYASTRA, or fiery
shaft, in the war between them and the Daityas or Titans. It is not easy here to refrain from observing (and, if the observation give offence in England, it is contrary to my intention) that the newly discovered planet should unquestionably be named Vulcan; since the confusion of analogy in the names of the planets is inelegant, unscholarly, and unphilosophical: the name Uranus is appropriated to the firmament; but Vulcan, the slowest of the Gods, and, according to the Egyptian priests, the oldest of them, agrees admirably with an orb, which must perform its revolution in a very long period; and, by giving it this denomination, we shall have seven primary planets with the names of as many Roman Deities, Mercury, Venus, Tellus, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, Vulcan.

It has already been intimated, that the Muses and Nymphs are the Go'pya of Mutb'urâ, and of Goverdhan, the Parnassus of the Hindus; and the lyric poems of Jayade'va will fully justify this opinion; but the Nymphs of Musick are the thirty Raginis or Female Passions, whose various functions and properties are so richly delineated by the Indian painters and so finely described by the poets; but I will not anticipate what will require a separate Essay, by enlarging here on the beautiful allegories of the

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Hindus in their system of musical modes, which they call RAGAS, or Passions, and supposed to be Genii or Demigods. A very distinguished son of BRAHMA, named NARED, whose actions are the subject of a Purana, bears a strong resemblance to HERMES or MERCURY: he was a wise legislator, great in arts and in arms, an eloquent messenger of the Gods either to one another or to favoured mortals, and a musician of exquisite skill; his invention of the Vina, or Indian lute, is thus described in the poem entitled Māgha: "NARED sat watching from time to time his large Vina, which, by the impulse of the breeze, yielded notes, that pierced successively the regions of his ear, and proceeded by musical intervals." The law tract, supposed to have been revealed by NARED, is at this hour cited by the Pandits; and we cannot, therefore, believe him to have been the patron of Thieves; though an innocent theft of CRISHNA's cattle, by way of putting his divinity to a proof, be strangely imputed, in the Bhāgavat, to his father BRAHMA.

The last of the Greek or Italian divinities, for whom we find a parallel in the Pantheon of India, is the Stygian or Taurick DIANA, otherwise named HECATE, and often confounded with PROSERPINE; and there can be no doubt of her identity with CALI, or the wife of SIVA.
in his character of the *Stygian Jove*. To this black Goddess with a collar of golden skulls, as we see her exhibited in all her principal temples, *human sacrifices* were anciently offered, as the *Vêdas* enjoined; but, in the present age, they are absolutely prohibited, as are also the sacrifices of bulls and horses: kids are still offered to her; and, to palliate the cruelty of the slaughter, which gave such offence to *Buddha*, the *Brâhmans* inculcate a belief, that the poor victims rise in the heaven of *Indra*, where they become the musicians of his band. Instead of the obsolete, and now illegal, sacrifices of a man, a bull, and a horse, called *Neramèdha, Gomedha*, and *Aswamedha*, the powers of nature are thought to be propitiated by the less bloody ceremonies at the end of autumn, when the festivals of *Cali* and *Lacshmi* are solemnized nearly at the same time: now, if it be asked, how the Goddess of Death came to be united with the mild patroness of Abundance, I must propose another question, "How came *Proserpine* to " be represented in the *European* system as the " daughter of *Ceres*?" Perhaps, both questions may be answered by the proposition of natural philosophers, that "the apparent destruction of " a substance is the production of it in a dif- " ferent form." The wild musick of *Cali*’s priests at one of her festivals brought instantly
to my recollection the Scythian measures of Diana's adorers in the splendid opera of Iphigenia in Tauris, which Gluck exhibited at Paris with less genius, indeed, than art, but with every advantage that an orchestra could supply.

That we may not dismiss this assemblage of European and Asiatic divinities with a subject so horrid as the altars of Hecate and Cali, let us conclude with two remarks, which properly, indeed, belong to the Indian Philosophy, with which we are not at present concerned.

First; Elysium (not the place, but the bliss enjoyed there, in which sense Milton uses the word) cannot but appear, as described by the poets, a very tedious and insipid kind of enjoyment: it is, however, more exalted than the temporary Elysium in the court of Indra, where the pleasures, as in Muhammad's paradise, are wholly sensual; but the Muñi, or Elysian happiness of the Vedanta School is far more sublime; for they represent it as a total absorption, though not such as to destroy consciousness, in the divine essence; but, for the reason before suggested, I say no more of this idea of beatitude, and forbear touching on the doctrine of transmigration and the similarity of the Vedanta to the Sicilian, Italick, and old Academick Schools.

