ASIATICK RESEARCHES:
or,
TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
SOCIETY,
INSTITUTED IN BENGAL,
FOR INQUIRING INTO THE
HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES, THE ARTS,
SCIENCES, AND LITERATURE,
OF
ASIA.
VOLUME THE THIRD.

CALCUTTA:
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ADVERTISEMENT.

As it seemed proper to exhibit at one view the whole of Lieutenant Wilford's learned Essay on Egypt and the Nile, there was not room in this volume for a Meteorological Journal; and it may be doubted, whether the utility of such diaries compensates for their tediousness, and for the space, which they occupy: the two specimens already published will give a correct idea of the weather in this part of India. Very copious and interesting materials for the fourth volume are now ready for the press; but a short paper on the Code of Siamese Laws, which was too hastily announced, has been unfortunately lost; and we cannot expect, that Captain Light, the only Englishman among us, who understands the language of Siam, should find leisure, in his present important station, to compose another account of that curious, but abstruse, work.
I.

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,
On the Borderers, Mountaineers, 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 Asiatic 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 Phoenice, 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 Midian, 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 sailed 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 Ajams, 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 Troglodytes in part of the peninsula, but they seem to have been long supplanted by the Nomades, or wandering herdsmen; and who those Troglodytes were, we shall see very clearly, if we deviate 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.
On the Borderers, Mountaineers,

That the written Abyssinian language, which we call Ethiopick, is a dialect of old Chaldee, 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 Devanágarí, 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 Sanscrit grammars; whence it may justly be inferred, that the order contrived by Pāñini 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 Nágarí 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 Trogloodytes, 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 became 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 shewn, 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 Gafots and the Gallas, the Agows of both races, and the Eulafigas, 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 anciently 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 whom 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 Scythiin colonies, who, it is imagined, were formerly settled there, I have met with no trace in the maritime part of Yemen, from Aden to Maskat, of any nation, who were not either Arabic or Abyssinian invaders.
On the Borderers, Mountaineers,

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 Diýárbeer yet speak the Chaldaick of our scripture; and the rambling Turcmáns have retained, I imagine, some traces of their Tartarian idioms; but, since no vestige appears, from the gulf of Persia to the rivers Kur 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 Iran from India. The principal inhabitants of the mountains, called Pārsći, where they run towards the west, Purveti, from a known Sanscrit word, where they turn in an eastern direction, and Puropamipus, where they join Imaus in the north, were anciently distinguished among the Brāhmans by the name of Deradas, but seem to have been destroyed or expelled by the numerous tribes of Afgtáns or Patans, among whom are the Balójas, who give their name to a mountainous district; and there is very solid ground for believing, that the Afgtáns 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 Afareth of Esdrás, 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, Sangáda; which M. D'Anville justly supposes to be the seat of the Sangánúañ, 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 Purna on the part of the British government, procured at my request the Sanganian letters, which are a sort of Nāgarī, 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 Pāmeras, as the Brāhmans 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 angār, charcoal, čāstū, wood, pār, a bank, bhu, earth, and a hundred more, for which the collector of them could find no parallel in the vulgar dialect of Hindustān, though we know them to be pure Sanscrit scarcely 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, 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 kindnefs 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 Afghans 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 Vipáśa, or Hyphasis, to the west, the mountains of Tripura and Cármarúpa 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, Cirálas, Cólás, 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 Táprobane; 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 Lancia, 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 Malicás, 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 Madbhurá 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 reason, why the Jabadios, or Yavadvipá, of Ptolemy 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: Tava 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 Na'ered and Ha'rita; and, what is yet more observable, that the system of letters, used by the people of Rejiang and Lampiu, has the same artificial order with the Devanāgarī; 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 Pōtyid or Tibet were Hindus, who engrafted the heresies of Buddha 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 Giorgh'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, Tanchut and Khatâ, 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 Brachmachinas, 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 Pâli, or sacred language of Buddha's priests in that country, was anciently 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 Pâli letters; and when, on his authority, I spoke of the Bâli writing to a young chief of Ava, who read with facility the books of the Barmas, he corrected me with politeness, and assured me, that the Pâli language was written by the priests in a much older character.
Let us now return eastward to the farthest Asiatic 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 Massagetae, and some other nations usually considered as Tartars, to have been really of the Gothick, that is of the Hindu, race; for I confidently 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 wordship 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 Finnishe 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 Slavonian.

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 Perzian of the same Indian flock 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 Carprianus on the literature of Ava, compares them with the Páli 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 Caucasus and the northern limits of Irân, 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 goddesses Anaitis, whom we know, from other authorities, to be the Na'hi'd, or Venus, of the old Persians; 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 Mosleick 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 Chand, 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 Punick, of which we have a clear specimen in Plautus and on monuments lately brought to light, were indubitably of a Chaldaick, or Arabick, origin.
The feat of the first Phoenicians 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 perserverenels, 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 stye 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 shew 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."
II.

OBSERVATIONS on the Inhabitants of the Garrow Hills, made during a Publick Deputation in the Years 1788 and 1789.—By John Eliot, Esq.

In the month of September 1788 I was deputed by Government to investigate the duties collected on the Garrow hills, which bound the northeastern parts of Bengal; and, to conciliate the good will of the people, who had hitherto known no intercourse with Europeans, some scarlet cloth was given me by Government to be distributed to them.

The mountaineers, who inhabit different parts of India, have been generally considered Savages, equally unrestrained by law and morality, and watchful to take every opportunity of committing depredations on the low country, pillaging the inhabitants, and destroying their villages, whenever they could do so with impunity. At Boglepore however, it has been proved, that the hill people, by good treatment and encouragement, may be in a great degree civilized and rendered at least peaceable and inoffensive, if not serviceable: my observation of the character and conduct of the Garrows has induced me to believe the same good consequences may be expected from encouraging them; but I propose to relate in plain language what I experienced on my visit to them, and leave others to form their own judgment; and, as I am the first European, who has travelled among them, I shall also add a few observations on the country, and on what attracted my notice as being in any respect peculiar.

On drawing near the hills you have a beautiful sight of three ranges of
mountains, rising one above another; but on nearer approach they vanish, except the Gonaffers, the lower range, in appearance insignificantly small. The verdure and rich land, however, fully recompense the loss; and, turn your eye which way you will, you see something to cheer the mind, and raise the fancy, in the numerous small villages round about, protected from the heat by a variety of trees interspersed.

The first pass, I went to, was Ghojegong, situated on the west side of the Natie river. Here a great number of Garrows reside at the foot of the pass in three villages, Ghojegong, Ghonie and Borack. The head people of the villages are called Boneaks, a name used by the head Râjâs in Bengal, when the king resided at Gour. Whence they derived this name, I could not learn; and many other things, which might lead to discoveries, escaped my knowledge from the want of a good interpreter.

Oodassey Booneah is looked on as the head man of this pass at present, having most influence with his sect; but the rightful chief is Momee, a woman, and her power being, by established usage, transferable by marriage to her husband, he ought in consequence to preside; but, from his being a young and silly man, the chieffship is usurped by Oodassey, and his usurpation is submitted to by Momee and her husband. Oodassey however is by no means a violent or artful man. He is far from possessing a bad disposition, is a mild man, and by all accounts takes great pains to do justice, and keep up unanimity with his people.

The village Ghojegong is surrounded by a little jungle. On passing it the village is opened to your sight, consisting of Chaungs or Houses from about thirty to 150 feet long, and twenty or forty broad,
These Garrows are called by the villagers and upper hill people Caunch Garrows, though they themselves, if you ask them, of what cast they are, will answer Garrows, and not give themselves any appellation of cast, though there are many casts of Garrows, but with what differences I had not time to ascertain.

The soil is of a fine black earth, here and there intermixed with spots of red earth: its richness is plainly seen from the quickness of vegetation. The rice is in many places equal to the Benares long rice. The mustard seed is twice as big as any produced in the pergunnahs of Bengal, where I have been, and the oil it produces, is as superior to, as the size of its grain is greater than, any other. The hemp is equally good, but, as to its superiority to what may be produced in other pergunnahs, I am unable to speak with certainty: as far as I can judge from my own observation, the fort brought to the Calcutta market, is not equal to what is produced on the borders of the hills. The pasture for cattle may be classed next in quality to that of Plaffy plain; and this I infer from its being generally known, the Sheerpour and Sufung ghee is nearly as good as that made at Plaffy.

There are rivers at the several passes. Those of note are the Natie, Mahareesee, Summufferry, and Mahadeo. On the west side of the Natie is Ghosegong, and on the east the Sufoor pass. Abrahamaabad or Bygombarry is on the east side of the Mahareesee; Augbur, on the east of Summufferry; and Burradewarrab, on the west of Mahadeo. These rivers are all of a sandy and gravelly bottom, with much limestone and iron. The Mahadeo has abundance of coals, the oil of which is esteemed in the hills as a medicine for the cure of cutaneous disorders, and is reputed to have been first discovered to the hill people and villagers by a Fakcer. The mode of extracting the
On the Inhabitants of

Oil is simple. A quantity of coals are put into an earthen pot, the mouth of which is stopped with long grass by way of strainer. This pot is put into a large deep pan perforated at the bottom, so as to admit of the neck of the pot being put through it; the pan is supported upon bricks to prevent the neck of the pot from touching the ground, and also that a vessel may be placed under the strainer as a reservoir for receiving the oil as it drops. The pan is filled with dry cow dung, which is used as fuel, and extracts the oil in the course of an hour.

There are but few sorts of fish in these rivers: turtle are to be had in great numbers, and are always consecrated by sacrifice before they are eaten. The hill people are however fully recompenced for the loss of fish in the rivers, by the great abundance they get from the neighbouring lakes.

A Garrow is a stout well shaped man, hardy, and able to do much work; of a surly look, flat Cæphli like nose, small eyes, generally blue, or brown, forehead wrinkled, and overhanging eye brow, with large mouth, thick lips, and face round and short; their colour is of a light or deep brown; their dress consists of a brown girdle, about three inches broad; having in the centre a blue stripe; it goes round the waist, is passed between the thighs, and is fastened behind, leaving one end or flap hanging down before, about eight inches; some times it is ornamented with brass plates; with rows of ivory or a white stone shaped like bits of tobacco pipes, about half an inch long; the brass plate is made to resemble a button, or an apothecary’s weight, but more indented; some have it ornamented with little bits of brass, shaped like a bell; some wear an ornament on their head about three or five inches broad, decorated in the
same manner as the flap, serving to keep their hair off their face, which gives them a wild fierce appearance. Some dye their hair on the crown; in a loose careless manner, while others crop it close. The Booneahs or chiefs wear a silk turban; to the girdle they affix a bag containing their money and pawns, and also a net for holding the utensils with which they light their pipe hung near to it by a chain.

The women are the ugliest creatures I ever beheld, short and squat in their stature, with masculine faces, in the features of which they differ little from the men. Their dress consists of a dirty red cloth, striped with blue or white, about sixteen inches broad, which encircles the waist, and covers about three-fourths of the thigh. It never reaches to the knee, and being but just long enough to tie above on the left side, part of the left thigh, when they walk, is exposed. On their necks they have a string of the ornaments above described resembling tobacco pipes, twisted thirty or forty times round, but negligently, without any attention to regularity; their breasts are exposed to view, their only clothing being the girdle above-mentioned; to their ears are affixed numbers of brass rings, increasing in diameter from three to six inches: I have seen thirty of those rings in each ear; a slit is made in the lobes of the ear, which increases from the weight of the rings, and in time will admit the large number stated. This weight is however partly supported by a string, which passes over their heads; a tape three inches broad ties their hair, so as to keep it back from their foreheads, though generally it is tied with a string on the crown of the head. The wives of the Booneahs cover their heads with a piece of coarse cloth, thirteen or fourteen inches broad and two feet long, the end of which, with their hair, hangs down behind, flowing loose on their backs. The women work as well as the men, and I have seen them carry
as great burthens. Their hands, even those of the wives of the Booneabs, bear evident marks of their laborious occupations.

These people eat all manner of food, even dogs, frogs, snakes, and the blood of all animals. The last is baked over a slow fire in hollow green bamboos, till it becomes of a nasty dirty green colour. They are fond of drinking to an excess. Liquor is put into the mouth of infants, almost as soon as they are able to swallow; they have various sorts of spirits, but that mostly drunk is extracted from rice, soaked in water for three or four days before use. Their cookery is short, as they only just heat their provisions; excepting rice and guts, the first of which is well boiled, and the other stewed till they are black. Indeed excepting these, their animal food is eaten almost raw.

In times of scarcity many of the hill people subsist on the Kebul which in growth is said to be like the Palmira, and the interior part of the trunk, when pounded, and steeped in water, is an article of food, in so much as to be the common means of sustenance during a scarcity of grain. When boiled it is of a gelatinous substance, and tastes when fresh, like a sugar cane: those, who can afford it, mix rice with it. They also subsist on the Kutchu, a sort of Yam found in great plenty, about the hills. I saw three sorts, though I could not learn they had any separate name. One has a number of buds on it, is said to be a cooling medicine, and is eaten boiled or baked. Some of them I brought with me from the hills, and being bruised in the basket used in bringing them from the hills, I cut off the rotten part, which I found to be of no detriment to their growth, although out of the ground. At Dacca I gave them to Mr. Richard Johnson, who, I understand, delivered them to Colonel Kyd, the superintendent of the
Company's botanical garden, where, I hear, they have produced a very handsome flower. This plant was cultivated by the Garrows, nearly in the same manner, as we do potatoes in England; a bud being broken off to be sown for a plant. The Garrows say it yields, after it is dug out of the ground, and laid by for the ensuing season of cultivation (commencing immediately on the breaking up of the rains) from three to ten buds. Another sort of Kutchu grows at the tops of the hills, and is found by its sprout, which twists itself round the trunk, and branches of trees. I have seen the sprout from ten to twenty feet high, the leaves have three segments like a vine leaf, but more pointed: of deep green, and very small. The root is found from a foot to two feet and a half below the ground, is in shape tapering, of a reddish colour, and in length from five inches to a foot and a half: it is eaten roasted. The other species grows in the same manner, but is of a dirty yellow colour.

The houses of these Garrows, called Chaungs, are raised on piles, about three or four feet from the ground, from thirty to 150 feet in length; and in breadth from ten to forty, and are roofed with thatch. The props of the Chaung consist of large faul timbers: in the centre there are eight, and on the sides from eight to thirty: over these are placed horizontally large timbers, for a support to the roof, and tied fast; sometimes with strings, but string is rarely used for this purpose; the tying work being mostly done with slips of gras or cane. The roof is neatly executed and with as much regularity as any of our Bungalow thatches. When I say this, however, I speak of the Chaungs of the Booneahs: I went into few of the Chaungs of the lower classes. The roof consists of mats and strong grass. The sides of the house are made from the small hollow bamboos cut open, flattened, and woven as the common mats are. The floor is made in the same man-
ner; but of a stronger bamboo. The Chaung consists of two apartments, one floored and raised on piles as described, and the other without a floor, at one end, for their cattle: at the other end is an open platform, where the women sit and work. On one side also is a small raised platform, usually about six feet square enclosed at the sides and open above: here the children play; in the centre of the Chaung they cook their victuals, a space of about five feet square being covered with earth; on one side a little trap door is made in the floor, for the conveniences of the women on certain occasions, which creates much filth under their Chaungs. Indeed a great part of their dirt is thrown under the Chaung, and the only scavengers I saw, were their hogs; but luckily for them, they have plenty of those animals.

Bugs cover their wearing apparel, of the same sort, as those which infest beds in England: during my journey along the hills I suffered very much from them.

The disposition of a Garrow could not be accurately known in the short time, I had to observe it; yet my intercourse with them, which was of the most open nature, will, I think, allow me to say something of it.

Their surly looks seem to indicate ill temper, but this is far from being the case, as they are of a mild disposition. They are, moreover, honest in their dealings, and sure to perform what they promise. When in liquor they are merry to the highest pitch: then men, women, and children will dance, till they can scarce stand. Their manner of dancing is as follows: twenty or thirty men of a row standing behind one another, hold each other by the sides of their belts, and then go round in a circle, hopping on one foot, then on the other, singing and keeping time with their music,
which is animating, though harsh and inharmonious, consisting chiefly of tom-toms, and brass pans, the first generally beaten by the old people, and the last by the children. The women dance in rows and hop in the same manner, but hold their hands out, lowering one hand and raising the other at the same time, as the music beats, and occasionally turning round with great rapidity. The men also exhibit military exercises with the sword and shield, which they use with grace and great activity. Their dancing at their festivals lasts two or three days, during which time they drink and feast to an excess, insomuch that it requires a day or two afterwards, to make them perfectly sober again, yet during this fit of festivity and drunkenness they never quarrel.

Marriage is in general settled amongst the parties themselves, though sometimes by their parents; if it has been settled by the parties themselves, and the parents of either refuse their assent, the friends of the opposite party, and even others unconnected, go and by force compel the dissenters to comply; it being a rule among the Garrows to assist those that want their help, on these occasions, let the disparity of age or rank be ever so great. If the parents do not accede to the wish of their child, they are well beaten till they acquiesce in the marriage, which being done, a day is fixed for the settlement of the contract, or rather for a complimentary visit from the bride to the bridegroom, to settle the day of marriage, and the articles, of which the feast shall consist, as well as the company to be invited; and they then make merry for the night. The invitations on these occasions are made by the head man of a Chaung sending a paun to the inhabitants of another Chaung, as they cannot invite one out of a Chaung without the rest: the man who carries the paun states the purpose for which it is sent, and the next day an answer is made, if the invitation be accepted, but not
otherwise, as they never wish to give a verbal refusal; and therefore, if nobody returns the next day, the invitation is understood to be refused.

On the nuptial day, the parties invited go to the bride's house; it being the custom among the Garrows for the bride to fetch the bridegroom: when the wine, &c. are ready, and all the company arrived, they begin singing and dancing, and now and then take a merry cup; while a party of the women carry the bride to the river, wash her, and on their return home dress her out in her best ornaments; this completed, it is notified to the company, and the music ceases: then a party take up the wine, provisions, drums, pans, and a cock and hen, and carry them to the bridegroom's house in procession; the cock and hen being carried by the priest, after which, the bride follows, with a party of women, walking in the centre, till she arrives at the bridegroom's house, where she and her party feast themselves in one corner of the Chaung near the door; the remaining visitors then proceed to the bridegroom's house, and the men sit at the further end of the room, opposite to the women; the men then again begin singing and dancing; the bridegroom is called for; but, as he retires to another Chaung, some search is made for him, as if he were missing, and, as soon as they find him, they give a shout; they then carry him to the river, wash him, return, and dress him in his war-dress; which done, the women carry the bride to her own Chaung, where she is put in the centre; and, notice of this being brought to the visitors at the bridegroom's house, they take up the wine, &c. and prepare to go with the bridegroom, when his father, mother, and family cry and howl in the most lamentable manner, and some force is used to separate him from them. At last they depart, the bride's father leading the way, and the company following one by one, the bridegroom in the centre. On entering the bride's Chaung, they make
a general shout, and place the bridegroom on the bride's right hand, and
then sing and dance for a time, till the priest proclaiming silence, all is
quiet; and he goes before the bride and bridegroom, who are seated, and
ask some questions, to which the whole party answer Nummah or good.*
this continues a few minutes, after which, the cock and hen being
brought, the priest takes hold of them by the wings, and holds them up
to the company, asking them some questions, to which they again reply
Nummah; some grain is then brought, and thrown before the cock and
then, who being employed in picking it, the priest takes this opportunity,
to strike them on the head with a stick, to appearance dead, and the whole
company, after observing them a few seconds, call out, as before; a knife be-
ing then brought, the priest cuts the anus of the cock, and draws out the guts,
and the company repeat Nummah, after which he performs the same opera-
tion on the hen, and the company give a shout and again call out Nummah.
They look on this part of the ceremony as very ominous; for, should any blood
be spilt by the first blow, or the guts break, or any blood come out with the
guts, it would be considered as an unlucky marriage. The ceremony be-
ing over, the bride and bridegroom drinking present the bowl to the com-
pany, and then they all feast and make merry.

I discovered these circumstances of the marriage ceremony of the Gar-
rows, from being present at the marriage of Lungree, youngest daughter
of the chief Oodassy, seven years of age, and Buglun, twenty-three
years old, the son of a common Garrow; and I may here observe, that this
marriage, disproportionate as to age and rank, is a very happy one for Bug-
lun, as he will succeed to the Booneabship and estate; for among all the

* I suspect the word to be Namab, or salutation and reverence. J.
Garrows, the youngest daughter is always heiress, and if there be any other children, who were born before her, they would get nothing on the death of the Booneah: what is more strange, if Buglun were to die, Lungree would marry one of his brothers; and, if all his brothers were dead, she would then marry the father; and, if the father afterwards should prove too old, she would put him aside, and take any one else, whom she might choose.

The dead are kept for four days, burnt on a pile of wood in a Dingy or small boat, placed on the top of the pile, and the ashes are put into a hole dug exactly where the fire was, covered with a small thatch building and surrounded with a railing: a lamp is burnt within the building every night, for the space of a month or more; the wearing apparel of the deceased is hung on poles fixed at each corner of the railing, which, after a certain time (from six weeks to two months) are broken, and then allowed to hang downwards till they fall to pieces: they burn their dead within six or eight yards of their Chaungs, and the ceremony is performed at exactly twelve o'clock at night; the pile is lighted by the nearest relation: after this they feast, make merry, dance and sing, and get drunk. This is however the ceremony to a common Garrow. If it be a person of rank, the pile is decorated with cloth and flowers, and a bullock sacrificed on the occasion, and the head of the bullock is also burnt with the corps: if it be an upper hill Booneahs, of common rank, the head of one of his slaves would be cut off, and burnt with him; and, if it happen to be one of the first rank Booneahs, a large body of his slaves fall out of the hills, and seize a Hindu, whose head they cut off and burn with their chief. The railed graves of Booneahs are decorated with images of animals placed near the graves, and the railing is often ornamented with fresh flowers.
Their religion appears to approximate to that of the Hindus: they worship Mahadeva; and at Baunj, a pass in the hills, they worship the sun and moon. To ascertain which of the two they are to worship upon any particular occasion, their priest takes a cup of water and some wheat: first calling the name of the sun, he drops a grain into the water; if it sinks, they then are to worship the sun; should it not sink, they then would drop another grain in the name of the moon, and so on till one of the grains sinks. All religious ceremonies are preceded by a sacrifice to their God of a bull, goat, hog, cock, or dog; in cases of illness, they offer up a sacrifice in proportion to the supposed fatality of the distemper, with which they are afflicted; as they imagine medicine will have no effect, unless the Deity intercedes in their favor, and that a sacrifice is requisite, to procure such interposition.

The sacrifice is made before an altar constructed as follows: two bamboos are erected stripped of all their branches and leaves, except at the extremity of the main stem, which is left: a stick is fixed near the top of each, to which is tied, at each end, a double string, reaching to two side bamboos about two feet out of the ground with the tops split, so as to make a kind of crown; between the strings are placed bits of sticks of about a foot in height, at the distance of a foot from each other, or more, in proportion to the height of the bamboos. The cross sticks thus form a square, with the perpendicular strings; and in every other square, cross strings are tied, beginning with the top square: round the bamboos a space of six or eight feet square is cleared, and covered with red earth, and in front, at the distance of about six or more feet, a square of two feet is cleared, in the centre of which a small pit is dug, and spread over with red earth; at some distance from the altar, on the side nearest the hills.
two split bamboos are bent into an arch, with the ends in the ground, so as to form a covering; under this, a small mound is raised, and a little thatched building erected over it, open at the sides, under which some boiled rice is placed. When thus much is prepared, the priest approaches the little pit; and the people assembled stand behind him. He then mutters something to himself; when the animal intended to be sacrificed is brought, and the head cut off by the priest over the pit, some holding the head by a rope; and others the body: if the head is not taken off at one blow, it is reckoned unlucky. The blood is collected in a pan, carried to the covered arch, with the head of the animal, and put by the side of the mound. A lighted lamp is then brought, and put near the animal's head, when the whole company bow to the ground, and a white cloth is drawn over the arch, it being supposed their God will then come, and take what he wants; a fire is also kept burning during the ceremony between the altar and arch. An hour after, the covering is taken off; the provisions therein placed, with the animal, are dressed for the company; and they make merry.

When a large animal is to be sacrificed, two staves are put by the side of the pit, so as to place the animal's neck between them: a bamboo is tied under his neck to the staves, to prevent his head from falling to the ground: he is then stretched out by ropes, fixed to his legs; and his head is severed by the strongest man among them.

Their mode of swearing at Ghojegong is very solemn: the oath is taken upon a stone, which they first salute, then with their hands joined and uplifted, their eyes steadfastly fixed to the hills, they call on Mahade'va in the most solemn manner, telling him to witness what they declare, and
that he knows, whether they speak true or false. They then again touch the stone with all the appearance of the utmost fear, and bow their heads to it, calling again upon Mahade'va. They also during their relation, look steadfastly to the hills and keep their right hand on the stone. When the first person swore before me, the awe and reverence, with which the man swore, forcibly struck me: my Mohemr could hardly write, so much was he affected by the solemnity. In some of the hills they put a tiger's bone between their teeth, before they relate the subject to be deposition; others take earth in their hands; and, on some occasions, they swear with their weapons in their hands. I understand their general belief to be, that their God resides in the hills; and, though this belief may seem inconsistent with an awful idea of the divinity, these people appeared to stand in the utmost awe of their deity, from their fear of his punishing them for any misconduct in their frequent excursions to the hills.

Their punishments consist mostly in fines. The Booncalis decide on all complaints, except adultery, murder and robbery, which are tried by a general assembly of the neighbouring chiefs, and are punished with instant death. As the money collected by fines was appropriated to feasting and drunkenness, I wished to see, if I could induce them to give over this mode of punishing; but they told me plainly; they would not allow me to interfere; yet, as I had been very kind to them, when a man was to be punished with death, they would let me know.

When any thing particular is to be settled, they all assemble in their war-dresses, which consists of a blue cloth, (covering part of the back and tied across at the breast, where the four corners are made to meet) a shield, and a sword: they sit in a circle, the sword fixed in the ground.
before them. Their resolutions are put into immediate execution, if they relate to war; if to other matters, they feast, sing, dance, and get drunk.

Their chiefs debate the subject of deliberation, and their wives on these occasions have as much authority as the chiefs. This I had an opportunity of seeing, when I settled the revenue they had to pay, having told them, they would be well protected from any oppression, while under me, and that no more should be taken from them, than was finally settled: some of the chiefs wished to pay an inadequate sum, when Mombe, wife to the principal chief, rose, and spoke for some minutes, after which she asked me if I declared the truth to them, and on my replying in the affirmative, they agreed to the revenue I demanded: Sujani, wife of another chief, then came to me, and told me, I had heard what she had suffered from the oppression of the Zemindars, and begged, with tears in her eyes, that I would get justice done to her. I made a particular inquiry into her complaint, and made the Daregah of the pais restore her cattle; and so much confidence had they at last in me, that they requested I would make a fair division of their lands, which they would never suffer the Zemindar or his people to do.

Their mode of settling their proportions of payments, &c. is by sticks: each of the inferior Garros places as many sticks in a pan, as he can give of the article required: the whole are then counted, and the deficiencies made up by the Booneabs: all their accounts also are kept by sticks, as well as their agreements.

I have before said, on occasions of illness a sacrifice is made to the deity: I endeavoured to find out what medicines they use, but I cannot say I have
been successful in this material point: I imagine however, they must have some valuable plants, from the many great cures that appear to have been effected in wounds. The neem leaf seems to be much used in inflammations, and blue vitriol is applied to fresh wounds: this last medicine appears to have been introduced by the natives of Bengal: charms and spells are common among the Garrows. The tiger's nose, strung round a woman's neck, is considered as a great preservative in child birth: they aver, it keeps off giddiness and other disorders consequent on this event. A woman for nearly a month before her time is not permitted to stir out of her Chaung: six days after delivery she and her child are carried to the river and bathed.

The skin of the snake called the Burraswar is esteemed a cure for external pains, when applied to the parts affected.

Inoculation is common among the Garrows, but this appears to have been only of late years, and was introduced among them by Joynarain Zemindar of Sheerpour, through the interference and recommendation of some of the hill traders, who, having been in the hills at a time when the Garrows were afflicted with this fatal disorder and dying without being able to assist themselves, persuaded the chiefs to send a deputation to the Zemindar, and he sent them his family doctor, who is represented to have been very capable, and by his skill introduced inoculation among the Garrows; and this induced them to provide themselves yearly with an inoculator, whom they reward in the most liberal manner, and take as much care of, while he resides among them, as if he were their father. The inoculator is obliged to obtain from the Zemindar a sannah permitting him to go into the hills, and for which he pays a very handsome fee; but the Zemindar is very
cautious whom he permits to go into the hills to officiate on these occasions.

Among the Garrows a madness exists which they call transformation into a tiger from the person who is afflicted with this malady walking about like that animal, shunning all society. It is said, that, on their being first seized with this complaint they tear their hair and the rings from their ears, with such force as to break the lobe. It is supposed to be occasioned by a medicine applied to the forehead; but I endeavoured to procure some of the medicine thus used without effect: I imagine it rather to be created by frequent intoxications, as the malady goes off in the course of a week or a fortnight; during the time the person is in this state, it is with the utmost difficulty he is made to eat or drink. I questioned a man, who had thus been afflicted, as to the manner of his being seized, and he told me he only felt a giddiness without any pain, and that afterwards he did not know what happened to him.

The language of the Garrows is a little mixed with the Bengali: a few words of it I annex; I had made a tolerable collection for a vocabulary, but unfortunately I lost it, by one of my boats sinking in the Berbampooter.

To drink, ring,bo.
eat, cha,fuch.
bathe, ha,boo,ah.
wash, fu,fuck.
fight, denjuck.
wound, ma,juck.

come, ra,ba,fuck.
go, call, sleep, run, bring, fit, a man, a woman, a child, head, face, nose, mouth, eye, ear, hair, hand, finger, back, foot, fire, water, house, tree, rice, cotton, hog, cow, 

rec. gum, ma
fee, fuck.
ca, tan, juck.
rap, pa.
a, jen, juck.
mun, die.
mee, che, da, rung.
dooččė.
fee, kook.
moo, kam.
ing.
- chu, chul.
mok, roon.
æer, chil.
ke, nil.
jauck.
jauck, fee.
bick, ma.
ja, chuck.
waul.
chee.
nuck,
ber.
my, run.
caule.
wauck.
ma, shu.
At the foot of the hills reside a cast of people called Hajins; their customs nearly resemble the Garrows; in religious matters they partake more of the Hindus, as they will not kill a cow: their habitations are built like the houses of the ryotts in general, but are better made, enclosed with a court yard, kept remarkably neat and clean, the railing made of bamboos split, flattened, and joined together; the streets of their villages, equal the neatness of their houses. The men are of a dark complexion, well made and stout; their face nearly resembles the Garrow, though rather of a milder look; their dress is the same as that of the head peafants in Bengal, consisting of a Dootee, Egpautah and Pugree, or waist-cloth, mantle, and turband.

The women are remarkably neat and clean: their dress consists of one cloth, made to go near twice round the body and to hang in folds, down to the ankle, covers their breasts, and passes under their arms, and the ends are tucked in as the waist-cloth of the natives of Bengal: their hair is tied on the crown, and they have ear rings in the same manner as the Garrow women, but no neck ornament.
This is the sum of the observations, which my short stay with the inhabitants of the Garrow hills enabled me to make on their manners and customs. I have written separately an account of my journey at the foot of the hills to the different passes, where their trade is carried on, from which some further information may be derived of their conduct and character; but I am conscious that my remarks describe them but imperfectly, and found my only hope of their proving acceptable on the people, to whom they relate, having hitherto been wholly unnoticed: they may also perhaps lead to more accurate inquiries hereafter.
I NOW have the pleasure to inclose a copy, written with a stylus on five palmyra-leaves, of the engraving on copper-plates preserved in the great pagoda of Conjevaram: the language is the Devavâni; and the character, Devanâgarî. Two persons only at this place can read and expound them: they contain an account of the division of lands, &c. in this country.—Thus have I taken the liberty to trouble you with matters, which may, or may not, prove of consequence: they, who are able to judge of them, must determine. Should any good arise from these communications, my merit will be only that of the slave, who digs from a mine the rough diamond, which others, of superior skill and capacity, cut and polish into its full lustre and value.

I am, DEAR SIR,

Your most-obedient humble servant.

ALEXANDER MACLEOD.

Conjevaram, April 7, 1791.
V. 29 — 35.

हे रामानाथ ननंतर तेरां इत्यादि साते हैं। यह सताविते नदु धराई हा सहायते। नायक सताविते संहार भिंत्र जाते। नायक सताविते संहार भिंत्र जाते। नायक सताविते संहार भिंत्र जाते। नायक सताविते संहार भिंत्र जाते। नायक सताविते संहार भिंत्र जाते। नायक सताविते संहार भिंत्र जाते।
III.

A ROYAL GRANT of Land in Carnāta.—Communicated by ALEXANDER MACLEOD, Esq. and translated from the Sanscrit by the President.

Prosperity attend you!
Adoration to Ganeśa!

STANZAS.

1. ADORED be the God SAMBHU, on whom the city of the three worlds rested in the beginning as on its main pillar, and whose lofty head is adorned with a crescent, that kisses it, resembling the point of a waving Chāmara!

NOTE.
The comparison is taken from the image of an Indian prince, fanned by an officer, who stands behind him, with the tail of a Chamara, or wild cow, the hairs of which are exquisitely fine and of a pale yellow tint. SAMBHU is MAHA'DE'VA.

2. MAY the tusk of that boar, whose form was assumed in sport by HERI, when the raised earth was his gorgeous umbrella with HEMĀDRI (or the golden mountain) for the ornament of its top, be a staff to keep you secure!

NOTE:
VISHNU, in his third incarnation, is allegorically represented as a boar, the symbol of strength, supporting our globe on his tusk, which is here compared to the staff of a Ch'hatra, or Indian umbrella. The Ch'hatras of rich men have an ornament of gold on their summits, called a Colefa, to which the royal bard, who wrote the grant, compares the mountain Sumeru, or the North-pole.
3. May the luminous body of that God, who, though formed like an elephant, was born of Parvati, and is revered even by Heri, propitiously dispel the gloom of misfortune!

**NOTE.**

The bodies of the Hindu gods are supposed to be an ethereal substance resembling light; and Ganesh, or the divine Wisdom personified, is represented with the head of an elephant; his mother was the daughter of the mountain Himalaya. This couplet is in the style called yanmoca, where some of the words have different meanings, but are applicable, in all of them, to the rest of the sentence: thus Agnaja, or mountain-lion, may signify the goddess Parvati, but it also means not a female elephant; and Heri, or Vishnu, may be translated a lion, of which elephants are the natural prey.

4. There is a luminary, which rose, like fresh butter, from the ocean of milk churned by the gods, and scattered the gloom from around it.

**NOTE.**

After the usual stanzas, called vanizula, or auspicious, we are presented with the pedigree of the donor, beginning with the Moon, who, in the second incarnation of Vishnu, was produced from the sea of milk. A comparison of the moon to butter must seem ridiculous to Europeans; but they should consider, that every thing, which the cow produces, is held sacred by the Hindus; and the simile is consistent with the allegory of a milky ocean churned by the deities.

5. The offspring of that luminary was Budha, or the Wife, with reason so named from his unequalled acts of devotion and eminent virtues: the son of Budha was Pururavas, by the force of whose arm the lives of his foes were destroyed: his son was Ayus; his, Nahusha; his, the hero Yayati, famed through the world in battle; and from him, by his happy consort Devayani', came Turvam equal to a God.

**NOTE.**

This pedigree is conformable to the Puranas. Budha was probably an old philosopher and legislator, highly revered, while he lived, and supposed after his death to preside over the planet Mercury, while his father (if that be not an astronomical fable) was conceived to be regent of the Moon: he gives his name, like the Woden of the north, to the fourth day of the week. The original epithet of the last king, named in this verse, is Vasaniloba, or equal to a Vafa, but the jingle of syllables, which the Indian poet meant as a beauty, is avoided in the translation: a Vafa is one of the eight divinities, who form a gana, or assemblage, of Gods; and there are nine of those ganas.
6. In his family was born De'vaci'ja'ni; and in his, Timma, a sovereign celebrated among those of equal descent, like Vri'shni among the children of Yadu.

**NOTE.**

If Tulavinda be the true reading in the second hemistich, it must be the name of a kingdom: but we must beware of geographical errors, lest the names of countries, which never existed, should find their way into maps. Yadu was another son of Yadati; and Crishna descended from him through Vri'shni, whence the Shepherd God is named Yadava, and Vasudeva.

7. From him sprang Bhuccama'ja'ni, a ruler, who cherished the world; a gem on the head of kings, not spreading terroir around, but gleaming with undiminished brightness.

8. He lived with delight; and De'vaci'jnandana, the king who gave felicity to mankind, sprang from him, like the God of Love from the son of De'vaci.'

**NOTE.**

Ca'made'va, or the God of Love, was born in one of his incarnations as the son of Crishna, whose real parents were De'vaci' and Vasude'va; in that birth Ca'ma took the name of Pradyumna, and was father of Aniruddha, whose adventures with Usha are the subject of a beautiful tale and a very interesting drama.

9. In many places, of which Ramiswara was the first, renowned for various exertions of virtue, he distributed, as the law ordains, with a joyful heart again and again, a variety of gifts around the shrines of the deities; attaining such fame on earth, that the inhabitants of the three worlds expanded it in triumphant songs.

**NOTE.**

Ramiswara, near the southern extremity of the Indian continent, received its name and sanctity from
the fourth incarnation of Visnu in the form of Rama. This ninth couplet is written in a singular metre: with rhymes in the middle of each division:

Vividha sucitó loká rámé śvāra pramañc'hé muhur,
Muditaḥridaya j'háné j'bdan vyadhatta ya'r'á vidhi,
Vibudhaperiṭó nínda díndiyá bhuví śodáñá,
Tribhuvanjanád-gêtañá j'bná yañáh punaruddhayán.

If śránd be the correct reading, it means a sacred bathing place; and if śvára be properly written at the end of the third line, it may imply, that the royal donations were made to sixteen temples; or that the principal donations were sixteen.

10. He shone forth conspicuously, having rapidly bound the Câvērî, by raising a bridge over that receptacle of tumultuous waters; and having, by the strength of his arm, made Jīvagra'ha captive in battle, he appointed that kingdom, of which the name begins with Srîranga, as the feudal territory of his prisoner, but subject to his own dominion paramount: he was praised, even to the end of his career, by the three peopled worlds, who heard the whole extent of his fame.

NOTE.

Jīvagra'ha seems to be the proper name of a prince, whose dominions lay beyond the Câvērî: the word means the Seizer of Life. Among the many epithets of the god Siva we find Ranga; and Srîranga pattan, or a city dedicated to him, is the capital of Mahéswar, so called from another name of the deity. Those appellations are in some measure preferred to this day; but the ancient name of Travancore was Mâllâra.

11. Having conquered the regions of Chēra, Chōla; Pāñjya, subdued the king Madhurivaḷlaēha, whose chief ornament was his loftiness of mind, taken Vi'ryo'dagra prisoner, vanquished the king Gajapeti, or Lord of Elephants, and other sovereigns, he became universally celebrated from the northern banks of Gângâ to Lancâ (the equinoctial point), from the verge of the first, or eastern, to that of the last, or western, mountain, and placed his awful behest, like a chaplet of flowers, over the heads of the mightiest potentates.
Land in Carnata.

Note.

Two Brāhmen, who perused this couplet, proposed to read Pândya, of which they had before heard, instead of Pāṇja, which appears in the transcript. Had Madhurā been written instead of Madhuri, there could have been little doubt, that it meant one of the southern kingdoms: one of my Pandits thinks, that it means Madura.

12. From that chief of lion-like men, by two queens Tipwa'ji' and Nagara', as from Dasarat'ha by the divine Causalva' and Sumitra',

13. Sprang two valiant, yet modest, heroes, like the two princes Rama and Lacišmana, named Viranrisinhendra and Crishnaraya, both lords of the earth.

14. The famed Viranrisinha, having taken his seat in Vijayanagar on a throne blazing with gems, far surpassed in glory and policy the ancient kings Nriga, Nala, Nahusha, and, consequently, all other monarchs on earth: from the southern bridge to Suméru, the mountain Beautifully extended on this globe, and from the eastern, to the farthest extremity of the western, hills, he dwelt in the hearts of mankind, and governed his realms with mild sway,

Note.

All the kings named in the three preceding stanzas, are celebrated in the heroick poems of India; and Vijayanagar, or the City of Conquest, is very generally known. The epithet apanifutanah, which, if, it be the fifth case, agrees with Sumera, may agree in the fifth case, with the hero, and signify applauded by the sons of the earth, that is by Mangala, or the planet Mars, who gives his name to the third day of the Indian and Gothick weeks. Trivedi Servo'ru contends, that it means, praised by the sons of the earth, or by all men born on it.

15. He offered many presents in the Golden Court, in the temple of the three-eyed God, in the city of him, whom Calahasti owns as her lord,
on the mountain Vénçata, in Câncbi, on the two mountains of Sri and Sôna, in the great shrine of Herrira, at Ságaraśingima, Srîranga, Cumbhacôna, Niverti, and Mahânandi, that place of pilgrimage, by which the gloom of sin is dispelled.

16. At Gêcarâa, at Ra'âma's bridge, and in numberless places famed in this world for their virtue: the waters of the sea were dried by the dust scattered from the hoofs of his galloping steeds, and the earth herself was oppressed and disturbed by the God, who grasps the thunder bolt, and who felt pain from the obstruction of the ocean, until multiplied force was restored to the world by the abundant streams of his immense liberality.

NOTE.

The holy places, enumerated in these two stanzas, are all well known to the Pandits, except Niverti: the correctness of the reading may, therefore, be suspected. Hâbala, which my Nâzari writer pronounces to be the name of a river, and which one of my three Pandits knows to be a place of pilgrimage, appears on the palm-leaf, but Ságara is written above it: if two different places are intended, we find sixteen in all, agreeably to the ninth stanza. The first meridian of the Hindus passes through the city of Ujjayini, of which we know the position; but, as Lâncâ, therefore, falls to the west of Srîlân, which Ra'âma's bridge seems to mark as the kingdom of Ra'âvan, the Indians believe, that the island had formerly a much larger extent; and it has been affiicted, that appearances between Srîlân and the Mâldivees in some degree justify that belief: Mâldive is, most probably, a corruption of Malayadwipa, from the promontory of Malaya on the continent of India.

In the following verses, which I received from a venerable Astronomer, Câncbi also appears in the first meridian, and Ujjayini seems distinct from Abantl, though some authors insist, that they are one and the same city.

Bhûmedhya réc'hâ canacâdilancâ
medhya'dhâdâsî cilâ vadagulmau,
Câncbi, sarah sannihitam, curûnum-
chêram tact'hâ pajjanicâpyabânti,
Sitâchâlaschôjajînî che dâva
canyâ che rébitaca gargarâtau.

"The places in the meridian line between the golden mount and Lâncâ, are Vâsa, Gâlma, Câncbi,
"Sannihîsjarâh, Curuçbêtra, Pajjiâcâ, Abantl, Sitêchakû, Ujjayini, Dèvancanyâ, Rébitaca, Gargarât."
17. The gifts, which he spread around, were 1. a Brāhmāṇḍa, or Mundane Egg, 2. a Circle of the Universe, 3. a Vase representing the five elements, 4. a Cow formed of gems, 5. a figure of the seven seas, 6. two sprigs from the Tree of Ages, 7. a golden Ca'āmadhe'nu, or celestial Cow, 8. a terrestrial sphere made of gold, 9. a chariot and horses of the precious metals, 10. a man’s weight of gold, 11. a thousand images of cows, 12. a golden horse, 13. an image of Brahma, 14. a golden car, 15. a plough of gold complete in its five parts, 16. a car drawn by elephants of the same metal.

**NOTE.**

Is all this but a wild poetical exaggeration, and if such presents were often made by the Hindu princes, the Moghul, who soon after conquered most of the southern provinces, must have plundered the Hindu temples of immense treasures.

18. He was eminently wise, and ruled with undiminished magnificence; and, when he ascended, with the cordial acquiescence of Indra, to a celestial mansion, leaving behind him the reputation of a king, who resembled in his great qualities, that ruler of the firmament,

19. Then the king Crīshnāraya, with irresistible power, bore the round earth on his arm like a bracelet of gems.

**NOTE.**

This prince, the donor of the land, was probably the younger brother of Vīra-nṛsiṣiṇa, who died, it seems, without male issue.

20. The Gods had apprehensions, in the beginning of time; that the glory of so great a monarch would rapidly diffuse one vast blaze over the universe, and leave them without marks of distinction: thence it was, that
Pura'ri assumed a third eye in his forehead; Pedma'csha, four arms; Atmabhu' four faces; that Ca'li held a cimeter in her hand; Rama', a lotos flower; and Va'ni, a lyre.

**NOTE.**

The six names in the text are appellations of the Gods Maha'de'va, Vishnu, Brahma', and the Goddesses Durga', Lacshmi', Sereswati': they signify, in order as they occur, the foe of Para or Tripura, the Lotus-eyed, the Self-existing, Female Time, the Delightful, and Speech.

21. In the midst of his assembed foes, he darts a consuming fire kindled by his wrath. Oh! what said I? He dries up the series of seven oceans with the dust and sand of the whole earth trampled on by the cavalry of his numerous armies, and presently forms a new range of seas, blazing with his measureless glory, by the unbounded streams of those noble gifts, among which the first were a Mundane Egg and a golden figure of Meru.

22. "May you long enjoy entire here below the felicity and wealth bestowed on you by me!" Thus blessing mankind, and well knowing the general obstacles to an ascent in the car of the sun towards the mansion of the gods, he distributed in all regions of the world those obelisks, which confer celebrity, and on which encomiaflash verses are engraved by the goddesses of abundance herself, that they might become the lashes of whips to quicken the horses of the mountains.

**NOTE:**

The extravagant imagery in this couplet is connected with the old Indian custom of raising pillars to perpetuate the memory of great events, and with the belief of the Hindus, that the souls of good men pass through the sun to their seat of happiness. Although the Columns of Victory, as they are called, were monuments of kingly pride or of courtly adulation, yet the poet infinuates, that the donor intended to facilitate a passage to heaven for those whom he had enriched on earth; and the mountains are animated, to become the horses of the sun's car and to be lashed by the royal obelisks.
Other columns were erected, perhaps, as Gomons, and others, possibly, to represent the phallus of Iswarya, but those called Jayambhata, or Pillars of Victory, some of which remain to this day with metrical inscriptions, are most frequently mentioned by the ancient poets of India.

23. He proceeded continually, as the law prescribes, for the attainment of greatness and prosperity, to all the terrestrial seats of the Gods and places of pilgrimage, the first of which were Cānchi, Srīsaila, mount Sōna, Canacasabhā, or the Golden Court, and Vēnkatādri; where he dispensed many offerings, as a man’s weight of gold, and the like, together with all the smaller oblations, which are specified in the Āgama.

**NOTE.**

The Āgama is a mysterious book, or set of books, part of which has been communicated to me by a Sannyāsī of Mat'ūra: it is so named, because it is believed to have come from the mouth of Śiva, as the Vēdas proceeded severally from the four mouths of Brahma. The same word means also the Vēda.

24. When he is enraged, he becomes a rod to punish guilty sovereigns: when he assumes the arm of Se'sha, he acts as the chief preserver of this globe: he smiles with a placid cheek, when just princes address him; but rages in battle, when he relieves oppressed nations who ask his protection.

**NOTE.**

Se'sha is the king of Serpents, the couch of Viṣṇu, and the symbol of Eternity. The measure of this rhymed couplet is dactylick, and each of its four divisions begins and ends with a similar sound; as,

Rōja crītaḥ pretiśāhāvīhā danda,
Tāra crītaḥāhīshu yo rana chanda.

25. Justly is he styled Rājādhirāja, since he is the supreme ruler of rulers, offering a mild cheek to the princes of Mūru, but filling other kings with terror.
NOTE:
The phrase rājayaraganda occurs both in this, and in the preceding, stanza. Rāya means a king, not in Sanskrit, but in a popular idiom; and the whole phrase may be a title in the vulgar dialect of Carnāta. It is here preceded by Mūru, which we shall find again towards the end of the grant, and which may, or may not, be the name of a country. Not one of the three Pandits, who were consulted on the meaning of the words Mūru and Ragarada, could throw any light on them; except that Mūru is a territory, of which the derivative is Maurava.

26. He is a deliverer of those Hindu princes, who act like beneficent genii, but a destroyer of those, who rage like fierce tigers: thence he receives due praises, with the title Virapratīpa or the glory of heroes, and other splendid epithets.

NOTE:
"The word Hindu is applied likewise in a verse of Calinda to the original inhabitants of this country; but the Pandits insist, that it is not Sanskrit. Since the first letter of it appears to be radical, it cannot be derived from Indu, or the moon; but, since a sibilant is often changed into an aspirate, it has been thought a variation of Sindhu or Indus. To that etymology however we may object, that the last consonant also must be changed, and that Sindhu is the name of a river, not of a people."

27. He is reverenced by the kings of Anga, Benga, Calinga, and others, who exclaim: "Look on us, mighty potentate! Live, and conquer!"

NOTE.
Anga was the ancient kingdom of Carna, including the district of Bhāgalapura: to the east of Gaūra, or the Land of Sugar, to which we give the name of Bengal, lies Benga properly so named. Calinga, a word known to the Greeks, is the country watered by the Gāndhāra.

28. Exalted with praises by the wife, the king Crishnara'ya sits on a throne of gems in Vijayanagar, surpassing in the practice of moral virtue Nriga and other monarchs: from the centre of the eastern, to that of the western, mountain, and from Hémādri to the southern bridge, he shines with transcendent glory, dispensing riches and felicity through the world.
29. One thousand four hundred and forty eight years of the Sacáda, or era established in memory of Sáli'vahana, being elapsed;

30. In the year Vyaya, in the month of Pushya, when the sun was entering Maśara, in the dark fortnight, on the day of Bhrigu, and on that venerable śiti'hi, the tenth of the moon;

31. Under the constellation Viśāč'ha, at a time productive of good fortune, on the banks of the river Tungabhadrā, near the temple of the God with three eyes;

NOTE.
The date of the grant follows the genealogy of the donor, and precedes that of the donee; after which comes a description of the land granted, and the religious tenure, by which it was to be held. The Sacáda began in Y.C. 78, and the grant was made in Y.C. 1526, the very year, in which Babur took possession of Delhi; or 264 years ago; for, by the almanack of Navad-jjipn, the first of Viśāč'ha 1712 Y.S. answers to 11th April 1790 Y.C. The cycle of sixty is divided into sets of twenty years, each set being sacred to one of the three divine attributes; and Vyaya is the 20th year of the cycle, or the last in the part allotted to Viśācul. Maśara is the sign of Capricorn, and Pushya, the 8th lunar mansion. Bhrigu was the father of Śucra, who presides over the planet Venus, and is properly named Bhāragava; but the day of Bhrigu means Friday.

32. That temple, where priests, who have aimed at piety towards Iswāra as their only grandeur, and who shine only with the fame of eminent holiness, fix their hearts on the godhead alone;

33. Him, who is an ornament of Agāstya's race, and whose peculiar studies are the Sáč'has, or branches, of the Yajurveda; whose father was distinguished on earth in this age of Cali, or contention, by the surname of Ra'ya;

34. Born in the family of Tama, Śri Aillapa Bhatta, surnamed
Sānchyanāyaka, or chief teacher of the Sānchya philosophy (thus men openly declare his name, his race, and his virtue);

35. Him the king has appointed the dispenser of nectarous food ever here below, to those pious students, and, in like manner, his sons and son's sons to an age without end.

**NOTE.**

Agastya was an ancient sage, now believed to preside over the star Canopus.

36. The land called Srijayacunda by the inhabitants of the district of Chóla, that named Méyitcóta in the principality of Chandragiri; that known in Ambinári by the name of Malacá;

**NOTE.**

The couplets, containing a description of the land, are so indistinctly written, that the grammatical construction of them can hardly be traced. The first letter of Méyitcóta may belong to the preceding word; and an entire hemistich seems in this place to be omitted.

It may here be remarked, that this whole grant is conformable to the rules of Ya'gyawalcy, in whose work we find the following verses:

Darwá bhúcin nibandhau và criruva lécbyantu cárayt;
ágámbhairanripati perijnyána gáre'brávah;
Paté và támarapáit và swamudápüperichibhítan
abhiléc'hyáman vànfyántánmánachemabhipétib.
Prétigrabaperlmáná dánakeb'délápanwnañan,
swabagacálasampanánasajanau caráyétá'birán.

Let a king, having given land, or allotted revenue, cause his gift to be written, for the information of good princes, who will succeed him, either on prepared silk, or on a plate of copper, sealed above with his own signet: having described his ancestors and himself, the dimensions or quantity of the gift, with its metes and bounds if it be land, and set his own hand to it, and specified the time, let him render his donation firm.
37. Land, situated to the east of Tirumāpēru, Cājōmaca, and so forth, and the two villages Cōnāru and Cōbila;

38. Placed to the south of Palapūrụśa and Hullī, and to the west of the town called Parundar;

39. To the north of Bērupū and Purapacā, including the town, which has the name of Sivabhaṭapura, or that of Siva’s adorers,

40. With another propitious name derived from the four sacred hearths (Chaturvēdi) of the delightful Chōla; together with the charming town of Gōvindaṇāri,

41. Where eleven Brāhmenś are to water one Amra tree, and to worship the God Rūdra by day and by night after the prescribed acts of devotion;

42. And the smaller town, called Chattupacā, ever abundant in grain, inhabited by men eminently learned, in the great principality of Paravīru,

43. A place to be honoured by all, marked on all sides by four distinct boundaries; surrounded with rivulets formed by good genii, the pebbles of which are like gems carefully deposited,

44. Viewed with delight by the distant eye, fit to be enjoyed by deities; graced with trees exquisitely beautiful; having the advantage also of ponds, wells, and pools of water with raised banks;
45. Frequented by officiating priests and attendants, with subdued passions and benevolent hearts; by deities of different classes, and by travellers, who know the Veda and converse with copiousness:

46. All the land before mentioned has the great prince Crishnadeva, worthy of reverence from the wife, given with serene joy, having first diffused a stream of gold, silver, and gems.

47. Such was the decree of Crishnara'Ma, to whom belongs the whole earth celebrated by the royal bards; that bountiful king, who is the source of all the wealth possessed by the bards of Mūrū.

48. By the command of the great Rāya Crishnadeva, the president of his council proclaimed this donation to Mrīra, or Iswara; and his command is here engraved on plates of copper.

49. The artist Śrī Virana'cha'rya, son of Mallana, wrote on copper this grant of the great prince Crishnadeva.

50. As between a gift of land and the confirmation of it by the successors of the donor, the confirmation is more meritorious than the gift: by the gift, a king attains a seat in heaven; by the confirmation, a seat from which he never can fall.

51. The confirmation of a gift by another prince has twice the merit of a gift by himself; but the resumption of land granted by another makes even his own gift fruitless.
52. He, who resumes land given either by himself or by another, becomes a worm in ordure for successive births through a period of sixty thousand years.

53. Land, granted for virtuous purposes, is in this world the only sister of kings; and consequently must not be enjoyed by them, nor taken by them in marriage.

54. "This is the universal bridge of virtue for princes, and must be repaired by you from time to time:" thus doth Ra'machandra exhort again and again the sovereigns of the earth, both those who now live, and those who are to reign hereafter.

SRI VIRA'PA'CSHA!

OR,

THE GOD WITH THREE EYES!
On the Musical Modes of the Hindus: written in 1784, and since much enlarged.—By the President.

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

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

Although we must assign the first rank, transcendentally and beyond all comparison, to that powerful musick, which may be denominated the sister of poetry and eloquence, yet the lower art of pleasing the sense by a succession of agreeable sounds, not only has merit and even charms, but may, I persuade myself, be applied on a variety of occasions to salutary purposes: whether, indeed, the sensation of hearing be caused, as many suspect, by the vibrations of an elastick ether flowing over the auditory nerves and propelled along their solid capillaments, or whether the fibres of our nerves, which seem indefinitely divisible, have, like the strings of a lute, peculiar vibrations proportioned to their length and degree of tension, we have not sufficient evidence to decide; but we are very sure, that the whole nervous system is affected in a singular manner by combinations of sound, and that melody alone will often relieve the mind, when it is oppressed by intense application to business or study. The old musician, who rather figuratively, we may suppose, than with philosophical seriousness, declared the soul itself to be nothing but harmony, provoked the sprightly remark of Cicero, that he drew his philosophy from the art, which he professed; but if, without depart-
of the Hindus.

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ing from his own art, he had merely described the human frame as the noblest and sweetest of musical instruments, endowed with a natural disposition to resonance and sympathy, alternately affecting and affected by the soul, which pervades it, his description might, perhaps, have been physically just, and certainly ought not to have been hastily ridiculed: that any medical purpose may be fully answered by musick, I dare not assert; but after food, when the operations of digestion and absorption give so much employment to the vessels, that a temporary state of mental repose must be found, especially in hot climates, essential to health, it seems reasonable to believe, that a few agreeable airs, either heard or played without effort, must have all the good effects of sleep and none of its disadvantages; putting the soul in tune, as Milton says, for any subsequent exertion; an experiment, which has often been successfully made by myself, and which any one, who pleases, may easily repeat. Of what I am going to add, I cannot give equal evidence; but hardly know how to disbelieve the testimony of men, who had no system of their own to support, and could have no interest in deceiving me: first, I have been assured by a credible eye witness, that two wild antelopes used often to come from their woods to the place, where a more savage beast, Sirajuddaulah, entertained himself with concerts, and that they listened to the strains with an appearance of pleasure, till the monster, in whose soul there was no musick, shot one of them to display his archery: secondly, a learned native of this country told me, that he had frequently seen the most venomous and malignant snakes leave their holes, upon hearing tunes on a flute, which, as he supposed, gave them peculiar delight; and, thirdly, an intelligent Persian, who repeated his story again and again, and permitted me to write it down from his lips, declared, that he had more than once been present, when a celebrated lutani, Mirza Mohammed, surnamed Bulbul, was playing to a large
company in a grove near Shiráž, where he distinctly saw the nightingales trying to vie with the musician, sometimes warbling on the trees, sometimes fluttering from branch to branch, as if they wished to approach the instrument; whence the melody proceeded, and at length dropping on the ground in a kind of ecstasy, from which they were soon raised, he assured me, by a change of the mode.

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

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

The ancient Greeks, among whom this delightful art was long in the hands of poets, and of mathematicians, who had much less to do with it, ascribe almost all its magick to the diversity of their *modes*, but have left us little more than the names of them, without such discriminations, as might have enabled us to compare them with our own and apply them to practice: their writers addressed themselves to Greeks, who could not but know their national musick; and most of those writers were professed men of science, who thought more of calculating ratios than of inventing melody; so that, whenever we speak of the soft *Eolian* mode, of the tender *Lydian*, the voluptuous *Ionick*, the manly *Dorian*, or the animating *Phrygian*, we use mere phrases, I believe, without clear ideas. For all that is known concerning the musick of Greece, let me refer those, who have no inclination to read the dry works of the *Greeks* themselves, to a little tract of the learned *Wallis*, which he printed as an appendix to the *Harmonicks* of *Ptolemy*; to the Dictionary of Musick by *Rousseau*, whose pen, formed to elucidate all the arts, had the property of spreading light before it on the darkest subjects, as if he had written with phosphorus on the sides of a ca-
On the Musical Modes

vern; and, lastly, to the dissertation of Dr. Burney, who, passing slightly over all that is obscure, explains—with perspicuity whatever is explicable, and gives dignity to the character of a modern musician by uniting it with that of a scholar and a philosopher.

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

On Persian musick, which is not the subject of this paper, it would be improper to enlarge: the whole system of it is explained in a celebrated collection of tracts on pure and mixed mathematicks, entitled Durratu'lláj,
and composed by a very learned man, so generally called Allámi Shírází, or the great philosopher of Shíráz, that his proper name is almost forgotten; but, as the modern Perfians had access, I believe, to Ptolemy's harmonicks, their mathematical writers on musick treat it rather as a science than as an art, and seem, like the Greeks, to be more intent on splitting tones into quarters and eighth parts, of which they compute the ratios to flow their arithmetick, than on displaying the principles of modulation, as it may affect the passions. I apply the same observation to a short, but masterly, tract of the famed Abu'sí'na', and suspect that it is applicable to an elegant essay in Persian, called Shamsí'láfíwát, of which I have not had courage to read more than the preface. It will be sufficient to subjoin on this head, that the Perfians distribute their eighty-four modes, according to an idea of locality, into twelve rooms, twenty-four receffes, and forty-eight angles or corners: in the beautiful tale, known by the title of the Four Dervises, originally written in Persia with great purity and elegance, we find the description of a concert, where four singers, with as many different instruments, are represented "modulating in twelve makáms or perdabs, twenty-four shóbabs, and forty-eight gúshábs, and beginning a mirthful song of "Ha'fiz on vernal delight in the perdab named rást, or direct." All the twelve perdabs, with their appropriated shóbabs, are enumerated by Amin, a writer and musician of Hinduślán, who mentions an opinion of the learned, that only seven primary modes were in use before the reign of Parvíz, whose musical entertainments are magnificently described by the incomparable Nízámí: the modes are chiefly denominated, like those of the Greeks and Hindus, from different regions or towns; as, among the perdabs, we see Hijáz, Irák, Isfábán; and, among the shóbabs, or secondary modes, Zábul, Níshábúr, and the like. In a Sanscrit book, which shall soon be particularly mentioned, I find the scale of a mode, named Hijója,
specified in the following verse:

Maṅkagraha sā nyāsode bījēṣṭhu sāyāṁe.

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

D, E, F♯, G♯, A, B, C♯, D;

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

Let us proceed to the Indian system, which is minutely explained, in a great number of Sanscrit books, by authors, who leave arithmetick and geometry to their astronomers, and properly discourse on musick as an art confined to the pleasures of imagination. The Pandits of this province unanimously prefer the Dāmodara to any of the popular Sangītas; but I have not been able to procure a good copy of it, and am perfectly
satisfied with the Narayan, which I received from Benares, and in which the Dámodar is frequently quoted. The Persian book, entitled a Present from India, was composed, under the patronage of Aazem Sha'h, by the very diligent and ingenious Mirza Khan, and contains a minute account of Hindu literature in all, or most of, its branches: he professes to have extracted his elaborate chapter on music, with the assistance of Pandits, from the Rágarána, or Sea of Passions, the Ráganderpana, or Mirror of Modes, the Sábávinóda, or Delight of Assemblies, and some other approved treatises in Sanscrit. The Sangitéderpan, which he also names among his authorities, has been translated into Persian; but my experience justifies me in pronouncing, that the Moghols have no idea of accurate translation, and give that name to a mixture of gloss and text with a flimsy paraphrase of them both; that they are wholly unable, yet always pretend, to write Sanscrit words in Arabick letters; that a man, who knows the Hindus only from Persian books, does not know the Hindus; and that an European, who follows the muddy rivulets of Muslim writers on India, instead of drinking from the pure fountain of Hindu learning, will be in perpetual danger of misleading himself and others. From the just severity of this censure I except neither Abu’l-Fazl, nor his brother Faizi, nor Mohsani Fa’ni, nor Mirza’khán himself; and I speak of all four after an attentive perusal of their works. A tract on music in the idiom of Mat’burá, with several essays in pure Hindustání, lately passed through my hands; and I possess a dissertation on the same art in the soft dialect of Panjáb, or Panchanada, where the national melody has, I am told, a peculiar and striking character; but I am very little acquainted with those dialects, and persuade myself, that nothing has been written in them, which may not be found more copiously and beautifully expressed in the language, as the Hindus perpetually call it, of the Gods, that is, of their ancient bards, philosophers, and legislators.
The most valuable work, that I have seen, and perhaps the most valuable that exists, on the subject of Indian musick, is named Rágavibódbha, or *The Doctrine of Musical Modes*; and it ought here to be mentioned very particularly, because none of the Pandits, in our provinces, nor any of those from Cafh or Cafsmir, to whom I have shown it, appear to have known that it was extant; and it may be considered as a treasure in the history of the art, which the zeal of Colonel Polier has brought into light, and perhaps has preserved from destruction. He had purchased, among other curiosities, a volume containing a number of separate essays on musick in prose and verse and in a great variety of idioms; besides tracts in Arabick, Hindi and Persian, it included a short essay in Latin by Alstedius, with an interlinearly Persian translation, in which the passages quoted from Lucretius and Virgil made a singular appearance; but the brightest gem in the string was the Rágavibódbha, which the Colonel permitted my Nágari writer to transcribe, and the transcript was diligently collated with the original by my Pandit and myself. It seems a very ancient composition, but is less old unquestionably than the *Ratnaçára* by Sárnga De'va, which is more than once mentioned in it, and a copy of which Mr. Burrow procured in his journey to Heridwar: the name of the author was So'ma, and he appears to have been a practical musician as well as a great scholar and an elegant poet; for the whole book, without excepting the strains noted in letters, which fill the fifth and last chapter of it, consists of masterly couplets in the melodious metre called Aryā; the first, third, and fourth chapters explain the doctrine of musical sounds, their division and succession, the variations of scales by temperament, and the enumeration of modes on a system totally different from those, which will presently be mentioned; and the second chapter contains a minute description of different Vinás with rules for playing on them.
This book alone would enable me, were I master of my time, to compose a treatise on the musick of India, with assistance, in the practical part, from an European professor and a native player on the Vina; but I have leisure only to present you with an essay, and even that, I am conscious, must be very superficial: it may be sometimes, but, I trust, not often, erroneous; and I have spared no pains to secure myself from error.

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

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

\[ Sa, ri, ga, ma, pa, ḍha, ni, \]

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

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

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

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

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

For the construction and character of the Vīnā, I must refer you to the very accurate and valuable paper of Mr. Fowke in the first volume of your
## Scale of the Fingerboard of the Vina

Reduced ½ the whole length being 21 inches 8 ¾ from the flat to the highest fret.

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The scale is shown with the open wire starting at d and moving through the various notes, indicating the frets associated with each note.
of the Hindus.

Transactions; and I now exhibit a scale of its finger board, which I received from him with the drawing of the instrument, and on the correctness of which you may confidently depend: the regular Indian gamut answers, I believe, pretty nearly to our major mode:

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

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

Rā'ga, which I translate a mode, properly signifies a passion or affection of the mind, each mode being intended, according to Bherat's definition of it, to move one or another of our simple or mixed affections; and we learn accordingly from the Nārāyan, that, in the days of Crishna, there were sixteen thousand modes, each of the Gōpis at Māthura choosing to sing in one of them, in order to captivate the heart of their pastoral God.

The very learned So'ma, who mixes no mythology with his accurate system of Rāgas, enumerates nine hundred and sixty possible variations by the means of temparament, but selects from them, as applicable to practice, only twenty-three primary modes, from which he deduces many others; though he allows, that, by a diversity of ornament and by various contrivances, the Rāgar might, like the waves of the sea, be multiplied to an infinite number. We have already observed, that eighty-four modes or manners, might naturally be formed by giving the lead to each of our twelve sounds, and varying in seven different ways the position of the semitones;
but, since many of those modes would be insufferable in practice, and some would have no character sufficiently marked, the Indians appear to have retained with predilection the number indicated by nature, and to have enforced their system by two powerful aids, the association of ideas, and the mutilation of the regular scales.

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

The year is distributed by the Hindus into six ritus, or seasons, each consisting of two months; and the first season, according to the Amarcīśa, began with Mārgaśīrṣha, near the time of the winter solstice, to which month accordingly we see Grishna compared in the Gītā; but the old lunar year began, I believe, with Āsīvina, or near the autumnal equinox, when the moon was at the full in the first mansion: hence the musical season, which takes the lead, includes the months of Āśīvin and Cārtic, and bears the name of Sarad, corresponding with part of our autumn; the next in order are Hemanta and Siśira, derived from words, which signify frost and dew; then come Vasant, or spring, called also Surabhi or fragrant, and Pushpasamaya, or the flower time; Grīshma, or heat; and Varsha, or the season of rain. By appropriating a different mode to each of the different seasons, the artists of India connected certain strains with certain ideas, and were able to recall the memory of autumnal merriment at the close of the
harvest, or of separation and melancholy (very different from our ideas at Calcutta) during the cold months; of reviving hilarity on the appearance of blossoms, and complete vernal delight in the month of Madhu or honey; of languor during the dry heats, and of refreshment by the first rains, which cause in this climate a second spring. Yet farther: since the lunar year, by which festivals and superstitious duties are constantly regulated, proceeds concurrently with the solar year, to which the seasons are necessarily referred, devotion comes also to the aid of musick, and all the powers of nature, which are allegorically worshipped as gods and goddesses on their several holidays, contribute to the influence of song on minds naturally susceptible of religious emotions. Hence it was, I imagine, that Pavan, or the inventor of his musical system, reduced the number of original modes from seven to six; but even this was not enough for his purpose; and he had recourse to the five principal divisions of the day, which are the morning, noon, and evening, called trisandhya, with the two intervals between them, or the forenoon and afternoon: by adding two divisions, or intervals, of the night, and by leaving one species of melody without any such restriction, Soma reckons eight variations in respect of time; and the system of Pavan retains that number also in the second order of derivative modes. Every branch of knowledge in this country has been embellished by poetical fables; and the inventive talents of the Greeks never suggested a more charming allegory than the lovely families of the six Rāgas, named, in the order of seasons above exhibited, Bhairava, Malava, Sri'raga, Hind'ola or Vasanta, Dipaca, and Me'gha; each of whom is a Genius, or Demigod, wedded to five Rāginis, or Nymphs, and father of eight little Genii, called his Putras, or Sons: the fancy of Shakspair and the pencil of Albano might have been finely employed in giving speech and form to this assemblage of new aerial beings, who people the fairy-land K.
of Indian imagination; nor have the Hindu poets and painters lost the advantages, with which so beautiful a subject presented them. A whole chapter of the Náráyan contains descriptions of the Rágas and their con-
forts, extracted chiefly from the Dámódar, the Caláncura, the Retnamálá, the Chandricá, and a metrical tract on musick ascribed to the God Náráyá himself, from which, as among so many beauties a particular selection would be very perplexing, I present you with the first that occurs, and have no doubt, that you will think the Sanscrit language equal to Italian in softness and elegance:

Lílá viháréna vanántarálé,
Chinvan prafúnáni vadhú sáhayáh,
Viláí véśódita divya múrtih
Srirágá éśha prat’hitah prit’hivyám.

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

These and similar images, but wonderfully diversified, are expressed in
a variety of measures, and represented by delicate pencils in the Rágamálás, which all of us have examined, and among which the most beautiful are
in the possession of Mr. R. JOHNSON and Mr. HAY. A noble work might
be composed by any musician and scholar, who enjoyed leisure and disre-
garded expense, if he would exhibit a perfect system of Indian musick from Sanscrit authorities, with the old melodies of So’ma applied to the songs
of JAYADE’VA, embellished with descriptions of all the modes accurately
translated, and with Mr. HAY’s Rágamálá delineated and engraved by the
scholars of CIPRIANI and BARTOLOZZI.
Let us proceed to the second artifice of the Hindu musicians, in giving their modes a distinct character and a very agreeable diversity of expression. A curious passage from Plutarch's treatise on Musick is translated and explained by Dr. Burney, and stands as the text of the most interesting chapter in his dissertation: since I cannot procure the original, I exhibit a paraphrase of his translation, on the correctness of which I can rely; but I have avoided, as much as possible, the technical words of the Greeks, which it might be necessary to explain at some length. "We are informed, says Plutarch, by Aristoxenus, that musicians ascribe to Olympus of Myśa the invention of enharmonick melody, and conjecture, that, when he was playing diatonically on his flute, and frequently passed from the highest of four sounds to the lowest but one, or conversely, skipping over the second in descent, or the third in ascent, of that series, he perceived a singular beauty of expression, which induced him to dispose the whole series of seven or eight sounds by similar skips, and to frame by the same analogy his Dorian mode, omitting every sound peculiar to the diatonic and chromatic melodies then in use, but without adding any that have since been made essential to the new enharmonic: in this genus, they say, he composed the Nome, or strain, called Spondean, because it was used in temples at the time of religious libations. Those, it seems, were the first enharmonick melodies; and are still retained by some, who play on the flute in the antique style without any division of a semitone; for it was after the age of Olympus, that the quarter of a tone was admitted into the Lydian and Phrygian modes; and it was he, therefore, who, by introducing an exquisite melody before unknown in Greece, became the author and parent of the most beautiful and affecting musick."
This method then of adding to the character and effect of a mode by diminishing the number of its primitive sounds, was introduced by a Greek of the lower Asia, who flourished, according to the learned and accurate writer of the Travels of Anacharsis, about the middle of the thirteenth century before Christ; but it must have been older still among the Hindus, if the system, to which I now return, was actually invented in the age of Rā'ma.

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

Graha iwarah fa ityuctō yō gitādau sāmarpitah,
Nyāsa swaraḍu fa prōctō yō gitādi sāmāpticah:
Yō vyāstivyanjacō gānē, yafya servē' nugāminah,
Yafya servatra bāhulyam vādy anśo pi māpōtamah.

"The note, called graha, is placed at the beginning, and that named "nyāsa, at the end, of a song: that note, which displays the peculiar "melody, and to which all the others are subordinate, that, which is al-"ways of the greatest use, is like a sovereign, though a mere anśa, or portion."
"By the word vādi, says the commentator, he means the note, which " announces and ascertains the Raṅga, and which may be considered as the " parent and origin of the graha and nyāsa:" this clearly shows, I think, that the anśa must be the tonick; and we shall find, that the two other notes are generally its third and fifth, or the mediant and the dominant. In the poem entitled Mágba there is a musical simile, which may illustrate and confirm our idea:

Analpatwát pradhánatwád anśasyévétaraswaráh,
Vijigíhórnpipatayah prayánti pericháratám.

