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SIR WILLIAM JONES KN^T

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THE
WORKS
OF
SIR WILLIAM JONES.

WITH
THE LIFE OF THE AUTHOR,
BY
LORD TEIGNMOUTE

IN THIRTEEN VOLUMES.

VOLUME III.

LONDON:

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TUE THIRD VOLUME.

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DISCOURSE
DELIVERED AT A MEETING OF THE
ASIATICK SOCIETY,
IN CALCUTTA,
ON THE
TWENTY-SECOND OF MAY, 1794.

BY THE HONOURABLE
SIR JOHN SHORE, BART*.

PRESIDENT.

VOL. X.

B

* Since Lord TEIGNMOUTH.

A
DISCOURSE, &c.

GENTLEMEN,

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

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

I cannot, I flatter myself, offer a more grateful tribute to the Society, than by taking his character the subject my first address to you;

and if in the delineation of it, fondness or affection for the man should appear blended with my reverence for his genius and abilities, in the sympathy of your feelings I shall find my apology.

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

I shall begin with mentioning his wonderful capacity for the acquisition of languages, which has never been excelled. In *Greek* and *Roman* literature, his early proficiency was the subject of admiration and applause; and knowledge, of whatever nature, once obtained by him, was ever afterwards progressive. The more elegant dialects of modern *Europe*, the *French*, the *Spanish*, and the *Italian*, he spoke and wrote with the greatest fluency and precision; and the *German* and *Portuguese* were familiar to him. At an early period of life his application to Oriental literature commenced; he studied the *Hebrew* with ease and success, and many of the most learned Asiatics have the candour to avow, that his knowledge of *Arabick* and *Persian* was as accurate and extensive as their own;

he was alfo converfant in the *Turkljh* idiom, and the *Chinefe* had even attraded his notice, fo far as to induce him to learn the radical charaders of that language, with a view perhaps to farther improvements. It was to be expeéled, after his arrival in *India*, that he would eagerly embrace the opportunity of making himfelf mafter of the *Sañfcrit*; and the moft enlightened profeffors of the doctrines of BRAHMA confefs with pride, delight, and furprife, that his knowledge of their facred dialed was moft critically corred and profound. The *Pandits*, who were in the habit of attending him, when I faw them after his death, at a public *Durbar*, could neither fupprefs their tears for his lofs, nor find terms to exprefs their admiration at the wonderful progrefs he had made in their fciences.

Before the expiration of his twenty-fecond year, he had completed his Commentaries on the Poetry of the *Afiaticks*, although a confiderable" time afterwards elapfed before their publication ; and this work, if no other monument of his labours exifted, would at once furnifli proofs of his confummate fkill in the Oriental dialeds, of his proficiency in thofe of *Rome* and *Greece*, of tafte and erudition far beyond his years, and of talents and application without example.

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But the judgement of Sir William Jones was too discerning to confider language in any other light than as the key of fcience, and he would have defpifed the reputation of a mere linguift. Knowledge and truth, were the objeét of all his ftudies, and his ambition was to be ufeful to mankind; with thefe views, he extended his refearches to all languages, nations, and times.

Such were the motives that induced him to propofe to the Government of this country, what he juftly denominated a work of national Utility and importance, the compilation of a copious digeft of *Hindu* and *Mahommedan* Law, from *Sanfcrit* and *Arabick* originals, with an offer of his fervices to fuperintend the compilation, and with a promife to tranflate it. He had forefeen, previous to his departure from *Europe*, that without the aid of fuch a work, the wife and benevolent intentions of the legiflature of *Great Britain*, in leaving, to a certain extent, the natives of thefe provinces in poffeffion of their own laws, could not be completely fulfilled; and his experience, after a fhort refidence in India, confirmed what his fagacity had anticipated, that without principles to refer to, in a language familiar to the judges of the courts, adjudications amongft the natives muft too

often be subject to an uncertain and erroneous exposition, or wilful misinterpretation of their laws.

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

During the course of this compilation, and as auxiliary to it, he was led to study the works of M E N U, reputed by the *Hindus* to be the oldest, and holiest of legislatures; and finding them to comprize a system of religious and »civil duties, and of law in all its branches, so comprehensive and minutely exact, that it might be considered as the Institutes of *Hindu* law, he

presented a translation of them to the Government of *Bengal*. During the same period, deeming no labour excessive or superfluous that tended, in any respect, to promote the welfare or happiness of mankind, he gave the public an *English* version of the *Arabic* text of the *SIRAJIYAH*, or *Mahomedan* Law of Inheritance, with a Commentary. He had already published in *England*, a translation of a Treatise on the same subject, by another *Mahomedan* Lawyer, containing, as his own words express, " a lively and elegant epitome of the law of Inheritance, according to *ZAID*."

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

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

The vanity and petulance of *ANQUETIL DU PERRON*, with his Unliberal reflections on some of the learned members of the University of *Oxford*, extorted from him a letter, in the *French* language, which has been admired for accurate

criticifm, juft fatire, and elegant compofition. A regard for the literary reputation of his country, induced him to tranflate, from , *Perfian* original into *French*, the life of NADIQ SHAH, that it might not be carried out of England, with a refleſtion, that no perſon had been found in the Britiſh dominions capable of traifftating it. The ftudents of *Perfian* literature muſt ever be grateful to him, for a grammar of that language, in which he has ſhown the poſſibility of combining taſte, and elegance, with the precifion of a grammarian; and every admirer of *Arabick* poetry, muſt acknowledge his obligations to him, for an *English* verſion of the ſeven celebrated poems, fo well known by the name of *Moallakat*, from the diſtinction to which their excellence had entitled them, of being ſuſpended in the temple of *Mecca*: I ſhould ſcarcely think it of importance to mention, that he did not diſdain the office of Editor of a *Sanſcrit* and *Perfian* work, if it did not afford me an opportunity of adding, that the latter was publiſhed at his own expence, and was fold for the benefit of infolvent debtors. A ſimilar application was made of the produce of the *SIRAJIYAH*.

Of his lighter produſions, the elegant amuſements of his leiſure hours, comprehending hyrans on the *Hindu* mythology, poems

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confifting chiefly of tranllations from the *Afiatick* anguages, and the verſion of *SACONTALA*, an ancient *Indian* drama, it would be unbecoming to ſpeak in a ſtyle of importance which he did not himſelf annex to them. They ſhow he aſivlty of a vigorous mind, its fertility, is genius, and its taſte. Nor ſhall I particularly dwell on the diſcourſes addreſſed to this Society, which we have all peruiſed or heard, or in the other learned and intereſting diſſertations, which form ſo large, and valuable a portion of the records of our Reſearches ; let us lament, that the ſpirit which dictated them is to us extinct, and that the voice to which We liſtened with improvement, and rapture, will be heard by us no more.

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

DESIDERATA.

INDIA.

i.—The Ancient Geography of India, &c. from the Puranas.

2.—A Botanical Defcription of Indian Piants, from the Cofhas, &c.

3.—A Grammar of the Sanfcrit Language, from Panini, &c.

4.—A Distionary of the Sanfcrit Language, from thirty-two original Vocabularies and Nirusti.

5.—On the Ancient Mufic of the Indians.

6.—On the Medical Subftances of India, and the Indian Art of Medicine.

7.—On the Philofophy of the Ancient Indians.

8.—ATranflation of the Veda.

9.—On Ancient Indian Geometry, Aftro-
nomy, and Algebra.

10.—ATranflation of the Puranas.

11.—ATranflation of the Mahabbarat and Ramayan.

12.—On the Indian Theatre, &c. &c. &c.

13.—On the Indian Confteliations, with their Mythology, from the Puranas.

14.—The Hiftory of India before the Ma-
hommedan conqueft, from the Sanfcrit-Cafhmir
Hiftories,

ARABIA.

15.—The Hiftory of Arabia before Mahommech

16.—A Tranflation of the Hamafa.

17.—A Tranflation of Hariri.

18.—A Tranflation of the Facahatul Khu-Tafa.

OftheCafiah.

PERSIA.

19.—The Hiftory of Perfia from Authorities in Sanfcrit, Arabick, Greek, Turkifh, Perfian, ancient and modern.

Firdaufi's Khofrau nama.

20.—The ftve Poems of Nizami, tranflated in profe.

A Disionary of pure Perfian. Je-fiangire.

CHINA.

21.—A Tranflation of the Shi-king.

22.—The text of Can-fu-tfu verbally tranflated.

TARTARY.

23.—A Hiftory of the Tartar Nations, chiefly of the Moguls and Othmans, from the Turkifh and Perfian,

WE are not authorifed to conclude, that he had himfelf formed a determination to complete the works which his genius and knowledge had thus fketched ; the tafk feems to require a period, beyond the probable duration of any human life; but we, who had the happinefs to know Sir William Jones, who were witneffes of his indefatigable perfeverance in the purfuit of knowledge, and of his ardour to accomplifh whatever he deemed important; who faw the extent of his intelleétual powers, his wonderful attainments in literature and fcience, and the facility with which all his compofitions were made, cannot doubt, if it had pleafed Providence to protract the date of his exiftence, that he would have ably executed much, of what he had fo extenfively planned.

I have hitherto principally confined my difcourfe to the purfuits of our late Prefident in Oriental literature, which, from their extent, might appear to have occupied all his time ; but they neither precluded his attention to profefTional ftudies, nor to fcience in general: amongft his publications in *Europe*, in polite literature, exclufive of various compofitions in profe and verfe, I find a tranflation of the fpeeches of IS ÆUS, with a learned comment; and, in law, an Eflay on the Law of Bailments \

upon the subject of this last work, I cannot deny myself the gratification of quoting the sentiments of a celebrated historian : " Sir William Jones has given an ingenious and rational essay on the law of Bailments. He is perhaps the only lawyer equally conversant with the year books of *Westminster*, the commentaries of *ULPTAN*, the Attic pleadings of *Is ÆuS*, and the sentences of *Arabian* and *Perjian Cadhis*."

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

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

His addresses to the jurors, are not less dif-

tinguished for philantropy, and liberality of sentiment, than for juſt expoſitions of the law, perſpicuity, and elegance of dition; and his oratory was as captivating as his arguments were convincing.

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

Mihi fit, oro, non inutilis toga,
Nec indiferta lingua, nec turpis manus!

I have already enumeratèd attainments and works, which, from their diverſity and extent, ſeem far beyond the capacity of the moſt enlarged minds; but the catalogue may yet be augmented. To a proficiency in the languages of *Greece*, *Rome*, and *Asia*, he added the knowledge of the philoſophy of thoſe countries, and of every thing curious and valuable that had been taught in them. The doctrines of the *Academy*, the *Lyceum*, or the *Portic*, were not more familiar to him than the tenets of the *Vedas*, the myſticifm of the *Suſis*, or the religion of the ancient *Perſians*; and whilſt with a kindred genius he peruſed with

rapture the heroic, lyric, or moral compositions, of the most renowned poets of *Greece, Rome, and Asia*, he could turn with equal delight and knowledge; to the sublime speculations, or mathematical calculations, of *BARROW* and *NEWTON*. With them also, he professed his conviction of the *ruth* of the *Christian* religion, and he justly deemed it no inconsiderable advantage, that his researches had corroborated the multiplied evidence of revelation, by confirming the *Mosaick* account of the primitive world. We all recollect, and can refer to, the following sentiments in his eighty anniversary discourse.

" Theological inquiries are no part of my
 " present subject; but I cannot refrain from
 " adding, that the collection of truths, 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 joined by a chain
 " of compositions, which bear no resemblance
 " in form or style to any that can be produced

" from the stores of *Grecian, Indian, Persian, or*
 " even *Arabian* learning; the antiquity of those
 " compositions no man doubts, and the un-
 " strained application of them to events long sub-
 " sequent to their publication, is a solid ground
 " of belief, that they were genuine predictions,
 " and consequently inspired."

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

His last and favourite pursuit, was the study of *Botany*, which he originally began under the confinement of a severe and lingering disorder, which with most minds, would have proved a disqualification from any application. It constituted the principal amusement of his leisure hours. In the arrangements of LINNÆUS he discovered system, truth, and science, which never failed to captivate and engage his attention; and from the proofs which he has

exhibited of his progrefs in *Botany*, we may conclude that he would have extended his discoveries in that science. The laft compofition which he read in this Society, was a defcription of feled *Indian* plants, and I hope his Executors will allow us to fulfil his intention of publifhing it, as a number in our Refearches.

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

The faculties of his mind, by nature vigorous, were improved by conftant exercife; and his memory, by habitual practice, had acquired a capacity of retaining whatever had once been impressed upon it. To an unextinguifhed ardour for univerfal knowledge, he joined a perfeverance in the purfuit of it, which fubdued all obftacles; his ftudies began with the dawn, and during the intermiffions of profeffional duties, were continued throughout the day; reflection and meditation ftrengthened and confirmed what induftry and inveftigation had accumulated. It was a fixed principle with him, from which he never voluntarily deviated, not to be deterred by any difficulties that were fur-

mountable, from profecuting to a fuccefsful termination, what he had once deliberately undertaken.

But what appears to me more particularly to have enabled him to employ his talents *fo much* to his own and the public advantage, was the regular allotment of his time to particular occupations, and a fcrupulous adherence to the diftribution which he had fixed ; hence, all his ftudies were purfued without interruption or confufion: nor can I here omit remarking, what may probably have attracted your obfervation as well as mine, the candour and complacency with which he gave his attention to all perfbns, of whatfoever quality, talents, or education ; he juftly concluded, that curious or important information, might be gained even from the illiterate ; and wherever it was to be obtained, he fought and feized it.

Of the private and focial virtues of our lamented Prefident, our hearts are the beft records; to you, who knew him, it cannot be neeefflary for me to expatiate on the independence of his integrity, his humanity, probity, or benevolence, which every living creature participated ; on the affability of his converfation and manners, or his modeft unafluming deportment: nor need I remark, that he was totally free from pedantry, as well aa

from arrogance and self-inefficiency, which sometimes accompany and disgrace the greatest abilities; his presence was the delight of every society, which his conversation exhilarated and improved; and the public have not only to lament the loss of his talents and abilities, but that of his example.

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

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

" to fupport the credit of the Society ;" applying to it, per haps, the dying wifh of father PAUL, " efto perpetua!"

In this wifh we muft all concur, and with it, I clofe *this address to you.*

THE WORKS
OF
SIR WILLIAM JONES.

A DISCOURSE ON THE INSTITUTION OF A
SOCIETY,

FOR INQUIRING IN TO THE.

HISTORY, CIVIL AND NATURAL, THE, ANTIQITIES, ARTS,
SCIENCES, AND *LITERATURE*, OF

ASIA.

BY THE PRESIDENT.

GENTLEMEN,

W H E N I was at fea laft Auguft, on my voyage to this country, which I had long and ardently defired to vifit, I found one evcning, on infpecting the obfervations of thc day, that *India* lay before us, and *Persia* on our left, whilft a breeze from *Arabia* blew nearly on our ftern. A situation fo pleafing in itfelf, and to me lo new, could not fail to awaken a train of reflections in a mind, which had early been accuftomed to

contemplate with delight the eventful histories and agreeable fictions of this eastern world. It gave me inexpressible pleasure to find myself in the midst of so noble an amphitheatre, almost encircled by the vast regions of *Asia*, which has ever been esteemed the nurse of sciences, the inventors of delightful and useful arts, the scene of glorious actions, fertile in the productions of human genius, abounding in natural wonders, and infinitely diversified in the forms of religion and government, in the laws, manners, customs, and languages, as well as in the features and complexions, of men. I could not help remarking, how important and extensive a field was yet unexplored, and how many solid advantages unimproved ; and when I considered, with pain, that, in this fluctuating, imperfect, and limited condition of life, such inquiries and improvements could only be made by the united efforts of many, who are not easily brought, without some pleasing inducement or strong impulse, to converge in a common point, I comforted myself with a hope, founded on opinions which it might have the appearance of flattery to mention, that, if in any country or community, such an union could be effected, it was among my countrymen in *Bengal*, with some of whom I already had, and with most was desirous of having, the pleasure of being intimately acquainted.