Secondly; in the mystical and elevated character of Pan, as a personification of the Uni-
verse, according to the notion of lord Bacon, there arises a sort of similitude between him and Crishna considered as Na'ra'yan. The Gre-eian god plays divinely on his reed, to express, we are told, ethereal harmony; he has his attendant Nymphs of the pastures and the dairy; his face is as radiant as the sky, and his head illumined with the horns of a crescent; whilst his lower extremities are deformed and shaggy, as a symbol of the vegetables, which the earth produces, and of the beasts, who roam over the face of it: now we may compare this portrait, partly with the general character of Crishna, the Shepherd God, and partly with the description in the Bhagavat of the divine spirit exhibited in the form of this Universal World; to which we may add the following story from the same extraordinary poem. The Nymphs had complained to Yaso'da, that the child Crishna had been drinking their curds and milk: on being reproved by his foster-mother for this indiscretion, he requested her to examine his mouth; in which, to her just amazement, she beheld the whole universe in all its plenitude of magnificence.

We must not be surprized at finding, on a close examination, that the characters of all the pagan deities, male and female, melt into each other, and at last into one or two; for it seems
a well-founded opinion, that the whole crowd of gods and goddesses in ancient Rome, and modern Varanes, mean only the powers of nature, and principally those of the Sun, expressed in a variety of ways and by a multitude of fanciful names.

Thus have I attempted to trace, imperfectly at present for want of ampler materials, but with a confidence continually increasing as I advanced, a parallel between the Gods adored in three very different nations, Greece, Italy, and India; but, which was the original system and which the copy, I will not presume to decide; nor are we likely, I believe, to be soon furnished with sufficient grounds for a decision: the fundamental rule, that natural, and most human, operations proceed from the simple to the compound, will afford no assistance on this point; since neither the Asiatick nor European system has any simplicity in it; and both are so complex, not to say absurd, however intermixed with the beautiful and the sublime, that the honour, such as it is, of the invention cannot be allotted to either with tolerable certainty.