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

If the anśa be the tonick, or modal note, of the Hindus, we may confidently exhibit the scales of the Indian modes, according to So'ma, denoting by an afterlik the omission of a note:

Bhairava:
Varáti:
Medhyamádi:
Bhairaví:
Saindhaví:
Bengáli:
Ma'łava:
Tóli:
Gaudí:
Gónócrí:
Sull'hávatí:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Bhairava:} & \quad \{ \text{dha, ni, fa, ri, ga, ma, pa,} \\
\text{Varáti:} & \quad \{ \text{fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni,} \\
\text{Medhyamádi:} & \quad \{ \text{ma, pa, *, ni, fa, *, ga,} \\
\text{Bhairaví:} & \quad \{ \text{fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dba, ni,} \\
\text{Saindhaví:} & \quad \{ \text{fa, ri, *, ma, pa, dba, *;} \\
\text{Bengáli:} & \quad \{ \text{fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni,} \\
\text{Ma'łava:} & \quad \{ \text{ni, fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha,} \\
\text{Tóli:} & \quad \{ \text{ga, ma, pa, dha, ni, fa, ri,} \\
\text{Gaudí:} & \quad \{ \text{ni, fa, ri, *, ma, pa, *;} \\
\text{Gónócrí:} & \quad \{ \text{fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, *, ni,} \\
\text{Sull'hávatí:} & \quad \text{not in So'ma.}
\end{align*}
\]
Cacubbā:

Srira'ga:

Mālavātri:

Māraṇi:

Dhanyāśi:

Vafanti:

Asāveri:

Hindo'la:

Rāmacri:

Désacri:

Lelitā:

Vēlāvali:

Patamanjari:

Dī'paca:

Dési:

Cāmbōdi:

Nettā:

Cēdāri:

Carnātī:

Me'gha:

Taccā:

Mellāri:

Gurjari:

Bhūpāli:

Dé sacri:

not in So'ma.

| ni, fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha.
| fa, *, ga, ma, pa, *, ni.
| ga, ma, pa, *, ni, fa, *
| fa, *, ga, ma, pa, * ni.
| fa, ri, ga, ma, *, dha, ni.
| ma, pa, dha, ni, fa, ri, ga.
| ma, *, dha, ni, fa, *, ga.
| fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni.
| ga, ma, pa, dha, *, fa, ri.
| fa, ri, ga, ma, *, dha, ni.
| dha, ni, fa, *, ga, ma, *
| not in So'ma.
| not in So'ma.
| ri, *, ma, pa, dha, ni, fa.
| fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, *
| fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni.
| ni, fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha.
| ni, fa, *, ga, ma, pa, *
| not in So'ma.
| fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni.
| dha, *, fa, ri, *, ma, pa.
| ri, ga, ma, *, dha, ni, fa.
| ga, *, pa, dha, *, fa, ri.
| fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mode</th>
<th>Sequence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bhairava</td>
<td>dha, ni, fa, ri, ga, ma, pa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Varâti</td>
<td>fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medhyamâdi</td>
<td>ni, fa, *, ga, ma, pa, dha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhairavi</td>
<td>fa, *, ga, ma, *, dha, ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saindhavî</td>
<td>pa, dha, ni, fa, ri, ga, ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengât</td>
<td>fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma'lava</td>
<td>ma, *, dha, ni, fa, ri, ga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tâlî</td>
<td>ma, pa, dha, ni, fa, ri, ga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gavâli</td>
<td>ni, fa, ri, ga, ma, *, dha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gondacrî</td>
<td>fa, *, ga, ma, pa, *, ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sufâhâvatî</td>
<td>dha, ni, fa, ri, ga, ma, *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cacâkâ</td>
<td>not in the Nârâyan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sríragâ</td>
<td>fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milavasîrî</td>
<td>fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mâravî</td>
<td>fa, *, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhanyâîn</td>
<td>fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vasantî</td>
<td>fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afâverî</td>
<td>ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni, fa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Among the scales just enumerated we may safely fix on that of Srírāga for our own major mode, since its form and character are thus described in a Sanscrit couplet:

Játinyáfagrahagrámahánééshhu shadív' lpadānchamah,  
Sringáráviváryórgnýchah Srírágá gítacóvidaih.

"Musicians know Srírága to have fa for its principal note and the first of its scale, with pa diminished, and to be used for expressing heroic love and valour." Now the diminution of pa by one śruti gives us the modern European scale,
with a minor tone, or, as the Indians would express it, with three ārutis, between the fifth and sixth notes.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bhairava</th>
<th>dha, ni, fa, *, ga, ma, *</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Varáti:</td>
<td>fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medhyamádi:</td>
<td>ma, pa, dha, ni, fa, ri, ga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhairavi:</td>
<td>ma, pa, dha, ni, fa, ri, ga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saindhavi:</td>
<td>fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengáli:</td>
<td>fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Malava</th>
<th>fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tóli:</td>
<td>fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gáudá:</td>
<td>fa, *, ga, ma, *, dha, ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gondacri:</td>
<td>ni, fa, *, ga, ma, pa, *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suj'bhávali:</td>
<td>dha, ni, fa, ri, ga, ma, *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cacubbá:</td>
<td>dha, ni, fa, ri, ga, ma, pa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Srírá'ga:</th>
<th>fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Málavasti:</td>
<td>fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Márví:</td>
<td>fa, *, pa, ga, ma, dha, ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhanyási:</td>
<td>fa, pa, dha, ni, ri, ga, *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vásánti:</td>
<td>fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asáveri:</td>
<td>dha, ni, fa, *, *, ma, pa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Musical Modes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mode</th>
<th>Scale</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hindola</td>
<td>fa, *, ga, ma, pa, *, ni.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ramacri</td>
<td>fa, *, ga, ma, pa, *, ni.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Des' ácháí</td>
<td>ga, ma, pa, dha, ni, fa, *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lelitá</td>
<td>dha, ni, fa, *, ga, ma, *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Velavali</td>
<td>dha, ni, fa, ri, ga, ma, pa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patamanjari</td>
<td>pa, dha, ni, fa, ri, ga, ma.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dipaca</td>
<td>fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desí</td>
<td>ri, ga, ma, *, dha, ni, fa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cambódí</td>
<td>dha, ni, fa, ri, ga, ma, pa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netta</td>
<td>fa, ni, dha, pa, ma, ga, ri.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cédari</td>
<td>ni, fa, *, ga, ma, pa, *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carnati</td>
<td>ni, fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Megha</td>
<td>dha, ni, fa, ri, ga, *, *.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tacca</td>
<td>fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mellarí</td>
<td>dha, ni, *, ri, ga, ma, *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gurjari</td>
<td>ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni, fa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bbúpali</td>
<td>fa, ga, ma, dha, ni, pa, ri.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Défacrí</td>
<td>fa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Had the Indian empire continued in full energy for the last two thousand years, religion would, no doubt, have given permanence to systems of musick invented, as the Hindus believe, by their Gods, and adapted to mystical poetry: but such have been the revolutions of their government since the time of Alexander, that, although the Sanscrit books have preserved the theory of their musical composition, the practice of it seems almost wholly lost (as all the Pandits and Rejas confess) in Gaur and Magadha, or the provinces of Bengal and Ecbur. When I first read the songs of Jayadeva, who has prefixed to each of them the name of the mode,
mode in which it was anciently sung, I had hopes of procuring the original musick; but the Pandits of the south referred me to those of the west, and the Brâhmens of the west would have sent me those of the north; while they, I mean those of Nêpâl and Cashmir, declared that they had no ancient musick, but imagined, that the notes to the Gîtagîvinda must exist, if any where, in one of the southern provinces, where the Poet was born: from all this I collect, that the art, which flourished in India many centuries ago, has faded for want of due culture; though some scanty remnants of it may, perhaps, be preserved in the pastoral roundelays of Mâthurâ on the loves and sports of the Indian Apollo. We must not, therefore, be surprized, if modern performers on the Vînâ have little or no modulation, or change of mode, to which passionate musick owes nearly all its enchantment; but that the old musicians of India, having fixed on a leading mode to express the general character of the song, which they were translating into the musical language, varied that mode, by certain rules, according to the variation of sentiment or passion in the poetical phrases, and always returned to it at the close of the air, many reasons induce me to believe; though I cannot but admit, that their modulation must have been greatly confined by the restriction of certain modes to certain seasons and hours, unless those restrictions belonged merely to the principal mode. The scale of the Vînâ, we find, comprized both our European modes, and, if some of the notes can be raised a semitone by a stronger pressure on the frets, a delicate and experienced finger might produce the effect of minute enharmonic intervals: the construction of the instrument, therefore, seems to favour my conjecture; and an excellent judge of the subject informs us, that "the open wires are from time to time struck in a manner, that prepares the ear for a change of modulation, to which the uncommonly full and fine tones of those notes greatly contri-
of the Hindus. 83.

bute.” We may add, that the Hindu poets never fail to change the metre, which is their mode, according to the change of subject or sentiment in the same piece; and I could produce instances of poetical modulation (if such a phrase may be used) at least equal to the most affecting modulations of our greatest composers: now the musician must naturally have emulated the poet, as every translator endeavours to resemble his original; and, since each of the Indian modes is appropriated to a certain affection of the mind, it is hardly possible, that, where the passion is varied; a skilful musician could avoid a variation of the mode. The rules for modulation seem to be contained in the chapters on mixed modes, for an intermixture of Mellari with Toili and Saindhavi means. I suppose, a transition, however short, from one to another: but the question must remain undecided, unless we can find in the Sangitas a clearer account of modulation, than I am able to produce, or unless we can procure a copy of the Gitagovinda with the music, to which it was set, before the time of Calidas, in some notation, that may be easily decyphered. It is obvious, that I have not been speaking of a modulation regulated by harmony, with which the Hindus, I believe, were unacquainted; though, like the Greeks, they distinguish the consonant and dissonant sounds: I mean only such a transition from one series of notes to another, as we see described by the Greek musicians, who were ignorant of harmony in the modern sense of the word, and, perhaps, if they had known it ever so perfectly, would have applied it solely to the support of melody, which alone speaks the language of passion and sentiment.

It would give me pleasure to close this essay with several specimens of old Indian airs from the fifth chapter of Soma; but I have leisure only to present you with one of them in our own characters accompanied with the original notes: I selected the mode of Vajanta, because it was adapted by
JAYADE'VA himself to the most beautiful of his odes, and because the number of notes in So' MA compared with that of the syllables in the Sanscrit stanza, may lead us to guess, that the strain itself was applied by the musician to the very words of the poet. The words are:

Lalita lavanga latá perisílana cómala malaya lámíré,
Madhuc'ara nicara carambita cócila cújita cunja cutíré,
Viharati heririha farafa vafante,
Nrityati yuvati janéna samañ sac'hi viñahi jánasya duranté.

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

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

The annexed plate contains also a strain in the mode of Hindo'LA, beginning and ending with the fifth note ā, but wanting pa, and ri, or the
चक्षुः

सरिषामयमवर्गमयमयनिधिः निमित्तिः संयुक्तगतिमिनिः नियोगाधि। मध्यनिधिः निमित्ताः।

निधियोगः मयमयगुरुगिरिमकस्तन्तिनन्तनाध्यापः मयभक्तिः।

मयंमयगुरुजतिः हिंदौः।

मयमयभक्तिः मध्यनिधिः संनिधिः संनिधिः।

निधियोगः मयमयगुरुजतिः।

संनिधिः संनिधिः।
second and sixth: I could easily have found words for it in the Gītāgovinda, but the united charms of poetry and musick would lead me too far; and I must now with reluctance bid farewell to a subject, which I despair of having leisure to resume.
A LETTER from Lieut. Col. Browne to the President.

DEAR SIR,

In the course of reading history, it is a reflection, which must, I think, have occurred to every one, that, if the actors in the most material events could have foreseen the importance, which those events would have in the eyes of posterity, they would certainly have preserved such detailed and circumstantial relations of them, as would have prevented the general darkness and uncertainty, which we now experience and lament: but it has probably seldom happened, that their genius, or leisure from more important concerns, has admitted of this; and thus we are from necessity often compelled to rest satisfied with imperfect traditions, repeated (or, which is worse, arbitrarily amended) by subsequent historians.

With what avidity should we now peruse an account written by any of the principal persons present at the battle of Hastings; of Lincoln; of Lewes, of Evesham; of Creffy, of Agincourt; of Towton; or of Bosworth! but in those days, a general or statesman was as unskilful with his pen, as he was expert with his sword; and the monks, who were almost the only writers, were seldom participators of such active scenes.

Considering this, as well as the importance, which the wars and politics of Hindostan have now acquired in the opinions of European historians, I cannot avoid believing, that the great events of this country will hereafter be sought for with as much diligence, as those of the early part of European history are at present: if I am not mistaken in this, the battle of Paniput will be among those events, which will claim the greatest attention, both as a military action, and as an era, from which the reduction of the
Mahratta power may be fixed, who otherwise would probably have long ago reduced the whole of Hindostan to their obedience.

It appeared to me in this light at a time, when a very particular and authentick narrative of that action came into my possession; and, as the plainness of the original led me to believe myself competent to the task, I was induced to undertake the translating it into English, that the difficulty of reading it in the Persian might not prevent its being as generally known, as its historical importance merits.

It is almost superfluous to tell you, dear sir, who are so well versed in Asiatic history, that this battle was fought in the month of January 1761, between the united forces of all the Mahratta Chiefs on one side, commanded by Sadasheo, (commonly called the Bhow) and the combined armies of the Durraniies, Robillas, and Hindostany Mussulmans, on the other, under the command of Ahmed Shah Durrany: few battles have been more bloody, or decisive of greater events; for, had the Mahrattas been conquerors, they would have put a final period to the Mussulman dominion in Hindostan, and established their own in its place; but, as it happened, the power of the Mahrattas received a shock, from which it has never entirely recovered; and the Durrany Shah, having returned precipitately to his own dominion, left the disunited Robilla and Hindostany Mussulmans to carry on, as they could, their distracted government, under a wretched pageant of royalty, and a divided and unprincipled nobility.

The writer of this narrative, Casi Raj Pundit, was a Multa-feddy in the service of the late Vizier, Shuja-ul-dowlah; and, being by birth a native of the Decan, acquainted with the Mahratta language, and
having some friends in the service of the Bhow, he became the channel of several overtures for peace, which the Bhow endeavoured to negotiate through Shuja-ul-dowlah: this, together with the accuracy and clearness of his narrative, makes it much more interesting than any other which I have seen. The translation is however far from literal, as I endeavoured to make the style as plain and unadorned as possible.

Such as it is, permit me, dear sir, to offer it to you, and to leave it to your disposal: if I am so happy as to know, that it receives your approbation, as likely to prove useful in elucidating the history of this country, I shall think myself sufficiently rewarded for the time it has taken up. Believe me to be, with the greatest esteem and respect,

DEAR SIR,

Your very faithful

and obedient Servant

JAMES BROWNE.

DINAPORE, February 1, 1791.
V.

An Account of the Battle of Paniput, and of the events leading to it.—Written in Persian by Ca'ì Raja Pundit, who was present at the Battle.

Bala Row, Pundit pradhan, who sat on the Musnud of government in the Decan, was considered by the chiefs and inhabitants of Hindostan as a man of wisdom, circumspection, and good fortune; but he naturally loved his ease and pleasure, which did not however lose him the respect and attachment of his people.

As long as harmony prevailed in his family, he left the entire management of all the affairs of government, to Sedasdeo* Row Bhow, and gave himself up to pleasure.

Sedasdeo, from his earliest years, had studied every branch of the art of government, the regulation of the finances and the army, and the conduct of all publick affairs, under the instruction of Ramchundra Baba Sindbvi, the greatest statesman of the age; and from the first watch of the day till the middle of the night, applied to the publick business: by his great experience, address, and ability, he brought men over to his opinion, to a co-operation in his measures, and a perfect reliance upon his wisdom and ability. Several important affairs both in the Decan and the provinces had been brought to a conclusion by his means; and at length an expedition was fitted out for completing the conquest of Hindostan, under

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* Properly Sedádeo.
the supreme command of Raghunaut Row. Mulhar Row Hulkur, Junkoogee Sindia, and several other chiefs, were ordered to act under him with very powerful forces. They accordingly marched into Hindostan, and with little difficulty reduced every place to their obedience, until they came to the neighbourhood of Lahore and Shabdowla; here they were opposed by Jehan Khan and the other commanders left in those districts by Ahmed Shah Durrany, whom they defeated and compelled to repass the Attock. They kept possession of that country for some time, but the army beginning to fall considerably in arrears, Raghunaut Row thought it advisable to return to the Deccan.

Upon the return of Raghunaut Row, the accounts of his expedition being inspected by the Bhow, it was found that a debt of eighty-eight lacs of rupees was due to the army, so much had the expenses been allowed to exceed all the collections of tribute, Pishkush, &c: the Bhow, who was in every respect superior to Raghunaut, reproached him severely for this, and asked him if that was his good management, to bring home debts instead of an increase of wealth to the treasury of the state, which Raghunaut Row replied to, by advising him to try his own skill next time, and see what advantage he could make of it. Balarow however interfered, and reconciled them in some degree, by excusing Raghunaut Row on account of his youth and inexperience.

Next year the scheme of reducing Hindostan being renewed, and the command again offered to Raghunaut Row, he declined it, saying "let those have the command, who are well-wishers to the state, and who will consult the publick advantage." This speech gave great offence to the Bhow, and, on many considerations, he offered himself to take the com-
mand of the expedition; taking with him Biswas Row, the eldest son of Bala Row, then seventeen years of age, as the nominal commander in chief, according to the ancient custom of the Mahrattas*. The army under his command was very numerous, and they set out on their expedition without delay; but, as soon as they had passed the Nerbudda†, the Bhow began to exercise his authority in a new and offensive manner, and both in settling the accounts of the army and revenue, and in all publick business, he showed a capricious and self-conceited conduct. He totally excluded from his counsel Mulhar Row and all the other Chiefs, who were experienced in the affairs of Hindostan, and who had credit and influence with the principal people in that country, and carried on every thing by his own opinion alone.

When he came to Seronga, he dispatched Vakeels with presents to all the principal Chiefs in Hindostan, inviting them to an alliance and co-operation with him, for the purpose of settling the affairs of Hindostan. Among the rest a Vakeel came with the above proposal to the Navaé Shuja-ul-dowla, bringing with him a present of fine cloths and jewels, to a considerable amount, and informing him at the same time, that, whenever the Bhow should arrive near him, he would dispatch Naroo Shunker to conduct Shujah-ul-dowla to him. Shuja-ul-dowla answered him in the language of profession, but determined in his own mind to keep himself disengaged from both parties, and to be a spectator of the expected contest, till his future conduct should be determined by the event, when he designed to join the victors.

* Properly Maharáñíñas.  † Properly Normadá.
Ahmed Shah Durrany, after the defeat of Datteja Jee Putul Sindia, cantoned his army in the district of Affska upon the banks of the Ganges; and Datteja Jee Putul himself having been killed in an action with Nujeib-ul-Dowlah, the latter was apprehensive of the consequences of the resentment of the Mahrattas, and therefore united himself closely with the Durrany Shah, who was himself excited to invade Hindostan by a wish to revenge the defeat of his General Jehan Khan the preceding year, but still by the solicitations of Nujeib-ul-Dowlah, who agreed to bear the extra-charges of the Shah's army and, being himself a man of great military reputation, as well as an able politician, had persuaded all the Robilla chiefs and the Patans of Ferokhabad to join the Durrany Shah.

The Bhow, besides his own Decany troops, had brought with him all the auxiliaries that he could collect in Makwa, Janfye, &c. under the command of the several Aumils, such as Naroo Shunker and others; and, as soon as he arrived at the river Chumbul, he sent a confidential person to Raja Surja Mul chief of the Jauts, proposing a conference and that Surja Mul should enter into alliance with him. Surja Mul sent him word in reply, that his negotiations with the Mahrattas had always been conducted through the mediation of Mulhar Row and the Sindseas, and that, if they chose to interfere on the present occasion, he was ready to wait on the Bhow. The Bhow from necessity asked those Chiefs to assist him in this matter, which they having consented to, as soon as the army of the Mahrattas approached to Agra, Surja Mul paid his respects to the Bhow, and, the conversation turning on the most advisable mode of conducting the war, Surja Mul said: "You are the master of Hindostan, possessed of all things: I am but a Zemindar, yet will give my advice
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according to the extent of my comprehension and knowledge. In the
first place, the families of the chiefs and soldiers, the large train of
baggage, and the heavy artillery, will be great impediments to carry-
ing on the kind of war, which you have now in hand. Your troops
are more light and expeditious than those of Hindostan; but the Durrani
are still more expeditious than you. It is therefore advisable, to
take the field against them quite unincumbered, and to leave the superflu-
ous baggage and followers, on the other side of the Chumbul, under
the protection of Janfje or Gualiar, which places are under your author-
ity.

Or I will put you in possession of one of the large forts in my coun-
try, Deig, or Combeir, or Burtpoor, in which you may lodge the baggage
and followers; and I will join you with all my forces. In this arrange-
ment, you will have the advantage of a free communication with a
friendly country behind you, and need be under no apprehensions res-
pecting supplies to your army; and there is reason to believe, that
the enemy will not be able to advance so far, but will by this plan of
operations be obliged to disperse, without effecting any thing.”

Mulhar Row and the other chiefs approved of this advice, and
observed, “that trains of artillery were suitable to the royal armies, but
that the Mabratta mode of war was predatory, and their best way was
to follow the method to which they had been accustomed, that Hindostan
was not their hereditary possession, and, if they could not succeed in re-
ducing it, it would be no disgrace to them to retreat again. That the
advice of Surja Mul was excellent; and that the plan, which he pro-
posed, would certainly compel the enemy to retreat, as they had no fixed
"possession in the country. That their object for the present therefore,
should be to gain time till the breaking up of the rains, when the Dur-
ranies would certainly return to their own country."

Notwithstanding that all the Mahratta chiefs were unanimous in
recommending this plan, the Bhow, relying on the strength of his army,
and his own courage and ability, would not listen to it, but said "that
"his inferiors had acquired military reputation by their actions in that
"country; and it never should be reproached to him, that he, who was the
"superior, had gained nothing but the disgrace of acting defensively." And
he reproached Mulhar Row with having outlived his activity and his
understanding: at the same time saying, "that Surja Mul was only a
"Zemindar, that his advice was suitable enough to his rank and capacity,
"but not worth the consideration of men so much his superiors."

Men of wisdom and experience were surprized at this arrogance and
obstinacy in a man, who always formerly had shown so much good
sense and circumspection, as the Bhow had done till this expedition; and
concluded, that fate had ordained the miscarriage of their enterprize. Every
one became disgusted by his harsh and offensive speeches, and they said
among themselves: "it is better that this Brahman should once meet with a
"defeat, or else what weight and consideration shall we be allowed?"

The Bhow posted a body of troops to prevent Surja Mul from
leaving the camp: this alarmed him very much, but, as all the chiefs were
of one opinion, Mulhar Row and the rest advised him not to be hasty,
but to act as circumstances should direct; and for the present, to remain
for the satisfaction of the Bhow.
After this the Bhow marched from Agra to Debly, and at once laid siege to the Royal Castle, where Yacoob Aly Khan (who was nephew to the Durrany Vizier, Shah Vulli Khan) commanded, and summoned him to surrender the castle, after the batteries had played some days. Yacoob Aly Khan finding that resistance was vain, by the advice of Shah Vulli Khan, capitulated through the other Mahratta chiefs' mediation, and delivered the castle up to the Bhow, who entered it with Biswas Row, and seized upon a great part of the royal effects that he found there: especially the ceiling of the great hall of audience, which was of silver and made at an immense expense, was pulled down and coined into seventeen lacks of rupees. Many other actions of the same kind were done, and it was generally reported to be the Bhow's design to get rid of such of the principal Hindostany chiefs as stood in his way, and, after the Durrany Shah should return to his own country, to place Biswas Row upon the throne of Debly. This intelligence was brought to the Navab Shuja ul Doulah, and it is on his authority that I relate it.

In the mean time the rains set in, and the Bhow cantoned his army in Debly and for twelve coss round it, residing himself in the Castle; while Ahmed Shah Durrany remained in cantonments near Anufhain: Nujeb ul Doulah gave him exact information of every thing that passed, upon which intelligence the Shah told him, "that, as Shuja ul Doulah " was a chief of great weight and power and Vizier of Hindostan, it was " of the greatest importance to secure him to their interest, and to persuade " him to join them, for that, should he be gained by the Mahrattas, the " worst consequences must arise from it. That it was not necessary, that " he should bring a large army with him; his coming even with a few " would very considerably strengthen their cause. That on a former occa-
An Account of

Ahmad Shah Durrany and his Vizier, Shah Valli Khan, sent written treaties of alliance, and the Koran sealed with their seals, by Nujeib ul Dowla, who, taking his leave of the Durrany Shah, set out with an escort of two thousand horse, and in three days got to Mindya.

Shuja ul Dowlah, some time before this, had been encamped on his frontier near the Ganges; for the protection of his country, and, receiving information of Nujeib ul Dowlah's sudden arrival, he found himself under the necessity of giving him a meeting, and showing him all the honours, which hospitality and politeness demanded. Nujeib ul Dowlah showed him the treaties proposed by the Durrany Shah, and gave him every assurance and encouragement possible both from the Durrany Shah and from himself; and explained to him also the perils of their own situation: "for my own part, said he, I give over every hope of safety, when I reflect that the Bhow is my declared enemy, but it behoves you also to take care of yourself, and to secure an ally in one of the parties; and, as you know the Bhow bears a mortal hatred to all Mussulmans, whenever..."
"he has the power to show his enmity, neither you nor I, nor any other
*Musulman, will escape. Though after all the destiny of God will be ful-
"filled, yet we ought also to exercise our own faculties to their utmost.
"From my friendship to you, I have come this distance to explain things
to you, though averse from all unnecessary trouble: now consider and
determine. The Begum your mother is capable of advising us both:
"consult her upon the occasion, as well as the rest of your family,
"and determine on what you shall think best."

After considering the matter for two or three days, Shuja ul Dowlah
concluded, that it would be very unsafe and improper to join the Mahrat-
tabs: and to decline the proffered friendship of the other party, would be
impolitick, especially after their deputing a man of Nujeib ul Dowlah’s
rank to him, and would never be forgiven either by the Shah or the Rohilla
chiefs. Yet the danger appeared very great, whether the victory should
fall to the Mahrattas, or to the Durrany. He at length however determin-
ed to follow the advice of Nujeib ul Dowlah, and to join the Durrany
Shah: he accordingly dispatched his women to Lucknow, appointed
Raja Beni Behader Naib Subah during his absence, and, setting out
with Nujeib ul Dowlah, and arriving at the Durrany camp near Amuf-
baier, was presented to Ahmud Shah Durrany, who treated him with
the greatest consideration and honour, told him that he considered him as
one of his own children; that he had waited for his arrival, and now would
shew him the punishment of the Mahrattas, with many proofs of his
friendship. He at the same time proclaimed it through his own camp,
that no Durrany should presume to commit any violence or irregularity in
Shuja ul Dowlah’s camp: that any one, who did, should be put to im-
mediate death; adding, that Shuja ul Dowlah was the son of Sufder
Nz
An Account of Jung, the guest of Ahmed Shah's family, and that he considered him as dear as his own child. The Grand Vizier Shah Vulli Khan, who was a man in the highest esteem and respect with all ranks, called Shuja ul Dowlah his son also, and treated him with the highest distinction.

As the common soldiers amongst Durannis are stubborn and disobedient, notwithstanding the Shah's proclamation, they committed some irregularities in Shuja ul Dowlah's camp: the Shah, hearing of this, had two hundred of them seized upon, and, having had their noses bored through with arrows, and strings passed through the holes, they were led in this condition, like camels, to Shuja ul Dowlah to put to death or pardon as he should think proper. He accordingly had them released, and from that time none of the Duranny soldiers made the least disturbance in Shuja ul Dowlah's camp.

Soon after this, though the rains were still at their height, the Shah marched from Anushair, and cantoned his army at Shab德拉 on the bank of the Jumna, opposite to the city of Debly. Many posts of the Mahratta army were within sight, but the river was too deep and rapid to be passed.

The Bhow sent Bowany Shunker Pundit, a native of Aurungabad, and a man of good sense and experience, with some overtures to Shuja ul Dowlah; telling him, that there was no ground of enmity between the Mahrattas and his Excellency's family; on the contrary, they had formerly given great support and assistance to Sudder Jung, Shuja ul Dowlah's father. Why then did the Navab join their enemies? That their not having long since desired him to join them in person, was solely owing their unwillingness to give him inconvenience. That now it was
by all means necessary for him to join them, or at least to separate himself from the other party, and to send some person of character and rank on his part to reside within camp.

Accordingly the Navab sent Raja Debydut a native of Dehly, who was in his service; a man of great eloquence, (whose father had been the royal treasurer during the administration of the Syeds, and he himself had been one of the household during the reign of Mohammud Shah) to accompany Bowany Shunker. The Navab also sent Row Casy Raj (the writer of this narrative) who had been in the service of Sufder Jung and much favoured by him. His excellency told Bowany Shunker, that I (Casy Raj) was also a Decany, and introduced me to him in his own presence, where we soon recognized our being of the same cast and country. Bowany Shunker wrote the Bhow word of my being employed in this affair, upon which the Bhow caused a letter to be written to me in the Decan language, but, as there was some deficiency in the form of address, I did not reply to it. The Bhow inquired of Bowany Shunker why I neglected to answer his letter, which being explained he was very angry with his Munfty.

When Raja Debydut got to the Bhow's camp, the negotiation began, but the Bhow being dissatisfied with this agent, he sent Bowanny Shunker back to tell Shuja ul Dowlah, that Raja Debydut was too unguarded a man to be entrusted with secrets of such importance; he therefore desired the Navab would send a trusty man entirely to be relied on, and send word by him precisely what steps were to be pursued.

At the same time other overtures came from Mulhar Row, and Raja,
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Surja Mul to know what part they should act. All these proposals the Navab communicated exactly to Nujeib ul Dowlah and the Grand Vizier, and negotiated with the Mahrattas by their advice.

Nujeib ul Dowlah threw every obstacle that he could in the way of peace; but the Grand Vizier told Shuja ul Dowlah, that, if a peace could be brought about through his means, it would be better; that he was very willing to forward it, and would engage to obtain the Shah's concurrence. In fact he was at this time on but indifferent terms with Nujeib ul Dowlah.

At length it was resolved to send the Eunuch Mohammed Yacoob Khan, with their proposals to the Mahrattas, and to tell them from Shuja ul Dowlah, that he acknowledged the friendship, which had always subsisted between them and him; that however it was neither proper nor practicable, for him to join them, but that on every proper occasion he was ready to manifest his friendship, by giving them the best intelligence and advice; and, since they asked his opinion in the present instance, he would advise them to avoid attempting any other mode of carrying on the war, than the predatory and desultory one, to which they were accustomed; or that, if they preferred peace, means should be devised for obtaining it.

They at the same time wrote to Raja Surja Mul, advising him to quit the Mahrattas, and return to his own country; which advice coinciding with his own opinion, he promised to follow it.

The Bhow, in answer to Shuja ul Dowlah, acknowledged the kindness of his advice and conduct, and promised to pay attention to what he
liad said. That as to peace, he had no cause of quarrel with the Dur-
ranv Shah, who might march back to his own country, whenever he
pleased; that all the country on the other side of the Attock, should remain
in the possession of the Shah, and all on this side of it should belong to
the chiefs of Hindostan, who might divide and settle it, as they could agree
among themselves. Or, if this should not satisfy the Shah, he should pos-
sess as far as Lahore. Lastly he said, that, if the Shah insisted on still
more, he should have as far as Sirhind, leaving the remainder to the chiefs
of Hindostan, as was said before. With this answer Yacoob Khan re-
turned.

Two days after this, Surja Mul, who was encamped at Bidderpoor,
six coss from Debly, by the advice of Mulhar Row and the other disaf-
feeted chiefs, under pretence of changing the ground of his encampment,
sent off all his baggage and camp-followers towards his own country, and,
when he received intelligence, that they had got ten coss on their way, he
followed them with his divisions of troops, and had got a great distance,
before the Bhow heard of his departure. In a day and two nights he
marched fifty coss, and reached the strong holds of his own country.

The Bhow made no account of his defection, only saying that such
conduct was to be expected from mere Zemindars; that his going was of
no importance, but rather to be rejoiced at, since he did not quit them at
any time, when they might have relied on him for material service.

Mahommed Yacoob Khan, returning to camp, reported all the Bhow's
overtures; but, as neither party were sincerely in earnest, the negotiation went
on but slowly.
Mean time the rains drawing near to an end, the Bhow determined to reduce the strong post of Kunjoora, which is situated on the banks of the Jumna, about fifty cofs above Delhi, and at that time occupied by about ten thousand Robillas, as the possession of that place would secure his passing the river to attack the Shah. He accordingly marched from Delhi, and, arriving at Kunjoora, assaulted it with fifteen thousand chosen men, and after an obstinate resistance made himself master of the place, taking the Governor Duleil Khan, and all the garrison prisoners, and delivering up the place to plunder. The Durrany Shah had exact intelligence of all this proceeding, and was very desirous of relieving Kunjoora, but the Jumna was yet impassable.

Soon after the rains broke up, and the Duffara arrived: the Shah gave orders that the day before the Duffara all the army should be assembled for muster; which being done, he reviewed them himself from an eminence in front of the camp.

The Durrany army consisted of twenty-four Dufias (or Regiments), each containing twelve hundred horsemen. The principal chiefs in command under the Shah were, the Grand Vizier Shah Vulli Khan:—Jehan Khan: Shah Pussund Khan: Nussir Khan Beloche:—Berkhordar Khan:—Vizier Ulla Khan Kizelbasji:—Morad Khan, a Persian Mogbol.—Besides these principal chiefs there were many others of inferior rank; and of the twenty-four Dufias above-mentioned, six were of the Shah’s slaves called Koleran.

There were also two thousand camels, on each of which were mounted two musketeers, armed with pieces of a very large bore, called Zumburucks;
forty pieces of cannon, and a great number of shulernals, or swivels, mounted on camels: this was the strength of the Durrany army.

With the Navab-Shuja-ul-dowlah there were two thousand horse, two thousand foot, and twenty pieces of cannon of different sizes:

With Nujeib ul-dowlah, six thousand horse and twenty thousand Robilla foot, with great numbers of rockets:

With Doondy Khan and Hafiz Rahmut Khan, fifteen thousand Robilla foot and four thousand horse, with some pieces of cannon:

And with Ahmed Khan Bungash one thousand horse, one thousand foot, with some pieces of cannon, making altogether forty-one thousand eight hundred horse, and thirty-eight thousand foot, with between seventy and eighty pieces of cannon.

This I know to have been precisely the state of the Mussulman army, having made repeated and particular inquiries before I set it down, both from the Duffer (or Office) of Musters, and from those by whom the daily provisions were distributed. But the numbers of irregulars, which accompanied these troops, were four times that number, and their horses and arms were very little inferior to those of the regular Durrani. In action it was their custom immediately after the regulars had charged and broken the enemy, to fall upon them sword in hand, and complete the rout. All the Durrani were men of great bodily strength and their horses of the Turki breed; naturally very hardy, and rendered still more so by continual exercise.
Ahmed Shah Durrany issued orders to his army to be ready to march two days after the muster.

On the other side, the Bhow, having reduced Kunjpoora, returned to Dehly and ordered a muster of his army, when the strength of it appeared to be as follows:

Under Ibrahim Khan Gardner, two thousand horse, and nine thousand Sepoys with firelocks, disciplined after the European manner; together with forty pieces of cannon.

The Khafs Pagah, or Household Troops: 6,000 horse.
Mulhar Row and Hulker, 5,000 horse.
Junkoojee Sindia, 10,000 horse.
Amajee Quickwar, 3,000 horse.
Jeswont Row, Powar, 2,000 horse.
Shumshere Behader, 3,000 horse.
Belayee Jadoon, 3,000 horse.
Rajah Betul Shudeo, 3,000 horse.
Bulmont Row, brother-in-law to the Bhow, 7,000 horse.
and his great adviser in every thing,
Biswaas Row's own Pagah, 5,000 horse.
Antajee Mankeser, 2,000 horse.

There were several other smaller bodies, which cannot now be collected: the whole army amounted to fifty-five thousand horse, and fifteen thousand foot including Ibrahim Khan's Sepoys.

There were also two hundred pieces of cannon, and rockets, and shotter-nals without number.
Besides these the Pindary chiefs, Churgory, and Hool Sewar, had fifteen thousand Pindarries under their authority; and there were two or three thousand horse with the Rbatore and Cutchwa Vakeels. These, with five or six thousand horse more, were left to guard Dehly, under command of Bowany Shunker.

Two days after the Duffara, which was the 17th of October 1760, Ahmed Shah Durrany marched from his camp, ordering his baggage to follow the army; and marching all night encamped next day at the ford of Bangput eighteen cofs above Dehly. He searched in vain for the ford, the river being still very high, and several horsemen, attempting to pass, were drowned. The Shah having fasted and performed religious ceremonies for two days, on the third a ford was discovered, but it was very narrow, and on each side the water was so deep as to drown whoever went the least out of the proper track.

The troops began to pass the ford on the 23d of October, and the Shah himself passed as soon as half of his army was on the other side. The whole army was completely crossed in two days; but from their numbers and the great expedition used, many people lost their lives.

As soon as the army had crossed, the Shah marched towards the enemy, who also moved to meet him, and on the 26th of October in the afternoon, the Herawil (or advanced guard) of the two armies, met each other near Sumalkeb Searay, and an action ensued, in which the Mahrattas had the disadvantage, and retreated at sun-set with the loss of near two thousand men, while not more than one thousand were killed and wounded on the part of Ahmed Shah: the Shah's army returned to their camp.
The next day Ahmed Shah moved forward again, and so on for several days successively, constantly skirmishing, but still gaining ground on the Mahrattas, till they came to Paniput, where the Bhow determined to fix his camp, which he accordingly did, and inclosed that, as well as the town of Paniput, with a trench sixty feet wide and twelve deep, with a good rampart, on which he mounted his cannon. The Shah encamped about four coss from the Mahratta lines; and, as he had always during his march surrounded his camp at night with felled trees, so in this camp, which was to remain fixed for some time, the abattis was made something stronger, and the chiefs encamped in the following order:

The Shah in the centre.
On his left, Shuja ul Dowlah.
On his left, Nujeib ul Dowlah.
On the right of the Shah, Hafiz Rahmut Khan.
On his right, Doondy Khan.
On his right, Ahmed Khan Bungus.

The space occupied by the whole front was near three coss and a half.

The Bhow had before given orders to Gobind Pundit, who had the command and collections of Korah, Kurrah, Etawa, Shekoabad, and the rest of the Doab, as well as of Kalpee, and other districts across the Jumna as far as Sagbur, to collect all the forces he possibly could, and to cut off all communication for provisions from the rear of the Shah’s army. Gobind Pundit having got together ten or twelve thousand horse, advanced as far as Mirbet, in the rear of the Shah, and so effectually cut off all supplies, that the Shah’s army was in the greatest distress for provisions, coarse flour selling for two rupees per seer, and the troops consequently
very much dissatisfied. The Shah therefore detached Attai Khan, nephew to the grand Vizier with a Dufla, consisting of two thousand chosen horse, and ordered him to march day and night till he should come up with Gobind Pundit, and having cut off his head to bring it to the presence. He set out accordingly being joined by eight or ten thousand of the irregulars, and having marched about forty cosfs during the night, at day-break they fell like lightning upon the camp of Gobind Pundit, where having no intelligence of the Durrani's approach, they were seized with terror and amazement, and fled on all sides. Gobind Pundit himself attempted to escape upon a Turki horse, but being old, and not a very expert horseman, he was thrown off in the pursuit, and the Durrani's coming up cut off his head and carried it to camp, where it was recognized for the head of Gobind Pundit.

After plundering the enemy's camp, and driving away their scattered troops on all sides, Attai Khan returned to the Shah's camp, the fourth day from that on which he was detached, and presented his Majesty with the head of Gobind Pundit. The Shah was highly pleased with this effectual performance of his orders, and bestowed a very honourable Kbalat on Attai Khan: after this action, the Durrani army was constantly supplied with provisions.

The Bhow was much affected with this news, especially as it was accompanied with other events little favourable to his cause: but as he was a man of dignity and resolution, he never betrayed any despondency, but made light of all the adverse circumstances which occurred.

Soon after the defeat of Gobind Pundit, the Bhow sent two thousand horse to Dehly, to receive some treasure from Naroo Shunker for the use of
the army. These troops were instructed to march privately; by night
and by unfrequented roads, and each man to have a bag of two thousand rupees
given him to carry, as far as the sum they should receive would go. They
executed their orders completely, as far as to the last march on their return
to camp, but unluckily for them, the night being dark, they mistook their
road, and went straight to the Durrany camp instead of their own. On com-
ing to the outposts, thinking them those of their own camp, they began to
call out in the Mahratta language, which immediately discovering them to
the Durranies, they surrounded the Mahrattas, cut them to pieces and plundered the treasures.

From the day of their arrival in their present camp, Ahmed Shah
Durrany caused a small red tent to be pitched for him a cos in front
of his camp, and he came to it every morning before sun-rise; at which
time, after performing his morning prayer, he mounted his horse and visited
every post of the army, accompanied by his son Timour Shah
and forty or fifty horsemen. He also reconnoitred the camp of the
enemy, and in a word saw every thing with his own eyes, riding usually
forty or fifty cos every day. After noon he returned to the small tent,
and sometimes dined there, sometimes at his own tents in the lines; and
this was his daily practice.

At night there was a body of five thousand horse advanced as near as con-
veniently might be, towards the enemy's camp, where they remained all
night under arms: other bodies went the rounds of the whole encamp-
ment; and Ahmed Shah used to say to the Hindostany chiefs, "do you
" sleep, I will take care that no harm befalls you: " and to say the truth
his orders were obeyed like destiny, no man daring to hesitate or delay one
moment in executing them.
Every day the troops and cannon on both sides were drawn out, and a distant cannonade with many skirmishes of horse took place: towards the evening both parties drew off to their camps. This continued for near three months: during this time there were three very severe, though partial, actions.

The first was on the twenty-ninth Nov. 1760, when a body of Mabrattas, about fifteen thousand strong, having fallen upon the grand Vizier's post on the left of the line, pressed him very hard; till a reinforcement coming to his assistance, the action became very obstinate: the Mabrattas, however, gave way about sun-set, and were pursued to their own camp with great slaughter. Near four thousand men were killed on the two sides in this action.

The second action was on the 23d of December 1760, when Nujeeb ul Dowlah having advanced pretty forward with his division, he was attacked with so much vigour by Bulmont Row, that his troops gave way, and only fifty horsemen remained with him, with which small number, however, he kept his ground till a reinforcement came to his assistance; the action was then renewed with great fury, and above three thousand of Nujeeb ul Dowlah's men were killed or wounded: among the killed was Khalil ul Rahman, uncle to Nujeeb ul Dowlah. In the last charge, which was at near nine o'clock at night, Bulmont Row was killed by a musket ball: upon which both parties retired to their own camps.

The third action was much in the same way; and thus every day were the two armies employed from morning to nine or ten at night, till at length the Hindustany chiefs were out of all patience, and entreated the Shah to put an end to their fatigues, by coming at once to a decisive action; but his constant
answer was: "this is a matter of war, with which you are not acquainted. "In other affairs do as you please, but leave this to me. Military opera-
tions must not be precipitated. You shall see how I will manage this "affair, and at a proper opportunity will bring it to a successful conclusion."

As the Durrany army was vigilant both by day and night to prevent the approach of any convoys, there began to be a great scarcity of provisions and forage in the Mabratta camp.

One night when about twenty thousand of their camp followers had gone out of the lines to gather wood in a jungle at some distance, they happened to fall in with a body of five thousand horse under the command of Shah Pussund Khan, who had the advanced guard that night, and who surrounding them on all sides, put the whole to the sword, no person coming to their assistance from the Mabratta camp. In the morning, when the affair was reported to the Shah, he went out with most of his chiefs to the scene of the slaughter, where dead bodies were piled up into a perfect mountain, so great had been the destruction of those unhappy people.

The grief and terror which this event struck into the Mabrattas, is not to be described, and even the Bhow himself began to give way to fear and despondence.

There was a news-writer of the Bhow's called Gonniesh Pundit, who remained in the camp of the Navab Shujah-ul-Dowlah; but not being of sufficient importance to obtain access to the Navab, any business that he had with the Durbar, he transacted through my means. Through this channel the Bhow often wrote letters to me with his own hand, deli-
ing, that I would urge the Navab to mediate a peace for him, in conjunction with the Grand Vizier; that he was ready to submit to any conditions, if he could but preserve himself and his army, and would by every means manifest his gratitude to the mediators. He also sent a handful of saffron, (as is a custom with these people) and a written engagement, (to which he had sworn) to abide by this promise; together with a turban with rich jewels, as an exchange for one to be received from the Navab, who also returned proper presents, and promised to assist him.

The Navab often sent me to the Grand Vizier upon this business. He was also very well disposed to listen to the Bhow’s proposals, and spoke to the Shah about it. The Shah said, “that he had nothing to do in the matter; that he came thither at the solicitation of his countrymen the Robil-\textit{las}, and other Muffulmans, to relieve them from their fear of the Mahratta yoke; that he claimed the entire conduct of the war, but left the Hindus tiny chiefs to carry on their negociations, as they pleased themselves.”

All the other chiefs, Hafiz Rahmut Khan, Doondy Khan, and Ahmed Khan Bungush, were also satisfied to make peace with the Bhow, but every one stipulated, that Nujeib-ul-Dowlah must also be satisfied to do so, otherwise they could not consent. Accordingly the Navab Shujah-ul-Dowlah sent me to talk over the matter with Nujeib-ul-Dowlah, and to obtain his consent. I therefore waited upon him, and, in a long private conference, I explained every thing that had passed, and urged every argument, to persuade him to come into the views of the other chiefs, to all which he replied in nearly the following words:—“ Shujah-ul-Dowlah is the son of a man, whom I look up to as my superior, and I consider him also in the fame light; but at the fame time, he is young
and unacquainted with the world: he does not see to the bottom of things.

This business is a deception: when an enemy is weak and distressed,
there is no concession that he will not make, and, in the way of negotiation, will swear to any thing; but oaths are not chains, they are only words. After reducing an enemy to this extremity, if you let him escape, do you think he will not seize the first opportunity to recover his lost honour and power? At present we may be said to have the whole Decan at our mercy: when can we hope for another conjunction so favourable? By one effort we get this thorn out of our sides for ever.—Let the Naujab have a little patience: I will wait upon him myself, and consult what is best to be done."

After this answer, I left Nujeb-ul-Dowlah, and returned to my master, to whom I repeated all that had passed, assuring him that Nujeb-ul-Dowlah would never be brought to agree to any terms of pacification.

As soon as I had left Nujeb-ul-Dowlah, though it was the middle of the night, he went immediately to the Shah, and informed him of what had passed. "All the chiefs (said he) are inclined to make peace with the Mahrattas, but I think it by no means advisable. The Mahrattas are the thorn of Hindostan; if they were out of the way, this empire might be your Majesty's, whenever you should please. Do as seems fit to yourself: for my own part I am a soldier of fortune, and can make terms with whatever party may prevail."

The Shah replied, "You say truly: I approve of your counsel, and will not listen to any thing in opposition to it. Shujah-ul-Dowlah is
"young and inexperienced, and the Mahrattas are a crafty race, on whose pretended penitence no reliance is to be placed. I from the beginning made you the manager of this affair: act as seems best to yourself: in my situation I must hear every one, but I will not do any thing against your advice."

Next day Nujeib-ul-Dowlah came to Shujah-ul-Dowlah's tent, where they consulted till late at night, but without coming to any conclusion.

By this time the distresses in the Bhow's camp were so great, that the troops plundered the town of Paniput for grain; but such a scanty supply gave no relief to the wants of such multitudes. At length the chiefs and soldiers, in a body, surrounded the Bhow's tent, and said to him: "it is now two days that we have not had any thing to eat; do not let us perish in this misery; let us make one spirited effort against the enemy, and whatever is our destiny that will happen." The Bhow replied, that he was of the same mind, and was ready to abide by whatever they should resolve upon. At length it was determined to march out of the lines an hour before day break, and placing the artillery in front to proceed to the attack of the enemy. They all swore to fight to the last extremity, and each person took a betel-leaf in the presence of his fellows, in confirmation of this engagement, as is the custom among the Hindoos.

In this last extremity, the Bhow wrote me a short note with his own hand, which he sent by one of his most confidential servants: the words of the note were these:

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"The cup is now full to the brim, and cannot hold another drop. If any thing can be done, do it, or else answer me plainly at once: hereafter there will be no time for writing or speaking."

This note arrived about three in the morning, at which time I was with the Navab: as soon as I had read it, I informed his Excellency of its contents, and called in the man who brought it, who told the Navab all that had happened in the Mahratta camp: while he was doing this, the Navab's harcarrahs brought word, that the Mahrattas were coming out of their lines, the artillery in front, and the troops following close behind.

Immediately on hearing this his Excellency went to the Shah's tent, and desired the Eunuchs to wake his Majesty that moment, as he had some urgent business with him.

The Shah came out directly, and inquired what news; the Navab replied, that there was no time for explanation, but desired his Majesty to mount his horse, and order the army to get under arms. The Shah accordingly mounted one of his horses, which were always ready saddled at the tent door, and, in the dress he then had on, rode half a coss in front of his camp, ordering the troops under arms as he went along.

He inquired of the Navab from whom he had his intelligence, and, mentioning my name, the Shah immediately dispatched one on a post-camel to bring me. After I had made my obeisance, he asked me the particulars of the news. I replied, that the Mahrattas had quitted their lines and would attack his army, as soon as it should be light. Just at this time some Durrany horsemen passed by with their horses loaded with plunder.
which they said they had taken in the Mahratta camp, and added that the Mahrattas were running away. The Shah looked at me, and asked me what I said to that? I replied, that a very short time would prove the truth or falsehood of my report. While I was speaking, the Mahrattas having advanced about a cosfa and a half from their lines, and got their cannon drawn up in a line, all at once gave a general discharge of them.

Upon hearing this, the Shah, who was sitting upon his horse, smoking a Persian Kallian, gave it to his servant, and with great calmness said to the Nawab: "your servant's news is very true, I see." He immediately sent for the Grand Vizier and Shah Pussund Khan, who came accordingly: he ordered Shah Pussund Khan to take post with his division on the left of Nujeis-ul-Dowlah, and consequently of the whole line. The Grand Vizier to take post with his division in the centre of the line: and Berkhordar Khan with some other chiefs, with their troops, on the right of Hafiz Rahmut Khan, and Ahmed Khan Bungush, consequently of the whole line: when this was done, he ordered the trumpets and other instruments to sound to battle.

By this time objects began to be discernible, and we could perceive the colours of the Mahratta line, advancing slowly and regularly, with their artillery in front. The Shah rode along the front of the line, and examined the order of all the divisions. He then took post, where his little tent was pitched, in front of his camp, but in the rear of the present line of battle, and gave orders for the attack to begin.

The Mahratta army faced towards the eastward, and their order was as follows, reckoning from the left flank of their line:
Ibrahim Khan Gardee,
Amajee Guickwar,
Shu Deo Pateil,
The Bhow, with Biswas Row, and the household troops,
Jeswont Row, Powar,
Shumshere Behader,
Mulhar Row,
Junkoojee Sindea, &c.,

The whole artillery, scuternals, &c. were drawn up in front of the line.

The Musulman army faced towards the westward, and was drawn up as follows, reckoning also from the left flank of their line:

Shah Pussund Khan,
Nujeib ul Dowlah,
Shuja ul Dowlah,
The Grand Vizier Shaw vulli Khan,
Ahmed Khan Bungush,
Hafiz rahmat Khan,
Doondy Khan,
Amir Beg Khan, and other Persian Moghols,
Berkhordar Khan,

All the artillery and rockets were in front of the line. Behind them were the camels mounted by the musketeers carrying Zumburucks, supported by a body of Persian musketeers.
The two armies facing each other rather obliquely, the divisions of Berkhordar Khan, Amir Beg, and Doondy Khan, were very near to that of Ibrahim Khan Gardee. The plan of the battle here annexed will explain this more clearly than any description in writing can do.

On the 7th of January, 1761, soon after sun-rise, the cannon, musketry, and rockets, began to play without intermission, yet our army suffered but little by them; for the armies continuing to advance towards each other, the Mahratta guns being very large and heavy, and their level not easily altered, their shot soon began to pass over our troops, and fell a mile in the rear. On our side, the cannon fired but little, except from the Grand Vizier's division.

As the armies were advancing towards each other, Ibrahim Khan Gardee rode up to the Bhow, and, after saluting him, he said: "you have long been displeased with me for insuring on the regular monthly pay for my people; this month your treasure was plundered, and we have not received any pay at all; but never mind that: this day I will convince you, that we have not been paid so long without meriting it."—He immediately spurred his horse, and returning to his division, he ordered the standards to be advanced, and, taking a colour in his own hand, he directed the cannon and musketry of his division to cease firing; then leaving two battalions opposed to Berkhordar Khan, and Amir Khan's division, to prevent their taking him in flank, he advanced with seven battalions to attack Doondy Khan and Hafiz Rahmut Khan's division, with fixed bayonets. The Rokillahs received the charge with great resolution, and the action was so close, that they fought hand to hand: near eight thousand Ro-
hillabs were killed or wounded, and the attack became so hard upon them that but few of the people remained with their chiefs, not above five hundred, or at most a thousand with each, after the violence of the first charge.

Hafiz Rahmut Khan, being indisposed, was in his palanquin, and seeing the desperate state of affairs, he ordered his people to carry him to Doondy Khan, that he might expire in his presence: while on the other hand Doondy Khan was giving orders to search for Hafiz Rahmut Khan: for so great was the confusion, that no one knew where another was. The two battalions left to oppose the Shah's flank divisions, as mentioned above, exerted themselves very much, and repulsed the Durraniers, as often as they attempted to advance. In this action, which lasted three hours, six of Ibrahim Khan's battalions were almost entirely ruined, and he himself wounded in several places, with spears, and with a musket-ball. Amajee Guickwar, whose division supported Ibrahim Khan, behaved very well, and was himself wounded in several places.

In the centre of the line, the Bhow with Biswas Row, and the household troops, charged the division of the Grand Vizier. The Mahrattas broke through a line of ten thousand horse, seven thousand Persian musketeers, and one thousand camels with Zumburucks upon them, killing and wounding about three thousand of them: among the killed was Attai Khan, the Grand Vizier's nephew, who had gained so much honour by the defeat of Gobind Pundit. The division gave ground a little; but the Grand Vizier himself stood firm, with three or four hundred horse, and fifty Zumburuck camels: he himself, in complete armour, dismounted to fight on foot.

The Navab Shujah-ul-Dowlah whose division was next, could not see what was going on, on account of the dust, but finding the found of
men and horses in that quarter suddenly diminish, he sent me to examine into the cause. I found the Grand Vizier in an agony of rage and despair, reproaching his men for quitting him. "Our country is far off, my friends," said he, "whither do you fly?" But no one regarded his orders or exhortations. Seeing me, he said: "Ride to my son Shujah-ul-Dowlah, and tell him that, if he does not support me immediately, I must perish." I returned with this message to the Navab, who said that the enemy being so near, and likely to charge his division, the worst consequences might follow to the whole army, if he made any movement at that time, which might enable the enemy to pass through the line.

The Navab's division consisted of only two thousand horse, one thousand musketeers, with twenty pieces of cannon, and some swivels; but they stood in close order, and showed so good a countenance that the enemy made no attempt upon it. Once or twice they advanced pretty near, and seemed as if they would charge us, but they did not.

On the left of the Navab's division was that of Nujeib-ul-Dowlah, who had about eight thousand Rohilla infantry with him, and near six thousand horse. They advanced slowly under cover of a kind of breast-works of sand, which were thrown up by a great number of Birlars who were with them, and who, having finished one, advanced the distance of half a musket shot in front of that, under cover of their own people, and threw up another; to which the troops then advanced, while a third was thrown up in the same manner. They had got on above a cofs in this method, and were within a long musket shot of the enemy, Nujeib-ul-Dowlah saying, "that it behoved him to exert himself, as he was the person most deeply interested in the event of that day, the rest be-
"ing only as visitors," and, to say the truth, he was a man of surprising activity and ability.

He was opposed by Junkoogie Sindia, and between them, there was a mortal enmity. As the Rohillas had a great number of rockets with them, they fired volleys of two thousand at a time, which, not only terrified the horses by their dreadful noise, but did so much execution also, that the enemy could not advance to charge them. Besides which, the division of Shah Pussund Khan was on the right flank of Nujeb-ul-Dowlah, and that Durrany chief, being a brave and experienced officer, advanced in such good order, that the Marbattas could make no impression on it.

The action continued in nearly this state from morning till noon, and, though we suffered least in point of killed and wounded, yet, upon the whole, the Marbattas seemed to have the advantage.

About noon the Shah received advice, that the Rohillas and the Grand Viziers divisions had the worst of the engagement, upon which he sent for the Nepuckchees (a corps of horse with particular arms and dress, who are always employed in carrying and executing the Shah's immediate commands) and two thousand of them being assembled, he sent five hundred of them to his own camp to drive out by force all armed people, whom they should find there, that they might assist in the action, and the remaining one thousand five hundred, he ordered to meet the fugitives from the battle, and to kill every man, who should refuse to return to the charge. This order they executed so effectually, that after killing a few they compelled seven or eight thousand men to return to the field, some were also found in the camp, and some the Shah sent from the reserve, which was
with him: of these he sent four thousand to cover the right flank, and about ten thousand were sent to the support of the Grand Vizier, with orders to charge the enemy sword in hand, in close order, and at full gallop: At the same time he gave directions to Shah Pussund Khan and Nujeib-ul-Dowlah, that, as often as the Grand Vizier should charge the enemy, those two chiefs should at the same time attack them in flank.

About one o'clock these troops joined the Grand Vizier, who immediately mounted his horse and charged the body of the Mahratta army, where the Bhow commanded in person: Shah Pussund Khan and Nujeib-ul-Dowlah took them in flank at the same time, the latter ordering his rocket-men to fire off two rockets each at the same time, which produced a terrible effect.

This close and violent attack lasted for near an hour, during which time they fought on both sides with spears, swords, battle axes, and even daggers. Between two and three o'clock, Biswas Row was wounded, and dismounted from his horse, which being reported to the Bhow, he ordered them to take him up and place him upon his elephant. The Bhow himself continued the action near half an hour longer on horseback, at the head of his men; when all at once, as if by enchantment, the whole Mahratta army at once turned their backs and fled at full speed, leaving the field of battle covered with heaps of dead. The instant they gave way, the victors pursued them with the utmost fury, and, as they gave no quarter, the slaughter is scarcely to be conceived, the pursuit continuing for ten or twelve miles in every direction in which they fled.

Of every description of people, men, women, and children, there were
said to be five hundred thousand souls in the Mabarra camp, of whom the
greatest part were killed or taken prisoners: and of those, who escaped from
the field of battle and the pursuit, many were destroyed by the Zemindars of
the country. Antajee Mankeser, a chief of rank, was cut off by
the Zemindars of Ferocknagur.

The plunder found in the Mabarra camp was prodigiously great: you
might see one of our horsemen carrying off eight or ten camels, loaded
with valuable effects; horses were driven away in flocks like sheep; and
great numbers of elephants were also taken.

Near forty thousand prisoners were taken alive; of which six or seven
thousand took shelter in the camp of Shuja-ul-Dowlah, who posted his
own people to protect them from the cruelty of the Durranies: but the
unhappy prisoners, who fell in the hands of the latter, were most of them
murdered in cold blood, the Durranies saying in jest, that, when they left
their own country, their mothers, sisters, and wives desired that, whenever
they should defeat the unbelievers, they would kill a few of them on their
account, that they also might possess a merit in the sight of God. In this
manner, thousands were destroyed, so that in the Durrany camp (with an
exception of the Shah and his principal officers) every tent had heads
piled up before the door of it.

As soon as the battle was over, all the chief officers presented their Nez-
zurs of congratulation to the Shah; and his majesty, having taken a slight
view of the field of battle, returned to his tent, as all the other command-
ers did to theirs, leaving the inferior officers and private soldiers to con-
tinue the plunder and pursuit at their own discretion.
Towards morning, some of Berkhordar Khan’s Durrani, having found the body of Biswas Row on his elephant, after taking the elephant and jewels, brought the body to Shujah-ul-Dowlah, who gave them two thousand rupees for it, and ordered that it should be taken care of. Ibrahim Khan Gardee, though severely wounded, had been taken alive by Shujah Kouly Khan, one of Shujah-ul-Dowlah’s own people; which being reported to his excellency, he ordered him to be carefully concealed, and his wounds to be dressed.

The Shah next day ordered Shujah-ul-Dowlah to send the body of Biswas Row for him to look at, which he accordingly did. The whole camp great and small were assembled round the Shah’s tent to see it, and every one was in admiration of the beauty of its appearance: it was not disfigured by death, but looked rather like a person who sleeps: he had one wound with a sword on the back of his neck, and a slight one with an arrow over his left eye, but there was no blood discoverable on any part of his remaining clothes. Upon sight of this body, many of the Durrani assembled in a tumultuous manner, saying, “this is the body of the king of the unbelievers, we will have it dried and stuffed to carry back to Kabul.” Accordingly it was carried to the quarter of Berkhordar Khan, and deposited near the tent of Mooty Lol, a Kettary by cast, who was his Dewan.

As soon as Shujah-ul-Dowlah heard of this, he waited upon the Shah, and, joined with the Grand Vizier, represented to his majesty “that enmity should be limited to the life of our enemy, and it is always the custom of Hindostan, that after a victory, the bodies of the chiefs, of whatever race or tribe, are given up, that they may receive their proper obsequies,
"according to the rules of their particular religion: such conduct, they
" said, does honour to the victors, but an opposite one disgraces them.
" Your majesty is only here for a time, but Shujah-ul-Dowla, and the
" other Hindostany chiefs are the fixed residents of this country, and may
" have future transactions with the Mahrattas, when their conduct on the
" present occasion will be remembered; therefore let the body be given up
" to them, that they may act, as is customary here.

This matter remained in agitation for near two days, Nujeib-ul-Dowlah, and indeed all the Hindostany chiefs, joining in the same request. I was also sent on this account, accompanied by Meig Raj, the Vakeel of Nujeib-ul-Dowah, to the tents of Burkhordar Khan and Mooty Lol. A second time I went alone, when Mooty Lol asked me if I came on that business only or would undertake anything further: I said, "for anything that he chose to communicate." Accordingly he carried me privately into two inner tents, in one I found Raja Baboo Pundit, the Bhow's Vakeel, who was wounded, with whom I conversed for some time; after which I went into the other tent, where Row Junkoojee Sindia was sitting; he was wounded with a ball, and with a spear in the arm, which he wore in a sling, and was a youth about twenty years of age. Upon seeing me, he hung down his head, on observing which I said to him, "why do you do so, Sir? whatever could be expected from human valour and exertion, you have done, and the deeds of that day will live for ever in the memory of mankind." Upon this, lifting upon his head, he said, "true, no one can contend with destiny. I wish I had died in the field of battle, but it was my fate to be brought hither; these people now require ransom from me, nor would it be difficult for me to pay what they demand, but it is impossible for me to get it here at this
time. You were a friend of my father's, and there was always friendship
between my family and the Navab's, and my father did them consider-
able services; if his excellency will pay the money required for my
release, it is an obligation that I shall never forget.” I assured him, that
the Navab would not be backward, and desired to know how much was
required: Mooty Loll said, seven lacks of rupees was the sum mentioned,
but that it might probably be settled for less. I immediately returned to
the Navab, whom I found sitting with Nujeib-ul-Dowlah, I told him
all that had passed respecting the business he sent me upon, but, as I well
knew the enmity which Nujeib-ul-Dowlah bore to the family and
person of Junkoojee, and thought, that from his good intelligence he
might have some intimation, that Junkoojee was taken alive, I thought
it was best to avoid saying any thing about him to the Navab at that time,
and went away to another part of the tent; but Nujeib-ul-Dowlah,
who had observed me, said to the Navab, “from the countenance of
Casi Raja, I perceive that he has something else to say which my
presence prevents.” Shujah-ul-Dowlah replied, that there were no secrets
between them two, and immediately calling me, made me swear by the
Ganges, to speak all that I should have done, if Nujeib-ul-Dowlah had
not been there, which being thus compelled to do, I did. Nujeib-ul-
Dowlah, who was master of the most profound dissimulation, said, that
it was highly proper, and becoming great men to relieve their enemies
under such circumstances; he therefore begged, that Shujah-ul-Dowlah
would settle the ransom of Junkoojee, and that he himself would pay
half of it. This was his profession; and soon after taking leave, he
went to the Grand Vizier, and informed him of all the particulars.

As on one hand Nujeib-ul-Dowlah wished to exterminate the family
of Sindea, the Grand Vizier also was an enemy to Berkhordar Khan, whom he hoped to injure by discovering this secret negociation: they therefore went immediately together to the Shah, and laid the affair before him. His Majesty sent for Berkhordar Khan, and questioned him about having concealed Junkoojee, but he positively denied any knowledge of it. The Grand Vizier then sent for me to prove the fact, but even after that Berkhordar Khan persisted to deny it. Upon which the Shah ordered his Nefuckchees to search the tents of that chief. Thus driven to extremity, Berkhordar Khan immediately dispatched orders to his people to put both the prisoners to death, and bury them privately, before those sent by the Shah should arrive to look for them, which was done accordingly, and thus those unhappy people lost their lives.

Ibrahim Khan Gardee had hitherto remained in Shuja-ul-Dowlah's camp, and it was his excellency's intention to send him privately to Lucnow; but some of the Shah's people getting intimation of this, informed his Majesty of it, who sent for his Excellency, and questioned him on the subject; he at first denied it, but at length the Shah, by dint of persuasion and flattery, got him to confess it. Immediately (as had been preconcerted) a great number of Durraniés surrounded the Shah's tent, crying out: "Ibrahim Khan is our greatest enemy, and has been the destroyer of multitudes of our tribe; give him up to us, or let us know who is his protector, that we may attack him." Shujah-ul-Dowlah put his hand upon his sword, and said, "here he is," and things were very near coming to extremity, when the Grand Vizier interfered, and taking Shujah-ul-Dowlah aside, he entreated him to confign Ibrahim Khan to his care for one week, promising to restore him safe at the end of that time; the Nawab expressed some apprehension of intended treachery, but the Grand Vizier
swearing on the Koran, that no harm should befall the prisoner, Shujah-ul-Dowlah sent for Ibrahim Khan, and delivered him into the Grand Vizier's hands.

The Shah ordered him to be brought into his presence, and insultingly asked him, "how a man of his courage came to be in such a condition?" He answered, "that no man could command his destiny; that his master was killed, and himself wounded and prisoner; but that, if he survived, and his majesty would employ him in his service, he was ready to shew "the same zeal for him, as he had done for the Bhow." The Shah gave him back in charge to the Grand Vizier, where he was treated with the greatest cruelty; and, as it is said, they ordered poison to be applied to his wounds, so that he died the 7th day after.

The day after the battle, the Shah, superbly dressed, rode round the the field of battle, where he found thirty-two heaps of the slain of different numbers, most of them killed near each other, as they had fought; besides these, the ditch of the Bhow's camp, and the jungles all round the neighbourhood of Paniput, were filled with bodies. The Shah entered the town of Paniput, and, after visiting the shrine of Boo Aly Kalinder, he returned to his tents.

Shujah-ul-Dowlah took some hundreds of Servants with him to the field of battle, to wash the bodies, and look for those of the chiefs, especially for that of the Bhow; and carried the Mahratta Vakeels Sinadur Pundit, and Gunneish Pundit, and other prisoners, who knew the persons of all the chiefs, to assist him in finding them out: accordingly they found the bodies of Jeswunt Row Powar, and the son of Pala Jadoo, and many others.
The second day, after the strictest search had been made for the body of the Bhow, advice was brought, that a body was lying about fifteen rods from the field of battle, which appeared to be that of a chief: Shujang-ul-Dowlah immediately went to the place, and had the body washed: some pearls of the value of three or four hundred rupees each, being found near the body, confirmed the belief of its being that of a person of rank. These pearls the Navab gave to Sinadur Pundit the Mahratta Vakeel, who, as well as the rest of the Mahrattas, who came to find out the bodies, burst into tears, and declared this to be the body of the Bhow, which they discovered by several natural marks, which the Bhow was known to have about him. First, a black spot about the size of a rupee on one of his thighs; secondly, a scar in his back, where he had been wounded with a Kuttar by Mazuffer Khan; and thirdly, in his foot the fortunate lines, called by the astrologers, Puddum Match. The body was that of a young man about thirty-five years old, and strongly made; and, as it was known, that the Bhow every day made one thousand two hundred prostrations before the sun, so were there the marks of such a practice on the knees and hands of this corpse.

While we were thus employed, I observed one of the Durranies, who stood at a distance and laughed, which I remarked to the Navab, and told him, that perhaps that man might know something respecting the body. The Navab took him aside and questioned him; to which he answered: "I saw this person several times during the battle; he was extremely well mounted, and, in the course of the action, two of his horses were killed under him; at last he received several wounds, and was dismounted from his third horse. About this time the Mahratta army fled on all sides, yet this person seemed still to preserve his presence of
mind. He was well dressed, and had many jewels on, and he retired with a short spear in his hand; and with a resolute aspect. I and some others pursued him for the sake of his jewels, and, having surrounded him, we asked him if he was some chief, or the Bhow himself; and told him not to be afraid, for we would do him no harm, but carry him wherever he desired. As he made no reply, one of my companions grew angry, and wounded him with a spear, which he returned, upon which we killed him, and cut off his head, but not without his wounding two or three of us; the head another person has got." This last circumstance was not true, for the head was afterwards found with this very man.

The Navab carried the body, and that of Suntajee Najah (which had forty cuts of swords upon it) to the camp upon two elephants, and informed the Shah of all the circumstances.

The Shah, in compliment to Shujah-ul-Dowlah, gave orders that these two bodies, together with the body of Biswas Row, should be burned according to the custom of their castes, and sent twenty of his Nefuckchees to attend, and prevent the Durannies from giving any interruption to the ceremony. His Excellency gave the bodies in charge to me, and told me that I was of the same country and tribe, and therefore he desired that I would burn them with the proper ceremonials; and he sent Rajah Anufghire with the Nefuckchees to attend me. Accordingly I carried them to a spot between the Shah's camp and the Navab's, and, having washed them with Ganges water, and perfumed them with sandal wood, I burned them.

About two thousand of the fugitives from the Bhow's camp, who had escaped from slaughter by Shujah-ul-Dowlah's protection, were present...
on this occasion, and all were of opinion, that the headless body was the Bhow's; but still, the head not having been seen, there was some room for doubt. In the evening, after burning the bodies, we returned to camp. At night Shujah-ul-Dowlah went to the grand Vizier, and told him what the Duranny had said respecting the head. The Vizier sent for the Duranny, who belonged to Berkhandar Khan, and told him not to fear being obliged to give up his plunder, that he should keep it all if he would confess where the head was: upon this the Duranny brought it wrapped up in a cloth, and threw it down before the grand Vizier. Rajah Baboo Pundit, the Mahratta Vakeel, being sent for to look at the head, immediately said, "this is the head of the Bhow: he was my master, and the care of this is a sacred duty to me; let me beg that this head may be given to me, and that I may be permitted to burn it according to the ceremonial of our religion." The grand Vizier smiled at this request, and gave the head to him, at the same time sending some Nefuckcees with him for his protection. Rajah Baboo Pundit carried the head on the outside of the camp, and burned it; after which no man doubted that the Bhow was actually killed. And this concludes all, that I personally know, respecting this battle and the death of the Bhow.

I afterwards learned from other parts of the country, that Mulhar Row, Amajee Quickwar, Betal Shu Deo, and some other chiefs fled from the battle and escaped. One of the Bhow's wives escaped on horseback, and got safe to Deig, where Rajah Surja Mul received her with great respect, gave her money, clothes, and a palankin, and sent her with an escort to Janjy, whence she got safe to the Decan.

Shumshere Behader got to Deig, wounded; Surja Mul had his wounds taken the greatest care of, but he died soon after, and his tomb is at Deig.
The battle of Paniput.

The fifth day after the battle, the Shah returned to Dehly, which he reached in four marches. He wished to seize on the empire of Hindostan; but God disapproved of his design.

After our return to Dehly, Shujah-ul-Dowlah sent all the fugitives from the Mahratta camp, who had taken shelter with him, under a guard of his own troops, to the boundary of the Jauts dominions, where they were safe.

Eight days after this, by the pleasure of God, all the Durraniies mutinied in a body, and insisted on the discharge of their arrears for the two years past, and also that they should immediately march back to Kabul. This confusion lasted for some days, during which time the Durraniies quarrelled with Shujah-ul-Dowlah's people, and threatened to attack his camp. His excellency, highly provoked at this, went to the Grand Vizier, and asked him, "if that was the treatment he was to experience after all the fine promises, that had been made to him:" the Vizier assured him, that both the Shah and himself had the highest respect and attention for his excellency, but that the Durraniies were out of all power of controll. "Then (said the Navab) I see the value of your promise;" and got up to depart. The Vizier embraced him, saying, "we shall meet again;" but his excellency made no reply.

As soon as he returned to his own camp, he consulted with his friends, and all agreed, that it was no longer advisable to remain with the Shah's army: accordingly in the afternoon he decamped, and marched fifteen coats that night; and in this manner by five forced marches, he got to Mindy gaut on the Ganges. He was apprehensive, that the Shah might be so provoked at the abruptness of his departure, as to order him to be pursued;
but no such step was taken; and the Naváb crossed the Ganges, and returned with safety into his own dominions.

After this, we learned from the news-writers, the Shah finding it impossible to pacify his army by any other means, was obliged to give up his views in Hindostan, and to return to Kabul; having received above forty lacs of rupees from Nujeib-ul-Dowlah for the assistance, which he had given him.

Though this narrative is written from memory, and long since the events happened, I do not believe that I have omitted any circumstance of importance; and those, who reflect upon these transactions, will believe that providence made use of Ahmed Shah Durrany to humble the unbecoming pride and presumption of the Mahrattas: for in the eyes of God pride is criminal.

NOTES.

p. 93. inviting). This measure of the Bhow's seems to have been merely a political artifice to disunite the Hindostany chiefs by exciting in some of them a hope of participating in his conquests; for the preceding conduct of the Bhow gives little reason to believe, that, if the Durranies and Ruhillas had been out of the question, he would have allowed the existence of any power in Hindostan, but that of the Mahrattas.

p. 99. children). This is a compliment very common among eastern nations; and, like most of their other compliments, means nothing at all.

p. 101. address). Of this they are extremely tenacious; and it is a thing so very particularly attended to in the east, that those, who have occasion to correspond with the Asiatics, cannot be too well acquainted with every one's address; for any deviation excites either disgust or ridicule.

p. 106. Pagáb). The word Pagáb has the same signification among the Mahrattas, as Risáláb has among the Persians and Moguls; and, being indefinite in the number of troops of which it consists, may be rendered pretty fairly by our word brigade: I have known it applied to a command of three hundred horse, and I have also known it used in the same sense, to describe one of some thousands of horse and foot with artillery.
NOTES.

p. 107. (Pindaries). The Pindarries are the freebooters of the Mahratta armies, and usually as numerous as those they account their regulars. They are mounted on small but hardy horses, and serve for plunder only. The chiefs, under whom they engage, enter into certain articles of agreement with the chief commanding the Mahratta army, respecting the division of plunder; and the Pindarries also have particular conditions, on which they serve under their chiefs. Their principal use is in laying waste an enemy's country, or their own when invaded; which they do with great alacrity and effect; also in attacking the baggage and camp followers of an enemy's army. Another thing, which makes them extremely useful to their own army, is, that every Pindary has a pair of large bags on his saddle, which, after his day's excursion, he in the evening brings into camp, filled with wheat, barley, rice, or some other useful grain, plundered from the villages, which is sold in the bazar for something below the market price; so that ten thousand Pindaries are at least as useful to the supply of their own army, as an equal number of Baraccubs with carriage bullocks would be.

p. 107. The troops). This seems to have been the crisis of the Bhow's fortune: had he boldly attacked the Shah while he was passing the Jumna, he would probably have totally defeated him.

p. 108. (his camp). Colonel Dowse says, that the Bhow occupied the lines formerly thrown up by Mahommed Shah, and that the Durrany Shah posted himself in the more fortunate camp of Nadir Shah. Kasra Jaja does not notice this, but says, that the Bhow dug a trench round his camp. The point however is of little consequence.

p. 119. (January). Colonel Dowse says, it was on the 20th not the 6th of Jumad-ul Sani; the reader may believe either, without any injury to the fact of the battle itself. Dates are exceedingly inaccurate in all oriental productions.

p. 120. (off). This may appear extraordinary to those who have never seen a large army of horses galloping about on a dusty plain in a hot climate, but is a very natural and true description to those who have.