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

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

It is your design, I conceive, to take an ample

space for your learned investigations, bounding them only by the geographical limits of *Asia* ; so that, considering *Hindustan* as a centre, and turning your eyes in idea to the North, you have on your right, many important kingdoms in the Eastern peninsula, the ancient and wonderful empire of *China* with all her *Tartarian* dependencies, and that of *Japan*, with the cluster of precious islands, in which many singular curiosities have too long been concealed : before you lies that prodigious chain of mountains, which formerly perhaps were a barrier against the violence of the sea, and beyond them the very interesting country of *Tibet*, and the vast regions of *Tartary*, from which, as from the *Trojan* horde of the poets, have issued so many conlummate warriors, whose domain has extended at least from the banks of the *Iliffus* to the mouths of the *Ganges*: on your left are the beautiful and celebrated provinces of *Iran* or *Perfia*, the unmeasured, and perhaps unmeasurable deserts of *Arabia*, and the once flourishing kingdom of *Temen*, with the pleasant isles that the *Arabs* have subdued or colonized; and farther westward, the *Asiatick* dominions of the *Turkish* sultans, whose moon seems approaching rapidly to its wane.—By this great circumference, the field of your useful researches will be inclosed; but, since *Egypt* had unquestionably an old con-

nection with this country, if not with China, since the language and literature of the *Abyssinians* bear a manifest affinity to those of *Afia*, since the *Arabian* arms prevailed along the *African* coast of the *Mediterranean*, and even erected a powerful dynasty on the continent of *Europe*, you may not be displeased occasionally to follow the streams of *Afiatick* learning a little beyond its natural boundary ; and, if it be necessary or convenient, that a short name or epithet be given to our society, in order to distinguish it in the world, that of *Afiatick* appears both classical and proper, whether we consider the place or the object of the institution, and preferable to *Orient*, which is in truth a word merely relative, and, though commonly used in *Europe*, conveys no very distinct idea.

If now it be asked, what are the intended objects of our inquiries within these spacious limits, we answer, M A N and N A T U R E ; whatever is performed by the one, or produced by the other. Human knowledge has been elegantly analysed according to the three great faculties of the mind, *memory*, *reason*, and *imagination*, which we constantly find employed in arranging and retaining, comparing and distinguishing, combining and diversifying, the ideas, which we receive through our senses, or acquire by reflection ; hence the three main branches of learning are

history.science, and *art*: the first comprehends either an account of natural productions, or the genuine records of empires and states ; the second embraces the whole circle of pure and mixed mathematicks, together with ethicks and law, as far as they depend on the reasoning faculty; and the third includes all the beauties of imagery and the charms of invention, displayed in modulated language, or represented by colour, figure, or sound.

Agreeably to this analysis, you will investigate whatever is rare in the stupendous fabrick of nature, will correct the geography of *Asia* by new observations and discoveries; will trace the annals, and even traditions, of those nations, who from time to time have peopled or desolated it; and will bring to light their various forms of government, with their institutions civil and religious; you will examine their improvements and methods in arithmetick and geometry, in trigonometry, mensuration, mechanicks, opticks, astronomy, and general physics; their systems of morality, grammar, rhetoric, and dialectick; their skill in chirurgery and medicine, and their advancement, whatever it may be, in anatomy and chymistry. To this you will add researches into their agriculture, manufactures, trade; and, whilst you inquire with pleasure into their music, architecture,

painting, and poetry, will not neglect those inferior arts, by which the comforts and even elegances of social life are supplied or improved. You may observe, that I have omitted their languages, the diversity and difficulty of which are a sad obstacle to the progress of useful knowledge ; but I have ever considered languages as the mere instruments of real learning, and think them improperly confounded with learning itself: the attainment of them is, however, indispensably necessary; and if to the *Persian*, *Armenian*, *Turkish*, and *Arabick*, could be added not only the *Sanskrit*, the treasures of which we may now hope to see unlocked, but even the *Chinese*, *Tartarian*, *Japanese*, and the various infular dialects, an immense mine would then be open, in which we might labour with equal delight and advantage.

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

LUCIAN begins one of his satirical pieces against historians, with declaring that the only true proposition in his work was, that it should contain nothing true ; and perhaps it may be advisable at first, in order to prevent any difference of sentiment on particular points not immediately

before us, to establish but one rule, namely, to have no rules at all. This only I mean, that, in the infancy of any society, there ought to be no confinement, no trouble, no expence, no unnecessary formality. Let us, if you please, for the present, have weekly evening meetings in this hall, for the purpose of hearing original papers read on such subjects, as fall within the circle of our inquiries. Let all curious and learned men be invited to send their tracts to our secretary, for which they ought immediately to receive our thanks; and if, towards the end of each year, we should be supplied with a sufficiency of valuable materials to fill a volume, let us present our *Asiatick miscellany* to the literary world, who have derived so much pleasure and information from the agreeable work of *Kæmpfer*, than which we can scarce propose a better model, than that will accept with eagerness any fresh entertainment of the same kind. You will not perhaps be disposed to admit mere translations of considerable length, except of such unpublished essays or treatises as may be transmitted to us by native authors; but, whether you will enrol as members any number of learned natives, you will hereafter decide, with many other questions as they happen to arise; and you will think, I presume, that all questions should be decided on a ballot, by a majority of two

thirds, and that nine members should be requisite to constitute a board for such decisions. These points, however, and all others I submit entirely, gentlemen, to your determination, having neither wish nor pretension to claim any more than my single right of suffrage. One thing only, as essential to your dignity, I recommend with earnestness, on no account to admit a new member, who has not expressed a voluntary desire to become so; and in that case, you will not require, I suppose, any other qualification than a love of knowledge, and a zeal for the promotion of it.

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

THE SECOND
ANNIVERSARY DISCOURSE,
DELIVERED 24 FEBRUARY, 1785,

BY

THE PRESIDENT-

GENTLEMEN,

IF the Deity of the *Hindus*; by whom all their just requests are believed to be granted with singular indulgence, had proposed last year to gratify my warmest wishes, I could have desired nothing more ardently than the success of your institution; because I can desire nothing in preference to the general good, which your plan seems calculated to promote, by bringing to light many useful and interesting truths, which, being too short for separate publication, might lie many years concealed, or, perhaps, irrecoverably perished; my wishes are accomplished, without an invocation to CA'MADHE'NU; and your Society, having already passed its infant state, is advancing to maturity with every mark of a healthy and robust constitution. When I reflect, indeed, on the variety of subjects, which have been discussed before you, concerning the his-

tory, laws, manners, arts, and antiquities of *Asia*, I am unable to decide whether my pleasure or my surprise be the greater; for I will not dissemble, that your progress has far exceeded my expectations; and, though we must seriously deplore the loss of those excellent men, who have lately departed from this Capital, yet there is a prospect still of large contributions to your stock of *Asiatick* learning, which, I am persuaded, will continually increase. My late journey to *Benares* has enabled me to assure you, that many of your members, who reside at a distance, employ a part of their leisure in preparing additions to your archives; and, unless I am too sanguine, you will soon receive light from them on several topics entirely new in the republic of letters.

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

raised to the height, and a regret not easy to be described.

Whoever travels in *Asia*, especially if he be conversant with the literature of the countries through which he passes, must naturally remark the superiority of *European* talents : the observation, indeed, is at least as old as ALEXANDER ; and, though we cannot agree with the sage preceptor of that ambitious Prince, that " the Asiatics are born to be slaves," yet the *Athenian* poet seems perfectly in the right, when he represents *Europe* as *sovereign Princess*, and *Asia* as *her Handmaid*: but, if the mistress be transcendently majestic, it cannot be denied that the attendant has many beauties, and some advantages peculiar to herself. The ancients were accustomed to pronounce *panegyrics* on their own countrymen at the expense of all other nations, with a political view, perhaps, of stimulating them by praise, and exciting them to still greater exertions; but such arts are here unnecessary; nor would they, indeed, become a society, who seek nothing but truth unadorned by rhetoric; and, although we must be conscious of our superior advancement in all kinds of useful knowledge, yet we ought not therefore to condemn the people of *Asia*, from whose researches into nature, works of art, and inventions of fancy, many valuable hints may be de-

rived for our own improvément and advantage. If that, indeed, were not the principal objed of your inftitution, little elfe could arife from it but the mere gratification of curiofity; and I fhould not receive too much delight from the humble fhare, which you have allowed me to take, in promoting it.

To form an exad parallel between the works and actions of the Weftern and Eaftern worlds, would require a tract of no inconfiderable length; but we may decide on the whole, that reafon and tafte are the grand prerogatives of *European* minds, while the *Asiaticks* have foared to loftier heights in the fphere of imagination. The civil hiftory of their vaft empires, and of *India* in particular, muft be highly interefting to our common country; but we have a ftill nearer intereft in knowing all former modes of ruling *theſe inejlimable provinces*, on the profperity of which fo much of our national welfare, and individual benefit, feems to depend. A minute *geographical* knowledge, not only of *Bengal* and *Babar*, but, for evident reafons, of *all the kingdoms bordering on them*, is clofely connected with an account of their many revolutions: but the *natural* productions of theſe territories, eſpecially in the *vegetable* and *mineral* ſyſtems, are momentous objeds of reſearch to an *imperial*,

but, which is a character of equal dignity, a *commercial*, people.

If *Botany* may be described by metaphors drawn from the Science itself, we may justly pronounce a minute acquaintance with *plants*, their *classes, orders, kinds, and species*, to be its *flowers*, which can only produce *fruit* by an application of that knowledge to the purposes of life, particularly to *diet*, by which diseases may be avoided, and to *medicine*, by which they may be remedied: for the improvement of the last mentioned art, than which none surely can be more beneficial to mankind, the virtues of *minerals* also should be accurately known. So highly has medical skill been prized by the ancient *Indians*, that one of the *fourteen Retna's, or precious things*, which their Gods are believed to have produced by churning the ocean with the mountain *Mandara*, was a *learned physician*. What their old books contain on this subject, we ought certainly to discover, and that without loss of time; lest the venerable but abstruse language, in which they are composed, should cease to be perfectly intelligible, even to the best educated natives, through a want of powerful invitation to study it. BERNIER, who was himself of the Faculty, mentions approved medical books in *Sanscrit*, and cites a few aphorisms,

which appear judicious and rational; but we can expect nothing so important from the works of *Hindu* or *Muselman* physicians, as the knowledge, which experience must have given them, of *simple* medicines. I have seen an *Indian* prescription of *fifty-four*, and another of *sixty-six*, ingredients; but such compositions are always to be suspected, since the effect of one ingredient may destroy that of another; and it were better to find certain accounts of a single leaf or berry, than to be acquainted with the most elaborate compounds, unless they too have been proved by a multitude of successful experiments. The noble deobstruent oil, extracted from the *Eranda* nut, the whole family of *Balsams*, the incomparable stomachick root from *Columbo*, the fine astringent ridiculously called "*Japan* earth, but in truth produced by the decoction of an *Indian* plant, have long been used in *Asia*; and who can foretel what glorious discoveries of other oils, roots, and salutary juices, may be made by your society? If it be doubtful whether the *Peruvian* bark be *always* efficacious in this country, its place may, perhaps, be supplied by some indigenous vegetable equally antiseptic, and more congenial to the climate. Whether any treatises on *Agriculture* have been written by experienced natives of these provinces, I am not yet informed; but since the court of *Spain* ex-

pect to find useful remarks in an *Arabick* tract preserved in the *Escorial*, on the cultivation of land in that kingdom, we should inquire for similar compositions, and examine the contents of such as we can procure.

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

In those elegant arts, which are called fine and *liberal*, though of less general Utility than the labours of the mechanick, it is really wonderful how much a single nation has excelled the whole world : I mean the ancient *Greeks*, whose *Sculpture*, of which we have exquisite remains both on gems and in marble, no modern tool can equal; whose *Architecture* we can only imitate at a fervile distance, but are unable to make one addition to it, without destroying its graceful simplicity; whose *Poetry* still delights us in youth, and amuses us at a maturer age; and of

whose *Painting* and *Musick* we have the concurrent relations of so many grave authors, that it would be strange incredulity to doubt their excellence, *Painting*, as an art belonging to the powers of the imagination, or what is commonly called *Genius*, appears to be yet in its infancy among the people of the East: but the *Hindu* system of *musick* has, I believe, been formed on truer principles than our own; and all the skill of the native composers is directed to the great object of their art, *the natural expression of strong passions*, to which *melody*, indeed, is often sacrificed: though some of their tunes are pleasing even to an *European* ear. Nearly the same may be truly asserted of the *Arabian* or *Persian* system; and, by a correct explanation of the best books on that subject, much of the old *Grecian* theory may probably be recovered.

The *poetical* works of the *Arabs* and *Persians*, which differ surprisingly in their style and form, are here pretty generally known; and, though tastes, concerning which there can be no disputing, are divided in regard to their merit, yet we may safely say of them, what ABULFAZL pronounces of the *Mahabharat*, that, " although " they abound with extravagant images and descriptions, they are in the highest degree entertaining and instructive." Poets of the greatest genius, PINDAR, ÆSCHYLUS, DANTE, PE-

TRARCA, SHAKESPEAR, SPENSER, have moft aboynded in images not far from the brink of abfurdity; but, if their luxuriant fancies, or thofe of ABULOLA, FIRDAUSI, NIZA'MI, were pruned away at the hazard of their ftrength and majefty, we fhould lofe many pleafures by the amputation. If we may form a juft opinion of the *Sanfcnt* poetry from the fpecimens already exhibited, (though we can only judge perfectly by confulting the originals), we cannot but thirft for the whole work of V Y A S A, with which a member of our fociety, whofe prefence deters me from faying more of him, will in due time gratify the publick. The poetry of *Mathurâ*, which is the *ParnaJJian* land of the *Hindus*, has a fofter and lefs elevated ftrain ; but, fince the inhabitants of the diftrids near *Agra*, and principally of the *Duab*, are faid to furpafs all other *Indians* in eloquence, and to have compofed many agreeable tales and lovefongs, which are ftill extant, the *Bbssba*, or *vernacular idiom* of *Vraja*, in which they are written, fhould not be negle&ed. No fpecimens of genuine *Oratory* can be expected from nations, among whom the form of government precludes even the idea of *popular eloquence*; but the art of writing, in elegant and modulated periods, has been cultivated in *Asia* from the earlieft ages: the *Veda's*, as well as the *Alcoran*, are written in meafured

profe ; and the compofitions of ISOCRATES are not more highly polifhed than thofe of the beft *Arahian* and *Perfian* authors.

Of the *Hindu* and *Mufelman* architecture there are yet many noble remains in *Bahar*, and fome in the vicinity of *Malda*; nor am I unwilling to believe, that even thofe ruins, of which you will, I truſt, be prefented with correft delineations, may furnifh our own architects with new ideas of beauty and fublimity.

Permit me now to add a few words on the *Sciences*, properly fo named ; in which it muſt be adrnitted, that the *Asiaticks*, if compared with our Weſtern nations, are mere children. One of the moſt fagacious men in this age, who continues, I hope, to improve and adorn it, SAMUEL JOHNSON, remarked in my hearing, that, " if NEWTON had flourifhed in ancient " *Greece*, he would have been worhipped as a " divinity:" how zealoufly then would he be adored in *Hindufan*, if his incomparable writings could be read and comprehended by the *Pandits* of *Cajhmir* or *Benarts*! I have feen a mathematical book in *Sanſcrit* of the higheſt antiquity; but foon perceived from the diagrams, that it contained only fimpie elements: there may, indeed, have been, in thé favourable atmofphere of *Asia*, fome diligent obfervers of the celeſtial bodies, and fuch obfervations, as are

recorded, fhould indifputably be made publick ; but let us not exped: any new *methods*, or the analyfis of new *curves*, from the geometricians of *Iran*, *Turkistan*, or *India*. Could the works of ARCHIMEDES, the NKWTON of *Sicily*, be reftored to their genuine purity by the help of *Arabick* verfions, we might then have reafon to triumph on the fuccefs of our fcientifical inquiries; or could the fucceffive improvements and various rules of *Algebra* be traced through *Arabian* channels, to which CARDAN boafed that he had accefs, the modern Hiftory of *Mathematics* would receive confiderable illuflration.

The Jurifprudence of the *Hindus* and *Muselmans* will produce more immediate advantage ; and, if fome ftandard *law-trasts* were accurately tranflated from the *Sanscrit* and *Arabick*, we might hope in time to fee fo complete a Digeft of *Indian* Laws, that all difputes among the natives might be decided without *uncertainly*, which is in truth a difgrace, though fatirically called a *glory*, to the forenfick fcience.

All thefe objects of inquiry muft appear to you, Gentlemen, in fo ftrong a light, that bare intimations of them will be fufficient; nor is it neceffary to make ufe of *emulation* as an incentive to an ardent purfuit of them: yet I cannot forbear expreffing a wish, that the activity of the *French* in the fams, purfuits may not be fuperior

to ours, and that the researches of M. SONTNERAT, whom the court of *Verfailles* employed for seven years in these climates, merely to collect such materials as we are seeking, may kindle, instead of abating, our own curiosity and zeal. If you assent, as I flatter myself you do, to these opinions, you will also concur in promoting the object of them; and a few ideas having presented themselves to my mind, I presume to lay them before you, with an entire submission to your judgement.