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

Every one knows, that the true name of Egypt is Misr, spelled with a palatal sibilant both in Hebrew and Arabick: it seems in Hebrew to have been the proper name of the first settler in it; and, when the Arabs use the word for a great city, they probably mean a city like the capital of Egypt. Father Marco, a Roman Missionary, who, though not a scholar of the first rate, is incapable; I am persuaded, of deliberate falsehood, lent me the last book of a Ramayan, which he had translated through the Hindi into his native language, and with it a short vocabulary of My-
thological and Historical names, which had been explained to him by the Pandits of Betiya, where he had long resided: one of the articles in his little dictionary was, "Tirut, a town and province, in which the priests from Egypt settled:" and, when I asked him, what name Egypt bore among the Hindus, he said Mis'r, but observed, that they sometimes confounded it with Abyssinia. I perceived, that his memory of what he had written was correct; for Mis'r was another word in his index, "from which country, he said, came the Egyptian priests, who settled in Tirút." I suspected immediately, that his intelligence flowed from the Muselmans, who call sugar-candy Misrí or Egyptian; but, when I examined him closely, and earnestly desired him to recollect from whom he had received his information, he repeatedly and positively declared, that "it had been given him by several Hindus, and particularly by a Brábman, his intimate friend, who was reputed a considerable Pandit, and had lived three years near his house." We then conceived, that the seat of his Egyptian colony must have been Tiróbít, commonly pronounced Tirút, and anciently called Mit'bila, the principal town of Íanacadesa, or north Babár; but Mahe sa Pandit, who was born in that very district, and who submitted patiently to a long examination concern-
ing Misır, overlet all our conclusions: he denied, that the Brāhmans of his country were generally surnamed Misır, as we had been informed; and said, that the addition of Misra to the name of Va'chespeti, and other learned authors, was a title formerly conferred on the writers of miscellanies, or compilers of various tracts on religion or science, the word being derived from a root signifying to mix. Being asked, where the country of Misır was, “There are two, he answered, of that name; one of them in the west under the dominion of Muselmans, and another, which all the Sāstras and Puranas mention, in a mountainous region to the north of Ayodhya.” It is evident, that by the first he meant Egypt, but what he meant by the second, it is not easy to ascertain. A country, called Tirubut by our geographers, appears in the maps between the north-eastern frontier of Audh and the mountains of Népal; but whether that was the Tirut mentioned to father Marco by his friend of Bethyia, I cannot decide. This only I know with certainty, that Misra is an epithet of two Brāhmans in the drama of Sàcontala, which was written near a century before the birth of Christ; that some of the greatest lawyers, and two of the finest dramatick poets, of India have the same title; that we hear it frequently in court added to the names of Hindu parties; and that none of the Pandits, whom I have since
consulted, pretend to know the true meaning of the word, as a proper name, or to give any other explanation of it than that it is a surname of Brähmans in the west. On the account given to Colonel Kyd by the old Rájá of Crifhnanagar, "concerning traditions among the Hindus, that "some Egyptians had settled in this country," I cannot rely; because I am credibly informed by some of the Rájá's own family, that he was not a man of solid learning, though he possessed curious books, and had been attentive to the conversation of learned men: besides, I know that his son and most of his kinsmen have been dabblers in Persian literature, and believe them very likely, by confounding one source of information with another, to puzzle themselves, and mislead those with whom they converse. The word Misr, spelled also in Sanscrit with a palatal sibilant, is very remarkable; and, as far as Etymology can help us, we may safely derive Nilus from the Sanscrit word nila, or blue; since Dionysius expressly calls the waters of that river "an azure stream;" and, if we can depend on Marco's Italian version of the Ramayan, the name of Nila is given to a lofty and sacred mountain with a summit of pure gold, from which flowed a river of clear, sweet, and fresh water. M. Sonnerat refers to a dissertation by Mr. Schmit, which gained a prize at the Academy of Inscriptions, "On an Egyptian Colony es-
"blushed in India:" it would be worth while to examine his authorities, and either to overturn or verify them by such higher authorities, as are now accessible in these provinces. I strongly incline to think him right, and to believe that Egyptian priests have actually come from the Nile to the Gangā and Tamuna, which the Brāhmans most assuredly would never have left: they might, indeed, have come either to be instructed or to instruct; but it seems more probable, that they visited the Surmans of India, as the sages of Greece visited them, rather to acquire than to impart knowledge; nor is it likely, that the self-sufficient Brāhmans would have received them as their preceptors.