If I am not mistaken, Plutarch mentions, as one of the most cruel sufferings of Crassus's army, when defeated in Parthia, that the Parthians galloped round them continually, and almost suffocated the soldiers with dust.

p. 122. (enemy). Dattea Joo Pateil, the brother of Junkojee, had been killed the year before in the battle of Badelly, against Nujeib-ul-Dowlah.

p. 123. (orders). These orders of Ahmed Shah evince much military knowledge: perhaps better can scarcely be imagined in that situation of affairs; and the success was complete.

p. 125. (enchantment). The Mahratta army fell in consequence of the death of Biswas Row their chief. This is always the case with Asiatic armies.
p. 124. *foot.* This number seems very great; but any person, acquainted with the multitudes of followers in an Indian camp, will not disbelieve it. Even in English camps in India, three followers to each fighting man is considered as a moderate number.

p. 124. *margin.* This is looked upon as highly beneficial to the souls of the faithful; and almost a certain passport to paradise.

p. 127. *Ganges.* This is one of the many instances among this people, where absurd superstition is brought in excuse of lax morality: what the author adverts to, is very common both among Hindoos and Mussulmans. It is rather an adjuration than any thing that might reasonably be deemed obligatory (even though its object were innocent) on the person, on whom it is involuntarily imposed; and is usually practised to make men betray secrets which they are bound in honour to conceal. He who wishes to discover the secret, says, "I adjure you by the Ganges, or the Koran, or your son's head:" this the other pretends to consider a sufficient compulsion for him to betray his trust. I say pretends, because where the secret regards their own interest or safety, they are very far from allowing an equal force to the adjuration.

p. 129. *cruelty.* The cause of this extraordinary enmity to Ibrahim Khan, was his having fought on the side of the infidels against the true believers.

p. 132. *killed.* Notwithstanding all this, however, in the year 1779, a man appeared, who called himself the Bhow, and from many circumstances obtained credit for some time.

He came first to Etraiva, and made himself known to Lala Balgobind, a merchant with whom the Bhow had been on terms of friendship. Balgobind was so far persuaded of his identity, that he treated and entertained him with great respect: but, though he brought many circumstantial proofs, that he was the Bhow, and his age, person, and several marks about his body, strongly supported that belief, still there appeared a difference in temper and manner, which excited doubt. Balgobind having expressed his wish to be satisfied respecting this, the person replied, that after the battle and pursuit, from which he escaped alive, though wounded, he fled to the hills of Kamboon, where he lived five years among a fraternity of Fakeirs, conforming to all their austerities, which must necessarily have made a great change in his manners. That after this, he had resided some time in Rohilkund, and had travelled to many places in the disguise of a Bhoory fakir. "At length, (said he) I am arrived here, and we must devise the best method for me to declare myself." Balgobind told him, that, as there were many Mahraitas at Benares to whom the Bhow was known, he had better first show himself there; accordingly he went to Chutterkote, in Bundelkund, from whence he wrote, (as the Bhow) to Morjee Bhut, Ramchund Gotkur, and Gunneish Bhut, at Benares; informing, them that he was arrived at Chutterkote, and desiring them to come to him immediately.

Upon receipt of this letter, Morjee Bhut, the son of Ramchund Gotkur, and Doondoo Bhut, who was an old servant of the Bhow, set out for Chutterkote, where they immediately waited upon the
NOTES.

Supposed Bhow, and had a long conference with him, after which they retired a house in the town. Next day they waited upon him again, when in the course of the conversation the supposed Bhow told them, that as he had left many lacks of rupees as a deposit with them before the battle of Paniput, he desired that they would furnish him with some money, to defray the expense of the rank which he meant to affert. On this they immediately got up and went away, and from that time they began to circulate a report, that this was not the Bhow but an impostor. When he heard this, he reproached them with ingratitude, and told them that he would come to Benares and establish his claims upon them: they however persisted to deny them, and returned to Benares. The supposed Bhow followed them, and arriving at Benares went to reside at the house of Doondoo Bhut who all along acknowledged him. Here several Mahrattas, and other considerable inhabitants of that town went to see him, and were so far convinced of his identity, that they gave and lent him large sums of money. Several of the Mahrattas also ate with him, in proof of their belief of his story. But four or five of the principal merchants, whom he had ascertained to be his debtors, would not visit him, at which he was so much provoked that he sent word to Morjee Bhut, Ramchunder Gothur, and Gunnish Bhut, either to pay him what they owed him by fair means, or that he would compel them by force: at the same time he began to raise some troops in the town, and soon got together some hundreds of the kind of soldiery procurable in every town in Hindostan. He also got a palkey, and two or three horse for himself, with which cavalcade he used to come into the town, and pass in terror round the houses of his debtors, who were much alarmed left he should seize upon them and carry them off.

Mr. Thomas Graham, who at this time was resident on the part of the company at Benares, hearing of these proceedings, inquired of several persons of character, whether in their opinion this man was the Bhow or not, who all replied that he certainly was an impostor. While this inquiry was going on, it was discovered that Doondoo Bhut, a confidential friend of the Bhow (as has been said before) was carrying on some secret negotiation with Raja Cheyt Sing, who had sent him money at different times. Mr. Graham was led to believe from many circumstances, that one object of this negotiation was to have him destroyed under cover of some popular insurrection; the Raja having at that time conceived a jealousy of him, on account of his knowledge in the affairs of that district, which the Raja wished as much as possible to conceal. As the English were then at war with the Mahrattas, and Raja Cheyt Sing thought to be rather dissatisfied with the Government, Mr. Graham was very naturally alarmed at this intelligence, and sent a message to the Raja, requesting that he would explain himself. In reply Raja Cheyt Sing assured him that he was perfectly ignorant of the matter in question, and desired that Mr. Graham would send for the person himself and inquire. Mr. Graham accordingly did send for him, but he peremptorily refused to come, with expressions of contempt for the resident's authority.

Mr. Graham having advised the Raja of this, and called upon him for assistance, as the person in whose hands the government of the country was, as to its police, the Raja immediately sent the Amur and Catural of Benares with a detachment of Sepoys to seize upon the suppos'd Bhow, and confine him. They accordingly surrounded the house in which he resided, and, after some little resistance, they took him prisoner and carried him to Mr. Graham, who asked him some questions, to which his answers were not satisfactory, and rather tending to confirm the suspicions already conceived of Raja Cheyt Sing.
The supposed Bhow remained a prisoner in the Ammcins Cutcherry at Benar, till Mr. Graham having consulted the board at C. futta, received their orders to send him to Chunarghor, and deliver him in charge to the commanding officer there; and they at the same time directed him to inquire particularly into the truth or falsehood of his story. This person was accordingly confined at Chunarghor, where Mr. Graham went several times, and sent for the prisoner, whom he questioned particularly respecting his whole story; the result of which was, his feeling some disposition to credit his being the Bhow, and occasionally assisting him with money. Soon after Mr. Graham went to Calcutta carrying with him an agent on the part of the supposed Bhow; but in a short time after, he himself going to Madras as Secretary to Sir Eyre Coote, nothing was determined respecting that affair, and the unfortunate man remained a prisoner till August 1781, when Mr. Hastings the Governor-General came to Benar, and the troubles with Raja Cheyt Sing commenced. During the time of Mr. Hastings’s residence at Chunarghor, he sent for the prisoner, and, after hearing his story, ordered him to be released: the man returned to Benar, where he died soon after.

Among others, Kassi Rajh Pundit, the author of this book, being at Benar, when the supposed Bhow resisted there, went to see him, and said (as Balgobind had done) that the person exactly resembled the real Bhow, and that the marks upon him (in the same as mentioned in his Narrative of the Battle of Panipat) exactly corresponded, but that the manner and temper were different.

Thus the affair stands at present, a subject for unbounded conjectures, and the Benares Bhow will generally be classed with Lambert Simnel, Perkin Warbeck, the Rysian Demetrius, and many others whom ill success has transmitted to posterity as impostors, when better fortune in the precarious appeal to the sword, would perhaps have flamed them the real much injured heirs of their domains restored by the hand of heaven, to blest their subjects by the benign exercise of legitimate authority:

"The vanquished rebel like a rebel dies:"

"The victor rebel plumes him on a throne."

This man had written a History of himself in the Perian Language, which he gave to Mr. Thomas Graham, who would have indulged me with the perusal of it, but having left it behind him when he went to the coast with the late Sir Eyre Coote, in a place not sufficiently dry, it was unfortunately destroyed by vermin.

p. 132. Shumbers.) This was the father of Alu Behader, now at Amtra (in 1790) with Tokoje Huker:

p. 133. He wished.) This is the only historical intimation that I remember to have met with of this fact, yet it is extremely probable, and I was told by people of the first authority, when I was at Delhi, that the connection, which Ahmed Shah Durbar formed with the House of Timur when he was in Hindostan, was with that view. He himself married a Daughter of Mohammed Shah, and gave a young Daughter of Alumghire Sani (consequently a sister or half sister of Shah Alum) to his son Timur Shah who has since succeeded him in the throne of Kabul, &c. But his constant apprehensions on the side of Persia, and a disposition void of enterprise, have hitherto prevented Timur...
"Shah from attempting any thing in Hindostan; and, as he grows older, it is probable that his pacific conduct will still continue.

It cannot fail to strike every reader, that though Kassir Punjiit was a servant, and evidently a great admirer, of Shujah-ul-Dowlah, omitting no fair occasion of praising him, yet he says nothing of what Dowe and some others tell us of Shujah-ul-Dowlah's being highly instrumental to gaining the victory at Paniput by wheeling round upon the flank of the Mahrattas at a critical part of the battle. On the contrary, by his very clear and minute detail, it appears that Shujah-ul-Dowlah's division never moved from their first post, but thought themselves fortunate in not being attacked where they were. As, independent of historical truth and his master's credit, Kassir Rajh would himself have derived some share of reputation from the gallant actions performed by that division, it does not seem likely, that he would have passed such a circumstance over in silence, if it had ever happened.

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An Explanation of the Plan.

A. Paniput with the Mahratta Camp.
1. Division of Ibrahim Khan.
2. Division of Amajee Gwickar.
3. Division of Shudo Patul.
4. Division of the Bhow & Biswas Row.
5. Division of Jeswont Row.
6. Division of Shumghere Behader.
7. Division of Mulhar Row.
8. Division of Junkogee Sindia.

B. The Durrany Camp.
C. The Shah's advanced Tent.
1. Division of Berekhorda Khan.
2. Division of Amir Beg, &c.
3. Division of Doody Khan.
4. Division of Hapiz Rahmut Khan.
5. Division of Ahmed Khan Bungush.
7. Division of Shuja-ul-Dowlah.
8. Division of Nujiez-ul-Dowlah.
REMARK by the PRESIDENT.

THE preceding narrative brings to my mind an anecdote, which I received from Bahmen of Yezd, whose father Bahra'm had been a confidential servant of Carim Khâ'n, and heard it at Shirâz from the lips of the Khâ'n himself. Both Carim Zend, and Ahmed Abdalli were officers of Na'dir Shâb, and, having displeased him at the same time for a little neglect of their duty, as commissaries, were put under arrest, and confined for some days in the same guard room; but such are the vicissitudes of life in unsettled countries, that, a short time after, Na'dir was assassinated by one of his own kinsmen; Carim became, at length, sovereign of all Irân, where he reigned near thirty years universally beloved; and Ahmed, having founded a new kingdom at Câbul, obtained the victory at Pânipat'h, without which the Mahrâtas would, perhaps, at this day have been the most powerful nation of India.

To COLONEL PEARSE.

Dear Sir,

* THE following is an extract from a paper written in 1782, and intended for a periodical Mathematical publication, which I then had the care of: as it mostly relates to a subject, of which no person is a better judge than yourself, if you think it worthy of a place in the Transactions of the Asiatick Society, I request you will transmit it.

I am, Dear Sir,

* No. VI. Your most obedient and most humble servant,

REUBEN BURROW.

Fort William, June 10, 1787.
VI.

A Specimen of a Method of reducing Practical Tables and Calculations into more general and compendious forms.

Though practices usual in one science may often be transferred with advantage to another, yet the general class of writers are so much more intent upon making books than improvements, that it very seldom happens to be the case; and therefore, though the following hints can have little claim to ingenuity, they are certainly valuable on account of their use.

It is common in Astronomy, when there are two series of quantities, whose respective terms depend on each other, to find a general expression for an intermediate term, by what is called the method of interpolation; that is applied by Newton to Comets, and by De La Caille to Eclipses; and I shall here, as a specimen, apply it to some few examples in artillery and fortification.

Let \( g + hx \) be an expression by which the quantity \( a \) is derived from \( m \), and \( b \) from \( n \); then if \( N \) is any term in the series \( m, n \), the term derived from it in the series \( a, b \), will be \( (an-bm) : (n-m) + N(b-a): (n-m) \).

In p. 174 of Muller's artillery, the length of a battery for two pieces of cannon is forty feet; and for four pieces fifty-eight feet: now if \( N \) be the number of cannon, a general expression for the length of the battery, may be found by substituting two for \( m \), and four for \( n \); forty for \( a \) and fifty-eight for \( b \), in the foregoing form, which then becomes \( 22 + 9N \); and therefore for twenty pieces of cannon, the length of the battery is 202 feet.
By a similar substitution, if fifty men are required to make the battery for two pieces, and seventy for that of four pieces, as in Muller’s Table; then \(30 + 10 \times \frac{N}{N} \) is the expression for the men required for any number \(N\) of pieces in general.

Instead, therefore, of Muller’s Table, the following general one may be inserted for the number of men, tools, &c. for making a battery for any number of cannon in one night.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Pieces</th>
<th>Length of Battery</th>
<th>Men to make the Battery</th>
<th>Pickets</th>
<th>Tools</th>
<th>Pickets in Feet</th>
<th>Pickets</th>
<th>Mallets</th>
<th>Hand Bills</th>
<th>Platforms</th>
<th>Bows</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>(30 + 10 N)</td>
<td>5 + 5 N</td>
<td>40 + 40</td>
<td>20 + 14 N</td>
<td>(2 + 4 N)</td>
<td>8 + 2 N</td>
<td>81 N</td>
<td>5 N</td>
<td>32 N</td>
<td>25 N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>6 + (\frac{N}{N})</td>
<td>10 + 15 N</td>
<td>40 + 25 N</td>
<td>20 + 25 N</td>
<td>(2 + 4 N)</td>
<td>8 + 2 N</td>
<td>81 N</td>
<td>5 N</td>
<td>32 N</td>
<td>25 N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>(6 + \frac{N}{N})</td>
<td>10 + 15 N</td>
<td>40 + 25 N</td>
<td>20 + 25 N</td>
<td>(2 + 4 N)</td>
<td>8 + 2 N</td>
<td>81 N</td>
<td>5 N</td>
<td>32 N</td>
<td>25 N</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the same manner, from having a few particular cases in other kinds of rules, general ones may be found; for example if \(N\) be a number whose \(r\) root is required; and if \(x\) be its nearest complete power; then we know already, that

\[
x : N \propto x : x : N^{\frac{1}{r}} \propto x \text{ for the } r \text{ root.}
\]

\[
\frac{1}{2}x^2 + \frac{1}{2}N : N \propto x^2 : x : N^{\frac{1}{r}} \propto x \text{ for the square root.}
\]

\[
2x^3 + N : N \propto x^3 : x : N^{\frac{1}{4}} \propto x \text{ for the cube root.}
\]

Now the general form of the three last terms is evident; and to find those of the first term, let one and two be put for \(m\) and \(n\); and one and threehalves for \(a\) and \(b\); and by substituting in the foregoing expression, the general coefficient of \(x^r\) is found to be \((r + 1)\); again if we put \(0\) and one-half for \(a\) and \(b\), we find the coefficient of \(N\) to be \((r - 1)\).
Reducing Practical Tables and Calculations.

If we use the second and third proportions, putting two and three for \( m \) and \( n \), and for \( a \) and \( b \), three-halves and two, in the first case; and one-half and one, in the second we get the same values:

\[
\frac{r+1}{2} \cdot \frac{r-1}{2} \cdot \frac{r}{2} = \frac{\sqrt{N}}{2} \cdot \frac{\sqrt{N}}{2} \cdot \frac{\sqrt{N}}{2} = \frac{x}{2} : \frac{x}{2} : \frac{x}{2} : \frac{N}{2} : \frac{N}{2} : \frac{N}{2}.
\]

Hence in general, \( \frac{r+1}{2} \cdot \frac{r-1}{2} \cdot \frac{r}{2} = \frac{\sqrt{N}}{2} \cdot \frac{\sqrt{N}}{2} \cdot \frac{\sqrt{N}}{2} = \frac{x}{2} : \frac{x}{2} : \frac{x}{2} : \frac{N}{2} : \frac{N}{2} : \frac{N}{2}.
\]

Another example of the advantage of transferring practices from one subject to another is this. Dr. Halley has applied a method similar to that of interpolation to find the time of the tropics: now the sun's meridian altitude may be found in the same way from altitudes taken near the meridian, and if the observer begins a little before noon to take altitudes and the times, and continues to do so till a little after noon, a number of meridian altitudes may be deduced from these, and the latitude found much more exactly from them, than can be expected from a single meridian altitude, by using the expression for the maximum, or otherwise.

Analogous to these, are methods of generalizing properties from particular cases: thus, if \( Ab \) \( Ac \) be tangents to a circle, and if any lines \( BC \), \( bc \), be also drawn to touch the circle; then the perimeters of all the triangles \( ABC \), will be constant, and also the difference between the sum of \( Ab \) and \( Ac \) and the base \( bc \); this property is of uncommon use in the construction of problems relative to plain triangles and trapeziums; and if lines be supposed drawn from the centre, or a point in the circumference of a sphere, to each part of the figure, it will be found, that the projection of the figure upon the sphere will have analogous properties, and that the theorem is also true in spherical triangles. By a like mode of consideration, problems similar to those of Apollonius
on tangencies may be constructed on the sphere; for instance, having three circles given upon a sphere, a fourth may be found to touch them; for their positions on the sphere being given, their projections will also be given on a plane stereographically; and as a circle may be found in Vieta's method to touch them on that plane, the situation of that circle may be found upon the sphere, and hence properties may be found for constructing the problem independent of the stereographic projection: and if we suppose the centre of projection to be the centre or focus, &c. of a spheroid or other solid, innumerable properties may be found relative to their tangents, curvatures, &c. regard being had to the position of the plane, &c.

To give a specimen of the aforesaid method in fortification, let h (see pp. 22, 23, 24, and 25 of Deidier's Perfect French Engineer) represent the height of a wall; then according to Vauban's measures, if five feet be the thickness at the top, \( \frac{1}{3}h + 5 \), will be the thickness at the bottom; and according to Belidor's method \( \frac{1}{5}h + 3.5 \), will be the thickness at the top, and \( \frac{1}{4}h + 3.5 \), that at the bottom. The length of the counterfort (according to Vauban), will be \( \frac{1}{4}h + 2 \); also \( \frac{1}{10}h + 2 \) is the thickness next the wall, and, \( \left( \frac{1}{4}h + 4 \right) \) the thickness at the other end of the counterfort. If part of the wall is gazoned, let e be the height of that part and h that of the wall; then \( \frac{1}{5}(h+e) + 5 \) is the thickness at the bottom; \( \frac{4}{5}e + 5 \), is the thickness at the top; \( \frac{4}{5}(h+e) + 2 \), is the length of the counterfort; \( \frac{1}{10}(h+e) + 2 \) its thickness next the wall, and \( \frac{4}{5}(\frac{1}{4}(h+e) + 4) \) its thickness farthest from the wall. When there are cavaliers, let c be their height in feet; then \( \frac{1}{10}(2c + c + 50) \) is the thickness of the revêtement at the top, and \( \frac{1}{10}(2h + 2c + c + 50) \) is the thickness at the bottom.
A Demonstration of one of the HINDOO Rules of Arithmetic. — By Mr. REUBEN BURROW.

The Art of Invention being in a great measure dependent on the doctrine of combinations; every additional improvement in the last must of consequence be useful in the former; and as the following ancient Rule for "finding the sum of all the different permutations of a given numeral quantity, consisting of a given number of places of figures" is not, I believe extant in any European Author, and is besides very ingenious; I take the liberty to insert it, and also to add the demonstration.

Rule. Place an Arithmetical progression over the figures beginning with unity at the Units place and increasing by unity: divide the product of the terms of this progression by the number of places of figures in the given quantity: Multiply the sum of the figures in the given quantity by the quotient, and set down the product as often as there are places in the given quantity; removing it each repetition one place to the right hand, and the Sum of these lines is the Sum of all the permutations.

EXAMPLE. Required the Sum of the different permutations of 893

\[ \frac{1 \times 2 \times 3}{3} = 2; (8 + 9 + 3) 2 = 40; \]

893
839
983
938
389
398
4440

T
A Demonstration of one of the Demonstration.

First, it is evident that if all the permutations of any number of letters expressing figures be put down; and those in the first place to the right hand be multiplied by unity; those in the second place by ten; those in the third place by 100, and so on; then the Sum of all these, will be the Sum of the permutations required.

Secondly; supposing the different permutations to be put down one under another, it will really appear, from the manner in which permutations are generated, that all the letters occur an equal number of times in each perpendicular column; and also that the number of times of occurrence in the permutations of \( n \) letters, is equal to the permutations of \( n-1 \) letters; but the permutations of \( n-1 \) letters is equal to \( 1 \times 2 \times 3 \ldots (n-1) \), or \( 1 \times 2 \times 3 \) carried to \( n-1 \) terms; and consequently if there be \( n \) letters in the given number, each letter in the Columns aforesaid will occur \( 1 \times 2 \times 3 \ldots (n-1) \) times.

Thirdly; Let \( 1 \times 2 \times 3 \ldots (n-1) = m \) then,

\[
\begin{align*}
&\quad m(a + b + c + \ldots n) = \text{Sum of numbers in the units place or first Column.} \\
&\quad m(a + b + c + \ldots n) \times 10 = \text{Sum of numbers in the tens or second Column.} \\
&\quad m(a + b + c + \ldots n) \times 100 = \text{Sum of numbers in the hundreds or third Column.} \\
&\quad m(a + b + c + \ldots n) \times 1000 \ldots \text{to } \ldots (n-1) \text{ Cyphers} = \text{ditto in the } n \text{ Column; and the Sum of these is evidently equal to } m(a + b + c + \ldots n)(1 + 10 + 100 + \ldots \text{to } n \text{ terms}) \text{; and putting for } (1 + 10 + 100 + \ldots n) \text{ its value } 111 \ldots n, \text{ the expression becomes } (1 \times 2 \times 3 \ldots (n-1)) \times (a + b + c + \ldots n) \times (111 \ldots n) \text{; but } 1 \times 2 \times 3 \ldots (n-1) \text{ is equal to } \frac{1 \times 2 \times 3 \ldots n}{n} \text{ and therefore the expression for the Sum of all the permutations is } \left(\frac{1 \times 2 \times 3 \ldots n}{n}\right) \times (a + b + c + \ldots n) \times (111 \ldots n), \text{ which is the Hindoo rule when the figures of the given number are all unlike.}
\end{align*}
\]
Lastly, it is evident that 1.2.3...n is the number of permutations of n different things; but if several sets of figures are alike, as r figures of one kind, s figures of another, for instance; then let \((1.2.3...n):(1.2.r)\times(1.2...s)\) &c. the number of permutations in that case be called \(N\); then the **sum of the permutations** is \(N: n \times (a + b + c + ...n) \times (111...n)\) in general.

**Example.** Required the sum of the permutations of 11335?

\[
\frac{1.2.3.4.5}{1.2.3.4.5} = 30; \quad \frac{2}{5} = 6; \quad 6 \times 13 = 78; \quad 78
\]

\[
78
\]

\[
78
\]

\[
78
\]

\[
78
\]

\[
866658 \text{ the sum required.}
\]
VII.

On the NICOBAR ISLES and the FRUIT of the MELLORI,

By NICOLAS FONTANA, Esq.

The south west monsoon having strongly set in on the Malabar coast, it was deemed unsafe to remain there any longer; we therefore took our departure from Mangalore on the 20th May, 1778, directing our course towards the gulph of Bengal, and in less than ten days, we came in sight of the Carnicobar Islands; the appearance of which at seven or eight leagues distance, is much like a chain of mountains covered with woods: we anchored to the N. E. of one of them, in five fathoms with a good sandy bottom; supplied ourselves with water and wood, and proceeded in quest of the other Nicobars or Nancaveris, as they are called, situated between eight and nine ds. N. L. to the northernmost point of the Island of Sumatra. They were descried on the 4th June to the S. W. ½ W. at the distance of ten leagues: the position of three of those Islands forms one of the safest harbours in India, where ships of all sizes may ride with the greatest security, sheltered from all winds, about half a mile from shore; with the additional advantage of two entrances, that may serve for getting in and out, both with a N. E. and S. W. Monsoon, having a clear deep channel on each side.

In one of the bays formed within those islands, we moored in twelve fathoms, and there remained until the S. W. monsoon was quite over, which was in the beginning of September. The largest of those islands is called Nancaveri or Nangcovery about five or six Ls. in circumference; and better inhabited, than any of the other two. The second is called Soury or
Chowry, and the other Tricuit, all closely situated: about ten leagues to the N. E. of them is another called Catchoull. *

Almost the whole of those islands is uncultivated, though there are a number of large valleys, that might be rendered very fruitful, with little trouble, the soil being naturally fertile, where the cocoanut, and all other tropical fruits come spontaneously to the highest perfection, together with yams and sweet potatoes, to obtain which it is only necessary to scratch the earth superficially, and the seeds so planted come forth in a few days. †

The surrounding sea abounds with exquisite fish, shell-fish, as cockles, and turtles; and a most splendid display of beautiful shells of the rarest sort are to be met with on the shore. The birds' nests, ‡ so much esteemed in China, are also to be found among the rocks: ambergris is likewise to be met with, but the inhabitants have learned a mode of adulterating it, and it is therefore seldom to be found in a genuine state: if adulterated with any heterogeneous matter such as wax, or resin, the mode of discovery is simply by placing a small bit of it upon the point of a knife when hot, and if it evaporates without leaving any calx or Caput Mortuum, and diffuses a strong fragrant smell, it is certainly genuine.

* In the year 1756, the Danish E. I. Company erected on one of these islands a house to serve as a Factory, but on their failure in the year 1758 it was evacuated. On the re-establishment of the Company in 1768, another house was built on Soury Island, which was in 1775, in like manner, ordered to be evacuated as useless to the Company's interests: three or four European missionaries, with a view of making proselytes, remained behind and have continued there ever since, but without effecting even the conversion of a single person; they collect, however, cocoanut oil, shells, and other natural curiosities, which they send annually to their brethren at Tranquebar.

An exact plan of these Islands may be seen in the Neptune Oriental.

† Tricuit being the flattest of those islands is divided among the inhabitants of the other two, where they have their plantations of Cocoanut and Areca Trees; these last being very abundant all over the islands.

The inhabitants of the Nicobar Islands are of a copper colour, with small eyes obliquely cut, what in ours is white being in theirs yellowish; with small flat noses, large mouths, thick lips, and black teeth; well proportioned in their bodies, rather short than tall, and with large ears, in the lobes of which are holes, into which a man's thumb might be introduced with ease: they have black strong hair, cut round; the men have little or no beard; the hinder part of their head is much flatter and compressed than ours; they never cut their nails, but they shave their eye-brows.

A long narrow cloth made of the bark of a tree round their waist and between their thighs, with one extremity hanging down behind, is all their drees. The women and men are of the same copper colour, and very small in stature: a bit of cloth made with the threads of the bark of the cocoanut tree fastened to the middle and reaching half way down the thigh, forms all the covering of the women. Both sexes are, however, very fond of drees; and, when the men go into the presence of strangers, they put on hats and old clothes, that had been given them by Europeans; but among themselves they are almost naked.

They live in huts made of cocoanut leaves of an oval form, supported on bamboos, about five or six feet high from the ground; the entrance into the huts is by a ladder; the floor is made partly of planks, and partly of split bamboos. Opposite to the door in the furthermost part of the

* It is a custom among them to compress with their hands the occiput of the new born child, in order to render it flat; as, according to their ideas, this kind of shape constitutes a mark of beauty, and is universally esteemed such by them: by this method, also, they say that the hair remains close to the head as nature intended it, and the upper fore teeth very prominent out of the mouth.

† A Traveller called Keoping, a Swede, who went to the East Indies on board a Dutch ship in the year 1647 which anchored off the Nicobar Islands, relates that they discovered men with tails, like those of cats, and which they moved in the same manner. That having sent a boat on shore with five men, who did not return at night, as expected, the day following a larger boat was sent, well manned in quest of their companions, who, it was supposed, had been devoured by the savages, their bones having been found strewn on the shore, the boat taken to pieces, and the iron of it carried away".
The occupation of the men consists in building and repairing their huts, which affords them an annual employment for six months at least, and in fishing and trading to the neighbouring islands. The women are employed in preparing the victuals and cultivating the ground, they also paddle in the canoes, when the men go out. They unite in matrimony through choice; and, if the man is not satisfied with the conduct of the woman, either from her inattention to domestic concerns, or sterility, or even from any dislike on his part, he is at liberty to discharge her, and each unites with a different person, as if no such connection had taken place. Adultery is accounted highly ignominious and disgraceful; particularly with persons not of the same cast: should it be proved, the woman would not only be dismissed with infamy, but on some occasions, even put to death; although by the intervention of a small token given publicly, and consisting of nothing more than a leaf of tobacco, the reciprocal lending of their wives of the same cast is exceedingly common.

A woman, who bears three children, is reckoned very fruitful; few bear more than four; the cause may be attributed to the men, from a debility occasioned by the early intrusion of the testicles into the abdomen, the hard compression of them and the penis by the bandage round those parts, from premature venery, and hebetation brought on by the immoderate use of spirits; and from the very inactive and sedentary life these people lead.

The account of this voyage was reprinted at Stockholm, by Silvium in the year 1743.—Linnaeus seems to have been too credulous, in believing this man's story, for in all my examinations, I could discover no sort of projection whatever on the st Cecyges of either sex. What has given rise to this supposed tail, may have been the stripe of cloth hanging down from their posteriors; which when viewed at a distance, might probably have been mistaken for a tail.
it will not be difficult to account for that want of longevity, which seems to prevail much in those islands, more especially amongst the men, where none were to be seen older than forty or forty-eight years. The women, on the contrary, seem to live much longer.

They are themselves so sensible of the scanty population of their islands, that they study to increase it by inviting, and even seducing, some Malabars or Bengalese to remain amongst them when brought thither by the country ships, and of whom there are in almost all villages some to be found, who may be easily discerned from the natives, by their figure, features, colour, and language. The natives encourage their stay by grants of land with plantations of cocoa trees and arecas, and, after a certain number of years, they are permitted to make choice of a female companion.

Their indolence is not to be equalled by any other people of the East. They go out a fishing in their canoes at night; and with harpoons, which they dart very dextrously at the fish, after having allured them into shallow water with burning straw, a sufficient number is soon caught to serve the family for a meal: they immediately return home; and, if by chance they catch a very large fish, they will readily dispose of one half, and keep the remainder for their own use.

They entertain the highest opinion of such as are able to read and write: they believe, that all Europeans by this qualification only are able to perform acts more than human, that the power of divination, controlling the winds and storms, and directing the appearance of the planets, is entirely at our command.
This people like other savage nations dread the evil genius; some among them give themselves the air of divination and presume to have secret confabulations with him: superstition must ever be in its full dominion, where ignorance is so gross.

Some of the natives, having begun to fabricate earthen pots, soon after died; and, the cause being attributed to this employment, it has never been resumed; since they prefer going fifteen or twenty leagues to provide them, rather than expose themselves to an undertaking attended, in their opinion, with such dangerous consequences.

Whenever they visit one another, no sort of compliment or salutation takes place between them; but when the visitors take leave, they are profuse in good wishes, that last for some minutes, with different inflections of voice, to which the other constantly answers, by repeating the words Callá callá condí condí quiagé, which may be rendered in English thus: "very well, very well; go, go and return soon."

Behind or close by their huts the dead are buried: all the relations and acquaintance cry for some hours before the corpse is put into the grave, where it is interred with all possible solemnity, and in the best dress they can muster, and with abundance of food. After the body is covered with earth, a post is raised and fixed in the ground over the head of the deceased, about four feet high, to the top of which they suspend strips of cloth with meal and areca nuts, and strew cocoa nuts all around. This supply of food for the deceased is ever after continued; a cocoa tree is also cut down for every person that dies. As soon as a man is dead his name is never mentioned, even if repeatedly asked; every one of the
mourning visitors brings a large pot of toddy. The women sit round the corps, howling and crying, and by turns they go and put their hands on the breast and belly of the deceased, who is covered with striped cloth; the men are seated at a little distance, drinking and inviting all the visitors to do the same; endeavouring thus to dispel their grief by a complete general intoxication, which never lasts less than a couple of days after the interment.

The different changes of the moon are productive of great festivity and mirth among the Nicobarians, when the doors of their huts are decorated with branches of palms and other trees: the inside is also adorned with festoons made of slips of plantain leaves. Their bodies are, in like manner, decorated with the same ornaments; and the day is spent in singing and dancing, and eating, and drinking toddy, till they are quite stupefied.

The idea of years and months and days is unknown to them, as they reckon by moons only, of which they number fourteen, seven to each monsoon. At the fair season, or the beginning of the N. E. monsoon, they sail in large canoes to the Car Nicobars called by them Champaloon. The object of this voyage is trade; and for cloth, silver coin, iron, tobacco, and some other articles, which they obtain from Europeans together with fowls, hogs, cocoa and areca nuts, the produce of their own island, they receive in exchange, canoes, spears, ambergris, birds nests, tortoise-shell, and so forth.

Ten or twelve huts form a village. The number of inhabitants on any one of these islands does not exceed seven or eight hundred. Every village has its Head Man, or Captain, as they term him, who is generally the oldest.
On the Nicobar Isles, and

Diseases are known amongst them; and the venereal not at all: the smallpox visits them occasionally, but not of the confluent kind; what is more prevalent amongst them, is the oedematous swelling of one or both of the legs, known in the west of India under the name of the Cochin Leg, from the place where this disorder generally prevails. This endemical disease may be imputed to the following causes; ill chosen and badly prepared diet, the bad choice of habitations, and an extremely indolent inactive life. Fevers and colicks are also frequent among them: when a person falls sick, he is immediately removed to the house of one of their priests, or conjurers, who orders the patient to be laid in a supine posture for some time; then friction with some oily substance is applied to the upper part of the body, and often repeated; which remedy they indiscriminately use for all complaints, never administering medicines internally.

The only quadrupeds on these islands are hogs and dogs: of the former however, only the sows are kept, and they are fed principally with the milk of the cocoa nut and its kernel, which renders the meat of a firmness and delicious taste, even superior, both in colour and flavour, to the best English veal. It may be worthy of remark, that, although the neighbouring Car Nicobar woods abound with monkeys of different species, none are to be seen in these islands, notwithstanding their having been repeatedly brought over: they neither propagate, nor do they live for any time.

Among the feathered tribe wild pigeons are pretty abundant from June to September, on account of a berry which is then ripe, and on which they feed with great eagerness: at the same time pheasants and turtle doves are frequently found, the constant inhabitants of the woods are a species of
the green parrot, or parroquet, with a black bill and collar: no other birds are to be found in them.

The climate is pure, and might, with little trouble, be rendered very salubrious: constant sea-breezes fan their shores, thus preserving them from oppressive heat: vegetation continues without intermission, the woods are very thick, and the trees bound together by a kind of twig or creeping shrub, that renders them almost impervious.

The Nicobar dance is as dull and inanimate as can be conceived, as well for the slowness and heaviness of its motions, as for the plaintive monotonous tune that accompanies it: with no instrument but their mournful low voices, which are in perfect unison with the motion of their bodies. Men and women form a circle, by putting their hand on each other's shoulders: they move slowly, backwards and forwards, inclining, sometimes to the right, and sometimes to the left.

The whole of their music consists of the few following notes.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Da Capo.}
\end{align*}
\]

The basis of the language spoken by these islanders, is chiefly Malay, with some words borrowed from Europeans, and other strangers, as will appear by the following specimen:

\begin{align*}
\text{Chia} & \quad \text{Father,} & \quad \text{Ochía} & \quad \text{Uncle,} \\
\text{Cioum} & \quad \text{Grand Father,} & \quad \text{Encogne} & \quad \text{Man,} \\
\text{Chia Enchána} & \quad \text{Mother,} & \quad \text{Covon} & \quad \text{Son,}
\end{align*}
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Encana</th>
<th>Woman</th>
<th>Hen</th>
<th>Sun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cance</td>
<td>Wife</td>
<td>Chae</td>
<td>Moon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chegnoun</td>
<td>Child</td>
<td>Huiyi</td>
<td>Wind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Choi</td>
<td>Head</td>
<td>Onejo</td>
<td>Water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lal</td>
<td>Forehead</td>
<td>Cnam</td>
<td>Calm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moba</td>
<td>Nose</td>
<td>Tensog</td>
<td>Day-light</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holmat</td>
<td>Eyes</td>
<td>Sciofin</td>
<td>Evening</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manouge</td>
<td>Lips</td>
<td>Hutahom</td>
<td>Night</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Shoulders</td>
<td>Lapoa</td>
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<td>Kinitay</td>
<td>Hand &amp; Fingers</td>
<td>Thiou</td>
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<td>Sick</td>
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<td>Lha-ba</td>
<td>Dead</td>
<td>Lanoa</td>
<td>A strip they wear</td>
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<td>Hivi</td>
<td>Devil</td>
<td>Gni</td>
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Tanop - - - Pipe,
Carrovaj - - - Lemon,
Hoat - - - Old-Cocoanut,
Gnino - - - Green do.
Nat - - - Cane,
Pantan - - - Rattan,
Aptejo - - - Cheft,
Cecum - - - Needle,
Hendel - - - Mulket,
Henatboe - - - Knife,
Danon - - - Medicine,
Heja - - - Betel Nut,
Achæ - - - Betel Leaf,
Cion - - - Lime,
Chapeo - - - Hat,
Lenzo - - - Handkerchief,

*59 To eat,
Peoum - - - To drink,
Elaaj - - - To sleep,
Ha-caou - - - To buy,
Hen vhej - - - To fell,
Laam - - - To lay down,
Hancibatena - - - Come hither,
Ciou - - - Be gone,
Hetboj - - - To laugh,
Houm - - - To weep,
Hanan - - - To dance,
Hame - - - To rain,
Pheumboj - - - To smoke,
Hansciounga - - - To walk,
Duonde - - - To paddle or row,
Poushili - - - To set down,

These two last words are borrowed Hababon - - - To vomit,
from the Portuguese.
Hanchen Chapeo - Put on your hat,
Achicienga - - - To stand,
Hichiackeri - - - To speak,
Nët - - - A hog,
Albe bet - - - To write,
Ham - - - A dog,
Ajouby - - - To light,
Cochin - - - A cat,
Luva - - - Lead,
Tassoach - - - Hen,
Carán - - - Iron,
Obia - - - Egg,
Chánlo - - - Shirt and coat,
Inlegne - - - Birds nest,
Hänkä - - - Breeches,
Cattoch - - - Parrot,
Hanbo lola - - - Stockings,
Ch - - - Fish,
Dhanapo' a - - - Shoes,
Caf - - - Tortoiseshell,
Halbat - - - Bracelet,
On the Nicobar Isles, and

Henpójou - - Chair, Chunla - - Red,
Cherácbà - - Table, Unat - - White,
Pará - - Dollar, or Silver, Cambalamagn - Striped Cloth.
Thunula - - Black,

NUMERALS.

Heàn - - One, Eancata - - Nine,
Had - - Two, Sicom - - Ten,
Loe - - Three, Sicom bean - - Eleven,
Toan - - Four, Sicom báa - - Twelve,
Tanée - - Five, Hemom thouma - Twenty,
Tafouil - - Six, Rocate - - Thirty,
Ifat - - Seven, Toanmoan thiuma - Forty,
Ensoan - - Eight, Sicom sicom - - Hundred.

It seems that they have no expression for the numbers beyond forty, except by multiplication.

Trees of great height and size are to be seen in their woods of a compact texture, well calculated for naval constructions: * but the productions, of which they are more particularly careful, are the cocoa and areca trees, the last being chiefly for their own consumption; as they chew it all day long with tobacco, betel-leaf, and shell-lime: the former is not only useful for their own, and their hogs', nourishment, but also an object of trade. Most of the country ships, that are bound to Pegu from either of the coasts

* One of these trees our people cut down, that measured nine fathoms in circumference or fifty-four feet.
A piece of iron
The Coloea w. Indicus, of Nicobar.
of India, touch at the Nicobar Islands, in order to procure a cargo of cocoa-nuts, which they purchase at the rate of four for a tobacco leaf, and one-hundred for a yard of blue cloth, and a bottle of cocoa-nut oil for four leaves of tobacco. The tropical fruits grow in those islands exquisitely flavoured, the pine-apple in particular: wild cinnamon andassafras grow there also; the coffee tree in two years yields fruit; yams are to be found for three or four months in the year only, and are eaten by the natives instead of the Larum a nutritive fruit; in the description of which and the tree that produces it, we shall here endeavour to be very particular.

The tree, that bears this nutritive fruit, is a species of Palm, called by them Larum, by the Portuguese, Mellóri; and is very abundant in those islands, as well as in Carnicobar: it grows promiscuously in the woods among other trees, but it delights more particularly in a damp soil. The trunk is often straight, thirty or thirty-five feet high, and ten or twelve inches (the oldest even two feet) in circumference: the bark is smooth, ash-coloured, with equidistant intersections, of a compact hard texture in its interior part, but soft and quite hollow in the centre from the top of the trunk; the leaves grow disposed like a calyx about three feet long and four inches broad, ensiform and aculeate, of a dark green hue, and of a tenacious hard substance: the roots are out of the ground, and inserted at eight or ten feet on the trunk, according to its age, being not quite two feet in the earth: the fruit, which has the shape of a pine, and the size of a large Jaca, comes out of the bottom of the leaves: the age of a man is seldom sufficient to see the trees bearing fruit: its weight forces it out of the leaves, and, when it is nearly ripe, which is known by the natives on the change of its colour from green to yellowish, it is gathered and weighs from thirty to forty pounds. The drupes are loosened by thrusting a piece of iron into
between their interfaces: the exterior surface is cut off, and thus put into earthen pots covered with leaves, then boiled on a flow fire for several hours together: the fruit is sufficiently boiled, when the medullary part of it becomes soft and friable; it is then taken from the fire and exposed to the cold air; when cold, the drupes are separated from the stalk, and the medullary part pressed out by means of a shell forced into them. Within the woody part of the drupes, there are two seeds in shape and taste much like almonds: the soft part is then collected into a spherical mass, and, in order to extract all the stringy fragments remaining in it by the compression of the shell, a thread is passed and repassed, until the whole is extracted, and it comes out perfectly clean: it is then of a pale yellow colour, much resembling *polenta*, or the dressed meal of the *Zea Mays*, and in taste much like it: when not newly prepared, it has an acidity, to which it tends very strongly, if long exposed to the atmosphere; but it may be preserved a long time, if well covered.

It is certain, that the *Nicobar* bread-fruit tree differs very essentially from the palm described by Mr. Masson, and found in the interior parts of *Africa*, which bears a sort of bread-fruit. On my showing to Mr. Masson, in March 1790, the drawing of the tree here described, he was pleasingly surprized at the novelty, and declared he had never before seen it. It differs also from the bread-tree found in *Otaheite* and described by Capt. Cook in his Voyage round the World, as will appear very evident on a reference to the notes of that work. Some shrubs, whose leaves resemble much those of the *Nicobar* bread-fruit tree, are to be seen on the Coromandel Coast, and in the Isle of France, where they thrive in some degree, but never attain the height of those at *Nicobar*: imperfect small fruits are seen once a year sprouting out, and the inhabitants derive an
The Fruit of the Pandanus
advantage from the leaves of the tree, which they convert into mats and bags to hold coffee.

NOTE by the PRESIDENT.

As far as we can determine the classes and order of a plant from a mere delineation of its fruit, we may safely pronounce, that the Léram of Nicobar is the Cádhi of the Arabs, the Cétaca of the Indians, and the Pandanus of our botanists, which is described very awkwardly (as Koenig first observed to me) in the Supplement to Linnaeus: he had himself described with that elegant conciseness, which constitutes the beauty of the Linnean method, not only the wonderful fructification of the fragrant Cétaca, but most of the flowers, which are celebrated in Sanskrit, by poets for their colour or scent and by physicians for their medical uses; and, as he bequeathed his manuscripts to Sir Joseph Banks, we may be sure, that the publick spirit of that illustrious naturalist will not suffer the labours of his learned friend to be sunk in oblivion. Whether the Pandanus Léram be a new species, or only a variety, we cannot yet positively decide; but four of the plants have been brought from Nicobar, and seem to flourish in the Company’s Botanical Garden, where they will probably blossom; and the greatest encouragement will, I trust, be given to the cultivation of so precious a vegetable. A fruit weighing twenty or thirty pounds, and containing a farinaceous substance, both palatable and nutritive in a high degree, would perhaps, if it were common in these provinces, for ever secure the natives of them from the horrors of famine; and the Pandanus of Bengal might be brought, I conceive, to equal perfection with that of Nicobar, if due care were taken to plant the male and female trees in the same place, instead of leaving the female, as at present, to bear an imperfect and unproductive fruit, and the distant male to spread itself only by the help of its radicating branches.
**NOTE ON P. 150.**

**Though** little can be added to M. Poivre's description of the Salangane, or Hirundo nitis edalibosa, yet, as Captain Forrest was a perfect master of the Malay tongue, and described only what he had seen, it will not be amiss to subjoin his account of that singular bird. "The bird with an edible nest is called, says he, Jaimalāni by the natives of the Moluccas, and Layang-layang by the Malays: it is black as jet, and very much like a marten, but considerably smaller. Its nests, which the Malays call Sarang, are found in caves, and generally in those, to which the sea has access; and, as they are built in rows on perpendicular rocks, from which the young birds frequently fall, those caves are frequented by fish and often by snakes, who are hunting for prey: they are made of a flimsy gelatinous substance found on the shore, of the sea-weed called agal agal, and of a soft greenish fizzly matter often seen on rocks in the shade when the water cozes from above. Before a man enters such a cave, he should frighten out the birds, or keep his face covered. The Jaimalāni lays her eggs four times a year, but only two at a time: if her nest be not torn from the rock, she will use it once more, but it then becomes dirty and black: a nest, nced but once before it is gathered, must be dried in the shade, since it easily absorbs moisture, and, if exposed to the sun, becomes red. Such edible nests are sometimes found in caves, which the sea never enters, but they are always of a dark hue, instead of being, like that now produced, very nearly pellucid: they may be met with in rocky islands over the whole eastern Archipelago, (by far the largest in the world) but never, I believe, on the coast of China, whither multitudes of them are carried from Batavia. The white and transparent nests are highly esteemed, and sold at Batavia for seven, eight, nine, or ten dollars a catty of 1½ lb. but the crafty Chinese at that port, who pack up the nests, one in another to the length of a foot or eighteen inches, that they may not easily be broken, seldom fail by a variety of arts and devices to impose on their employers."
On the MYSTICAL POETRY of the PERSIANS and HINDUS. — By the President.

A FIGURATIVE mode of expressing the fervour of devotion, or the ardent love of created spirits toward their beneficent creator, has prevailed from time immemorial in Asia; particularly among the Persian theists, both ancient Hūshangīs and modern Sūfīs, who seem to have borrowed it from the Indian philosophers of the Vedānta school, and their doctrines are also believed to be the source of that sublime, but poetical, theology, which glows and sparkles in the writings of the old Academicks.

"Plato travelled into Italy and Egypt, says Claude Fleury, to learn the Theology of the Pagans at its fountain-head:" its true fountain, however, was neither in Italy nor in Egypt, (though considerable streams of it had been conducted thither by Pythagoras and by the family of Misra) but in Persia or India, which the founder of the Italick sect had visited with a similar design. What the Grecian travellers learned among the sages of the east, may perhaps be fully explained, at a season of leisure, in another dissertation; but we confine this essay to a singular species of poetry, which consists almost wholly of a mystical religious allegory, though it seems on a transient view to contain only the sentiments of a wild and voluptuous libertinism: now, admitting the danger of a poetical style, in which the limits between vice and enthusiasm are so minute as to be hardly distinguishable, we must beware of cenfuring it severely, and must allow it to be natural, though a warm imagination may carry it to a culpable excess; for an ardently grateful piety is congenial to the undepraved nature of man, whose mind, sinking under the magnitude of the subject, and struggling to
express its emotions, has recourse to metaphors and allegories, which it sometimes extends beyond the bounds of cool reason, and often to the brink of absurdity. Barrow, who would have been the sublimest mathematician, if his religious turn of mind had not made him the deepest theologian of his age, describes Love as "an affection or inclination of the soul toward an object, proceeding from an apprehension and esteem of some excellence or convenience in it, as its beauty, worth, or utility, and producing, if it be absent, a proportionable desire, and consequently an endeavour, to obtain such a property in it, such possession of it, such an approximation to it, or union with it, as the thing is capable of; with a regret and displeasure in failing to obtain it, or in the want and loss of it; begetting likewise a complacency, satisfaction, and delight in its presence, possession, or enjoyment; which is moreover attended with a good will toward it, suitable to its nature; that is, with a desire, that it should arrive at, or continue in, its best state; with a delight to perceive it thrive and flourish; with a displeasure to see it suffer or decay; with a consequent endeavour to advance it in all good and preserve it from all evil." Agreeably to this description, which consists of two parts, and was designed to comprize the tender love of the creator towards created spirits, the great philosopher bursts forth in another place, with his usual animation and command of language, into the following panegyric on the pious love of human souls toward the author of their happiness: "Love is the sweetest and most delectable of all passions; and, when by the conduct of wisdom it is directed in a rational way toward a worthy, congruous, and attainable object, it cannot otherwise than fill the heart with ravishing delight; such, in all respects superlatively such, is God; who, infinitely beyond all other things, deserveth our affection, as most perfectly amiable and desirable; as having obliged us by innumerable
and inestimable benefits; all the good, that we have ever enjoyed, or can ever expect, being derived from his pure bounty; all things in the world, in competition with him being mean and ugly; all things, without him, vain, unprofitable, and hurtful to us. He is the most proper object of our love; for we chiefly were framed, and it is the prime law of our nature, to love him; our soul, from its original innateness, verges to him as its centre, and can have no rest, till it be fixed on him: he alone can satisfy the vast capacity of our minds, and fill our boundless desires.

He, of all lovely things, most certainly and easily may be attained; for, whereas commonly men are crossed in their affection, and their love is embittered from their affecting things imaginary, which they cannot reach, or coy things, which disdain and reject them, it is with God quite otherwise: He is most ready to impart himself; he most earnestly deth and wooeth our love; he is not only most willing to correspond in affection, but even doth prevent us therein: He doth cherish and encourage our love by sweetest influences and most consoling embraces, by kindest expressions of favour, by most beneficial returns; and, whereas all other objects do in the enjoyment much fail our expectation, he doth ever far exceed it. Wherefore in all affectionate motions of our hearts toward God; in desiring him, or seeking his favour and friendship; in embracing him, or setting our esteem, our good will, our confidence on him; in enjoying him by devotional meditations and addresses to him; in a reflective sense of our interest and propriety in him; in that mysterious union of spirit, whereby we do closely adhere to, and are, as it were, insinuated in him; in a hearty complacence in his benignity, a grateful sense of his kindness, and a zealous desire of yielding some requital for it, we cannot but feel very pleasant transports: indeed, that celestial flame, kindled in our hearts by the spirit of love, cannot be void of warmth; we,
"cannot fix our eyes upon infinite beauty, we cannot taste infinite sweetness, "we cannot cleave to infinite felicity, without also perpetually rejoicing "in the first daughter of Love to God, Charity toward men; which, in "complexion and careful disposition, doth much resemble her mother; "for she doth rid us from all those gloomy, keen, turbulent imaginations "and passions, which cloud our mind, which fret our heart, which dif-
"compose the frame of our soul; from burning anger, from storming con-
tention, from gnawing envy, from rankling spite, from racking suspi-
cion, from distracting ambition and avarice; and consequently doth "settle our mind in an even temper, in a sedate humour, in an harmonious "order, in that pleasant state of tranquillity, which naturally doth result from "the voidance of irregular passions." Now this passage from Barrow (which borders, I admit, on quietism and enthusiastick devotion) differs only from the mystical theology of the Sûfis and Yâgis, as the flowers and fruits of Europe differ in scent and flavour from those of Asia, or as Euro-
pean differs from Asiatic eloquence: the same strain, in poetical mea-
sure, would rise up to the odes of Spenser on Divine Love and Beauty, and, in a higher key with richer embellishments, to the songs of Hâfiz and Jayade'va, the raptures of the Masnavi, and the mysteries of the Bhâgavat.

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

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

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

"On that day thy cheek sparkled even under thy veil, and all this beautiful imagery appeared on the mirror of our fancies.

"Rise, my soul; that I may pour thee forth on the pencil of that supreme artist, who comprized in a turn of his compass all this wonderful scenery!"

"From the moment, when I heard the divine sentence, I have breathed into man a portion of my spirit, I was assured, that we were His, and He ours.

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

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

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

"The true object of heart and soul is the glory of union with our beloved: that object really exists, but without it both heart and soul would have no existence."
"O the bliss of that day, when I shall depart from this desolate mansion; shall seek rest for my soul; and shall follow the traces of my beloved:

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

The couplets, which follow, relate as indubitably to human love and sensual gratifications:

"May the hand never shake, which gathered the grapes! May the foot never slip, which pressed them!

"That poignant liquor, which the zealot calls the mother of sins, is pleasanter and sweeter to me than the kisses of a maiden.

"Wine two years old and a damsel of fourteen are sufficient society for me, above all companies great or small.

"How delightful is dancing to lively notes and the cheerful melody of the flute, especially when we touch the hand of a beautiful girl!

"Call for wine, and scatter flowers around: what more canst thou ask from fate? Thus spoke the nightingale this morning: what sayst thou, sweet rose, to his precepts?"

"Bring thy couch to the garden of roses, that thou mayst kiss the cheeks and lips of lovely damsels, quaff rich wine, and smell odoriferous blossoms."
"O branch of an exquisite rose-plant, for whose sake dost thou grow?

"Ah! on whom will that smiling rose bud confer delight?

"The rose would have discoursed on the beauties of my charmer, but

"the gale was jealous, and stole her breath, before she spoke.

"In this age, the only friends, who are free from blemish, are a flask of

"pure wine and a volume of elegant love songs.

"O the joy of that moment, when the self-sufficiency of inebriation

"rendered me independent of the prince and of his minister!"

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

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

"YESTERDAY, half inebriated, I passed by the quarter, where the vintners dwell, to seek the daughter of an infidel, who sells wine.

"At the end of the street, there advanced before me a damsel with a fairy's cheeks, who, in the manner of a pagan, wore her tresses dishevelled over her shoulder, like the facerdotal thread. I said: O thou, to the arch of whose eye-brow the new moon is a slave, what quarter is this, and where is thy mansion?

"She answered: Cast thy rosary on the ground; bind on thy shoulder the thread of paganism; throw stones at the glass of piety; and quaff wine from a full goblet;

"After that come before me, that I may whisper a word in thine ear: thou wilt accomplish thy journey, if thou listen to my discourse.

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

"At a distance I beheld a company, all insane and inebriated, who came boiling and rearing with ardor from the wine of love;

"Without cymbals, or lutes, or viols, yet all full of mirth and melody; without wine, or goblet, or flask, yet all incessantly drinking.

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

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

"Depart then from the cloyster and take the way to the tavern; cast off the cowl of a dervise, and wear the robe of a libertine.

"I obeyed; and, if thou desirest the same strain and colour with Ismat, imitate him, and fell this world and the next for one drop of pure wine.

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

Hear, how yon reed in sadly-pleasing tales
Departed bliss and present wo bewails!
With me, from native banks untimely torn,
Love-warbling youths and soft-ey'd virgins mourn.
Oh! let the heart by fatal absence rent
Feel what I sing, and bleed when I lament:
Who roams in exile from his parent bow'r,
Pants to return, and chides each ling'ring hour.
My notes, in circles of the grave and gay,
Have hail'd the rising, cheer'd the closing, day:
Each in my fond affections claim'd a part,
But none discern'd the secret of my heart.
What though my strains and sorrows flow combin'd!
Yet ears are slow, and carnal eyes are blind.
Free through each mortal form the spirits roll,
But light avails not. Can we see the soul?
Such notes breath'd gently from yon vocal frame:
Breath'd said I? no; ’twas all-enliv'ning flame.
’Tis love, that fills the reed with warmth divine;
’Tis love, that sparkles in the racy wine.
Me, plaintive wand'rer from my peerless maid,
The reed has fir'd, and all my soul betray'd.
He gives the bane, and he with balm cures;
Afflicts, yet soothes; impasses, yet allures.

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Delightful pangs his am'rous tales prolong;
And Laili's frantick lover lives in song.
Not he, who reasons best, this wisdom knows:
Ears only, drink what rapt'rous tongues disclose.
Nor fruitlefs deem the reed's heart-piercing pain:
See sweetness dropping from the parted cane.
Alternate hope and fear my days divide:
I courted Grief, and Anguish was my bride.
Flow on, sad stream of life! I smile secure:
Thou livest; Thou, the purest of the pure!
Rife, vig'rous youth! be free; be nobly bold:
Shall chains confine you, though they blaze with gold?
Go; to your vase the gather'd main convey:
What were your stores? The pittance of a day!
New plans for wealth your fancies would invent;
Yet shells, to nourish pearls, must lie content.
The man, whose robe love's purple arrows rend,
Bids av'rice rest and toils tumultuous end.
Hail, heav'nly love! true source of endless gains!
Thy balm restores me, and thy skill sustains.
Oh, more than Galen learn'd, than Plato wise!
My guide, my law, my joy supreme arise!
Love warms this frigid clay with mystick fire;
And dancing mountains leap with young desire.
Bleft is the soul, that swims in seas of love,
And long the life sustain'd by food above.
With forms imperfect can perfection dwell?
Here pause, my song; and thou, vain world, farewell.
A volume might be filled with similar passages from the Sufi poets; from Sa'ib, Orfi, Mi'ir Khosrau, Ja'ami, Hazin, and Sa'ibik, who are next in beauty of composition to Hafiz and Sadi, but next at a considerable distance; from Mest'hi, the most elegant of their Turkish imitators; from a few Hindi poets of our own times, and from Ibnul Fa'red, who wrote mythical odes in Arabick; but we may close this account of the Sufis with a passage from the third book of the Bustan, the declared subject of which is divine love; referring you for a particular detail of their metaphysics and theology to the Dabifan of Moisani Fani, and to the pleasing essay, called the Junction of two Seas, by that amiable and unfortunate Prince, Da'ra' Shecu'h:

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

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

Let us return to the Hindus, among whom we now find the same emblema-
tical theology, which Pythagoras admired and adopted. The loves of Crisheu
and Radha, or the reciprocal attraction between the divine goodness and the human soul, are told at large in the tenth book of the Bbágavat, and are the subject of a little Pastoral Drama, entitled Gitagovinda: it was the work of Jayadeva, who flourished, it is said, before Calidas, and was born, as he tells us himself, in Cenduli, which many believe to be in Calinga; but, since there is a town of a similar name in Berdwan, the natives of it insist that the finest lyric poet of India was their countryman, and celebrate in honour of him an annual jubilee, passing a whole night in representing his drama, and in singing his beautiful songs. After having translated the Gitagovinda word for word, I reduced my translation to the form, in which it is now exhibited; omitting only those passages, which are too luxuriant and too bold for an European taste, and the prefatory ode on the ten incarnations of Vishnu, with which you have been presented on another occasion: the phrases in Italicks are the burdens of the several songs; and you may be assured, that not a single image or idea has been added by the translator.
THE firmament is obscured by clouds; the woodlands are black with Tamāla-trees; that youth, who roves in the forest, will be fearful in the gloom of night: go, my daughter; bring the wanderer home to my rustic mansion.' Such was the command of NANDA, the fortunate herdsman; and hence arose the love of RA'DHA and MADHAVA, who sported on the bank of TAMUNĀ, or hastened eagerly to the secret bower.

If thy soul be delighted with the remembrance of HERI, or sensible to the raptures of love, listen to the voice of JAYADEVA, whose notes are both sweet and brilliant. O THOU, who reclinet on the bosom of CAMALĀ, whose ears flame with gems, and whose locks are embellished with sylvan flowers; thou, from whom the day star derived his effulgence, who flewest the venom-breathing CA'LĪYA, who beamed, like a sun, on the tribe of YADU, that flourished like a lotus; thou, who sittest on the plumage of GARURA, who, by subduing demons, gavest exquisite joy to the assembly of immortals; thou, for whom the daughter of JANACA was decked in gay apparel, by whom DU'SHANA was overthrown; thou, whose eye sparkles like the water-lily, who calledst three worlds into existence; thou, by whom the rocks of MANDAR were easily supported, who
sippeth nectar from the radiant lips of Pedma', as the fluttering Chacora
drinks the moonbeams; be victorius, O Heri, lord of conquest!

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

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

Raḍhā remains in the forest; but, resenting the promiscuous passion of Herī, and his neglect of her beauty, which he once thought superior, she retires to a bower of twining plants, the summit of which resounds
with the humming of swarms engaged in their sweet labours; and there, falling languid on the ground, she thus addresses her female companion.

"Though he take recreation in my absence, and smile on all around him, yet my soul remembers Him, whose beguiling reed modulates a tune sweetened by the nectar of his quivering lip, while his ear sparkles with gems, and his eye darts amorous glances; Him, whose locks are decked with the plumes of peacocks resplendent with many-coloured moons, and whose mantle gleams like a dark blue cloud illumined with rain-bows; Him, whose graceful smile gives new lustre to his lips, brilliant and soft as a dewy leaf, sweet and ruddy as the blossom of Bandhujiva, while they tremble with eagerness to kiss the daughters of the herdsmen; him, whose ear-rings are formed of entire gems in the shape of the fish Macar on the banners of Love; even the yellow-robed God, whose attendants are the chiefs of deities, of holy men, and of demons; him, who reclines under a gay Cadamba-tree; who formerly delighted me, while he gracefully waved in the dance, and all his soul sparkled in his eye. My weak mind thus enumerates his qualities; and, though offended, strives to banish offence. What else can it do? It cannot part with its affection for Crishna, whose love is excited by other damsels, and who sports in the absence of Radha. Bring, O friend, that vanquisher of the demon Cesi, to sport with me, who am repairing to a secret bower, who look timidly on all sides, who meditate with amorous fancy on his divine transfiguration. Bring him, whose discourse was once composed of the gentlest words, to converse with me, who am bashful on his first approach, and express my thoughts..."
with a smile sweet as honey. Bring him, who formerly slept on my bosom, to recline with me on a green bed of leaves just gathered, while his lips sheds dew, and my arms enfold him. Bring him, who has attained the perfection of skill in love's art, whose hand used to press these firm and delicate spheres, to play with me, whose voice rivals that of the Cécil, and whose tresses are bound with waving blossoms. Bring him, who formerly drew me by the locks to his embrace, to repose with me, whose feet tinkle, as they move, with rings of gold and of gems, whose loosened zone strands, as it falls; and whose limbs are slender and flexible as the creeping plant. That God, whose cheeks are beautified by the nectar of his smiles, whose pipe drops in his exaltation, I saw in the grove encircled by the damsel of Vrūja, who gazed on him askance from the corners of their eyes: I saw him in the grove with happier damsels, yet the sight of him delighted me. Soft is the gale, which breathes over your clear pool, and expands the clustering blossoms of the voluble Afoça; soft, yet grievous to me in the absence of the foe of Madhu. Delightful are the flowers of Amra-trees on the mountain-top, while the murmuring bees pursue their voluptuous toil; delightful, yet afflicting to me, O friend, in the absence of the youthful Cēśava.

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

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

The damsel, commissioned by Ra‘dha, found the disconsolate God un-
der an arbour of spreading Váñiras by the side of Yamuná; where, presenting
herself gracefully before him, she thus described the affliction of his be-
loved:

'She despises essence of sandal-wood, and even by moon-light sits brood-
ing over her gloomy sorrow; she declares the gale of Malaya to be venom,
and the sandal-trees, through which it has breathed, to have been the
haunt of serpents. Thus, O Mā'adhava, is she afflicted in thy absence with
the pain, which love's dart has occasioned: her soul is fixed on Thee. Fresh
arrows of desire are continually afflicting her, and she forms a net of loto-
leaves as armour for her heart, which thou alone shouldst fortify. She
makes her own bed of the arrows darted by the flowery-shafted God; but,
when she hoped for thy embrace, she had formed for Thee a couch of
soft blossoms. Her face is like a water-lily veiled in the dew of tears, and
her eyes appear like moons eclipsed, which let fall their gathered nectar.
through pain caused by the tooth of the furious dragon. She draws thy
image with musk in the character of the Deity with five shafts, having
subdued the Macar, or horned shark, and holding an arrow tipped with
an Amra-flower; thus she draws thy picture, and worships it. At the
close of every sentence, 'O Mā'adhava, she exclaims, at thy feet am
I fallen, and in thy absence even the moon, though it be a vase full of
nectar, inflames my limbs.' Then, by the power of imagination, she
figures thee standing before her; thee, who art not easily attained: she
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endure thy absence even an instant, forbear sighing now, when she looks
with half-closed eyes on the Rajila with bloomy branches, which remind
her of the vernal season, when the first beheld thee with rapture?

Here have I chosen my abode: go quickly to Radha; soothe her
with my message, and conduct her hither.' So spake the foe of Madhu
to the anxious damsel, who hastened back, and thus addressed her com-
panion: 'Whilst a sweet breeze from the hills of Malaya comes wafting
on his plumes the young God of Desire; while many a flower points
his extended petals to pierce the bosom of separated lovers, the Deity
crowned with sylvan blossoms laments, O friend, in thy absence. Even the
dewy rays of the moon burn him; and, as the shaft of love is descending,
he mourns inarticulately with increasing disflection. When the bees
murmur softly, he covers his ears; misery fits fixed in his heart, and
every returning night adds anguish to anguish. He quits his radiant pa-
lace for the wild forest, where he sinks on a bed of cold clay, and fre-
quently mutters thy name. In yon bower, to which the pilgrims of love
are used to repair, he meditates on thy form, repeating in silence some
enchanting word, which once dropped from thy lips, and thirsting for
the nectar, which they alone can supply. Delay not, O loveliest of we-
men; follow the lord of thy heart: behold, he seeks the appointed
shade, bright with the ornaments of love, and confident of the promised
bliss. Having bound his locks with forest-flowers, he hastens to yon arbour,
where a soft gale breathes over the banks of Yamuna: there, again pro-
nouncing thy name, he modulates his divine reed. Oh! with what
rapture doth he gaze on the golden dust, which the breeze shakes from
expanded blossoms; the breeze, which has kissed thy cheek! With a
mind, languid as a dropping wing, feeble as a trembling leaf, he doubt-
fully expects thy approach, and timidly looks on the path, which thou
must tread. Leave behind thee, O friend, the ring which tinkles on thy
delicate ankle, when thou sportest in the dance; hastily cast over thee
thy azure mantle, and run to the gloomy bower. The reward of thy
speed, O thou who sparklest like lightning, will be to shine on the blue
bosom of Mura’ri, which resembles a vernal cloud, decked with a
string of pearls like a flock of white water-birds fluttering in the air.
Disappoint not, O thou lotos-eyed, the vanquisher of Madhū; accom-
plish his desire; but go quickly: it is night, and the night also will
quickly depart. Again and again he fights; he looks around; he re-
enters the arbour; he can scarce articulate thy sweet name; he again
smooths his flowery couch; he looks wild; he becomes frantick: thy
beloved will perish through desire. The bright-beamed God sinks in the
west, and thy pain of separation may also be removed: the blackness of
the night is increased, and the passionate imagination of Go’vinda has
acquired additional gloom. My address to thee has equalled in length
and in sweetness the song of the Cőcila: delay will make thee miserable,
O my beautiful friend. Seize the moment of delight in the place of
affignation with the son of De’vaci, who descended from heaven to
remove the burdens of the universe; he is a blue gem on the forehead of
the three worlds, and longs to sip honey, like the bee, from the fragrant
lotos of thy cheek."

But the solicitous maid, perceiving that Ra’dha’ was unable through
debility to move from her arbour of flowery creepers, returned to Go’vinda,
who was himself disordered with love, and thus described her situation:

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

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

The appointed moment is come; but Heri, alas, comes not to the grove. Must the season of my unblemished youth pass thus idly away? Oh! what refuge can I seek, deluded as I am by the guile of my female advi- ser? The God with five arrows has wounded my heart; and I am deserted by Him, for whose sake I have fought at night the darkest recess
of the forest. Since my best beloved friends have deceived me, it is my
wish to die; since my senses are disordered, and my bosom is on fire,
why stay I longer in this world? The coolness of this vernal night gives
me pain, instead of refreshment; some happier damsel enjoys my belo-
ved; whilst I, alas! am looking at the gems in my bracelets, which
are blackened by the flames of my passion. My neck, more delicate
than the tenderest blossom, is hurt by the garland, that encircles it:
flowers are, indeed, the arrows of Love, and he plays with them cruelly.
I make this wood my dwelling: I regard not the roughness of the Vētas-
trees; but the destroyer of Madhū holds me not in his remembrance!

Why comes he not to the bower of bloomy Vanjulas, afflighed for our
meeting? Some ardent rival, no doubt, keeps him locked in her embrace:
or have his companions detained him with mirthful recreations? Else
why roams he not through the cool shades? Perhaps, the heart-sick lover
is unable through weaknesses to advance even a step!—So saying, she raised
her eyes; and, seeing her damsel return silent and mournful, unaccom-
panied by Madhava, she was alarmed even to phrensy; and, as if she
actually beheld in the arms of a rival, she thus described the vision,
which overpowered her intellect.

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

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

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

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

He is gone: the light air has wafted him away. What pleasure now, my beloved, remains in thy mansion? Continue not, resentful woman, thy indignation against the beautiful Mādhava. Why shouldst thou render vain those round smooth vases, ample and ripe as the sweet fruit of yon Tāla-tree? How often and how recently have I said: "forfake not the blooming Hari?" Why fitteft thou so mournful? Why weepest thou with distraction, when the damfels are laughing around thee? Thou haft
formed a couch of soft lutos-leaves: let thy darling charm thy sight, while he reposes on it. Afflict not thy soul with extreme anguish; but attend to my words, which conceal no guile. Suffer Cēśāva to approach: let him speak with exquisite sweetness, and disipate all thy sorrows. If thou art harsh to him, who is amiable; if thou art proudly silent, when he deprecates thy wrath with lowly prostrations; if thou showest aver-

sion to him, who loves thee passionately; if, when he bends before thee, thy face be turned contemptuously away; by the same rule of contrariety, the dust of sandal-wood, which thou hast sprinkled, may become poison; the moon with cool beams, a scorching fan; the fresh dew, a consuming flame; and the sports of love be changed into agony.'

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

Speak but one mild word, and the rays of thy sparkling teeth will dispel the gloom of my fears. My trembling lips, like thirsty Chacórus, long to drink the moonbeams of thy cheek. O my darling, who art naturally so tender-hearted, abandon thy causeless indignation. At this moment the flame of desire consumes my heart: oh! grant me a draught of honey from the lutos of thy mouth. Or, if thou beest inexorable, grant me death from the arrows of thy keen eyes; make thy arms my chains; and punish me according to thy pleasure. Thou art my life; thou art my ornament; thou art a pearl in the ocean of my mortal birth: oh! be favourable now, and my heart shall eternally be grateful. Thine eyes, which nature for-
med like blue water-lilies, are become, through thy resentment, like petals of the crimson lotus: oh! tinge with their effulgence these my dark limbs, that they may glow like the shafts of Love tipped with flowers.

Place on my head that foot like a fresh leaf, and shade me from the sun of my passion, whose beams I am unable to bear. Spread a string of gems on those two soft globes; let the golden bells of thy zone tinkle, and proclaim the mild edict of love. Say, O damsel with delicate speech, shall I dye red with the juice of alataka those beautiful feet, which will make the full-blown lotus lotus blush with shame? Abandon thy doubts of my heart, now indeed fluttering through fear of thy displeasure, but hereafter to be fixed wholly on thee; a heart, which has no room in it for another: none else can enter it, but Love, the bodiless God. Let him wing his arrows; let him wound me mortally: decline not, O cruel, the pleasure of seeing me expire. Thy face is bright as the moon, though its beams drop the venom of maddening desire: let thy nectarous lip be the charmer, who alone has power to lull the serpent, or supply an antidote for his poison. Thy silence afflicts me: oh! speak with the voice of music, and let thy sweet accents allay my ardour. Abandon thy wrath, but abandon not a lover, who surpasses in beauty the sons of men, and who kneels before thee, O thou most beautiful among women. Thy lips are a Bandhu-jiva-flower; the lustre of the Madhuca beams on thy cheek; thine eye outshines the blue lotus; thy nose is a bud of the Tila; the Cunda-blossom yields to thy teeth: thus the flowery-shafted God borrows from thee the points of his darts, and subdues the universe. Surely, thou descended from heaven, O slender damsel, attended by a company of youthful goddesses; and all their beauties are collected in thee.

He spake; and, seeing her appeased by his homage, flew to his bower.
clad in a gay mantle. The night now veiled all visible objects; and the damsel thus exhorted Ra'dhâ, while she decked her with beaming ornaments.

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

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

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

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

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

"Set the lotos of thy foot on this azure bosom; and let this couch be victorious over all, who rebel against love. Give short rapture, sweet Radha, to Narayana thy adorer. I do thee homage; I press with my blooming palms thy feet weary with so long a walk. O that I were the golden ring, that plays round thy ankle! Speak but one gentle word; bid nectar drop from the bright moon of thy mouth. Since the pain of absence is removed, let me thus remove the thin vest, that enviously hides thy charms. Blest should I be, if those raised globes were fixed on my bosom, and the ardour of my passion allayed. Oh! suffer me to quaff the liquid bliss of those lips; restore with their water of life thy slave, who has long been lifeless, whom the fire of separation has consumed.

Long have these ears been afflicted in thy absence by the notes of the Cocila: relieve them with the sound of thy tinkling waist-bells, which yield musick almost equal to the melody of thy voice. Why are those eyes half closed? Are they ashamed of seeing a youth, to whom thy careles resentment gave anguish? Oh! let affliction cease; and let extasy drown the remembrance of sorrow."

In the morning she rose disarrayed, and her eyes betrayed a night without slumber; when the yellow-robed God, who gazed on her with tran...
port, thus meditated on her charms in his heavenly mind: ‘Though her locks be diffused at random, though the lustre of her lips be faded, though her garland and zone be fallen from their enchanting stations, and though she hide their places with her hands, looking toward me with bashful silence, yet even thus disarranged, she fills me with extatick delight.’ But Ra’dha’, preparing to array herself, before the company of nymphs could see her confusion, spake thus with exultation to her obsequious lover.