No contributions, except those of the literary kind, will be requisite for the support of the society; but, if each of us were occasionally to contribute a succinct description of such manuscripts as he had perused or inspected, with their dates and the names of their owners, and to propose for solution such *questions* as had occurred to him concerning Asiatick Art, Science, and History, natural or civil, we should possess without labour, and almost by imperceptible degrees, a fuller catalogue of Oriental books, than has hitherto been exhibited, and our correspondents would be apprised of those points, to which we chiefly direct our investigations. Much may, I am confident, be expected from the Communications of *learned natives*, whether lawyers, physicians, or private scholars, who would eagerly, on the first invitation, send us their *Mekamat*

and *Rifalabs* on a variety of fubjects; forne for the fake of advancing general knowledge, but, moft of them from a defire, neither uncommoa nor unreafonable, of attractyng notice, and recommending themfelves to favour. With a view to avail ourfelves of this difpofition, and to bring their latent fcience under our infpection, it might be advifable to print and circulate a fhort memorial, in *Persian* and *Hindi*, fetting forth, in a ftyle accommodated to their own habits and prejudices, the defign of our inftitution; nor would it be impoffible hereafter, to give a medal annually, with infcriptions in *Persian* on One fide, and on the reverfe in *Sanfcrit*, as the prize of merit, to the writer of the beft eflay or differtation. To intruft others is the prefcribed duty of learned *Brahmans*, and, if they be men of fubftance, without reward; but they would all be flattered with an honorary mark of diftin&ion; and the *Mahomedans* have not only the permiffion, but the pofitive command, of their law-giver, *search for learning even in the remotet parts of the globe*. It were fuperfluous to fuggeft, with how much correctnefs and facility their compofitions might be tranflated for our ufe, fince their languages are now more generaliyand perfectly underftood than they have ever been by any nation of *Europe*.

I have detained you, I fear, too long by this

addrefs, though it has been my endeavour to reconcile comprehenfivenefs with brevity: the fubjects, which I have lightly fketched, would be found, if minutely examined, to be inexhaustible ; and, fince no limits can be fet to your re-fearches but the boundaries of *Afia* itfelf, I may not improperly conclude with wilhing for your fociety, what the Commentator on the Laws, prays for the conftitution, of our country, that
IT MAY BE PERPETUAL.

THE THIRD
ANNIVERSARY DISCOURSE,

DELIVERED 2 FEBRUARY, 1780.

BY

THE. PRESIDENT.

IN the former difcourfes, which I had the honour of addressing to you, Gentlemen, on the *injlitution* and *objects* of our Society, I confined myfelf purpofely to general topicks; giving in the firft a diftant profpect of the vaft career, on which we were entering, and, in the fecond, exhibiting a more dillufe, but ftill fuperficial, ketch of the various difcoveries in Hiftory, Science, and Art, which we might juftly expect: from our inquiries into the literature of *Asia*. I now propofe to fill up that outline fo comprehenfively as to omit nothing effential, yet fo concifely as to avoid being tedious; and, if the ftate of my health fhall fuffer me to continue long enough in this climate, it is my defign, with your permiffion, to prepare for our annual meetings a feries of short differtations, unconnected in their titles and fubjects, but all tending

to a common point of no small importance in the pursuit of interesting truths.

Of all the works, which have been published in our own age, or, perhaps, in any other, on the History of the Ancient World, and *the first population of this habitable globe*, that of Mr. JACOB BRYANT, whom I name with reverence and affection, has the best claim to the praise of deep erudition ingeniously applied, and new theories happily illustrated by an assemblage of numberless converging rays from a most extensive circumference : it falls, nevertheless, as every human work must fall, short of perfection; and the least satisfactory part of it seems to be that, which relates to the derivation of words from *Ajiaick* languages. Etymology has, no doubt, some use in historical researches ; but it is a medium of proof so very fallacious, that, where it elucidates one fact, it obscures a thousand, and more frequently borders on the ridiculous, than leads to any solid conclusion: it rarely carries with it any *internat* power of conviction from a resemblance of sounds or similarity of letters; yet often, where it is wholly unaffected by those advantages, it may be indisputably proved by *extrinsic* evidence. We know *a posteriori*, that both *f i t z* and *hijo*, by the nature of two several dialects, are derived *from filius*; that *uncle* comes from *avus*, and *stranger* from *excra*; that *jour*

is deducible, through the *Italian*, from *dies*; and *roffignol* from *lufcinia*, or the *finger in groves*; that *feiuro*, *écureuil*, and *fquirrel* are compounded of two *Greek* words defcriptive of the animal; which etymologies, though they could not have been demonftrated *à priori*, might ferve to confirm, if any fuch confirmation were neceffary, the proofs of a connection between the members of one great Empire; but, when we derive our *banger*, or *short pendent sword*, from the *Perfian*, becaufe ignorant travellers thus mifpell the word *kbanjar*, which in truth means a different weapon, or *fandal-wood* from the *Greeky* becaufe we fuppofe, that *fandals* were fometimes made of it, we gain no ground in proving the affinity of narions, and only weaken arguments, which might otherwife be firmly fupported. That Cu's then, or, as it certainly is written in one ancient dialect, CU'T, and in others, probably, CA'S, enters into the composition of many proper names, we may very reafonably believe; and that *Algeziras* takes its name from the *Arabick* word for an *ifland*. cannot be doubted; but, when we are told from *Europe*, that piaces and provinces in *India* were clearly denominated from thofe words, we cannot but obferve, in the firft inftance, that the town, in which we now are aflerabled, is properly written and pronounced *Calicata*, that

both *Cata* and *Cut* unquestionably mean *placés of sirength*, or, in general, any *inclosures*; and that *Gujarat* is at least as remote from *Jezirab* in found, as it is in situation.

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

The five principal nations, who have in different ages divided among themselves, as a kind of inheritance, the vast continent of *Asia*, with the many islands depending on it, are the *Indians*, the *Chinese*, the *Tartars*, the *Arabs*, and

the *Perfians*: who they feverally were, whence, and when they came, where they now are fettled, and what *advantage* a more perfect: knowledge of them all may bring to our *European* World, will be fhown, I trust, In five diftinct: effays; the laft of which will demonftrate the connexion or diverfity between them, and folve the great problem, whether they had *any* common origin, and whether that origin was *the fame*, which we generally aferibe to them.

I begin with *India*, not becaufe I find reafon to believe it the true centre of population or of knowledge, but, becaufe it is the country, which we now inhabit, and from which we may beft furvey the regions around us; as, in popular language, we fpeak of the *riſing* fun, and of his *progress through the Zodiack*, although it had long ago been imagined, and is now demonſtrated, that he is himſelf the centre of our planetary ſystem. Let me here premife, that, in all theſe inquiries concerning the hiftory of *India*, I {hall confine my reſearches downwards to the *Mohammedan* conqueſts at the beginning of the *eleventh* century, but extend them upwards, as high as poſſible, to the earlieſt authentick records of the human ſpecies.

India then, on its moſt enlarged ſcale, in which the ancients appear to have underſtood it, comprifes an area of *near forty* degices on each

fide, including a lpace åltnoft as large as all *Europe*? being divided on thé weft from *Persiå* by thé *Arachosian* mountains, limited on the eaft by the *Chitiefé* part of the farther peninfula, confined on the north by the wilds of *Tartary*, and extending to the fouth as far as the ifles of *Java*. This trapezium, therefore, comprehends the ftupendous hills of *Potyid* or *Tibet*) the beautiful valley of *Cashmir*, and all the domains of the old *Indofcytbians*, the countries of *NépdI* and *Butånt*, *Cåmrup* or *Asam*, together with *Siam*, *Ava*, *Racan*, and the bordering kingdoms, as far as the *China* of thé *Hindus* or *Sin* of the *Arabian* Geographers; not to mention the whole weftern peninfula with the celebrated ffland of *Sinbala*, or *Lion-like men*, at its fouthern extremity. By *India*, in fhort, I mean that whole extent of country, in which the primitive religion and languages of the *Hindus* prevail at this day with more or lefs of their ancient purity, and in which the *Nagari* letters are fill ufed with more or lefs deviation from their originalform.

The *Hindus* themfelves believe their own country, to which they give the vain epithets of *Medbyama* or *Central*, and *Punyabbu'mi*, or the *Land of Virtues*, to have been the portion of B H A R A T, one of *nine* brothers, whofe father had the dominion of the whole earth; and they re-

prefeirt the mountains of *Himalaya* as lying to the north, and, to the weft, thofe of *Vindhya*, cailed alfo *Vindianby* the *Greeks*; beyond which the *Sindhu* runs in feveral branches to the fea, and meets it nearly oppofite to the point of *Dwaraca*, the celebrated feat of their Shepherd God: in the *fouth-east* they place the great river *Saravaty*; by which they probably mean that of *Ava*, cailed alfo *Airdvati* in part of its courfe, and giving perhaps its ancient name to the gulf of *Sahara*. This domain of *Bharat* they confider as the middle of the *Jambudzvipa*, which the *Tibetians* alfo call the Land of *Zambu*; and the appellation is extremely remarkable; for *Jarnbu* is the *Sanfcrit* name of a delicate fruit cailed *Jâman* by the *Muselmans*, and by us *rose-apple*; but the largeft and richeft fort is named *Amrita*, or *Immortal*; and the Mythologifts of *Tibet* apply the farne word to a celeftial tree bearing *ambrojial fruit*, and adjoining to *Jour* vaft rocks, from which as many facred rivers derive their feveral ftreams.

The inhabitants of this extenfive tract are defcribed by Mr. LORD with great exactness, and with a picturefque elegance peculiar to our ancient language: " A people, fays he, prefented
 " themfelves to mine eyes, clothed in linen gar-
 " ments fomewhat low defcending, of a geftufe
 " and garb, as I may fay, maidenly and well

" nigh effeminate, of a countenance shy and
 " somewhat estranged, yet smiling out a glozed
 " and bashful familiarity." Mr, ORME, the
 Historian of *India*, who unites an exquisite taste
 for every fine art with an accurate knowledge of
Asiatick manners, observes, in his elegant pre-
 liminary Dissertation, that this " country has
 " been inhabited from the earliest antiquity by
 " a people, who have no resemblance, either in
 " their figure or manners, with any of the na-
 tions contiguous to them," and that, " although
 " conquerors have established themselves at dif-
 " ferent times in different parts of *India*, yet the
 " original inhabitants have lost very little of
 " their original character." The ancients, in
 fact, give a description of them, which our early
 travellers confirmed, and our own personal know-
 ledge of them nearly verifies ; as you will per-
 ceive from a passage in the Geographical Poem
 of DIONYSIUS, which the Analyst of Ancient
 Mythology has translated with great spirit:

" To th' east a lovely country wide extends,
 " INDIA, whose borders the wide ocean bounds ;
 " On this the son, new rising from the main,
 " Smiles pleas'd, and sheds his early orient beam.
 " Th' inhabitants are swart, and in their locks
 " Betray the tints of the dark hyacinth.
 " Various their functions, some the rock explore,
 " And from the mine extract the latent gold;
 " Some labour at the loom with cunning skill,

- " And manufactur'd linen; others shape
- " And polish iv'ry with the niceſt carv:
- " Many retire to rivers ſhoal, and plunge
- " To ſeek the beryl flaring in its bed,
- " Or glitt'ring diamond. Oft the jafper's found
- " Green, but diaphanous ; the topaz too
- " Of ray ferene and pleaſing ; laſt of all
- " The lovely amethyſt, in which combine
- " All the mild ſhades of purpie. The rich foil,
- " Waſh'd by a thouſand rivers, from all fides
- " Pours on the natives wealth without control."

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

I. It is much to be lamentéd, that neither the *Greeks*, who attended ALEXANDER into *India*, nor those who were long conned with it under the *Bactrian* Princes, have left us any means of knowing with accuracy, what vernacular languages they found on their arrival in this Empire. The *Mohammedans*, we know, heard the people of proper *Hindustan*, or *India* on a limited scale, speaking a *Bhdshâ*, or living tongue of a very singular construction, the purest dialect of which was current in the districts round *Agra*; and chiefly on the poetical ground of *Mat'burâ*; and this is commonly called the idiom of *Vraja*. Five words in fix, perhaps, of this language were derived from the *Sanskrit*, in which hooks of religion and science were composed, and which appears to have been formed by an exquisite grammatical arrangement, as the name itself implies, from some unpolished idiom; but the basis of the *Hindustani*, particularly the inflexions and regimen of verbs. differed as widely from both those tongues, as *Arabic* differs from *Persian*, or *German* from *Greek*; Now the general effect of conquest is to leave the current language, of the conquered people unchanged, or very little altered, in its groundwork, but to blend with it a considerable number of exotic names both for things and for actions as it has happened in every country that I can

recollect, where the conquerors have not preserved thèir own tongue unmixed with that of the natives, like the *Turks* in *Greece*, and the *Saxons* in *Britain*; and this analogy might induce us to believe, that the pure *Hindi*, whether of *Tartarian* or *Chaldean* origin, was primeval in Upper *India*, into which the *Sanscrit* was introduced by conquerors from other lāngdoms in forne very remote age ; for we cannot doubt that the language of the *Véda's* was used in the great extent of country, which has before been delineated, as long as the religion of *Brahmā* has prevailed in it.

The *Sanscrit* language, whatever be its antiquity, is of a wonderful ftructure; more perfect than the *Greek*, more copious than the *Latin*, and more exquisitely refined than either, yet bearing to both of them a ftronger affinity, both in the roots of verbs and in the forms of grammar, than could poffibly have been produced by accident; fo ftrong indeed, that no philologer could examine them all three, without believing them to have fprung from forne common fource, which, perhaps, no longer exifts: there is a fimilar reason, though not quite fo forcible, for fuppofing that both the *Gotbick* and the *Celtick*, though blended with a very different idiom, had the fame origin with the *Sanfcrit*; and the old *Presian* might be added to the feme family, if

this were the place for discussing any question concerning the antiquities of *Persia*.

The *characters*, in which the languages of *India* were originally written, are called *Nagari*, from *Nagara*, a city with the word *Déva* sometimes prefixed, because they are believed to have been taught by the Divinity himself, who prescribed the artificial order of them in a voice from heaven. These letters, with no greater variation in their form by the change of straight lines to curves, or conversely, than the *Cufick* alphabet has received in its way to *India*, are still adopted in more than twenty kingdoms and states, from the borders of *Cajhgar* and *Kboten*, to *Rama's* bridge, and from the *Sindhu* to the river of *Siam*; nor can I help believing, although the polished and elegant *Dévandgari* may not be so ancient as the monumental characters in the caverns of *Jarafandha*, that the square *Chuldaick* letters, in which most *Hebrew* books are copied, were originally the same, or derived from the same prototype, both with the *Indian* and *Arabian* characters: that the *Pbenician*, from which the *Greek* and *Roman* alphabets were formed by various changes and inversions, had a similar origin, there can be little doubt; and the inscriptions at *Canârab*, of which you now possess a most accurate copy, seem to be compounded of *Nagari* and *Ethio-*

pick letters, which bear a close relation to each other, both in the mode of writing from the left hand, and in the singular manner of connecting the vowels with the consonants. These remarks may favour an opinion entertained by many, that all the symbols of *found*, which at first, probably, were only rude outlines of the different organs of speech, had a common origin: the symbols of *ideas*, now used in *China* and *Japan*, and formerly, perhaps, in *Egypt* and *Mexico*, are quite of a distinct nature; but it is very remarkable, that the order of *found*s in the *Chinese* grammars corresponds nearly with that observed in *Tibet*, and hardly differs from that, which the *Hindus* consider as the invention of their Gods.