Be all this as it may, I am persuaded, that a connexion subsisted between the old idolatrous nations of Egypt, India, Greece, and Italy, long before they migrated to their several settlements, and consequently before the birth of Moses; but the proof of this proposition will in no degree affect the truth and sanctity of the Mosaiick History, which, if confirmation were necessary, it would rather tend to confirm. The Divine Legate, educated by the daughter of a king, and in all respects highly accomplished, could not but know the mythological system of Egypt; but he must have condemned the superstitions of that people, and despised the speculative
absurdities of their priests; though some of their traditions concerning the creation and the flood were grounded on truth. Who was better acquainted with the mythology of Athens than Socrates? Who more accurately versed in the Rabbinical doctrines than Paul? Who possessed clearer ideas of all ancient astronomical systems than Newton, or of scholastic metaphysics than Locke? In whom could the Romish Church have had a more formidable opponent than in Chillingworth, whose deep knowledge of its tenets rendered him so competent to dispute them? In a word, who more exactly knew the abominable rites and shocking idolatry of Canaan than Moses himself? Yet the learning of those great men only incited them to seek other sources of truth, piety, and virtue, than those in which they had long been immersed. There is no shadow then of a foundation for an opinion, that Moses borrowed the first nine or ten chapters of Genesis from the literature of Egypt: still less can the adamantine pillars of our Christian faith be moved by the result of any debates on the comparative antiquity of the Hindus and Egyptians, or of any inquiries into the Indian Theology. Very respectable natives have assured me, that one or two missionaries have been absurd enough, in their zeal for the conversion of the Gentiles,
to urge, "that the Hindus were even now al-
most Christians, because their Brahma, Vish-
nu, and Mahesa, were no other than the
"Christian Trinity;" a sentence, in which we
can only doubt, whether folly, ignorance, or
impiety predominates. The three powers, Cre-
tative, Preservative, and Destructive, which the
Hindus express by the triliteral word O'm, were
grossly ascribed by the first idolaters to the beat,
light, and flame of their mistaken divinity, the
Sun; and their wiser successors in the East, who
perceived that the Sun was only a created thing,
applied those powers to its creator; but the
Indian Triad, and that of Plato, which he
calls the Supreme Good, the Reason, and the
Soul, are infinitely removed from the hollines-
and sublimity of the doctrine, which pious
Christians have deduced from texts in the Gos-
pel, though other Christians, as pious, openly
profess their dissent from them. Each sect must
be justified by its own faith and good intentions:
this only I mean to inculcate, that the tenet of
our church cannot without profaneness be com-
pared with that of the Hindus, which has only
an apparent resemblance to it, but a very dif-
ferent meaning. One singular fact, however,
must not be suffered to pass unnoticed. That
the name of Crishna, and the general outline
of his story, were long anterior to the birth of
our Saviour, and probably to the time of Homer, we know very certainly; yet the celebrated poem, entitled Bhagavat, which contains a prolix account of his life, is filled with narratives of a most extraordinary kind, but strangely variegated and intermixed with poetical decorations: the incarnate deity of the Sanscrit romance was cradled, as it informs us, among Herdsmen, but it adds, that he was educated among them, and passed his youth in playing with a party of milkmaids; a tyrant, at the time of his birth, ordered all new-born males to be slain, yet this wonderful babe was preserved by biting the breast, instead of fucking the poisoned nipple, of a nurse commissioned to kill him; he performed amazing, but ridiculous, miracles in his infancy, and, at the age of seven years, held up a mountain on the tip of his little finger: he saved multitudes partly by his arms and partly by his miraculous powers; he raised the dead by descending for that purpose to the lowest regions; he was the meekest and best-tempered of beings, washed the feet of the Brahmans, and preached very nobly, indeed, and sublimely, but always in their favour; he was pure and chaste in reality, but exhibited an appearance of excessive libertinism, and had wives or mistresses too numerous to be counted; lastly, he was benevolent and tender, yet fo-
mented and conducted a terrible war. This motley story must induce an opinion that the spurious Gospels, which abounded in the first age of Christianity, had been brought to India, and the wildest parts of them repeated to the Hindus, who ingrafted them on the old fable of Césava, the Apollo of Greece.

As to the general extension of our pure faith in Hindustán, there are at present many sad obstacles to it. The Muselmán are already a sort of heterodox Christians: they are Christians, if Locke reasons justly, because they firmly believe the immaculate conception, divine character, and miracles of the Messiah; but they are heterodox, in denying vehemently his character of Son, and his equality, as God, with the Father, of whose unity and attributes they entertain and express the most awful ideas; while they consider our doctrine as perfect blasphemy, and insist, that our copies of the Scriptures have been corrupted both by Jews and Christians. It will be inexpessibly difficult to undeceive them, and scarce possible to diminish their veneration for Mohammed and Ali, who were both very extraordinary men, and the second, a man of unexceptionable morals: the Koran shines, indeed, with a borrowed light, since most of its beauties are taken from our Scrip-
tures; but it has great beauties, and the Muselmáns will not be convinced that they were borrowed. The Hindus on the other hand would readily admit the truth of the Gospel; but they contend, that it is perfectly consistent with their Sástras: the deity, they say, has appeared innumerable times, in many parts of this world and of all worlds, for the salvation of his creatures; and though we adore him in one appearance, and they in others, yet we adore, they say, the same God, to whom our several worship, though different in form, are equally acceptable, if they be sincere in substance. We may assure ourselves, that neither Muselmáns nor Hindus will ever be converted by any mission from the Church of Rome, or from any other church; and the only human mode, perhaps, of causing so great a revolution will be to translate into Sanscrit and Persian such chapters of the Prophets, particularly of Isaiah, as are indisputably Evangelical, together with one of the Gospels, and a plain prefatory discourse containing full evidence of the very distant ages, in which the predictions themselves, and the history of the divine person predicted, were severally made publick; and then quietly to disperse the work among the well-educated natives; with whom if in due time it failed of producing
very salutary fruit by its natural influence, we could only lament more than ever the strength of prejudice, and the weakness of unassisted reason.

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