‘Place, O son of Yadu, with fingers cooler than sandal-wood, place a circlet of musk on this breast, which resembles a vase of consecrated water crowned with fresh leaves, and fixed near a vernal bower to propitiate the God of Love. Place, my darling, the glossy powder, which would make the blackest bee envious, on this eye, whose glances are keener than arrows darted by the husband of Reti. Fix, O accomplished youth, the two gems, which form part of love’s chain, in these ears, whence the antelopes of thy eyes may run downwards and sport at pleasure. Place now a fresh circle of musk, black as the lunar spots, on the moon of my forehead; and mix gay flowers on my trusses with a peacock’s feathers, in graceful order, that they may wave like the banners of Ca’mA. Now replace, O tender-hearted, the loose ornaments of my vesture; and refix the golden bells of my girdle on their destined station, which resembles those hills, where the God with five shafts, who destroyed Sambar, keeps his elephant ready for battle.’ While she spake, the heart of Yadava triumphed; and, obeying her sportful behests, he placed musky spots on her bosom and forehead, dyed her temples with radiant hues, embellished her eyes with additional blackness, decked her braided hair and her neck with fresh garlands, and tied on her wrists the loosened
bracelets, on her ankles the beamy rings, and round her waist the zone of bells, that founded with ravishing melody.

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

The End.
A desire of translating the couplets of Vara'hamihira with minute exactness, and of avoiding the Sanscrit word ayana in an English phrase, has occasioned a little inaccuracy, or at least ambiguity, in the version of two very important lines; which may easily be corrected by twice reading ádyát in the fifth case for ádyam in the first; so that they may thus be translated word for word: "Certainly the southern road of the sun was, or began, once "from the middle of Alséshâ; the northern, from the first of Dhanisht'hâ. "At present the southern road of the sun begins from the first of Carcata; "and the other from the first of Mrig'a, or Macar."
IX.

ON THE INDIAN CYCLE
OF SIXTY YEARS,

By S A M U E L D A V I S, Esq.

In the Philosophical Transactions published for 1790, there is an account given of the Hindu cycle of sixty*, which being in many particulars deficient, and in some erroneous, I shall endeavour to show the true nature and computation of that cycle, from the explanation which is given of it by the Hindus themselves.

The following two ślokas, extracted from the last section of the Sārya Siddhānta, enumerate the several distinctions of time in astronomical use among the Hindus:

\[
\text{ব্রাহ্মণের দেবতা পিতার প্রতাপভূত গুরোষ্ঠা} \]
\[
\text{সৌরচ সারন চান্দ্র মাকেমানাদি বিনা} \]
\[
\text{চতুর্দি বার্ষিকোত্তর সৌর চান্দ্রাক্ষ সারি} \]
\[
\text{বাহিস্পত্যনবম্ব দ্বিতীয় নাদী মুনিতুস্ত} \]

* "* In their current transactions, the inhabitants of the peninsula employ a mode of computation, which, though not unknown in other parts of the world, is confined to these [the southern] people amongst..."
Brāhmaṇa daivaṁ tat'hā pitryaṅ prājāpatyaṅ gurōṣtat'hā,
Sauraṇ che śāvanaṅ chandrāṁ ārṣaṅ māṇāṁ vai nava:
Chatur'bhīr vyavahār'ṛa saurachandrārṣha śāvanaṅ,
Vārhaspatyēna ṣahas'ṭyaṅaṁ jñeyaṅ nānyaṅstu nityāsaḥ:

and the translation of them is as follows: "The Brāhma, the Daiva, the
"Pitrya, the Prājāpata, that of Guru, the Saura, the Sāvana, the Chān-
"dra, the Nācchatra, are the nine distinctions of time. Four of those-
"distinctions are of practical use to mortals; namely, the Saura, the Chān-
"dra, the Nācchatra, the Sāvana. That of Vribhjpāti (Guru) is formed
"into sixty years. The other distinctions occur but seldom in astronomical
"practice."

Brahma's year is that, whereof the Calpa is one day. The Daiva-year
consists of 360 revolutions of the sun through the ecliptick. The Pitrya
day is from lunaition to lunaition. The Prājāpata-māna is the manwantura.
The cycle of Guru or Vribhjpāti, which is the subject of this paper, will be explained further on. The Chānдра is lunar, and the Nācchatra, sidereal time. The Saura and Sāvana, are the same solar-sidereal year differently divided; the sun's passage through each degree of the ecliptick being accounted as a day of the first, and the time contained between sun-rise and sun-rise as a day of the last; consequently, there are 360 days, or divisions,
in the former year; whereas, the latter year is determined, according to the astronomical rules of the best authority, as containing \(365\frac{15}{31}\) days of Hindu, or \(365\frac{6}{12}\) days of our time.

The Sánvan year may, as the Hindus observe, be measured by the following method, which is little more than a translation from the Sanskrit.

Upon a large horizontal circle, note the point whereon the sun rises, at any time near the equinox, or, when his motion in declination is the most perceptible; and count the number of Sánvan days, or of his successive risings, from that time; until, having visited the two solstices, he shall be returned near to the original mark: then, repeat the operation, until he rises next after passing over that original or first-made mark, and compute the proportion which the space, whereby he shall have fallen short of it, in the last observation but one, bears to the whole space contained between the marks made of his two last risings, accounting that space to contain 60 Dandas, or one Sánvan day; the result will be the fraction of a day, and it will be the excess of the year over 365 days, or number of times that the sun will have been found to rise above the horizon during such an observation of his progress through the ecliptic. This fraction the Súrya Siddhánta states as \(0\frac{15}{31}\), and the Siddhánta Sirómani as \(0\frac{15}{30}\); but it is not probable, that either quantity was determined by so simple and mechanical a method alone, or without recourse to a series of observations made at distant periods.

The Vrihaspáti mána, of which the cycle of sixty years is composed, is thus described in the comment on the foregoing śloka:
Vṛhaspetermānaṁ madhyamarāśībhogāṇoṣṭaṁ.

"It is his (Vṛhaspateś's) mean motion (madhyama) through one sign."

To explain what is meant by the madhyama, in contradistinction to the sigbra, motion of Jupiter, and the other planets, and to show that, by compounding them in excentrick circles and epicycles, the Hindus compute the apparent places of the planets on the principles of the Ptolemaic astronomy, is not the object of this paper: I shall, therefore, only desire it may be understood, that the madhyama of Jupiter answers to his mean motion in his orbit, and the amount of it computed for any particular interval, to his mean heliocentrick longitude in the Hindu ecliptick. The rule then for computing his mana, or year, of which the cycle of sixty years is formed, is evident; and, it is thus given in the 55th śloka of the first section of the Sūrya Siddhānta.

Dvādasāḡhnā guró yāta bhagānā vertamānacaih
Rāśibhīh sahitāh suddhāh śaftīyā śyurvijāyādayah

"Multiply by 12 Jupiters' expired bhagunas, (revolutions) and (to the product) add the sign he is in; divide (the sum) by 60; the remainder or

"fraction, shows his current year counting from Vijaya as the first of the
"series."

To apply this rule in finding the Vribaspati year for a given time, as for
the commencement of the current year of the cali yug, or when 4892 years
of that era were expired, correspondent with the 10th of last April, we have
the following data.* The revolutions, or mean motion of Jupiter 364220
in 4320000 solar years; and the term expired of the cali yug 4892 years,
which, for the reason given in Vol. II. page 244, may in this case be used
to save trouble, instead of the period expired of the Calpa: then, as 4320000
to 364220, so 4892 to 412 5° 21' 12'', which shows Jupiter's madhyama
or mean heliocentric longitude to be 5° 21' 12'' after 412 complete revo-
lutions through his orbit. But, as in the instance of the moon's node, (Vol.
II. page 275) a correction of bija is here to be applied to Jupiter's mean
place at the rate of 8 revolutions in the maba yug subtractive. But 8 revo-
lutions in 4820000 years are as 1° to 1500 years; therefore, by a shorter
process, the term expired of the cali yug, divided by 1500, quotes the bija
in degrees; and \(\frac{4892}{1500} = 3\ 15'\ 41''\ 48''\) is the correction subtractive, which
reduces Jupiter's mean place to \(412\ 5\ 7\ 5\ 30''\); then, \(412 \times 12 = 4944\),
to which add 6, Jupiter being in the 6th sign; the sum 4950 is the num-
ber of the Vribaspati years elapsed since the beginning of the cali yug; which,
divided by 60 for cycles, quotes 82 cycles expired, leaving a fraction of \(\frac{3}{5}\)
to find his current year, which, counted as the rule directs from Vijaya as
the first, falls on Dundubhi, which is the 55th of the cycle; and, of this
year, the fraction \(7\ 5\ 30''\) reduced at the rate of \(2\ 30'\) to a month, shows
M. D. D. P.
2 25 6 12 to have been expired on the 1st of Vaisách, or the 10th of April,

* From Vol. II. page 231.
for which time the computation is made; and likewise, that the next year Rudhirbodgari will commence in the ensuing solar month of Māgha.

A Nadiya almanack for the present year states, that, on the 1st of last Vaiśācb, there were expired of the Vribhaspati cycle 55 years, 2 months, 23 days, and 16 dandas; and, that the current year Dandubbi will continue until the 7th day of the solar month of Māgh; the difference of 1 day, and 56 dandas, between this and the foregoing result, is too great to be accounted for by the difference of longitude between Nadiya and Ujjain, for the meridian of which latter place computations by the Sūrya Siddhānta are made; but it is of no consequence to the intended purpose of this paper.

There is another rule for computing the Vribhaspati year given in an astrological book named Jyautisatva. "The Jīva years note down in two places. Multiply (one of the numbers) by 22. Add (to the product) 4291. Divide (the sum) by 1875. The quotient add to the second number noted down, and divide (the sum) by 60. The remainder or fraction will show the year last expired, counting from Prabhava as the first of the cycle. The fraction, if any, left by the divisor 1875 may be reduced to months, days, &c. expired of the current year."

The Jīva years expired on the 1st of last Vaiśācb, corresponding with the expired years 482 of the cali yug, were 1713; then, by the rule, $\frac{1713 \times 22 + 4291}{1875} = 22 \frac{27}{60}$, and, $1713 + 22 = 28 \frac{27}{60}$, which shows the last expired year of Vribhaspati to have been the 55th of the cycle, named Durmati; and the fraction $\frac{\frac{1}{60}}{\frac{1}{60}}$, when reduced, that 4 months, 19 days, and 35 dandas were expired of the current year Dandubbi when last Vaiśācb began.
The numbers 22 and 1875 used in this computation are evidently derived from the planetary periods, as given by A'ryabhata, which according to Varahamihira are, of Jupiter, 364224 mean revolutions in 4320000 solar years; but 364224 revolutions of Jupiter contain 4370683 of his years, which exceed the correspondent solar years 4320000 by 50688, and those two numbers reduced to their lowest terms are 1875 and 22; or, in 1875 solar years, there is an excess of 22 Vrihaspati years; and hence the use of those numbers is obvious. The additive number 4892, by the Hindu astronomers termed cshépa, adjusts the computation to the commencement of the era jaka, which began when the 3179th year expired of the cali'yug, and it shows that 2 years, 3 months, and 13 days were then expired of the current cycle of Jupiter, or 3 months and 13 days of the year Sucla, which is the third of that cycle. A computation by the Surya Siddhánta for the same period, with a correction of bija, as in the foregoing example, makes 2 months, 9 days, 56 dandas, and 12 palas to have been elapsed of that year, and that consequently there were 57 years, 9 months, 20 days, 3 dandas, and 12 palas then wanting to complete the cycle, instead of 49 years, as it is stated in the Philosophical Transactions; and, by the same rule, the year of Christ 1784 corresponded with the 48th and 49th of the cycle, or Ananda and Rāghasa.

This mode of computation disagrees with the date of a grant of land mentioned in Vol. I. page 363 of the Asiatick Researches; for jaka 939 must have ended in the 3d month of the 53d year of the Vrihaspati cycle; but, as the grant in question appears to have been made in the vicinity of Bombay, the difference may be accounted for in a manner, that will equally explain the disagreement noticed by Mr. Marsden between his authorities and the Banâres almanack. We learn from Varahamihira's com-
mentator, there were some who erroneously supposed the solar and Vṛiṣaṃpati years, to be of the same length: a memorial śoṣa known to most Pandits, furnishing a concise rule to find the Vṛiṣaṃpati year, mentions astronomers in countries south of the Nėrmadā to be in their reckoning of it ten years behind those situated north of that river; by the foregoing comparison of the date in the Asiatick Researches with a computation by the Śuṣya Siddhānta, the difference is found to be 2 years; and the Banāres almanack for the present year mentions that south of the Nercadā the 45th year of the cycle named Vṛōdbacrit was accounted to begin in last Māgh, in which month, it is further observed, began at Banāres the present year Dundubhī, which is the 56th of the cycle. This difference then increases, and from the śoṣa year 939 when it was 2 years, it had to last Māgh become 11 years. Now, in the interval of 773 solar years between those points of time, the Vṛiṣaṃpati reckoning must have gained upon the solar reckoning about 9 years, which, added to the former difference of 2 years, is equal to the difference now actually noticed in the Banāres almanack; and we may thence conclude, that the erroneous notion mentioned and refuted by Varaḥamihira’s commentator, still prevails to the south of the Nercadā, from which part of India Mr. Marsden’s information on the subject seems to have been originally procured. But there is no reason to suppose, that the Vṛiṣaṃpati year is any where considered as “commencing on the same day with the years of Vicramaḍitya and Śaḷivaḥana,” nor is it possible, that it should; because the latter, which is solar-sidereal, commences with the sun’s entrance of Aries in the Hindu ecliptick, and the former, which is luni-solar, with the preceding new moon in the month of Chaitra.

It may not be deemed superfluous here to add Varahamihira’s explanation of Jupiter’s two cycles of 12 and 60; more especially as he cites
 certain particulars with a reference to the position of the colours as described by Para'sara, and explained in the preceding volume of this work.

**Text:** “Of Vrihaspati’s 12 years. The name of the year is determined from the Nakshatra, in which Vrihaspati rises and sets (heliacally) and they follow in the order of the lunar months.”

**Commentary:** “But if, as it may happen, he should set in one and rise in another Nakshatra, which of the two, it may be asked, would give name to his year? Suppose him, for example, to set in Rōbini and to rise in Mrigashiras:—I answer, that in such a case, the name must be made to agree with the order of the months; or, it must be that name, which in the regular series follows the name of the year expired. According to Sasiputra and others, the Nakshatra in which Jupiter rises gives the name to his year. Casyapa says, the names of the Samvatśara, Yuga, and the years of the cycle of sixty, are determined from the Nakshatra in which he rises; and Garga gives the same account. Some say, that Cārtic, the first year of the cycle of 12, begins on the first day of the month of Cbaitr, whatever may be the Nakshatra which Jupiter is then in; and that Prabhava likewise, the first year of the cycle of sixty, begins in the same manner; and some say that Jupiter’s years are coincident with the solar years; but that cannot be true, because the solar year exceeds in duration the Vrihaspati year,” &c.

**Text:** “The years beginning with Cārtic commence with the Nakshatra Crttika, and to each year there appertain two Nakshatras, except the 5th, 11th, and 12th years, to each of which appertain three Nakshatras.”
### Commentary: "The years and their corresponding Nacshatras are"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Nacshatras</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cártic.</td>
<td>Criticá, Róhini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A'grahayan.</td>
<td>Mrigafiras, A'rdra.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paush.</td>
<td>Punarvasu, Pushya.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mágh.</td>
<td>Asléshá, Maghá.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phálgun.</td>
<td>Purvap'halguní, Uttarap'halguní, Hafta.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaitr.</td>
<td>Chitrà, Swáti.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaisách.</td>
<td>Visácha, Anurádhà.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jyaiśth.</td>
<td>Jyéśht'há, Múla.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ashar.</td>
<td>Purvashará, Uttarására.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Srávan.</td>
<td>Sravanà, Dhanish't'há, Satabhishtá.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhádr.</td>
<td>Satabhishtá, Purvabhadrápada, Uttarabhadrápada.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aświn.</td>
<td>Révati, Aświni, Bharaní.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"Some, on Garga's authority, hold it to be the 10th instead of the 12th year to which three Nacshatras appertain: Garga's arrangement of them is thus,"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Nacshatras</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Phálgun.</td>
<td>Purvap'halguní, Uttarap'halguní, Hafta.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Srávan.</td>
<td>Sravanà, Dhanish't'há, Satabhishtá.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhádr.</td>
<td>Purvabhadrápada, Uttarabhadrápada, Révati.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aświn.</td>
<td>Aświni, Bharaní.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"Parasera's rule states, that when Vribhaśpati is in

- **Criticá and Róhini**, the year is - - - - - bad.
- **Mrigafiras, A'rdra**, - - - - - bad.
- **Punarvasu, Pushya**, - - - - - good.
- **Asléshá, Maghá**, - - - - - bad.
"Purvaphalgum, Uttarakha, Hasta, neutral.
"Chitrâ, Swâti, good.
"Visâcbâ, Anurâdbâ, bad.
"Jyâsh‘ba, Mûla, bad.
"Purvashâra, Uttarastra, good.
"Sravânâ, Dhaniśbâ, Satabhishâ, good.
"Purvabhadrapadâ, Uttarabhadrapadâ, Rêvati, good.
"Aswini, Bharani, good.

"On those authorities, therefore, it is the 10th and not the 12th year to which three Nâchhatras appertain."

"TEXT: "Of the Vrihaspati cycle of sixty years. Multiply the expired years of Saca by 11, and the product by 4. Add the cshêpa 8589. Divide the sum by 3750*; and the quotient add to the years of Saca. Divide the sum by 60 to find the year, and by 12 to find the yuga. The Dévas who preside over the twelve years of the yuga are,

"Vîshnu, The Pitris.
"Sûrya, Viśwa.
"Indra, Sôma.
"Agni, Indrâgni.
"Twashti, Aświna.
"Ahivradna, Bhaga."

"COMMENTARY: "It is in the Sômasanhitâ, that the presiding Dévas

* These numbers, 11 x 4 and 3750 are in the same ratio as those used in the foregoing example from the Jyainifara: the two rules therefore are the same, with an inconsiderable difference in the cshêpa.

D d2
are thus stated. In the cycle of sixty are contained five cycles of twelve, which five cycles, or yugas, are named

Samvatsara, over which presides Agni.
Parivatsara, Arca.
Idavatsara, Chandra.
Anuvatsara, Brabma.
Udravatsara, Siva.

Text: "The first year of the cycle of sixty, named Prabhava, begins, when in the month of Māgha, Vrihaspati rises in the first degree of the Nakshatra Dhanisthā; and the quality of that year is always good."

Commentary: "The month of Māgh here meant is the lunar Māgh; it cannot be the solar Māgh, because when Vrihaspati rises in $9^8 23^o 20'$ "Sārya must be in $10^5 6^o 12'".*

The years of the cycle and the presiding Deities are thus arranged by Varaṇamihihira in six memorial couplets.

<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prabhava,</td>
<td>Sarvajit,</td>
<td>Flavanga,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vibhava,</td>
<td>Sarvadhāri,</td>
<td>Cilaca,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sucla,</td>
<td>Virōdhi,</td>
<td>Saumya,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pramōda,</td>
<td>Vicrita,</td>
<td>Sādharana,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Prajāpati,</td>
<td>25. C'hara,</td>
<td>45. Virōdhacrit,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Because the beginning of Dhanisthā is west of the end of Māgh only $6^o 40'$, at which distance from the sun, Jupiter would not rise heliacally, or be seen disengaged from his rays; but, the lunar Māgh might extend to near the end of the solar Phālgoṇ. Should the moon, however, change very soon after the sun's entrance of the Hindu sign Capricorn, coincident with Māgh; then, neither the solar nor the lunar month of that name would agree with the terms of the proposition, which is an infallance of an imperfect astronomy.
It may be remarked, that, in the foregoing arrangements of the Vrihafpati years, Cārtic is always placed the first in the cycle of twelve; and, since it is a main principle of the Hindu astronomy to commence the planetary motions, which are the measures of time, from the same point of the eclipptick, it may thence be inferred, that there was a time, when the Hindu solar year, as well as the Vrihafpati cycle of twelve, began with the sun's arrival in, or near, the Nāṣhatra Critica. That this year has had different beginnings is evinced by the practice of the Chinese and Siamese, who had their astronomy from India, and who still begin their years, probably by the rule they originally received, either from the sun's departure from the winter solstice, or from the preceding new moon, which has the same refe-
rence to the winter solstice, that the Hindu year of Vicrama'ditya has to the vernal equinox. The commentator on the Súrya Siddhánta expressly says, that the authors of the books generally termed Sanbitás accounted the Déva day to begin in the beginning of the sun’s northern road: now, the Déva day is the solar year; and the sun’s northern road begins in the winter solstice; and hence it should seem, that some of those authors began the solar year exactly as the Chinese do at this time. This might moreover have been the custom in Para’sara’s time; for the phenomenon, which is said to mark the beginning of the Vrihaspati cycle of sixty, refers to the beginning of Dhanisht’bā, which is precisely that point of the ecliptic, through which the solstice passed when he wrote.

There are, beside these apparent changes made by the Hindus in their mode of commencing the year, abundant instances of alterations and corrections in their astronomy, an inquiry into which might, by fixing certain chronological data, throw considerable light on their history; and it is scarcely necessary to observe, with how much more advantage an investigation of this kind would be made with the assistance of such astronomical books, written in the Déva Nagari character, as might easily be had from Haidarábád and Púna, if the English Residents there would interest themselves to procure them. Copies of the astronomical rules, followed at Bombay and in Gujarat, might also prove of use, if Niebuhr* was not misinformed, who says the natives there begin the year with the month of Cárpic, which has an evident reference to the autumnal equinox, and may perhaps be computed by the Arsha Siddhánta mentioned in Vol. I. p. 261, as accounting the day to begin at sunset; for sunset with the Dévas is the

* “Le nouvel an chez les Indiens à Gujarat, que ceux de Bombay suivent aussi, vient du mois Kartig, mais a Scinti on le célébre au mois Ajar.” Tom. 2, p. 21.
sun's departure from the autumnal equinox, and it is invariably observed in their astronomy to account the different measures of time as having begun originally from the same instant.

But of all the places in India, to which Europeans might have access, Ujjain is probably the best furnished with mathematical and astronomical productions; for it was formerly a principal seminary of those sciences, and is still referred to as the first meridian: almost any trouble and expense would be compensated by the possession alone of the three copious treatises on Algebra, from which Bha'scara declares he extracted his Bija Ganita, and which in this part of India are supposed to be entirely lost. But the principal object of the proposed inquiry would be, to trace as much as possible of that gradual progress, whereby the Hindu astronomy has arrived at its present state of comparative perfection, whence might be formed more probable conjectures of its origin and antiquity, than have yet appeared; for, I imagine, there are few of M. Bailly's opinion that the cali-yug, or any yug, had its origin, any more than our Julian period, in an actual observation, who have considered the nature and use of those cycles, of the relative bhaganas, or revolutions, of the planets, and the alterations*, which the latter have at different times undergone; concerning which several particulars M. Bailly, it must be acknowledged, had but little information†. What was the real position of the planets and the state of astronony

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* Instances in Jupiter's mean motion. A'ryabhatta gave the revolutions as 364224 in 4320000 solar years. Bha'scara in his Sridharta 364226455 in 432000000 solar years. The Sridhanya Siddhanta 364220 in 4320000 solar years; which latter, by the bija introduced since, are reduced to 364212 in the same period.

† But it is not thence to be inferred, that the Hindus did not exist as a nation, or that they made no observations of the heavens as long ago as 4890 years: all that is here meant, is, that the observation ascribed to them by M. Bailly does not necessarily follow from any thing that is known of their astronomy; but on the contrary, from the nature of the subject it appears, that the Cali-yug was, like the Julian Period,
when the \textit{cali} \textit{yug} began, or 4892 years ago, will probably never be known; but the latter must certainly have undergone considerable improvement, since the last quoted \textit{sloca} of \textit{Vara'hamihira} was received as a rule; for it supposes the mean motion of \textit{Jupiter} to be to that of the sun, as 60 to some integer; apparently to 720; as 5 to 60, or as 1 to 12; without which, the beginning and successive returns of the cycle of sixty could never be denoted by the heliacal rising of \textit{Jupiter} in \textit{Dhanishth'ha}, or in any constant point of the zodiac; and, at a time when the mean motion of \textit{Jupiter} was so much mistaken, it may reasonably be supposed, that the more difficult parts of astronomy were very imperfectly understood. If the ratio were as 1 to 12, which is implied by the \textit{yuga} of twelve, (for the term \textit{yuga} means conjunction, or coincidence,) then, a conjunction of the sun and \textit{Jupiter} would happen at the end of every period of 12 years in the same point of the zodiac, and the cycle of sixty might begin in the manner described: but this must long since have ceased to be the rule, or at least since the time of \textit{Aryabhatta}; for, if the cycle be supposed to begin with the sun and \textit{Jupiter} in \textit{Dhanishth'ha}, then, in sixty of \textit{Jupiter}'s years that planet will again be in \textit{Dhanishth'ha}; but, in sixty of such years there are, by the data ascribed to \textit{Aryabhatta}, only 59 years, 3 months, and some days of solar time; the next cycle, therefore, could not have the same beginning, because the sun would be found more than 90 degrees distant from \textit{Jupiter}'s mean place, and in 60 years more that distance would be doubled. As this disagreement with the rule could not have been unknown to \textit{Vara'hamihira}, who gives the \textit{bhaganas} from \textit{Aryabhatta} as 364224 in 4320000 solar years, he may be supposed to have only cited

\textit{fixed by retrospective computation; which might still have happened although astronomy had originated, which is not at all improbable, in much higher antiquity.}
what he had learned from other treatises merely as an astrological maxim, his Sarphita being a treatise on astrology not on practical astronomy; and this conjecture will appear the more reasonable, when it is considered, that notions wholly inconsistent with the latter, and which must have originated in remote ages, when science of any kind had made but small progress, are still preserved in different Sstras; as in the Bhagavat, which, treating on the system of the universe, places the moon above the sun, and the planets above the fixed stars.

To render this paper more intelligible, I have subjoined a diagram of the Hindu eclipick, which may also serve to illustrate some astronomical papers in the preceding volume. Its origin is considered as distant 180 degrees in longitude from Spica; a star, which seems to have been of great use in regulating their astronomy, and to which the Hindu tables of the best authority, although they differ in other particulars, agree in assigning six signs of longitude counted from the beginning of Aswinit their first Nacbatra. From the beginning of Aswinit, (according to the Hindu precession, now 19° 22'
but which is in reality something further distant from the vernal equinox) the ecliptick is divided into twenty-seven equal parts, or Nacjhatras, of 13° 20' each; the twenty-eighth, named Abbijit, being formed out of the last quarter of Uttarashàra, and as much of Sravana as is necessary to complete the moon's periodical month. The years of Jupiter's cycle are expressed in their order with numerals: a is the former position of the co-lures as explained in Vol. II, and b, c, mark the limits of the precession resulting from the Hindu method of computing it. The outer dotted circle is the European ecliptick, in which is noted the beginning of the Hindu, and likewise of the European, year: for want of room the signs are distinguished in both with the usual characters. The two stars, pointed out by the most skilful Pandit I have yet met with, as distinguishing Aswini, are β and γ Arietis, which distinguish also al Shbaratán, the first Arabian menzil, and the latter is said to be the yóga, whose longitude and latitude are stated certainly with great incorrectness, as 8°, and 10° north, but the error, if it be not owing to transcribers, is inexplicable.

The solar months, it may be observed, correspond in name with the like number of Nacjhatras: this is ascribed to the months having been originally lunar, and their names derived from the Nacjhatras, in which the moon, departing from a particular point, was observed to be at the full; for, although the full moon did not always happen in those particular Nacjhatras, yet the deviation never exceeded the preceding or the succeeding Nacjhatra; and whether it fell in Hasta, Chitra, or Swāti, still that month was named Chaitra; and so of the rest. This is the explanation of the month given by Nrisinha, who in the same manner explains Jupiter's cycle of twelve years, the names of which could not always correspond with those of the Nacjhatras, in which he rose heliacally.
Of the Hindu method of intercalating the lunar month M. Bailly conceived a right idea from what P. du Champ had said on the subject; but he has omitted to mention a curious circumstance consequent to it, which is, that sometimes there happen two intercalary months in the same year; or, to be more precise, two lunar months are named twice over: thus, as was actually the case in 1603 Sāca, there may be two lunar Asvinas and two Chaitras; but then some one intervening month, as Agrahāyan, would be omitted, because the change of the moon would not happen at all during the solar month of that name. During the present position of the sun's apsis, this ch'che (cshaya?) or discarded month is limited to Agrahāyan, Paush or Māgh, those being the three shortest solar months; and, by the Hindu computation, the discarded month will again fall on Agrahāyan in 1744 Sāca.

Bhāgalpur 1 Dec. 1791.
An Account of the Method of catching wild Elephants at Tipura.

By John Corse, Esq.

In the month of November, when the weather has become cool, and the swamps and marshes, formed by the rains in the five preceding months, are lessened, and some of them dried up, a number of people are employed to go in quest of elephants.

At this season the males come from the recesses of the forest into the borders and outskirts thereof, whence they make nocturnal excursions into the plains in search of food, and where they often destroy the labors of the husbandman, by devouring and trampling down the rice, sugar canes, &c. that they meet with a herd or drove of elephants, from what I can learn, has never been seen to leave the woods: some of the largest males often stray to a considerable distance, but the young ones always remain in the forest under the protection of the Palmai, or leader of the herd, and of the larger elephants. The Goondabs, or large males, come out singly or in small parties, sometimes in the morning, but commonly in the evening, and they continue to feed all night upon the long grass, that grows among the swamps and marshes, and of which they are extremely fond. As often however as they have an opportunity, they commit depredations on the rice fields, sugar canes and plantain trees, that are near, which oblige the farmers to keep regular watch, under a small cover, erected on the tops of a few long bamboos, about 14 feet from the ground: and this precaution is
necessary to protect them from the tigers, with which this province abounds. From this lofty station the alarm is soon communicated from one watchman to another and to the neighbouring villages, by means of a rattle with which each is provided. With their shouts and cries, and the noise of the rattles, the elephants are generally scared and retire. It sometimes however happens, that the males advance even to the villages, overturn the houses, and kill those who unfortunately come in their way, unless they have had time to light a number of fires: this element seems to be the most dreaded by wild elephants, and a few lighted wips of straw or dried grass seldom fail to stop their progress. To secure one of the males a very different method is employed from that which is taken to secure a herd: the former is taken by Koomkees, or female elephants trained for the purpose, whereas the latter is driven into a strong enclosure called a Keddah.

As the hunters know the places where the elephants come out to feed, they advance towards them in the evening with four Koomkees, which is the number of which each hunting party consists: when the nights are dark, and these are the most favorable for their purpose, the male elephants are discovered by the noise they make in cleaning their food, by whisking and striking it against their fore-legs, and by moon light they can see them distinctly at some distance.

As soon as they have determined on the Goondah they mean to secure, three of the Koomkees are conducted silently and slowly by their Mahotes (drivers) at a moderate distance from each other, near to the place where he is feeding; the Koomkees advance very cautiously, feeding as they go along, and appear like wild elephants that had strayed from the jungle. When the male perceives them approaching, if he takes the alarm and is viciously
inclined, he beats the ground with his trunk and makes a noise, showing evident marks of his displeasure, and that he will not allow them to approach nearer; and if they persist, he will immediately attack and gore them with his tusks: for which reason they take care to retreat in good time. But should he be amorously disposed, which is generally the case, (as these males are supposed to be driven from the herd at a particular period by their seniors, to prevent their having connection with the females of that herd) he allows the females to approach, and sometimes even advances to meet them.

When from these appearances, the Mabotes judge that he will become their prize, they conduct two of the females, one on each side close to him, and make them advance backwards, and press gently with their posteriors against his neck and shoulders: the 3d female then comes up and places herself directly across his tail; in this situation so far from suspecting any design against his liberty, he begins to toy with the females and caress them with his trunk. While thus engaged, the fourth female is brought near, with ropes and proper assistants, who immediately get under the belly of the 3d female, and put a slight cord (the Chilkah) round his hind legs: should he move, it is easily broken, in which case, if he takes no notice of this slight confinement, nor appears suspicious of what was going forward, the hunters then proceed to tie his legs with a strong cord (called Bunda) which is passed alternately, by means of a forked stick and a kind of hook, from one leg to the other forming the figure of 8, and as these ropes are short, for the convenience of being more readily put around his legs, 6 or 8 are generally employed, and they are made fast by another cord (the Dag-beare) which is passed a few turns perpendicularly between his legs, where the folds of the Bandabs intersect each other. A strong cable (the Phané)
with a running noose, 60 cubits long, is next put round each hind leg immediately above the Bundabs, and again above them, 6 or 8 additional Bundabs, according to the size of the elephant; are made fast, in the same manner as the others were: the putting on these ropes generally takes up about 20 minutes, during which the utmost silence is observed, and the Mabote, who keep flat upon the necks of the females, are covered with dark coloured cloths, which serve to keep them warm, and at the same time do not attract the notice of the elephant. While the people are busily employed in tying the legs of the Goondah, he caresses some times one, and some times another, of the seducers, (Kootnee) examining their beauties and toying with different parts, by which his desires are excited and his attention diverted from the hunters, and in these amorous dalliances he is indulged by the females. But if his passions should be so roused, before his legs are properly secured, as to induce him to attempt leaping on one of the females, the Mabote, to ensure his own safety and prevent him gratifying his desires any further, makes the female run away, and at the same time, by raising his voice and making a noise, he deters the Goondah from pursuing. This however happens very seldom; for he is so secured by the pressure of a Koomkee on each side and one behind, that he can hardly turn himself, or see any of the people, who always keep snug under the belly of the third female, that stands across his tail, and which serves both to keep him steady and to prevent his kicking any of the people, who are employed in securing him; but in general he is so much taken up with his decoyers, as to attend very little to any thing else. In case of accidents, however, should the Goondah break loose, the people upon the first alarm can always mount on the backs of the tame elephants, by a rope that hangs ready for the purpose, and thus get out of his reach. When his hind legs are properly secured, they leave him to himself, and retire to a small distance: as soon.
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as the Koomkees leave him, he attempts to follow, but finding his legs tied, he is roused to a proper sense of his situation, and retreats towards the jungle: the Mabotes follow at a moderate distance from him on the tame elephants, accompanied by a number of people that had been previously sent for, and who, as soon as the Goondab passes near a stout tree, make a few turns of the Phands, or long cables that are trailing behind him, around its trunk; his progress being thus stopped, he becomes furious and exerts his utmost force to disengage himself, nor will he then allow any of the Koomkees to come near him, but is outrageous for some time, falling down and goring the earth with his tusks. If by these exertions the Phands are once broken, which sometimes is effected, and he escapes into the thick jungle, the Mabotes dare not advance for fear of the other wild elephants, and are therefore obliged to leave him to his fate; and in this hampered situation, it is said, he is even ungenerously attacked by the other wild elephants. As the cables are very strong and seldom give away, when he has exhausted himself by his exertions, the Koomkees are again brought near and take their former positions, viz. one on each side and the other behind. After getting him nearer the tree, the people carry the ends of the long cables around his legs, then back and about the trunk of the tree, making, if they can, two or three turns, so as to prevent even the possibility of his escape. It would be almost impossible to secure an elephant in any other manner, as he would tear up any stake, that could at the time be driven into the ground, and even the noise of doing it would frighten the elephant: for these reasons as far as I can learn, nothing less than a strong tree is ever trusted to by the hunters. For still farther security, as well as to confine him from moving to either side, his fore-legs are tied exactly in the same manner as the hind-legs were, and the Phands are made fast one on each side, to trees or stakes driven deep into the earth. During the process of
tying both the hind and fore-legs the fourth Koomkee gives assistance where necessary, and the people employed cautiously avoid going within reach of his trunk; and when he attempts to seize them they retreat to the opposite side of the Koomkees, and get on them, if necessary, by means of the rope abovementioned, which hangs ready for them to lay hold of. Although by these means, he is perfectly secured and cannot escape, yet as it would be both unsafe and inconvenient to allow him to remain in the verge of the jungle, a number of additional ropes are afterwards put on, as shall be mentioned, for the purpose of conducting him to a proper station. When the Goondah has become more settled, and eat a little food with which he is supplied as soon as he is taken, the Koomkees are again brought near, and a strong rope (Phara) is then put twice round his body close to his fore-legs like a girth, and tied behind his shoulder; then the long end is carried back close to his rump and there fastened, after a couple of turns more have been made round his body. Another cord is next fastened to the Phara and from thence carried under his tail like a crupper (dooblah) and brought forward and fastened by a turn or two, to each of the Pharos or girths, by which the whole is connected, and each turn of these cords serves to keep the rest in their places. After this a strong rope (the Tooman) is put round his buttocks and made fast on each side to the girth and crupper, so as to confine the motion of his thighs and prevent his taking a full step. These smaller ropes being properly adjusted, a couple of large cables (the Dools) with running nooses are put around his neck, and after being drawn moderately tight, the nooses are secured from running closer, and then tied to the ropes on each side forming the girth and crupper already mentioned; and thus all these ropes are connected and kept in their proper places, without any risk of the nooses of the Dools becoming tight, so as to endanger the life of the elephant in his exertions to free himself. The ends of these cables are
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made fast to two Koomkees, one on each side of the Goondah, by a couple of turns round the belly, close to the shoulder, like a girth, where a turn is made, and it is then carried across the chest and fastened to the girth on the opposite side. Every thing being now ready, and a passage cleared from the jungle, all the ropes are taken from his legs and only the Tooman remains round his buttocks to confine the motion of his hind legs: the Koomkees pull him forward by the Dools, and the people from behind urge him on. Instead of advancing in the direction they wish, he attempts to retreat farther into the jungle, he exerts all his force, falls down, and tears the earth with his tusks, screaming and groaning, and by his violent exertions often hurts and bruises himself very much, and instances happen of their surviving these violent exertions only a few hours or at most a few days. In general however, they soon become reconciled to their fate, will eat immediately after they are taken, and, if necessary, may be conducted from the verge of the jungle as soon as a passage is cleared. When the elephant is brought to his proper station and made fast, he is treated with a mixture of severity and gentleness, and in a few months (if docile) he becomes tractable and appears perfectly reconciled to his fate. It appears somewhat extraordinary, that though the Goondah uses his utmost force to disengage himself when taken, and would kill any person coming within his reach, yet he never or at least seldom attempts to hurt the females that have ensnared him, but on the contrary seems pleased (as often as they are brought near, in order to adjust his harnessing, or move and slacken those ropes which gall him) foothed and comforted by them, as it were, for the loss of his liberty. All the elephants, soon after they are taken, are led out occasionally for exercise by the Koomkees, which attend for that purpose.

Having now related, partly from my own knowledge and partly from
comparing the accounts given by different people employed in this business, the manner in which the male elephants, called Geondabs, are secured, I shall next entirely from my own knowledge describe the methods I have seen employed for securing a herd of wild elephants. Female elephants are never taken singly, but always in the herd, which consists of young and old of both sexes. This noble, docile, and useful animal, seems naturally of a social disposition, as a herd in general consists of from about 40 to 100, and is conducted under the direction of one of the oldest and largest females called the Palmai, and one of the largest males. When a herd is discovered, about 500 people are employed to surround it, who divide themselves into small parties, called Chokys, consisting generally of one Mahote and two Coolies, at the distance of twenty or thirty yards from each other, and form an irregular circle in which the elephants are enclosed: each party lights a fire and clears a footpath to the station that is next him, by which a regular communication is soon formed through the whole circumference from one to the other. By this path reinforcements can immediately be brought to any place where an alarm is given; and it is also necessary for the superintendents, who are always going round, to see that the people are alert upon their posts. The first circle (the Dawkee) being thus formed, the remaining part of the day and night is spent in keeping watch by turns, or in cooking for themselves and companions. Early next morning, one man is detached from each station to form another circle in that direction, where they wish the elephants to advance. When it is finished, the people, stationed nearest to the new circle, put out their fires and file off to the right and left to form the advanced party, thus leaving an opening for the herd to advance through, and by this movement both the old and new circles are joined and form an oblong. The people from behind now begin shouting and making a noise with their rattles, tom-toms, &c. to cause
the elephants to advance; and as soon as they are got within the new circle, the people close up, take their proper stations, and pass the remaining part of the day and night as before. In the morning the same process is repeated, and in this manner the herd advances slowly in that direction, where they find themselves least incommoded by the noise and clamour of the hunters. Feeding, as they go along, upon branches of trees, leaves of bamboos, &c. which come in their way. If they suspected any snare, they could easily break through the circle; but this inoffensive animal, going merely in quest of food, and not seeing any of the people who surround him, and who are concealed by the thick jungle, advances without suspicion, and appears only to avoid being pestered by their noise and din. As fire is the thing elephants seem most afraid of in their wild state, and will seldom venture near it, the hunters always have a number of fires lighted and particularly at night, to prevent the elephants coming too near, as well as to cook their victuals and keep them warm. The sentinels supply these fires with fuel, especially green bamboos, which are generally at hand, and which, by the crackling and loud report they make, together with the noise of the watchmen, deter the elephants from coming near; so that the herd generally remains at a distance near the centre of the circle. Should they at any time advance, the alarm is given, and all the people immediately make a noise and use their rattles, to make them keep at a greater distance. In this manner they are gradually brought to the Keddah, or place where they are to be secured. As the natives are extremely slow in their operations, they seldom bring the herd above one circle in a day, except on an emergency, when they exert themselves and advance two circles. They have no tents or covering, but the thick woods, which during the day keep off the rays of the sun; and at night they sleep by the fires they have lighted, upon mats spread on the ground, wrapped up in a piece of coarse cloth. The season is then so
mild that the people continue very healthy, and an accident seldom happens except to stragglers about the outskirts of the wood, who are sometimes though very rarely carried off by tigers. The Keddab, or place where the herd is to be secured, is differently constructed in different places: here it consists of three enclosures communicating with each other by means of narrow openings or gateways. The outer enclosure or the one next to the place, where the elephants are to enter, is the largest; the middle one is generally, though not always, the next in size, and the third or furthermost is the smallest: these proportions however are not always adhered to in the making of a Keddab, nor indeed does there appear to me any reason for making three enclosures; but as my intentions are merely to relate facts, I shall proceed to observe, that, when in the third or last enclosure, the elephants are then only deemed secure: here they are kept six or eight days, and are regularly though scantily fed from a scaffold on the outside, close to the entrance of an outlet called the Romee, which is about sixty feet long and very narrow, and through which the elephants are to be taken out one by one. In many places this mode is not adopted; for as soon as the herd has been surrounded by a strong palisade, Koomkees are sent in with proper people, who tie them on the spot, in the same manner as was mentioned above of the Goondabs or male elephants that are taken singly. These enclosures are all pretty strong, but the third is the strongest, nor are the elephants deemed secure, as already observed, till they have entered it. This enclosure has, like the other two, a pretty deep ditch on the inside; and upon the bank of earth, that is thrown up from the excavation, a row of strong palisades of middle sized trees is planted, strengthened with cross bars, which are tied to them about the distance of fourteen inches from each other; and these are supported on the outside by strong posts like buttresses, having one end sunk in the earth and the other pressing against the cross bars to which they are fastened. When
the herd is brought near to the first enclosure or *Baigcote*, which has two gateways towards the jungle, from which the elephants are to advance, (these as well as the other gateways are disguised with branches of trees and bamboos flung in the ground, so as to give them the appearance of a natural jungle) the greatest difficulty is to get the herd to enter the first or outer enclosure; for notwithstanding the precautions taken to disguise both the entries as well as the palisade which surrounds this enclosure, the *Pal- mai* or leader now appears to suspect some snare, from the difficulty and hesitation with which in general the passes into it; but, as soon as the enters, the whole herd implicitly follows. Immediately, when they are all passed the gateway, fires are lighted round the greatest part of the enclosure, and particularly at the entries, to prevent the elephants from returning. The hunters from without then make a terrible noise by shouting, beating of *tom-toms* (a kind of drum), firing blunt cartridges, &c. to urge the herd on to the next enclosure. The elephants finding themselves ensnared, scream and make a noise; but, seeing no opening except the entrance to the next enclosure, and which they at first generally avoid, they return to the place through which they lately passed, thinking perhaps to escape, but now find it strongly barricaded, and, as there is no ditch at this place, the hunters, to prevent their coming near and forcing their way, keep a line of fire constantly burning all along where the ditch is interrupted, and supply it with fuel from the top of the palisade, and the people from without make a noise, shouting and hallooing to drive them away. Whenever they turn they find themselves opposed by burning fires or bundles of reeds, and dried grass, which are thrust through the opening of the palisades, except towards the entrance of the second enclosure or *Doobraze-cote*. After traversing the *Baigcote* for sometime, and finding no chance of escaping but through the gateway into the next enclosure, the leader enters and the rest follow: the gate
An Account of the

is instantly shut by people, who are stationed on a small scaffold immediately above it, and strongly barricaded, fires are lighted and the same discordant din made and continued, till the herd has passed through another gateway into the last enclosure or Rajecote, the gate of which is secured in the same manner as the former was. The elephants, now being completely surrounded on all sides, and perceiving no outlet through which they can escape, appear desperate, and in their fury advance frequently to the ditch in order to break down the palisade, inflating their trunks, screaming louder and shriller than any trumpet, sometimes grumbling like the hollow murmur of distant thunder, but, wherever they make an attack, they are opposed by lighted fires, and by the noise and triumphant shouts of the hunters. As they must remain sometime in this enclosure, care is always taken to have part of the ditch filled with water, which is supplied by a small stream, either natural or conducted through an artificial channel from some neighbouring reservoir. The elephants have recourse to this water to quench their thirst and cool themselves after their fatigues, by sucking the water into their trunks, and then squirting it over every part of their bodies. While they remain in this enclosure, they continue sulkily and seem to meditate their escape, but the hunters build huts and form an encampment, as it were, around them close to the palisade; watchmen are placed, and every precaution used to prevent their breaking through. This they would soon effect, if left to themselves, notwithstanding the palisade is made of very strong stakes sunk into the earth on the outside of the ditch, and strengthened by cross bars and buttresses as already mentioned.

When the herd has continued a few days in the Keddaah, the door of the Romee is opened, into which some one of the elephants is enticed to enter, by having food thrown first before, and then gradually further on into
the passage, till the elephant has advanced far enough to admit of the gates being shut. Above this wicker gate or door, two men are stationed on a small scaffold, who throw down the food. When the elephant has passed beyond the door, they give the signal to a man, who from without shuts it by pulling a string, and they secure it by throwing two bars that stood perpendicular on each side, the one across the other, thus X, forming the figure of St. Andrew's Cross, and then two similar bars are thrown across each other behind the door next to the Keddaah, so that the door is in the centre: for farther security, horizontal bars are pushed across the Roomee through the openings of the palisades, both before and behind those crosses, to prevent the possibility of the doors being broken. The Roomee is so narrow, that a large elephant cannot turn in it; but as soon as he hears the noise that is made in shutting the gate, he retreats backwards, and endeavours to force it; being now secured however in the manner already noticed, his efforts are unavailing: finding his retreat thus cut off, he advances and exerts his utmost force to break down the bars, which were previously put across a little farther on in the outlet, by running against them, screaming and roaring, and battering them, like a ram, by repeated blows of his head, retreating and advancing with the utmost fury. In his rage he rises and leaps upon the bars with his forefeet, and strives to break them with his huge weight: In February 1788 a large female elephant dropt down dead in the Roomee from the violent exertion she made. When the elephant is somewhat fatigued by these exertions, strong ropes* with running nooses are placed in the outlet by the hunters; and as soon as he puts a foot within the noose, it is immediately drawn tight and fastened to the palisades. When all his feet have been made pretty fast, two men place themselves behind some bars.

* These are of the same form and size nearly as the Hbands, but much shorter in proportion.
that are run across the Roomee to prevent his kicking them, and with great caution tie his hind-legs together, by passing a cord alternately from the one to the other like the figure 8, and then fastening these turns as above described. After this, the Pharab, Dools, &c. are put on in succession in the same manner as on the Goondah, only that here the people are in greater security. While these ropes are making fast, the other hunters are careful not to go too near, but keep on the outside of the palisade, and divert his attention, as much as they can, from those employed in fastening them, by supplying him with grass and sometimes with plantain leaves and sugar canes, of which he is remarkably fond, by presenting a stick, giving him hopes of catching it, or by gently striking or tickling his proboscis. He frequently however seizes the ropes with his trunk, and endeavours to break them, particularly those with which his feet are tied, and sometimes tries to bite them through with his grinders (as he has no incisors or front teeth) but the hunters then goad him with sharpened bamboos or light spears, so as to make him quit his hold. Those, who are employed in putting the ropes around his body and over his head, stand above him on a small kind of platform, consisting of a few bars run across through the openings of the palisades, and, as an elephant cannot see any thing that is above and rather behind his head, they are very little incommode by him, although he appears to smell them and endeavours to catch them with his trunk. When the whole apparatus is properly secured, the ends of the two cables (Dools) which were fastened round his neck, are brought forward to the end of the Roomee, where two female elephants are waiting; and to them these cables are made fast. When every thing is ready, the door at the end of the outlet is opened, the cross bars are removed, and the passage left clear. The ropes, that tied his legs to the palisades, are loosened, and, if he does not advance readily, they goad him with long poles sharpened at the ends or pointed with iron, and
urge him on with their noise and din, and at the same time the females pull him gently forward: as soon as he has cleared the Roomee, his conductors separate, so that, if he attempts to go to one side, he is prevented by the elephant, that pulls in the opposite direction, and vice versa. The Bundahs which tie his hind-legs, though but loosely, yet prevent his going fast; and thus situated, he is conducted like an enraged bull, that has a cord fastened to his horns on each side, so that he cannot turn either to the right or left, to avenge himself. In like manner is this noble animal led to the next tree, as the Goondahs before mentioned were. Sometimes he becomes obstinate and will not advance, in which case, while one of his conductors draws him forward, the other comes behind and pushes him on: should he lie down, she puts her snout under and raises him up, supporting him on her knee, and with her head pushes him forward with all her strength. The hunters likewise assist by goading him, and urging him forward by their noise and din: sometimes they are even obliged to put lighted torches near, in order to make him advance. In conducting small elephants from the Roomee, only one cable and one Koomkee are made use of. As soon as each elephant is secured, he is left in charge to the Mahote or keeper, who is appointed to attend and instruct him; and under him there are from two to five Coolies according to the size of the elephant, in order to assist and to supply food and water, till he becomes so tractable as to bring the former himself. These people erect a small hut immediately before him, where the Mahote, or one of the Coolies, constantly attends, supplies him with food, and soothes and caresses him by a variety of little arts. Sometimes the Mahote, threatens and even goads him with a long flick pointed with iron, but more generally coaxes and flatters him, scratching his head and trunk with a long bamboo split at one end into many pieces, and driving away the flies from any sores occasioned by the hurts and bruises he got by his efforts to escape from the
The skin of this animal, considering his great size, and is extremely sensitive, is easily cut or pierced, more so than the skin of most large quadrupeds. The Mahote likewise keeps him cool, by squirting water all over him, and standing without the reach of his trunk; in a few days he advances cautiously to his side, and strokes and pats him with his hand, speaking to him all the while in a soothing tone of voice, and in a little time he begins to know his keeper and obey his commands. By degrees the Mahote becomes familiar to him, and at length gets upon his back from one of the tame elephants, and, as the animal becomes more tractable, he advances gradually forward towards his head, till at last he is permitted to seat himself on his neck, from which place he afterwards regulates and directs all his motions. While they are training in this manner, the tame elephants lead out the others in turn for the sake of exercise, and likewise to ease their legs from the cords with which they are tied, and which are apt to gall them most terribly, unless they are regularly slackened and shifted. In five or six weeks the elephant becomes obedient to his keeper, his fetters are taken off by degrees, and generally in about five or six months he suffers himself to be conducted by the Mahote from one place to another: care however is always taken not to let him approach his former haunts, lest a recollection of the freedom he there enjoyed, should induce him again to recover his liberty. This obedience to his conductor seems to proceed partly from a sense of generosity, as it is in some measure voluntary; for, whenever an elephant takes fright or is determined to run away, all the exertions of the Mahote cannot prevent him, even by beating or digging the pointed iron hook into his head, with which he directs him: on such an occasion the animal totally disregards these feeble efforts, otherwise he could shake or pull him off with his trunk and dash him in pieces. Accidents of this kind happen almost every year, especially to those Mahotes, who attend the large Goondabs, but
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such accidents are in general owing entirely to their own carelessness and neglect. It is necessary to treat the males with much greater severity than the females, to keep them in awe; but it is too common a practice among the Mabotes, either to be negligent in using proper measures to render their elephants docile, or to trust too much to their good nature, before they are thoroughly acquainted with their dispositions. The iron hook, with which they direct them, is pretty heavy, about sixteen inches long, with a straight spike advancing a little beyond the curve of the hook, so that altogether it is exactly like that, which ferrymen or boatmen use fastened to a long pole.

In this account of the process for catching and taming elephants, I have used the masculine gender to avoid circumlocution, as both males and females are treated in the same manner: the former are seldom so docile, but, like the males of other animals, are fiercer, stronger, and more untractable, than the females.

Before I conclude, it may be proper to observe, that young elephants suck constantly with their mouths, and never with their trunks, as Buffon has asserted; a conclusion he made merely from conjecture, and the great and various uses, to which they are well adapted and applied by every elephant.

I have seen young ones from one day to three years old sucking their dams, but never saw them use their trunks except to press the breast, which by natural instinct they seemed to know would make the milk flow more readily. The mode of connection between the male and female is now ascertained beyond the possibility of a doubt; as Mr. Buller, Lieut. Hawkins, and many others, saw a male copulate with a female, after they
were secured in the Kedda, in a manner exactly similar to the conjunction of the horse with a mare.

This fact entirely overthrows what has been so often related concerning the supposed delicacy of this useful animal, and a variety of other hypotheses, which are equally void of foundation. As far as I know, the exact time, an elephant goes with young, has not yet been ascertained, but which cannot be less than two years, as one of the elephants brought forth a young one twenty-one months and three days after she was taken. She was observed to be with young in April or May 1788, and she was only taken in January preceding; so that it is very likely she must have had connection with the male some months before she was secured, otherwise they could not have discovered that she was with young, as a fetus of less than six months cannot well be supposed to make any alteration in the size or shape of so large an animal. The young one, a male, was produced Octob.r 16th 1789 and appeared in every respect to have arrived at its full time. Mr. Harris, to whom it belongs, examined its mouth a few days after it was brought forth, and found that one of its grinders on each side had partly cut the gum. It is now alive and well, and begins to chew a little grass.

I have further to remark, that one of the tusks of the young elephant has made its appearance, so that we can now ascertain it to be of that species called Mucknab, the tusks of which are always small, and point nearly straight downwards. He was thirty-five inches high at his birth, and is now thirty-nine, so that he has grown four inches in nearly as many months. Elephants are always measured at the shoulder; for the arch or curve of the back, of young ones particularly, is considerably higher than any other part, and it is a sure sign of old age, whenever this curve is found
flattened or considerably depressed, after an elephant has once attained his full growth.

Though these remarks, as well as several others in the above relation, do not come within the plan I proposed, which was merely to describe the methods of taking wild elephants in the province of Tipura, yet I hope they will not be deemed impertinent or superfluous, especially as several of them tend to establish some important facts in the natural history of this animal, that are not known or not attended to at least, in any accounts that I have had an opportunity of seeing.

Explanation of several words used by the natives, who catch elephants.

Bundah—a middle sized cord, six or eight cubits long, which is put round either the hind or fore legs of elephants, in order to secure them. From ten to twenty are employed.

Chilkab—is a very slight soft cord, which the hunters at first put around the hind-legs of a Goondab, before they begin to tie him: this is not used for Kedda elephants.

Daugheeree—is generally a continuation of every second Bundah that is put on, a few turns of which are passed round, where the folds of the Bundahs intersect each other, in order to fasten and keep them firm. When the Bundah is not long enough, another cord is made use of.
Dooblah—is that rope, which is made fast on one side to the aftermost Pharah, then carried under the tail and fastened to both the Pharahs on the opposite side, so as to answer the purpose of a crupper, and to keep the Pharahs in their places.

Dool—is a large cable about sixty cubits long, with a running noose. Two of them are put round the neck of the elephant and fastened to the foremost Pharah or girt, one on each side, in such a manner, as to prevent the nooses from being drawn too tight or coming too far forward, and this is effectually done by the Dooblah; for whenever the elephant draws back, the Dools pull the crupper forward, which must gall him very much and prevent him from using all the force he might otherwise exert, in order to free himself.

Phand—is a cable nearly the same size as the Dool, the noose of which is put round each leg of the Goondahs, and then it is tied to trees or stakes. The Phands, used for the Kedda elephants, are only about thirty cubits long.

Pharah—a rope that is put round the body of an elephant like a girt, and to which the Dooblah and Dools are connected.

Tooman—is the rope that is passed round the buttocks of an elephant and prevents his stepping out freely: it is fastened to the girth and crupper, that it may not slip down.

*Tipura*, March 29, 1790.

*The ancient name of the province was Tripura, or with three towns, which has been corrupted into Tipra or Tipura.*
Mr. Locke esteemed his Method of a Common-place book "so mean a thing, as not to deserve publishing in an age full of useful "inventions," but was induced to make it publick at the request of a friend. This perhaps should have deterred me from offering a paper of the same denomination to a Society instituted for inquiring into the more essential parts of literature; yet, since Mr. Locke bears testimony to the utility of his method after five and twenty years' experience, and since whatever may tend to assist the acquisition of knowledge, cannot, I conceive, be deemed deserving of attention, I venture to submit the plan of a Common-place book, which has occurred to me, founded on Mr. Locke's, but calculated, I think, to obviate an inconvenience, to which his is subject.

On considering the Method described and recommended by Mr. Locke, it appeared to me, that the number of words, having the same initial letters and following vowels, might frequently make it tedious to find a particular head, if noted in the Index by a numerical reference to the page only; and that the same cause might render it difficult to ascertain, whether any particular head had been entered. For instance, balm, bark, bard, bat,
The plan of a

baron, having, with numerous other words, the same initial letter and succeeding vowel, several references to the pages pointed out by Mr. Locke's numerical Index might be necessary, before any one of them, in particular, could be found; or before it could be ascertained, whether any one of them had been previously entered in the Book. An Index, of which the following is a specimen, would, it is presumed, remedy these apparent disadvantages: how far it is free from others, will be known from experience.

A short explanation of the method adopted for this book will be sufficient. One and twenty pages, divided each into five columns, and subdivided in the several columns for the number of the folios, the letters of the alphabet written at the head of each page, and the five vowels inserted in the columns under each letter, will form a sufficient Index, provided the letters J, Q, V, X, and Z, instead of having distinct pages appropriated to them, be written in the same pages with I, P, U, W, and Y, which they may be without inconvenience.

The Index, thus prepared, is ready to receive the heads of whatever subjects may be entered in the book, under their corresponding initial letters and following vowels, or under their initial letters and similar vowels, when the head is a monosyllable and begins with a vowel: it is hardly necessary to repeat Mr. Locke's remark, that "every head ought to be some important and essential word or term." If a small margin be left in each folio of the book, and the indicative word or head be written on it, it will be conspicuous, although several heads should be included in the same folio; but, until it become necessary, from there being no remaining folios wholly blank, it is advisable to appropriate a separate folio to each head, as, by this means, the several subjects entered are kept more distinct, and any additions
may be made to the same head without the trouble of reference to other folios; for which purposes it is also advantageous to place the folio numbers on the left pages only, leaving the right hand pages for a continuation of the subjects entered on the left or for remarks thereon, until it become necessary to appropriate them to new heads in order to fill the book.

To these remarks, which may appear more than adequate to the occasion, it will be sufficient to add, that, if the heads in the Index swell, under any letter, beyond the dimensions of the single page assigned to them (which however in a book of moderate size is not probable) they may be continued on a second page, to be prepared for the same letter at the end of the original Index, for which purpose ten or twelve blank leaves may be left between the Index and the commencement of the book; and lastly, that, if the entries in the book, under any head, fill more than the two pages first appropriated to it, the same head may be continued in any subsequent blank folio, by obvious notes of reference at the foot of the former and top of the latter, without any new entry in the Index, which would then be unnecessarily filled.

The Asiatick Society was instituted for inquiring into the antiquities, arts, sciences, and literature of Asia; and the humble plan of a Common-place book cannot claim admission among any one of these objects: it may however be considered as connected with all, since it may assist inquiries concerning the whole of them. If it be asked, whether such a plan be within the local limits of this society, it may be answered, that it is in its nature universal; but if any particular plan be designed in Asia, such plan may, with propriety, be tendered to the Asiatick Society for the benefit either of publication in their Transactions, if deemed worthy of it, or of suppression, for
the Author's sake, if deemed useless. A similar index with thirty pages and
ten columns, according to the number of the Nágarí consonants and vowels, which are mostly in use, would suit a Common-place book intended to
comprise the whole extent of Asiatick literature.

Each of the figures A, B, C, must be considered as representing a large
folio page; and it seemed unnecessary to exhibit the specimen on a more
extensive scale: the numbers of the folios are supposed to be those of the
Common-place book. The names Arabia, Bahmen, Cánpilla, and the rest,
are given by way of example, but were not set down with any particular
selection.
### COMMON-PLACE BOOK.

#### A.

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<td>Bahmen.</td>
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<td>Beit.</td>
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<td>campilla.</td>
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<td>Chorag.aj.</td>
<td>255</td>
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</table>
Aso'ca: This is the true name of a charming tree, inaccurately named Aṣjogam in the Hort. Malab. vol. 5. tab. 59. It is a plant of the eighth class and first order, bearing flowers of exquisite beauty; and its fruit, which Van Rheede had not seen, is a legume, compressed, incurved, long, pointed, with six, seven, or eight seeds: it will be described very fully in a paper intended for the Society. The Brāhmaṇs, who adore beautiful objects, have consecrated the lovely Aṣoca; they plant it near the temples of Śiva, and frequently mention a grove of it, in which Ra'van confined the unfortunate Śītā.

The eighth day from the new moon of Chaitra inclusive is called Aṣoceśṭamā.

Crishna: Properly black or dark blue, an epithet of the Hindu God, whose youthful exploits resemble those of Apollo Nomius: he was particularly worshipped by the Sūrasena, or people of Māthura; and Arrian says, that the Suraceni adored Hercules; but the deity, whom he means, was Hercules Mufagetus, or Gōpināṭha, who was the patron of science, according to Mr. Bryant, or the 'God of eloquence with the Muses in his train.' See Anal. Anc. Mythol. vol. 2. p. 74. The Gōpyab were the patronesses of musick and poetry.

Bhu champac: So the Hindus call a beautiful plant described by Rheede, and admitted by Linnaeus under the names of Kompferia rotunda; the Indian appellation is very improper; as the flower has no resemblance to the Champac, except in the richness of its odour. Bhu means ground, from which the blossoms rise with a short scape, and scarce live a whole day.
COMMON-PLACE BOOK.

CÉSAR: A lion in Sanscrit, so named from his name: Césa and Césara signify hair. Etymologists will decide, whether Césares and Cæsar had an affinity with those Indian words.

AHILYA: The celebrated consort of an old Indian Sage, named Go'tama: hence it is the name of a rich Mabráta lady, who employs her wealth in works of devotion at Banáres and Gaya, as well as in her own country.

BORAX: A corruption of the Arabick word bûrak, or brilliant. It is found in its native state both in Tibet according to GIORGI, and in Nepal according to Father GIUSEPPE.

CUSHA: Pronounced more correctly Cusa with a palatal s; a grass held sacred by the Brâhmens from time immemorial: it is the Poa Cyno-sauroides of Dr. KOENIC.

BELI: The Belus, probably, of the Greeks; for though bál signify lord, in most eastern dialects, yet in Chaldaick, according to Selden, it was written Bel, exactly as the name of the Hindu monarch is vulgarly pronounced.

CH'ORAPUSHPI: Or Trief-flowered; the corymbed Scirpus with awled spikes, so troublesome in our Indian walks.

CAMPILLA: Commonly called Camalā-guri, a plant used by dyers, of a new genus; described by DR. ROXBURGH.

BAHME: An old Persian month and the Genius presiding over it; the name also of a celebrated king and hero.
BILVA: The Crataeva Marmelos, but certainly misplaced in Linnæus: its fruit has lately been found very beneficial in diarrhæas.

AHREMEM: So Hafiz writes the vowels in this name of the evil genius; but, in some Arabian books, it is written Ahermen.

ARABIA: In this celebrated peninsula the richest and most beautiful of languages was brought to perfection: the Arabick dictionary by Golius is the most elegant, the most convenient, and, in one word, the best, that was ever compiled in any language.

AGURU: The true name of the fragrant aloe-wood: the tree grows in Silhet, but has not blossomed in gardens near Calcutta.
XII.

THE LUNAR YEAR

OF THE

HINDUS.

By the PRESIDENT.

HAVING lately met by accident with a wonderfully curious tract of the learned and celebrated RAGHUNANDANA, containing a full account of all the rites and ceremonies in the lunar year, I twice perused it with eagerness, and present the society with a correct outline of it, in the form of a Calendar illustrated with short notes: the many passages quoted in it from the Vedas, the Puranas, the Sêfras of law and astronomy, the Calpa, or sacred ritual, and other works of immemorial antiquity and reputed holiness, would be thought highly interesting by such as take pleasure in researches concerning the Hindus; but a translation of them all would fill a considerable volume, and such only are exhibited as appeared most distinguished for elegance or novelty. The lunar year of three hundred and sixty days is apparently more ancient in India than the solar, and began, as we may infer from a verse in the Matsya, with the month Aśvin, so called because the moon was at the full, when that name was imposed, in the first lunar station of the Hindu ecliplick, the origin of which, being diametrically opposite to the bright star Chitra, may be ascertained in our sphere with exactness; but, 1 i
although most of the Indian festivals and festivals be regulated by the days of the moon, yet the most solemn and remarkable of them have a manifest reference to the supposed motions of the sun; the Durgótsava and Hólica relating as clearly to the autumnal and vernal equinoxes, as the sleep and rise of Visnu relate to the festivals: the sancrántis, or days on which the sun enters a new sign, especially those of Tulá and Mésba, are great festivals of the solar year, which anciently began with Pausa near the winter solstice, whence the month Márugasirsha has the name of A’graháyana, or the year is next before. The twelve months, now denominated from as many stations of the moon, seem to have been formerly peculiar to the lunar year; for the old solar months, beginning with Chaitra, have the following very different names in a curious text of the Veda on the order of the six Indianicafons, Madbu, Médhava, Sucra, Suchi, Nabhas, Nabhasya, Iṣa, Urja, Sahas, Sahasasya, Tapas, Tāpasya. It is necessary to premise, that the muchhya chándra, or primary lunar month ends with the conjunction, and the gauna chándra, or secondary, with the opposition: both modes of reckoning are authorized by the several Puránas; but, although the astronomers of Cafi have adopted the gauna month, and place in BBádra the birth day of their pastoral God, the muchhya is here preferred, because it is generally used in this province, and especially at the ancient feminary of Bráhmans at Máyápur, now called Na-vadvípa, because a new island has been formed by the Gangas on the site of the old Academy. The Hindus define a tit’hi, or lunar day, to be the time, in which the moon passes through twelve degrees of her path; and to each pacsba, or half month, they allot fifteen tit’bis, though they divide the moon’s orb into sixteen phases, named calás, one of which they suppose constant, and compare to the string of a necklace or chaplet, round which are placed moveable gems and flowers: the Mahácalá is the day of the conjunction, called Amá, or Amávásyá, and defined by Gobhila the day of the nearest
of the Hindus.

approach to the sun; on which obsequies are performed to the manes of the Pitris, or certain progenitors of the human race, to whom the darker fortnight is peculiarly sacred. Many subtle points are discussed by my author concerning the junction of two or even three lunar days in forming one fast or festival; but such a detail can be useful only to the Brāhmens, who could not guide their flocks, as the Raja of Cripśānanagar assures me, without the assistance of Raghunandan. So fond are the Hindus of mythological personifications, that they represent each of the thirty tit'his as a beautiful nymph; and the Gāyatritantra, of which a Sanāyāsi made me a present, though he considered it as the holiest book after the Vēda, contains flowery descriptions of each nymph, much resembling the delineations of the thirty Rāginīs in the treatises on Indian musick.

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

Nârâna sîrasâ víra tûjita vîdhâvannâra,

trîptâ bhawed bhrâ̄ham Durgâ vîdbhâni lacaḥmanâvcha.

But in the Brâhma every-nerâmbhâ, or sacrifice of a man, is expressly forbidden; and in the fifth book of the Bhâgawat are the following emphatical words: "Té twîha vai-purusâbâh purusâmâdhâna yaîantâ, yâscha

"srijâ nripasânâ bhdânti, tá̄́ʃa tā jấtaka tê jàpavâ iha nihârâ, yama

"jâdanâ yâyantâ, rashâgana saûnicâ īva sadbhittâ 'advâyatac piva-vâ-

"ti," that is, "Whatever men in this world sacrifice human victims, and,

whatever women eat the flesh of male cattle, those men and those wom-

en shall the animals here slain torment in the mansion of Yama, and,

like slaughtering giants, having cleaved their limbs with axes, shall

quaff their blood." It may seem strange, that a human sacrifice by a man
should be no greater crime than eating the flesh of a male beast by a woman;
but it is held a mortal offence to kill any creature, except for sacrifice, and
none but males must ever be sacrificed, nor must women, except after the
performance of a frâddhâ by their husbands, taste the flesh even of victims.

Many strange ceremonies at the Durgâtâvâ still subsist among the Hindus,
both male and female; an account of which might elucidate some very ob-
scure parts of the Mosâlîâ law; but this is not a place for such disquisitions.
The ceremony of swinging with iron hooks through the muscles, on the
day of the Cherec, was introduced, as I am credibly informed, in modern
times, by a superstitious prince, named Vâna, who was a Saiva of the most
austere sect: but the custom is bitterly cenfured by learned Hindus, and the
day is, therefore, omitted in the following abridgement of the Tit'bi tarwa.
Navarātricam. a.

III. Acīhāyā. b.

IV.

V. Sāyam-adhivāsa. c.

VI. Shasyādīcaḷpa bōdhanam. d.

VII. Pātricā-pravēsa. e.

VIII. Mahāśhtāmi sandhipōjā.

IX. Mahānavami. f. Manwantarā. g.

X. Vijayā. h.

XI.

XII.

XIII;

XIV.

XV. 'Aświni. Cōjāgara. i.

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

Bhavisbyottara.

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

c. The evening preparation for her dress.
d. On this day she is commonly awakened, and her festival begins.

Devi-purāna.

e. She is invited to a bower of leaves from nine plants, of which the Bilva is the chief.

Cālicāpurāṇa.

f. The last of the three great days. "The sacrificed beasts must be killed at one blow with a broad sword or a sharp axe."

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

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

Baudhāyana.

i. On this full moon the fiend Nicumbha led his army against Durgā; and Lacshmi descended, promising wealth to those who were awake: hence the night is passed in playing at ancient chess. Cuveṣa also and Indra are worshipped.

Lainga and Brāhma.
Aswina:

or Cárta.

I.
II.
III.
IV.
V.
VI.
VII.

VIII. Dagdha. a.

IX.
X.
XI.
XII.

XIII.

XIV. Bhútachaturdasí Yamaterpanam. b.


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

Vidyá-sríman.

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

Lainga.

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

Rudra-dhara.

"On this night, when the Gods, having been delivered by Cē'sava, were slumbering on the rocks, that bounded the sea of milk, Lācshmi, no longer fearing the Daityas, slept apart on a lotus."

Brāhma.

d. Flowers are also offered on this day to Svā'ma', or the black, an epithet of Bhava'ni, who appears in the Calijug as a damsel twelve years old.

Vārānastī Panjicā.

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

Brāhma.

These rites bear a striking resemblance to those of Ceres and Proserpine.
Cartica.

I. Dyúta pratipat. a. Belipúja. b.
II. Bhátri dwitíyá. c.
III.
IV.
V.
VI.
VII. Acáhayá.
VIII. Góth'háshtamí. d.
IX. Durgá navamì. e. Yugádyá f.
X.
XI. Utt’hánacicadasí. g. Baca panchacám.
XII. Manwantará.
XIII.
XIV. Srohérutbhánam.
XV. Cárticí. Manwantará. Dánamávaśyacam. h.

a. Maha'dé'va was beaten on this day at a game of chance by Pa'ra-vatí: hence games of chance are allowed in the morning; and the winner expects a fortunate year.

Bráhma.

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

Vámena.

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

Lainga. Mahâbhârata.

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

Bhima parâcrama.

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

Câlicâ purâna.

f. The first day of the Trédâ Yuga.

Vaishnava. Brâhma.

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

Vârâha. Mâyâ.

The Lord of all worlds neither slumbers nor sleeps.

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

Vidyâ sirômani.

h. Gifts to Brâhmins are indispensably necessary on this day.

Râmâyana.
Ca"rtica: of Márgastrtha.

I.
II.
III.
IV.
V.
VI.
VII.
VIII.
IX.
X.
XI.
XII.
XIII.
XIV. Acfhaya.
XV. Gófahasí. a,

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

Vyúsa.

K k 2
THE LUNAR YEAR

Mārgasīrsha.

I.
II.
III.
IV.
V.
VI. Guha śaśhti. a.
VII. Mitra septami. b. Navānnam.
VIII. Navānnam.
IX.
X.
XI.
XII. Aś'handā devādāsi. Navānnam.
XIII.
XIV. Fāshāna chaturdafi. c.
XV. Mārgasīrshī. Navānnam.

a. Sacred to Scanda, or Ca'rtice'ya, God of Arms.

b. In honour of the Sun. Navānnam signifies new grain, oblations of which are made on any of the days, to which the word is annexed.

c. Gaurī to be worshipped at night, and cakes of rice to be eaten in the form of large pebbles.
MA'RGASIRSHA:

or Pausha.

I.
II.
III.
IV.
V.
VI.
VII.

VIII. Púpálhacá. a.

IX. Dágáká.

X.
XI.
XII.
XIII.
XIV.
XV.

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

Gâlbila.
Pausha.

I. The morning of the Gods, or beginning of the old Hindu year.
II. Dagdā : 
III. 
IV. 
V. 
VI. 
VII. 
VIII. 
IX. 
X. 
XI. Manwantará. 
XII. 
XIII. 
XIV. 
XV. Paushá.
Pausha:
or Māgha.

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

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

Gōbbila.

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

Herivansa.

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

Yama.
Ifft

THE LUNAR YEAR

MA'GHA.

I.
II.
III.
IV. Varadá chaturt'hi. Gaurípújá. a.
V. Srí panchamì. b.
VI.
VII. Bháscara septamí. c. Mácari. Manwantará.
VIII. Bhíshmáshtamì. d.
IX. Mahánandá.
X.
XI. Bhaimí. e.
XII. Shat'tiladánam. f.
XIII.
XIV.
XV. Mághí. Yugádyà. g. Dánamávasyacam.

c. The worship of Gaurí', furnamed Varadá, or granting booms.

Bhawishyōttara.

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

Samvatsara pradipa.

A Meditation on Saraswati.

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

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

Váráha purána

It is called also Mácari from the constellation of Macara, into which the
Sun enters on the first of the solar Mágba.

Critya calpa taru,

This day has also the names of Rat'hyá and Rat'ba septamè, because it was
the beginning of a Manwantará, when a new Sun ascended his car.

Náraśímba. Mátśya.

d. A libation of holy water is offered by all the four classes to the Manes
of the valiant and pious Bhíshma, Son of Ganga.

Bhawishyóttara.

e. Ceremonics with tila, or sesamum, in honour of Bhíma.