II. Of the *Indian* Religion and Philosophy, I shall here say but little; because a full account of each would require a separate volume: it will be sufficient in this dissertation to assume, what might be proved beyond controversy, that we now live among the adorers of those very deities, who were worshipped under different names in old *Greece* and *Italy*, and among the professors of those philosophical tenets, which the *Ionick* and *Attick* writers illustrated with all the beauties of their melodious language. On one hand we see the trident of NEPTUNE, the eagle of JURISTER, the satyrs of BACCHUS, the bow of CUPID,

and the chariot of the *Sun* ; on another we hear the cymbals of *RHEA*, the fongs of the *Muses*, and the paſtoral tales of *APOLLO NOMIUS*. In more retired ſcenes, in groves, and in feminaries of learning, we may perceive the *Brahmans* and the *Sarmanes*, mentioned by *CLEMENS*, diſputing in the forms of *logick*, or diſcourſing on the vanity of human enjoyments, on the immortality of the ſoul, her emanation from the eternal mind, her debaſement, wanderings, and final union with her ſource. The ſix philoſophical ſchools, whoſe principles are explained in the *Derfana Saſtra*, compriſe all the metaphyſicks of the old *Academy*, the *Stoa*, the *Lyceum*; nor is it poſſible to read the *Vedānta*, or the many fine compoſitions in illuſtration of it, without believing, that *PYTHAGORAS* and *PLATO* derived their ſublime theories from the ſame fountain with the ſages of *India*. The *Scythian* and *Hyperborean* doctrines and mythology may alſo be traced in every part of theſe eaſtern regions ; nor can we doubt, that *WOD* or *ODEN*, whoſe religion, as the northgrn hiſtobrians admit, was introduced into *Scanamavia* by a foreign race, was the ſame with *BUDDH*, whoſe rites were probably imported into *India* nearly at the ſame time, though received much later by the *Chinese*, who ſoften his name into *F.O.*

This may be a proper place to aſcertain an

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important point in the Chronology of the *Hindus*, for the priests of BUDDHA left in *Tibet* and *Cbina* the precise epoch of his appearance, real or imagined, in this Empire ; and their information, which had been preserved in writing, was compared by the *Christian* Missionaries and scholars with our own era. COUPLET, DE GUIGNES, GIORGI, and BAILLY, differ a little in their accounts of this epoch, but that of *Couplet* seems the most correct: on taking, however, the medium of the four several dates, we may fix the time of BUDDHA, or the *ninth* great incarnation of VISHNU, in the year one *thousand and fourteen* before the birth of CHRIST, or *two thousand seven hundred and ninety-nine* years ago. Now the *Cashmirians*, who boast of his descent in their kingdom, assert that he appeared on earth about two centuries after CRISHNA the *Indian* APOLLO, who took so decided a part in the war of the *Mahabharat*; and, if an Etymologist were to suppose, that the *Athenians* had embellished their poetical history of PANDION's expulsion and the restoration of ÆOEUS with the *Asiatick* tale of the PANDUS and YUDHISHTIR, Neither of which words they could have articulated, I should not hastily deride his conjecture: certain it is, that *Pandumandel* is called by the *Greeks* the country of PANDION. We have, therefore, determined another interest

ON THE HINDU'S

ing epoch, by fixing the age of CRISHNA near the *three thousandth* year from the present time; and, as the three first *Avatars*, or descents of VISHNU, relate no less clearly to an Universal Deluge, in which eight persons only were saved, than the *fourth and fifth* do to the punishment of impiety and the humiliation of the proud, we may for the present assume, that *this second*, or silver, age of the *Hindus* was subsequent to the dispersion from *Babel*-, so that we have only a dark interval of about a *thousand* years, which were employed in the settlement of nations, the foundation of states or empires, and the cultivation of civil society. The great incarnate Gods of this intermediate age are both named RA ' MA but with different epithets; one of whom bears a wonderful resemblance to the *Indian BACCHUS*, and his wars are the subject of several heroick poems. He is represented as a descendant from SU'RYA, or the SUN, as the husband of SI'TA', and the son of a princess named CAU'-SELYA: it is very remarkable, that the *Peruvians*, whose *Incas* boasted of the same descent, styled their greatest festival *Ramasitoa* ; whence we may suppose, that *South America* was peopled by the same race, who imported into the farthest parts of *Asia* the rites and fabulous history of RA'MA. These rites and this history are extremely curious ; and, although I cannot believe

with NEWTON, that ancient mythology was nothing but hiftorical truth in a poetical drefs, now with BACON, that it confifted folely of moral and metaphylkal allegories, nor with BRYANT, that all the heathen dīvinities are only diiferent attributes and reprefentations of the Sun or of deceafed progenitors, but conceive that- the whole fyftem of religious fables rofe, like the *Nile*, from feveral diftinct: fources, yet I cannot but agree, that one great fpring and fountain of all idolatry in the four quarters of the globe was the veneration paid by men to the vaft body of fire, which " looks from his fole dominion like the God of this world;" and another, the immoderate refpect fhown to the memory of powerful or virtuous anceftors, efpecially the founders of kingdoms, legiflators, and warriors, of whom the *Sun* or the *Moon* were wildly fuppofed to be the parents,

III. The remains of *architecture* and *sculpture* in *India*, which I mention here as mere monuments of antiquity, not as fpecimens of ancient art, feem to prove an early connection between this country and *Asrica*: the pyramids of *Egypt*, the coloflal ftatues deferibed by PAUSANIAS and others, the fphinx, and the HERMES *Canis*, which laft bears a great refemblance to the *Varabavatar*, or the incarnation of VISHNU in the form of a *Boar*, indicate the ftyle and mythology of the

farne indefatigable workmen, who formed the vaſt excavations of *Cānārab*, the various temples and images of BUDDHA, and the idols, which are continually dug up at *Gayā*, or in its vicinity. The letters on many of thoſe monuments appear, as I have before intimated, partly of *Indian*, and partly of *Abyſſinian* or *Ethiopick*, origin; and all theſe indubitable facts may induce no ill-grounded opinion, that *Etbiopia* and *Hindu/lan* were peopled or colonized by the ſame extraordinary race; in confirmation of which, it may be added, that the mountaineers of *Bengal* and *Babar* can hardly be diſtinguiſhed in ſome of their features, particularly their lips and noſes, from the modern *Abyſſinians*, whom the *Arabs* call the children of CU'SH : and the ancient *Hindus*, according to STRABO, differed in nothing from the *Africans*, but in the ſtraitneſs and ſmoothneſs of their hair, while that of the others was criſp or woolly; a difference proceeding chiefly, if not entirely, from the reſpective humidity or dryneſs of their atmospheres: hence the people who received the firſt light of the riſing ſun, according to the limited knowledge of the ancients, are ſaid by APULEIUS to be the *Āru* and *Ethiopians*, by which he clearly meant certain nations of *India*; where we frequently ſee figures of BUDDHA with

curled bair apparently defigned for a representation of it in its natural ftate.

IV. It is unfortunate, that the *Silpi Sâstra*, or *collection of treatises on Arts and Manusactures*, which muft have contained a treafure of useful information on *dying, painting, and metallurgy*, has been fo long neglected, that few, if any, traces of it are to be found; but the labours of the *Indian* loom and needle have been univerfally celebrated ; and fine *linen* is not improbably fuppofed to have been called *Sindon*, from the name of the river near which it was wrought in the higheft perfection: the people of *Colchis* were alfo famed for this manufacture, and the *Egyptians* yet more, as we learn from feveral paffages in fcripture, and particularly from a beautiful chapter in EZEKIAL containing the moft authentick delineation of ancient commerce, of which *Tyre* had been the principal mart. Silk was fabricated immemorially by the *Indians*, though commonly afcribed to the people of *Serica* or *Tancut*, among whom probably the word *Sér*, which the *Greeks* applied to the *silk-worm*, fignified gold; a fenfe, which it now bears in *Tibet*. That the *Hindus* were in early ages a *commercial* people, we have many reafons to believe; and in the firft of their facred law-tracts, which they fuppofe to have been revealed

by MENU many *millions* of years ago, we find a curious passage on the legal *interest* of money,' and the limited rate of it in different cases, with an exception in regard to *adventures at sea*; an exception, which the sense of mankind approves, and which commerce absolutely requires, though it was not before the reign of CHARLES I. that our own jurisprudence fully admitted it in respect of maritime contracts.

We are told by the *Grecian* writers, that the *Indians* were the wisest of nations ; and in moral wisdom, they were certainly eminent: their *Niti Sastra*, or *System of Ethics*, is yet preserved, and the *Fables* of VISHNUSKRMAN, whom we ridiculously call *Pilpay*, are the most beautiful, if not the most ancient, collection of apologues in the world : they were first translated from the *Sanscrit*, in the sixth century, by the order of BUZERCHUMIUR, or *Bright as the Sun*, the chief physician and afterwards *Vézir* of the great ANU'SHIREVA'N, and are extant under various names in more than twenty languages; but their original title is *Hitopadésa*, or *Amicable Instruction*; and, as the very existence of ESOP, whom the *Arabs* believe to have been an *Abyfinian*, appears rather doubtful, I am not disinclined to suppose, that the first *moral fables*, which appeared in *Europe*, were of *Indian* or *Ethiopian* origin.

The *Hindus* are said to have boasted of *three* inventions, all of which, indeed, are admirable, the method of instructing by *apologues*, the *decimal scale* adopted now by all civilized nations, and the game of *Cbess*, on which they have some curious treatises ; but, if their numerous works on Grammar, Logick, Rhetorick, Mufick, all which are extant and accessible, were explained in some language generally known, it would be found, that they had yet higher pretensions to the praise of a fertile and inventive genius, Their lighter Poems are lively and elegant ; their Epick, magnificent and sublime in the highest degree ; their *Purana's* comprise a series of mythological Histories in blank verse from the *Creation* to the supposed incarnation of BUDDHA ; and their *Vedas*, as far as we can judge from that compendium of them, which is called *Upanishat*, abound with noble speculations in metaphysics, and fine discourses on the being and attributes of GOD. Their most ancient medical book, entitled *Chereca*, is believed to be the work of SIVA ; for each of the divinities in their *Triad* has at least one *facted* composition ascribed to him ; but, as to mere human works on *History* and *Geography*, though they are said to be extant in *Cashmir*, it has not been yet in my power to procure them, What their astronomical and mathematical writings contain, will

not, I trust, remain long a secret: they are easily procured, and their importance cannot be doubted. The Philosopher, whose works are said to include a system of the universe founded on the principle of *Attraction* and the *Central position* of the sun, is named YAVANACHA'RYA, because he had travelled, we are told, into *lonia*: if this be true, he might have been one of those, who conversed with PYTHAGORAS; this at least is undeniable, that a book on astronomy in *Sanskrit* bears the title of *Tavana Jatica*, which may signify the *Ionic Sect*; nor is it improbable, that the names of the planets and *Zodiacal stars*, which the *Arabs* borrowed from the *Greeks*, but which we find in the oldest *Indian* records, were originally devised by the same ingenious and enterprising race, from whom both *Greece* and *India* were peopled; the race, who, as DIONYSIUS describes them,

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

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

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

THE FOURTH
ANNIVERSARY DISCOURSE,

DELIVERED 15 FEBRUARY, 1787.

BY

THE PRESIDENT.

GENTLEMEN,

I H A D the honour laſt year of opening to you my intention, to diſcourſe at our annual meetings on the *Jive* principal nations, who have peopled the continent and iſlands *oi* *Asia*; ſo as to trace, by an hiſtorical and philological analyſis, the number of ancient Hems, from which thoſe five branches have feverally ſprung, and the central region, from which they appear to have proceeded : you may, therefore, expedfc, that, having ſubmitted to your confideration a few general remarks on the old inhabitants of *India* I ſhould now offer my ſentiments on ſorne other nation, who, from a ſimilarity *of language, religion, arts, and mariners*, may be ſuppoſed to have had an early connection with the *Hindus*; but, ſince we find ſorne *Asiatick* nations totally diſſimilar to them in all or moſt of thoſe particulars, and ſince the difference will ſtrike you more forcibly by an immediate and cloſe comparison;

I defign at prefent to give a fhort account of a wonderful people, who feem in every refpect fo ftrongly coirtrafted to the original natives of this pountry, that they muft have been for ages a diftindt and feparate race.

For the purpofe of thefe difcourfes, I confidered *India* on its largeft fcale, deferibing it as lying between *Perfia* and *China*. *Tartary* and *Java*; and, for the fame purpofe, I now apply the name of *Araina*, as the *Arabian* Geographers often apply it, to that extenfive Peninfula, which the Red Sea divides from *Africa*, the great *Assyrian* river from *Iran*, and of which the *Erytbrean* Sea wafhes the bafe; without exchiding any part of its weftern fide, which would be completely maritime, if no ifthmus intervened between the *Mediterranean*, and the Sea of *Kolzom*: that country in fhort I call *Arabia*, in which the *Arabick* language and letters, or fuch as have a near affinity to them, have been immemorially current.

Arabia, thus divided from *India* by a vaft ocean, or at leaft by a broad bay, could hardly have been connected in any degree with this country, until navigation and commerce had been confiderably improved : yet, as the *Hindus* and the people of *Ternen* were both commercial nations in a very early age, they were probably the firft inftruments of conveying to the weftern

world the gold, ivory, and perfumes of *India*, as well as the fragrant wood, called *alluwwa* in *Arabick* and *aguru* in *Sanscrit*, which grows in the greatest perfection in *Anam* or *Cochinchina*. It is possible too, that a part of the *Arabian* Idolatry might have been derived from the same source with that of the *Hindus* ; but such an intercourse may be considered as partial and accidental only; nor am I more convinced, than I was fifteen years ago, when I took the liberty to animadvert on a passage in the History of Prince KANTEMIR, that the *Turks* have any just reason for holding the coast of *Ternen* to be a part of *India*, and calling its inhabitants *Tellow Indians*.

The *Arabs* have never been entirely subdued; nor has any impression been made on them, except on their borders; where, indeed, the *Phœnicians*, *Persians*, *Ethiopians*, *Egyptians*, and, in modern times, the *Othman Tartars*, have feverally acquired settlements; but, with these exceptions, the natives of *Hejâz* and *Ternen* have preserved for ages the sole dominion of their deserts and pastures, their mountains and fertile valleys : thus, apart from the rest of mankind, this extraordinary people have retained their primitive manners and language, features and character, as long and as remarkably as the *Hindus* themselves. All the genuine *Arabs* of

Syria whom I knew in *Europe*, thofe of *Ternen*, whom I faw in the ifle of *Hinzuân*, whither many had come from *Majkat* for the purpofe of tràde, and thofe of *Hejaz*, whom I have met in *Bengal*, form a ftriking contraft to the *Hindu* inhabitants of thefe provinces: their eyes are full of vivacity, their fpeech voluble and articulate, their deportment manly and dignified, their apprehenfion quick, their minds always prefent and attentive; with a fpirit of independence appearing in the countenances even of the loweft among them. Men will always differ in their ideas of civilization, each meafuring it by the habits and prejudices of his own country ; but, if courtefy and urbanity, a love of poetry and eloquence, and the practice of exalted virtues be a jufter meaiure of perfect fociety, we have certain proof, that the people of *Arabia*, both on plains and in cities, in republican and monarchical ftates, were eminently civilized for many ages before their conquelt of *Pcrsia*.

It is deplorable, that the ancient Hiftory of this majeftick race fhould be as little known in detail before the time of *Dbu Tezen*, as that of the *Hindus* before *Vicramåditya* ; for, although the vaft hiftorical work of *Alnuwairi*, and the *Murujuldbabab*, or *Golden Meadow*, of *Alma-suudi* contain chapters on the kings of *Himyar*. *Gbafan*, and *Hirab*, with lifts of them and

sketches of their feveral reigns, and although Genealogical Tables, from which chronology might be better afcertained, are prefixed to many compositions of the old *Arabian* Poets, yet moft manuscripts are fo incorrect, and fo many contradictions are found in the beft of them, that we can fcarce lean upon tradition with fecurity, and muft have recourfe to the fame media for investigating the hiftory of the *Arabs*, that I before adopted in regard to that of the *Indiat*; namely, their *language*, *letters* and *religion*, their ancient *monuments*, and the certain remains of their *arts*; on each of which heads I fhall touch very concifely, having premifed, that my obfervations will in general be confined to the ftate of *Arabia* before that fingular revolution, at the beginning of the *feventh century*, the effects of which we feel at this day from the *Pyrenean* mountains and the *Danube*, to the fartheft parts of the *Indian Empire*, and even to the Eaftern Iflands.