Vishnu dberma.

f. Tila offered in six different modes.

Mátśya.

g. The first day of the Caliyuga.

Bráhma.
Ma'gha:
or P'halguna.

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

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

Góbbila.

*b.* A rigorous fast, with extraordinary ceremonies in honour of the *Sivalinga* or Phallus.

Īsána sambita.
I. P'ha'lguna.
II.  
III.  
IV. Dagdbá.
V.  
VI.  
VII.  
VIII.  
IX.  
X.  
XI.  
XII. Góvinda dwádasí. a.
XIII.  
XIV.  

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

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

Kings and people sport on this day in honour of Góvinda, who is carried in a dólà, or palanquin.
The Lunar Year

Phālguna:

or Chaitra.

I.

II.

III.

IV.

V.

VI.

VII.

VIII. Sītalā pūjā.

IX.

X.

XI.

XII.

XIII.Mañavārunī?

XIV.


a. Bathing in silence.
II. The lunisolar year of Vicrama'ditya begins.

III. Manwantarā.

IV.

V.

VI. Scanda-shaśtī. a.

VII.

VIII. Asócāśhtamī. b.

IX. Sríráma-nāvamī. c.

X.

XI.

XII.

XIII. Madana-trayodasi. d.

XIV. Madana-chaturdasi. e.

XV. Chaitrā. Manwantarā.

a. Sacred to Gā'rtice'ya, the God of War. Dévi-purāna.

b. Men and women of all classes ought to bathe in some holy stream, and, if possible, in the Brāhmaṇḍa: they should also drink water with buds of the Asoca floating on it. See p. 254. Scānda.

c. The birthday of Rā'ma Chandra. Ceremonies are to be performed with the mystical flute Sālagrāma and leaves of Tulasī. Agoshya.

d. A festival in honour of Ca'ma de'va, God of Love. Bhawijhya.

e. The same continued with musick and bathing. Saurágama. Dévolā.
The Hymn to Ca'\textsuperscript{\textit{ma}}.

1. Hail, God of the flowery bow; hail, warriour with a fish on thy ban-
er; hail, powerful divinity, who causest the firmness of the sage to forsake
him, and subduest the guardian deities of eight regions!

2. O Candarpa, thou Son of Ma'dhava! O Ma'ra, thou foe of
Sambhara! Glory be given to thee, who lovest the goddess Reti; to
thee, by whom all worlds are subdued; to thee, who springest from the
heart!

3. Glory be to Madana, to Ca'ma; to Him, who is formed as the
God of Gods; to Him, by whom Brahma', Vishnu, Siva, Indra, are
filled with emotions of rapture!

4. May all my mental cares be removed, all my corporal sufferings ter-
minate! May the object of my soul be attained, and my felicity continue
for ever!

\textit{Bhavishya-pur\textit{\textalpha}.}
I.
II. Dagdhá.
III.
IV.
V.
VI.
VII.
VIII.
IX.
X.
XI.
XII.
XIII. Váruni. a.
XIV. Angáraca dinam. b.
XV.

a. So called from Váruna, or the lunar constellation Satabbįśha : when it falls on Saturday, it is named Maháváruni. Bathing by day and at night in the Gángā.

Scánda.

b. Sacred, I believe, to the planet Mangala. "A branch of Snubī (Euphorbia) in a whitened vessel, placed with a red flag on the housetop, on the fourteenth of the dark half of Chaitra, drives away sin and disease.

Rája mártanda.

IV.

V.

VI. Dagdha.

VII. Jābnu septamí.

VIII.

IX.

X.

XI.

XII. Pipitaca dwadasí. c.

XIII.

XIV. Nṛṣīṅba chaturdasi.

XV. Vaiśac'hi. Dānamāvafyacam.

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

b. The first day of the Satya yuga.

"Water and oil of tila, offered on the Yugādyās to the Pitrīs, or progenitors of mankind, are equal to obsequies continued for a thousand years."

Vishnu-purāṇa.

This was also the day, on which the river Gangā flowed from the foot of Viṣṇu down upon Himālaya, where he was received on the head of Śīva, and led afterwards to the ocean by king Bhāgīraṭha: hence adoration is now paid to Gangā, Himālaya, Sancara, and his mountain Cailāśa; nor must Bhāgīraṭha be neglected.

Brāhma.

c. Libations to the Manes.

Note on p. 275.

Dolayātra. b.

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

The people usually claim four other days for their sports, and sprinkle one another with a red powder in imitation of vernal flowers: it is commonly made with the mucilaginous root of a fragrant plant, coloured with Bak-kam, or Sappan-wood, a little alum being added to extract and fix the redness.
The Lunar Year

Vaisa'c'ha:
or Jyaish'ha.

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

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

Parásara. Rájamártanda.
Critya chintámeni.
I.
II.
III. Rembhá tritiyá. a.
IV.
V.
VI. Aranya fhashti. b.
VII. Acshayá.
VIII.
IX.
X. Dasabará. c.
XI. Nirjalaicádaást. d.
XII.
XIII.
XIV. Champaca chaturdasi. e.
XV. Jyaish't'hi. Manwantará.

a. On this day of the moon the Hindu women imitate Rembha', the seaborn goddesses of beauty, who bathed on the same day with particular ceremonies.
b. Women walk in the forests with a fan in one hand, and eat certain vegetables in hope of beautiful children.

Rája mártanda.

See the account given by Pliny of the *Druidical* *millet*, or *vifcum*, which was to be gathered, when the moon was *six days* old, as a preservative from sterility.

c. The word means *ten-removing*, or *removing ten fins*, an epithet of *Gangá*, who effaces *ten fins*, how heinous ever, committed in *ten previous births* by such as bathe in her waters.

*Brahma-vatíyerta.*

**A Couplet by Sanc'ha.**

"On the tenth of *Jyaiśṭ'ha*, in the bright half of the month, on the day of *Mangala*, son of the Earth, when the moon was in *Hašta*, this daughter of *Jahnu* burst from the rocks, and flowed over the land inhabited by mortals: on this lunar day, therefore, she washes off ten fins, (thus have the venerable sages declared) and gives a hundred times more felicity, than could be attained by a myriad of *Aśvamedḥas*, or *sacrifices of a horse.*"

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

e. A festival, I suppose, with the flowers of the *Champaca.*
OF THE HINDUS.

Jyaishth'ha:

or Asbärha.

I.
II.
III.
IV. Dagábá.
V.
VI.
VII.
VIII.
IX.
X. Ambuváchí pradam. a.
XI.
XII.
XIII. Ambuváchí tyágah.
XIV.
XV. Góshasfrí.

a. The Earth in her course till the thirteenth.
The Lunar Year

'Asha'd'ha.

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

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

'Scánda.

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

"Asha'd'ha:

or Srāvana.

I.

II.

III.

IV.

V. Manasāpanchamī. a.

VI. Dagdbā.

VII.

VIII. Manwantaratā.

IX.

X.

XI.

XII.

XIII.

XIV.

XV.

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

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

Bharatīṭha. Reśācarā.

Both in the Pādma and Gāruda we find the serpent CaśīYA, whom Črīsha flew in his childhood, among the deities worshipped on this day; as the Pythian snake, according to Člemens, was adored with Āpollo at Delphi.
OF THE HINDUS.

SRA'VANA:

or Bhádra.

I.

II.

III.

IV.

V.

VI.

VII. Dagdbá.

VIII. Críshnajanmáśhtami. a. Jayanti. b.

IX.

X.

XI.

XII.

XIII. Yugádyá.c

XIV.

XV. Amávásyá.

a. The birthday of Críshna, son of Maha'Ma'ya in the form of De'vací.

Vábijśh'ha. Bhaeujhvyóttara.

b. A strict fast from midnight. In the book, entitled Dwaita nirnayá, it is said that the Jayanti yóga happens, whenever the moon is in Róbiní on the eighth of any dark fortnight; but Varáha Mihira confines it to the time, when the Sun is in Sínbi. This fast, during which Chandra and Ro'hiñi are worshipped, is also called Róbiní vratá.

Bráhmánda.

c. The first day of the Dwáipára Yuga.

Bráhma.
I. Manwantará.


III. Bha'dra.

IV. Rishi panchami.

V. Aśhāyā lalītā. b.

VI. Durvāśhtamā. c.

VII. Parivertanam. d.

VIII. 'Sacrótt'hánam. e.

IX.

X.

XI. Ananta vratam. f.

XII. Bhádri.

a. **Krishna**, falsely accused in his childhood of having stolen a gem from Prase'na, who had been killed by a lion, hid himself in the moon; to see which on the two fourth days of Bhádra is inauspicious.

   **Bráhma. Bhéjadéva.**
b. A ceremony, called Cucuti vratam, performed by women in honour of Siva and Durga.

Bhawishya.

c. “The family of him, who performs holy rites on this lunar day, shall flourish and increase like the grass dūrvā.” It is the rayed Agrostis.

Bhawishyottara.

d. Vishnu sleeping turns on his side.

Mālsya. Bhawishya.

e. Princes erect poles adorned with flowers, by way of standards, in honour of Indra: the ceremonies are minutely described in the Cálicá purána.

f. Sacred to Vishnu with the title of Ananta, or Infinite.

Bhawishyottara.
The Lunar Year

Ehád'ra:

or A'swiña.

I. Aparapacsha. *Brahma* sávitré.

II.

III.

IV. Nashta-chandra.

V.

VI.

VII. Agafyódayah. *a*.

VIII.

IX. Bódhanam. *b*.

X.

XI.

XII.

XIII. *Mäghabrayódasi* śrāddham.

XIV.

XV. Mahálaya. Amávásyá.

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

*Brabma-vaiśeṣṭa.*
Having poured water into a sea-shell, let the votary fill it with white flowers and unground rice: then, turning to the south, let him offer it with this incantation: ‘Hail, CUMBHAYO’NI, born in the fight of MİTRA and VARUNA, bright as the blossom of the grass cáśa; thou, who sprangest from AGNI and MA’RUTA.’ Cáśa is the Spontaneous Saccharum.

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

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

Cálicá purána.

Note on p. 265.
Ut’hánaicádasí. g.

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

General Note.

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

Adjacent to the Câ‘ly River, or Nile of ETHIOPIA, from the Ancient Books of the HINDUS.

By Lieutenant FRANCIS WILFORD.

SECTION the FIRST.

My original design was to compose a dissertation, entirely geographical, on Egypt and other countries bordering upon the Nile; but, as the Hindus have no regular work on the subject of Geography, or none at least, that ever came to my knowledge, I was under a necessity of extracting my materials from their historical poems, or, as they may be called more properly, their legendary tales; and in them I could not expect to meet with requisite data for ascertaining the relative situations of places; I was obliged, therefore, to study such parts of their ancient books, as contained geographical information, and to follow the track, real or imaginary, of their Deities and Heroes; comparing all their legends with such accounts of holy places in the regions of the West, as have been preserved by the Greek Mythologists, and endeavouring to prove the identity of places by the similarity of names and of remarkable circumstancies; a laborious, though necessary, operation, by which the progress of my work has been greatly retarded.
The Mythology of the Hindus is often inconsistent and contradictory; and the same tale is related in many different ways: their Physiology, Astronomy, and History are involved in allegories and enigmas, which cannot but seem extravagant and ridiculous; nor could any thing render them supportable, but a belief that most of them have a recondite meaning, though many of them had, perhaps, no firmer basis than the heated imagination of deluded fanatics, or of hypocrites interested in the worship of some particular deity. Should a key to their eighteen Purânas exist, it is more than probable, that the wards of them would be too intricate, or too stiff with the ruff of time, for any useful purpose: yet, as a near coincidence between proper names and circumstances, could scarce have been accidental, some light might naturally be expected from the comparison, which I resolved to make. It is true, that an accurate knowledge of the old northern and western Mythology, of the Coptick and other dialects now used in countries adjacent to the Nile, of eastern languages, and, above all, of Sanscrit, may be thought essentially necessary for a work of this nature; and unfortunately, I posses few of those advantages: yet it will not, I hope, be considered as presumptuous, if I present the Asiatick society with the result of my inquiries; desiring them to believe, that, when I seem to make any positive assertion, I only declare my own humble opinion, but never mean to write in a dogmatical style, or to intimate an idea, that my own conviction should preclude in any degree the full exercise of their judgement.

So striking, in my apprehension, is the similarity between several Hindu legends, and numerous passages in Greek authors concerning the Nile and the countries on its borders, that, in order to evince their identity, or at least their affinity, little more is requisite than barely to exhibit a comparative view of them. The Hindus have no ancient civil history; nor had
the Egyptians any work purely historical; but there is abundant reason to believe, that the Hindus have preserved the religious fables of Egypt, though we cannot yet positively say, by what means the Brāhmaṇas acquired a knowledge of them: it appears, indeed, that a free communication formerly subsisted between Egypt and India; since Ptolemy acknowledges himself indebted for much information to many learned Indians, whom he had seen at Alexandria; and Lucian informs us, that pilgrims from India resorted to Hierapolis in Syria; which place is called in the Purānas, at least as it appears to me, Mahābhāgā, or the station of the goddess Dévi with that epithet; even to this day the Hindus occasionally visit, as I am assured, the two Jvālā-muc'bīs, or Springs of Naphtha in Cuśka-dwīpa within, the first of which, dedicated to the same goddess with the epithet Anāyāsā, is not far from the Tigris; and Strabo mentions a temple, on that very spot, inscribed to the goddess Anaīs.

The second, or great, Jvālā-muc'bī, or spring with a flaming mouth, is near Bāku; from which place, I am told, some Hindus have attempted to visit the Sacred Isles in the West; an account of which from the Purānas will (if the publick approve this essay) be the subject of a future work. A Yógī, now living, is said to have advanced, with his train of pilgrims, as far as Moscowa; but, though he was not ill used by the Russians, they flocked in such crowds to see him, that he was often obliged to interrupt his devotions in order to satisfy their curiosity: he, therefore, chose to return; and, indeed, he would probably have been exposed to similar inconvenience in the Sacred Isles, without excepting Erēta-Śhán, or the place of religious duty. This western pilgrimage may account for a fact mentioned, I think, by Cornelius Nepos, (but, as printed books are scarce in this country, I speak only from recollection) that certain Indi, or Hindus, were ship-
wrecked on the shores of the Baltic: many Brāhmins, indeed, assert, that a great intercourse anciently subsisted between India and countries in the west; and, as far as I have examined their sacred books, to which they appeal as their evidence, I strongly incline to believe their assertion.

The Sanskrit books are, both in size and number, very considerable; and, as the legends relating to Egypt lie dispersed in them without order or connexion, I have spared neither labour nor expense to collect them; but, though I have in that way done much, yet much remains to be done, and must be left, I fear, to others, who can better afford to make a collection so voluminous and expensive: I had the happiness to be stationed at Banaras, the centre of Hindu learning; and, though my laborious duties left me very little time for literary pursuits, yet my appointment supplied me with means to defray the necessary charges, which I could not otherwise have afforded. To the friendship of Mr. Duncan I am deeply indebted: his encouragement and support had a great effect on the Brāhmins; nor should I, without his assistance, have met with that success, which has rewarded my labours. It will appear in the course of my essay, that I have derived infinite advantage from the Travels of Mr. Bruce, to which I so frequently refer, that it was hardly possible to cite them constantly; and I make this general acknowledgement of my obligation to Him: even the outline of the Map prefixed to this dissertation is borrowed from his elaborate Chart. Those, who may follow me in this path, will add considerably, no doubt, to the materials which I have amassed, and may possibly correct some errors, into which I may have fallen: happy shall I be to have led the way to discoveries, from which very important conclusions may be deduced.
The Hindus, I believe, have no work professedly written on popular geography, that is, on the face of this globe according to the system of their Astronomers: they have large charts of the Universe according to the *Pauránicas*, with explanatory notes, and, perhaps, with treatises to elucidate their fables; and some of the *Puránas* contain lists of countries, rivers, and mountains, with a general division of the known world; which are also to be found in a few of their Astronomical books. The *Bauddbas*, or followers of *Jina*, have a small tract on geography, entitled *Trilóca derpan*, or *The Mirror of Three Worlds*, which Mr. Burrow was so kind as to lend me: it is a most extravagant composition; and such is the antipathy of the *Bráhmens* to the *Jainas*, that no explanation of it can be expected from them; but, should I have leisure and opportunity to examine it, the task may be attended with some advantage; though the proper names are in general changed and accommodated to the heterodox system.

According to the orthodox Hindus, the globe is divided into two hemispheres, both called *Méru*; but the superior hemisphere is distinguished by the name of *Suméru*, which implies beauty and excellence, in opposition to the lower hemisphere, or *Cumorú*, which signifies the reverse: by *Méru*, without any adjunct, they generally mean the higher, or northern, hemisphere, which they describe with a profusion of poetical imagery as the seat of delights; while they represent *Cumorú* as the dreary habitation of demons, in some parts intensely cold, and in others so hot, that the waters are continually boiling. In strict propriety, *Méru* denotes the pole and the polar regions; but it is the celestial north-pole, round which they place the gardens and metropolis of *Indra*, while *Yama* holds his court in the opposite polar circle, or the station of *Astras*, who warmed with the *Suras*, or Gods of the firmament. There is great reason to believe, that
the old inhabitants of the southern hemisphere, among whom were the Ethiope and Egyptians, entertained a very different opinion of their own climate, and of course represented the summit of the northern hemisphere as a region of horrors and misery: we find accordingly, that the Greeks, who had imported most of their notions from Egypt, placed their hell under the north-pole, and confined Cronos to a cave in the frozen circle.

In the Puranas we meet with strong indications of a terrestrial paradise, different from that of the general Hindu system, in the southern parts of Africa; and this may be connected with the opinion adopted by the Egyptians, who maintained it against the Scythians with great warmth (for the ancient inhabitants of the two hemispheres were perpetually wrangling on their comparative antiquity) that the Ethiopians were the oldest nation on earth.

Several divisions of the old continent were made by different persons at different times; and the modern Brâhmens have jumbled them all together: the most ancient of them is mentioned in the Puranas, entitled Váyu and Brahmandá; where that continent is divided into seven dwipas, or countries with water on two sides, so that, like jazirah in Arabick, they may signify either islands or peninsulas. They are said to be wholly surrounded by a vast ocean, beyond which lie the region and mountains of Atala; whence most probably the Greeks derived their notion of the celebrated Atlantis, which, as it could not be found after having once been discovered, they conceived to have been destroyed by some shock of nature; an opinion formed in the true Hindu spirit; for the Brâhmens would rather suppose the whole economy of the universe disturbed, than question a single fact related in their books of authority. The names of those islands, or peninsulas, are Jambu, Anga, Yama, Yamala or Malaya, 'Sanécha, Gušha, and Varábu.
In the centre is Jambu; or the inland part of Asia; to the east of it are Anga, Yama and Yamala, reckoned from north to south; to the west, Sanc'ba, Cusha, and Varába, reckoned from south to north: Yama and Cusha are said to be due east and west in respect of India; and this is indubitably proved by particular circumstances.

Sanc'ba dwíp is placed in the south west, supposed to be connected with Yamala, and with it to embrace an immense inland sea; between them the Hindus place Lánca, which they conceive extended to a considerable distance as far as the equator; so that Sanc'ba must be part of Africa, and Yamala or Malaya, the peninsula of Malacca with the countries adjacent. This notion of a vast inland sea Ptolemy seems to have borrowed from the Hindus, whom he saw at Alexandria; for, before his time, there was no such idea among the Greeks: he calls it Hippados; a word, which seems derived from Abdhi, a general name for the sea in the language of the Bráhmens. We may collect from a variety of circumstances, that Cusha dwíp extends from the shore of the Mediterranean, and the mouths of the Nile, to Serhind on the borders of India.

In a subsequent division of the globe, intended to specify some distant countries with more particular exactness, six dwípas are added; Placsha, Sámalí, Cраunbá, Sáca, Pusescaro, and a second Cusha, called Cushadwípa without, in opposition to the former, which is said to be within; a distinction used by the Bráhmens, and countenanced in the Puránas, though not positively expressed in them: the six new dwípas are supposed to be contained within those before-mentioned; and the Puránas differ widely in their accounts of them, while the geography of the former division is uniform.
Six of the ancient divisions are by some called upadwīpas, because they are joined to the large dwīpa named Jambu; and their names are usually omitted in the new enumeration: thus Cūṣha-dwīp within is included in Jambu-dwīp, and comprises three out of seven c'bandas, or sections, of Bhārata-versha. Another geographical arrangement is alluded to by the poet Cā'lidā's, who says, that "Raghu erected pillars of conquest in each of the eighteen dwīpas;" meaning, say the Pandits, seven principal, and eleven subordinate, illes or peninūlas: upā, the same word originally with hypo and sub, always implies inferiority; as upavedā, a work derived from the Vēda itself; upapātaca, a crime in a lower degree; upadherma, an inferior duty; but great confusion has arisen from an improper use of the words upadwīpa and dwīpa.

Cūṣha-dwīpa without is Abyssinia and Ethiopia; and the Brāhmens account plausibly enough for its name, by ascertaining, that the descendants of Cūṣha, being obliged to leave their native country, from them called Cūṣha-dwīpa within, migrated into Sān'cha-dwīp, and gave to their new settlement the name of their ancestor; for, though it be commonly said, that the dwīpa was denominated from the grass Cūṣha, of the genus named Poa by Linnaeus, yet it is acknowledged, that the grass itself derived both its appellation and sanctity from Cūṣha, the progenitor of a great Indian family: some say, that it grew on the valmica, or hill formed by Termites or white ants, round the body of Cūṣha himself, or of Cau'shica his son, who was performing his tapasyā, or act of austere devotion; but the story of the ant-hill is by others told of the first Hindu poet thence named Va'lmica.

The countries, which I am going to describe, lie in Sān'cha-dwīp, accor-
From the Ancient Books of the Hindus.

...ding to the ancient division; but, according to the new, partly in Cufba-dwip without, and partly in Sane'ha-dwip proper; and they are sometimes named Cáliuta, or banks of the Cáli, because they are situated on both sides of that river, or the Nile of Ethiopia. By Cáliuta we are to understand Ethiopia, Nubia, and Egypt: it is even to this day called by the Bráhmens the country of Dévatás; and the Greek Mythologists asserted, that the Gods were born on the banks of the Nile. That celebrated and holy river takes its rise from the Lake of the Gods, thence named Amara, or Déva, Saróvera, in the region of 'Sharma, or Sharma-śbán, between the mountains of Ajágara and Sitánta, which seem part of Soma-gíri, or the mountains of the Moon, the country round the lake being called Chándri-śbán, or Moon-land: thence the Cáli flows into the marshes of the Padma-van, and through the Nisbadha mountains, into the land of Barbara, whence it passes through the mountains of Hémacúta in Sane'ha-dwíp proper; there entering the forests of Tapas, or Thebais, it runs into Cantaca-śíra or Mítra-śbán, and through the woods, emphatically named Aránya and Atávi, into Sane'habádhí, or our Mediterranean. From the country of Pushpa-verbha it receives the Nandá or Nile of Abyssinia; the Aṣbimaté, or smaller Čríshná, which is the Tacazzé or little Alay; and the Sane'ha-nágá, or Mareb. The principal tribes or nations who lived on its banks, were, besides the savage Pulindas, 1. the 'Shármicas, or 'Shámicás, 2. the Shepherds, called Pálli, 3. the Sane'háyanas or Troglydotes, named also Sane'háyaní, 4. the Cúríla-cífás, or Cúrilálacas, 5. the 'Śyáma-múc'hás, 6. the Dánivas, and 7. the Yavanás: we find in the same region a country denominated Strí-rájya, because it was governed by none but Queens.

The river Cáli took its name from the goddess MAHA'-CA'LI, supposed to have made her first appearance on its banks, in the character of Rája-
vajéśvarî, called also Isā'ni and Isî; and, in the character of Sâtî, she was transformed into the river itself: the word Cála signifies black, and, from the root cal, it means also devouring, whence it is applied to Time; and, from both senses in the feminine, to the Goddess in her destructive capacity; an interpretation adopted, as we shall see hereafter, in the Purânas. In her character of Maha'câ'ît she has many other epithets, all implying different shades of black or dark azure; and, in the Calicâ-purân, they are all ascribed to the river: they are Cálì or Câlá, Nilâ, Aśi'â, 'Sbyâmâ, or 'Shyâmalâ, Méchâcâ, Anjanâbbâ, Grifhûnâ. The same river is also called Nâbushâ, from the celebrated warrior and conqueror, usually entitled De'va-Nahushâ, and, in the spoken dialects, Deo-naush: he is the Dionysus, I believe, of the ancient Europeans.

By the Greeks, Romans, and Hebrews, the 'Nile (which is clearly a Sanskrit word) was known also by the following names: Melas, Melo, Ægyptos, Sikhor, or Sibor, Nous or Nûs, Aëtor, Siris, Oceanus, Triton, Potamos. The word Nous (a) is manifestly corrupted from Nâbushâ, or Naush; Aëtos from king Í't or Ait, an avântara, or inferior incarnation, of Mahâ'de-va; Ægyptos from 'Agupta, or on all sides guarded; and Triton, probably, from Trituni, as the Ethiops, having no such letter as ð, and generally substituting t in its room, would have pronounced Tripuni, which is a common Indian corruption of Trîvâni.

The Sanskrit word Trîvâni properly means with three plaited locks; but it is always applied to the confluence of three sacred rivers, or to the branching of a river into three streams: Æthicus, in his Cosmography, instead of

(a). Hor. Apollo 'Nêl'â'Nâbushâw. B. 10.
from the Ancient Books of the Hindus.

saying, that the Hydaspes flows from a place named Trivénī, uses the phrase three hairs; or three locks of hair, which is a literal version of the Sanscrit. Now the Cālī consists of three sacred streams; the Nīlā, or Nile of Ethiopia, the Nandā, or Nile of Abyssinia, and the little Crīshnā or As'bamati. The junction of the Great Crīshnā with the Nandā was held peculiarly sacred, as it appears from the following couplets in the Āt'harva-veda, which are cited in the original as a proof of their authenticity:

Bhadrā bhagavati Crīshnā grahanacbatra mālinī,  
Samvētani sañyamani viśvasya jagatō niṣā;  
Agnichaura nipātēśhu serva graba nivāranē,  
Daεhā bhagavati dévī Nandayā yatra jangātā:  
Serva pāpa praśamani bhadre páramaśi mabī,  
Sitā śītaśamayogygāt param yā na nivertatē.

That is word for word:

"Crīshna' the prosperous, the imperial, the giver of delight, the re- 
strainer of evil, decked, like the night of the whole world, with a chap- 
let of planets and stars; the sovereign goddess transcendentally beneficial in 
calamities from fire and robbers, in checking the bad influence of all planets, 
where she is united with the NANDA'; she it is, who expiates all sin. O pro- 
pititious river, thou art the mighty goddess, who causes us to attain the end of 
mortal births, who, by the conjunction of black with white waters, never 
ceases to produce the highest good."

Potamos, or the river, in Theophrastus, is commonly supposed 
to be only an emphatical appellative denoting superiority; but I cannot
help thinking it derived from the Sanscrit word Padma, which I have heard pronounced Padam, and even Patam, in the vulgar dialects: it is the Nymphaea of Linnaeus, and, most certainly, the Lotos of the Nile, on the pericarp of which a Frog is represented sitting in an Egyptian emblem engraved by Montfaucon. (a) That river and the marshes near it abound with that lovely and useful plant; and we shall see presently, that Câli herself is believed to have made its beautiful flower her favourite place of residence in the character of Padmâ-dévi, or the Goddess in the Lotos: most of the great rivers, on which the Nymphaea floats in abundance, have the epithet of Padmavati or Padmemati; and the very word Potamos, used as an appellative for a large river, may be thence derived; at least the common etymology of that word is far less probable.

We before observed, that the source of the Nile is in the extensive region of Sharma, near the mountains of Sóma, in the masculine, or Dei Lunâ; and that it issues from the lake of the Gods, in the country of Chandrî, in the feminine, or Dea Lunae: to the word saróvara, or considerable lake, is prefixed in composition either Amara, Sura, or Déva; and the compound Déva-saróvara is generally pronounced, in common speech, Deo-saróvar. It lies between two ranges of hills; one to the east, called Ajágara, or not wakeful; and the other to the west named Sítânta, or end of cold, which implies that it may have snow on its summit, but in a very small quantity.

Sharma-Sthân, called also the mountainous region of Ajágara, is said in the Brahmanda-purán, to be 300 Yojans, or 1476.3, British miles, in

(a) 2 Bryant Ant. Mythol. 334, pl. 6.
length, and 100 in breadth, or 492.12 miles. The mountains were named Ajágara, or of those, who watch not, in opposition to the mountains of Abyssinia, which were inhabited by Nísiccharas, or night-rovers; a numerous race of Yacshas, but not of the most excellent class, who used to sleep in the day time and revel all night: Mr. Bruce speaks of a Kowas, or watching dog, who was worshipped in the hills of Abyssinia.

The mountains of So'ma, or the Moon, are so well known to geographers, that no farther description of them can be required; but it may be proper to remark, that Ptolemy places them too far to the South, and M. D'Anville too far to the North, as it will hereafter be shown: according to Father Lobo, the natives now call them Toroa. The Ajágara mountains, which run parallel to the eastern shores of Africa, have at present the name of Lupata, or the backbone of the world: those of Sitánta are the range which lies west of the lake Zambre, or Zaire, words not improbably corrupted from Amara and Sura. This Lake of the Gods is believed to be a vast reservoir, which, through visible or hidden channels, supplies all the rivers of the country: the Hindus, for mythological purposes, are fond of supposing subterranean communications between lakes and rivers; and the Greeks had similar notions. Mr. Bruce, from the report of the natives, has placed a reservoir of this kind at the source of the White River, (a) which (though the two epithets have opposite senses), appears to be the Călì of the Purāns: it may have been called white from the Cumuda, which abounds in its waters; at least the mountains near it are thence named Cumudádri, and the Cumuda is a water-flower sacred to the Moon, which Van Rheede has exhibited, and which seems to be either

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(c) III Bruce 719.

P p 2
On Egypt and the Nile

a Menianthes, or a small white Nymphaea. The lake of the Amará, or Immortals, was not wholly unknown to the Greeks and Romans, but they could not exactly tell, where it was situated; and we are not much better acquainted with its true (a) situation: it is called Nilides by Juba; Nili-ducus and Nusaptis, in the Peutingerian Table. It is the Oriental Marsh of Ptolemy, and was not far from Rapta, now Quiloa; for that well-informed geographer mentions a certain Diogenes, who went on a trading voyage to India, and on his return, was overtaken near the Cape, now called Gardefan, by a violent storm from the N. N. E. which carried him to the vicinity of Rapta, where the natives assured him, that the marshes or lakes, whence the Nile issued, were at no considerable distance.

The old Egyptians themselves, like the present Hindus; (who are apt, indeed, to place reservoirs for water, of different magnitudes, on the high grounds of most countries) had a notion of a receptacle, which supplied the Nile and other great African rivers; for the Secretary of Minerva's temple informed Herodotus, that the holy river proceeded from deep lakes between the mountains of Crophi and Mophi; that part of its waters took their course toward the north, and the rest to the south through Ethiopia: but either the secretary himself was not perfectly master of the subject, or the historian misunderstood him; for Herodotus conceived, that those lakes were close to Syene (b), and, as he had been there himself without seeing anything of the kind, he looked upon the whole account as a fiction. It is not improbable, however, that the lakes were laid by the secretary to be near the country of Azania or Azan, which was mistaken for Syene, in Egypt called Usúr or Asúr.

(a) Plin. 1. 5. c. 9. (b) 2 Herod. c. 28.
From this idea of a general reservoir the ancients concluded, that the Niger also had its origin from the same lakes with the Nile; but Juba acknowledged, that the channels ran under ground for the space of twenty days march, or about 300 miles (a): in conformity to the relation of Diogenes, the marshy lakes were said by Juba to lie near the Ocean; but he asserted positively, that the Nile did not immediately rise from them; adding, that it flowed through subterraneous passages for the space of several days journey, and, on its re-appearance, formed another marshy lake of still greater extent in the land of the Massæylæ; who were perhaps, the Mabahásyasas of the Purâns. The second lake corresponds in situation with the extensive marshes, from which the Nahrulabyad of the Arabs, or the white river, has its source according to Mr. Bruce, who places the lake about the 3d or 4th degree of north latitude: it is named Cowir in the Maps; and is noticed by the Nubian geographers.

The word Nusaptis, which is applied, as before mentioned, to the first lake, may be derived from Nisápati, or the Lord of Night, a title of the God Lunus: the whole country, indeed, with its mountains and most of its rivers, had appellations relating to the Moon; and we find in it several smaller rivers, which we cannot now ascertain, with the names of Rajana, or Night, Cuhú or the day after the conjunction, Anumati or that after the opposition, Râca or the full orb of the moon, and Simvâli, or first visible crescent. The inhabitants of that region are by Ptolemy called Mastaia; by Juba, as we before observed, Maffesylæ; and in the Maps, Maffi or Maffogucia: in all these denominations the leading root Maffa, whatever be its meaning, is clearly distinguishable; and, as there were people with a similar name in Mauritania, Pliny and his followers make Juba allude;

(a) Plin. l. 5. c. 9.
that the lakes just mentioned were in that country; but it is hardly possible, that Juba could have made such a mistake with respect to a country so near his own; nor can we refrain from observing, that Pliny was an indifferent geographer, and that his extracts and quotations are in general very inaccurate.

The second lake, or marsh, appears to be the Padmavana of the Sanscrit legends; and that word implies, that it abounded with the Nymphaea; but it was probably the Padma, distinguished by the epithet of Cōti-patra, or with ten millions of petals, which I conceive to be the Enfete of Mr. Bruce, who mentions it as growing there in the greatest abundance: it is true, that the Enfete has no botanical affinity with the Nymphaea, but the Hindus were superficial botanists and gave the same appellation to plants of different classes, as the word Lotos, indeed, was applied by the Greeks to the common Padma, or water lily, and to the celebrated fruit of the Lotophagi which had no relation to it. The usual number of petals on the Nymphaea Lotos is fifteen; but some have only eight: the character of the genus, indeed, is to have numerous petals, and the Sanscrit epithet Sakastra-patra, or thousand-petaled, is applied in dictionaries to the common Padma; but nothing could have justified such an epithet as Cōti-patra. On some Egyptian monuments we find Isis reclined among the leaves of a plant supposed to be the Cadali, or Mauza, which has been changed into Musa by Linnaeus; but Mr. Bruce has exploded that error, and shown that the plant was no other than his Enfete: the Indian goddess, indeed, fits, in the character of Yacshini-devī on the leaves of the Mauza; but in that form, which was an avāntara or lower incarnation, she never has the majesty or the title of Padma. It is expressly said in the Purānas, that, on the banks of the Cali river, Padma resides in the Cōtipatra, a
nower unknown in India, and consequently ill described in the Sanscrit books: where Pliny mentions the Lotos of the Nile, he uses a phrase very applicable to the Ensete, "foliis densa congerie stipatis," and though he adds a few particulars not agreeing with Mr. Bruce's full description of that plant, yet Pliny, being a careless writer and an inaccurate botanist, might have jumbled together the properties of two different flowers.

The before-named country of Chandri-jthân was thus denominated from a fable in the Purâns: The God Chandra, or Lunus, having lost his sex in India, became Chandri, or Luna, who concealed herself in the mountains near the lakes, of which we have been treating: she was there visited by the Sun, and by him had a numerous progeny called Pulindas, from pukha an islet or sandbank, who dwelt near the rivers that ran from those mountains, and acknowledged no ruling powers but the Sun and the Moon.

Sharma-jthân, of which we cannot exactly distinguish the boundaries, but which included Ethiopia above Egypt, as it is generally called, with part of Abyssinia and Azan, received its name from Sharma, of whom we shall presently speak: his descendants, being obliged to leave Egypt, retired to the mountains of Ajâgar, and settled near the lake of the Gods. Many learned Brâhmens are of opinion, that by the Children of Sharma we must understand that race of Dévats, who were forced to emigrate from Egypt during the reigns of San and Ra'hu or Saturn and Typhon: they are said to have been a quiet and blameless people, and to have subsisted by hunting wild elephants, of which they sold or bartered the teeth, and even lived on the flesh. They built the town of Rûpavati or the beautiful; which the Greeks called Rapta, and thence gave the name of
Raptii or Rapsii to its inhabitants: it is generally supposed, that only one town in that country was named Raptu; but Stephanus of Byzantium positively affirms, that there were two of the name; (a) one, the capital of Ethiopia, and another a small town or village, consisting of huts inhabited by sea-faring men, near a harbour at the mouth of the river Raptus. The former is the Rupavati of the Purāṇas, in which it is declared to have to flood near the Cali: we cannot perfectly ascertain its position; but it was, I think, situated near the southern extremity of the divine Lake, now called Zambre or Maravi; for Ptolemy places the Raptii about the sources of the Nile; that is, thirteen or fourteen degrees from the city, whence, as he supposes, that people was named. No further description can justly be expected of a country so little known; but we may observe, that the Nubian geographer mentions a mountain near the Lake of the Gods, called the Mount of the Painted Temple; because, probably, it contained hieroglyphicks cut on stone and painted, such as are to be seen at this day in some parts of Egypt: he adds, that, on the bank of the second lake, was the statue of a certain Mafna, supposed to be his body itself petrified, as a punishment for his crimes.

I. It is related in the Padma-purāṇ, that Satyavrata, whose miraculous preservation from a general deluge is told at length in the Māṭyā, had three sons, the eldest of whom was named Jya'peti, or Lord of the Earth; the others were Ch'harma and Sharma, which last words are, in the vulgar dialects, usually pronounced C'ham and Sham; as we frequently hear Kishn for Crishna. The royal patriarch, for such is his character

(a) Steph. Byzant, on the word Rapa.
in the *Purans*, was particularly fond of *Jyāpeti*, to whom he gave all the regions to the north of *Himālaya*, or the *Snowy Mountains*, which extend from sea to sea, and of which *Caucasus* is a part; to *Sharma* he allotted the countries to the south of those mountains; but he cursed *C'charma*; because, when the old monarch was accidentally inebriated with a strong liquor made of fermented rice, *C'charma* laughed; and it was in consequence of his father's imprecation, that he became a slave to the slaves of his brothers.

The Children of *Sharma* travelled a long time, until they arrived at the bank of the *Nilá* or *Cáli*; and a *Brabmen* informs me, (but the original passage from the *Purán* is not yet in my possession) that their journey began after the building of the *Padmá-mandira*, which appears to be the Tower of *Babel*, on the banks of the river *Cumudvati*, which can be no other than the *Euphrates*. On their arrival in *Egypt*, they found the country peopled by evil beings and by a few impure tribes of men, who had no fixed habitation: their leader, therefore, in order to propitiate the tutelary divinity of that region, sat on the bank of the *Nile*, performing acts of austerer devotion, and praising *Padma'-dévî* or the Goddess residing on the Lotos. *Padma' at last appeared to him, and commanded him to erect a pyramid, in honour of her, on the very spot, where he then stood: the associates began the work, and raised a pyramid of earth two *crós* long, one broad, and one high, in which the Goddess of the Lotos resided; and from her it was called *Padmá-mandira* and *Padma-mañhā*. By *mandira* is meant a temple, or palace, and by *mañhā*, or *mer'ba*, a college, or habitation of students for the goddess herself instructed *Sharma* and his family in the most useful arts, and taught them the *Yacjha-lipi*, or *writing* of the *Yacjhás*, a race of superior beings, among whom *Cuve'rá* was the chief. It does not clearly appear on what occasion the *Sharmicas* left their first settlement, which had
so auspicious a beginning; but it has before been intimated, that they probably retreated to Ajágará in the reigns of Sáni and Rahu, at which time, according to the Puránas, the Dévatás, among whom the Sharmíces are reckoned, were compelled to seek refuge in the mountains; a similar flight of the Dévatás is, however, said to have been caused by the invasion of Deva-Nahush or Dionysius.

The Padmá-mandír seems to be the town of Byblos in Egypt now called Babel; or rather that of Bábél, from which original name the Greeks made Byblos: it stood on the canal, which led from the Balbitine branch of the Nile to the Pharnätic; a canal, which is pretty well delineated in the Peutingerian table; and it appears, that the most southern lēum of that table is the same with the Byblos of the Greeks. Since this mound or pyramid was raised but a short time after that on the Cumduvi, and by a part of the same builders, and since both have the same name in Sanscrit, whence it should seem, that both were inscribed to the same divinity, we can hardly fail to conclude, that the Padmá-mandíras were the two Babels, the first on the Euphrates, and the second on the Nile. The old place of worship at Byblos was afterwards much neglected, being scarce mentioned by ancient authors; Stephanus of Byzantium says it was very strong; and it was there, according to Thucydides, and to the Persicks of Ctesias quoted by Photius, that Inarús, king of Libya, with his Athenian auxiliaries and the Egyptians, who were attached to him, sustained a siege of a year and a half against the whole Persian army under Megabyzus; but, as it stood in low marshy ground, it probably owed its chief strength to the vast mound of earth mentioned in the Puránas, the dimensions of which are, however, (as it is usual in poetical descriptions) much exaggerated. One of three grand branches of the Nile, in the vicinity of Padmá-matb, is called.
Pathmecr by Ptolemy, and Phalmi by Diodorus the Sicilian: both seem derived from the Sanscrit corrupted; for Padma is in many Indian dialects pronounced Padm or Padhm, and in some, Patma. To the same root may be referred the appellation of the nome Phthembuthi or Phthembuthi, as it is also written; for the Padma-math was in the nome Prosopitis, which once made a part, as it evidently appears, of the nome Phthembuthi, though it was afterwards considered as a separate district in consequence of a new division: Prosopitis, most certainly, is derived from a Greek word, and alludes to the summit of the Delta seen on a passage down the Nile from the city of Memphis; but Potamitis, which was applied to Egypt itself, can hardly mean any more, than that the country lies on both sides of a large river, which would not be a sufficient discrimination to justify that common etymology; and we have already hazarded a conjecture that Potamos, as a proper name of the Nile, relates to the holy and beautiful Padma.

Of the Yaṣṭha letters before-mentioned, I should wish to give a particular account; but the subject is extremely obscure; Crinitus affirms, that the Egyptian letters were invented by Isis; and Isis on the Lotos was no other, most certainly, than Padma-devi', whom the Purānas mention as the instructress of the Sharmicas in the Yaṣṭha mode of writing. According to the Brāhmens, there are written characters of three principal sorts, the Dévanāgarī, the Paṣḍchi, and the Yaṣṭhi; but they are only variations of the same original elements: the Dévanāgarī characters are used in the northern, the Paṣḍchi in the southern parts, of India, and the Yaṣṭhi, it is said, in Butan or in Tibet. The Pandits consider the Dévanāgarī as the most ancient of the three; but the beauty and exquisite perfection of them renders this very doubtful; especially as Atri, whom they suppose to have
received them from the Gods, lived a long time, as they say, in the countries bordering on the Câlî, before he repaired to the Dévânîca mountains near Câbal, and there built the town of Dévanagar, from which his system of letters had the name of Dévanâgarî. As to the Paisâcha characters they are said to have been invented by the Pâlis, or Shepherds, who carried them into Ethiopia; the Yacsha-writing I had once imagined to be a system of hieroglyphicks; but had no authority from the Puránas to support that opinion, and I dropped it on better information; especially as the Brâh- mens appear to have no idea of hieroglyphicks, at least according to our conception of them.

The Sharmicas, we have observed, rank among the Dévatâs or demi-gods; and they seem to have a place among the Yacshas of the Puránas, whom we find in the northern mountains of India, as well as in Ethiopia: the country, in which they finally settled, and which bore the name of their ancestors, was in Sânc'ha-dwîp, and seems to comprise all that subdivision of it, which, in the Bhâgavat and other books, is called Cûša-dwîp without.

Several other tribes from India or Persia settled afterwards in the land of Sharma: the first and most powerful of them were the Pâlis, or Shepherds, of whom the Puránas give the following account.

II. I'r's'hu, surnamed Pingâcsha, the son of Ugra, lived in India to the south west of Câshi, near the Naravindhyâ river, which flowed, as its name implies, from the Vindbya mountains: the place of his residence to the south of those hills was named Pâli, a word now signifying a large town and its district, or Pâli, which may be derived from Pâla, a herds-
man or Shepherd. He was a prince mighty and warlike, though very religious; but his brother Ta'ra'c'hya, who reigned over the Vindhyan mountaineers, was impious and malignant; and the whole country was infested by his people, whom he supported in all their enormities: the good king always protected the pilgrims to Cālī or Varānas in their passage over the hills, and supplied them with necessaries for their journey; which gave so great offence to his brother, that he waged war against Irshu, overpowered him, and obliged him to leave his kingdom; but Maha'de'va, proceeds the legend, assisted the fugitive prince and the faithful Pālis, who accompanied him; conducting them to the banks of the Cālī in Sanc'ha-duśp, where they found the Sbarmicas, and settled among them. In that country they built the temple and town Punyavatī or Punya-nagarī; words implying holiness and purity, which it imparts, say the Hindus, to zealous pilgrims: it is believed at this day to stand near the Cālī on the low hills of Mandura, which are said in the Purānas to consist of red earth; and on those hills the Pālis, under their virtuous leader, are supposed to live, like the Gandharvas on the summit of Himālaya, in the lawful enjoyment of pleasures; rich, innocent, and happy, though intermixed with some Mlēch'has, or people who speak a barbarous dialect, and with some of a fair complexion. The low hills of Mandara include the tract called Meroē or Merhoē, by the Greeks; in the centre of which is a place named Mandara in the Jesuits' Map, and Mandera by Mr. Bruce, who says, that of old it was the residence of the Shepherd, or Palli, kings: in that part of the country the hills consist of red earth; and their name Mandara is a derivative from manda, which, among other senses, means sharp-pointed, from the root mand, which may have the sense of bbid to cut; so that Mandara-parvata signifies a mountain dividing the waters and forcing them to run different ways; an etymology confirmed by Mr. Bruce in his description
of Meroë, where he accounts for its being called an island. The compound Punya-nagara, or City of Virtue, seems to imply both a seat of government and a principal temple with a college of priests: it was, therefore, the celebrated city of Meroë; a word which may be derived from Merha (vidyāritbināma ribam, the mansion of students, as it is explained in the dictionaries) or from Mrara, of whom we shall presently speak.

To the king of the Pallis, named also Palli from those, whom he governed, Mahadeva gave the title of Nairrita, having appointed him to guard the nairriti, or southwest; and, though he was a Pīṣācha by birth, or naturally bloody-minded, yet he was rewarded for his good disposition, and is worshipped in India to this day among the eight Diś-pālas, or guardians of as many quarters, who constantly watch, on their elephants, for their security of Cāsi, and other holy places in Jambu dwipa: but the abode of his descendants is declared in the Purānas to be still on the banks of the Cāli or Nilā. One of his descendants was Lubdhaca, of whom an account will be given in a subsequent section; and from Lubdhaca descended the unfortunate Li'na'su, not the bard Heridatta, who had also that name, and who will be mentioned hereafter more particularly, but a prince whose tragical adventures are told in the Rājaniti, and whose death was lamented annually by the people of Egypt: all his misfortunes arose from the incontinence of his wife Yo'ga Bhrast'ā' or Yo'ga Cashta; and his son Mahā'sura, having by mistake committed incest with her, put himself to death, when he discovered his crime, leaving issue by his lawful wife. May we not reasonably conjecture, that Lubdhaca was the Labdacus, Li'na'su, the Laius and Yo'gacashta the Jocasta, of the Greeks? The word Yadupa, from which Ædipus may be derived, signifies king of the Yadu family, and might have been a title of the unhappy Mahā'sura.
This account of the Pallis has been extracted from two of the eighteen Purânas, entitled Scanda, or the God of War, and Brahmanda, or the Mundane Egg. We must not omit, that they are said to have carried from India not only the Atharvâ-veda, which they had a right to possess, but even the three others, which they acquired clandestinely, so that the four books of ancient Indian scripture once existed in Egypt; and it is remarkable, that the books of Egyptian science were exactly four, called the books of Harmonia or Hermes, which are supposed to have contained subjects of the highest antiquity (a): Nonnus mentions the first of them as believed to be coeval with the world; and the Brâhmens assert, that their three first Védas existed before the creation.

The Pallis, remaining in India, have different names; those, who dwell to the south and southwest of Benâres; are, in the vulgar dialects, called Pallis and Bhîls; in the mountains to the north-east of that city, they are in Sanscrit named Cîrâtas; and, toward the Indus, as I am informed, a tribe of them has the appellation of Harita: they are now considered as outcasts, yet are acknowledged to have possessed a dominion in ancient times from the Indus to the eastern limits of Bengal, and even as far as Siam. Their ancestors are described as a most ingenious people, virtuous, brave, and religious; attached particularly to the worship of Maha'de'va under the symbol of the Linga or Phallus; fond of commerce, art, science; And using the Pais icy letters, which they invented. They were supplanted by the Râjaputras; and their country, before named Pïhîsh'bân was afterwards called Râjaputana in the vulgar dialect of their conquerors. The history of the Pallis cannot fail to be interesting, especially as it will be found much connected with that of Europe; and I hope soon to be supplied

(a) See 2 Bryant 150.
with materials for a fuller account of them: even their miserable remains in India must excite compassion, when we consider how great they once were, and from what height they fell through the intolerant zeal and superstition of their neighbours. Their features are peculiar; and their language different, but perhaps not radically, from that of other Hindus: their villages are still called Palli; many places, named Palita or, more commonly, Bhilata, were denominated from them; and in general Palli means a village or town of shepherds or herdsmen. The city of Irshu, to the south of the Vindhyas, was emphatically styled Palli, and, to imply its distinguished eminence, Sri-palli: it appears to have been situated on or near the spot, where Bopál now stands, and to be the Sari-palla of Ptolemy, which was called Palibothræ by the Greeks, and, more correctly in the Peutingerian table, Palipotra; for the whole tribe are named Paliputras in the sacred books of the Hindus, and were indubitably the Palibothræ of the ancients, who, according to Pliny, governed the whole country from the Indus to the mouth of the Ganges; but the Greeks have confounded them and their capital city with the Baliputras, whose chief town, denominated from them, had also the name of Rájagriha, since changed into Rájamahall: as it was in the mandala, or circle, of the Baliputras, it is improperly called by Ptolemy, who had heard that expression from travellers, Palibothræ of the Mandalas.

We have said, that Irshu had the surname of Pingácsha, or yellow-eyed; but, in some dictionaries, he is named Pingás or yellow as fine gold; and in the track of his emigration from India, we meet with indications of that epithet: the Turkish geographers consider the sea-coast of Yemen, says Prince Kantemir, as part of India, calling its inhabitants yellow Indians; the province of Ghilán, says Texeira, has also the appellation of Hindu'
Asfar, or Yellow India; and the Caspian itself is by the Turks called the Yellow Sea (a). This appears to be the origin of the Panchæan tribes in Arabia, Egypt, and Ethiopia, whose native country was called Panchæa; and the islands near it, Panchæan: though Diodorus of Sicily, attempting to give a description from Euhemerus of Panchæa or Pingâsa, has confined it to an inconsiderable island near Dwâracâ, yet it was really India itself, as his description sufficiently shows; and the place, which he names Oceanida, is no other than old Sâgar at the mouth of the Ganges; the northern mountain, which he speaks of, is Mérù; and the three towns near it are described in the Purâns with almost the same appellations.

Orus the shepherd, mentioned in ancient accounts of Egypt, but of whom few particulars are left on record, was, most probably, Irshu the Pâli; whose descendants, the Pingâshas, appear to have been the Phenician shepherds, who once established a government on the banks of the Nile: the Phenicians first made their appearance on the shores of the Erythrean, or Red sea, by which we must understand the whole Indian ocean between Africa and the Malay coast; and the Purânas thus represent it, when they describe the waters of the Arunôdadhi as reddened by the reflection of solar beams from the southern side of mount Sumérû, which abounds with gems of that colour: something of this kind is hinted by Pliny (b). It is asserted by some, (and from several circumstances it appears most probable), that the first settlements of the Phenicians were on the Persian gulf, which is part of the Erythrean sea: Justin says, that, having been obliged to leave their native country (which seems from the context to have been very far eastward) they settled near the Assyrian lake, which is the

(a) Müller p. 106. (b) Lib. 6. Cap. 23.
On Egypt and the Nile

And we find an extensive district, named Palestine, to the east of the Euphrates and Tigris. The word Palestine seems derived from Pallisthôn the seat of the Paltis, or shepherds (a): the Samaritans, who before lived in that country, seem to have been a remnant of the Paltis, who kept themselves distinct from their neighbours, and probably removed for that reason to the Palestine on the shore of the Mediterranean; but, after their arrival in that country, they wished to ingratiate themselves with the Jews and Phenicians, and, for that purpose, claimed affinity with them; alledging sometimes, that they were descended from Jacob, and at other times, that they sprang from Pinkhas; a word pronounced also Phineas, and supposed (but, I think, less probably) to mean the son of Aaron. Certainly, the Jews looked upon the Samaritans as a tribe of Philistines; for mount Garizim was called Palitan and Peltan. Tremellius, in the wisdom of the son of Sirach, writes Palischiæ, but in the Greek we find the Philistines, who reside on the mount of Samaria; (b) but let us return to Palestine in Assyria.

Whether the posterity of Pingâcsha, or the yellow Hindus, divided themselves into two bodies, one of which passed directly into Phenice, and the other went, along the Arabian shores, to Abyssinia, or whether the whole nation first entered the southern parts of Arabia, then crossed over to Africk, and settled in the countries adjacent to the Nile, I cannot determine; but we have strong reasons to believe, that some or all of them remained a considerable time on the coast of Yemen; the Panchean tribes in that country were considered as Indians; many names of places in it, which ancient geographers mention, are clearly Sanscrit; and most of those names

(a) Plin. lib. 6. cap. 70.  
(b) Chap. 50. v. 26.  
(c) See Reland De Monte Garizim.  
(d) Odyss. 4. 568.
are found at present in India. The famed Rhadamanthus, to whom Homer gives the epithet yellow, and his brother Minos, were, it seems, of Phenician extraction: they are said to have reigned in Arabia, and were, probably, Pallis descended from Pinga'sha, who, as we have observed, were named also Ciratu, whence the western island, in which Minos or his progeny settled, might have derived its appellations of Curetis (a) and Crete. In scripture we find the Peleti and Kerethi named as having settled in Palestine; but the second name was pronounced Krethi by the Greek interpreters, as it is by several modern commentators: hence we meet with Krita, a district of Palestine, and at Gaza with a Jupiter Cretæus, who seems to be the Cretæwara of the Hindus. In the spoken Indian dialects, Palita is used for Palli, a herdman; and the Egyptians had the same word: for their priests told Herodotus, that their country had once been invaded by Philitius the Shepherd, who used to drive his cattle along the Nile, and afterwards built the pyramids. (b) The Phyllites of Ptolemy, who are called Bulloits by Captain R. Covert, had their name from Bbilata, which in India means a place inhabited by Pallis or Bbils: the ancient Shepherds made so conspicuous a figure in Egypt, that it is needless to expatiate on their history; and for an account of the Shepherds in or near Abyssinia, I refer to the Travels of Mr. Bruce. Let us return to Mercæ.

The writers of the Puránas, and of other books esteemed sacred by the Hindus, were far from wishing to point out the origin of mere cities, how distinguished soever in civil transactions: their object was to account for

(a) Plin. lib. 4. cap. 12. Curetis was named, according to Anaximander, from the Curetes under their king Philistides.
(b) Herod. B. 2. 148.
the foundation of temples and for places of pilgrimage; but it often hap-
pened, that several places of worship were in different periods erected at a
small distance from each other; and, as the number of inhabitants increased
round each temple, an immense town was at length formed out of many
detached parts; though we are never told in the Purānas, whether those con-
fecrated edifices were contiguous or far asunder. This happened to Memp-
phis; as we shall presently show; and it seems to have been the case with
Punyavatī and with Merba or Mīrā; those words are written Metha
and Mīlā, but there is something so peculiar in the true sound of the Na-
garī letters ta, t'ha, ða, ð'ha, that they are generally pronounced, espe-
cially when they are placed between two vowels, like a palatal ra; the
vowel ri has likewise a great peculiarity, and, as we before observed on the
word Kīśān for Črīśna, is frequently changed: now the whole Trogloodytica
was named Mīdoē or Mīrohō; and he who shall attentively consider the
passage in Pliny, where the towns of Mīdoē and Așaf are mentioned, will
perceive, that they can be no other than Meroē and Aśaf. This inter-
change of ða and ra so exactly resembles the Sanscrit, that the name of
Meroē seems more probably derived from Mīlā, than from Metha, or a
college of priests; especially as the Pallis were almost exclusively attached to
the worship of Mīrā, or Maha'de'va: a place in Pegu, called Mīrā from
the same deity, has in Ptolemy the name of Mareura, and is now pro-
nounced Mero by the natives.

According to the Purāns, the residence of king I't (who formerly ruled
over Egypt and Ethiopia) was on the banks of the Calī river, and had the
name of Mīrā, or Mīrā-f'ēbān, because its principal temple was dedicated
to Mīrā and his consort Mīran't, or Parvati: now, when we
read in Stephanus of Byzantium, that the fort of Merusium near Syracuse
was believed by some to have taken its name from Meroë in Ethiopia, we must understand, that it was named from a place of worship sacred to Mrīra, the chief Ethiopian divinity; and the same author informs us, that Mercesī Dia, or Mrīre'swari' Dē'vi', who is represented with a crescent on her forehead, was adored at Merusium in Sicily. We may conclude, that her husband Mrīre'swara, was the God of Meroë, called a barbarous deity by the Greeks; who, being themselves unable to articulate his name, insisted that it was concealed by his priests. It has been imagined, that Cambyses gave the name of his sister and wife to Meroë; but it is very dubious, in my opinion, whether he penetrated so far as that city: in all events he could have made but a short stay in the district, where, as he was abhorred by the Egyptians and Ethiops, it is improbable, that a name imposed by Him, could have been current among them; and, whatever might have been his first intention as to the name of his wife, yet, when he had killed Her, and undergone a series of dreadful misfortunes in those regions, it is most probable, that he gave himself no further trouble about Her or the country.

In the book, entitled Saiva-ratnācara, we have the following story of king I't, who is supposed to have been Mrīra himself in a human shape, and to have died at Meroë, where he had long reigned.

On the banks of the Nilā there had been long contests between the Dévatās and the Dāityas; but the latter tribe having prevailed, their king and leader Sanc'hasura, who resided in the ocean, made frequent incursions into the country, advancing usually in the night and retiring before day to his submarine palace: thus he destroyed or made captive many excellent princes, whose territories and people were between two fires; for, while
San'cha'sura was ravaging one side of the continent, Cracacha, king of Crauncha-dwip, used to desolate the other; both armies consisting of savages and cannibals, who, when they met, fought together with brutal ferocity, and thus changed the most fertile of regions into a barren desert. In this distress the few natives, who survived, raised their hands and hearts to Bhagavan, and exclaimed: 'Let Him, who can deliver us from these disasters be our king,' using the word It, which re-echoed through the whole country. At that instant arose a violent storm, and the waters of the Cáli were strangely agitated, when there appeared from the waves of the river a man, afterwards called It, at the head of a numerous army, saying abhayam, or there is no fear; and, on his appearance, the Drityas descended into Pátála, the demon San'cha'sura plunged into the ocean, and the savage legions preserved themselves by precipitate flight. The king It, a subordinate incarnation of Mríra, re-established peace and prosperity through all San'chadwipá, through Barbara-désu, Mís'á-fís'án, and Areá fíbán, or Arabia; the tribes of Cutila-césus and Háyusilás returned to their former habitation, and justice prevailed through the whole extent of his dominions: the place, near which he sprang from the middle of the Nilá, is named Ita, or I-t-fís'án, and the capital of his empire, Mríra or Mrí- rá-fís'án. His descendants are called Ait, in the derivative form, and their country, Aitéya: the king himself is generally denominated Ait, and was thus erroneously named by my Pandit and his friends, till after a long search they found the passage, in which his adventure is recorded. The Greeks, in whose language 'aétos means an Eagle, were very ready, as usual, to find an etymology for Ait: they admit, however, that the Nile was first called Aétos, after a dreadful swelling of the river, which greatly alarmed the Ethiopians (a); and this is conformable to what we read in the Saiva-ratná-

from the Ancient Books of the Hindus.

cara. At the time of that prodigious intumescence in the river it is said, that Prometheus was king of Egypt; but Prometheus appears to be no other than Pramat'hesa, a title of Mrīra, signifying Lord of the Pramat'has, who, are supposed to be the five senses; and, in that character, he is believed to have formed a race of men. Stephanus of Byzantium and Eustathius(a) assert, that Aetus was an Indian or Hindu; but, as nothing like this can be collected from the Purānas, they confounded, I imagine, It or Ait with Yadu, of which I shall instantly speak. The chief station of It, or Aitam, which could not have been very distant from Mrī-rašt'han, I take to be the celebrated place of worship, mentioned by Strabo (b), and by Diodorus called Avatum (c), which was near Meroë: it was the same, I believe, with the Tathis of Ptolemy and Tutu of Pliny, situated in an island, which, according to Mr. Bruce, is at present known by the name of Kurgos, and which was so near Meroë as to form a kind of harbour for it.

The origin of the Yātuś is thus related. Ugrase'na, or Ugra, was father of De'vaci, who was Crishna's mother; his son Cansa, having imprisoned him, and usurped his throne, became a merciless tyrant, and showed a particular animosity against his kindred the Yādavas, or descendants of Yadu, to whom, when any of them approached him, he used to say yātu; or be gone, so repeatedly, that they acquired the nickname of Yātu, instead of the respectable patronymick, by which they had been distinguished. Cansa made several attempts to destroy the children of De'vaci; but Crishna, having been preserved from his machinations, lived to kill the tyrant and restore Ugrase'na, who became a sovereign of the world. Du-

(a) On Dionys. Πευμy.
ring the infancy however, of Crīśna, the persecuted Yādavas emigrated from India, and retired to the mountains of the exterior Cuśha-dwipa, or Abyssinia: their leader Yātu was properly entitled Yādaveṇḍra, or Prince of Yādavas; whence those mountains acquired the same appellation. They are now called Ourémidrē, or Arxemidrē, which means, we are told, the Land of Arwe, the first king of that country (a); but, having heard the true Sanscrit name pronounced, in common speech, Yarevindra, I cannot but suspect a farther corruption of it in the name of the Abyssinian mountains. Those Indian emigrants are described in the Purāṇs as a blameless, pious, and even sacred, race; which is exactly the character given by the ancients to the genuine Ethiopians, who are said by Stephanus of Byzantium, by Eusebius, by Philostratus, by Eustathius, and others, to have come originally from India under the guidance of Aetus, or Yātu; but they confound Him with king Ait, who never was there: Yāda-beṇḍra (for so his title is generally pronounced) seems to be the wise and learned Indian mentioned in the Paschal Chronicle by the name of Andubarius (b). The king or chief of the Yātus is correctly named Yā'tupa, or in the western pronunciation, Ja'tupa; and their country would, in a derivative form, be called Jātupēya: now the writers of the Universal History assert, that the native Ethiopians give their country, even at this day, the names of Itiopia and Zaltiopia. There can be little or no doubt, that Yā'tupa was the king Ἐθιόπης of the Greek Mythologists, who call him the son of Vulcan; but, according to the Purāṇs, that descent could not be ascribed to Yā'tu, though it might, perhaps, to king It; for it will be shown, in a subsequent part of this essay, that the Vulcan of Egypt was also considered by the Hindus as an avāntara, or subordinate incarnation, of Maha'de'va.

Not only the land of Egypt and the countries bordering on the Nile, but even Africa itself, had formerly the appellation of Aëria; from the numerous settlements, I suppose, of the Ahirs or Shepherds, as they are called in the spoken Indian dialects: in Sanscrit the true word is Abbir, and hence, I conceive, their principal station in the land of Goshen, on the borders of Egypt, was named Abaris and Avaris; for Goshen itself, or Ghosbáyana, means the abode of shepherds, or herdsmen; and Ghosha, though it also signify a gópá, or Cowherd, is explained in Sanscrit dictionaries by the phrase Abhirapalli, a town or village of Abbiras or Pallis.

The mountains of Abyssinia have in Sanscrit the name of Nishadba; and from them flowed the Nandà, (which runs through the land of Pushpavasham about the lake Dembea) the Little Grishná, or Tacazzé, and the Sanc'hánagá, or Mareb; of which three rivers we shall hereafter speak more particularly. Since the Hindus place another Méru in the Southern Hemisphere, we must not be surprized to find the Nilá described by them as rushing over three ranges of mountains, which have the same names with three similar ranges, over which the Gangá, in their opinion, forces its way, before it enters the plains of India: those mountains are the Himálaya, or Seat of Snow, the Nishadha, and the Hémacúta, or with a golden peak. The Hindus believe, that a range of African hills is covered with snow: the old Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans believed the same thing; and modern travellers assert, that snow falls here and there in some parts of Africa; but the southern Himálaya is more generally called Sítánta, which implies the end, or limit, of cold. On the northern Himálaya is the celebrated lake Mánasa-saras or Mánasarávvara, near Suméru, the abode of Gods; who are represented sometimes as reclining in their bowers, and sometimes as making aerial excursions in their Vimánas, or heavenly cars: thus on, or within, the

S s
southern Himálaya we find the lake of the Gods, which corresponds with that in the north; with this difference, that the existence of the southern lake cannot be doubted, while that of the northern may well be called in question (unless there be such a lake in the unknown region between Tibet and the high plains of Bokhára); for what the Sannyásis call Mánasaróvar is in truth the Vindyasarás of the Puráns. Beyond the southern lake of the Gods is another Mérü, the seat also of divinities and the place of their airy jaunts, for it is declared in the Puráns, as the Bráhmens inform me, that, within the mountains towards the source of the Níl, there are delightful groves inhabited by deities, who divert themselves with journeying in their cars from hill to hill: the Greeks gave to that southern Mérü the appellation of Θεόν ὀχυρα in allusion to the Vínáns, or celestial cars; but they meant a range of hills, according to Pliny and Agathemerus(a), not a single insulated mountain. Pliny, who places that mountainous tract in the south of Ethíopía, makes it project a great way into the southern ocean: its western limit is mentioned by Ptolemy; and the Nubian geographer speaks of all the three ranges. By the Chariot of the Gods we are to understand the lofty grounds in the centre of the African peninsula, from which a great many rivers, and innumerable rivulets flow in all directions: fires were constantly seen at night on the summit of those highlands; and that appearance, which has nothing very strange in it, has been fully accounted for by modern travellers.

We come now to the Hásyásílas or Habašís, who are mentioned, I am told; in the Puráns, though but seldom; and their name is believed to have the following etymology: C'hárma, having laughed at his father Satya-vrátá, who had by accident intoxicated himself with a fermented liquor,

(a) Plin. i. 6. c. 30. i. 5. c. 1. i. 2. c. 106. Agathem. B. 2. ch. 9.
was nicknamed Hāṣyasīla, or the Laugher; and his descendants were called from him Hāṣyasīlas in Sanscrit, and, in the spoken dialects, Hāṣyas, Han-

sēs, and even Habashis; for the Arabick word is supposed by the Hindus to be a corruption of Hāṣya. By those descendants of C'harma they understand the African negros, whom they suppose to have been the first inhabitants of Abyssinia; and they place Abyssinia partly in the dwīpa of Cusba, partly in that of Sānc'ha Proper. Dr. Pocock was told at the Cataracts, that beyond them, or in the exterior Cusha-dwīp, there were seven mountains; and the Brāhmens particularly affect that number: thus they divided the old continent into seven large islands, or peninsulas, and in each island we find seven districts with as many rivers and mountains. The following is the Paurānic division of Cusha-dwīp called exterior with respect to that of Jambu:

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<tr>
<th>Districts</th>
<th>Mountains</th>
<th>Rivers</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'Apyāyana</td>
<td>Puṣhpavērs̥a</td>
<td>Nandā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pāribhadra</td>
<td>Cumudādri</td>
<td>Rajānī</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dévavērs̥a</td>
<td>Cundādri</td>
<td>Cubā</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ramanaca</td>
<td>Vāmadēva</td>
<td>Sarafswaṭī</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sumanasa</td>
<td>'Sataśringa</td>
<td>Sintvālī</td>
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<td>Surōchana</td>
<td>Sarasa</td>
<td>Anumati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avijñyāta</td>
<td>Sabafrastruti</td>
<td>Rācā</td>
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It seems unnecessary to set down the etymologies of all these names; but it may not be improper to add, that 'Sataśringa means with a hundred peaks; and Sabafrastruti, with a thousand streams.

Between the interior Cusha-dwīp and Sānc'ha Proper lies, according to the Purāns, on the banks of the Nilā, the country of Barbara; which in-
On Egypt and the Nile

eludes, therefore, all the land between Syene and the confluence of the Nile with the Tacazze, which is generally called Barbara and Barbar to this day; but, in a larger sense, it is understood by the Paurânicô to comprize all the burning sands of Africa. Barbara-desê, which answers to the loca arida et ardentia mentioned by Pliny as adjacent to the Nile, was a fertile and charming country, before it was burned, according to the Hindu legends, which will be found in a subsequent section, first by the approach of Sûrya or the Sun, and afterwards by the influence of Sani or Saturn. Its principal city, where Barbara-desê had a distinguished temple, was called Barbara-sthan, and stood on the banks of the Nile: the Tamôvanfa, or Children of Tamas, resided in it; and it is, most probably, the town of Tama, which Pliny places on the eastern bank of the Nile, an hundred and twenty nine Roman miles above Syene (a).

The crude noun Tamar, in the first case Tamah, and Tamo before certain consonants, means darkness, and it is also a title of Sani; whose descendants are supposed to have lived in Barbara, and are represented as an ill-clothed half-starved race of people, much like the present inhabitants of the same country. The following fables appear to be astrological, but might have had some foundation in history, as the Hindu regents of planets were in truth old philosophers and legislators, whose works are still extant.

Tamah, or Saturn, had two wives St'havira and Jarat'ha' whose names imply age and decrepitude; by the former he had seven sons Mrîtyu, Ca'la, Da'va, Ulca, Ghôra, Adhama, Can'taca; by the latter, only two, Ma'ndya and Gulica. The sons of Ma'ndya were As'ubha, Arisht'ha, Gulma, Plî'ha; those of Gulica were Gad'ha and Gra-

(a) Plin. lib. 6. cap. 29.
from the Ancient Books of the Hindus. 333

Iila: they were all abominable men, and their names denote every thing, that is horrid. It is expressly said in the Puránas, that Tamah was expelled from Egypt exactly at the time, when Arama, a grandson of Satya-vrata, died; that his children retired into Barbara; and that his grandson Gulma reigned over that country, when it was invaded by Cape'nsa, who will presently appear, beyond a doubt, to be Cepheus. The Tamówanas are described as living in Barbara Proper, which is now called Nubia, and which lay, according to the Indian geography, between the dwipas of Sanc'ha and of Cushi without: but the other parts of Barbara toward the mouths of the Nile were inhabited by the children of Ra'hu; and this brings us to another astronomical tale extracted from a book entitled Chintámani.

Ra'hu is represented, on account of his tyranny, as an immense river-dragon, or crocodile, or rather a fabulous monster with four talons, called Grába, from a root implying violent seizure: the word is commonly interpreted hänger, or shark, but, in some dictionaries, it is made synonymous to naera, or crocodile; and in the Puránas, it seems to be the creature of poetical fancy. The tyrant, however, in his human shape had six children, Dhwaja, Dhumra, Sinha, Laguda, Danda, and Cartana, (which names are applied to comets of different forms) all equally mischievous with their father; in his allegorical character he was decapitated by Víshnu; his lower extremity became the Cétu, or dragon's tail, and his head, still called Ra'hu, the ascending node; but the head is supposed, when it fell on earth, to have been taken up by Pit'hnás or Pit'hn, and by him placed at Ra'hu-š'bén, (to which the Greeks gave the name of Heroópolis), where it was worshipped and gave oracular answers; which may be the origin of the speaking heads, mentioned by Jewísh writers as prepared by magick. The posterity of Ra'hu were from him denominated Grábas; and they might have been the an-
cestors of those Graii, or Greeks, who came originally from Egypt; it is remarkable, that Hesiod, in his Theogony, mentions women in Africa named Graiai, who had fine complexions and were the offspring of Phorcys and Ceto. The Graias are painted by the writers of the Puranas in most unfavourable colours; but an allowance must be made for a spirit of intolerance and fanaticism: Ra'hu was worshipped in some countries, as Hailal, or Lucifer (whom in some respects he resembles) was adored in the eastern parts of Egypt and in Arabia the Stony and the Desert, according to Jerom in the Life of Hilarion; but, though we must suppose, that his votaries had a very different opinion of the Graias from that inculcated by the Hindus, yet it is certain, that the Greeks were not fond of being called Graioi, and very seldom gave themselves that appellation.

The sandy deserts in Egypt to the east and west of the Nile are considered in the Purans as part of Barbara; and this may account for what Herodotus says of the word Barbaros, which, according to Him, was applied by the Egyptians to all, who were unable to speak their language, meaning the inhabitants of the desert, who were their only neighbours: since the people of Barbara, or children of Saturn, were looked upon as a cruel and deceitful race, the word was afterwards transferred to men of that disposition; and the Greeks, who had lived in Egypt, brought the appellation into their new settlements, but seem to have forgotten its primitive meaning.

On the banks of the Nile we find the Grisna-giri, or Black Mountain of Barbara, which can be no other than the black and barren range of hills, which Mr. Bruce saw at a great distance towards the Nile from Tarsowey: in the caves of those mountains lived the Tamavatfas, of whom we shall speak hereafter. Though the land of Barbara be said in the Purans to lie between
the *dwipas* of *Cusha* and *Sanc'ha*, yet it is generally considered as part of the latter. The *Nile*, on leaving the burning sands of *Barbara*, enters the country of *Sanc'ha proper*, and forces its way through the *Héma-cúta*, or Golden Mountains; an appellation, which they retain to this day: the mountain called *Pancrysos* by the Greeks, was part of that range, which is named *Ol-laki* by the *Arabs*: and the *Nubian* geographer speaks of the Golden Mountains, which are a little above *Ofwán*. Having passed that ridge, the *Nílā* enters *Cardama-ś'bán*, or the Land of *Mud*; which obviously means the fertile *Egyptian* valley, so long covered with *Mud* after every inundation: the *Puránas* give a dreadful idea of that *muddy land*, and assert that no mortal durft approach it; but this we must understand as the opinion formed of it by the first colonists, who were alarmed by the reptiles and monsters abounding in it, and had not yet seen the beauty and richness of its fertile state. It is expressly declared to be in *Míśra-ś'bán*, or the Country of a mixed People; for such is the meaning in Sanscrit of the word *Míśra*: sometimes the compound word *Míśra-ś'bán* is applied to the Lower *Egypt*, and sometimes (as in the history of the wars of *Capénesa*) to the whole country; in which sense, I am told, the word *Gupta-ś'bán* is used in ancient books, but I have never yet seen it applied so extensively. *Agupta* certainly means guarded on all sides; and *Gupta*, or guarded, is the name of a place reputed holy; which was, I doubt not, the famed *Coptos* of our ancient Geographers; who mention a tripartite arrangement of *Egypt* exactly conformable to the three divisions of *Míśra-ś'bán* particularly recorded in the *Puránas*: the first of them was *Tapóśâna*, the woodlands of *Tapas*, or austere devotion, which was probably Upper *Egypt*, or *Thebais*; the second, *Míśra* Proper, called also *Cantaca-désa*, or the Land of Thorns, which answers to the Lower *Egypt* or *Heptanomis*; and the third, *Aranyā* and *Atavē*, or the *Forests* emphatically so named, which were situated at the mouths of the *Nílā*, and formed what we call the *Delta*. 
The first inhabitants of Egypt found, on their arrival, that the whole country about the mouths of the Nile was an immense forest; part impervious, which they called Atavi, part uninhabited, but practicable, which had the name of Aranya.

Tapóvana seems to have been always adapted to religious austerities; and the first Christian anchorets used to seclude themselves in the wilds of Thebes for the purpose of contemplation and abstracted piety: thus we read, that the Abbot Pachomius retired, with his disciples, to the wilderness of Tabenna, and there built a Monastery, the remains of which are still visible, a day’s journey below Dendera, near an island now called Tabenna, and, according to Sicard, a little below the site of Thebes. The country around Dendera is at this day covered with forests of Daum; a tree, which some describe as a dwarf palm, and others as a Rhamnus: thence Dendera was called by Juvenal the shady Tentyra.

There can be no doubt, that Tapóvana was Upper Egypt, or the Thebais; for several places, the situation of which will be clearly ascertained in the course of this essay, are placed by the authors of the Purâns in the forests of Tapas: the words Thebaius and Thebinites are both said to be derivatives of Thebai; but the second of them seems rather derived from Tapóvan or Tabenna. So fond are nations of accommodating foreign words to their own language, that the Arabs, who have changed Taposiris into Abû’ssave, or Father of Travel, have, in the same spirit, converted Tabenna into Medinatabiná, or the Town of our Father; though some of them call it Medinat Tabu from Tapó, which an Arab could not pronounce. The principal place in this division was Cardama-sé'bal which is mentioned in the Purâns as a temple of considerable note: the legend is, that Guptē’swāra and his comfort had long
been concealed in the mud of the Nilá near Gupta-st'hán, or Coptos, but at length sprang from it and appeared at Cardama-st'hán both wholly besmeared with mud, whence they had also the titles of Cardame'swara and Cardame'swari. We may observe, that Gupta signifies both guarded and concealed, and in either sense may be the origin of the word Aiguptos: as to Cardama, the canine letter is so often omitted in the vulgar pronunciation of Sanscrit words, that Cardam, or Cadam, seems to be the Cadmus of the Greeks; and we shall hereafter illustrate this etymology with circumstances, which will fully confirm it.

Misra-st'hán is called also Misra and Misrena in the sacred books of the Hindus; where it is said, that the country was peopled by a mixed race, consisting of various tribes, who, though living for their convenience in the same region, kept themselves distinct, and were perpetually disputing either on their boundaries, or, which is most probable, on religious opinions: they seem to be the mingled people mentioned in Scripture. To appease their feuds, Brahma' himself descended in the character of Iswara; whence Misra-swara became one of his titles. The word Misr, which the Arabs apply to Egypt and to its metropolis, seems clearly derived from the Sanscrit; but, not knowing its origin, they use it for any large city, and give the appellation of Almisran in the dual to Cúfà and Basra: the same word is also found in the sense of a boundary or line of separation. Of Misr the dual and plural forms in Hebrew are Misraim and Misrim, and the second of them is often applied in scripture to the people of Egypt. As to Mazar, or, more properly, Mazar, there is a difference of opinion among the translators of Isaiah: (a) in the old English version we find the passage, in which the word occurs, thus rendered, "the brooks of defence shall be emptied and dried up;" but

(a) Chap. 19 v. 6, See II. Kings, 18, 24.
Bishop Lowth, after some commentators, changes the brooks of defence, into the canals of Egypt; and this is obviously the meaning of the prophet; though the form of the word be more like the Arabian plural Mysar than any form purely Hebrew.

Stephanus of Byzantium says, that Egypt was called Myara by the Phenicians; but surely this is a mistake for Mysara: according to Suidas and Eusebius it had the name of Mesraia; but this, I conceive, should be written Mesraia from Mysrēya, which may be grammatically deduced from the root Mysr. The name Cantaca dēsa was given to Mysra for a reason similar to that of Acanthus, a town and territory abounding in thorny trees.

It was an opinion of the Egyptian priests, and of Herodotus also, when he was in their country, that the valley of Egypt was formerly an arm of the sea, which extended as far as the Cataracts; whether this opinion be well-founded, is not now the question; but a notion of the same kind occurs in the Purānas, and the Brāhmens account, in their way, for the alteration, which they suppose to have happened. Pramōdā, they say, was a king of Sanc'ha-dwipa Proper, and resided on the shore of the sea called Sanc'loḍa-dbi: the country was chiefly peopled by Mlech'bās, or such as speack barbarously, and by savage Rāc'hbasas, who are believed to be evil demons; nor was a single Brāhman to be found in the kingdom, who could explain the Vēdas and instruct mankind in their duties. This greatly afflicd the pious king; till he heard of a Rishi, or holy man, eminent in piety and in sacred knowledge, who lived in the country of Barbara, and was named Pi'Thi or Pi'Thinasa, but was generally distinguished by the title of Pi'Thi-rishi; he was visited by Pramōdā in person, and, after many intreaties, prevailed on to accompany the king to Sanc'ha-dwipa; but, when he saw the incorri-
gible wickedness of its inhabitants, he was wholly in despair of effecting any good in that country, and passed the night without sleep. Early in the morning he repaired to the sea-shore, where, taking water and Guśha-grasfs in his hand, he was on the point of uttering an imprecation on Sanc’ho’daih: the God of the Ocean perceived his intent, and threw himself trembling at his feet, asking humbly what offence he had committed. 

"Thy waters, answered the Saint, wash a polluted region, into which the king has conducted me, but in which I cannot exist: give me instantly a purer piece of land, on which I may reside and perform the duties of religion." In that instant the sea of Sanc’ha retired for the space of a hundred yójanas, or 492 miles, and left the holy man in possession of all the ground appearing on that dereliction: the king, on hearing of the miracle, was transported with joy, and caused a splendid palace to be built on an island in the territory newly acquired: it was called Pit’hi-s’bán, because Pit’hi resided in it, having married the hundred daughters of Pramo’dá; and, on his beginning to read lectures on the Véda, he was in a short time attended by numerous disciples. This fable, which had, probably, some foundation in truth, is related in a book, entitled Viśwa-sára-pracáśa, or a Declaration of what is most excellent in the Universe.

Pit’hi-st’ha’n could not be very distant from Cardama-s’bali, or the city of Thebes, to which, according to the Brāhmánda, the Sage’s daughter, from him called Pait’hini’, used to go almost every day for the purpose of worshipping Maḥá-de’va: it seems, therefore, to be the Pathros of Scripture, named Patbures by the Greek interpreters, and Patburis by Pliny, from whose context it appears to have stood at no great distance from Thebes; and it was, certainly, in Upper Egypt. It was probably the same place, which Ptolemy calls Tathyris, either by mistake or in conformity to the pronun-
cation of the Ethiopians, who generally substituted the letter T for P, which they could not articulate: from the data in Ptolemy, it could not have been above six miles to the west of Thebes; and was, therefore, in that large island formed by an arm of the Nile, which branches out at Ermenth, and rejoins the main body of the river at the Memnonium. According to the old Egyptians, the sea had left all Upper Egypt from the Cataracts as far as Memphis; and the distance between those two places is nearly that mentioned in the Puranas, or about a hundred jājans: the God of the Ocean; it seems, had attempted to regain the land, which he had been forced to relinquish; but Mahadeva, (with a new title derived from Nabhas, or the sky, and Iswara or lord) effectually stopped his encroachments; and this was the origin of Nabhah-f¹b¹n, or Memphis, which was the most distinguished among the many considerable places in Misra, and which appears to have consisted of several detached parts: as 1. Ugra-f¹b¹n, so called from Ugra, the Uchoreus of the Greeks; 2. Nabhah, the Noph of Scripture; 3. a part named Misra; 4. Móhana-f¹b¹n, which may, perhaps, be the present Mohammadan; and 5. Laya-f¹b¹n, or Laya-vatî, vulgarly pronounced Layáti, the suburb of Lete, or Letopolis.

Ro'dana-f¹b¹n, or the place of Weeping, is the island in the lake or Márîša, or Maris, concerning which we have the following Indian story in the Vīswasāra-pracása.

Petí'-s'úca, who had a power of separating his soul from his body, voluntarily ascended toward heaven; and his wife Márîśha', supposing him finally departed, retired to a wilderness, where she sat on a hillock, shedding tears so abundantly, that they formed a lake round it; which was afterwards named Abru-tre'ba, or the holy place of tears: its waters were black, or very
dark azure, and the same colour is ascribed by Strabo to those of Māris. Her son Mēḍhip, or Mērhip, Sucā had also renounced the world, and, feating himself near her, performed the same religious austerities: their devotion was so fervent and so long continued, that the inferior Gods began to apprehend a diminution of their own influence. At length Ma'ri'sha', dying peticrata, or dutiful to her lord, joined him among the Viṣṇu-lōca, or inhabitants of Viṣṇu's heaven; and her son, having solemnized the obsequies of them both, raised a sumptuous temple, in which he placed a statue of Viṣṇu, at the seat of his weeping mother; whence it acquired the appellation of Rōdana-fībāna. "They, who make ablutions in the lake of Afru-tīrt'ba, "says the Hindu writer, are purified from their sins and exempt from worldly affections, ascending after death to the heaven of Viṣṇu; and they, "who worship the deity at Rōdana-fībān enjoy heavenly bliss, without being "subject to any future transmigration." No lake in the world, except that of Māris, corresponds, both in name and in circumstances, with that of Afru-tīrt'ba and the island in the midst of it, which was also called Mērbi, or Mērbi-fīban from the name of the prince, who consecrated it; the two statues on it were said by the Greeks to be those of Māris and his queen; but they appear from the Purāṇas to have been those of Viṣṇu, or Osiris, and of Ma'ri'sha', the mother of Māris; unless the image of the God was considered in substance as that of the departed king, who, in the language of the Hindu theologians, was wholly absorbed in the divine essence. Three lakes, in the countries adjacent to the Nile, have names in the Purāṇas derived from ṛṣū, or tears; first, Sucāfīru, or Tears of Sorrow, another name for Afru-tīrt'ba, or Māris; secondly, Herbāfīru, or Tears of Joy; and, thirdly, Anandasfīru, or Tears of an inward pleasurable sensation; to both which belong legendary narratives in the Purāṇas. One of the infernal rivers was named Afrumati, or the Tearful; but the first of them was Vaitaranī, where
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a boatman had been stationed to ferry over the souls of mortals into the region of Yama: the word vitarana, whence the name of the river is derived, alludes to the fare given for the passage over it.

III. We must now speak particularly of Sanc'ba-dwipa Proper, or the Island of Shells, as the word literally signified; for Sanc'ba means a sea-shell, and is generally applied to the large buccinum: the Red Sea, which abounds with shells of extraordinary size and beauty, was considered as part of the Sanc'bádibi, or Sanc'bdadbi; and the natives of the country before us wore large collars of shells, according to Strabo, both for ornament and as amulets. In the Puranas, however, it is declared, that the dwipa had the appellation of Sanc'ba, because its inhabitants lived in shells, or in caverns of rocks hollowed like shells and with entrances like the mouths of them: others insist, that the mountains themselves, in the hollows of which the people sought shelter, were no more than immense heaps of shells thrown on shore by the waves and consolidated by time. The strange idea of an actual habitation in a shell was not unknown to the Greeks, who represent young Nerites, and one of the two Cupids, living in shells on the coast of that very sea. From all circumstances collected it appears, that Sanc'ba-dwipa, in a confined sense, was the Troglodytica of the ancients, and included the whole western shore of the Red Sea; but that, in an extensive acceptance, it comprised all Africa: the Troglodytes, or inhabitants of caves, are called in Scripture also Suckim, because they dwelt in suchas, or dens; but it is probable, that the word sucha which means a den only in a secondary sense, and signifies also an arbour, a booth, or a tent, was originally taken, in the sense of a cave, from Sanc'ba; a name given by the first inhabitants of the Troglodytica to the rude places of shelter, which they found or contrived in the mountains, and which bore some resemblance to the mouths of large shells. The word Sanc'ba-dwipa has also
in some of the Puránas a sense yet more limited, and is restrained to the land inhabited by the snake Sanc'ba-nága, which included the mountains of Hubáb, or the Serpent, and the Abyssinian kingdom of Tigré: the same region is, however, sometimes called Sanc'ba-vana, and is reported to be a wonderfully fine country, watered by noble rivers and streams, covered with forests of the most useful and beautiful trees, and a hundred yójans in length or 492 miles; a dimension, which corresponds exactly enough with a line drawn from the southern limit of Tigré to the northern extremity of the Hubáb mountains. It lay between the Cálicá, or Cáli, and the sea; its principal river was the Sanc'ba-nágá, now called Mdreb; and its capital city near the sea-shore, where the royal snake resided, had the name of Côtimá; not far from which was a part of the mountain Dyutimán, or brilliant, so called from the precious metals and gems, with which it abounded.

In the Dherma-fáśra both Nágas and Garudáš are named as races of men descended from Atri, concerning whom we shall presently speak more at large; but, in the language of Mythology, the Nágas or Uragas are large serpents, and the Garudás or Supernas, immense birds, which are either the Condors of M. Buffon and Vulture Griffons of Linnéus, called Rokhs by the Arabian fabulists and by Marco Polo, or mere creatures of imagination, like the Si'ímiq of the Persians, whom Sádi describes as receiving his daily allowance on the mountain of Káf: whatever be the truth, the legend of Sanc'ba-nága and Garudá is thus told in the ancient books of the Hindus.

The king of Serpents formerly reigned in Chacra-giri, a mountain very far to the eastward; but his subjects were obliged by the power of Garudá to supply that enormous bird with a snake each day: their king at length refused to give the daily provision, and intercepted it himself when it was sent
by his serpentine race. This enraged Garud'a, who threatened to devour the snakes and their king; nor would his menaces have been vain, if they had not all retired to Sanc'ha-dwip, where they settled in Sanc'ha-vana between the Câh and the sea, near the station of Swámi Cartice'ya, God of Arms, where they are supposed to live still unmolested, because Garud'a dares not approach the mansion of that more powerful divinity. "They, says the "Indian writer, who perform yearly and daily rites in honour of Sanc'ha-
"Na'ga, will acquire immense riches:" that royal serpent is also called Sanc'ha-Muc'ha, because his mouth was like that of a shell, and the same denomination is given to the rocks, on which he dwelt. The Mountains of Snakes are mentioned by the Nubian Geographer, and are to this day called Hub'áb, which in Arabick means a snake in general according to Jauheri, and a particular species of serpent according to Maidá'ni; the same region was named Ophiussa by the Greeks, who sometimes extended that appellation to the whole African continent. The breath of Sanc'ha-nága is believed by the Hindus to be a fiery poisonous wind, which burns and destroys animals and vegetables to the distance of a hundred yójans round the place of his residence; and by this hypothesis they account for the dreadful effects of the famíum, or hot envenomed wind, which blows from the mountains of Hub'áb through the whole extent of the Desert. Two Risbis, or Saints, named Agasti and A'st'ica undertook to stop so tremendous an evil: the first of them repaired for that purpose to Sanc'ha-vana, where he took his abode at a place, thence called Agasti-bhuvana, near the sea-shore and not from Cótimí; but the gentle means, to which he had recourse with the royal snake, proved ineffectual. A'st'ica, by harsher measures, had more success; and made the snake, say the Bráhmens, not only tractable, but even well-disposed to all such, as respectfully approached him: he even reduced the size of the serpent so much, as to carry him about in an earthen vessel; and crowds of people are now said
so worship him at the place of his residence near the river Calz. This is, probably, the snake Heredi so famed throughout Egypt: the Muselmans insist, that it is a Shaiek of that name transformed into a snake; the Christians, that it is Asmodeus mentioned in the book of Tobit, the Ashmugh-div of the Persian romances; and the Hindus are equal to them in their superstitious notions. My learned friends at Cazi inform me, that the sacred snake is at this day visited by travelling Sannyasis; but I cannot assert this as a fact, having never seen any Hindu, who had travelled so far: those, whom I have seen, had never gone beyond the Euphrates; but they assured me, that they would have passed that river, if they had not been deterred by reports of disturbances among the Arab chiefs to the westward. The boldest religious adventurers, among the Sannyasis, are those from the northwest of India; for no native of Bengal, or, indeed, of the countries east of the Ganges, would now attempt (at least I never heard of any, who had attempted) such perilous journeys. As to the belief of the Hindus, that 'Astica put an effectual stop to the fiery breath of 'Sanc'ba-naga, or the Samum, it appears from the relation of Mr. Bruce, that the second publick-spirited saint had no more success than the first.

We must observe, that naga, or motionless, is a Sanscrit name for a mountain, and that naga, its regular derivative, signifies both a mountain-snake and a wild elephant: accordingly we read of an elephant-king in Sanc'ba, who reigned on the banks of the Mareb, thence called Sanc'ba-naga; and, when Crishna had slain both him and his subject elephants, their bones were heaped on the banks of the Tacazze, which from that event had the name of Afs'binati.

The other parts of Sanc'ba-dwip Proper, adjacent to the sea, were inha-
bited by the subjects of Sanc'ha'sura, whose palace was a shell in the ocean; but they are said to have resided in shells on or near the mountains of the African continent: they are represented as cannibals, and even as demons incarnate, roaming by night and plundering the flat country, from which they carried off men, women, and children, whom they devoured alive; that is, perhaps, as raw flesh is now eaten in Abyssinia. From this account it should seem, that the Sanc'hasuras lived in the caves of mountains along the coast, while their king resided in a cavern of the small island Suakem, where there still is a considerable town, in the middle of a large bay: he there, probably, concealed his plunder, and thence was reported to dwell in the ocean.

The name of that island appears derived from Sukham, the plural of Sukh in Hebrew, and the Sanc' of the Hindus: by the ancient Geographers it is called both Sukhæ, and the Harbour of preserving Gods, from the preservation, I suppose, of Sanc'ba-dwipa and its inhabitants by the divine assistance of Crishna; who, with an army of deities, attacked and defeated Sanc'ha'sura, pursuing him even through the sea, where he drew the monster from his shell, and put him to death.

Besides these first inhabitants of Sanc'ba-dwipa, who are described by the Mythologists as elephants, demons, and snakes, we find a race, called Shanc'hâyanas, who are the real Troglodytes, or Shangalas; for la is a regular termination of Sanscrit adjectives, as Bhágala, fortunate; Sinhabala, lion-like; and Bengala, which properly means belonging to the country of Benga: they were the descendants of Atri before named, whose history, being closely connected with that of the Sacred Isles in the west, deserves peculiar attention. He sprang, say the writers of the Puránas, from the mind of Brahma, who appointed him a Prajápati, or Lord of Creatures, commanding him to produce a numerous race, and intrusting him with the Védas, which had existed
eternally in the divine idea, that he might instruct his posterity in their civil and religious duties. **Atri** first repaired to a western region, where he became the father of the lovely **Tubina-rašmi**, or *with dewy beams*: he thence passed into the country watered by the river **Sanc'ba-nágā**, where proceeding to the **Sanc'ba-muc'ba** hills, he sat on the **Swéta-giri**, or **White Mountain**, fixed in deep meditation on the author of his existence. His arrival was quickly known throughout the country; and the few inhabitants of it came to worship him, bringing even their wives and daughters, that they might bear children by so holy a personage; but his days and nights being wholly devoted to contemplation and sacred acts, his only time for dalliance was during the morning twilight: he became, however, the ancestor of a considerable nation, who were distributed, like other Hindus, into the sacerdotal, military, commercial, and servile classes.

His first born **Sanc'ha'yaṇa** had a fair complexion and great bodily strength, but was irreligious, turbulent, and libidinous, eating forbidden flesh, and living in the caverns of rocks; nor were his brethren and their offspring better in the end than himself: thus the Jews, who have borrowed many Indian fables, which were current, I suppose, among their neighbours, insift in their *Talmud*, that **Adam** begat none but demons, till he was 150 years old *(a)*. The pious patriarch, deeply afflicted by the vices of his children, expostulated with them long in vain, and, seeing no remedy, contented himself with giving them the best advice; teaching them how to make more habitable caves in the mountains, *pallis*, or arbours under trees, and *ghóskas*, or inclosures for their herds; permitting them to eat what they pleased; commanding them to dwell constantly on the mountains assigned to them, and to

*(a) Eruvin, p. 18.*
take particular care of the spot, which their forefather had inhabited, calling it from his name Atri-śūbdan. After this arrangement, he left them and went to the country near the Sindhu, or Indus, settling on the Dévanica mountains; where he avoided the morning twilight, which had before been unprosperous, and produced a race eminent in virtue; for whom, when they multiplied, he built the famous city of Nagarā, emphatically so called, and generally named Déva-nagarā, which stood near the site of the modern Čábul.

Since the Swética-giri, on which Atri-śūbdan is declared to have stood, was at no great distance from the river Sanc’ba-nāgā, it is, most probably, the same with the Amba-tzaada, or White Mountain, mentioned by Mr. Bruce; who says, that it is the most considerable settlement of the Shangalas: it stands almost due north-west from Dobarowa, and is nearer by one third to the Mareb than to the Tacazze. The pallis, or arbours, of the Shangalas are fully described by Mr. Bruce, in a manner entirely conformable to the descriptions of them in the Purānas, except that they are not said always to be covered with skins; the Pallis of India live still in similar arbours during the greatest part of the year. That the Sanc’bēyanas were the predecessors of the Shangallas, I have no doubt; though the former are said to have white complexions, and the latter to be black; for, not to insist, that the climate alone would in a long course of years effect a change of complexion, it is probable, that the race might be mixed, or that most of the old and genuine Sanc’balas might have been exterminated; and Pliny mentions a race of white Ethiopians, who lived to the west of the Nile. (a) Though Atri-śūbdan be applied in the Purāns to the country also of the Sanc’bēyanas, as well as to the station of ATRI, yet the regular derivative from his name is Aṭrēyā; and we

(a) Lib. 5. Cap. 70.
find accordingly a part of Ethiopia named Ætheria by the Greeks, who called its inhabitants Ætheri; and Strabo confines this appellation to a particular tribe, who seem to be the Attiri of Ptolemy, and lived near the confluence of the Tasazzê and the Mareb: (a) they were Atréyas or descended from Atri; but the Greeks, as usual, referred a foreign epithet to a word in their own language. In the Dionysiacs of Nonnus we read of Αἰτηριός Μερόε, which is translated Meroë with perpetual summer; but, surely, the word can have no such meaning; and Meroë must have been so named, because it was once the capital of Ætheria. (b).

It appears from the Purâns, that the Sanc'hâyanas, or old Shangallas, were not destitute of knowledge; and the Brâhmens admit, that they possessed a part at least of the Védas.

IV. The history of the Cutûla-cêsas, or men with curled hair, is disguised in the following legend. Sâgara, an ancient monarch, who gave his name to the Sâgara, or ocean, was going to perform the Aśwamedha, or sacrifice of a horse; when Indra descended and stole the victim, which he conveyed to a place, near the mouth of the Ganges, where the sage Capila was intent on his religious austerities: the God of the firmament there tied the horse by the side of the holy man, and retired unperceived by him. The monarch, missing the consecrated horse, dispatched his sixty thousand sons, or descendants, in search of him: they roved over the whole earth, and, finding him at last near the mansion of Capila, accused him of the sacrilege, and began to treat him with violence; but a flame issued from the eyes of the saint, which consumed them all in an instant. Their

(a) Strabo, B. 11. p. 82. (b) Dionys. B. 17. v. 396.
father, being apprized of their death, sent an army against Capila, who stood fixed to receive them; and, when they approached, unbound his jata, or long plaited hair, and, giving it a twist, struck the ground twice or thrice with it, casting an oblique glance of contempt on his adversaries: in that moment an army of men with curled hair sprang from the earth, attacked the legions of Sagar, and defeated them. After their victory they returned to the Sage, asking who they were, and demanding a fit place of abode.—Capila told them, that they were Jatdpat, or produced by the fall of his locks on the ground; that from the side look, which he had cast on his enemies, their hair was cutila, or crisp; that they should thence be called Cutilas and Cutila-celas; that they must be yat'hatat'hyas, or live as they were, when produced by him, that is, always prepared for just war; that they must repair to Sanc'ba-dwip, and form a settlement, in which they would encounter many difficulties and be continually harassed by bad neighbours; but that, when Krishna should overpower and destroy Sanc'ha'sura, He would establish their empire, and secure it from future molestation. They accordingly travelled through the interior Cusha-dwipa, where the greatest part of them chose to remain, and received afterwards a terrible overthrow from Paras'u-ra'ma: the others passed into Sanc'ba-dwip, and settled on the banks of the Cafi; but, having revolted against Dev'ana-

Violent feuds had long subsisted between the family of Gautama on one side, and those of Viswa'mitra and Jamadagni on the other: the kings of Cusha-dwip within took the part of Gautama; and the Haihayas, a very powerful nation in that country (whom I believe to have been Persians) were inveterate against Jamadagni, whom they killed after defeating his army. Among the confederates in Cusha-dwipa were the
Rómacas, or dressed in hair-cloth; the Sacas, and a tribe of them called: Sacafénas, the Hindus of the Čhātriya class, who then lived on the banks of the Chausus, or Ouxus; the Páraficas, a nation beyond the Nile; the Barbaras, or people of Nubia; the inhabitants of Cámboja, the Cirátas and Haritas, two tribes of the Pallis; and the Yavanas, or ancestors of the Greeks.—These allies entered India, and defeated the troops of Viswa'mitra in the country, called Túdba-bhúmi, or the Land of War, now Yehud, between the Indus and the Bebat.

Parás'u-Rá'ma, the son of Jamáda'gni, but supposed afterwards to have been a portion of the divine essence in a human form, was enraged at the success of the confederates, and circulated a publick declaration, that Na'red had urged him to extirpate them entirely; affuring him, that the people of Čusba-dwípa, who dwelt in the hollows of mountains, were cravityádas, or carnivorous, and that their king Cravya'da'hipeti, or Chief Ruler of Cannibals, had polluted both earth and water, which were two of the eight forms of I'sá, with the mangled limbs and blood of the strangers, whom he and his abominable subjects had cruelly devoured. After this proclamation, Parás'u-ralma invaded Čusba-dwípa, and attacked the army of Cravya'da'hipeti, who stepped from the ranks, and challenged him to single combat: they began with hurling rocks at each other; and Rá'ma was nearly crushed under a mountain thrown by his adversary, but, having disengaged himself, he darted huge serpents, which enfolded the giant in an inextricable maze, and at length destroyed him. The blood of the monster formed the Lóbita-c'baná, and that of his army, the Lóbítódā, or river with bloody waters: it is, I believe, the Adonis of the ancients, now called Nabru Ibra'hí'm, the waters of which, at certain seasons of the year, have a sanguine tint. I suppose Cravya'da'hipati to be the Lycurgus
Edonos of the Greeks, who reigned in Palestine and in the country around Damascus: his friend Caiceva, whom the Greeks called Orontes, renewed the fight, and was also slain. Then came the king of the Cutila-cetas, and Mahasyaama, ruler of the Syama-mucbas, and usually residing in Arvashan, or Arabia; the former of whom I conceive to be Blemys; and the second Arabus, whom the Greek Mythologists also named Orobandas and Oruandes: they fought a long time with valour, but were defeated; and, on their humiliating themselves and imploring forgiveness, were allowed to retire, with the remains of their army, to the banks of the Cali, where they settled; while Parsons-Rama, having terminated the war in Cusba-dwipa, returned to his own country, where he was destined to meet with adventures yet more extraordinary.

This legend is told nearly in the same manner by the poet Nonnus, a native of Egypt; who says, that, after the defeat of Lycurgus, the Arabs yielded and offered sacrifices to Bacchus; a title corrupted from Bhagavat, or the preserving power, of which a ray or portion had become incarnate in the person of Parsons-Rama: he relates, that "Blemys with curled hair, chief of the ruddy, or Erythrean Indians, held up a bloodless olive-branch with the supplicating troops, and bowed a servile knee to Dionysos, who had slain his Indian subjects; that the God, beholding him bent to the ground, took him by the hand and raised him; but conveyed him, together with his many-tongued people, far from the dark Erythrean Indians, (since he abhorred the government and manners of Deriadeus) to the skirt of Arabia; that He, near the contiguous ocean, dwelt in the happy region and gave a name to the inhabitants of its towns; but that rapid Blemys passed onward to the mouth of the Nile with seven branches, destined to be a contemporary ruler over the people of Ethiopia; that the
low ground of Etherian Mercê received him as a chief, who should leave
his name to the Blemyes born in subsequent ages.” (a).

The emigration of the Cutila-cêfas from India to Egypt is mentioned likewise by Philostratus in his life of Apollonius. When that singular man visited the Brâhmens, who lived on the hills, to the north of Sré-nagara, at a place now called Trilóci-nárâyana near the banks of the Cédâra-gangâ, the Chief Brâhmen, whom he calls Iarchas, gave him the following relation concerning the origin of the Ethiopians: “They resided, said he, formerly in this country, under the dominion of a king, named Ganges; during whose reign the Gods took particular care of them, and the Earth produced abundantly whatever was necessary for their subsistence; but, having slain their king, they were considered by other Indians as defiled and abominable. Then the seeds, which they committed to the earth, rotted; their women had constant abortions; their cattle was emaciated; and, wherever they began to build places of abode, the ground sank and their houses fell: the spirit of the murdered king incessantly haunted them, and would not be appeased, until the actual perpetrators of the murder had been buried alive; and even then the earth forbad them to remain longer in this country. Their sovereign, a son of the river Ganges, was near ten cubits high, and the most majestic personage, that ever appeared in the form of man: his father had once very nearly overflowed all India, but he directed the course of the waters toward the sea, and rendered them highly beneficial to the land; the goddess of which supplied him, while he lived, with abundance, and fully avenged his death.” (b) The basis of this tale is unquestionably Indian, though it be clearly corrupted in some particulars: no Brâhmen was

ever named Iarchas, which may be a corruption of Arsha, or Arcsha, or, possibly, of Yasca, the name of a sage, who wrote a glossary for the Vedas; nor was the Ganges ever considered as a male deity; but the son of Ganga', or Gaṅgeya, was a celebrated hero. According to the Hindu legends, when Capila had destroyed the children of Sagar, and his army of Cutila-cēsas had migrated to another dwipa, the Indian monarch was long inconso-
lable; but his great grandson Bhāgīrat'ha conducted the present Ganges to the spot, where the ashes of his kindred lay; and they were no sooner touched by the divine water, than the sixty thousand princes sprang to life again: another story is, that, when the Ganges and other great rivers were swoln to such a degree, that the goddess of Earth was apprehensive of a general inundation, Bhāgīrat'ha (leaving other holy men to take care of inferi-
our rivers) led the Ganges, from him named Bhūgirat'hī, to the ocean, and rendered her salutary to the earth, instead of destructive to it. These tales are obviously the same in substance with that told by Iarchas, but with some variations and additional circumstances. Apollonius most certainly had no knowledge of the Indian language; nor is it on the whole credible, that he was ever in India or Ethiopia, or even at Babylon: he never wrote an account of his travels; but the sophist Philostratus, who seems to have had a particular design in writing the history of his life, might have possessed valuable materials, by the occasional use of which he imposed more easily on the publick. Some traveller might have conversed with a set of ignorant Sannyā-
sis, who had, what most of them now have, an imperfect knowledge of ancient legends concerning the Devatās; and the description, which Phi-
lostratus gives, of the place in the hills, where the supposed Brāhmaṇs resided, corresponds exactly with a place called Trilōi-nārāyana in the Pu-
rāns, which has been described to me from the information of Sannyāsis, who ignorantly call it Triyōgi-nārāyan; but for a particular account of it, I must
FROM THE ANCIENT BOOKS OF THE HINDUS.

refer to a geographical and historical description of the Ganges and the countries adjacent to it, which I have nearly completed.

The people named Cutila-cēfas are held by some Brāhmens to be the same with the Hāfyasīlas, or at least a branch of them; and some suppose, that the Hāfyasīlas are the before-mentioned remnant of the Cutila-cēfas, who first settled on the banks of the Nile, and, after their expulsion from Egypt by De'va-nahusha, were scattered over the African deserts: the Gaituli, or, Gaityli, were of old the most powerful nation in Africa, and I should suppose them to be descendants of the first Cutilas or Cutils (for so they are frequently called, especially in conversation) who settled first near the Cált river, and were also named Hāfyasīlas; but they must have dwelt formerly in Bengal, if there be any historical basis for the legend of Capila, who was performing acts of religious austerity at the mouth of the Ganges near old Sāgar, or Gangā in the Sunderbans. They were black and had curled hair, like the Egyptians in the time of Herodotus; but at present there are no such negroes in India, except in the Andaman islands, which are now said to be peopled by cannibals, as they were, according to Ptolemy, at least eighteen hundred years ago: from Andaman the Greeks made Eudaimon, and conceived it to be the residence of a good genius. It is certain, that very ancient statues of Gods in India have crisp hair and the features of negroes: some have caps, or tiaras, with curls depending over their foreheads, according to the precise meaning of the epithet Cutilālaca; others, indeed, seem to have their locks curled by art and braided above in a thick knot; but I have seen many idols, on which the woolly appearance of the hair was so well represented as to preclude all doubt; and we may naturally suppose, that they were made by the Cutila-cēfas, when they prevailed in this country. The Brāhmens ascribe those idols to the Bauddhas, and nothing can hurt them more, than to say that any of their
own Gods had the figure of Habasket, or negroes; and even the hair of Buddha himself, for whom they have no small degree of respect, they consider as twirled in braids, like that of some modern Sannyasis; but this will not account for the thick lips and flat noses of those ancient images; nor can it reasonably be doubted, that a race of negroes formerly had power and pre-eminence in India. In several parts of India the mountaineers have still some resemblance to negroes in their countenance and hair, which is curled and has a tendency to wool: it is very probable, that, by intermarriages with other outcasts, who have black complexions but straight hair, they have changed in a course of ages, like the Cutila-césas, or old Egyptians; for the modern Copts are far from answering to the description given by Herodotus, and their features differ considerably from those of the mummies, and of ancient statues brought from Egypt, whence it appears, that their ancestors had large eyes with a long slit, projecting lips, and folded ears of a remarkable size.

V. Of the Syama-muc'bas, who migrated from India, the origin is not yet perfectly known; but their faces were black, and their hair straight, like that of the Hindus, who dwell on the plains: they were, I believe, the straight-haired Ethiops of the ancients; (a) and their king, surnamed Maḥa-sya'ama, or the Great Black, was probably the king Arabus, mentioned by the Greek Mythologists, who was contemporary with Ninus. They were much attached to the Cutila-césas, whence we may infer, that the religious tenets of the two nations were nearly the same. It is believed, that they were the first inhabitants of Arua-f'bán, or Arabia, but passed thence into Africk and settled on the banks of the Nile: the part of Egypt, which lies to the east of that river, is by some considered as part of Arabia; and the peo-

(a) Thōr̄poc. Herod. Polyhymn.
VI. The first origin of the Dánavas, or Children of Danu, is as little known as that of the tribe last mentioned; but they came into Egypt from the west of India; and their leader was Beli, thence named Da'navendra, who lived at the time, when the Padma-mandira was erected on the banks of the Cumudvati: the Dánavas, whom he governed, are frequently mentioned in the Puráṇas among the inhabitants of countries adjacent to the Cāli.

As to the Stri-rājya, or country governed by women, the Hindus assert, that the sovereign of it was always a Queen, and that all her officers, civil and military, were females, while the great body of the nation lived as in other countries; but they have not in this respect carried the extravagance of fable to the same pitch with the Greeks in their accounts of the Amazons: it is related in the Mallári Mábátya, that, when Ra'vana was apprehensive of being totally defeated, he sent his wives to distant countries, where they might be secure; that they first settled on the Indian peninsula near the site of Srírangapatana, or Seríngapatnam, but that, being disturbed in that station, part of them proceeded to the north of Dwáraca in Gujarát, and part into Sanc'ba-divipa, where they formed a government of women, whence their settlement was called Strírájya. It was on the sea-shore near the Cula mountains, extending about forty yójanas in length, and surrounded by low swampy grounds, named Jalabhúmi in Sanscrit and Dałdal in the vulgar idiom: Strírájya, therefore, must be the country of Sabá, now Assāb, which was governed by a celebrated Queen, and the land round which has to this day the name of Taltal. The Cula mountains are that range, which extends from Dobarowa, the Cōlōē of the ancient geographers, to the source of the
Tacazze, which Ptolemy calls the marsh of Colce; a word, which I suppose to be derived from the Sanscrit.

VII. Yavana is a regular participial form of the root *yu*, to mix; so that *yavana*, like *misra*, might have signified no more than a mingled people: but, since *yoni*, or the female nature, is also derived from the same root, many Pandits insist, that the Yavanas were so named from their obstinate assertion of a superior influence in the female, over the linga, or male nature, in producing a perfect offspring. It may seem strange, that a question of mere physiology should have occasioned not only a vehement religious contest, but even a bloody war; yet the fact appears to be historically true, though the Hindu writers have dressed it up, as usual, in a veil of extravagant allegories and mysteries, which we should call obscene, but which they consider as awfully sacred. They represent *Nārāyana* moving, as his name implies, on the waters, in the character of the first male, and the principle of all nature, which was wholly surrounded in the beginning by *tamas*, or darkness, the Chaos and primordial Night of the Greek Mythologists, and, perhaps, the Thaumaz or Thamas of the ancient Egyptians: the Chaos is also called *Pra-Critis*, or crude Nature, and the male deity has the name of *Purusha*, from whom proceeded *Saṭṭi*, or power, which, when it is ascribed to the earth, in contradistinction to the waters, is denominated *Adkāra Saṭṭi*, or, the power of containing or conceiving; but that power in its first state was rather a tendency or aptitude, and lay dormant or inert, until it was excited by the *bija*, or vivifying principle, of the plafick I’swara. This power, or aptitude, of nature is represented under the symbol of the *yoni*, or *bhaga*, while the animating principle is expressed by the linga: both are united by the creative power, Brahma; and the *yoni* has been called the navel of Vishnu, not identically, but nearly; for, though it is held in the Vedānta,
that the divine spirit penetrates or pervades all nature, and though the \textit{Sārī} be considered as an emanation from that spirit, yet the emanation is never wholly detached from its source, and the penetration is never so perfect as to become a total union or identity. In another point of view \textit{Brahma} corresponds with the \textit{Crōnos}, or Time, of the Greek mythologists; for through him generations pass on successively, ages and periods are by him put in motion, terminated, and renewed, while he dies and springs to birth alternately; his existence or energy continuing for a hundred of his years, during which he produces and devours all beings of less longevity. \textit{Vīshnu} represents \textit{water}, or the humid principle; and \textit{Iswara}, \textit{fire}, which recreates or destroys, as it is differently applied: \textit{Prit'hivi}, or \textit{earth}, and \textit{Rāvi}, or the Sun, are severally \textit{trimūrtis}, or forms of the three great powers acting jointly and separately, but with different natures and energies, and by their mutual action, excite and expand the rudiments of material substances. The word \textit{mūrti}, or form, is exactly synonymous with \textit{idōs}, and, in a secondary sense, means an image; but in its primary acceptation, it denotes any \textit{shape} or \textit{appearance} assumed by a celestial being: our \textit{vital souls} are, according to the \textit{Vedānta}, no more than \textit{images}, or \textit{idōs}, of the \textit{supreme spirit}, and \textit{Homer} places the \textit{idol} of \textit{Hercules} in \textit{Elysium} with other deceased heroes, though the God himself was at the same time enjoying bliss in the heavenly mansions. Such a \textit{mūrti}, say the \textit{Hindus}, can by no means affect with any sensation, either pleasing or painful, the being, from which it emanated; though it may give pleasure or pain to collateral emanations from the same source: hence they offer no sacrifices to the supreme Essence, of which our \textit{own souls} are \textit{images}, but adore Him with silent meditation; while they make frequent \textit{lōmas}, or \textit{oblations}, to fire, and perform acts of worship to the \textit{Sun}, the \textit{stars}, the \textit{Earth}, and the \textit{powers} of nature, which they consider as \textit{mūrtis}, or \textit{images}, the same in kind with ourselves, but transcendentally higher in degree. The \textit{Moon} is also a great
object of their adoration; for, though they consider the Sun and Earth as the two grand agents in the system of the universe, yet they know their reciprocal action to be greatly affected by the influence of the lunar orb according to their several aspects, and seem even to have an idea of \textit{attraction} through the whole extent of nature. This system was known to the ancient Egyptians; for, according to Diodorus (\textnu), their \textit{Vulcan}, or \textit{elemental fire}, was the great and powerful deity, whose influence contributed chiefly toward the generation and perfection of natural bodies; while the Ocean, by which they meant \textit{water} in a collective sense, afforded the nutriment that was necessary; and the \textit{Earth} was the vase, or capacious receptacle, in which this grand operation of nature was performed: hence Orpheus described the Earth as the \textit{universal Mother}; and this is the true meaning of the Sanscrit word \textit{Amb\textacuted}. Such is the system of those Hindus, who admit an equal concurrence of the two principles; but the declared followers of \textit{Vishnu} profess very different opinions from those adopted by the votaries of \textit{Is\textnuara}: each sect also is subdivided according to the degree of influence, which some of them allow to be possessed by that principle, which on the whole they depreciate; but the pure \textit{Vais\textit{h}navas} are in truth the same with the \textit{Y\textnuijas}, of whom we shall presently give a more particular account.

This diversity of opinion seems to have occasioned the general war, which is often mentioned in the \textit{Pur\textnuanas}, and was celebrated by the poets of the West, as the basis of the Grecian Mythology: I mean that between the Gods, led by Jupiter, and the Giants, or \textit{Sons of the Earth}; or, in other words, between the followers of \textit{Is\textnuara} and the \textit{Y\textnuijas}, or men \textit{produced}, as they asserted, by \textit{Prit\texthyi}, a \textit{power} or \textit{form} of \textit{Vishnu}; for Nonnus expressly

\textit{(a)} Diod. Sic. B. 1.
declares, (a) that the war in question arose between the partizans of Jupiter and those, who acknowledged no other deities but Water and Earth: according to both Nonnus and the Hindu Mythologists, it began in India, whence it was spread over the whole globe, and all mankind appear to have borne a part in it.

These religious and physiological contests were disguised, in Egypt and India, under a veil of the wildest allegories and emblems. On the banks of the Nile, Osiris was torn in pieces; and on those of the Ganges, the limbs of his consort Is't' or Sati were scattered over the world, giving names to the places, where they fell, and where they still are superstitiously worshipped: in the book entitled Mabá cála-sanbitá, we find the Grecian story concerning the wanderings of Damater, and the lamentations of Bacchus; for Isvara, having been mutilated, through the imprecations of some offended Munis, rambled over the whole earth, bewailing his misfortune; while Is't' wandered also through the world singing mournful ditties in a state of distraction.

There is a legend in the Servarafa, of which the figurative meaning is more obvious. When Sati, after the close of her existence as the daughter of Dacsha, sprang again to life in the character of Parvati', or Mountain-born, she was reunited in marriage to Mahade'va: this divine pair had once a dispute on the comparative influence of the sexes in producing animated beings, and each resolved, by mutual agreement, to create apart a new race of men. The race produced by Mahade'va were very numerous, and devoted themselves exclusively to the worship of the male deity; but their intellects were dull, their bodies feeble, their limbs distorted, and their complexions of many different hues: Parvatí' had at the same time created a
multitude of human beings, who adored the female power only, and were all well-shaped with sweet aspects and fine complexions. A furious contest ensued between the two races, and the Lingajas were defeated in battle; but Mahá De'va, enraged against the Yónijas, would have destroyed them with the fire of his eye, if Pa'rvati had not interposed and appeased him; but he would spare them only on condition, that they should instantly leave the country with a promise to see it no more; and from the yôni, which they adored as the sole cause of their existence, they were named Tavanas. It is said, in another passage, that, they sprang from the Cow 'Savila'; but that cow was an incarnation of the goddess Is'î; and here we find the Egyptian legend, adopted by the Greeks, of Io and Isis. After their expulsion they settled, according to the Puránas, partly on the borders of Varába-dwîp, and partly in the two dwîpas of Cusha, where they supported themselves by predatory excursions and piracy, and used to conceal their booty in the long grass of Cusha-dwîp within; but Pa'rvati constantly protected them, and, after the severe punishment of their revolt against De'va-nahush, or Dionysus, gave them a fine country, where in a short time they became a most flourishing nation. Those Tavanas, who remained in the land of Cusha and on the banks of the Calî, were perhaps the Hellenick Shepherds mentioned in Egyptian history; and it is probable, that great part of those, who had revolted against Dionysus, retired after their defeat into Greece: all the old founders of colonies in that country had come originally from Egypt; and even the Athenians admitted, that their ancestors formerly resided in the districts round Saîs.

It is evident, that the strange tale in the Servarafa was invented to establish the opinion of the Yónyancitas, or votaries of De'vi, that the good shape, strength, and courage of animals depend on the superior influence of
the female parent, whose powers are only excited and put into action by the male aura; but the Lingáncitas maintain an opposite doctrine, and the known superiority of mules begotten by horses over those, which are brought forth by mares, appears to confirm their opinion, which might also be supported by many other examples from the animal and vegetable worlds. There is a sect of Hindus, by far the most numerous of any, who, attempting to reconcile the two systems, tell us, in their allegorical style, that Párватi' and Ma-

hade'va found their concurrence essential to the perfection of their offspring, and that Vishnu, at the request of the goddes, effected a reconciliation between them: hence the navel of Vishnu, by which they mean the os tinctae, is worshipped as one and the same with the sacred yóni. This emblem too was Egyptian; and the mystery seems to have been solemnly typified, in the temple of Jupiter Ammon, by the vast umbilicus made of stone, and carried, by eighty men, in a boat, which represented the fossa navicularis: such I believe, was the mystical boat of Isis, which, according to Lactantius, was adored in Egypt (a); we are assured by Tacitus, that the Suevi, one of the oldest and most powerful of the German nations, worshipped Isis in the form of a ship; and the Chaldeans insisted, that the Earth, which, in the Hindu system, represents Párватi', was shaped and hollowed like an immense boat. From Egypt the type was imported into Greece; and an umbilicus of white marble was kept at Delphi in the sanctuary of the temple, where it was carefully wrapt up in cloth. (b) The mystical boat is called also by Greek Mythologists the cup of the Sun, in which Hercules, they say, traversed the Ocean; and this Hercules, according to them, was the son of Jupiter; but the Greeks, by whom the notion of an avatára, or descendent of a God in a human form, had not been generally adopted, considered those as

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the sons, whom the Hindus consider as incarnate rays or portions, of their several deities: now JUPITER was the ISWARA of the Hindus and the OSIRIS of the Egyptians; and HERCULES was an avatāra of the same divinity; who is figured, among the ruins of Luxorin, in a boat, which eighteen men bear on their shoulders. The Indians commonly represent this mystery of their physiological religion by the emblem of a Nymphaea, or Lotos, floating like a boat on the boundless ocean; where the whole plant signifies both the Earth and the two principles of its fecundation: the germ is both Mēru and the linga; the petals and filaments are the mountains, which encircle Mēru, and are also a type of the yōni; the leaves of the calyx are the four vast regions to the cardinal points of Mēru, and the leaves of the plant are the dwipas or isles, round the land of Jambu. Another of their emblems is called Argha, which means a cup or dish, or any other vessel, in which fruit and flowers are offered to the deities, and which ought always to be shaped like a boat though we now see arghas of many different forms oval, circular, or square; and hence it is that ISWARA has the title of Argbanat’ha, or the Lord of the boat-shaped vessel: a rim round the argha represents the mysterious yōni, and the navel of Vīshnu is commonly denoted by a convexity in the centre, while the contents of the vessel are symbols of the linga. This argha, as a type of the ādērā-śaṭi, or power of conception, excited and vivified by the linga, or Phallus, I cannot but suppose to be one and the same with the ship Argo, which was built, according to Orpheus, by JUNO and PALLAS, and according to APOLLONIUS, by PALLAS and ARGUS at the instance of JUNO (a): the word Yōni, as it is usually pronounced, nearly resembles the name of the principal Hetruscan goddess, and the Sanscrit phrase Argbanat’ha ISWARA seems accurately rendered by PLUTARCH,

when he afferts, that Osiris was Commander of the Argo (a). I cannot yet affirm, that the words p'hala, or fruit, and p'hulla, or a flower, have ever the sense of Phallus; but fruit and flowers are the chief oblations in the argha, and trip'hala is a name sometimes given, especially in the west of India, to the trifana, or trident, of Maha'de'va: in an essay on the geographical antiquities of India I shall show, that the Jupiter Triphylius of the Panchavan islands was no other than Siva holding a trip'hala, who is represented also with three eyes to denote a triple energy, as Vishnu and Prith'ivi' are severally typified by an equilateral triangle, (which likewise gives an idea of capacity) and conjointly, when their powers are supposed to be combined, by two such equal triangles interfrecting each other.

The three sects, which have been mentioned, appear to have been distinct also in Greece. 1. According to Theodoret, Arnobius, and Clemens of Alexandria, the Yoni of the Hindus was the sole object of veneration in the mysteries of Eleusis: when the people of Syracuse were sacrificing to goddesses, they offered cakes in a certain shape, called μόσαρ; and in some temples, where the priests were probably ventriloquists, they so far imposed on the credulous multitude, who came to adore the yoni, as to make them believe, that it spoke and gave oracles. 2. The rites of the Phallus were so well-known among the Greeks, that a metre, consisting of three trochees only, derived its name from them: in the opinion of those, who compiled the Puranas, the Phallus was first publickly worshipped, by the name of Baleswara-linga, on the banks of the Cumudvati, or Euphrates; and the Jews, according to Rabbi Aeha, seem to have had some such idea, as we may collect from their strange tale concerning the different earths, which formed the body of Adam. (b)

(a) Plat. On Isis and Osiris. (b) Gemara Sanhedrin C. 30. cited by Reland.
3. The middle sect, however, which is now very prevalent in India, was generally diffused over ancient Europe; and was introduced by the Pelargi, who were the same, as we learn from Herodotus, with the Pelasgi: the very word Pelargos was probably derived from P'halâ and Argha, those mysterious types, which the later mythologists disguised under the names of Pal-las and Argo; and this conjecture is confirmed by the rites of a deity, named Pelarga, who was worshipped near Thebes in Boeotia, and to whom, says Pausanias, no victim was offered but a female recently covered and impregnated; a cruel sacrifice, which the Indian law positively forbids, but which clearly shows the character of the goddess, to whom it was thought acceptable. We are told, that her parents were Potneus and Isthmias, or Bacchus and Ino, (for the Bacchantes were called also Potniades) by whom we cannot but understand Osiris and Isis, or the Iswara and Ist of the Hindus. The three words Ambâ, Nabhi, and Argha seem to have caused great confusion among the Greek Mythologists, who even ascribed to the Earth all the fanciful shapes of the Argha, which was intended at first as a mere emblem: hence they represented it in the shape of a boat, of a cup, or of a quoit with a boss in the centre sloping toward the circumference, where they placed the ocean; others described it as a square or a parallelogram, (a) and Greece was supposed to lie on the summit, with Delphi in the navel, or central part, of the whole; (b) as the Jews, and even the first Christians, insisted, that the true navel of the earth was Jerusalem; and as the Muselmans hold Mecca to be the Mother of Cities and the nāfil zemin, or Earth's navel. All these notions appear to have arisen from the worship, of which we have been treating: the yoni and nabhi, or navel, are together denominated ambâ, or mother; but gradually the words ambâ, nabhi, and argha have become synonymous; and

as ओम and उम्बो seem to be derived from अभार, or the circular अर्ग्भा with a boss like a target, so ओम and umbilicus apparently spring from the same root, and even the word navel, though originally Gotick, was the same anciently with नाभी in Sanscrit and नाफ in Persian. The sacred ancilia, one of which was revered as the Palladium of Rome, were probably types of a similar nature to the अर्ग्भा, and the shields, which used to be suspended in temples, were possibly votive अम्बास. At Delphi the mystick Omphalos was continually celebrated in hymns as a sacred pledge of divine favour, and the navel of the world: thus the mystick boat was held by some of the first emigrants from Asia to be their palladium, or pledge of safety, and, as such, was carried by them in their various journeys; whence the poets feigned, that the Arya was borne over mountains on the shoulders of the Argonauts. I know how differently these ancient emblems of the Hindus, the Lotos and mount मेरु, the अर्ग्भा, or sacred vessel, and the name Argbanâtha, would have been applied by Mr. Bryant; but I have examined both applications without prejudice, and adhere to my own as the more probable, because it corresponds with the known rites and ceremonies of the Hindus and, is confirmed by the oldest records of their religion.

Such have been, according to the Purânas, the various emigrations from India to Cusbadwip; and hence part of Africa was called India by the Greeks: the Nile, says Theophylact, flows through Lybia, Ethiopia, and India; (a) the people of Mauritania are said by Strabo to have been Indians or Hindus; (b) and Abyssinia was called middle India in the time of Marco Paolo. Where Ovid speaks of Andromeda, he affirms, that she came from India; but we shall show in another section, that the scene of her adventures was the

(a) B. 7. C. 17.  (b) B. 17. p. 828.
region adjacent to the Nile: the country between the Caspian and the Euxine had the names both of India and Ethiopia; even Arachosia is called White India by Isidorus; and we have already mentioned the Yellow India of the Persians, and the Yellow Indians of the Turkish, geographers. The most venerable emigrants from India were the Yadaus: they were the blameless and pious Ethiopians, whom Homer mentions, and calls the remotest of mankind. Part of them, say the old Hindu writers, remained in this country; and hence we read of two Ethiopian nations, the western and the oriental: some of them lived far to the east, and they are the Yadaus, who stayed in India; while others resided far to the west, and they are the sacred race, who settled on the shores of the Atlantick. We are positively assured by Herodotus, that the oriental Ethiopians were Indians; and hence we may infer, that India was known to the Greeks, in the age of Homer, by the name of eastern Ethiopia: they could not then have known it by the appellation of India, because that word, whatever may be its original meaning, was either framed or corrupted by the Persians, with whom, as long as their monarchs remained satisfied with their own territories, the Greeks had no sort of connection. They called it also the land of Panchaea, but knew so little of it, that, when they heard of India, through their intercourse with the Persians, they supposed it to be quite a different country. In Persian the word Hindu means both an Indian and any thing black, but whether, in the latter sense, it be used metaphorically, or was an adjective in the old language of Persia, I am unable to ascertain: it appears from the book of Esther, that India was known to the Hebrews in Persia by the name of Hodu, which has some resemblance to the word Yadu, and may have been only a corruption of it. Hindu cannot regularly be derived, as an English writer has suggested, from a Sanscrit name of the Moon, since that name is Indu; but it may be corrupted from Sindhu,
or the Indus, as a learned Brâhmen has conjectured, for the hissing letter is often changed into an aspirate; and the Greek name for that river seems to strengthen his conjecture. Be it as it may, the words Hindu and Hindusthán occur in no Sanscrit book of great antiquity; but the epithet Haindava, in a derivative form, is used by the poet Calida's: the modern Brâhmens, when they write or speak Sanscrit, call themselves Hindus; but they give the name of Cumára-c'handa to their country on both sides the Ganges, including part of the peninsula, and that of Néga-c'handa to the districts bordering on the Indus.

Next to the emigration of the Yâdavas, the most celebrated was that of the Pális, or Pâliputras; many of whose settlements were named Pálištán, which the Greeks changed into Palästînè: a country so called was on the banks of the Tigris, and another in Syria; the river Strymon had the epithet Palästînios; in Italy we find the Peleôsini, and, at the mouth of the Po, a town called Philîstîna, to which may be added the Philîstînæ fussiones, and the Philîstînæ arena in Epirus. As the Greeks wrote Palai for Páli, they rendered the word Palîputra by Palaigonos, which also means the offspring of Páli; but they sometimes retained the Sanscrit word for son, and the town of Palîputra, to this day called Palîputra by the natives, stood on the shore of the Hidaspes; these disquisitions, however, would lead me too far; and I proceed to demonstrate the ancient intercourse between Egypt and India by a faithful epitome of some mythological and astronomical fables which were common to both those countries.
SECTION THE SECOND.

OSIRIS, or, more properly, YSIRIS, according to HELLANICUS, was a name used in Egypt for the Supreme Being: \(a\) in Sanscrit it signifies Lord, and, in that sense, is applied by the Brâhmens to each of their three principal deities, or rather to each of the principal forms, in which they teach the people to adore BRAHM, or the Great One; and, if it be appropriated in common speech to MAHA'DE'VA, this proceeds from the zeal of his numerous votaries, who place him above their two other divinities. BRAHMA', VISHNU, and MAHA'DE'VA, say the Paurânicas, were brothers; and the Egyptian Triad, or OSIRIS, HORUS, and TYPHON, were brought forth by the same parent, though HORUS was believed to have sprung from the mysterious embraces of OSIRIS and ISIS before their birth; as the Vaisñavas also imagine, that HARA, or MAHA'DE'VA, sprang mystically from his brother HERI, or VISHNU. In the Hindu Mythology BRAHMA' is represented of a red, VISHNU of a black, or dark azure, and HARA of a white, complexion; but in that of Egypt, we find OSIRIS black, HORUS white, and TYPHON red: the indiscriminate application of the title ISWARA has occasioned great confusion in the accounts, which the Greeks have transmitted to us, of Egyptian Mythology: for the priests of Egypt were very reserved on subjects of religion, Grecian travellers had in general too little curiosity to investigate such with scrupulous exactness; since OSIRIS, however, was painted black, we may presume, that he was VISHNU, who, on many occasions, according to the Purânas, took Egypt under his special protection. CRISHNA was VISHNU himself, according to the most orthodox opinion; and it was He, who visited the countries adjacent to the Nile, destroyed the tyrant SANC'HA'—

\(a\) Plut. On ISIS and OSIRIS.
sura, introduced a more perfect mode of worship, cooled the conflagrations, which had repeatedly desolated those adult regions, and established the government of the Cutila-cēsas, or genuine Egyptians, on a permanent basis: thus Osiris, as we are told by Plutarch, taught the old Egyptians to make laws and to honour the Gods. The title Śrī Bhagavat, importing prosperity and dominion, is given peculiarly to Crishna, or the black deity, and the black Osiris had also the titles of Sirius, Seirius, and Bacchus. It is related, indeed, that Osiris, or Bacchus, imported from India the worship of two divine Bulls; and in this character, he was Maha'de'va, whose followers were pretty numerous in Egypt; for Hermapion, in his explanation of the hieroglyphicks on the Heliopolitan obelisk, calls Horus, the Supreme Lord and the author of Time (a): now Īswara, or Lord, and Ca’la, or Time, are among the distinguished titles of Maha'de'va; and obelisks or pillars, whatever be their shape, are among his emblems. In the Vrihad-haima, which appears to contain many curious legends concerning Egypt, it is expressly said, that “Īswara with his consort Pa’rvatī descended from heaven, and chose “for his abode the land of Misra in Sanc’ba-dwip.” We must observe, that the Egyptians feared and abhorred Typhon, or Maha’dē’va in his character of the Destroyer; and the Hindus also dread him in that character, giving him the name of Bhairava, or Tremendous: the Egyptian fable of his attempt to break the Mundane Egg is applied to Maha’dē’va in the little book Chandi, which is chiefly extracted from the Mārcondēya Purān. There is a striking resemblance between the legendary wars of the three principal Gods in Egypt and India; as Osiris gave battle to Typhon, who was defeated at length and even killed by Horus, so Brahma fought with Vishnu and gained an advantage over him, but was overpowered by Maha’dē’va, who cut off one of his five heads; an allegory, of which I cannot pretend to give the meaning.

(a) Ammian. Marcellin.
Plutarch asserts, that the priests of Egypt called the Sun their Lord and King; and their three Gods resolve themselves ultimately into Him alone: Osiris was the Sun; Horus was the Sun; and so, I suppose, was Typhon, or the power of destruction by heat, though Plutarch says gravely, that such, as maintained that opinion, were not worthy to be heard. The case was nearly the same in ancient India; but there is no subject, on which the modern Brāhmens are more reserved; for, when they are closely interrogated on the title of Déva, or God, which their most sacred books give to the Sun, they avoid a direct answer, have recourse to evasions, and often contradict one another and themselves: they confess, however, unanimously, that the Sun is an emblem, or image, of their three great deities jointly and individually, that is, of Brahm, or the Supreme One, who alone exists really and absolutely, the three male divinities themselves being only Māyā, or illusion. The body of the Sun they consider as Māyā; but, since he is the most glorious and active emblem of God, they respect him as an object of high veneration. All this must appear very mysterious; but it flows from the principal tenet of the Védántis, that the only being, which has absolute and real existence, is the divine spirit, infinitely wise, infinitely benign, and infinitely powerful, expanded through the universe, not merely as the soul of the world, but as the provident ruler of it, sending forth rays or emanations from his own essence, which are the pure vital souls of all animated creatures, whether moveable or immovable, that is (as we should express ourselves) both animals and vegetables, and which he calls back to himself according to certain laws established by his unlimited wisdom: though Brahmā be neuter in the character of the Most High One, yet, in that of Supreme Ruler, He is named Parameśvara; but through the infinite veneration, to which He is entitled, the Hindus meditate on Him with silent adoration, and offer prayers and sacrifice only to the higher emanations from Him. In a mode incomprehensible to inferior
creatures, they are involved at first in the gloom of Māyā, and subject to various taints from attachment to worldly affections; but they can never be reunited to their source, until they dispel the illusion by self-denial, renunciation of the world, and intellectual abstractions, and until they remove the impurities, which they have contracted, by repentance, mortification, and successive passages through the forms of animals or vegetables according to their demerits: in such a reunion consists their final beatitude, and to effect it by the best possible means is the object of their supreme ruler; who, in order to reclaim the vicious, to punish the incorrigible, to protect the oppressed, to destroy the oppressor, to encourage and reward the good, and to show all spirits the path to their ultimate happiness, has been pleased, say the Brāhmens, to manifest himself in a variety of ways, from age to age, in all parts of the habitable world. When He acts immediately, without assuming a shape, or sending forth a new emanation, as when a divine sound is heard from the sky, that manifestation of himself is called Aćāyavāni; or an ethereal voice: when the voice proceeds from a meteor, or a flame, it is said to be agnirūṭi, or formed of fire; but an avatāra is a descent of the deity in the shape of a mortal; and an avāntara is a similar incarnation of an inferior kind intended to answer some purpose of less moment. The supreme being, and the celestial emanations from him, are nirdecarā, or bodiless, in which state they must be invisible to mortals; but, when they are pratyacśā, or obvious to sight, they become jācārā, or embodied, either in shapes different from that of any mortal, and expressive of the divine attributes, as Crīshna revealed him to Arjun, or in a human form, which Crīshna usually bore; and, in that mode of appearing, the deities are generally supposed to be born of women, but without any carnal intercourse. Those, who follow the Pūrva Mīmāṁsā, or philosophy of Jai-

MINI, admit no such incarnations of deities, but insist, that the Dēvas were mere mortals, whom the Supreme Being was pleased to endue with qualities.
approaching to his own attributes; and the Hindus in general perform acts of worship to some of their ancient monarchs and sages, who were deified in consequence of their eminent virtues. After these introductory remarks we proceed to the several manifestations, in Egypt and other countries adjacent to the Nile, of DeVī and the three principal Gods of the Hindus, as they are expressly related in the Purānas and other Sanscrit books of antiquity.

De'vi', or the Goddess, and Isī, or the sovereign Queen, is the Isis of Egypt, and represents Nature in general, but in particular the Earth, which the Indians call Prīt'hiwī; while water and humidity of all kinds are supposed by the Hindus to proceed from Vishnu, as they were by the Egyptians to proceed from Osiris; this account of Isis we find corroborated by Plutarch; and Servius affirms, that the very word Isis means Earth in the language of the Egyptians; but this I conceive to be an error.

I. It is related in the Scānda, that, when the whole earth was covered with water, and Vishnu lay extended asleep in the bosom of DeVī, a lotus rose from his navel, and its ascending flower soon reached the surface of the flood; that Brahma sprang from that flower, and, looking round without seeing any creature on the boundless expanse, imagined himself to be the first born and entitled to rank above all future beings, yet resolved to investigate the deep, and to ascertain whether any being existed in it, who could controvert his claim to pre-eminence. He glided, therefore, down the stalk of the lotus, and, finding Vishnu asleep, asked loudly who he was: "I am the first born," answered Vishnu waking; and, when Brahma denied his primogeniture, they had an obstinate battle, till Mahādeva presided between them in great wrath, saying: "It is I, who am truly the first born; but I will resign my pretensions to either of you, who shall be able to
reach and behold the summit of my head or the soles of my feet." Brahma instantly ascended, but, having fatigued himself to no purpose in the regions of immensity, yet loth to abandon his claim, returned to Maha'de'va, declaring that he had attained and seen the crown of his head, and calling, as his witness, the first-born Cow: for this union of pride and falsehood the angry God ordained, that no sacred rites should be performed to Brahma, and that the mouth of the Cow should be defiled and a cause of defilement, as it is declared to be in the oldest Indian laws. When Vishnu returned, he acknowledged, that he had not been able to see the feet of Maha'de'va, who then told him, that he was really the first-born among the Gods, and should be raised above all: it was after this, that Maha'de'va cut off the fifth head of Brahma', whose pride, says the writer of the Sceda Purán, occasioned his loss of power and influence in the countries bordering on the river Cálti. Whether these wild stories on the wars of the three principal Gods mean only the religious wars between the several sectaries, or whether they have any more hidden meaning, it is evident from the Puránas, which represent Egypt as the theatre of action, that they are the original legends of the wars between Osiris, Horus, and Typhon; for Brahma in his character of all-destroying Time, corresponds with Typhon; and Maha'de'va, in that of the productive principle, with Horus or Hara, who assumes each of his characters on various occasions, either to restore the powers, or to subdue the opponents, of Vishnu, or active Nature, from whom his auxiliary springs. In Egypt, says Plutarch, certain sacrifices were made even to Typhon, but only on particular days, and for the purpose of consoling him after his overthrow; as in India no worship is paid to Brahma except on particular occasions, when certain offerings are made to him, but placed at some distance from the person, who offers them: the Greeks have confounded Typhon with Python, whose history has no connection with the wars of
On Egypt and the Nile

the Gods, and who will appear, in the following section, to be the Paɪt'hɪ'-nəsɪ of the Hindus. The idea of Mاهा'देवa with his head in the highest heaven, and his feet in the lowest parts of the earth, is conformable to the language of the Oracle, in its answer to Nicocrates, king of Cyprus:

And the same image is expressed, word for word, at the beginning of the fourth Veda, where the deity is described as Maha'purusha, or the Great Male.

In the story of the war between Osiris and Typhon, mention is made by Plutarch of a stupendous Boar, in search of whom Typhon travelled, with a view, perhaps, to strengthen his own party by making an alliance with him: thus it is said in the Vāishnavāgama, that Cɾɔ'ɾa'sura was a demon, with the face of a Boar, who, nevertheless, was continually reading the Veda, and performing such acts of devotion, that Vishnu appeared to him, on the banks of the Bhrãmaputra, promising to grant any boon, that he could ask. Cɾɔ'ɾa'sura requested, that no creature, then existing in the three worlds, might have power to deprive him of life; and Vishnu granted his request: but the demon became so insolent, that the Dēvatās, whom he oppressed, were obliged to conceal themselves, and he assumed the dominion of the world. Vishnu was then sitting on a bank of the Cāli, greatly disquieted by the malignant ingratitude of the demon; and, his wrath being kindled, a shape, which never before had existed, sprang from his eyes: it was Maha'deva, in his destructive character, who dispelled in a moment the anxiety of Vishnu, whence he acquired the surname of Chinta'haba. With flaming eyes, contracted brows, and his whole countenance distorted with anger, he rushed toward Cɾɔ'ɾa'sura, seized him with fury, and carried him under his arm.
in triumph over the whole earth, but at length cast him lifeless on the ground, where he was transformed into a mountain still called the Mountain of Cro'Ra, or the Boar: the place, where Vishnu sat by the river Gâli, has the name of Chintâbara-f'bâli; and " all they, says the author of the A'gama, who are " troubled with anxious thoughts, need only meditate on Chintâ'hara and " their cares will be dissipated." The word Chintâ was, I imagine, pronounced Xanthus by the descendants of Dar-Dá'nã'sa, or Dardanus, who carried into their new settlements not only the name, but some obscure notions relative to the power of the deity Chintâ'hara: the district of Trosa, where they settled, was called also Xanthbè; there was a town Xanthus in Lycia, and a nation of Xantbi, or Xantii, in Thrace; a river of Lycia had that name, and so had another near Troy, in the waters of which grew a plant, supposed capable of dispelling the cares and terrors, which both Greeks and Indians believed to be caused by the presence of some invisible deity or evil spirit.  

(a) The river Xanthus near Troy was vulgarly called Scamander, but its sacred name, used in religious rites, was Xanthus; as most rivers in India have different names, popular and holy. Xanthus, according to Homer, was a son of Jupiter, or, in the language of Indian Mythology, an ávántara, or inferior manifestation, of Siva: others make him a son of the great Tremilus (b), whom I should suppose to be Jupiter Temelius, or rather Tremelius, worshipped at Biennus in Crete; for the Tremili, or Tremylicus, came originally from that island. According to Stephanus of Byzantium, the native country of Xanthus was Egypt (c); and, on the shores of the Atlantick, there were monsters shaped like bulls, probably sea-cows, called Xanthari. A poet, cited by Stephanus, under the word Tremile, says, that Xanthus, son of Jupiter, travelled with his brothers over the whole

(a) Plut. on Rivers, art. Scamander.  
(b) Steph. Byzant. Tremile.  
(c) See the word Xanthus.
world, and *did a great deal of mischief*, that is, according to the Purānas, destroyed the insolent CR'O'RĀ'SURA, who was probably revered in the more western countries, where VĀRA'HE'S'WARA once reigned according to the Hindus, and where they believe his posterity still to live in the shape of white VARĀbas, or Boars: the legend of the wars between those VARĀbas and the SARA'BAS, a sort of monster with the face of a lion, and wings like a bird, shall be explained in another essay on VARĀBA-dwīp; and I shall only add in this place, that the war was represented, according to HESIOD, on the shield of HERCULES. At present the place, where the temple of Ammon formerly stood, has the name of SANTARIAH, which may be derived from some altar anciently dedicated to CHINTĀ'HARA.

II. We are told in the Nārada Purāṇ, that SŪ'RYA, the regent of the Sun, had chosen a beautiful and well peopled country in SANC'HA-dwīp, for the purpose of performing his devotions; but that he had no sooner begun, than the whole region was in flames, the waters dried up, and all its inhabitants destroyed; since which it has been denominated *Barbara*. The Dévathās, it is added, were in the greatest distress, and VISHNU descended with BRAHMA, to expostulate with the author of the conflagration: SŪ'RYA praised and worshipped them, but lamented, that his devotion has not prospered, and promised to repair the injuries done by his flames. "It is I, said VISHNU, who "must repair them; and, when I shall revisit this country, in the cha-" "racter of CRISHNA, to destroy the demon SANC'HA'SURA, the land shall "cool and be replenished with plants and animals; the race of PĀLI shall "then settle here, with the CUTILA-CÉFAS, the YAVANAS, and other MLEC'BHA "tribes,"
In the *Uttara-charittra* and other ancient books, we find many stories concerning Súrya, some of which have a mixture of astrological allegory. Once, it seems, he was performing acts of austere devotion, in the character of Tapana, or the Inflamer, when his consort Prabha', or Brightness, unable to bear his intense heat, assumed the form of Ch’ha’ya', or Shade, and was impregnated by him: after a period of a hundred years, when Gods and men, expecting a terrible offspring, were in the utmost consolation, she was delivered of a male child, in a remote place, afterwards called Arkí-fábán, or Saurí-fábán, from Arcí and Saurí, the patronymicks of Arca and Súrya. He was the genius of the planet, which the Latians called Saturn, and acquired among the Hindus the epithet of Sáni, and Sanaíscara, or slow-moving. For twelve years, during his education at Arkí-fábán, no rain fell; but a destructive wind blew continually, and the air blazed with tremendous meteors: a dreadful famine ensued, and the Dévetás, together with the Dáityas, implored the protection and advice of Súrya, who directed them to propitiate Sáni by performing religious rites to Vishnu near the Pippal tree, which is an emblem of Him; and assured them, that, in future ages, the malignant influence of the planet should prevail only during its passage through four signs of the Ajauvábi, or Zodiac. The reign of Súrya in Barbára continued long, but he resigned his dominion to Sáni, whose government was tyrannical: all his pious and prudent subjects fled to the hilly countries bordering on the river Nándá, while the irreverent and rash perished in the deserts of burning sand, to which the baneful eyes of the tyrant reduced all the plains and meadows, on which he looked. His father, returning to visit his ancient realm and seeing the desolation of the whole country, expelled Sáni, and sent for another of his sons, named Aúrva, who, being appointed successor to his brother, purified the land, recalled the holy men from the hills, and made
his subjects happy in ease and abundance, while he resided at Aurva-sthán, so called from his name; but he returned afterwards to Vaknisa-sthán, the present Azarbáiján, or the Seat of Fire, in the interior Cusba-dwípa, where he was performing his devotions on Triśringa, or the mountain with three peaks, at the time when his father summoned him to the government of Barbara. Just before that time he had given a dreadful proof of his power; for Ara'ma, the son of a son of Satyavrata, (and consequently the Aram of Scripture), was hunting in that country with his whole army, near a spot, where Durva'sas, a choleric saint and a supposed avántar of Maha déva, was sitting rapt in deep meditation: Aram inadvertently shot an arrow, which wounded the foot of Durva'sas, who no sooner opened his eyes, than Aurva sprang from them, in the shape of a flame, which consumed Aram and his party, together with all the animals and vegetables in Cusba-dwíp. It seems to me, that Aurva is Vulcan, or the God of Fire, who reigned, according to the Egyptian priests, after the Sun, though some have pretended, says Diodorus, that he had existed before that luminary; as the Hindus allege, that Agni, or Fire, had existence in an elementary state before the formation of the Sun, but could not be said to have dominion, till its force was concentrated: in another character he is Orus the Elder, or Apollo, a name derived, I imagine, from a Sanscrit word, implying a power of dispelling humidity. No doubt, the whole system of Egyptian and Indian Mythology must at first view seem strangely inconsistent; but, since all the Gods resolve themselves into One, of whom they were no more than forms or appearances, it is not wonderful, that they should be confounded; especially as every emanation from the Supreme Spirit was believed to send forth collateral emanations, which were blended with one another, sometimes recalled, sometimes continued or renewed, and variously reflected or refracted in all directions: another
source of confusion is the infinite variety of legends, which were invented from time to time in Greece, Egypt, Italy, and India; and, when all the causes of inconsistency are considered, we shall no longer be surprised to see the same appellations given to very different deities, and the same deities appearing under different appellations. To give an example in Saturn: the planet of that name is the Sani of India, who, says Diodorus, was considered by the Chaldeans as the most powerful of the heavenly bodies next to the Sun; but his influence was thought baneful, and incantations, with offerings of certain perfumes, were used to avert or to mitigate it. When the name is applied to Chronus, the Father of the Gods, it means Ca'la, or Time, a character both of Mahadeva and of Brahma; but, when he is called Cronus, he seems to be the gigantick Crauncha of the Hindus; while the Saturn of Latium, and of the Golden Age, appears to be quite a different person, and his title was probably derived from Satyaverna, which implies an age of veracity and righteousness. Brahma, with a red complexion is worshipped, say the Puranas, in the dwip of Pusocara, which I suppose to be a maritime country at no great distance from Egypt: he was there called the first born of nature, Lord of the Universe, and Father of Deities: and, the Mythology of Pusocara having passed into Greece, we find Cronus represented in those characters, but mild and beneficent to the human race, with some features borrowed from the older system, which prevailed on the banks of the Nile and the Ganges. I cannot help suspecting, that the word Cila was the origin of Coelus, or Coelus, as Ennius wrote it; and the Arhan of the Jainas, who was a form of Mahaca'la, might originally have been the same with Uranus: as to Rhea, there can be no doubt, that she is the goddess Ri, whom the Hindus call the Mother of the Gods; but some say, that she also produced malignant beings; and Pliny tells us, that
she was the mother of Typhon, who became sovereign of Egypt (a), but was deposed and expelled by Arveris or Horus; where we have precisely the story of Sani and Aurva. We cannot but observe, that the succession of the Gods in Egypt, according to Manetho, is exactly in the spirit of Hindu Mythology, and conformable, indeed, to the Puránas themselves; and we may add, before we leave the planets, that, although Vrihaspeti, an ancient legislator and philosopher, be commonly supposed to direct the motions of Jupiter, which now bears his name, yet many of the Hindus acknowledge, that Siva, or the God Jupiter, shines in that planet, while the Sun is the peculiar station of Vishnu, and Saturn is directed by Brahma; whom, for that reason, the Egyptians abhorred, not daring even to pronounce his true name, and abominating all animals with red hair, because it was his colour.