I. For the knowledge, which any *European*, who pleafes, may attain of the *Arabian* language, we are principally indebted to the univerfity of *Leyden*; for, though feveral *Italians* have affiduoufly laboured in the fame wide field, yet the fruit of their labours has been rendered almoft ufelefs by more commodious and more accurate works printed in *Holland* ; and, though *POCOCK* certainly accomplifhed much, and was able to

accomplish any thing, yet the *Academical* cafe, which he enjoyed, and his theological pursuits, induced him to leave unfinished the valuable work of *Maidani*, which he had prepared for publication ; nor, even if that rich mine of *Arabian* Philology had been the light, would it have borne any comparison with the fifty dissertations of *Hariri*, which the first ALBERT SCHULTENS translated and explained, though he sent abroad but few of them, and has left his worthy grandson, from whom perhaps *Maidani* also may be expected, the honour of publishing the rest : but the palm of glory in this branch of literature is due to Golius, whose works are equally profound and elegant; so perspicuous in method, that they may always be consulted without fatigue, and read without languor, yet so abundant in matter, that any man, who shall begin with his noble edition of the Grammar compiled by his master ERPENIUS, and proceed, with the help of his incomparable dictionary, to study his History of *Taimiir* by *Ibni Arabshab*, and shall make himself complete master of that sublime work, will understand the learned *Arabick* better than the deepest scholar at *Conjantinople* or at *Mecca*. The *Arabick* language, therefore, is almost wholly in our power; and, as it is unquestionably one of the most ancient in the world, so it yields to none ever spoken by mortals in

the number of its words and the precision of its phrases; but it is equally true and wonderful, that it bears not the least resemblance, either in words or the structure of them, to the *Sanskrit*, or great parent of the *Lidian* dialects ; of which dissimilarity I will mention two remarkable instances: the *Sanskrit*, like the *Greek*, *Persian*, and *German*, delights in compounds, but, in a much higher degree, and indeed to such excess, that I could produce words of more than twenty syllables, not formed ludicrously, like that by which the buffoon in ARISTOPHANES describes a feast, but with perfect seriousness, on the most solemn occasions, and in the most elegant works; while the *Arabick*, on the other hand, and all its sister dialects, abhor the composition of words, and invariably expresses very complex ideas by circumlocution ; so that, if a compound word be found in any genuine language of the *Arabian* Peninsula, (*zenmerdab* for instance, which occurs in the *Hamâfah*) it may at once be pronounced an exotick. Again ; it is the genius of the *Sanskrit*, and other languages of the farthest stock, that the roots of verbs be almost universally *biliteral*, so that five and twenty hundred such roots might be formed by the composition of the fifty *Indian* letters ; but the *Arabick* roots are as universally *triliteral*, (so that the composition of the twenty-eight *Arabian* letters would

give⁴ near *two and twenty thousand* elements of the language : and this will demonstrate the surprising extent of it; for, although great numbers of its roots are confessedly lost, and some, perhaps, were never in use, yet, if we suppose ten thousand of them (without reckoning *quadri-Utenals*) to exist, and each of them to admit only five variations, one with another, in forming *derivative nouns*, even then a perfect *Arabick dictionary* ought to contain fifty *thousand* words, each of which may receive a multitude of changes by the rules of grammar. The derivatives in *Sanskrit* are considerably more numerous: but a farther comparison between the two languages is here unnecessary ; since, in whatever light we view them, they seem totally distinct, and must have been invented by two different races of men ; nor do I recollect a single word in common between them, except *Suruj*, the plural of *Siraj*; meaning both a *lamp* and the *fun*, the *Sanskrit* name of which is, in *Bengal*, pronounced *Sutja* ; and even this resemblance may be purely accidental. We may easily believe with the *Hindus*, that *not even* INDRA himself and his heavenly bands, much less any mortal, ever comprehended in his mind such an ocean of words as their sacred language contains, and with the *Arabs*, that no man uninspired was ever a complete master of *Arabick*: in fact no

perfon, I believe, now living in *Europe* or *Afid*, can read without ftudy an hundred couplets together in any collection of ancient *Arabian* poems; and we are told, that the great author of the *Kamus* learned by accident from the mouth of a child, in a village of *Arabici*, the meaning of three words which he had long fought in vain from grammarians, and from books, of the higheft reputation. It is by approximation alone, that a knowledge of thefe two venerable languages can be acquired; and, with moderate attention, enough of them both may be known, to delight and initrud: us in an infinite degree: I conclude this head with remarking, that the nature of the *Ethiopick* dialedl feems to prove an early eftablifhment of the *Arabs* in part of *Eibiopia*, from which they were afterwards expelled, and attacked even in their own country by the *Abyffinians*, who had been invited over as auxiliaries againft the tyrant of *Ternen* about a century before the birth of MUHAMMED.

Of the characters, in which the old compositions of *Arabia* were written, we know but little; except that the *Koran* originally appeared in thofe of *Cufab*, from which the modern *Arabian* letters, with all their elegant variations, were derived, and which unqueftionably had a comraon origin with the *Hebrew* or *Chaldaick*; but, as to the *Himyarick* letters, or thofe which

we see mentioned by the name of *Almufnad*, we are still in total darkness; the traveller NIEBUHR having been unfortunately prevented from visiting some ancient monuments in *Yemen*, which are said to have inscriptions on them: if those letters bear a strong resemblance to the *Nagari*, and if a story current in *India* be true, that some *Hindu* merchants heard the *Sanskrit* language spoken in *Arabia* the *Happy*, we might be confirmed in our opinion, that an intercourse formerly subsisted between the two nations of opposite coasts, but should have no reason to believe, that they sprang from the same immediate stock. The first syllable of *Hamyar*, as many *Europeans* write it, might perhaps induce an Etymologist to derive the *Arabs* of *Ternen* from the great ancestor of the *Indians*; but we must observe, that *Himyar* is the proper appellation of those *Arabs*; and many reasons concur to prove, that the word is purely *Arabick*: the similarity of some proper names on the borders of *India* to those of *Arabia*, as the river *Arabius*, a place called *Araba*, a people named *Aribes* or *Arabies*, and another called *Sabai*, is indeed remarkable, and may hereafter furnish me with observations of some importance, but not at all inconsistent with my present ideas.

II. It is generally asserted, that the old religion of the *Arabs* was entirely *Sabian*; but I can

offer fo little accurate information concerning the *Sabian* faith, or even the meaning of the word, that I dâre not yet fpeak on the fubject with confidence. This at leaft: is certain, that the people of *Ternen* very foon fell into the common, but fatal, errour of adoring the Sun and the Firmament; for even the *third* in defcent from YOKTAN, who was confequently as old as NAHOR, took the furname of ABDC/SHAMS, or *Servant of the Sun*; and his family, we are affured, paid particular honours to that luminary: other tribes worhipped the planets and fixed ftars; but the religion of the poets at leaft feems to have been pure Theifm; and this we know with certainty, becaufe we have *Arabian* verfes of unfufpected antiquity, which contain pious and elevated fentiments on the goodnefs and juftice, the power and omniprefence, of ALLAH, or THE GOD. If an infcription, faid to have been found on marble in *Ternen*, be authentick, the ancient inhabitants of that country preferred the religion of EBER, and profefled a belief in *miracles and a future ftate*.

We are alfo told, that a ftrong refemblance may be found between the religions of the pagan *Arabs* and the *Hindus*; but, though this may be true, yet an agreement in worhipping the fun and ftar9 wiil not prove an affinity between the two nations: the *powers* of God reprefented as

fentale deities, the adoration of ftones, and the naine of the Idol W U D D, may lead us indeed to fufped, that fome of the *Hindu* fuperftitions had found their way into *Arabia*; and though we have no traces in *drabian* Hiftory of fuch a conqueror or legiflator* as the great SESAC, who is faid to have raifed pillars in *Ternen* as well as at the mouth of the *Ganges*, yet, fince we know, that SA'CYA is a title of BUDDHA, whom I fuppofe to be WODEN, fince BUDDHA was not a native of *India*, and fince the age of SESAC perfedly agrees with that of SA'CYA, we may form a plaufible conjedture, that they were in fad: the fame perfon, who traveled eaftward from *Ethiopia*, either as a warriour or as a lawgiver, about a thoufand years before CHRIST, and whole rites we now fee extended as far as the country of *Nifon*, or, as the *Chinefe* call it, *Japuen*, both words fignifying the *Rifing Sun*. SA'CYA may be derived from a word meaning *power*, or from another denoting *vegetable food*; in that this epithet will not determine, whether he was a hero or a philofopher; but the title BUDDHA, or *wife*, may induce us to believe, that he was rather a benefactor, than a deftroyer, of his fpecies: if his religion, however, was really introduced into any part of *Arabia*, it could not have been general in that country; and we may fafely pronounce, that before the *Mobammedan*

revolution, the noble and learned *Arabs* were Thefts, but that a stupid idolatry prevailed among the lower orders of the people.

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

III. Few monuments of antiquity are preserved in *Arabia*, and of those few the best accounts are very uncertain ; but we are assured, that inscriptions on rocks and mountains are still seen in various parts of the Peninsula ;

which, if they are in any known language, and if corred copies of them can be procured, may be decyphered by eafy and infallible rules.

The firft ALBERT SCHULTENS has preferved in his Ancient Memorials of *Arabia*, the moft pleafing of all his works, two little poems in an elegiack ftrain, which are faid to have been found, about the middle of the feventh century, on forne fragments of ruin ed edifices in *Hadramut* near *Aden*, and are fuppofed to be of an indefinite, but very remote, age. It may naturally be alk- ed : In what charaders were they written ? Who decyphered them ? Why were not the original letters preferved in the book, where the verfes are cited ? What became of the marbles, which *Abdurrahman*, then governor of *Yemen*, moft probably fent to the *Kbālifab* at *Bagdad* ? If they be genuine, they prove the people of *Ternen* to have been ⁱ herdfmen and warriours, ' inhabiting a fertile and well-watered country ' full of game, and near a fine fea abounding ' with fifh, under a monarchical government, ' and drefled in green lilc or vefts of needlework, ' either of their own manufadure or imported from *India*. The meafure of thele verfes is perfedly regular, and the dialed undiftinguifhable, at leaft by me, from that of *Kuraijb*; fo that, if the *Arabian* writers were much addided to Uterary impoftures, I ihould ftrongly fufped

them to be modern compositions on the infatigability of human greatness, and the consequences of irreligion, illustrated by the example of the *Hirnyarick* princes ; and the fable may be supposed of the first poem quoted by SCHULTENS, which he ascribes to an *Arab* in the age of SOLOMON.

The supposed houses of the people called *Thamiid* are also still to be seen in excavations of rocks; and, in the time of TABRIZI the Grammarian, a castle was extant in *Yemen*, which bore the name of ALADBAT, an old bard and warrior, who first, we are told, formed his army, thence called *alkbamis*, in five parts, by which arrangement he defeated the troops of *Himyar* in an expedition against *Sanaa*.

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

The *Cabab*, or quadrangular edifice at *Meccab*, is indisputably so ancient, that its original

ufe, and the name of its builder, are loft in a cloud of idle traditions. An *Arab* told me gravely, that it was raifed by ABRAHAM, who, as I affured him, was never there : others afcribe it, with more probability, to IS MAIL, or one of his immediate defcendants; but whether it was built as a place of divine worfhip, as a fortrefs, as a fepulchre, or as a monument of the treaty between the old poffeffors of *Arabia* and the fons of KIDAR, antiquaries may difpute, but no mortal can determine. It is thought by RELAND to have been *the manfion of fome ancient Patriarch*, and revered on that account by his pofterity; but the room, in which we now are affembled, would contain the whole *Arabian* edifice; and, if it were large enough for the dwelling-houfe of a patriarchal family, it would feem ill adapted to the paftoral manners of the *Kedarites*: a *Perfian* author infifts, that the true name of *Meccah* is *Mahcadah*, or the *Temple of the Moon*; but, although we may fmile at his etymology, we cannot but think it probable, that the *Cabah* was originally deiigned for religious purpofes. Three couplets are cited in an *Arabick* Hiftory of this Building, which, from their extreme fimplicity, have lefs appearance of impofture than other verfes of the fame kind: they are afcribed to AS AD, a *Tobba*, or king by fucceffion, who is generally allowed to have reign-

ed in *Ternen* an hundred and twenty-eight years before CHRIST'S birth, and they commemorate, without any poetical imagery, the magnificence of the prince *in covering the holy temple with ftriped cloth and fine linen, and in making key s for its gate.* This temple, however, the fancity of which was reftored by MUHAMMED, had been ftrangely profaned at the time of his birth, when it was ufual to decorate its walls with poems OH all fubjects, and often on the triumphs of *Arabian* gallantry and the praifes of *Grecian* wine, which the merchants of *Syria* brought for fale into the deſerts.

From the want of materials on the fubject of *Arabian* antiquity, we find it very difficult to fix the Chronology of the *Ifmailites* with accuracy beyond the time of ADNAN, from whom the impofter was defcended in the *twenty-firft* degree; and, although we have gencalogies of ALKAMAH and other *Himyarick* bards as high as the *tbirtieth* degree, or for a period of *nine hundred* years at leaft, yet we can hardly depend on them fo far, as to eftablifh a complete chronological fyftem: by reaſoning downwards, however, we may afcertain fome points of confiderable importance, The univerfal tradition of *Ternen* is, that YOKTAN, the fon of EBER, firft fettled his family in that country j which fettle-ment, by the computation admitted in *Europe*,

muft have been above *tbree thoufandfix hundred* years ago, and nearly at the time, when the *Hindus*, under the condud of RAMA, were fubduing the firft inhabitants of thefe regions, and pxtending the *hidian* Empire from *Ayódhyà* or *Audh* as far as the ifle of *Sinhal* or *Silân*. Ae- pording to this calculation, NUUMAN, king of *Ternen* in the *ninth* generation from EBER, was pontemporary with JOSEPH; and, if a verfe compofed by that prince, and quoted by ABUL-FEDA, was really preferved, as it might eafily have been, by oral tradition, it proves the great antiquity of the *Arabian* language and metre. This is a literal verfion of the couplet: ' When ' thou, who art in power, conducteft affairs with ' courtefy, thou attaineft the high honours of ' thofe, who are moft exalted, *and* whole man- ' dates are obeyed.* We are told, that, from an elegant verb in this diftich, the royal poet aequired the furname of *Almuaafer*, or the *Courteous*. Now the reafons for believing this verfe genuine are its brevity, which made it eafy to be remembered, and the good fenfe comprized in it, which made it become proverbial; to which we may add, that the dialeft is apparently pld, and differs in three words from the idiom of *Hejâz*: the reafons for doubting are, that fentences and verfes of indefinite antiquity are fpraetimes afcribed by the *Arabs* to particular

perſons of eminence; and they even go ſo far as to cite a pathetick elegy of ADAM himſelf on the death of ABEL, but in very good *Arahick* and correct meaſure. Such are the doubts, which neceſſarily muſt ariſe on ſuch a ſubjeét; yet we have no need of ancient monuments or traditions to prove all that our analyſis requires, namely, that the *Arabs*, both of *Hejáz* and *Yemen*, ſprang from a ſtock entirely different from that of the *Hindus*, and that their firſt eſtabliſhments in the reſpective countries, where we now find them, were nearly coeval.

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

IV. The manners of the *Hejazi Arabs*, which

have continued, we know, from the time of SOLOMON to the present age, were by no means favourable to the cultivation of *arts*; and, as to *sciēces*, we have no reason to believe, that they were acquainted with any; for the mere amusement of giving names to stars, which were useful to them in their pastoral or predatory rambles through the deserts, and in their observations on the weather, can hardly be considered as a material part of astronomy. The only arts, in which they pretended to excellence (I except horsemanship and military accomplishments) were *poetry* and *rhetorick*: that we have none of their compositions in prose before the *Korān*, may be ascribed, perhaps, to the little skill, which they seem to have had, in writing; to their predilection in favour of poetical measure, and to the facility, with which verses are committed to memory; but all their stories prove, that they were eloquent in a high degree, and possessed wonderful powers of speaking without preparation in flowing and forcible periods. I have never been able to discover, what was meant by their books, called *Rawasm*, but suppose, that they were collections of their common, or customary, law. Writing was so little practised among them, that their old poems, which are now accessible to us, may almost be considered

as originally unwritten; and I am inclined to think, that SAMUEL JOHNSON'S reasoning, on the extreme imperfection of unwritten language⁶, was too general; since a language, that is only spoken, may nevertheless be highly polished by a people, who, like the ancient *Arabs*, make the improvement of their idiom a national concern, appoint solemn assemblies for the purpose of displaying their poetical talents, and hold it a duty to exercise their children in getting by heart their most approved compositions.

The people of *Ternen* had possibly more mechanical arts, and, perhaps, more science; but, although their ports must have been the emporia of considerable commerce between *Egypt* and *India* or part of *Persia*, yet we have no certain proofs of their proficiency in navigation or even in manufactures. That the *Arabs* of the desert had musical instruments, and names for the different notes, and that they were greatly delighted with melody, we know from themselves; but their lutes and pipes were probably very simple, and their music, I suspect, was little more than a natural and tuneful recitation of their elegiac verses and love-songs. The singular property of their language, in running compound words, may be urged, according to BACON's idea, as a proof, that they had made

no progrefs in *arts*, ' which require, fays he, a
 ' variety of combinations to exprefs the com-
 ' plex notions arifing from them ;* but the fin-
 gularity may perhaps be imputed wholly to the
 genius of the language, and the tafte of thofe,
 who fpoke it; fince the old *Germans*, who knew
 no art, appear to have delighted in compound
 words, which poetry and oratory, one would
 conceive, might require as much as any meaner
 art whatfoever.

So great, on the whole, was the ftrength of
 parts or capacity, either natural or acquired from
 habit, for which the *Arabs* were ever diftinguifli-
 ed, that we cannot be furprized, when we fee
 that blaze of genius, which they difplayed, as far
 as their arms extended, when they burft, like
 their own dyke of *Arim*, through their ancient
 limits, and fpread, like an inundation, over the
 great empire of *Iran*. That a race of *Tazis*, or
Courfers as the *Perjians* call them, ' who drank
 ' the milk of camels and fed on lizards, fhould
 ' entertain a thought of fubduing the kingdom
 ' of FERIDUN' was confidered by the General
 pf YEZDEGIRD'S army as the ftrongeft inflance
 of fortune's levity and mutability; but FIR-
 DAUSI, a complete inafter of *Ajiatick* manners,
 and fingularly impartial, reprefents the *Arabs*,
 even in the age of FERIDUN, as ' difclaiming

'any kind of dependence on that monarch, exulting in their liberty, delighting in eloquence, ads. of liberality, and martial achievements, and thus making the whole earth, fays the poet, jred as wine with the blood of their foes, and the air like a foreft of canes with their tall fpears.' With fuch a character they were likely to conquer any country, that they could invade ; and, if ALEXANDER had invaded their dominions, they would unquestionably have made an obflinate, and probably a fuccefsful, refiftance.