There is something very remarkable in the number of years, during which Arca, and his son, reigned on the banks of the Cálk. The Sun, according to the Brâhmens, began his devotion immediately after the flood, and continued it a hundred years; Sani, they say, was born a hundred years after his conception, and reigned a hundred years, or till the death of A'ra'm, who must therefore have died about three hundred years after the deluge, and fifty years before his grandfather; but the Pauránics insist, that they were years of Brahma: now one year of mortals is a day and night of the Gods, and 360 of our years is one of theirs; 12,000 of their years, or 432,000 of ours, constitute one of their ages, and 2000 such ages are Brahma’s day and night, which must be multiplied by 360, to make one of his years; so that the Chronology of Egypt, according to the Brâhmens, would be more ex-

(a) Lib. 2, Cap. 25, &c.
travagant than that of the Egyptians themselves according to Manetho. The Talmud contains notions of divine days and years, founded on passages in Scripture ill-understood; the period of 12,000 years was Etruscan, and that of 43,200, was formed in Chaldea by repetitions of the āsōs; the Turdetani, an old and learned nation in Spain, had a long period nearly of the same kind; but for particular inquiries into the ancient periods and the affinity between them, I must refer to other Essays, and proceed to the geography of Egypt, as it is illustrated by the Indian legends.

The place, where the Sun is feigned to have performed his acts of religious austerity, is named the śib'ān, or station, of Arca, Su'rya, and Ta-pāna: as it was on the limit between the divīpas of Čusba and Sanc'ba, the Purāns ascribed it indifferently to either of those countries. I believe it to be the Taḥpānēs of Scripture, called Taḥpna or Taḥpnai, by the seventy Interpreters, and Daphne in the Roman Itinerary, where it is placed sixteen miles from Pelusium: it is mentioned by Herodotus, under the name of Daphnē Pelusica, (a) and by Stephanus under that of Daphne near Pelusium; but the moderns have corrupted the name into Safnas.

Sauni-st'han, where Sāni was born and educated, seems to have been the famed Beth Shemenē, or Heliopolis, which was built, says Diodorus, by Aētis, in honour of his father the Sun (b): Aētis first taught Astronomy in Egypt, and there was a college of astronomers at Heliopolis, with an observatory and a temple of the Sun, the magnificence and celebrity of which might have occasioned the change of the ancient name into Su'rya-śib'ān, as it was translated by the Hebrews and Greeks. It is said by the Hindus, that Sāni,
or Arki, built several places of worship in the regions adjacent to the Culti; and we still find the town of Arko near the Red Sea, which is not mentioned, indeed, by any of the Grecian geographers, but the headland contiguous to it is called by Ptolemy the promontory of Saturn. The genius of Saturn is described in the Purâns as clad in a black mantle, with a dark turban loosely wrapped round his head; his aspect hideous and his brows knit with anger; a trident in one of his four hands; a cimeter in a second, and, in the two others, a bow and shafts: the priests of Saturn in Egypt, where his temples were always out of the towns, are said by Epiphanius to have worn a dress nearly similar.

To conclude this head, we must add, that the Ṣubān of Aurva is now called Afsu by the Copts (a); but, as Aurva corresponded with Orus, or Apollo, the Greeks gave it the name of Apollonas.

III. The metamorphosis of Lunus into Luna was occasionally mentioned in the preceding section; but the legend must now be told more at length. The God Sóma, or Chandra, was traversing the earth with his favourite consort Rohini; and, arriving at the southern mountain Sabyādri, they unwarily entered the forest of Gāuri, where some men having surprized Mahádeva, caring for that goddess, had been formerly punished by a change of their sex, and the forest had retained a power of effecting the like change on all males, who should enter it. Chandra, instantly becoming a female, was so afflicted and ashamed, that she hastened far to the west, sending Rohini to her seat in the sky, and concealed herself in a mountain, afterwards named Sóma-giri, where she performed acts of the most rigorous devotion.

(a) Lett. Edif. vol. 5.-p. 257.
Darkness then covered the world each night: the fruits of the earth were destroyed, and the universe was in such dismay, that the Ðévas, with Brahma at their head, implored the assistance of Maha´deva, who no sooner placed Chandri on his forehead, than she became a male again; and hence he acquired the title of Chandrase´kbara. This fable has been explained to me by an ingenious Pandit, to the inhabitants of the countries near the source of the Câlì, the moon, being in the mansion of Róbin, or the Pleiads, seemed to vanish behind the southern mountains; now, when the moon is in its opposition to the Sun, it is the God Chandra, but, when in conjunction with it, the goddess Chandri, who was in that state feigned to have conceived the Pulindas mentioned in the former section. The moon is believed by the Hindu naturalists to have a powerful influence on vegetation, especially on certain plants, and above all on the Sónalatâ, or Moon-plant; but its power, they say, is greatest at the tûrûnîthû, or full, after which it gradually decays till, on the dark tit’ti, or amâvâsyû, it wholly vanishes. This mode of interpretation may serve as a clue for the intricate labyrinth of the Puránas, which contain all the history, physiology, and science of the Indians and Egyptians disguised under similar fables. We have already made remarks on the region and mountains of the Moon, which the Puránas place in the exterior Cûsha-dwîp, or the southern parts of Africa; and we need only add, that the Pulindas consider the female Moon as a form of the celestial Î’sî, or Isis, which may seem to be incompatible with the mythological system of India; but the Hindus have in truth an Isis with three forms, called Swar-de’vi in heaven, Bhu’-de’vi on earth, and Pa’tâ’la-de’vi in the infernal regions. The comfort of the terrestrial goddess is named Bhu’-de’va, who resides on Sûme’ru, and is a vicegerent on earth of the three principal deities: he seems to be the Brahma of the Greek Mythologists, and the Budyas of Arrian; though the Grecian writers have generally confounded him with Buddha.
IV. When this earth was covered with waters, Mahā'cā'la, who floated on their surface, beheld a company of Afsarafes, or Nymphs, and expressed with such force his admiration of their beauty, that Mahā'cā'la, his comfort, was greatly incensed and suddenly vanished: the God, stung with remorse, went in search of her, and with hasty strides traversed the earth, which then had risen above the waters of the deluge, as they were dried up or subsided; but the ground gave way under the pressure of his foot at every step, and the balance of the globe was nearly destroyed. In this distress he was seen by the relenting Cā'li' on the site of Srirangapattana; and considering the injury, which the universe would sustain by her concealment, she appeared in the character of Rā'jara'je'swarta, and in the form of a damsel more lovely than an Afsaraf, on the banks of a river since named Cāli. There at length he saw and approached her in the character of Rā'jara'je'swara, and in the shape of a beautiful youth: they were soon reconciled, and travelled together over the world, promoting the increase of animals and vegetables, and instructing mankind in agriculture and useful arts. At last they returned to Cusha-dvip, and settled at a place, which from them was named the Śēbāna of Rā'jara'je'swara and Rā'jara'je'swarta, and which appears to be the Nyfa of Arabia, called Elim in Scripture, and El Tor by modern Geographers; but Al Tur belongs properly to the interior dvip of Cusha: they resided long in that station conversing familiarly with men, till the iniquities of later generations compelled them to disappear; and they have since been worshipped under the titles of Isa'na, or Isa, and Isa'ni, or Isi.

Since the goddess Isis made her first appearance in Egypt, that country is called her nursing mother in an inscription mentioned by Dionorus, and said to have been found on a pillar in Arabia: she was reported by the
Egyptians to have been Queen of that country, and is declared in the Purāṇs to have reigned over Cuska-dwīp within, as her comfort has the title, in the Arabian inscription, of King Osiris; conformably, in both instances, to the characters, under which they appeared on the banks of the Nile. The place, where Isī was first visible, became of course an object of worship; but, as it is not particularly noticed by the Mythologists of the west, we cannot precisely ascertain its situation: it was probably one of the places in the Delta, each of which was denominated Iseum; and, I think, it was the Town of Isis near Sebennytus (a) now called Bha-beit, where the ruins of a magnificent temple, dedicated to Isis, are still to be seen. As Ysiris came from the western peninsula of India, he was considered in Egypt as a foreign divinity, and his temples were built out of the towns.

V. Bhava, the author of existence, and comfort of Amba, the Magna Mater of the western Mythologists, had resolved to set mankind an example of performing religious austerities, and chose for that purpose an Aranya, or uninhabited forest, on the banks of the Nile; but Amba, named also Bhavaṇī and Uma, being uneasy at his absence and guessing the place of his retirement, assumed the character of Aranya-de’vi, or Goddess of the Forest, and appeared sporting among the trees at a place called afterwards Cāmavana, or the Wood of Desire, from the impression, which her appearance there made on the amorous deity: they retired into an Atavi, or imperious forest, whence the goddess acquired also the title of Atavi-de’vi, and the scene of their mutual cares had the name of Bhavatavi-fī’hana, which is mentioned in the Vīdās. The place of their subsequent residence near the Nile was denominated Cīrāvana, or the Grove of Dalliance; and

A a a 2
On Egypt and the Nile

that, where Bhava was interrupted in his devotions, was at first called Bhavasābān, and seems to be the celebrated Bubastos, or, in the oblique case, Bubastos, peculiarly sacred to Diana, the Goddess of Woods: from Bhavatavi, which was at some distance from the Nile in the midst of an imperious forest, the Greeks made Butoi in the oblique case, whence they formed Buto and Butus; and there also stood a famous temple of Diana. The situation of Cīrāvāna cannot be so easily ascertained; but it could not have been far from the two last-mentioned places, and was probably in the Delta, where we find a most distinguished temple of Venus at Aphroditeopolis, (a) now Atar-bekhi, which, according to Stephanus of Byzantium, was at no great distance from Atribi: the goddess had, indeed, laid aside the character of Diana, when Bhava perceived her, and assumed that of Bhavaṇi, or Venus. The three places of worship here mentioned were afterwards continually visited by numerous pilgrims, whom the Brahmanda-purāṇ, from which the whole fable is extracted, pronounces entitled to delight and happiness both in this world and in the next.

Bhaveśwara seems to be the Busiris of Egypt; for Strabo affirms positively, that no Egyptian king bore that name, though altars, on which men were anciently sacrificed, were dedicated to Busiris, and the human victims of the Hindus were offered to the comfort of Bhaveśwara. The Naramédha, or sacrifice of a man, is allowed by some ancient authorities; but, since it is prohibited, under pain of the severest torture in the next world, by the writers of the Brāhma, of the Aḍītya-purāṇ, and even of the Bhāgavat itself, we cannot imagine, that any Brāhmaṇa would now officiate at so horrid a ceremony; though it is asserted by

(a) Herod. B. ii. C. 42.
from the Ancient Books of the Hindus.

from, that the Pámáras, or Pauriá nations, in different parts of India disregard the prohibition, and that the Carbaras, who were allowed by Parasú Ramá to settle in the Cóncan, sacrifice a man, in the course of every generation, to appease the wrath of Re'nuca'-de'vi.

Before we quit the subject of Atavi, we must add two legends from the Bráhmánda, which clearly relate to Egypt. A just and brave king, who reigned on the borders of Himálaya, or Imaus, travelled over the world to destroy the robbers, who then infested it; and, as he usually surprised them by night, he was surnamed Nactamchara: to his son Nisá'chara, whose name had the same signification, he gave the kingdom of Barbara near the Golden Mountains above Syene; and Nisá'chara followed at first the example of his father, but at length grew so insolent as to contend with Indra, and oppressed both Dévas and Dánávas; who had recourse to Atavi-de'vi and solicited her protection. The goddess advised them to lie for a time concealed in Swerga, by which we must here understand the mountains; and, when the tyrant rashly attempted to drive her from the banks of the Nile, she attacked and slew him: the Dévas then returned singing her praises; and on the spot, where she fought with Nisá'chara, they raised a temple, probably a pyramid, which from her was called Atavi-mandira. Two towns in Egypt are still known to the Copts by the names of Atfi, Atfah, and Itfú; and to both of them the Greeks gave that of Aphroditopolis: the district round the most northerly of them is to this day named Ibrit, which M. D'Anville with good reason thinks a corruption of Aphrodite; but Atavi-mandir is Atfi to the south of Alkábirah, not the Atfi or Itfú near Thebes, which also is mentioned in the Puránas and said to have stood in the forests of Tápas.

Another title of the goddess was Ashtára, which she derived from
the following adventure. **Vijaya’swa**, or victorious on horseback, was a virtuous and powerful king of the country round the Nifhadha mountains; but his first minister, having revolted from him, collected an army of Mléch’has in the hills of Gandha-mádan, whence he descended in force, gave battle to his master, took him prisoner, and usurped the dominion of his country. The royal captive, having found means to escape, repaired to the banks of the Cálì, and, fixing eight sharp iron spikes in a circle at equal distances, placed himself in the centre, prepared for death, and resolved to perform the most rigorous acts of devotion. Within that circle he remained a whole year, at the close of which the goddesses appeared to him, issuing like a flame from the eight iron points; and, presenting him with a weapon, called **Ajhtará-mudgara**, or a staff armed with eight spikes fixed in an iron ball, she assured him, that all men, who should see that staff in his hand, must either save themselves by precipitate flight, or would fall dead and mangled on the ground. The king received the weapon with confidence, soon defeated the usurper, and erected a pyramid in honour of the goddess by the name of **Ashta‘ra’-devi**: the writer of the Purána places it near the Cálì river in the woods of Tapás; and adds, that all such, as visit it, will receive assistance from the goddess for a whole year. **Ajhtar** means *eight*, and the word *ará* properly signifies the *spoke of a wheel*, yet is applied to any thing resembling it; but, in the popular Indian dialects, *aštā* is pronounced *ātt*; and the appearance, which Strabo mentions, of the goddess Aphrodite under the name of *Attara*, must, I think, be the same with that of **Ashta‘ra’**: the Ashtaroth of the Hebrews, and the old Persian word *aštárab*, now written *jšárab*, (or a *star with eight rays*) are most probably derived from the two Sanscrit words. Though the place, where **Vijaya’swa** raised his pyramid, or temple, was named **Ajhtarášt’bán**, yet, as the goddess, to whom he inscribed it, was no other than **Atavē-**
from the Ancient Books of the Hindus.

Dévi, it has retained among the Copts the appellation of Alsi or Atsu, and was called Aphroditopolis by the Greeks: it is below Akhmim on the western bank of the Nile.

VI. Among the legends concerning the transformations of Dévi, or देवी, we find a wild astronomical tale in the Náśatya Sanhita, or history of the Indian Castor and Pollux. In one of her forms, it seems, she appeared as Prabha, or Light, and assumed the shape of Aswini, or a Mare, which is the first of the lunar mansions: the Sun approached her in the form of a horse, and he no sooner had touched her nostrils with his, than she conceived the twins; who, after their birth, were called Aswini-cumárav, or the two sons of Aswini. Being left by their parents, who knew their destiny, they were adopted by Brahma, who intrusted them to the care of his son Dacsha; and, under that sage preceptor, they learned the whole Ayurveda, or system of medicine: in their early age they travelled over the world performing wonderful cures on Gods and men; and they are generally painted on horseback, in the forms of beautiful youths, armed with javelins. At first they resided on the Cula mountains near Colchis; but Indra, whom they had instructed in the science of healing, gave them a station in Egypt near the river Câli, and their new abode was from them called Aswí-fbán: as medicated baths were among their most powerful remedies, we find near their seat a pool, named Abhimatada, or granting what is desired, and a place called Rûpa-yauvana-fbala, or the land of beauty and youth. According to some authorities, one of them had the name of Aswin, and the other of Cuma'r, one of Nasatyas, the other of Dasra; but, by the better opinion, those appellations are to be used in the dual number and applied to them both: they are also called Aswana'sau, or Aswacana'sau, because their mother conceived them by her nostrils;
but they are considered as united so intimately, that each seems either, and they are often held to be one individual deity. As twin-brothers, the two Dársas or Cuma'ras, are evidently the Dioscori of the Greeks; but, when represented as an individual, they seem to be Æsculapius, which my Pandit supposes to be Aswiculapa, or Chief of the race of Aswi: that epithet might, indeed, be applied to the Sun; and Æsculapius, according to some of the western Mythologists, was a form of the Sun himself. The adoption of the twins by Brahma, whose favourite bird was the phœnicopterus, which the Europeans changed into a swan, may have given rise to the fable of Leda; but we cannot wonder at the many diversities in the old Mythological System, when we find in the Puráñas themselves very different genealogies of the same divinity and very different accounts of the same adventure.

Æsculapius, or Asclepius, was a son of Apollo, and his mother, according to the Phenicians, was a Goddess, that is, a form of Devi: he too was abandoned by his parents, and educated by Autolacus, the son of Arcas (a). The Aswiculapas, or Asclepiades, had extensive settlements in Thessaly (b), and, I believe, in Moesonia. The word Aswini seems to have given a name to the town of Aphyenis, now Asyin, in upper Egypt; for Aswa, a horse, is indubitably changed by the Persians into Asb or Asp; but Aswí-st'hán was probably the town of Abydos in the Thebais, and might have been so named from Abbida, a contraction of Abhimatada; for Strabo inform us, that it was anciently a very large city, the second in Egypt after Thebes, that it stood about seven miles and a half to the west of the Nile; that a celebrated temple of Osiris was near it, and a magnificent edifi-
vice in it, called the palace of Memnon; that it was famed also for a well, or pool of water, with winding steps all round it, that the structure and workmanship of the reservoir were very singular, the stones used in it of an astonishing magnitude, and the sculpture on them excellent. (a) Herodotus

insists, that the names of the Dioscuri were unknown to the Egyptians; but, since it is positively asserted in the Puranas, that they were venerated on the banks of the Nile, they must have been revered, I presume, in Egypt under other names: indeed, Harpocrates and Halitomenion, the twin-sons of Osiris and Isis, greatly resemble the Dioscuri of the Grecian Mythologists.

VII. Before we enter upon the next legend, I must premise, that Veda, pronounced "ira," is the root of a Sanscrit verb signifying praise, and synonymous with "tha," which oftener occurs in the Veda: the Rigveda begins with the phrase "Agnimik," or I sing praise to Fire. Vishnu then had two warders of his ethereal palace, named Jaya and Vijaya, who carried the pride of office to such a length, that they insulted the seven Maharskis, who had come, with Sanaca at their head, to present their adorations; but the offended Rishis pronounced an imprecation on the insolent warders, condemning them to be adhibhoni, or born below, and to pass through three mortal forms before they could be re-admitted to the divine presence: in consequence of this execration, they first appeared on earth as Hiranya CSHA, or Golden-eyed; and Hiranyakasipu, or Clad in gold; secondly, as Ravana and Cumbhacarna, and, lastly, as Canasa and Sisupala.

In their first appearance they were the twin-sons of Cas YapA and Diti: before their birth, the body of their mother blazed like the sun, and the De-

vatás, unable to bear its excessive heat and light, retired to the banks of the 
Nile, resolving to lie concealed, till she was delivered; but the term of her 
gestation was so long, and her labour so difficult, that they remained a thou-
sand years near the holy river employed in acts of devotion. At length Dé’vi 
appeared to them in a new character, and had afterwards the title of I’D’ITÁ, 
or I’LITÁ`, because she was praised by the Gods in their hymns, when they 
implored her assistance in the delivery of DITI: she granted their request, 
and the two Daityas were born; after which I’LITÁ`-Dé’vi assured mankind, 
that any woman, who should fervently invoke her in a similar situation, should 
have immediate relief. The Dévas erected a temple in the place, where she 
made herself visible to them, and it was named the β’bán of I’D’ITÁ` or I’LITÁ`; which was probably the town of Idithya or Ilithya in Upper Egypt; 
where sacred rites were performed to EIL‘ITHYA or ELEUTHO, the Lucina 
of the Latians, who assisted women in labour; it stood close to the Nile op-
posite to Great Apollonopolis, and seems to be the Leucothea of Pliny. 
This goddess is now invoked in India by women in childbed, and a burnt 
offering of certain perfumes is appropriated to the occasion,

VIII. We read in the Mahad-himálaya-cháná, that, after a deluge, from 
which very few of the human race were preserved, men became ignorant 
and brutal, without arts or sciences, and even without a regular language; 
that part of san’cha-dwip in particular was inhabited by various tribes, who 
were perpetually disputing; but that 'Iswara descended among them, 
appeased their animosities, and formed them into a community of citizens mixed without invidious distinctions; whence the place, where he appeared, 
was denominated Misra-nbán; that he sent his consort 'VÁ‘GE`SWÁRÁ, or 
the Goddess of Speech, to instruct the rising generations in arts and lan-
guage; for which purpose she also visited the dwip of Cusha. Now the
ancient city of Misra was Memphis; and, when the seat of government was transferred to the opposite side of the river, the new city had likewise the name of Mïfr, which it still retains; for Alkâbirah, or the Conqueress, vulgarly Cairo, is merely an Arabick epithet.

\[\text{Vāgīśwara, or Vāgīśa' commonly pronounced Ba'gīśwar and Ba'gīs, means the Lord of Speech; but I have seen only one temple dedicated to a God with that title: it stands at Gangāpur, formerly Deberterea, near Banāres, and appears to be very ancient: the image of Vāgīśwara, by the name of Sirođe'va, was brought from the west by a grandson of Četu-misra descended from Gautama, together with that of the God's consort and sister, vulgarly named Bassari; but the Brāhmens on the spot informed me, that her true name was Ba'gīśwari'. The precise meaning of Sirođe'va is not ascertained: if it be not a corruption of Sris-De'va, it means the God of the Head; but the generality of Brāhmens have a singular dislike to the descendents of Gautam, and object to their modes of worship, which seem, indeed, not purely Indian. The priests of Ba'gīśwara, for instance, offer to his consort a lower mantle with a red fringe and an earthen pot shaped like a coronet: to the God himself they present a vase full of arak; and they even sacrifice a hog to him, pouring its blood before the idol, and restoring the carcase to its owner; a ceremony, which the Egyptians performed in honour of Bacchus Osiris, whom I suppose to be the same deity, as I believe the Baffarides to have been so named from Bassari. Several demigods (of whom Cicero reckons five)\(^{(a)}\) had the name of Bacchus; and it is not improbable, that some confusion has been caused by the resemblance of names: thus Ba'gīśwara-}\]

\(^{(a)}\) De Nat. Deor.
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Osiris was charged by the Greeks into Bacchus Osiris; and, when they introduced a foreign name with the termination of a cafe in their own tongue, they formed a nominative from it; hence from Bhagawān also they first made Baccho, and afterwards Bacchos; and, partly from that strange carelessness conspicuous in all their inquiries, partly from the reserve of the Egyptian priests, they melted the three deities of Egypt and India into one, whom they miscalled Osiris. We have already observed, that Ysiris was the truer pronunciation of that name, according to Hel- lanicus; though Plutarch insists, that it should be Siris or Sirius: but Ysiris, or Iswara, seems in general appropriated to the incarnations of Mahādeva, while Siris or Sirius was applied to those of Vishnu.

IX. When the Pándavas, according to the Vrihat-bāima, wandered over the world, they came to the banks of the Cāli river in Sāncī-dvāpa, where they saw a three-eyed man sitting, with kingly state, surrounded by his people and by animals of all sorts, whom he was instructing in several arts according to their capacities: to his human subjects he was teaching agriculture, elocution, and writing. The descendants of Pāndu, having been kindly received by him, related their adventures at his request; and he told them in return, that, having quarreled in the mansion of Brahma with Dacsha his father-in-law, he was cursed by Mēnu, and doomed to take the form of a Mānava, or man, whence he was named on earth 'Amaneswara; that his faithful comfort transformed herself into the river Cāli, and purified his people, while he guided them with the staff of empire: gave them instruction, of which he had found them in great need. The place, where he resided, was called Amaneswara-ś'hān, or the seat of A'man or A'mon, which can be no other than the Amonne of Scripture, translated Diospolis by the Seventy interpreters; but it was Diospolis
between the canals of the Delta, near the sea and the lake Manzalé, for the
Prophet Nahum(a) describes it as a town situated among rivers, with waters
round about it, and the sea for its rampart; so that it could not be either
of the towns, named also Diospolis, in Upper Egypt; and the Hindu author
says expressly, that it lay to the north of Himádi.

Having before declared my opinion, that the Noph of the three greater
Prophets was derived from Nabhas, or the sky, and was properly called
Nabha-îswara-bhán, or Nabha-bhán, I have little to add here: Hosea
once calls it Moph(b), and the Chaldean paraphrast, Maphes; while Rabbi
Kimchi affirms, that Moph and Noph were one and the same town: the
Seventy always render it Memphis, which the Copts and Arabs pronounce
Menf or Menf; and, though I am well aware, that some travellers and
men of learning deny the modern Menf to be on the site of Memphis, yet,
in the former section, I have given my reasons for dissenting from them,
and observed, that Memphis occupied a vast extent of ground along the Nile,
consisting in fact of several towns or divisions, which had become conti-
guous by the accession of new buildings. May not the words Noph and
Menf have been taken from Nabha and Mánava, since Nabhómanáva, as a
title of Iswara, would signify the celestial man? The Egyptian priests
had nearly the same story, which we find in the Púrāns; for they related,
that the ocean formerly reached to the spot, where Memphis was built by
king Mines, Minas, or Minevas, who forced the sea back by altering
the course of the Nile, which, depositing its mud in immense quantities,
gradually formed the Delta.

Diospolis, distinguished by the epithet great, was a name of Thebes.
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which was also called the City of the Sun (a), from a celebrated temple dedicated to that luminary, which I suppose to be the Sūryēśwarā-fīkān of the old Hindu writers: the following legend concerning it is extracted from the Bāścara-māhātmya. The son of Sōmaraṭa, named Pushpa-ceṭu, having inherited the dominions of his father, neglected his publick duties, contemned the advice of his ministers, and abandoned himself to voluptuousness; till Bhima, son of Pāmara, (or of an outcast) descended from the hills of Niladri, and laid siege to his metropolis: the prince, unable to defend it, made his escape, and retired to a wood on the banks of the Cāhī. There, having bathed in the sacred river, he performed penance for his former dissolute life, standing twelve days on one leg, without even tasting water, and with his eyes fixed on the Sun; the regent of which appeared to him in the character of Su’ryēśwarā, commanding him to declare what he most desired. "Grant me māUSHa, or beatitude," said Pushpa-ceṭu, prostrating himself before the deity; who bade him be patient, assured him that his offences were expiated, and promised to destroy his enemies with intense heat, but ordered him to raise a temple, inscribed to Su’ryēśwarā, on the very spot, where he then stood, and declared, that he would efface the sins of all such pilgrims, as should visit it with devotion: he also directed his votary, who became, after his restoration, a virtuous and fortunate monarch, to celebrate a yearly festival in honour of Su’rya on the seventh lunar day in the bright half of Māgha. We need only add, that Heliopolis in lower Egypt, though a literal translation of Sūrya-fīkān, could not be the same place, as it was not on the banks of the Nile.

X. One of the wildest fictions, ever invented by Mythologists, is told in

(a) Diod. Sic. B. 2. c. 1.
the Padma and the Bhágavat; yet we find an Egyptian tale very similar to it. The wife of Cás’ya, who had been the guru, or spiritual guide, of Crishna, complained to the incarnate God, that the ocean had swallowed up her children near the plain of Prabbáśa, or the western coast of Gurjara, now called Gujarat; and she supplicated him to recover them. Crishna hastened to the shore; and, being informed by the sea-god, that Sanc’hasura, or Páncchajanya, had carried away the children of his preceptor, he plunged into the waves, and soon arrived at Cusba-dwip, where he instructed the Cutila-cfás in the whole system of religious and civil duties, cooled and embellished the peninsula, which he found smoking from the various conflagrations which had happened to it, and placed the government of the country on a secure and permanent basis: he then disappeared; and, having discovered the haunt of Sanc’hasura, engaged and slew him, after a long conflict, during which the ocean was violently agitated and the land overflowed; but, not finding the Bráhmen’s children, he tore the monster from his shell, which he carried with him as a memorial of his victory and used afterwards in battle by way of a trumpet. As he was proceeding to Varáha-dwip, or Europe, he was met by Varuna, the chief God of the Waters, who assured him positively, that the children of Cás’ya were not in his domains: the preserving power then descended to Yamapuri, the infernal city, and, founding the shell Páncchajanya, struck such terror into Yama, that he ran forth to make his prostrations, and restored the children, with whom Crishna returned to their mother.

Now it is related by Plutarch (a), that Garmathone, queen of Egypt, having lost her son, prayed fervently to Isis, on whose intercession

(a) On Rivers, art. Nile.
Osiris descended to the shades and restored the prince to life; in which fable Osiris appears to be Crishna, the black divinity: Garmatbo, or Garbatbo, was the name of a hilly district bordering on the land of the Troglodytes, or Sanc’hásuras; and Ethiopia was in former ages called Egypt. The flood in that country is mentioned by Cedrenus, and said to have happened fifty years, after Cecrops, the first king of Athens, had begun his reign: Abyssinia was laid waste by a flood, according to the Chronicle of Axum, about 1600 years before the birth of Christ (a); and Cecrops, we are told, began to reign 1657 years before that epoch; but it must be confessed, that the chronology of ancient Greece is extremely uncertain.

XI. Having before alluded to the legends of Gupta and Cardama, we shall here set them down more at large, as they are told in the Puránas, entitled Bathamada and Scanda, the second of which contains very valuable matter concerning Egypt and other countries in the west. Su’rya having directed both Gods and men to perform sacred rites in honour of Vishnu, for the purpose of counteracting the baneful influence of Sani, they all followed his directions, except Mahadeva, who thought such homage inconsistent with his exalted character; yet he found it necessary to lie for a time concealed and retired to Barbara in Sancha-dvāpa, where he remained seven years hidden in the mud, which covered the banks of the Câli: hence he acquired the title of Gupte'swara. The whole world felt the loss of his vivifying power, which would long have been suspended, if Mandapa, the son of Cushmanda, had not fled, to avoid the punishment of his vices and crimes, into Cusha-dvāpa; where he became a sincere penitent, and wholly devoted himself to the worship of Mahadeva, constantly singing his praise and dancing in

(a) Bruce's Travels I. 398.
honour of him: the people, ignorant of his former dissolute life, took him for a holy man and loaded him with gifts, till he became a chief among the votaries of the concealed God, and at length formed a design of restoring him to light. With this view he passed a whole night in Cardama-ś'bān, chanting hymns to the mighty power of destruction and renovation, who, pleased with his piety and his music, started from the mud, whence he was named Cardameśwara, and appeared openly on earth; but, having afterwards met Sanaischara, who scornfully exulted on his own power in compelling the Lord of three Worlds to conceal himself in a fen, he was abashed by the taunt, and ascended to his palace on the top of Cailāsa.

Gupteśwara-sthan, abbreviated into Gupta, on the banks of the Nile, is the famed town Coptos, called Gupt or Gypt to this day, though the Arabs, as usual, have substituted their kāf for the true initial letter of that ancient word: I am even informed, that the land of Egypt is distinguished in some of the Purāṇas by the name of Gupta-ś'bān; and I cannot doubt the information, though the original passages have not yet been produced to me. Near Gupta was Cardama-ś'basti, which I suppose to be Thebes, or part of it; and Cadmus, whose birthplace it was, I conceive to be Iswara, with the title Cardama; who invented the system of letters, or at least arranged them as they appear in the Sanscrit grammars: the Greeks indeed, confounded Cardameśwara with Cardama, father of Varuna, who lived on the western coasts of Asia; whence Cadmus is by some called an Egyptian, and by others, a Phenician; but it must be allowed, that the writers of the Purāṇas also have caused infinite confusion by telling the same story in many different ways; and the two Cardamas, may, perhaps, be one and the same personage.
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"Cadmus was born, says Diodorus, (a) at Thebes in Egypt: he had several sons, and a daughter named Semele, who became pregnant, and, in the seventh month, brought forth an imperfect male child greatly resembling Osiris; whence the Greeks believed, that Osiris was the son of Cadmus and Semele." Now I cannot help believing, that Osiris of Thebes was Iswara springing, after his concealment for seven years, from the mud (Cardama) of the river Sjámalá, which is a Pauranic name for the Nile: whatever might have been the grounds of so strange a legend, it probably gave rise to the popular Egyptian belief, that the human race were produced from the mud of that river; since the appearance of Cardama'swara revivified nature and replenished the earth with plants and animals.

XII. The next legend is yet stranger, but not more absurd than a story, which we shall find among the Egyptians, and, which in part resembles it. Mahadeva and Parvati were playing with dice at the ancient game of Chaturanga, when they disputed and parted in wrath; the goddesses retiring to the forest of Gauri, and the god repairing to Cusbadwip: they severally performed rigid acts of devotion to the Supreme Being; but the fires, which they kindled, blazed so vehemently as to threaten a general conflagration. The Devas in great alarm hastened to Brahma, who led them to Mahadeva, and supplicated him to recall his comfort; but the wrathful deity only answered, that she must come by her own free choice: they accordingly dispatched Ganga, the river-goddess, who prevailed on Parvati to return to him on condition that his love for her should be restored. The celestial mediators then employed Cama-deva, who wounded Siva with one of his flowery arrows; but the angry divinity re-

(a) B. r. C. 13.
duced him to ashes with a flame from his eye: Pa'rvatti soon after presented herself before him in the form of a Girati, or daughter of a mountaineer, and, seeing him enamoured of her, resumed her own shape. In the place, where they were reconciled, a grove sprang up, which was named Camavana; and the relenting god, in the character of Cameswara, consoled the afflicted Reti, the widow of Camu, by assuring her, that she should rejoin her husband, when he should be born again in the form of Pradyumna, son of Krishna, and should put Sambara to death. This favourable prediction was in due time accomplished; and Pradyumna having sprang to life, he was instantly seized by the demon Sambara, who placed him in a casket, which he threw into the ocean; but a large fish, which had swallowed the casket, was caught in a net, and carried to the palace of a tyrant, where the unfortunate Reti had been compelled to do menial service: it was her lot to open the fish, and, seeing an infant in the casket, she nurfed him in private, and educated him till he had sufficient strength to destroy the malignant Sambara. He had before considered Reti as his mother; but, the minds of them both being irradiated, the prophecy of Maha'deva was remembered, and the god of Love was again united with the goddess of Pleasure. One of his names was Pushpadhanva, or with a flowery body; and he had a son Visvadhanva, from whom Vijayadhanva and Cirtidhanva, linearly sprang; but the two last, with whom the race ended, were surnamed Caun'apa for a reason, which shall presently be disclosed.

Visvadhanva, with his youthful companions, was hunting on the skirts of Hima'laya, where he saw a white elephant of an amazing size with four tusks, who was disporting himself with his females; the prince imagined him to be Aira'vata, the great elephant of Indra, and ordered
a circle to be formed round him; but the noble beast broke through the toils, and the hunters pursued him from country to country, till they came to the burning sands of Barbara, where his course was so much impeded, that he assumed his true shape of a Račbasa, and began to bellow with the sound of a large drum, called dundu, from which he had acquired the name of Dun Dubhi. The son of Cama, instead of being dismayed, attacked the giant, and, after an obstinate combat, slew him; but was astonished on seeing a beautiful youth rise from the bleeding body, with the countenance and form of a Gandharva, or celestial quirister; who told him, before he vanished, that "he had been expelled for a time from the heavenly mansions, and, as a punishment for a great offence, had been condemned to pass through a mortal state in the shape of a giant, with a power to take other forms; that his crime was expiated by death, but that the prince deserved, and would receive, chastisement, for molesting an elephant, who was enjoying innocent pleasures." The place, where the white elephant resumed the shape of a Račbasa, was called Račbasa-s'bán; and that, where he was killed, Dandubhi-mára-s'bán, or Račbasa-móśbana, because he there acquired móśha, or a release from his mortal body: it is declared in the Uttara-charitra, that a pilgrimage to those places, with the performance of certain holy rites, will ever secure the pilgrims from the dread of giants and evil spirits.

Cantaca, the younger brother of Dundubhi, meditated vengeance, and assuming the character of a Brāhmen, procured an introduction to Visvadhanwa as a person eminently skilled in the art of cookery: he was accordingly appointed chief cook, and, a number of Brāhmens having been invited to a solemn entertainment, he stewed a cuhapa, or corps, (some say putria fisf) and gave it in soup to the guests; who, discovering the abominable af-
front, were enraged at the king, telling him, that he should live twelve years as a night-wanderer feeding on cunapais, and that Caunapa should be the surname of his descendants: some add, that, as soon as this curse was pronounced, the body of Visvadhana became festering and ulcerous, and that his children inherited the loathsome disease.

We find clear traces of this wild story in Egypt, which from Ca'ama was formerly named Chemia, and it is to this day known by the name of Chemi to the few old Egyptian families, that remain: it has been conjectured, that the more modern Greeks formed the word Chemia from this name of Egypt, whence they derived their first knowledge of Chemistry. The god Caimis was the same, according to Plutarch, with Orus the Elder, or one of the ancient Apollos; but he is described as very young and beautiful, and his consoled was named Rhityia; so that he bears a strong resemblance to Ca'ama, the husband of Reti, or the Cupid of the Hindus: there were two gods named Cupid, says Athen (a), the elder of whom was the son of Lucina, and the lover, if not the husband, of Venus; the younger was her son. Now Smu or Typhon, says Herodotus, wished to destroy Orus, whom Latona concealed in a grove of the island Chemmis, in a lake near Butus; but Smu, or Sambar, found means to kill him, and left him in the waters, where Isis found him and restored him to life (b). Athen says, that the Sun, a form of Osiris, being displeased with Cupid, threw him into the ocean, and gave him a shell for his abode: Smu, we are told, was at length defeated and killed by Orus. We have said, that Ca'ama was born again in this lower world, or became: Adhyoni, not as a punishment for his offence, which that word commonly implies, but as a mitigation of the

chastisement, which he had received from Iswara, and as a favour conferred on him in becoming a son of Vishnu: this may, therefore, be the origin both of the name and the story of Adonis; and the yearly lamentations of the Syrian damsels may have taken rise from the ditties chanted by Reti, together with the Apsarases, or nymphs, who had attended Ca’ma, when he provoked the wrath of Mahadeva: one of the sweetest measures in Sanscrit prosody has the name of Reti vilapa, or the dirge of Reti.

In the only remaining accounts of Egyptian Mythology, we find three kings of that country, named Camephis, which means in Coptick, according to Jablonski, the guardian divinity of Egypt (a): the history of those kings is very obscure; and whether they have any relation to the three descendants of Ca’ma, I cannot pretend to determine. The Caunapas appear to be the Niluse fons, supposed to have reigned in Egypt; for we learn from Synclerus (a), that the Egyptians had a strange tale concerning a dynasty of dead men; that is, according to the Hindus, of men afflicted with some phacelous disorder, and, most probably, with Elephantiasis. The seat of Cunapa seems to have been Canopus, or Canopus, not far from Alexandria: that Canopus died there of a loathsome disease was asserted by the Greek Mythologists, according to the writer of the Great Etymological Dictionary under the word Elneor; and he is generally represented in a black shroud with a cap closely fitted to his head, as if his dress was intended to conceal some offensive malady; whence the potters of Canopus often made pitchers with covers in the form of a close cap. His tomb was to be seen at Helenium near the town, which bore his name; but that of his wife (who, according to Epiphanius, was named Cumenuthis) was in a place called Menuthis, at the

(a) See Alphab. Tibet. p. 145.  (b) p. 40. cited by Mr. Bryant.
distance of two stadia. There were two temples at Canopus; the more ancient inscribed to Hercules, which stood in the suburbs (a), and the more modern, but of greater celebrity, raised in honour of Serapis (b). Now there seems to be no small affinity between the characters of Dundhu and Antæus, of Visvadhanwa and Hercules: many heroes of antiquity (Cicero reckons six, and others, forty-three, some of whom were peculiar to Egypt) had the title of Hercules; and the Greeks, after their fashion, ascribed to one the mighty achievements of them all. Antæus was, like Dundhu, a favourite servant of Osiris, who intrusted part of Egypt to his government; but, having in some respect misbehaved, he was deposed, absconded, and was hunted by Hercules through every corner of Africa: hence I conclude, that Dundhu-mára-sí'bán was the town, called Anteu by the Egyptians, and Antæopolis by the Greeks, where a temple was raised and sacrifices made to Antæus, in hope of obtaining protection against other demons and giants. Ṛācba-sā-sí'bán seems to be the Rhacotis of the Greeks, which Cedrenus calls in the oblique case Ṛbakkasíēn: it stood on the site of the present Alexandria, and must in former ages have been a place of considerable note; for Pliny tells us, that an old king of Egypt, named Mesphees, had erected two obelisks in it, and that some older kings of that country had built forts there, with garrisons in them, against the pirates who infested the coast (c). When Hercules had put on the fatal robe, he was afflicted, like Visvadhanwa, with a loathsome and excruciating disease, through the vengeance of the dying Nessus: others relate (for the same fable is often differently told by the Greeks) that Hercules was covered with gangrenous ulcers from the venom of the Lernean serpent, and was cured in Phenice at a place called Ake (the Aco of Scripture), by the juice of a plant, which abounds

(a) Herod. B. 2. (b) Strab. B. 17. (c) Lib. 36. Cap. 9.
both in that spot and on the banks of the Nile (a). The Greeks, who certainly migrated from Egypt, carried with them the old Egyptian and Indian legends, and endeavoured (not always with success) to appropriate a foreign system to their new settlements: all their heroes or demigods, named Hercules by them, and Heracles by the Latians (if not by the Eolians), were sons of Jupiter, who is represented in India both by Hera, or Siva, and by Hera or Vishnu; nor can I help suspecting, that Hercules is the same with Heracula, commonly pronounced Hercul, and signifying the race of Hera or Heri. Those heroes are celebrated in the concluding book of the Mahâbhârata, entitled Herivanâ; and Arrian says, that the Surafeni, or people of Mat'burâ, worshipped Hercules, by whom he must have meant Krishna and his descendants.

In the Canopean temple of Serapis, the statue of the god was decorated with a Cerberus and a Dragon; whence the learned Alexandrians concluded, that he was the same with Pluto: his image had been brought from Sinope by the command of one of the Ptolemies, before whose time he was hardly known in Egypt. Serapis, I believe, is the same with Yama or Pluto; and his name seems derived from the compound Afrapa, implying thirst of blood: the Sun in Bhâdra had the title of Yama, but the Egyptians gave that of Pluto, says Porphyry, to the great luminary near the winter solstice (a). Yama, the regent of hell, has two dogs, according to the Purânas, one of them, named Cerbura and Sabala, or varied; the other Syama, or black; the first of whom is also called Triśiras, or with three heads, and has the additional epithets of Calmāsha, Chitra, and Cirmira, all signifying stained or spotted: in Pliny the words

(a) Steph. Byzant. under Ake.  (b) Cited by Euseb.
Cimmerium and Cerberion seem used as synonymous (a); but, however that may be, the Cérbura of the Hindus is indubitably the Cerberus of the Greeks. The Dragon of Serapis I suppose to be the Sésahanága, which is described as in the infernal regions by the author of the Bhágavat.

Having now closed my remarks on the parallel divinities of Egypt and India, with references to the ancient geography of the countries adjacent to the Nile, I cannot end this section more properly than with an account of the Jaina and the three principal deities of that sect; but the subject is dark, because the Bráhmens, who abhor the followers of Jína, either know little of them, or are unwilling to make them the subject of conversation: what they have designed to communicate, I now offer to the society.

Toward the middle of the period, named Padmacalpa, there was such a want of rain for many successive years, that the greatest part of mankind perished, and Brahma himself was grieved by the distress, which prevailed in the universe: Ripunjaya then reigned in the west of Cufhadevp, and, seeing his kingdom desolate, came to end his days at Cásti. Here we may remark, that Cásti, or the Splendid, (a name retained by Ptolemy in the word Caffidia) is called Banáres by the Moguls, who have transposed two of the letters in its ancient epithet Váránesi; a name, in some degree preserved also by the Greeks in the word Aornis on the Ganges; for, when old Cási, or Caffidia, was destroyed by Bhagawán, according to the Púránas, or by Bacchus, according to Dionysius Periegetes, it was rebuilt at some distance from its former site, near a place called Siva-خار, and had the name of Váránsi, or Aornis, which we find also written

(a) Lib. 6, C. 6.
Avemus: the word Vārānasi may be taken, as some Brāhmens have conjectured, from the names of two rivulets Varuna and Asī, between which the town stands; but more learned grammarians deduce it from vara, or most excellent, and anas, or water, whence come Varānasi, an epithet of Gangā, and Vārānasi (formed by Paˈnini's rule) of the city raised on her bank. To proceed: Brahma offered Ripunjaya the dominion of the whole earth, with Ciḍ for his metropolis, directing him to collect the scattered remains of the human race, and to aid them in forming new settlements; telling him, that his name should thenceforth be Divodāsa, or Servant of Heaven. The wife prince was unwilling to accept so burdensome an office, and proposed as the condition of his acceptance, that the glory, which he was to acquire, should be exclusively his own, and that no Dēvatā should remain in his capital: Brahma, not without reluctance, assented; and even MahāˈDeˈva, with his attendants, left their favourite abode at Ĉiḍ, and retired to the Mandara hills near the source of the Ganges. The reign of Divodāsa began with acts of power, which alarmed the Gods; he deposed the Sun and Moon from their seats, and appointed other regents of them, making also a new sort of fire: but the inhabitants of Ĉiḍ were happy under his virtuous government. The deities, however, were jealous; and MahāˈDeˈva, impatient to revisit his beloved city, prevailed on them to assume different shapes, in order to seduce the king and his people. Deˈvī tempted them, without success, in the forms of sixty four Yāginis, or female anachorets: the twelve Aˈdityas, or Suns, undertook to corrupt them; but, ashamed of their failure, remained in the holy town: next appeared Ganeˈsa, commissioned by his father MahāˈDeˈva, in the garb of an astronomer, attended by others of his profession, and assisted by thirty-six Vaināyacis or Gānēsas, who were his female descendants; and by their help he began to change the disposition.
of the people, and to prepare them for the coming of the three principal deities.

Vishnu came in the character of Jina, inveighing against sacrifices, prayers, pilgrimage, and the ceremonies prescribed by the Veda, and asserting, that all true religion consisted in killing no creature that had life: his consort Jayadevi preached this new doctrine to her own sex; and the inhabitants of Casi were perplexed with doubts. He was followed by Mahadeva, in the form of Arhan or Mahiman, accompanied by his wife Mahamanya, with a multitude of male and female attendants: he supported the tenets of Jina, allying his own superiority over Brahma and Vishnu, and referring, for the truth of his allegation, to Jina himself, who fell prostrate before him; and they travelled together over the world endeavouring to spread their heresies. At length appeared Brahma in the figure of Buddha, whose consort was named Vijanya: he confirmed the principles inculcated by his predeccessors, and, finding the people seduced, he began, in the capacity of a Brahmen, to corrupt the mind of the king. Divodasa listened to him with complacency, lost his dominion, and gave way to Mahadeva, who returned to his former place of residence; but the deposed king, reflecting too late on his weakness, retired to the banks of the Gomati, where he built a fortress, and began to build a city on the same plan with Casi: the ruins of both are still to be seen near Chanwes about fourteen miles above the confluence of the Gomti with the Ganges and about twenty to the north of Benares. It is added, that Mahadeva, having vainly contended with the numerous and obstinate followers of the new doctrine, resolved to exterminate them; and for that purpose took the shape of Pancara, surnamed Acharya, who explained the Vedas to the people, destroyed the temples of the Jainas, caused their books to be burned, and massacred...
all, who opposed him. This tale, which has been extracted from a book, entitled Sancara-prádur-bbáva, was manifestly invented, for the purpose of aggrandizing Sancara-chárya, whose exposition of the Upanishads and comment on the Védánta, with other excellent works, in prose and verse, on the being and attributes of GOD, are still extant and sedulously studied by the Védánti school: his disciples considered him as an incarnation of Maha'-deva; but he tarnished his brilliant character by fomenting the religious war, in which most of the persecuted Jainas were slain or expelled from these parts of India; very few of them now remaining in the Gangetick provinces or in the western peninsula, and those few living in penury and ignorance, apparently very wretched, and extremely reserved on all subjects of religion. These heterodox Indians are divided into three sects: the followers of Jina we find chiefly dispersed on the borders of India; those of Buddha, in Tibet and other vast regions to the north and east of it; while those of Arhan (who are said to have been anciently the most powerful of the three) now reside principally in Siam and in other kingdoms of the eastern peninsula. Arhan is reported to have left impressions of his feet on rocks in very remote countries, as monuments of his very extensive travels: the most remarkable of them is in the island of Sinbal or Silan, and the Siamese revere it under the name of Prapit from the Sanscrit word Prapáda; but the Brähmens insist, that it was made by the foot of Ra'vana. Another impression of a foot, about two cubits long, was to be seen, in the time of Herodotus, on the banks of the river Tyras, now called the Dnieper: the people of that country were certainly Baudhhas, and their high priest, who resided on Mount Cocadoj, at present named Casjon, was believed to be regenerate, exactly like the Lama of Tibet.

As to Jina, he is said by his followers to have assumed twenty-four
rupas, or forms, at the same time, for the purpose of disseminating his doctrine, but to have existed really and wholly in all and each of those forms at once, though in places very remote: but those rupas were of different orders, according to certain mysterious divisions of twenty-four, and the forms are considered as more or less perfect according to the greater or less perfection of the component numbers and the several compounds, the leading number being three, as an emblem of the Trimurti: again the twenty-four rupas, multiplied by those numbers, which before were used as divisors, produce other forms; and thus they exhibit the appearances of Jina in all possible varieties and permutations, comprising in them the different productions of nature.

Most of the Brāhmens insist, that the Buddha, who perverted Divodāsa, was not the ninth incarnation of Vishnu, whose name, some say, should be written Bauddha or Bo’ddha; but, not to mention the Amara, the Mugdhabodh, and the Gitagovinda, in all of which the ninth avatāra is called Buddha, it is expressly declared in the Bhdgavat, that Vishnu should appear ninthly in the form of "Buddha, son of Jina, for the purpose of confounding the Daityas, at a place named Cikata, when the Cali age should be completely begun:" on this passage it is only remarked by Srīdhara Swāmi, the celebrated commentator, that Jina and Ajina were two names of the same person, and that Cikata was in the district of Gayā; but the Pandits, who assisted in the Persian translation of the Bhdgavat, gave the following account of the ninth avatāra. The Daityas had asked Indra, by what means they could attain the dominion of the world; and he had answered, that they could only attain it by sacrifice, purification, and piety: they made preparations accordingly for a solemn sacrifice and a general ablution; but Vishnu, on the in-
terceffion of the Dévas, descended in the shape of a Sannyásī, named Buddha, with his hair braided in a knot on the crown of his head, wrapt in a squalid mantle and with a broom in his hand. Buddha presented himself to the Dáityás, and was kindly received by them; but, when they expressed their surprise at his squalid vesture and the singular implement, which he carried, he told them, that it was cruel, and consequent-

ly impious, to deprive any creature of life; that, whatever might be said in the Védas, every sacrifice of an animal was an abomination, and that purification itself was wicked, because some small insect might be killed in bathing or in washing cloth; that he never bathed, and constantly swept the ground before him, lest he should tread on some innocent reptile: he then expatiated on the inhumanity of giving pain to the playful and harmless kid, and reasoned with such eloquence, that the Dáityás wept, and abandoned all thought of ablution and sacrifice. As this Māyā, or illusive appearance, of Vishnu frustrated the ambitious project of the Dáityás, one of Buddha's titles is the son of Mā́yā: he is also named Sācyasinha, or the Lion of the race of Sácyā, from whom he descended; an appellation, which seems to intimate, that he was a conqueror or a warrior, as well as a philosopher. Whether Buddha was a sage or a hero, the leader of a colony, or a whole colony personified, whether he was black or fair, whether his hair was curled or straight, if indeed he had any hair (which a commentator or the Bhágavat denies), whether he appeared ten, or two hundred, or a thousand, years after Críshna, it is very certain, that he was not of the true Indian race: in all his images, and in the statues of Bauddhas, male and female, which are to be seen in many parts of these provinces and in both peninsulas, there is an appearance of something Egyptian or Ethiopian; and both in features and dress, they differ widely
from the ancient Hindu figures of heroes and demigods. SA'CYA has a resemblance in sound to SISAC, and we find CHA'NAC abbreviated from CHA'NACYA; so that SISAC and SESONCHOSIS may be corrupted from SA'CYASINHA, with a transposition of some letters, which we know to be frequent in proper names, as in the word Banáres. Many of his statues in India are Colossal, nearly naked, and usually represented sitting in a contemplative attitude; nor am I disinclined to believe, that the famed statue of MEMNON in Egypt was erected in honour of MAHIMAN, which has MAHIMNA' in one of its oblique cases, and the Greeks could hardly have pronounced that word otherwise than MAIMNA or MEMNA: they certainly used Mai instead of Mahā, for HESYCHIUS expressly says Mai, μεγάλον; and Mai signifies great even in modern Coptick. We are told, that MAHIMAN, by his wife MĀNAMA'NYA', had a son named SARMANA CARDAMA, who seems to be the SAMMANO CODOM of the Bauddhas, unless those last words be corrupted from SAMANTA GO'TAM, which are found in the Amarcojh among Buddha's names. CARDAM, which properly means clay or mud, was the first created man according to some Indian legends; but the Purānas mention about seven or eight, who claimed the priority of creation; and some Hindus, desirous of reconciling the contradiction, but unwilling to admit that the same fact is differently related, and the same person differently named, insist that each was the first man in his respective country. Be this as it may, CARDAMA lived in VARUNA-c'banda, so called from his son VARUNA the god of ocean, where we see the groundwork of the fable concerning PALEMEN, or MELICERTUS, grandfion of CADMUS: now that c'banda, or division, of JAMBU-DWIP comprised the modern PERSEIA, SYRIA, and ASIA the Less; in which countries we find many traces of MAHIMAN and his followers in the stupendous edifices, remarkable for their magnificence and solidity, which the
Greeks ascribed to the Cyclopes. The walls of Susa, about sixteen miles in circumference, were built by the father of Memnon; the citadel was called Memnonium, and the town, Memnonia; the palace is represented by Ælian as amazingly sumptuous, and Strabo compares its ancient walls, citadel, temples, and palace to those of Babylon; a noble high road through the country was attributed to Memnon; one tomb near Troy was supposed to be his, and another in Syria; the Ethiopians, according to Diodorus of Sicily, claimed Memnon as their countryman, and a nation in Ethiopia were styled Memnones; on the borders of that country and of Egypt stood many old palaces, called Memnonian; part of Thebes had the name of the Memnonium; and an astonishing building at Abydos was denominated Memnon's palace: Strabo says, that many supposed Ismandes to have been the same with Memnon, and consequently they must have thought the Labyrinth a Memnonian structure (a).

Divođa'sa, pronounced in the popular dialects Diodas's, reigned over some western districts of Cisbla-dwip within, which extended from the shores of the Mediterranean to the banks of the Indus; and he became, we find, the first mortal king of Varâns: he seems to have been the Hercules Diodas, mentioned by Eusebius, who flourished in Phenice, and, it is supposed, about 1524 years before our era; but, in my humble opinion, we cannot place any reliance on such chronological calculations; which always err on the side of antiquity. The three sects of Jina, Mahiman, and Buddha, whatever may be the difference between them, are all named Baudhâs; and, as their chief law, in which, as the Brâhmens assert, they make virtue and religion consist, is to preserve the lives of all animated beings, we cannot

but suppose, that the founder of their sect was BUDDHA, the ninth avatár, who, in the Agnipurán, has the epithet of Sacripa, or Benevolent, and, in the Gitagóvinda, that of Sadaya-brídaya, or Tender-hearted: it is added by Jayade'va, that "he censured the whole Védá, because it prescribed "the immolation of cattle." This alone, we see, has not destroyed their veneration for him; but they contend that atheistical dogmas have been propagated by modern Baudhás, who were either his disciples, or those of a younger BUDDHA, or so named from buddhi, because they admit no supreme divinity, but intellect: they add, that even the old Jainás, or Jayanas, acknowledged no Gods but Jya, or Earth, and Vishnu, or Water; as Dë- 
riaades (perhaps Duryó'dhan) is introduced by Nonnus boasting, that Water and Earth were his only deities, and reviling his adversaries for entertaining a different opinion (a); so that the Indian war, described in the Dionysiacs, arose probably from a religious quarrel. Either the old Baudhás were the same with the Cutila-cefas, or nearly allied to them; and we may suspect some affinity between them and the Pális, because the sacred language of Siam, in which the laws of the Baudhás are composed, is properly named Páli; but a complete account of BUDDHA will then only be given, when some studious man shall collect all that relates to him in the Sanscrit books, particularly in the Vóyu-purán, and shall compare his authorities with the testimonies, drawn from other sources by Kæmpfer, Giorgi, Tachard, De La Loubère, and by such as have access to the literature of China, Siam, and Japan.

SECTION THE THIRD.

WE come now to the demigods, heroes, and sages, who at different times visited Egypt and Ethiopia, some as vindictive conquerors, and some as instructors in religion and morality.

I. Pe't'hí'na's, or Pi't'he'na's was a Rishi, or holy man, who had long resided near mount Himalaya, but at length retired to the places of pilgrimage on the banks of the Cáli, designing to end his days there in the discharge of his religious duties: his virtues were so transcendent, that the inhabitants of the countries bordering on that river, insisted on his becoming their sovereign, and his descendants reigned over them to the thirteenth generation; but his immediate successor was only his adopted son. The following series of fifteen kings may constitute, perhaps, the dynasty, which, in the history of Egypt, is called the Cynick Circle:

Pe't'hí'na's.

Paít'hí'na's, 15 Méd'hi-śuca.
Išh'é'nás, 10. Carmanényás,
Yašténás, Pít'hí'ni,
5 Čašténás, Páč'hí'ni,
Jušténás, Pátyamśuca,
Pušténás, Pé't'hí-śuca,
Sušténás, 15 Méd'hi-śuca.

Each of those princes is believed to have built a place of worship, near which he usually resided; but of the fifteen temples, or consecrated edifices, we can only ascertain the situation of seven with any degree of accuracy.
The founder of the family was a pious and excellent prince, observing in all respects the ordinances of the Veda: his name is to this day highly venerated by the Brâhmens; many sacerdotal families in India boast of their descent from him; and the laws of Paît'hînâsî are still extant, in an ancient style and in modulated prose, among the many tracts, which collectively form the Dharma-Sâstra. It must be observed, that he was often called Pi't'hè-rî'shi, or Pi't'hershi; and his place of residence, Pi't'he-rî'shi-f'bân; but the short vowel rî has the sound of ru in the western pronunciation, like the first syllable of Richard in some English counties: thus, in parts of India, amrita, or ambrosia, is pronounced amrût; whence I conjecture, that the seat of Pi't'hè-rû'shi was the Patras of Scripture, called Phatures by the Seventy, and Phatori by Eusebius, which gave its appellation to the Phaturitic nome of Pliny. Some imagine Phaturis to have been Thebes or Diospolis; but Pliny mentions them both as distinct places, though, from his context, it appears that they could not be far asunder; and I suppose Phaturis to be no other than the Tathyris of Ptolemy, which he places at no great distance from the Memonium, or western suburb of Thebes; and, in the time of Ptolemy, the nome of Phaturis had been annexed to that of Diospolis, so that its capital city became of little importance: we took notice, in the first section, that the Ethiopians, who, from a defect in their articulation, say Taulos instead of Paulos, would have pronounced Titboes for Pithoes, and Tathuris for Phaturis.

Though we before gave some account of the fabulous Ra'hu and the Grahas, yet it may not be superfluous to relate their story in this place at greater length. Ra'hu was the son of Cas'yapa and Diti, according to some authorities; but others represent Sinhica' (perhaps, the Sphinx) as his natural mother: he had four arms; his lower parts ended in a tail.
like that of a dragon; and his aspect was grim and gloomy, like the darkness of the Chaos, whence he had also the name of Tamás. He was the adviser of all mischief among the Daityas, who had a regard for him; but among the Dévatás it was his chief delight to sow dissention; and, when the Gods had produced the amrit by churning the ocean, he disguised himself like one of them, and received a portion of it; but, the Sun and Moon having discovered his fraud, Vishnu fevered his head and two of his arms from the rest of his monstrous body. That part of the nectarous fluid, which he had time to swallow, secured his immortality: his trunk and dragon-like tail fell on the mountain of Malaya, where Mini, a Bráhmen, carefully preserved them by the name of Cé'tu; and, as if a complete body had been formed from them, like a dismembered polype, he is even said to have adopted Cé'tu as his own child. The head with two arms fell on the sands of Barbara, where Píth'é'nás was then walking with Sinhica*, by some called his wife: they carried the Daitya to their palace, and adopted him as their son; whence he acquired the name of Páit'hé'nasi. This extravagant fable is, no doubt, astronomical; Ra'hu and Cé'tu being clearly the nodes, or what astrologers call the head and tail of the dragon: it is added, that they appeased Vishnu and obtained readmission to the firmament, but were no longer visible from the earth, their enlightened sides being turned from it; that Ra'hu strives, during eclipses, to wreak vengeance on the Sun and Moon, who detected him; and that Cé'tu often appears as a comet, a whirlwind, a fiery meteor, a waterspout, or a column of sand. From Páith'é'nás the Greeks appear to have made Pythonos in their oblique case; but they seem to have confounded the stories of Python and Typhon, uniting two distinct persons in one(a). Páith'é'nasi, who reigned on the banks of the Cálý af-

(a) Plut. Isis and Osiris.
Pithe'nas his protector, I suppose to be Typhon, Typhaon or Typhoeus: he was an usurper and a tyrant, oppressing the Devatas, encouraging the Dityas, and suffering the Vedas to be neglected. Herodotus represents him, like Ra'hu, as constantly endeavouring to destroy Apollo and Diana (a); and the mythologists add, that he was thunderstruck by Jupiter, and fell into the quicksands of the lake Sirbonis, called also Sirbon and Sarbonis: now Swarbhánu, one of his names, signifies Light of Heaven, and, in that character, he answers to Lucifer. The fall of that rebellious angel is described by Isaiah, who introduces him saying, that "he would exalt his throne above the stars of God, and would sit on the "mount of the congregation in the sides of the North": the heavenly Mēru of the Puranas, where the principal Devas are supposed to be seated, is not only in the North, but has also the name of Sabhá, or the congregation. Fifty-six comets are said, in the Chintúmani, to have sprung from Ce'tu; and Ra'hu had a numerous progeny of Gráhas, or crocodiles: we are told by Elian, that Typhon assumed the form of a crocodile (b); and Ra'hu was often represented in the shape of that animal, though he is generally described as a dragon. The constellation of the Dragon is by the Japanese called the Crocodile; and the sixth year of the Tartarian cycle has the same appellation: it is the very year, which the Tibetans name the year of Lightning, alluding to the dragon, who was struck by it (c). A real tyrant of Egypt was, probably, supposed to be Ra'hu, or Typhon, in a human shape; for we find, that he was actually expelled from that country together with his Gráhas: I have not yet been able to procure a particular account of their expulsion. The Shibin of Ra'hu or Paithinasi, named also Paith'hi, seems to have been the town of Pitomb on the

(a) B. 2. C. 156. (b) On Animals, B. 10 C. 21. (c) Alphab. Tibet. p. 463.
On Egypt and the Nile

borders of Egypt: the Seventy wrote it Peitho, and Herodotus calls it Patumos; but, the second case in Sanscrit being generally affected in the western dialects, we find it written Phithom by the old Latin interpreter, Fithom by Hieronymus, and Pelhom in the Coptick translation. The Greek name of that city was Heroëpolis, or according to Strabo, Heroön; but we are informed by Stephanus of Byzantium(a), that, "when Typhon was smitten by lightning, and blood (αιμα) flowed from his wounds, the place, where he fell, was thence called Hæmus, though it had likewise the name of Hero:" so the station of Ra'hu was on the spot, where Pî T'he'na's and Singhica found his bloody head rolling on the sands; and, if Singhica, or the Woman like a Lioness, be the Sphinx, the monstrous head, which the Arabs call Abu'lbaul, or Father of Terror, may have been intended for that of Ra'hu, and not, as it is commonly believed, for his mother. Though the people of Egypt abhorred Typhon, yet fear made them worship him; and in early times they offered him human victims: the Greeks say, that he had a red complexion, and mention his expulsion from Egypt, but add a strange story of his arrival in Palestine, and of his three sons. We must not, however, confound Ra'hu with Maha'de'va', who, in his destructive character was called also Typhon; though it be difficult sometimes to distinguish them: several places in Egypt were dedicated to a divinity named Typhon; as the Typhaonian places between Tentyra and Coptos; and the tower of Melite, where daily sacrifices were made to a dragon so terrible, that no mortal durst look on him; the legends of the temple relating, that a man, who had once the temerity to enter the recesses of it, was so terrified by the sight of the monster, that he soon expired (b). Melite, I presume, was in

(a) Under the word 'Hpd.  (b) Ælian on Animals, B. 11. C. 17.
that part of the Delta, which had been peopled by a colony from Miletus; and was, probably, the Miletian wall or fort near the sea-shore, mentioned by Strabo.

The usurper was succeeded by Ishte'na's, the real son of Pi't'he'na's, who had also a daughter named Paît'he'ni'; and her story is related thus in the Brahmânda-purân. From her earliest youth she was distinguished for piety, especially towards Mahâ'de'va, on whom her heart was ever intent; and, at the great festival, when all the nation resorted to Cardama'sî, or Thebes, the princess never failed to sing and dance before the image of Cardame'swara: the goddess Iswarî was so pleased with her behaviour, that she made Paît'he'ni her Sac'hi, or female companion; and the damsel used to dance thrice a day in the mud before the gate of the temple, but with such lightness and address as never to spoil her mantle. She died a virgin, having devoted her life to the service of the god and his consort. The female patronymick Paît'he'ni comes from Pit'n' or Pit'he'na, but from Pit'he'na's the derivative form would be Paît'he'nasi; and thence Nonnus calls her Peithianassa, and describes her as a handmaid of Semele, the daughter of Cadmus, in which character she received Juno, (a) who was devising the ruin of Semele, and with that intent had assumed the form of a loquacious nurse: this passage in the Dionysiacs is very interesting, as it proves, in my opinion, that the Semele and Cadmus of the Greeks were the same with the Syama'la and Cardama of the Hindus.

The fourteenth prince of this dynasty was devoted from his infancy to the worship of I'swara, on whom his mind was perpetually fixed, so

(a) Dionysiac. B. 8. v. 193.
that he became insensible of all worldly affections, and indifferent both to
the praise and censure of men: he used, therefore, to wander over the coun-
try, sometimes dwelling on hills and in woods, sometimes in a bower, rare-
ly in a house, and appearing like an idiot in the eyes of the vulgar, who,
in ridicule of his idle talk and behaviour, called him Pēthi-suca, Panjarap-
suca, or Sāla-suca, meaning the parrot in a chest, a cage, or a house, which
names he always retained. When he grew up, and sat on the throne, he
governed his people equitably and wisely, restraining the vicious by his just
severity, and instructing the ignorant in morals and religion: by his wife
Ma'rishā' he had a son called Med'hi-suca, to whom at length he
resigned his kingdom, and, by the favour of Iswara, became jīvanmuṭṭa
or released, even during life, from all encumbrances of matter; but the
story of Ma'rishā' and his son has been related in a preceding section.
Med'hi, or Mēr'hi means a pillar, or a post to which victims are tied, or any
straight pole perpendicularly fixed in the ground; and Pattyam, I believe,
signifies a cross stick, or a wooden bar placed horizontally; so that Pattyam-
suca might have meant the parrot on a perch; but why the thirteenth prince
had that appellation, I am not yet informed: Suca is also a proper name;
the son of Vyā'sa, and principal speaker in the Bhāgavat, being called
Suca-deva. Now many obelisks in Egypt were said to have been raised by a
king named Suchis; (a) and the famous Labyrinth, to have been con-
structed by king Petesuccus: (b) by Merhiwe may certainly understand ei-
ther a pillar or an obelisk, or a slender and lofty tower, like the Mnārahs
of the Muselmans, or even a high building in a pyramidal form. The
Hindus assert, that each of the three Sucas had a particular edifice ascribed
to him; and we can hardly doubt, that the fū'an of Pet'hi-suca was the

Labyrinth: if the three names of that prince have any allusion to the building, we may apply Šālā, or mansion, to the whole of it; Panjara, or cage, to the lower story, and Pēṭ'hi, or chest, to the various apartments underground, where the chests, or coffins, of the sacred crocodiles, called Sukbus or Sukhis in old Egyptian, (a) and Soukh to this day in Coptick, were carefully deposited. Hesychius, indeed, says, that Buti signified a chest, or coffin, in Egyptian; but that, perhaps, must be understood of the vulgar dialect: the modern Copts call a chest be-ut, or, with their article, tabut; a word, which the Arabs have borrowed. When Pliny informs us, that Petesuccus was named also Tithoes, we must either read Pithoes from Pe't'hi, or impute the change of the initial letter to the defective articulation of the Ethiopians, who frequently invaded Egypt. From the account, given by Herodotus, we may conjecture, that the coffins of the sacred crocodiles, as they were called, contained in fact the bodies of those princes, whom both Egyptians and Hindus named Sucas, though suc means a parrot in Sanscrit, and a crocodile in the Coptick dialect: the Sanscrit words for a crocodile are Cumbhīra and Nacra, to which some expounders of the Amarcōṣh add Avagraba and Grāba; but, if the royal name was symbolical and implied a peculiar ability to seize and hold, the symbol might be taken from a bird of prey as well as from the lizard-kind; especially as a fact of Egyptians abhorred the crocodile, and would not have applied it as an emblem of any legal and respectable power, which they would rather have expressed by a hawk, or, some distinguished bird of that order: others, indeed, worshipped crocodiles, and I am told, that the very legend before us, framed according to their notions, may be found in some of the Purāṇas.

(a) Strabo B. 17. p. 811. Damascius, Life of Isidorus. (b) B. 2. C. 148.
We find then three kings, named Sucas, or parrots, living in a house or cage, or resting either on an upright pole, or on one with a crost-bar: but who they were, it is not my present object, nor am I now able, to investigate: I will only observe, that besides the king of Egypt, whom Pliny calls Suchis, or Sochis, the father of the Curetes is named Sochus by a Greek lexicographer, and Socus by the author of the Dionysiacs; and that he was one of the Cabires or Cucéras, who (or at least some of whom) inhabited in former ages: the countries adjacent to the Nile.

The ruins of that wonderful building, called the Labyrinth, are still to be seen, near the lake Maris, at a place, which the Arabs have named the Kafir, or palace, of Karun, whom they suppose to have been the richest of mortals; as the ruins of Medhi-su-ca-fiban are in a district, named the Belad, or country, of the same personage: the place last-mentioned is, most probably, the labyrinth built, according to Damoteles in Pliny, by Motherudes, a name derived, I imagine, from Medhi-rushi. The town of Meta-camfa, mentioned by Ptolemy as opposite to Pselchis above Syene, seems to have had some connection with Medhi-suca; for camfa and suca were synonymous in the old Egyptian: Herodotus at least informs us, that camfa meant a crocodile in that language; and it appears related to timsab in Arabick. Patyam (for so the long compound is often abbreviated) seems to have been the labyrinth near Arsinoë, or Crocodilopolis, now Fayum, which word I suppose corrupted from Patyam, or Phatyam, as the Copts would have pronounced it; and my Pandit inclines also to think, that the building might have been thus denominated from large pieces of stone or timber projecting, like patyas, before the windows, in order to support the frames of a balcony, which, as a new invention, must have attracted the notice of beholders. As to the lake of Maris, I have already exhibited all, that I have yet found concerning it.
the stupendous pyramid, said to have been six hundred feet high, in the midst of that lake, was raised, we are told, by a king named Meris, Myris, Marros, Maindes, Mendes, and Imandes (a); a strong instance of one name variously corrupted; and I have no doubt, that the original of all those variations was Merhi or Medhi. Even to this day in India, the pillars or obelisks, often raised in the middle of tanks, or pools, are called Merbis; but let us proceed to another legend faithfully extracted from the Mahā calpa, in which we see, beyond a doubt, the affinity of Indian, Egyptian, and Grecian Mythology.

II. On the mountains of Jválámuc'ba in the interior Cusba-dwtp, reigned a virtuous and religious prince, named Charvana'yanas, whose son Cape'yana's preferred arms and hunting, in which he was continually engaged, to the study of the Veda, and was so frequently concerned in contests and affrays with his neighbours, that his father, after many vain admonitions, banished him from his palace and his kingdom: the dauntless young exile retired to the deserts, and at length reached Mocfésa, believed to be Mecca, where, hungry and fatigued, he bathed in the Mocfba-tirt'ba, or consecrated well, and passed the night without sleep. Visvacse'na, then sovereign of that country, had an only daughter Padmamuc'hi', or with a face like a lotos, who went to perform religious rites to Mahá de'va, God of the temple and the well; and there seeing the prince, she brought him refreshment and heard his adventures: their interview ended in mutual love, and the old king, who denied her nothing, consented to their marriage, which was solemnized with the ceremony of Pānigraba, or taking bands; and the young pair lived many years happily in the palace of their father. It happened some

On Egypt and the Nile

time after, that the city was besieged by two kings of the Danavas with a numerous army; but Cape'yanas entirely defeated them: the venerable monarch met his brave son in law returning with conquest, and, having resigned the throne to him, went to the banks of the Cal, accompanied by his wife, and entered with her into the third order, called Tanapréš'ba, or that of hermits, in which they passed the remainder of their lives, and, after death, obtained Layaf'ba, or Layavat, and was visited, for ages after, by such as hoped for beatitude. Cape'yanas, or Cape'nas, (for he is differently named in the same book) adhered so strictly to justice, and governed so mildly, that he was respected by his neighbours and beloved by his subjects: yet he became a great conqueror, always protecting the weak, and punishing their oppressors. All the princes to the east of Moclesa paid him tribute; but Calásé'na, king of the exterior Cufba-dvêt, having insolently refused to become his tributary, he invaded Abyssinia, and, after a very long battle, at a place named Ranóísava, or the festival of combat, wholly defeated Calásé'na, whom he replaced on his throne, exacting only a regular acknowledgement of his dominion paramount: then, following the course of the Cal river, he came to Barbara, or the burning sands of Nubia, the king of which country was Gulma, one of the Tamvansas, or the son of Mändya, who was the son of Tamas, or Sani, by his wife Jarat'ha; but from Gulma he met with no resistance, for the wife king laid his diadem at the feet of Cape'nas who restored it, and desired his company, as a friend, in his expedition to Misra-f'bán. The sovereign of Misra was at that time Ranasa'ra, who, disdaining submission, sent his son Ranadurmada with a great force against Cape'nas, and soon followed him at the head of a more powerful army: an obstinate battle was fought, at a place called afterwards Ghóra-f'bán from the horror of the carnage; but Ranasa'ra was killed and his troops entirely routed. The
conqueror placed the prince on the throne of Misra, the capital of which was then called Vísñu-cirti-pura, or the City of Universal Fame; and, having carried immense treasures to Mocskësa, he dedicated them to the God of the temple, resolving to end his days in peaceful devotion: by Padma-muc\\'hi he had a daughter named Antarmada, and a son, Bha\\'le\\'ya-na\\'s, to whom, after the example of ancient monarchs, he resigned his kingdom, when he grew old, and prepared himself for a better life.

Before his death he was very desirous of performing the great sacrificce of a horse, called Aśvamedha, but considerable difficulties usually attended that ceremony; for the consecrated horse was to be set at liberty for a certain time, and followed at a distance by the owner, or his champion, who was usually one of his near kinsmen; and, if any person should attempt to stop it in its rambles, a battle must inevitably ensue: besides, as the performer of a hundred Aśvamedhas became equal to the God of the firmament, Indra was perpetually on the watch, and generally carried off the sacred animal by force or by fraud; though he could not prevent Beli from completing his hundredth sacrifice; and that monarch put the supremacy of the Dévas to proof, at the time, when the Padmá-mandira was built on the banks of the Cumudvati; nor did he prevail against Rághu, whose combat with Indra himself is described by Cálida's in a style perfectly Homeric. The great age of Cape\\'nas obliged him to employ his son in that perilous and delicate service; but Indra contrived to purloin the horse, and Bha\\'le\\'ya-na\\'s resolved never to see his father or kingdom, unless he could recover the mystical victim: he wandered, therefore, through forests and over deserts, till he come to the bank of the Ganges near Avaca-pura, or Alacäd-puri, about twelve crós N. N. W. of Badari-ná\'i\'b; and there, in the agonies of despondence, he threw himself
on the ground wishing for death; but Ganga, the river-goddess, appeared to him, commanded him to return home, and assured him, that he should have a son, whom she would adopt by the name of Gangéyana’s, who should overcome Indra, and restore the horse to his grandfather. Her prediction was in due time accomplished; and the young hero defeated the army of Indra in a pitched battle near the river Cáli, whence he acquired the title of Virauja-jit, or vanquisher of Indra: the field of battle was thence named Samara-sthán; and is also called Virásoya, because the flower of heroes had been there lulled in the sleep of death. Bha’lé-yana’s, having a very religious turn of mind, placed his son on the throne, and, observing, that his sister Antarmanad became too much elated with internal pride, which her name implies; and, boasting of her victory over Ma’ya-de’vi, she added, that the inhabitants of the three worlds would pay her homage, that she should be like Arundhatí, the celebrated consort of Vasisht’ha, and that, after her death, she should have a seat in the starry mansion: this vaunt provoked Ma’ya-de’vi to a phrensy of rage; and she flew to Aurva, requesting him to set on fire the forests of Tapas; but Vishnu, in the shape of a hollow conical mountain, surrounded the princes, and saved her from the flames; whence the place, where she stood, was called the
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śrāhān of Cbhādita, or the covered, and Periraśhitā, or the guarded on all sides. The enraged goddes sent a furious tempest; but Vishnu, assuming the form of a large tree, secured her with its trunk and branches at a place thence named Raśhitā-śrāhāna: Maẏa-đe'vi, however, seized her and cast her into a certain sea, which had afterwards the name of Amagna, because Vishnu endued its waters with a power of supporting her on their surface; and they have ever since retained that property, so that nothing sinks in them.

The fourth and last machination was the most dangerous and malignant: De'vi carried Antarmada' to the sea-shore and chained her to a rock, that she might be devoured by a Grāba, or sea-monster; but Vishnu, ever vigilant to preserve her, animated a young hero, named Pa'rasi'ca, who slew the monster, and released the intended victim, at a place named, from her deliverance, Uddbhāra-śrāhān. He conducted her to his own country, and married her at a place, called Pānigraba, because he there took her by the hand in the nuptial ceremony: they passed through life happily, and, after death, were both seated among the stars, together with Cape'nas and Padmamuc'hi', who had also the patronymick of Caśyapi'. Among the immediate descendants of Pa'rāsica and Antarmada', we find Va'rāsica and Rasica, who reigned successively, Timica and Bha'luca, who travelled, as merchants, into distant countries, and Bha'luca'yanī, who seems to have been the last of the race.

The pedigree of Cape'nas has been carefully preserved; and many Brāhmens are proud of their descent from him:

Caśyapa and Aditi

'Sāndilīyanās, Maunjāyanās.
On Egypt and the Nile

Cókaláyanás,                  Finavántáyanás,
Páycáyanás,                   Ványavásáyanás,
Daityáyanás,                  Chárvanáyanás, 15.
Audamógáyanás, 5.             Capeýana’s,
Mútráyanás,                   Bhíléyanás,
Vácyasánáháyanás              Gángetyanás,
C’háravagáyanás.              Sattrugáyanás,
Cáryusháyanás,                Vailáyanás, 20.
Várbáyanás, 10.               Jánghbráyanás,
Vátsanáyanás.                 Cáfánayanás.

A twenty-third prince, named Cansala’yaná’s, is added in some genealogical tables.

This is manifestly the same story with that of Cepheus and Cassiopea, Perseus and Andromeda. The first name was written Capheus or Caphyeus by the Arcadians (a), and is clearly taken from Capey, the termination nás being frequently rejected: some assert, that he left no male issue; and Apollodorus only says, that he had a daughter, named Sterope, the same, I presume, with Andromeda. The wife of Capey was either descended herself from Casyapa, or was named Casysyapi after her marriage with a prince of that lineage. Para’sica is declared in the Puránas to have been so called, because he came from para, or beyond, that is from beyond the river Cal, or from the west of it; since it appears from the context, that he travelled from west to east: the countries on this side of the Nile, with respect to

(a) Paufan, Arcad.
India, have thence been denominated Arva-f'bán, or, as the Persians write it, Arabifán; while those nations, who were seated on the other side of it, were called Párasicáb, and hence came the Pharusú, or Perse, of Lybia, who are said by Pliny to have been of Persian origin, or descended from Perseus, the chief scene of whose achievements was all the country from the western bank of the Nile to the ocean; but I do not believe, that the word Párasicáb has any relation to the Persians, who in Sanscrit are called Párasáh, or inhabitants of Purasa, and sometimes Párasavah, which may be derived from Parasu, or Párasváh from their excellent horses. I must not omit, that Arva-f'bán, or Arabia, is by some derived from Arvan, which signifies a fine horse, the final letter being omitted in composition: Arvan is also the name of an ancient sage, believed to be a son of Brahma.

In order to prove, by every species of evidence, the identity of the Grecian and Indian fables, I one night requested my Pandit, who is a learned Astronomer, to show me among the stars the constellation of Antarmada; and he instantaneously pointed to Andromeda, which I had taken care not to show him first as an afterthought, with which I was acquainted; he afterwards brought me a very rare, and wonderfully curious, book in Sanscrit, with a distinct chapter on the Upanachhatras, or constellations out of the Zodiac, and with delineations of Cape'ya, of Ca'syapi seated, with a lotos-flower in her hand, of Antarmada chained with the Fish near her, and of Pá'rasicá holding the head of a monster, which he had slain in battle, dropping blood, with snakes instead of hair, according to the explanation given in the book; but let us return to the geography of the Puránas.
We mentioned, in the first section, the two Jwālāmuc'bis, near one of which the father of Cape'yana's resided: the Jwālāmuc'bi, now Corcūr, which was also named Anāyāśā-dēn-β'hān, was at no great distance from the Tigris, and seems as we intimated before, to be the ṛtā Anāyāśā 'ūdū of Strabo (a): I suppose it to be the original Ur of the Chaldeans; original I say, because there were several places of that name, both in Syria and Chaldea, where superstitious honours were paid to fire, either natural or artificial. The epithet great is applied in some Purānas to this Jwālāmuc'bi, and in others to that near Baku; to this, perhaps, by way of eminence in sanctity, and to that, because its flames were more extended and fiercer. Laya-β'hān, or Layavati, where Visvācē'īna closed his days near the Cālī, we have also mentioned in a preceding section; and it was, probably, the Lete of Josephus (b), or some place very near it: Stephanus of Byzantium calls it Letopolis, or Latopolis, and says, that it was a suburb of Memphis near the pyramids (c). Ghōra-β'hān is yet unknown: it could not have been very far from Viswa-citrī-pura; but universal fame is applicable to so many cities of Egypt, that we cannot appropriate it to any one of them. Of Tapas and Tapōvana we have already spoken; and Ch'buditā, or Periracškilā, must have been in those forests of Thebais: the tree of Racškilā was, possibly, the Holy Sycomore mentioned by Pliny, fifty-four miles above Syene on the banks of the Nile (d). The sea of Amagna was, most probably, the Asphaltite lake, the waters of which had, and, some assert, have to this day, so buoyant a quality, that nothing could sink in them: Maundrel takes particular notice of this wonderful property. That lake was not far from Uddhāra-β'hān, or Joppe, where Andromeda was chained to a rock: Pliny says, that the place of her confine-

(a) B. 17. p. 738.  (b) B. 2.  (c) B. 17.  (d) Plin. L. 6. C. 29.
ment and deliverance was shown there in his time; (a) and the Sanscrit word Tāmpa, which the Arabs pronounce Yāsfab and Europeans call Joppa, means deliverance from imminent danger. On the Egyptian shore, opposite to Joppa, was a place called the Watch-tower of Perseus: by Grāha, a crocodile or a shark, we may understand also one of Raṅu's descendants, among whom the females were the Graiāi, or Graeae, of the western mythogifts. Pānigraba was, I suppose, the town of Panopolis, which could have no relation to the God Pan; for Herodotus, who had been there, informs us, that it was called both Panopolis and Chemmis, that the inhabitants of it paid divine honours to Perseus, and boasted that he was born in it; but had Pan, of whom that historian frequently speaks, been the tutelary god of the town, he would certainly have mentioned that fact: in the acts of the council of Ephesus, we find that Sabinus was Panis Episcopus, as if one name of the town had been Pani or Panis; and it might have been anciently named Pāni-grība, the mansion or place of the hand, that is of wedlock, which the Greeks would of course translate Panopolis; as we find Rāja-grība rendered Rāja-maball in the same sense. On the banks of the Niger was another town of that name, called Pānagra by Ptolemy; and, to the north of it, we see Timica; Rūskibar, Rūsucurum, and Rūscade, which have a great affinity with Timica and Rasica, before mentioned as descended from Perseus: both Rasīchār and Rasīc-gber are Indian appellations of places; the first meaning the enclosed ground, or orchard, and the second, (which is a corruption from the Sanscrit) the house, of Rasica. Great confusion has arisen in the geography of India from the resemblance in sound of gher, a house, gerb, a fortress, and the second syllable of Nagar, a town; thus Criṣna-nagar is pronounced Kisna-

(a) L. 5. C. 13, and 31. See also Josephus, Strabo, Mela.
gher, and Ram-nagar, Ramna-gher, both very erroneously; so Bifnagar was probably Visnun-nagar, or Visua-nagar: we must beware of this, and the like, confusion, when we examine the many names of places in Lybia and other parts of Africa, which are either pure Sanscrit, or in such of the dialects as are spoken in the west of India.

Let us conclude this article with observing, that the great extent of Cape'ya's empire appears from the Greek Mythologists and other ancient writers; for the most considerable part of Africa was called Cepheinia from his full name Cape'yanas; the Persians from him were styled Cephenes; and a district in the south of Armenia was denominated Cephene; a passage also in Pliny shows, that his dominion included Ethiopia, Syria, and the intermediate countries: "Ethiopia, says he, was worn out by the wars of the Egyptians, alternately ruling and serving; it was famed, however, and powerful even till the Trojan wars in the reign of Memnon; and that, in the time of king Cepheus, it had command over Syria, and on our coast, is evident from the fables of Andromeda."

III. The following legend is taken from the Mahácalpa, and is there said expressly to be an Egyptian story. An ancient king, who was named Chatura'yana, because he was a perfect master of the four Vedas, to which name Vatsa was usually prefixed, because he was descended from Vatsa, a celebrated sage, passed a hundred years in a dark cavern of Krishna-giri, or the Black Mountain, on the banks of the Gáli, performing the most rigorous acts of devotion: at length Vishnu, surnamed Guha'saya, or dwelling in caves, appeared to him, and promised him, all that he desired, male issue; adding, that his son should be named Tamo'-Vatsa, in allusion to the darkness, in which his father had so long prac-
tified religious austerities. **Tamo’vatša** became a warlike and ambitious, but wise and devout, prince: he performed austere acts of humiliation to Vishnu, with a desire of enlarging his empire; and the God granted his boon. Having heard, that *Mifra-f’t’bán* was governed by Nirmarvy’d’da (a name, which may possibly be the origin of Nimrod), who was powerful and unjust, he went with his chosen troops into that country, and, without a declaration of war, began to administer justice among the people and to give them a specimen of a good king: he even treated with disdain an expostulatory message from Nirmarvy’d’a, who marched against him with a formidable army, but was killed in a battle, which lasted twelve days, and in which **Tamo’vatša** fought like a second Parasu Ra’ma. The conqueror placed himself on the throne of Mifra, and governed the kingdom with perfect equity: his son Ba’hyavatša devoted himself to religion and dwelt in a forest; having resigned his dominion to his son Rucmavatša, who tenderly loved his people, and so highly improved his country, that from his just revenues he amassed an incredible treasure. His wealth was so great, that he raised *three mountains*, called Rucmadri, Rajatádri, and Retnádri, or the mountain of gold, of silver, and of gems: the author says *mountains*; but it appears from the context that they were fabricks, like mountains, and probably in a pyramidal form.

**Tamo’vatša** seems to be the Timaus of Manetho, who says, according to Mr. Bryant’s translation, that “they once had a king, called “Timaus, in whose reign there came on a sudden into their country a large body of obscure people, who with great boldness invaded the land, took it without opposition, and behaved very barbarously, slaying the men, and enslaving their wives and children.” the Hindus, indeed, say, that the invaders were headed by **Tamo’vatša**, who behaved with justice to the na-
tives, but almost wholly destroyed the king's army, as the son of Jamadagni nearly extirpated the military class; but the fragments of Manetho, although they contain curious matter, are not free from the suspicion of errors and transpositions. The feat of Tamo\textsuperscript{a}vat\textsuperscript{a}, called Tamo\textsuperscript{a}vat\textsuperscript{a}-\textsuperscript{a}h\textsuperscript{a}n, seems to be the town of Thmus, now Tmaic, in the district of Thmuites: in later times it appears to have communicated its name to the Phatmetick branch, and thence to Tamiathis, the present Damiata. We before ascertained the situtation of Cris\textsuperscript{a}na-giri; and, as to the three stupendous edifices, called moun-
tains from their size and form, there can be little or no doubt, that they were the three great Pyramids near Misra-\textsuperscript{a}h\textsuperscript{a}n, or Memphis; which, according to the Pur\textsuperscript{a}nas and to Pliny, were built from a motive of ostentation, but, according to Aristotle, were monuments of tyranny: Rucmavat\textsuperscript{a}sa was no tyrant to his own people, whom he cherished, says the Mah\textsuperscript{a}calpa, as if they had been his own children; but he might have compelled the native Egyptians to work, for the sake of keeping them employed and subduing their spirit. It is no wonder, that authors differ as to the founders of those vast buildings; for the people of Egypt, says Herodotus, held their memory in such detestation, that they would not even pronounce their names: they told him, however, that they were built by a herdsman, whom he calls Philitius, and who was a leader of the P\textsuperscript{a}lis or Bbils mentioned in our first section. The pyramids might have been called mountains of gold, silver, and precious stones, in the hyperbolical style of the East; but I rather suppose, that the first was said to be of gold, because it was coated with yellow marble; the second of silver, because it had a coating of white marble; and the third of jewels, because it excelled the others in magnificence, being coated with a beautiful spotted marble of a fine grain, and susceptible of an exquisite polish (a). The Br\textsuperscript{a}hmens never understood, that any pyramid in Misra-

(a) Savary Vol. 1. p. 246.
JFhala, or Egypt, was intended as a repository for the dead; and no such idea is conveyed by the Mahácalpa, where several other pyramids are expressly mentioned as places of worship. There are pyramids now at Benáres, but on a small scale, with subterranean passages under them, which are said to extend many miles: when the doors, which close them, are opened, we perceive only dark holes, which do not seem of great extent, and pilgrims no longer resort to them through fear of mephitick air or of noxious reptiles. The narrow passage, leading to the great pyramid in Egypt, was designed to render the holy apartment less accessible, and to inspire the votaries with more awe: the caves of the oracle at Delphi, of Tropheonius, and of New-Grange in Ireland, had narrow passages answering the purpose of those in Egypt and India; nor is it unreasonable to suppose, that the fabulous relations concerning the grot of the Sibyl in Italy, and the purgatory of St. Patrick, were derived from a similar practice and motive, which seem to have prevailed over the whole Pagan world, and are often alluded to in Scripture. M. Maillet has endeavoured to show, in a most elaborate work, that the founder of the great pyramid lay entombed in it, and that its entrance was afterwards closed; but it appears, that the builder of it was not buried there; and it was certainly opened in the times of Herodotus and Pliny. On my describing the great Egyptian pyramid to several very learned Brahmins, they declared it at once to have been a temple; and one of them asked, if it had not a communication under ground with the river Cálì: when I answered, that such a passage was mentioned as having existed, and that a well was at this day to be seen, they unanimously agreed, that it was a place appropriated to the worship of Padma-devī, and that the supposed tomb was a trough, which, on certain festivals, her priests used to fill with the sacred water and lotos-flowers. What Pliny says of the Labyrinth is applicable also to the Pyramid: some insisted, that it was the palace of a certain king; some, that
it had been the tomb of Mæris; and others, that it was built for the purpose of holy rites; a diversity of opinion among the Greeks, which shows how little we can rely on them; and, in truth, their pride made them in general very careless and superficial inquirers into the antiquities and literature of other nations.

IV. A singular story, told in the Uttara-charitra, seems connected with the people, whom, from their principal city, we call Romans. It is related, that a sage, named A'lavâla resided on the verge of Himâdri, and spent his time in cultivating orchards and gardens; his name or title implying a small canal or trench, usually dug round trees, for the purpose of watering them. He had an only son, whose name, in the patronymick form, was A'lavâli: the young Brahmen was beautiful as Câmaideva, but of an amorous and roving disposition; and, having left the house of his father, in company with some youths like himself, he travelled as far as the city of Rômacè, which is described as agreeably situated and almost impregnable strong. The country, in which it stood, was inhabited by Mlêch'bas, or men who speak a barbarous dialect, and their king had a lovely daughter, who, happening to meet A'lavâli, found means to discourse with him: the young pair were soon mutually enamoured, and they had frequent interviews in a secret grove or garden; till the princess became pregnant, and, her damsels having betrayed her to the king, he gave orders for the immediate execution of A'lavâli; but she had sufficient power to effect his escape from the kingdom. He returned home; but, his comrades having long deserted him, and informed his father of his intercourse with the daughter of a Mlêch'ba, the irritated sage refused to admit him into his mansion: he wandered, therefore, from country to country, till he arrived in Barbara, where he suffered extreme pain from the burning sands; and having reached the banks of the
Crisna, he performed a rigorous penance for many years, during which he barely supported life with water and dry leaves. At length Mahadeva appeared to him, assured him that his offence was forgiven, and gave him leave, on his humble request, to fix his abode on the banks of the holy river Cati, restoring him to his loft; aerdotal class, and promising an increase of virtue and divine irradiation. From the character, in which the God revealed himself, he was afterwards named Aghasa, or Lord of him, who for-fakes sin; and the station of A'la'vali was called Agbabesa-f'hani, or Agbabéfam.

Now we find the outline of a similar tale in the ancient Roman history; and one would think that the Hindu writers wished to supply what was deficient in it. The old deities of Rome were chiefly rural, such as the Fauns, the Sylvans, and others who presided over orchards and gardens, like the sage A'la'vala: the Sanscrit word ála, which is lengthened to álavála, when the trench is carried quite round the tree, seems to be the root of ákād, a vi-neyard or an orchard, ákāh in the same sense, ákāu gardens, and ákārä, a gardener or husbandman. We read of Vertumna with child by Apollo, the daughter of Faunus by Hercules, and those of Numitor and Tar-chetius by some unknown Gods, or at least in a supernatural manner; which may be the same story differently told; the king of the Mitcb'bas would, no doubt, have saved the honour of his family by pretending that his daughter had received the careffes of a rural divinity.

The origin of Rome is very uncertain; but it appears to have been at first a place of worship raised by the Pelagi under the command of a leader, who, like many others, was named Hercules; by erecting other edifices round it, they made it the capital of their new western settlements; and it

H h h
became so strong a city, that the Greeks called it Rhôme, or power itself; but Rômaca, which all the Hindus place very far in the west, was thus denominated, according to them, from Roma, or wool, because its inhabitants wore mantles of woollen cloth; as the Greeks gave the epithet λουκαριας, from linen vesture, to the people of Egypt and to those eastern nations, with whom they were acquainted. Pliny says, that the primitive name of Rome was studiously concealed by the Romans (a); but Augustine informs us, that it was Febris: probably that word should be written Phoberis. About two generations before the Trojan war, the Pelasgi began to lose their influence in the west, and Rome gradually dwindled into a place of little or no consequence; but the old temple remained in it: according to the rules of grammatical derivation, it is more probable, that Romulus was thus named, because he was found, when an infant, near the site of old Rome, than that new Rome, which he rebuilt and restored to power, should have been so called from Romulus. A certain Romanus, believed to be a son of Ulysses, is by some supposed to have built Rome, with as little reason as Romulus; if, indeed, they were not the same personage: Romanus, perhaps, was the king Latinus, whom Hesiod mentions as very powerful; but, whether he was the foreign prince, whose daughter inspired Alava'li with love, I cannot pretend to decide; however, these inquiries relate to the dwtp of Varába; and the scope of our work leads us back to that of Cusha.

It is reasonable to believe, that Agbabésam was the celebrated and ancient city of Axum in the vicinity of the little Crisné, or the Aftaboras of our old geographers, now called Tacazze; which according to Mr. Bruce, is the largest river in Abyssinia next to the Abay or Nile (b): it is also held

(a) L. 3. C. 5.  
(b) Vol. 3. p. 157-61a.
sacred, and the natives call it Tenufo Abay or Little Nile; a very ancient appellation; for Strabo gives the name of Tenesis to the country bordering on that river (a). Hence, perhaps, the ancients mistook this river for the Nile, to which they erroneously applied the name Siris; for the true Siris appears to be the Little Crishnā. The Agows, who live toward the heads of the Nile and the Tacazzē, may have derived their name from Aghaba; and we find the race of A’lava’li settled as well in the isles of the Red Sea near the Abyssinian coast, as in the country adjacent to Agbahésam: those isles were called Aliu and Alalae; and, in the districts about the Tacazzē, were the Elei or Eleii, furnamed Rbizopagi, who dwelt on the banks of the Aftopus and the Aftaboras; in which denominations of isles and tribes we may trace the radical word A’la or A’lavāla.

The smaller Crishnā was so denominated, either because its waters were black, or because it had its origin from an achievement of Crishna; and its name Afl‘bimāri, was given on an occasion, which has been already mentioned, but which may here be related at large from the Brāhmānda. When Crishna visited Sanc‘ba-dwip and had destroyed the demon, who infested that delightful country, he passed along the bank of a river and was charmed with a delicious odour, which its waters diffused in their course: he was eager to view the source of so fragrant a stream, but was informed by the natives, that it flowed from the temples of an elephant, immensely large, milk-white and beautifully formed, that he governed a numerous race of elephants, and that the odoriferous fluid, which exuded from his temples in the season of love, had formed the river, which, from his name, was called Sanc‘hanagā; that the Dévas, or inferior gods, and

(a) B. 16. p. 770.
the Apsurases, or nymphs, bathed and sported in its waters, impassioned and intoxicated with the liquid perfume. The Hindu poets frequently allude to the fragrant juice which oozes at certain seasons from small ducts in the temples of the male elephant, and is useful in relieving him from the redundant moisture, with which he is then oppressed; and they even describe the bees as allured by the scent, and mistaking it for that of the sweetest flowers; but, though Arrian mentions this curious fact, no modern naturalist, I believe, has taken notice of it. Crishna was more desirous than before of seeing so wonderful a phenomenon, and formed a design ofpossessing the elephant himself; but Sanc'han'a'ga led against him a vast army of elephants, and attacked him with such fury, that the incarnate God spent seven days in subduing the assailants, and seven more in attempting to seize their leader, whom at last he was obliged to kill with a stroke of his Chaera: the head of the huge beast had no sooner fallen on the ground, where it lay like a mountain, than a beautiful Yacsha, or Genius, sprang from the body, who prostrated himself before Crishna, informing him, that he was Vijayaverdhana, who had once offended Mahadeva and been condemned by him to pass through a mortal form, that he was supremely blessed in owing his deliverance to so mighty a God, and would instantly, with his permission, return to his appeased master. The victor assented, and left the field of battle; where, from the bones of the slain elephants, rose a lake, thence named Aśhiratarāga, from which flowed the river Aśhimati, whose hallowed waters, adds the author of the Purāna, remove sin and worldly affections: aś'hi, a bone, pronounced aś'bi in some provinces, is clearly the Greek óçow, and its derivative aś'himat becomes aś'khimān in the first case masculine; whence the river is by some old geographers called Aṣfamenos; for the names of rivers, which are feminine for the most part in Sanscrit, are generally masculine in the western languages.
We find it named also Afstaboras and Afstubaras; for Abs'hivara means the most excellent bone, or ivory; and the Adisbarae, who lived, says Pliny, on its banks, took their name, perhaps, from the river, the word af'shi being pronounced abhi in some vulgar dialects; as the Sanscrit word hathi, an elephant, is corrupted into hiti: Mareb, or Sanch'an'ga, was anciently named Absofuras, or Absofobas, possibly from Hastifrava, or flowing from an elephant, in allusion to the legend before related; and one would have thought Hastimati or Hastimán, a more rational appellation for the Tucazze, since there are in fact many elephants in the country, which it waters. We must beware of confounding Sanc'hana'ga, or the Elephant of Sanc'ja-dvip, with Sanc'cha-na'ga, or the Shell-serpent, of whom we have already given a sufficient account, and concerning whom we have nothing to add, except that the people of the mountains, now called Hubáb, have legendary traditions of a Snake, who formerly reigned over them; and conquered the kingdom of Sirè.

V, Concerning the river Nandí, or the Nile of Abyssinia, we meet with the following tales in the Padmatèsha, or Treasure of Lotos-flowers. A king, named Apia'yana, finding himself declining very low in the vale of years, resigned his throne to Apa'mvatsa, his son, and repaired with his wife S'armada to the hermitage of a renowned and holy Bráhma-men, whose name was Mrica or Mrica, intending to consult him on the mode of entering into the third Aframa, or order, called vinaaprest'ha: they found only the son of the sage, named Márca, or Márcava, who gave them full instructions, and accompanied them to the hilly parts of the country, where he advised them to reside. When they arrived at their destined retreat, the Dévas, pleased with their piety, scattered flowers on them like rain, whence the mountains were called Pushpavarśa, according
to the derivation of the Mythologists; but Pusdpavarsham, which is the name of the country round them, may signify no more than the region of flowers: the Gods were not satisfied with a shower of blossoms, and when the first ceremonies were performed at Pu$h$pavarsfa$f'bán, they rained also tears of joy, which being mingled with those of the royal pair and the pious hermit, formed the river Nandá, whose waters hastened to join the Cúšii, and their united streams fell at length into the Sanc'hábâdi, or sea of Sanc'hâ. The goddess, who presided over the Nandá, passed near the mansion of a sage, named Sâ'ntapana, a child of Sântapana, or the Sun, who ran with delight to meet her and conducted her near his hermitage, where Dévátâs and Rîshis were assembled to pay her divine honours: they attended her to the place of her confluence with the great Chishnâ, near which was afterwards built Sântapana-f'tbán, and there the sage fixed a linga, or emblem of Sâ'ntapana-siva, to which prostrations must be made, after prescribed ablution in the hallowed waters, by all such as desire a seat in the mansions of Swerta.

The mountains and country of Pu$h$pavarsfa seem to be those round the lake Dembâa, which immediately after the rains, says Mr. Bruce, look, from the blossoms of the Wanzei, as if they were covered with white linen or new fallen snow. Diodorus calls them Pseuâras in the oblique case; and Strabo, Psebœos; the lake itself being also named Pseboa, or Psebo, from the Sanscrit word pus$pâ. By one of the old Hindu writers, the river Nandá is placed between Barbarâ and Cushâ-dwîp; by another, in Sanc'hâ-dwîp itself; but this is easily reconciled, for, according to the more ancient division of the earth, the exterior dwîp of Cusha was considered as a part of Sanc'hâ-dwîp; though, in the new division, it is just the reverse: all agree, that the Nandá runs, in great part of its course, from south to
north; and hence many Brāhmens draw a conclusion, which by no means follows, that the Cālī, which it joins, must flow from west to east. Sāntapana-b'lān, I conceive to have stood at the prayāga or trivēni, that is, at the confluence of the smaller Čṛīṣhṇā with the united waters of the Nanda and the Cālī; and I suppose it to have been the Apollinis oppidum of Pliny, (a) or the capital of the Adiabarā, called also Megabari, whom I have already mentioned: for Sāntapana was an aversal, or incarnate form, of the Sun, and the country round his aśrama, or hermitage, is known to this day by the name of Kuara, which means the Sun, according to Mr. Bruce, and which is no other than the Sanskrit word Čārā, or going round the earth: the Nanda, I presume, or Nile of Abyssinia, was also named the river of Sāntapana, whence the Greeks first made Astapūn in the oblique case, and thence, as usual formed the nominative Astapus. According to the Purānas, the Nanda and Little Čṛīṣhṇā unite, before they fall into the Cālī; and Ptolemy also supposes that they join near the southern border of Meroe, and then are divided, one branch flowing eastward, and another westward into the main body of the Nile: that inquisitive geographer acknowledges himself indebted for much useful information to many learned Indians, whom he knew at Alexandria, and those Hindus were probably acquainted with the Purānas; but Eratosthenes was better informed than Ptolemy with respect to the rivers in question; and the mistake of the Hindu authors may have arisen from a fact, mentioned by Mr. Bruce, that, during the rains, the floods divide themselves, part running westward into the Nile, part eastward into the Tacazze. It should not be omitted, that the country of the sage Mrīcu and his son Mrācava, seems to be that of the Macrobi, now inhabited by the Gonguas, Cubas, and Sban-gallas; the Greeks, according to their custom, having changed Mracaba in-

(a) Lib. 6. Cap. 30.
to Macrobius, or long-lived; though that country, says the Abyssinian traveller, is one of the most unhealthy on earth: indeed, if Marcandeya, the son of Mricandu, be the same person with Marcava, he was truly Macrobius, and one of the nine long-lived Sages of the Purâns.

VI. The next legend is taken from the Mahâcalpa; and we introduce it here as illustrative of that, which has been related in the second section, concerning the two Indian Gods of Medicine, to whom some places in Egypt were consecrated.

A most pious and venerable Sage, named Rishīcesa, being very far advanced in years, had resolved to visit, before he died, all the famed places of pilgrimage; and, having performed his resolution, he bathed at last in the sacred water of the Câl, where he observed some fishes engaged in amorous play, and reflecting on their numerous progeny, which would sport like them in the stream, he lamented the improbability of his leaving any children: but, since he might possibly be a father, even at his great age, he went immediately to the king of that country, Hiranayaverna, who had fifty daughters, and demanded one of them in marriage. So strange a demand gave the prince great uneasiness; yet he was unwilling to incur the displeasure of a faint, whose imprecations he dreaded: he, therefore, invoked Heri, or Vishnu, to inspire him with a wise answer, and told the hoary philosopher, that he should marry any one of his daughters, who of her own accord should fix on him as her bridegroom. The sage, rather disconcerted, left the palace; but, calling to mind the two sons of Aswini, he hastened to their terrestrial abode, and requested, that they would bestow on him both youth and beauty: they immediately conducted him to Abhimatada, which we suppose to be Abydos in Upper Egypt; and, when he had bathed in the pool of Rupayau-
wana, he was restored to the flower of his age with the graces and charms of Ca'maeva. On his return to the palace, he entered the secret apartments, called antabpura, where the fifty princesses were assembled, and they were all so transported with the vision of more than human beauty, that they fell into an ecstacy, whence the place was afterwards named Móba-þ'bán or Móbana, and is, possibly, the same with Móbanán; they no sooner had recovered from their trance, than each of them exclaimed, that she would be his bride; and, their altercation having brought Hiranyaverna into their apartment, he terminated the contest by giving them all in marriage to Rishi-cesa, who became the father of a hundred sons; and, when he succeeded to the throne, built the city of Sane'havänderdha, framed vimánas or celestial self-moving cars, in which he visited the Gods, and made gardens abounding in delights, which rivalled the bowers of Indra, but, having gratified the desire, which he formed at Matsyaangama, or the place, where the fishes were assembled, he resigned the kingdom to his eldest son Hiranyaverdana, and returned in his former shape to the banks of the Cálti, where he closed his days in devotion.

VII. A very communicative Pandit having told me a short story, which belongs to the subject of this section, it seems proper to mention it, though I do not know, from what Purán it is taken. Aruna'tri, the fifth in descent from Átri before named, was performing religious rites on the Devánika mountains near the site of the modern Cábul, when a hero, whose name was Tulya, desired his spiritual advice; informing him, that he had just completed the conquest of Barbura, subdued the Sýamaniue'bas, who lived to the east of the river Cálti, and overcome the Sane'hâyana, but that so great an effusion of blood, for the sake of dominion and fame, had stained his soul with a sinful impurity, which he was desirous of expiating:
the Sage accordingly prescribed a fit penance, which the conqueror performed in the interior Guja-dwip. A certain Thoules or Taules is mentioned in Egyptian history as a son of Orus the Shepherd.

VIII. In the first part of this essay, we intimated an opinion, that Ugra-fshân was a part of Memphis, and that Ugra, whom the Hindus make a king of Dwâracâ in Gujâra-dês or Gujarât, was the Uchoreus, or Ogdous, of the Greeks; nor is it impossible, that Vexoris, who is represented as a great conqueror, was the same person with Uchoreus. The story of Ugra, or Ugrase'na, we find in a book, entitled Amârîsvara-sangrabatantra; from which the following passage is verbally translated:

"Ugrase'na, chief of kings, was a bright ornament of the Yádava race; and, having taken Crîshna for his associate, he became sovereign of all the Dwipas; the Dêvas, the Yacshas, and the Rácshushis, paid him tribute again and again; having entered Cusba-dwip, and vanquished its princes slate, with pride, the monarch raised an image of Iswara on the banks of the river Câlî, whence the God was famed by the title of Ugre'svara, and the place was called Ugra-fshâna."

IX. The following legend from the Uttara-s'handâ is manifestly connected with the oldest history and mythology in the world. Indra, king of Mérû, having slain a Daiya of the facerdotal class, was obliged to retire from the world, in order to perform the penance ordained for the crime of Brâhmabatyâ, or the murder of a Brûbmen; his dominions were soon in the greatest disorder, and the rebel Daiyâs oppressed the Dêvas, who applied for assistance to Nahusâ, a prince of distinguished virtues, whom they unanimously elected king of their heavenly mansions, with the title of De vanahusâ. His first object was to reduce the Daiyâs and the
souvereigns of all the dwipa, who had shaken off their allegiance; for which purpose he raised an immense army, and marched through the interior Cusha-dwipa or Iran, and Arabia, through the exterior dwipa of Cusha or Ethiopia, through Sancha-dwipa or Egypt, through Varaha-dwipa or Europe, through Chandina-dwipa, and through the countries now called Siberia and China: when he invaded Egypt, he overthrew the combined forces of the Cutili-cesus and Syama-muchu with a terrible carnage, that the Cali (a word, which means also the female devourer) was reported to have swallowed up the natives of Egypt; whose bodies were thrown into her stream. During his travels he built many places of worship, and gave each of them the title of Dévaránábrvam, the principal rivers of the countries, through which he passed, were also distinguished by his name; Nahusha being an appellation of the Nile, of the Choasnu or Oxus, of the Varahá or Ister, and of several others. He returned through India to Méru, but unhappily fell in love with Sachi or Pulomaja, the consort of Indra, who secretly resolved on perfect fidelity to her lord, and, by the advice of Vrihaspati, regent of the planet Jupiter and preceptor of the Dévas, promised Nahusha to favour his addresses, if he would visit her in a dolá, or palanquin, carried on the shoulders of the holiest Bráhmans; he had sufficient influence to procure a set of reverend bearers; but such was the swiftness of their motion, and so great was his eagerness to see his beloved, that he fled with impatience to the chief of them Serpe, Serpe, which has precisely the same sense in Sanscrit and in Latin; and the sage, little used to such an imperative, answered, “He thyself a serpent.” Such was the power of divine learning, that the imprecation was no sooner pronounced, than the king fell on the earth in the shape of that large serpent, which is called Ajagára in Sanscrit, and Boa by Naturalists; in that state of humiliation he found his way to the Black Mountains, and glided in search of
prey along the banks of the Cāli; but, having once attempted to swallow a Brāhman deeply learned in the Vedas, he felt a scorching flame in his throat, and was obliged to disgorge the sage alive, by contact with whom his own intellects, which had been obscured by his fall, became irradiated; and he remembered with penitence his crime and its punishment. He ceased from that day to devour human creatures, and, having recovered his articulation together with his understanding, he wandered through the regions adjacent to the Nile, in search of some holy Brāhman, who could predict the termination of his deserved misery: with this view he put many artful questions to all, whom he met, and at length received information, that he would be restored to his pristine shape by the sons of Pāndu. He had no resource, therefore, but patience, and again traversed the world, visiting all the temples and places of pilgrimage, which he had named from himself in his more fortunate expedition: at last he came to the snowy mountains of Himālaya, where he waited with resignation for the arrival of the Paṇḍavas, whose adventures are the subject of Vyāsa’s great Epick Poem.

This fable of De’va-nahusha, who is always called Deo-naush in the popular dialects, is clearly the same in part with that of Dionysus, whether it allude to any single personage, or to a whole colony; and we see in it the origin of the Grecian fiction, that Dionysus was sowed up in the Mēros, or thigh, of Jupiter; for Mēru, on which Deva-nahusha resided for a time, was the seat of Indra, or Zeus Ombrios: by the way, we must not confound the celestial Mēru with a mountain of the same appellation near Cābul, which the natives, according to the late Mr. Forster, still call Mer-cob, and the Hindus, who consider it as a splinter of the heavenly mountain, and suppose, that the Gods occasionally descend
on it, have named Meru-fringa. Names are often so strangely corrupted, that we suspect Deo-naush to be also the Scythian monarch, called Tanaus by Justin (a), and Taunasis by Jornandes, who conquered Asia, travelled into Egypt, and gave his name to the river otherwise called Iaxartes: we have already mentioned Nous as a Greek name of the Nile, and the Danube or Ister was known also by that of Danusius or Tanais (b); in which points the Purânas coincide with Horus Apollo, Eustathius, and Strabo.

X. The author of the Viśva-pracâs gives an account of an extraordinary personage, named Dardanaśa, who was lineally descended from the great Jamadagni: his father Abhayanaś lived on the banks of the river Vaiśālī, where he constantly performed acts of devotion, explained the Vedas to a multitude of pupils, and was chosen by Chitrarat'ha, who though a Vaiśya, reigned in that country, as his guru, or spiritual guide. Young Dardanaśa had free access to the secret apartments of the palace, where the daughter of the king became enamoured of him, and eloped with him through fear of detection, carrying away all the jewels and other wealth, that she could collect: the lovers travelled from hill to hill and from forest to forest, until they reached the banks of the Cāli, where their property secured them a happy retreat. Pramoda, a virtuous and learned Brâhmen of that country, had a beautiful daughter, named Pramada, whom Dardanaśa, with the assent of the princess, took by the hand, that is married according to the rites prescribed in the Veda; and his amiable qualities gained him so many adherents, that he was at length chosen sovereign of the whole region, which he governed with mildness and wisdom. His ancestry and posterity are thus arranged:

(a) Lib. i. Cap. 1- and Lib. 2. Cap. 36. (b) Enyllab. on Dionys. Perieg. v. 258.
On Egypt and the Nile

Jamadagni,

Jámadagni,  
Prácbínás,  
Támránás,  
Násbtránás,  
Bhúnjánás,  
Graunchbánás,  
Abhayajátánás,  
Abhayánás,  
Dárda'án's,  
Vámaabhritánás,  
Técánás,  
Bábhánás,  
Tedánás,  
Bbahands,  
Traicayanyás,  
Avadátánás,

The river, here named Vitásla, and vulgarly Jelam, is the Hydaspes of the Greeks: a nation, who lived on its banks, are called Dardaneis, by Dionysius (a); and the Grecian Dardanus was probably the same with Dárda'án'sa, who travelled into Egypt with many associates. We find a race of Trojans in Egypt; a mountain, called anciently Troicus, and now Tora, fronted Memphis; and at the foot of it was a place actually named Troja, near the Nile, supposed to have been an old settlement of Trojans, who had fled from the forces of Menelaus; but Ctesias, who is rather blameable for credulity than for want of veracity, and most of whose fables are to be found in the Puráns, was of a different opinion; for he asserted, according to Diodorus of Sicily, that Troja in Egypt was built by Trojans, who had come from Assyria under the famed Semiramis (b), named Samírama by the ancient Hindu writers; and this account is confirmed by Herodotus, who says, that a race of Dardanians were settled on the banks of the river Gyndes near the Tigris (c), where, I imagine, Dárda'án'sa and his associates first established themselves after their departure from India (d).

(a) Perieg. v. 11 38.  (b) B. 2.  (c) B. 1. C. 189.  (d) Iliad Y. v. 215.
EUSTATHIUS, in his comment on the Periegesis, distinguishes the Dardanais from the Dardanoi, making the first an Indian, and the second a Trojan, race; but it seems probable that both races had a common origin: when Homer gives the Trojans the title of Meropians, he alludes to their eastern origin from the borders of Meru, the very name of king Merops being no other than Merupa, or sovereign of that mountainous region.

We come now to a person of a different character; not a prince or a hero, but a bard, whose life is thus described in the Vinasara. On the banks of the Cati dwelt a Brahmen, whose name was Lec'hahya'yanas; a sage, rigorously devout, skilled in the learning of the Vedas, and firmly attached to the worship of Heri; but, having no male issue, he was long disconsolate, and made certain oblations to the God, which proved acceptable; so that his wife Sancriiti became pregnant, after she had tasted part of the chaaru, or cake of rice, which had been offered: in due time she was delivered of a beautiful boy, whom the Brahmens, convened at the jatucarma, or ceremony on his birth, unanimously agreed to name Harendra, or given by the divinity. When the sanscara, or institution of a Brahmen, was completed by his investiture with the facerdotal string, and the term of his studentship in the Veda was past, his parents urged him to enter into the second order, or that of a married man; but he ran into the woods, and passed immediately into the fourth order, disclaiming all worldly connections and wholly devoting himself to Vishnu: he continually practised the samadhyoga, or union with the deity by contemplation; fixing

(a) Of Daçoaveti, Νοννον ἐπὶ, or μέτοι Δαçoavoi, Τεσαρυν.
his mind so intensely on God, that his vital soul seemed concentrated in
the Brâhma-randhra, or pineal gland, while his animal faculties were sus-
pended, but his body still uncorrupted, till the reflux of the spirits put them
again in motion, a state, in which the Hindus assert, that some Yogaís have
remained for years, and the fanciful gradations of which are minutely de-
scribed in the Yôga-sàstra, and even delineated, in the figures called Shat-
chaéra, under the emblems of lotus-flowers with different numbers of
petals, according to the supposed stations of the soul in her mystical as-
cent. From this habit of merging all his vital spirits in the idea of the
supreme being, Heridatta was named Lînâ-su; a name, which the peo-
ple repeated with enthusiasm, and he became the guru, or spiritual direc-
tor, of the whole nation; he then rambled over the earth, singing and
dancing, like a man in a phrensy; but he sang no hymns, except those
which himself had composed; and hence it came, that all older hymns
were neglected, while those of Lînâ-su alone were committed to memory
from his lips, and acquired universal celebrity. Other particulars of his
life are mentioned in the Purânas, where fragments of his poetry are, most
probably, cited; I have no doubt, that he was the same person with the
Linus of the Greeks; and, if his hymns can be recovered, they will be
curious at least, if not instructive. Lînâ-su was the eighth in descent
from the sage Bharadwa¿a, whom some call the son of Vrihaspati,
or the regent of Jupiter; he is said to have married at an advanced age, by
the special command of Heri, and five of his descendants are named in
the following pedigree:

Bharadwa¿a,
Cárisháyanás,
Cshámyáyanás,

Leñháyanás,
Liñâ-su, or Lináyanás.
Caundáyanás, 10.
XII. The tale of Lubdhaca relates both to the morals and astronomy of the Hindus, and is constantly recited by the Brâhmans on the night of Siva, which falls on the fourteenth of Magha, or of P'halbun, according as the month begins from the opposition or from the conjunction.

Lubdhaca was descended from the race of Palli, and governed all the tribes of Cirâtas: he was violent and cruel, addicted passionately to the pleasures of the chase, killing innocent beasts without pity and eating their flesh without remorse. On the fourteenth lunar day of the dark half of P'halbun, he had found no game in the forest; and at sunset, faint with hunger, he roved along the banks of the Grîśñâ, still earnestly looking for some animal whom he might shoot: at the beginning of night he ascended a Bilva-tree, which is consecrated to Mahaḍe'va, whose emblem had been fixed under it near a spring of water; and, with a hope of discerning some beast through the branches, he tore off the leaves, which dropped on the linga, sprinkling it with dew; so that he performed sacred rites to the God, without intending any act of religion. In the first watch of the night a large male antelope came to the spring; and Lubdhaca, hearing the sound which he made in drinking, fixed his arrow, and took aim at the place, whence the noise proceeded; when the animal, being endued by Siva with speech and intellect, told him, that he had made an affiguation with a beloved female, and requested him to wait with patience till the next day, on which he promised to return: the mighty hunter was sof-
tended, and, though nearly famished, permitted the antelope to depart, having first exacted an oath, that he would perform his engagement. A female antelope, one of his comforts, came in the second watch to drink at the spring; who was in like manner allowed to escape, on her solemn promise, that she would return, when she had committed her helpless young to the care of a sister; and thus, in the third and fourth watches, two other females were released for a time on pretences nearly similar, and on similar promises. So many acts of tender benevolence in so trying a situation, and the rites to Maha Deva, which accompanied them from watch to watch, though with a different intention, were pleasing to the God, who enlightened the mind of Lubdhaca, and raised in him serious thoughts on the cruelty of slaying the innocent for the gratification of his appetite: at early dawn he returned to his mansion, and, having told his family the adventure of the night, asked whether, if he should kill the antelopes, they would participate his guilt, but they disclaimed any share in it, and insisted, that, although it was his duty to provide them with sustenance, the punishment of sin must fall on him solely. The faithful and amiable beast at that moment approached him, with his three comforts and all his little ones, desiring to be the first victim; but Lubdhaca exclaimed, that he would never hurt his friend and his guide to the path of happiness, applauded them for their strict observance of their promises, and bade them return to the woods, into which he intimated a design of following them as a hermit: his words were so sooner uttered, than a celestial car descended with a messenger from Siva, by whose order the royal convert and the whole family of antelopes were soon wafted, with radiant and incorruptible bodies, to the starry regions, fanned by heavenly nymphs, as they rose, and shaded by genii, who held umbrellas, while a chorus of ethereal songsters chanted the praises of tenderness to living creatures and
a rigorous adherence to truth. **Lubdhaca** was appointed regent of **Sirius**, which is called the *jōga* star; his body is chiefly in our Greater Dog, and his *arrow* seems to extend from β in that asterism to *κ* in the knee of **Orion**, the *three* stars in whose neck are the lunar mansion *Mrigafiras*, or the *head* of the male *antelope*, who is represented looking round at the archer; the *three* stars in the belt are the females, and those in the sword, their young progeny, **Maha’dē’va**, that he might be near his favourites, placed himself, it is said, in the next lunar mansion *Ārdrā*, his head being the bright *star* in the shoulder of **Orion**, and his body including those in the arm with several smaller *stars* in the galaxy. The son of **Lubdhaca** succeeded him on earth, and his lineal descendants yet reign, says the author of the *Purāṇ*, on the delightful banks of the **Crisnā**.

This legend proves a very *material* fact, that the **Pallis** and **Cirātas** were originally the same people; it seems to indicate a reformation in some of the religious tenets and habits of the nations bordering on the **Crisnā**; and the whole appears connected with the famous *Egyptian* period regulated by the heliacal rising of **Sirius**: the river here mentioned I suppose to be the smaller **Crisnā**, or the **Siris** of the ancients, so named, as well as the province of **Sirê**, from the word **Seir**, which means a *dog*, says Mr. **Bruce**, in the language of that country. The constellations of **Orion** and the two Dogs point at a similar story differently told; but the name of **Lubdhaca** seems changed by the **Greeks** into **Labdacus**; for since, like the ancient **Indians**, they applied to their new settlements the history and fables of their primitive country, they represent **Labdacus** as the grandson of **Cadmus**, the son of **Polydorus**, (for so they were pleased to disguise the name) and the father of **Laius**: now **Cadmus**, as we have shown, was **Cardame’swara**, or **Maha’dē’va**, and **Polydorus**, or **Polydo-**

K k k 2
tus, was Pallidatta, the gift of the national god Palli or Nairrit. As to Labdacus, he died in the flower of his age, or disappeared, say the Hindus, and was translated into heaven; but, during his minority, the reins of government were held by Lycus, a son of Nycteus, or Nactun-chara: he was succeeded by Laius, which, like Palli, means a herdsman or shepherd; for Nai, Naiu, and Naiin, signify herds and flocks; and thus we find a certain Laius, who had a son Bucolion, and a grandson Phialus, both which names have a reference to pasture, for the Shepherds were called by the Greeks Ayeratis, and Agetaia was synonymous with Pallas. The son of Laius was Oedipus, with whose dreadful misfortune, as we intimated in the first section, the Hindus are not unacquainted, though they mention his undesigned incest in a different manner, and say, that Yagabrashta, whom they describe as a flagitious woman, entered into the service of some cowherds, after the miserable death of her son Maha'sura, or the Great Hero, by Lina'su, the son of Lubdaca, who was descended from Palli: the whole story seems to have been Egyptian, though transferred by the Greeks to Thebes in their own country.

XIII. The last piece of history, mixed with an astrological fable, which I think it useful to add, because it relates to Barbara, is the legend of Dasaratha, or the monarch, whose car had borne him to ten regions, or to the eight points, the zenith, and the nadir: it is told both in the Bhavisya Purana and the Brahmanda. He was descended from Surya, or HeLI, which is a name of the Sun in Greek and in Sanskrit: one of his ancestors, the great Rahu, had conquered the seven dwipas, or the whole earth, and Vishnu became incarnate in the person of his son Ramachandra. It happened in the reign of Dasaratha, that Sani, having just left the lunar mansion Critica, or the Pleiads, was entering the Hyads, which the Hindus call
Robin), and that passage of Saturn is distinguished by the appellation of Sacata-bhêda, or the section of the main: an universal drought having reduced the country to the deepest distress, and a total depopulation of it being apprehended, the king summoned all his astrologers and philosophers, who ascribed it solely to the unfortunate passage of the malignant planet; and Vasisht'ha added, that, unless the monarch himself would attack Sani, as he strongly advised, neither Indra nor Brahma himself could prevent the continuance of the drought for twelve years. Dasarat'ha that instant ascended his miraculous car of pure gold, and placed himself at the entrance of Robin, blazing like his progenitor the Sun, and drawing his bow, armed with the tremendous arrow Sañhârâstra, which attracts all things with irresistible violence: Sani, the slow-moving child of Sûrya, dressed in a blue robe, crowned with a diadem, having four arms, holding a bow, a spiked weapon, and a cimeter, (thus he is described in one verse) discerned his formidable opponent from the last degree of Crittica, and rapidly descended into the land of Barbara, which burst into a flame, while he concealed himself far under ground. The hero followed him; and his legions, marching to his assistance, perished in the burning sands; but Sani was attracted by the magnetick power of the Sañhârâstra, and, after a vehement conflict, was overpowered by Dasarath'ha, who compelled him to promise, that he never more would attempt to pass through the wain of Robin: the victor then returned to his palace, and the regent of the planet went to Sani-sû'bân in Barbara, while the ground, on which he had fought, assumed a red hue. The Hindu astrologers say, that Sani has hitherto performed his promise, but that, in four or five years, he will approach so nearly to Robin, that great mischief may be feared from so noxious a planet, who has nothing in this age to apprehend from a hero in a self-moving car with an irresistible weapon: they add, that Mangala, or Mars, the child of Prithivi, has also been prevented from
traversing the waggon of Róbiní, but that Vrihaspati, Sucra, and Buddha, or Jupiter, Venus, and Mercury, pass it freely and innocently, while it is the constant path of Sóma, or the Moon, of whom the beautiful Róbiní, or Aldeberán, is the favourite comfort.

The history of Dasarat'hi being immediately connected with that of Rámachandra, and consequently of the first colonies, who settled in India, it may properly conclude this third section, which has been confined to the demigods and sages, who distinguished themselves in the countries bordering on the Nile of Ethiopia; and, whatever may be thought of some etymological conjectures, which I have generally confirmed by facts and circumstances, it has been proved, I trust, by positive evidence, that the ancient Indians were acquainted with those countries, with the course of that celebrated river, and with Mifra, or Egypt.
REMARKS
ON THE PRECEDING ESSAY
By the President.

SINCE I am persuaded, gentlemen, that the learned Essay on Egypt and the Nile, which you have just attentively heard, has afforded you equal delight with that, which I have myself received from it, I cannot refrain from endeavouring to increase your satisfaction, by confessing openly, that I have at length abandoned the greatest part of that natural distrust and incredulity, which had taken possession of my mind, before I had examined the sources, from which our excellent associate Lieutenant Wilford has drawn so great a variety of new and interesting opinions. Having lately read again and again, both alone and with a Pandit, the numerous original passages in the Purânas and other Sanscrit books, which the writer of the dissertation adduces in support of his assertions, I am happy in bearing testimony to his perfect good faith and general accuracy both in his extracts and in the translations of them; nor should I decline the trouble of annexing literal versions of them all, if our third volume were not already filled with a sufficient store of curious, and (my own part being excepted) of valuable, papers: there are two, however, of Mr. Wilford's extracts from the Purânas, which deserve a verbal translation; and I, therefore, exhibit them word for word, with a full conviction of their genuineness and antiquity.

The first of them is a little poem, in the form of the hymns ascribed to Orpheus, in praise of the Nilà, which all the Brâhmens allow to be a sacred river in Cusba-dwîp, and which we may confidently pronounce to be the Nile: it is taken from the Scanda-pûrân, and supposed to be the composition
of Visva'mitra, the father of Sacontala', with whose life you are well acquainted:

1. "Cáli, Crisñá, likewise Ní'la'; 'Syamá, Cáli, and Aśtá also; Anjana, nábhá and 'Syámalí; Mébacá too and Pávani;

2. "Aghabá and Mócbadá—these twelve prosperous names of the Cáli-cá, in whatever receptacle of water

3. "A man shall repeat at the time of bathing, he shall gain the fruit of an ablution in the Cáli. No stream on earth is equal to the river Cáli as a giver of increase to virtue.

4. "He, who has bathed in her stream is wholly released from the murder of a Bráhmen and every other crime: they, who have been offenders in the highest degree, are purified by her, and consequently they, who have committed rather inferior sins.

5. "They, who have arrived on the bank of the river Cáli, are indubitably released from sin; and even by a sight of the river Cáli, an assemblage of crimes is quite effaced;

6. "But to declare the fruit gained by bathing in her waters, is impossible even for Brahma'. These delightful and exquisite names whatever men

7. "Shall repeat, even they are considered as duly bathed in the river Cáli: constantly therefore, must they be repeated with all possible attention."
Here I must observe, that the couplets of the Veda, which our learned friend has quoted at the beginning of his Essay, are in a similar strain to those of Visvamitra; nor have I a doubt of their authenticity, because the fifth line is clearly in a very ancient dialect, and the original ends in the manner of the Hindu Scripture, with a repetition of the two last words; but, either we must reject a redundant syllable in the concluding verse, (though such a redundancy often occurs in the Veda) or we must give a different version of it. The line is

Sitāśītaśuṣamāyogat param yāti nanīrvarati,

which may thus be rendered: "By whose union of white and dark azure waters, a mortal, who bathes in them, attains the Most High, from whose presence he returns not to this terrestrial mansion."

Of the second passage, from the Padma-purāṇ, the following translation is minutely exact:

1. "To Satyavarman, that sovereign of the whole earth, were born three sons; the eldest, Sherma; then, Chārma; and, thirdly, Jyāpeti by name:

2. "They were all men of good morals, excellent in virtue and virtuous deeds, skilled in the use of weapons to strike with or to be thrown; brave men, eager for victory in battle.

3. "But Satyavarman, being continually delighted with devout meditation, and seeing his sons fit for dominion, laid upon them the burden of government,

L II
4. "Whilst he remained honouring and satisfying the Gods, and priests, and kine. One day by the act of destiny, the king, having drunk mead,

5. "Became senseless and lay asleep naked: then was he seen by C'HARMA, and by him were his two brothers called,

6. "To whom he said: What now has befallen? In what state is this our fire? By those two was he hidden with clothes, and called to his senses again and again.

7. "Having recovered his intellect, and perfectly knowing what had passed, he cursed C'HARMA, saying: Thou shalt be the servant of servants;

8. "And, since thou wast a laugher in their presence, from laughter shalt thou acquire a name. Then he gave to Sherma the wide domain on the south of the snowy mountain,

9. "And to Jya'peti he gave all on the north of the snowy mountain; but He, by the power of religious contemplation, attained supreme bliss."

Now you will probably think, that even the conciseness and simplicity of this narrative are excelled by the Mosiaick relation of the same adventure; but, whatever may be our opinion of the old Indian style, this extract most clearly proves, that the Satyavrata, or Satyavarman, of the Purâns was the same personage (as it has been asserted in a former publication) with the Noah of Scripture, and we consequently fix the utmost limit of Hindu Chronology; nor can it be with reason inferred from the identity of the stories,
that the divine legislator borrowed any part of his work from the Egyptians; he was deeply versed, no doubt, in all their learning, such as it was; but he wrote what he knew to be truth itself, independently of their tales, in which truth was blended with fables; and their age was not so remote from the days of the Patriarch, but that every occurrence in his life might naturally have been preserved by traditions from father to son.

We may now be assured, that the old Hindus had a knowledge of Mısır and of the Nile; that the legends of Cepheus and Cassiopeia (to select one example out of many) were the same with those of Cape'ya and Ca'syapa; that Perseus and Andromeda were no other than Pa'rasica and Antarmada; and that lord Bacon, whom, with all his faults (and grievous faults they were), we may justly call the great architect of the temple of knowledge, concluded rightly, that the Mythology of the Greeks, which their oldest writers do not pretend to have invented, was no more than a light air, which had passed from a more ancient people into the flutes of the Grecians, and which they modulated into such descants as best suited their fancies and the state of their new settlements; but we must ever attend to the distinction between evidence and conjecture; and I am not yet fully satisfied with many parts of Mr. Wilford's Essay, which are founded on so uncertain a basis as conjectural Etymology; though I readily admit, that his etymologies are always ingenious, often plausible, and may hereafter, perhaps, be confirmed by historical proof. Let me conclude these remarks with applying to Him the words of the memorable writer, whom I have just named, and with expressing an opinion, in which I have no doubt of your concurrence,

"That, with persevering industry, and with scrupulous attention to genealogies, monuments, inscriptions, names and titles, derivations of words, traditions and archives, fragments of history, and scattered passages from
"rare books on very different subjects, he has preserved a venerable tablet "from the shipwreck of time; a work, operose and painful to the author, but "extremely delightful to his readers, and highly deserving their grateful ac- "knowledgements."
XIV.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE PLANT BUTEA,

By Dr. Roxburgh.

I. The Maduga of the Gentooos, and Plafs of the Hortus Malabaricus, * is a middle sized, or rather a large, tree not very common on the lowlands of this coast, but much more so up amongst the mountains: it casts its leaves during the cold season, they come out again with the flowers about the months of March and April, and the seed is ripe in June or July.

Trunk irregular, generally a little crooked, covered with ash-coloured, spongy, thick, slightly scabrous bark, the middle strata of which contain a red juice hereafter to be mentioned.

Branches very irregularly bent in various directions; young shoots downy.

Leaves alternate, spreading, threed, from eight to sixteen inches long. Leaflets emarginated, or rounded at the apex, leathery; above shining and pretty smooth, below slightly hoary, entire: the pair are obliquely oval from four to seven inches long, and from three to four and a half broad, the exterior one inverse hearted, or, in other words, transversely oval, and considerably larger than the lateral.

Common Petiole round, when young, downy, the length of the leaflets.
Stipules of the Petiole small, recurved, downy.

—— of the Leaflets awled.

* The Butea Fwendfa of Koenig.
Raceme terminal, axillary, and, from tuberosities over the naked woody branchlets, standing in every direction, rigid, covered with a soft greenish purple down.

Flowers Papilionaceous, pendulous, pedicelled, fascicled, large, their ground of a beautiful deep red, shaded with orange and silver coloured down, which gives them a most elegant appearance.

Pedicels round, about an inch long, articulated near the apex, and covered with the same greenish velvetlike down.

Bracts, one below the insertion of each pedicel, lanced, falling, two similar but smaller, pressing on the Calyx, falling also.

Calyx: Perianth belled, leathery, two lipped, upper lip large, scarce emarginated; under three toothed, covered with the same dark green down, that the raceme and pedicels are covered with, withering.

Corol:

Banner reflected, egged, pointed, very little longer than the wings.

Wings ascending, lanced, the length of the keel.

Keel below two parted, ascending, large, mooned, the length of the wings and banner.

Stamens: filaments one and nine, ascending in a regular semicircle, about as long as the corol.

Anthers equal, linear, erect.
Pistil: Germ short, thick, pedicelled, lanced, downy.

Style ascending, a little larger than the filaments.

Stigma small, glandulous.

Pericarp, legume pedicelled, large, pendulous, all, but the apex where the seed is lodged, leafy, downy, about six inches long by two broad, never opening of itself.

Seed one, lodged at the point of the legume, oval, much compressed, smooth, brown, from an inch and a quarter to an inch and a half long and about one broad.

From natural fissures, and wounds made in the bark of this tree, during the hot season, there issues a most beautiful red juice, which soon hardens into a ruby-coloured brittle astringent gum: but it soon loses its beautiful colour, if exposed to the air: to preserve the colour, it must be gathered as soon as it becomes hard, and kept closely corked up in a bottle.

This gum, held in a flame of a candle, swells and burns away slowly, without smell or the least flame, into a coal, and then into fine light white ashes: held in the mouth it soon dissolves; it tastes strongly, but simply, astringent; heat does not soften it, but rather renders it more brittle; pure water dissolves it perfectly: the solution is of a deep red colour; it is in a great measure soluble in spirits, but this solution is paler, and a little turbid, the watery solution also becomes turbid when spirit is added, and the spirituous more clear by the addition of water; diluted vitriolic acid renders both solutions turbid, mild caustic vegetable alkali changes the colour of the watery solution to a
clear deep fiery red*: the spirituous it also deepens, but in a less degree; Sal Martis changes the watery solution into a good durable ink.

These are, I think, proofs, that a very small proportion of resin is present in this substance: in this it differs essentially from the gum resin called Kino, or Gummi rubrum ostringens, which the Edinburgh college has taken into their materia medica (I have used the recent gum in making my experiments, which may make some difference) but as this can be most perfectly dissolved in watry menstrua, it may prove of use, where a spirituous solution of the former (being the most complete) cannot be so properly administered, consequently it may prove a valuable acquisition also.

Infusions of the flowers, either fresh or dried, dyed cotton cloth, previously impregnated with a solution of alum, or alum and tartar, of a most beautiful bright yellow, which was more or less deep according to the strength of the infusion: a little alkali added to the infusion changes it to a deep reddish orange; it then dyed unprepared cotton cloth of the same colour, which the least acid changes to a yellow or lemon: these beautiful colours I have not been able to render perfectly permanent.

Amongst numberless experiments, I expressed a quantity of the juice of the fresh flowers, which was diluted with alum water, and rendered perfectly clear by depuration: it was then evaporated by the heat of the sun, into a soft extract; this proves a brighter water colour than any gamboge I have met with; it is one year since I first used it, and it remains bright.

* With an alkalized decoction of this gum, I tried to dye cotton cloth prepared with alum, with sugar of lead, and with a solution of tin in aqua regia, but the reds produced thereby were bad: that where alum was employed, was the best.
Infusions of the dried flowers yielded me an extract very little, if anything, inferior to this last mentioned; they yield also a very fine durable yellow lake and all these in a very large proportion.

The Lac insects are frequently found on the small branches and the petioles of the leaves of this tree: whether the natural juices of its bark contribute to improve the colour of their red colouring matter, I cannot say: it would require a set of experiments accurately made on specimens of lac gathered from the various trees it is found on, at the same time and as nearly as possible from the same place, to determine this point.

I do not find, that the natives make any use of the gum or flowers, although they promise to be valuable, the former as a medicine, and the latter as a pigment and dying drug.

II. Butea Superba*, Tiga Maduga of the Gentooos, is a very large twining shrub, a native of the mountains. Flowering time, the beginning of the hot season.

Root spindle-form, very large.

Stem twining, as thick as, or thicker than, a man's leg, woody, very long, running over large trees. Bark, ash coloured, pretty smooth.

Branches like the stem, but small, and with a smoother bark.

Leaves alternate, threed, remote, very large.

* So named by Dr. Roxburgh.
Leaflets, downy, in other respects as in Butea Frondosa, but greatly larger: the exterior one is generally about twenty inches long, and broad in proportion, the lateral somewhat less.

Racemes as in the former, but much larger.

Flowers also the same, only much larger and more numerous.

Calyx divided as the other, but the divisions longer and much more pointed.

Corol the same.

Legumes and Seed as in the former, but rather larger.

When this species is in full flower, I do not think the vegetable world offers a more gaudy show: the flowers are incomparably beautiful, very large and very numerous; the colours are so exceedingly vivid, that my best painter has not been able, with his utmost skill, to come any thing like near their brightness.

From fissures, &c. in the bark, the same sort of ruby-coloured astringent gum exudes; the flowers also yield the same beautiful yellow dye and pigment.

Dr. Roxburgh's Description of the Nerium Tinctorium would have been subjoined; but the publication of it is delayed, until the Society have been favoured with the result of his farther experiments.
XV.

ON THE MANUFACTURE OF INDIGO AT AMBORE.

By Lieutenant Colonel Claude Martin.

I present the Society with a short description of the process observed in the culture and manufacture of Indigo in this part of India. The Ambore district is comprised within a range of surrounding hills of a moderate height: the river Pallar, declining from its apparent southerly direction, enters this district about three miles from the eastward, washes the Ambore Pettab, a small neat village, distant three miles to the southward of the fort of that name, situated in a beautiful valley; the skirts of the hills covered with the Palmeira and Date trees, from the produce of which a considerable quantity of coarse sugar is made; this tract is fertilized by numerous rills of water conducted from the river along the margin of the heights and throughout the intermediate extent: this element being conveyed in these artificial canals (three feet deep), affording a pure and crystal current of excellent water for the supply of the Rice fields, Tobacco, Mango, and Cocoanut, plantations; the highest situated lands affording Indigo, apparently without any artificial watering, and attaining maturity at this season notwithstanding the intenseness of the heat, the thermometer under cover of a tent rising to 100, and out of it to 120; the plant affording even in the dryest spots good foliage, although more luxuriant in moister situations. I am just returned from examining the manufacture of this article. First the plant is boiled in earthen pots of about eighteen inches diameter, disposed on the ground in excavated ranges from twenty to thirty feet long, and one broad, according to the number used.
When the boiling process has extracted all the colouring matter ascertainable by the colour exhibited, the extract is immediately poured into an adjoining small jar fixed in the ground for its reception, and is thence laded in small pots into larger jars disposed on adjoining higher ground, being first filtered through a cloth; the jar when three-fourths full is agitated with a split bamboo extended into a circle, of a diameter from thirteen to twenty inches, the hoop twisted with a sort of coarse straw, with which the manufacturer proceeds to beat or agitate the extract, until a granulation of the fecula takes place, the operation continuing nearly for the space of three-fourths of an hour; a precipitant composed of red earth and water, in the quantity of four quart bottles, is poured into the jar, which after mixture is allowed to stand the whole night, and in the morning the superincumbent fluid is drawn off through three or four apertures practised in the side of the jar in a vertical direction, the lowest reaching to within five inches of the bottom, sufficient to retain the fecula which is carried to the houses and dried in bags.

This is the whole of the process recurrent to in this part, which, I think, if adopted in Bengal, might in no small degree supercede the necessity of raising great and expensive buildings, in a word, save the expenditure of so much money in dead flock, before they can make any Indigo in the European method, to which I have, to add, that Indigo thus obtained possess'd a very fine quality.

As I think these observations may be useful to the manufacturers in Bengal, I could wish to see them printed in the Transactions of the Asiatic Society.

Ambore,
2d April, 1791.
**Extract of a Treatise on the Manufacture of Indigo.**

*By Mr. De Cossigny.*

"This experiment (the Indian process) infallibly shows, that Indigo may be produced by different methods, and how much it is to be regretted that the European artists should remain constantly wedded to their method or routine, without having yet made the necessary inquiries towards attaining perfection. Many travellers on the coast of Coromandel having been struck with the apparent simplicity of the means used by the Indians in preparing Indigo, from having seen their artists employed in the open air with only earthen jars, and from not having duly examined and weighed the extent of the detail of their process, apprehend that it is effected by easier means than with the large vats of masonry and the machinery employed by Europeans: but they have been greatly mistaken, the whole appearing a delusive conclusion from the following observation, viz. that one man can, in the European method of manufacture, bring to issue one vat containing fifty bundles of plant, which, according to their nature and quality, may afford from ten to thirty pounds of Indigo; whereas, by the Indian process, one employed during the same time would probably only produce one pound of Indigo: the European method is therefore the most simple, as well as every art where machinery is used instead of manual labour."

**NOTE.** Experience alone must decide between the opposite opinions of Colonel Martin and Mr. de Cossigny.
XVI.

DISCOURSE THE NINTH.

ON THE ORIGIN AND FAMILIES OF NATIONS.

DELIVERED 23 FEBRUARY, I

By the President.

YOU have attended, gentlemen, with so much indulgence to my dis-
courses on the five Asiatick nations, and on the various tribes esta-
blished 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 popu-
lar faith, is capable, in my humble opinion, of incontestable proof; that the
Jews and Arabs, the Assyrians, or second Persian race, the people who
The text reads as follows:

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 alluded to 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 influxes 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 Linnæus, 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 social union in the absence of public 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 go-

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vemments 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 Muhammad, 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, how variously soever 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 Iran. The three primitive languages, therefore, must at first have been concentrated in Iran, 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 Iran 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 intersecions, 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 Iran, may be drawn to them without any intersecion; but this will not happen, if you assume as a centre Arabia, or Egypt; India, Tartary, or China: it follows, that Iran, 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 digestion, 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

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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 Véda, 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 Purána 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 incre-
dulity, 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 Mosaiick 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 Ya'fet 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 preferred 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 called 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 fabric 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 diffusion 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 Purānas; 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 Mosaiick names have been considerably altered, yet numbers of them remain unchanged; we still find Harrān 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 ante-
cedent reaifoning, and by evidence in part highly probable, and in part certain; but the connexion of the Mos iick 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 endowed 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 flock, 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
ascertained." 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, un-
profitably for the argument, and unfortunately, perhaps, 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 pro-
fesses to derive the words of any one language from those of another, must
expose himself to the danger of perpetual errors, unless he be perfectly
acquainted with both; yet my respectable friend, though eminently skilled in
the idioms of Greece and Rome, has no sort of acquaintance with any Arabic
dialect, except Hebrew; and he has consequently made mistakes, which
every learner of Arabic and Persian must instantly detect. Among fifty
radical words (ma, taph, and ram being included) eighteen are purely of Arab-
bian origin, twelve merely Indian, and seventeen both Sanscrit and Arabic,
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 assent 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 Rámáyan; 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 Menu to form the sacrificial zone of the Brabmans, and solemnly declared in the Véda to have sprung up soon after the deluge, whence the Pauránicks consider it as the bristly hair of the boar which supported the globe; when we add, that one of the seven dwípas, or great peninsulas of this earth, has the same appellation, we can hardly doubt, that the Cush of Moses and VA'LMIC 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 YÁ'ET 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 sáros, and contrived the old system of Mythology, partly allegorical, and partly grounded on Ídola-
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 Africa 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 passes of Imaus, into Caspghar and Eighur, Khata and Khoten, as far as the territories of Chin and Tancut, 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 having 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; briefly, from the nature of these essays; imperfectly, from the darkness of the subject and the 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 END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.
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CORRECTIONS.

Page 7—Line 23—after Zingaros add—and Zinganos.

49—19—for Vishnu read Brahma.

50—30—filk—cloth.

58—19—includes comprises.

106—8—Garder—Gardee.

177—3—omit itself.

205—23—for careless read careless.

211—20—after fraction add (allowing for precession).

214—24—place the two signs of equality lower.

225—note—for ans read an.

223—9—omit alone.

253—3—for Abilya* read Atri.

274—16—ratri—ratri.

278—8—Sambhara—Sambara.

304—note—B. io.—B. 1.

308—1—for Menianthes add—or a Hydrophyllum.

317—25—from the root mand, which may have the sense of bid to cut—read, from man, or water, and dri, whence dara, to pierce.

331—27—for interior read exterior.

352—24—Deriadeus—Deriades.

366—note(b)—add Cleomedes B. 1.

373—23—for him read himself.

378—20—for had.

383—Aetis—Actis.

385—7—Pleiads—Hyads.

390—20—ará—ara.

394—26—read Vagiswari.

396—1—changed.

406—for Cumenuthis read Eumenuthis.

414—22—read on.

435—2—Yampá.

455—1—comment.

—6—mountainous.

461—18—for power read force.

There are some other omissions, or errors of the press, both in punctuation and orthography, which the reader is desired to correct.

* Thus her name is commonly pronounced; but the true word is Abilya; so that Atri, an Indian legislator, would have been a fitter example. See p. 255.
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