But I have detained you too long, gentlemen, with a nation, who have ever been my favourites, and hope at our next anniverfary meeting to travel with you over a part of *Afia*, which exhibits a race of men diftinct both from the *Hindus* and from the *Arabs*. In the mean time it (hall be my care to fuperintend the publication of your tranfadions, in which, if the learned in *Europe* have not raifed their expeditations too high, they will not, I believe, be difappointed : my own imperfected effays I always except; but, though my other engagements have prevented my attendance on your fociety for the greateft part of laft year, and I have fet an example of that freedom from reftraint, without which no fociety can flourifh, yet, as my few hours of leifure

will now be devoted to *Sanfcrit* literature, I cannot but hope, though my chief object be a knowledge of *Hindu* Law, to make fome difcovery in other fcience, which I fhall impart with humility, and which you will, I doubt not, receive with indulgence.

THE FIFTH
ANNIVERSARY DISCOURSE,

DELIVERED 21 FEBRUARY, 1788.

BT

THE PRESIDENT.

AT the close of my last address to you, Gentlemen, I declared my design of introducing to your notice a people of *Afia*, who seemed as different in most respects from the *Hindus* and *Arahs*, as those two nations had been shown to differ from each other; I meant the people, whom we call *Tartars*: but I enter with extreme diffidence on my present subject, because I have little knowledge of the *Tartarian* dialects; and the gross errors of *European* writers on *Asiatick* literature have long convinced me, that no satisfactory account can be given of any nation, with whose language WE are not perfectly acquainted. Such evidence, however, as I have procured by attentive reading and scrupulous inquiries, I will now lay before you, interspersing such remarks as I could not but make on that

evidence, and fubmitting the whole to your iiri-partial decifion.

Conformably to the method before adopted in defcribing *Arabia* and *India*, I confider *Tartary* alfo, for the purpofe of this difcourfe, on its mod extenfive fcale, and requeft your attention, whilst I trace the largeft boijndaries that are affignable to it: conceive a line drawn from the mouth of the *Oby* to that of the *Dnieper*, and, bringing it back eaftward acrofs the *Euxine*, fo as to include the peninfula of *Krim*, extend it along the foot of *Caucafus*, by the rivers *Cur* and *Aras*, to the *Caspian* lake, from the oppofite fhore of which follow the courfe of the *Jaiburi* and the chain of *Caucafean* hills as far as thofe of *Imaus*: whence continue the line beyond the *Chinefe* wall to the White Mountain and the country of *Yetfo*; fkirting the borders of *Perfia*, *India*, *China*, *Corea*, but including part of *Ruffia*, with all the diftricts which lie between the Glacial fea, and that of *Japan*. M. DE GUIGNES, whole great work on the *Huns* abounds more in folid learning than in rhetorikai ornaments, pre-fents us, however, with a magnificent image of this wide region; defcribing it as a ftupendous edifice, the beams and pillars of which are many ranges of lofty hills, and the dorne, one prodigious mountain, to which the *Chitiefes* give the epithet of *Cclejtial*, with a confiderable number

of broad rivers flowing down its fides: if the manfion be fo amazingly fublime, the land around it is proportionably extended, but more wonderfully diverfified ; for fome parts of it are incrufted with ice, others parched with inflamed air and covered with a kind of lava; here we meet with immenfe tracts of fandy deferts and forefts almoft impenetrable ; there, with gardens, groves, and meadows, perfumed with mufk, watcred by numberlefs rivulets, and abounding in fruits and flowers ; and, from eaft to weft, lie many confiderable provinces, which appear as valleys in comparifon of the hills towering above them, but in truth are the flat fummits of the higheft mountains in the world, or at leaft the higheft in *Afia*. Near one fourth in latitiule of this extraordinary region is in the farne charming climate with *Greece*, *Italy*, and *Provence*; and another fourth in that of *England*, *Germany*, and the northern parts of *Frame*; but the *Hyperborean* countries can have few beauties to recommend them, at leaft in the prefent ftate of the earth's temperature: to the fouth, on the frontiers of *Iran* are the beautiful vales of *Sogbd* with the celebrated cities of *Samarkand* and *Bokbafå*; on thofe of *Tibet* are the territories of *Cajbgbar*, *Kboten*, *Cbegil* and *Kbdt*, all famed for perfumes and for the beauty of their inhabitants ; and on thofe of *China* lies the coun-

try of *Chin*, anciently a powerful kingdom, which name, like that of *Khatâ*, has in modern times been given to the whole *Chinefe* empire, where such an appellation would be thought an insult. We must not omit the fine territory of *Tancut*, which was known to the *Greeks* by the name of *Serica*, and considered by them as the farthest eastern extremity of the habitable globe.

Scythia seems to be the general name, which the ancient *Europeans* gave to as much as they knew of the country thus bounded and described; but, whether that word be derived, as PLINY seems to intimate, from *Sacai*, a people known by a similar name to the *Greeks* and *Persians* or, as BRYANT imagines, from *Cuthia*, or, as Colonel VALLANCEY believes, from words denoting *navigation*, or, as it might have been supposed, from a *Greek* root implying *wrath* and *ferocity*, this at least is certain, that as *India*, *China*, *Persia*, *Japan*, are not appellations of those countries in the languages of the nations, who inhabit them, so neither *Scythia* nor *Tartary* are names, by which the inhabitants of the country now under our consideration have ever distinguished themselves. *Tartaristan* is, indeed, a word used by the *Persians* for the south-western part of *Scythia*, where the musk-deer is said to be common; and the name *Tatar* is by some considered as that of a parti-

cular tribe; by others, as that of a small river only; while *Turàn*, as opposed to *Iràn*, seems to mean the ancient dominion of AFRA'SIA'B to the north and east of the *Oxus*. There is nothing more idle than a debate concerning names, which after all are of little consequence, when our ideas are distinct without them; having given, therefore, a correct notion of the country, which I proposed to examine, I shall not scruple to call it by the general name of *Tartary*; though I am conscious of using a term equally improper in the pronunciation and the application of it.

Tartary then, which contained, according to PLINY, *an innumerable multitude of nations*, by whom the rest of *Asia* and all *Europe* has in different ages been over-run, is denominated, as various images have presented themselves to various fancies, the *great hive of the northern swarms*, the *nursery of irresistible legions*, and, by a stronger metaphor, *the foundery of the human race*; but M. BAILLY, a wonderfully ingenious man and a very lively writer, seems first to have considered it as the *cradle of our species*, and to have supported an opinion, that the whole ancient world was enlightened by sciences brought from the most northern parts of *Scythia*, particularly from the banks of the *Jenisea*, or from the *Hyperborean* regions: all

the fables of old *Greece, Italy, Perfia, India** he derives from the north ; and it muſt be owned, that he maintains his paradox with acutenefs and learning. Great learning and great acutenefs, together with the charms of a moſt engaging ſtyle, were indeed neceſſary to render even tolerable a ſyſtem, which places an earthly paradife, the gardens of *Heſperus*, the iſlands of the *Macares*, the groves of *Elyſium*, if not of *Eden*, the heaven of *INDRA*, the *Periftân*, or fairy-land, of the *Perſian* poets, with its city of diamonds and its country of *Sbadcâm*, ſo named from *Pleuſure* and *Love*, not in any climate, which the common ſenſe of mankind confiders as the ſeat of delights, but beyond the mouth of the *Oby*, in the Frozen Sea, in a region equalled only by that, where the wild imagination of *DANTE* led him to lix the worſt of criminals in a ſtate of puniſhment after death, and of which *he could not*, he ſays, *even think without Ibivcring*. A very curious paſſage in a tract of *PLUTARCH* on *the Jigure in the Mooris orb*, naturally induced *M. BAILLY* to place *Ogygia* in the north, and he concludes that iſland, as others have concluded rather fallaciouſly, to be the *Atlantis* of *PLATO*, but is at a loſs to determine, whether it was *Ifeland* or *Greenland*, *Spitzberg* or *New Zembla*: among ſo many charms it was difficult, indeed, to give a pre-

ference ; but our philofopher, though as much, perplexed by an option of beauties as the fhepherd of *Ida*, feems on the whole to think *Zembla* the moft worthy of the *golden fruit*; becaufe it is indifputably an ifland, and lies oppofite to a gulph near a continent, from which a great number of rivers defcend into the ocean. He appears equally diftreffed among five nations, real and imaginary, to fix upon that, which the *Greeks* named *Atlantes*; and his conclufion in both cafes muft remind us of the fhowman at *Eton*, who, having pointed out in his box all the crowned heads of the world, and being afked by the fchoolboys, who looked through the glafs, which was the Emperor, which the Pope, which the Sultan, and which the Great Mogul, answered eagerly, ' which you pleafe, young gentlemen, which you pleafe.' His letters, however, to VOLTAIRE, in which he unfolds his new fyftem to his friend, whom he had not been able to convince, are by no means to be derided ; and his general propofition, that arts and fcienes had their fource in *Tartary*, deferves a longer examination than can be given to it in this difcourfe : I fhall, neverthelefs, with your permiffion, fhortly difcufs the queftioa under the feveral heads, that will prefent themfelves in order.

Although we may naturally fuppofe, that the

numbetlefs communities of *Tartars*, fome of whom are eftablifhed in great cities, and fome tncamped on plains in ambulatory manfions, which they remove from pafture to pafture, muft be as different in their features as in their dialekts, yet, among thofe who have not emigrated into another country and mixed with another nation, we may difcern a family likenefs, efpecially in their eyes and countenance, and in that configuration of lineaments, which we generally call a *Tartar* face ; but, without making ailxious inquiries, whether all the inhabitants of the vaft region before defcribed have fimilar features, we may conclude from thofe, whom we have feen, and from the original portraits of •TAIMU'R and his defcendants, that the *Tartars* in general diffler wholly in complexion and countenance from the *Hindus* and from the *Arabs* ; an obfervation, which tends in fome degree to confirm the account given by modern *Tartars* themfelves of their defcent from a common anceftor. Unhappily their lineage cannot be proved by authentick pedigrees or hiftorical monuments ; for all their writings extant, even thofe in the *Mogul* dialeft, are long fubfequent to the time of MUHAMMED ; nor is it poffible to diftinguifh their genuine traditions from thofe of the *Arabs*, whole religious opinions they have in general adopted. At the beginning of the

fourteenth century, *Khwâjah* RASHI'D, furnam*
 cd FAD'LU'LLAH, a native of *Kazvin*; compiled
 his account of the *Tartars* and *Mongals* from
 the papers of one PU'LA'D, whom the great
 grandfon of HOLACU' had fent into *Tatariftân*
 for the fole purpofe of colleéting hiftorical in-
 formation; and the commiffion itfelf fhows, how
 little the *Tartarian* Princes really knew of their
 own origin. From this work of RASHI'D, and
 from other materials, ABU'LGHA'ZI', King of
Khwarezm, compofed in the *Mogul* language
 his *Genealogical Hiftory*, which, having been
 purchafed from a merchant of *Bokharâ* by fome
Swedifh officers, prifoners of war in *Siberia*, has
 found its way into feveral *European* tongues: it
 contains much valuable matter, but, like all MU-
 HAMMEDAN hiftories, exhibits tribes or nations
 as individual fovereigns; and, if Baron DE TOTT
 liad not itrangely neglected to procure a copy
 of the *Tartarian* hillory, for the original of
 which he unneceflarily offered a large fum, we
 fhould probably have found, that it begins with
 an account of the deluge taken from the *Koran*,
 and proceeds to rank TURC, CHI'N, TATAR,
 and MONGAL, among the fons of YAFET. The
 genuine traditionai hiftory of the *Tartars*, in all
 the books that I have infpected, feems to begin
 with OGHU'Z, as that of the *Hindus* doep with
 RAMA: they place their miraculous Hero and

Patriairéh *four thoufand* yeara before CHENGIZ KHA'N, who was born in the year 1164, and with whofe reign their hiftorical period commences. It is rather furprizing, that M. BAILLY, who makes frequent appeals to Etymological arguments, has not deriv'd OGYGES from OGHU'Z and ATLAS from *Altai*, or the *Golden mountain of Tartary*: the *Greek* terminations might have been rejected from both words ; and a mere tranfpofition of letters is no difficulty with an Etymologist.

My remarks in this address, gentlemen, will be confined to the period preceding CHENGIZ ; and, although the learned labours of M- DE GUIGNES and the fathers VISDELOU, DEMAILLA, and GAUBIL, who have made an incomparable ufe of their *Chinefe* literature, exhibit probable accounts of the *Tartars* from a very early age, yet the old hiftorians of *China* were not only foreign, but generally hostile, to them, and for both thofe reafons, either through ignorance or partiality, may be fufpected of mifreprefenting their tranfactions: if they fpeak truth, the ancient hiftory of the *Tartars* prefents us, like moft other hiftories, with a ferief of aflafinations, plots, treafons, maffacres, and all the natural fruits of selfish ambition. I fhould have no inclination to give you a fketch of fuch horrors, even if the occafion called for it ; and will

barely observe, that the first king of the *Hyumnu's* or *Huns* began his reign, according to VISDELOU, about *three thousand five hundred and sixty years ago*, not long after the time fixed in my former discourses for the first regular establishments of the *Hindus* and *Arabs* in their several countries.

I. Our first inquiry, concerning the *languages* and *letters* of the *Tartars*, presents us with a deplorable void, or with a prospect as barren and dreary as that of their deserts. The *Tartars*, in general, had no literature: (in this point all authorities appear to concur) the *Tures* had no letters: the *Huns*, according to PROCOPIUS, had not even heard of them: the magnificent CHENGIZ, whose Empire included an area of near eighty square degrees, could find none of his own *Mongals*, as the best authors inform us, able to write his dispatches; and TAI'MU'R, a savage of strong natural parts and passionately fond of hearing histories read to him, could himself neither write nor read. It is true, that IBNU ARABSHAH mentions a set of characters called *Dilberjin*, which were used in *Khatâ*: ' he had ' seen them, he says, and found them to consist ' of *forty-one* letters, a distinct symbol being appropriated to each long and short vowel, and ' to each consonant hard or soft, or otherwise ' varied in pronunciation; but *Khdtâ* was in southern *Tartary* on the confines of *India* i and,

from his defcription of the charaders there in ufe, we cannot but fufpect them to have been thofe of *Tibet*, which are manifeftly *Indian*, bearing a greater refemblance to thofe of *Bengal* than to *Dévandgari*. The learned and eloquent *Arah* adds, ' that the *Tatàrs* of *Khdtà* write, in the *Dilberjin* letters, all their tales and hiftories, their journals, poems, and mifcellanies, their diplomas, records of ftate and juftice, the laws of CHENGIZ, their publick regifters and their compofitions of every fpecies: if this be true, the people of *Khatà* muft have been a polifhed and even a lettered nation; and it may be true, without affeding the general pofition, that the *Tartars* were illiterate; but IBNU ARABSHA'H was a profefed rhetorician, and it is impoffible to read the original paffage, without full conviction that his objed in writing it, was to difplay his power of words in a flowing and modulated period. He fays further, that in *Jagbatdi* the people of *Oighiir*, as he calls them, * have a fyftem of fourteen letters only, denominated from themfelves *Oighburi* £ and thofe are the charaders, which the *Mongals* are fuppofed by moft authors to have borrowed: ABU'L'GHAZI tells us only, that CHENGIZ employed the natives of *Eighur* as excellent penmen; but the *Cbinefe* affirm, that he was forced to employ them, becaufe he had no writers at all

among his natural-born subjects; and we are assured by many, that KUBLAIKHA'1| ordered letters to be invented for his nation by a *Tibetian*, whom he rewarded with the dignity of chief *Lama*. The small number of *Rigburi* letters might induce us to believe, that they were *Zend* or *Pablavi*, which must have been current in that country, when it was governed by Uleghans of FERIDU'N; and, if the alphabet ascribed to the *Eighurians* by M. DES HAUTESRAYRS be correct, we may safely decide, that in many of its letters it resembles both the *Zend* and the *Syriack* with a remarkable difference in the mode of connecting them; but, as we can scarce hope to see a genuine specimen of them, our doubt must remain in regard to their form and origin: the page, exhibited by HYDE as *Khatayan* writing, is evidently a sort of broken *Cufick*; and the fine manuscript at *Oxford*, from which it was taken, is more probably a *Mendeian* work on some religious subject than, as he imagined, a code of *Tartarian* laws. That very learned man appears to have made a worse mistake in giving us for *Mongal* characters a page of writing, which has the appearance of *Japanese*, or mutilated *Chinese*, letters.

If the *Tartars* in general, as we have every reason to believe, had no written memorials, it cannot be thought wonderful, that their *Lan**

guages, like thofe of *America*, fhould have been in perpeſſial fluktuatation, and that more than fifty dialects, as HYDE had been credibly informed, fhould be epoken between *Mofcow* and *China*, by the many kindred tribes or their feveral branches, which are enumerated by ABU'LGHA'ZI'. What thofe dialcts are, and whether they really fprang from a common flock, we fhall probably learn from Mr. PALLAS, and other indefatigable men employed by the *Ruffian* court; and it is from the *Rujpatis*, that we muſt expect the moſt accurate information concerning their *Afiatick* fubjects: I perfuade myſelf, that, if their inquiries be judiciouſly made and faithfully reported, the reſult of them will prove, that all the languages properly *Tartarian* aroſe from one common fource; excepting always the jargons of ſuch wanderers or mountaineers, as, having long been divided from the main body of the nation, muſt in a courſe of ages have framed ſeparate idioms for themſelves. The only *Tartarian* language, of which I have any knowledge, is the *Turkiſh* of *Conſtantinople*, which is however ſo copious, that whoever fhall know it perfectly, will eaſily underſtand, as we are affured by intelligent authors, the dialects of *Tatariftan*; and we may colleſt from ABU'LGHA'ZI', that he would find little difficulty in the *Caimac* and the *Mogul*; I will not offend your ears by a dry ca-

talogue of fimilar words in thofe different languages; but a careful inveftigation has convinced me, that, as the Indian and *Arabian* tongues are feverally defcended from a coinmon parent, fo thofe of *Tartary* niight be traced to one ancient ftem effentially differing from the two others. It appears, indeed, from a ftory told by A B U ' L - G H A ' Z I ' , that the *Virats* and the *Mongals* could not underftand each other; but no more can the *Dânes* and the *Englifh*. yet their dialects beyond a doubt are branches of the fame *Gothick* tree, The dialett of the *Moguls*, in which fome hiftories of T A I M U ' R and his defcendants were originally compofed, is called in *India*, where a learned native fet me right when I ufed another word, *Turci* ; not that it is precifely the fame with the *Turkifh* of the *Otbmanlu's*, but the two idioms differ, perhaps, lefs then *Swedifh* and *German*, or *Spanifh* and *Porluguefe*, and certainly lefs than *Welch* and *Irijb*: in hope of at certaining this point, I have long fearched in vain for the original works afcribed to T A I M U ' R and B A ' B E R ; but all the *Moguls*, with whom I have converfed in this country, refemble the crow in one of their popular fables, who, having long affected to walk like a pheafant, was unable after all to acquire the gracefulness of that elegant bird, and in the mean time ualeaacncâ his

own natural gait: they have not learned the dialect of *Perfia*, but have wholly forgotten that of their ancestors. A very considerable part of the old *Tartarian* language, which in *Afia* would probably have been lost, is happily preserved in *Europe* -, and, if the groundwork of the western *Turkijbj* when separated from the *Perfian* and *Arabick*, with which it is embellished, be a branch of the lost *Oghuzian* tongue, I can assert with confidence, that it has not the least resemblance either to *Arabick* or *Sanscrit*, and must have been invented by a race of men wholly distinct from the *Arabs* or *Hindus*. This fact alone overthrows the system of M. BAILLY, who considers the *Sanscrit*, of which he gives in several places a most erroneous account, as 'a fine monument of his primeval Scythians, the preceptors of mankind and planters of a sublime philosophy even in India;' for he holds it an incontestable truth, that a language, which is dead, supposes a nation, which is destroyed-, and he seems to think such reasoning perfectly decisive of the question, without having recourse to astronomical arguments or the spirit of ancient institutions: for my part, I desire no better proof than that, which the language of the *Bráhmans* affords, of an immemorial and total difference between the *Savages of the Mountains*, as the old

Chinefe juftly cailed the *Tartars*, and the ftudious, placid, contemplative inhabitants of thefe *Indian* plains.

II. *The geographical rezfoning of M. BAILLY* may, perhaps, be thought equally Ihallow, if not inconfiftent in fome degree with Itfelf. ' An adoration of the fun and of fire, fays he, muft neceffarily have arifen in a cold region: therefore, it muft have been foreign to *India*, *Perfia*, *Arabia*; therefore, it muft have been derived from *Tartary*". No man, I believe, who has travelled in winter through *Babar*, or has even paffed a cold feafon at *Calcutta* within the tropick, can doubt that the folar warmth is often defirable by all, and might have been confidered as adorable by the ignorant, in thefe climates, or that the return of fpring deferves all the falutations, which it receives from the *Perfian* and *Indian* poets; not to rely on certain hiftorical evidence, that *ANTARAI*, a celebrated warrior and bard, actually perifhed with cold on a mountain of *Arabia*. To meet, however, an objection, which might naturally be made to the voluntary fettlement, and amazing population, of his primitive race in the icy regions of the north, he takes refuge in the hypothelis of M. *BUFFON*, who imagines, that our whole globe was at firft of a white heat, and has been gradually cooling from the poles to the equator; fo that the *Hy-*

perbarean countries had once a delightful temperature, and *Siberia* itself was even *botter than the climate of our temperate zones*, that is, was in too hot a climate, by his first proposition, for the primary* worship of the sun. That the temperature of countries has not sustained a change in the lapse of ages, I will by no means insist; but we can hardly reason conclusively from a variation of temperature to the cultivation and diffusion of science: if as many female elephants and tigresses, as we now find in *Bengal*, had formerly littered in the *Siberian* forests, and if their young, as the earth cooled, had brought a genial warmth in the climates of the north, it would not follow, that other savages, who migrated in the same direction and on the same account, brought religion and philosophy, language and writing, art and science, into the northern latitudes.

We are told by ABU'LGHA'ZI', that the primitive religion of human creatures, or the pure adoration of One Creator, prevailed in *Tartary* during the first generations from YAFET, but was extinct before the birth of OCHU'Z, who restored it in his dominions; that, some ages after him, the *Mongals* and the *Tures* relapsed into gross idolatry; but that CHENGIZ was a Theist, and, in a conversation with the *Muhammedan* Doctors, admitted their arguments for

the being and attributes of the Deity to be unfwerable, while he contefted the evidence of their Prophet's legation. From old *Grecian* authorities we learn, that the *Maffagetæ* worhipped the fun ; and the narrative of an embaffy from JUSTIN to the *Khákàn*, or Emperor, who then refided in a fine vale near the fource of the *Irtifh*, mentions the *Tartarian* ceremony of purifying the *Roman* Ambaffadors by conducting them between two *fires*: the *Tartars* of that age are reprefented as adorers of *the four elements*, and believers in an invifible fpirit, to whom they facrificed bulls and rams, Modern travellers relate, that, in the feftivals of fome *Tartarian* tribes, they pour a few drops of a confecrated liquor on the ftatues of their Gods; after which an attendant fprinkles a little of what remains three times toward the fouth in honour of fire, toward the weft and eaft in honour of water and air, and as often toward the north in honour of the earth, which contained the reliques of their deceafed anceftors : now all this may be very true, without proving a national affinity between the *Tartars* and *Hindus* ; for the *Arabs* adored the planets and the powers of nature, the *Arabs* had carved images, and made libations on a black ftone, the *Arabs* turned in prayer to different quarters of the heavens ; yet we know With certainty, that the *Arabs* are a diftind race

from the *Tartarz* ; and we might as wél't Infer, that they were the farne people, becaufe they **had** each their *Nomades*, or *wanderers for paf-ture*, and becaufe the *Turcmans*, defcribed by IBNU ARABSH'AH and by him cailed *Tátar's*, are, like *moft Arabian* tribes, paf-toral and war-**like**, hofpitable and generous, wintering and fummering on different plains, and rich in herds and flocks, horfes and camels; but this agrcement in manners procccds from the fimilar nature of their feveral deferts and their fimilar choice of a free rambling life, without evincing a community of origin, which they could fcarce have had without prefcrving fome remnant at leaft of a common language.

Many *Lamas*, we are affured, or Priests of BUDDHA, have been found fettled in *Siberia*; but it can hardly be doubted, that the *Lamas* had travelled thither from *Tibet*, whence it is more than probable, that the religion of the *Bauddhas* 'was imported into fouthern, or *Chinefe*, *Tartary* ; fince we know, that rolls of *Tibetian* writing have been brought even from **the** borders of the *Cafpian*. The complexion of BUDDHA himfelf, which, according to the *Hindus*, was *behecen white and ruddy*, would perhaps have convinced M. BAILLY, had he known the *Indian* tradition, that the laft great **Legiflator** and God of the Eaft was a *Tartar*;

but the *Chinefe* confider him as a native of *India*, the *Brahmans* infift, that he was born in a foreft near *Gaya*, and many reafons may lead us to fufpect, that his religion was carried from the weft and the fouth to thofe eaftern and northern countries, in which it prevails. On the whole we meet with few or no traces in *Scythia* of *Indian* rites and fuperftitions, or of that poetical mythology, with which the *Sanfcrit* poems are decorated ; and we may allow the *Tartars* to have adored the Sun with more reafon than any fouthern people, without admitting them to have been the fole original inventors of that univerfal folly: we may even doubt the originality of their veneration for the *four elements*, which forms a principal part of the ritual introduced by ZER ATUSHT, a native of *Rai* in *Perfia*, born in the reign of GUSHTASP, whose fon PASH'UTEN is believed by the *Parfi's* to have refided long in *Tartary* at a place cailed *Cangidiz*, where a magnificent palace is faid to have been built by the father of CYRUS, and where the *Perjian* prince, who was a zealot in the new faith, would naturally have diffeminated its tenets among the neighbouring *Tartars*.

Of any Philofophy, except natural Ethicks, which the rudeft fociety requires and experience teaches, we find no more veftiges in *Afiatick Scythia* than in ancient *Arabia* \ nor would the

name of a Philosopher and a *Scythian* have been ever connected, if ANACHARSIS had not visited *Athens* and *Lydia* for that instruction, which his birthplace could not have afforded him: but ANACHARSIS was the son of a *Grecian* woman, who had taught him her language, and he soon learned to despise his own. He was unquestionably a man of a sound understanding and fine parts; and, among the lively sayings, which gained him the reputation of a wit even in *Greece*, it is related by DIOGENES LAERTIUS, that, when an *Athenian* reproached him with being a *Scythian*, he answered: ' my country ' is, indeed, a disgrace to me, but thou art a ' disgrace to thy country.' What his country was, in regard to manners and civil duties, we may learn from his fate in it ; for when, on his return from *Athens*, he attempted to reform it by introducing the wise laws of his friend SOLON, he was killed on a hunting party with an arrow shot by his own brother, a *Scythian* Chieftain. Such was the philosophy of M. BAILLY'S *Atlantes*, the first and most enlightened of nations! We are assured, however, by the learned author of the *Dabistan*, that the *Tartars* under CHENGIZ and his descendants were lovers of truth; and would not even preserve their lives by a violation of it; DE GUIGNES ascribes the same veracity, the parent of all virtues, to the *Huns*;

and STRABO, who might only mean to lash **the** *Greeks* by praising Barbarians, as HORACE extolled the wandering *Scythians* merely to satirize his luxurious countrymen, informs us, that **the** nations of *Scythia* deserved the praise due to wisdom, heroick friendship, and justice; and this praise we may readily allow them on his authority, without supposing them to have been the preceptors of mankind.

As to the laws of ZAMOLXIS, concerning whom we know as little as of the *Scythian* D E U - cALTON, or of ABARIS the *Hyperborean*, and to whose story even HERODOTUS gave no credit, I lament, for many reasons, that, if ever they existed, they have not been preserved: it is certain, that a system of laws, called *Yafac*, has been celebrated in *Tartary* since the time of CHENGIZ, who is said to have republished them in his empire, as his institutions were afterwards adopted and enforced by TAIMU'R; but they seem to have been a common, or traditionary, law and were probably not reduced into writing, till CHENGIZ had conquered a nation, who were able to write.

III. Had the religious opinions and allegorical fables of the *Hindus* been actually borrowed from *Scythia*, travellers must have discovered in that country some ancient monuments of them, such as pieces of grotesque sculpture, images of

the Gods and *Avatars*, and infcriptions on pillars or in caverns, analogous to thofe, which remain In every part of the weftern peninfula, or to thofe, which many of us have feen in *Bahàr* and at *Bandras*; but (except a few detached idols) the only great monuments of *Tartarian* antiquity are a line of ramparts on the weft and eaft of the *Cafpitm*, afcribed indeed by ignorant *Mufelmans* to *Yajuj* and *Majuj*, or *Gog* and *Magog*, that is to the *Scythians*, but manifeftly raifed by a very different nation in order to ftop their predatory inroads through the paffes of *Caucafus*. The *Chinefe* wall was built br finifhed, on a fimilar conftrudtion and for a fimilar purpofe, by an Emperor, who died only two hundred and ten years before the beginning of our era ; and the other mounds were very probably conftruéted by the old *Perfians*, though, like many works of unknown origin, they are given to *SEANDER*, not the *Macedonian*, but a more ancient Hero fuppofed by fome to have been *JEMSHI'D*. It is related, that pyramids and tombs have been found in *Tâtariftân*, or weftern *Scythia*, and fome remnants of edifices in the lake *Saifan*; that veftiges of a deferted city have been recently difcovered by the *Ruffians* near the *Cafpian* fea, and the Mountain of Eagles; and that golden ornaments and utenfils, figures of elks and other quadrupeds in metal, weapons of

various kinds, and even implements for mining, but made of copper instead of iron, have been dug up in the country of the *Tfhudés* ; whence M. BAILLY infers, with great reason, the high antiquity of that people : but the high antiquity of the *Tartars*, and their establishment in that country near four thousand years ago, no man disputes; we are inquiring into their ancient religion and philosophy, which neither ornaments of gold, nor tools of copper, will prove to have had an affinity with the religious rites and the sciences of *India*. The golden utensils might possibly have been fabricated by the *Tartars* themselves; but it is possible too, that they were carried from *Rome* or from *China*, whence occasional embassies were sent to the Kings of *Eigbur*. Towards the end of the tenth century the *Chinese* Emperor dispatched an ambassador to a Prince, named *ERSLA'N*, which, in the *Turk- b* of *Constantinople*, signifies a lion, who resided near the Golden Mountain in the same station, perhaps, where the *Romans* had been received in the middle of the sixth century; the *Chinese* on his return home reported the *Eighuris* to be a grave people, with fair complexions, diligent workmen, and ingenious artificers not only in gold, silver, and iron, but in jasper and fine stones ; and the *Romans* had before described their magnificent reception in a rich palace

adorned with *Chinefe* manufactures: but thefe times were comparatively modern ; and, even if we fhould admit, that the *Eigburis*, who are faid to have been governed for a period of two thoufand years by an *Idecut*, or fovereign of their own race, were in fome very early age a literary and polifhed nation, it would prove nothing in favour of the *Huns*, *Tures*, *Mongals*, and other favages to the north of *Pekin*, who feem in all ages, before MUHAMMED, to have been equally fcrocious and illiterate.

Without acual infpection of the manufcripts, that have been found near the *Cafpian*, it would be impoffible to give a correct opinion concerning them ; but one of them, defcribed as written on blue filky paper in letters of gold and filver not unlike *Hebrew*, was probably a *Tibetan* compofition of the fame kind with that, which lay near the fource of the *Irtifh*, and of which *Cassian* I believe, made the firft accurate verfion : another, if we may judge from the defcription of it, was probably modern *Turkifh* ; and none of them could have been of great antiquity.

IV. From ancient monuments, therefore, we have no proof, that the *Tartars* were themfelves well inftructed, much lefs that they inftructed the world; nor have we any ftronger reafon to conclude from their general man-

ners and charatter, that they had made an early proficiency in *arts* and *fciences*: even of poetry, the moft univerfal and moft natural of the fine arts, we find no genuine fpecimens afcribed to them, except fome horrible warfongs exprefled in *Pcrfian* by A L I' of Yezd, and poffibly invented by him. After the conquelt of *Perfia* by the *Mongals*, their princes, indeed, encouraged learning, and even made aftronomical obfervations at *Samarkand*; as the *Tures* became polifhed by mixing with the *Perfians* and *Arabs*, though *their very nature*, as one of their own writers confeffes, *bad before been like an incurable diftemper, and their minds clouded with ignorance* : thus alfo the *Mancheu* monarchs of *China* have been patrons of the learned and ingenious, and the Emperor TIEN-LONG is, if he be now living, a fine *Cbinefe* poet. In all thefe inftances the *Tartars* have refembled the *Romans*, who, before they had fubdued *Greece*, were little better than tigers in war, and *Fauns* or *Sylvans* in fcience and art.

Before I left *Europe*, I had infifted in converfation, that the *Tuzuc*, tranflated by Major DAVY, was never written by TAIMU'R himfelf, at leaft not as CÆSAR wrote his commentaries, for one very plain reafon, that no *Tartarian* king of his age could write at all; and, in fupport of my opinion, I had cited IBNU ARABSHA'H, who,

though juſtly hoſtile to the ſavage, by whom his native city, *Damaſcus*, had been ruined, yet praiſes his talents and the real greatneſs of his mind, but adds : " He was wholly illiterate; he " neither read nor wrote any thing ; and he " knew nothing of *Arabick* ; though of *Perſian*, " *Turkiſh*, and the *Mogul* dialed:, he knew as " much as was ſufficient for his purpoſe, and no " more : he uſed with pleaſure to hear hiſtories " read to him, and ſo frequently heard the ſame " book, that he was able by memory to correct " an inaccurate reader." This paſſage had no effect on the tranſlator, whom *great and learned men in India had aſſured*, it ſeems, that the work was *authentick*, by which he meant *compoſed by the conqueror himſelf*: but the *great* in this country might have been *unlearned*, or the *learned* might not have been *great* enough to anſwer any leading queſtion in a manner that oppoſed the declared inclination of a *Britiſh* inquirer; and, in either caſe, ſince no witneſſes are named, ſo general a reference to them will hardly be thought concluſive evidence. On my part, I will name a *Mitelman*, whom we all know, and who has enough both of *greatneſs* and of *learning* to decide the queſtion both impartially and ſatisfa&orily: the *Nawzwah* MOZAFFER JANG informed me of his own accord, that no man of iſtgpfe in *Hinduſtân* believed the work to have

been composed by TAIMU'R, but that his favourite, furnished HINDU SHAH, was known to have written that book and others ascribed to his patron, after many confidential discourses with the *Emir*, and, perhaps, nearly in the prince's words as well as in his person; a story which ALI of Yezd, who attended the court of TAIMU'R, and has given us a flowery panegyric instead of a history, renders highly probable, by confirming the latter part of the *Arubhin* account, and by total silence as to the literary productions of his master. It is true, that a very ingenious but indigent native, whom DAVY supported, has given me a written memorial on the subject, in which he mentions TAIMUR as the author of two works in *Turkish*; but the credit of his information is overfret by a strange apocryphal story of a king of *Ternen*, who invaded, he says, the *Emir's* dominions, and in whose library the manuscript was afterwards found, and translated by order of ALISHIR, first minister of TAIMUR'S grandson; and Major DAVY himself, before he departed from *Bengal*, told me, that he was greatly perplexed by finding in a very accurate and old copy of the *fuzuc*, which he designed to republish with considerable additions, a particular account, written *unquestionably* by TAIMUR, of his own death. No evidence, therefore, has been adduced to shake my opinion,

that, the *Moguls* and *Tartars*, before their conquest of *India* and *Perfia*, were wholly unlettered; although it may be possible, that, even without art or science, they had, like the *Huns*, both warriors and lawgivers in their own country for many centuries before the birth of CHRIST.

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

branches of natural philosophy were cultivated in *Cam-cheu*, then the metropolis of *Serica*.

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

Thus has it been proved, and, in my humble opinion, beyond controversy, that the far greater part of *Asia* has been peopled and immemorially possessed by three considerable nations, whom, for want of better names, we may call *Hindus*, *Arabs*, and *Tartars* -, each of them divided and subdivided into an infinite number of branches, and all of them so different in form and features,

language, manners and religion, that, if they fprang originally from acommon root, they muft have been feparated for ages : whether more than three primitive ftocks can be found, or, in other words, whether the *Chinefe*, *Japanefe*, and *Perfians*, are entirely diftinct from them, or formed by their intermixture, I fhall hereafter, if your indulgence to me continue, diligently inquire. To what conclufions thefe inquiries will lead, I cannot yet clearly difcern ; but, if they lead to truth, we fhall not regret our journey through this dark region of ancient hiftory, in which, while we proceed ftep by ftep, and follow every glimmering of certain light, that prefents itfelf, we muft. beware of thofe falfe rays and luminous vapours, which miflead *Afiatick* travellers by an appearance of water, but are found on a near approach to be deferts of fand.

THE SIXTH
DISCOURSE ;

ON TUS

PERSIANS,

DELIVERED 19 FEBRUARY, 1789.

GENTLEMEN,

I TURN with delight from the vast mountains and barren deserts of *Turân*, over which we travelled last year with no perfect knowledge of our course, and request you now to accompany me on a literary journey through one of the most celebrated and most beautiful countries in the world; a country, the history and languages of which, both ancient and modern, I have long attentively studied, and on which I may without arrogance promise you more positive information, than I could possibly procure on a nation so divided and so unlettered as the *Tartars*: I mean that, which *Europeans* improperly call *Perfia*, the name of a single province being applied to the whole Empire of *Irân*, as it is correctly denominated by the present natives of it,

and by all the learned *Mufelmans*, who reside in these *Britifh* territories. To give you an idea of its largeft boundaries, agreeably to my former mode of defcribing *India*, *Arabia*, and *Tartary*, between which it lies, let us begin with the fource of the great *Affyrian* fream, *Euphrates*, (as the *Greeks*, according to their cuftom, were pleafed to mifcall the *Forât*) and thence defcend to its mouth in the Green Sea, or *Perfian* Gulf, including in our line fome conllderable diftricts and towns on both fides the river ; then coafting *Perfia*, properly fo named, and other *hanian* provinces, we come to the delta of the *Sindhu* or *Indus*; whence afcending to the mountains of *Cajhghar*, we difcover its fountains and thofe of the *Jaib down* which we are conducted to the *Caffian*, which formerly perhaps it entered, [though.it](#) lofe itfelf now in the fands and lakes of *Khwdrezm*: we next are led from the fea of *Kbozar*, by the banks of the *Cwr*, or *Cyrus*, and along the *Caucafean* ridges, to the Ihore of the *Euxine*, and thence, by the fveral *Grecian* feas, to the point, whence we took our departure, at no confiderable diftance from the *Mediterranean** We cannot but include the lower *Afia* within this outline, becaufe it was unquestionably a part of the *Perfian* if not of the old *Affyrian*, Empire; for we know, that it was under the dominion of *CAIKHOSRAU*; and *DIODORUS*, we

find, asserts, that the kingdom of *Troas* was dependent on *Affyria* since PRIAM implored and obtained succours from his Emperor TfiUTAMES, whose name approaches nearer to TAHMU'RAS, than to that of any other *AJfyrian* monarch. Thus may we look on *Iran* as the noblest *Island*, (for so the *Greeks* and the *Arabs* would have called it), or at least as the noblest *peninsula*, on this habitable globe; and if M. BAILLY had fixed on it as the *Atlantis* of PLATO, he might have supported his opinion with far stronger arguments than any, that he has adduced in favour of *New Zembla*: if the account, indeed, of the *Atlantes* be not purely an *Egyptian*, or an *Utopian*, fable, I should be more inclined to place them in *Iran* than in any region, with which I am acquainted.

It may seem strange, that the ancient history of so distinguished an Empire should be yet so imperfectly known; but very satisfactory reasons may be assigned for our ignorance of it: the principal of them are the superficial knowledge of the *Greeks* and *Jews*, and the loss of *Perfian* archives or historical compositions. That the *Grecian* writers, before XENOPHON, had no acquaintance with *Perfia*, and that all their accounts of it are wholly fabulous, is a paradox too extravagant to be seriously maintained; but their connection with it in war or peace had, indeed,

been generally confined to bordering kingdoms under feudatory princes; and the fifth *Perſian* Emperor, whoſe life and charadter they ſeem to have known with tolerable accuracy, was the great CYRUS, whom I call, without fear of contradiction, CA KHOSRAU ; for I ſhall then only I doubt that the KHOSRAU of FIRDAUSI' Was the CYRUS of the firſt *Greek* hiſtorian, and the Hero of the oldeſt political and moral rottiand, when I doubt that Louis *Quatorze* and LEWIS the *Fourteenth* were one and the ſame *French* King: it is utterly incredible, that two different princes oi*Perſia* ſhouldeach have been born in a foreign and hoſtile territory; ſhould each have been doomed to death in his infancy by his maternal grandfather in confequence of portentous dreams, real or invenffed; ſhould each have been faved by the remorse of his deſtined murderer, and ſhould each, after a fimilar education among herdfmen, as the ſon of a herdfman, have found means to revifit his paternal kingdom, and having delivered it, after a long and triumphant war, from the tyrant, who had invaded it, ſhould have reſtored it to the fummit of power and magnificence. Whether ſo romantic k a ftory, which is the ſubjekt of an Epick Poem, as magical and entire as the *Iliad*, be hiſtorically true, we may feel perhaps an inclination to doubt; but it cannot with reaſon be deuied,

that the outline of it related to a fingle Hero, whom thé *Afiatick*, converfing with the father of *European* hiftory, defcribed according to their popular traditions by his true name, which the *Greek* alphabet could not exprefs: nor will a difference of names affect the queftion; fince the *Greeks* had little regard for truth, which they *facrificed* willingly to the *Graces* of their language, and the nicety of their ears ; and, if they could render foreign words melodious, they were never iblicitous to make them exact; hence they probably formed CAMBES from CA'MBAKHSH, or *Granting defires*, a title rather than a name, and XERXES from SHI'RU'YI, a Prince and warrior in the *Shâbndmah*, or from SHI'RSAH, which might alfo have been a title ; for the *Afiatick* Princes have conftantly affumed new titles or epithets at different periods of their lives, or on different occafions; a cuftom, which we have feen prevalent in our own times both in *Irân* and *Hindujdn*, and which has been a fource of great confufion even in the fcriptural accounts of *Babylonian* occurrences: both *Greeks* and *Jfezvs* have in fad: accommodated *Perfian* names to their own articulation ; and both feem to have difregarded the native literature of *Irân*, without which they could at moft attain a general and imperfect knowledge of the country. As to the *Perjians* themfeives, who were contemporary

with the *Jéws* and *Greeks*, they must have been acquainted with the history of their own times, and with the traditional accounts of past ages; but for a reason, which will presently appear, they chose to consider CAYU'MERS as the founder of the empire; and, in the numerous diffractions which followed the overthrow of DA'RA', especially in the great revolution on the defeat of YEZDÉGIRD, their civil histories were lost, as those of *India* have unhappily been, from the solicitude of the priests, the only depositaries of their learning, to preserve their books of law and religion at the expense of all others: hence it has happened, that nothing remains of genuine *Persian* history before the dynasty of SA'SA'N, except a few rustic traditions and fables, which furnished materials for the *Sabnâmb*, and which are still supposed to exist in the *Pablavi* language. The annals of the *Pifhdâdi*, or *Affyrian*, race must be considered as dark and fabulous; and those of the *Caydni* family, or the *Medes* and *Perjians*, as heroic and poetical; though the lunar eclipses, said to be mentioned by PTOLEMY, fix the time of GUSHTASP, the prince, by whom ZERA'TITSHT was protected: of the *Partbian* kings descended from ARSHAC or ARSACES, we know little more than the names; but the *Sd-Jâmshîd* so long an intercourse with the Emperors of *Rome* and *Byzantium*, that the period

of their dominion may be called an historical
 sge. In attempting to ascertain the beginning
 of the *Affyrian* empire, we are deluded, as in a
 thousand instances, by names arbitrarily imposed:
 it had been *fetled* by chronologers, that the first
 monarchy established in *Perfia* was the *Affyrian* j
 and NEWTON, finding some of opinion, that it
 rose in the first century after the Flood, but un-
 able by his own calculations to extend it farther
 back than *seven hundred and ninety* years before
 CHRIST, rejected part of the old system and
 adopted the rest of it; concluding, that the *Affy-*
rian Monarchs began to reign about two hundred
 years after SOLOMON, and that, in all preceding
 ages, the government of *Iran* had been divided
 into several petty states and principalities. Of
 this opinion I confess myself to have been; when,
 disregarding the wild chronology of the *Mufel-*
mans and *Gabrs*, I had allowed the utmost natural
 duration to the reigns of eleven *Pifhdâdi* kings,
 without being able to add more than a hundred
 years to NEWTON'S computation. It seemed,
 indeed, unaccountably strange, that, although
 ABRAHAM had found a regular monarchy in
Egypt, although the kingdom of *Ternen* had just
 pretensions to very high antiquity, although the
Cbinefe, in the twelfth century before our era,
 had made approaches at least to the present form
 of their extensive dominion, and although we

can hardly fuppofe the firft *Indian* monarchs to have reigned lefs than three thoufand years ago, yet *Perfia*, the moft delightful, the moft compact, the moft defirable country of them all, fhould have remained for fo many ages unfettled and difunited. A fortunate difcovery, for which I was firft indebted to *Mir MUHAMMED HUSAIN*, one of the moft intelligent *Mufelmàns* 'm *India*, has at once diffipated the cloud, and caft a gleam of light on the primeval hiftory of *Iràn* and of the human race, of which I had long de-
fpaired, and which could hardly have dawned from any other quarter.

The rare and interefting tract *on twelve different religions*, entitled the *Dabiftan*, and compofed by a *Mobammedan* traveller, a native of *Cajhmir*, named *MOHSAN*, but diftinguifhed by the affumed furname of *FA'NI'*, or *Perifhable*, begins with a wonderfully curious chapter on the religion of *HU'SHANG*, which was long anterior to that of *ZERA'TUSHT*, but had continued to be fecretly profefled by many learned *Perfians* even to the author's time; and feveral of the moft eminent of them, diffenting in many points from the *Gabrs*, and perfecuted by the ruling powers of their country, had retired to *India*; where they compiled a number of books, now extremely fcarce, which *MOHSAN* had perufed, and with the writers of which, or with many of

them, he had contracted an intimate friendship: from them he learned, that a powerful monarchy had been established for ages in *Iràn* before the accession of CAYU'MERS, that it was called the *Mahdbddian* dynasty, for a reason which will soon be mentioned, and that many princes, of whom seven or eight only are named in the *Dabstân*, and among them MAHBUL, or MAHA' BELI, had raised their empire to the zenith of human glory. If we can rely on this evidence, which to me appears unexceptionable, the *Iranian* monarchy must have been the oldest in the world; but it will remain dubious, to which of the three stocks, *Hindu*, *Arahian*, or *Tartar*, the first Kings of *Iràn* belonged, or whether they sprang from *fourth* race distinct from any of the others; and these are questions, which we shall be able, I imagine, to answer precisely, when we have carefully inquired into the *languages* and *letters*, *religion* and *philosophy*, and incidentally into the *arts and sciences*, of the ancient *Persians*.

I. In the new and important remarks, which I am going to offer, on the ancient *languages* and *characters* of *Iran*, I am sensible, that you must give me credit for many assertions, which on this occasion it is impossible to prove; for I should ill deserve your indulgent attention, if I were to abuse it by repeating a dry list of detached words,

and prefenting you with a vocabulary inftead of a differtation; but, firke I have no fyftem to maintain, and have not fuffered imagination to delude my judgement; fince I have habituated myfelf to form opinions of men and things from *evidence*, which is the only folid bafis of *civil*, as *experiment* is of *natural*, knowledge; and fince I have maturely confidered the queftions which I mean to difcufs ; you will not, I am perfuaded, fufpect my teftimony, or think that I go too far, when I affure you, that I will affert nothing pofitively, which I am not able fatisfadorily to demonftrate. When MUHAMMED was born, and ANU'SHI'RAVA'N, whom he calls *the Juft King*, fat on the throne of *Perfia*, two languages appear to have been generally prevalent in the great empire of *Iràn* ; that of the *Court*, thence named *Deri*, which was only a refined and elegant dialed of the *Parsi*, fo called from the province, of which *Sbiraz* is now the Capital, and that of the learned, in which moft books were compofed, and which had the name of *Pablavi*, cither from the *beroes*, who fpoke it in former times, or from *Pablu*, a tràd of land, which included, we are told, fome confiderable Cities of *Irak*: the ruder dialeds of both were, and, I believe, ftill are, fpoken by the rufticks in feveral provinces; and in many of them, as *Herdty Zabul*, *Siftân* and others, diftind idioms

were vernacular, as it happens in every kingdom, of great extent. Besides, the *Parsi* and *Pablavi*, a very ancient and abstruse tongue was known to the priests and philosophers, called *the language of the Zend*, because a book on religious and moral duties, which they held sacred, and which bore that name, had been written in it; while the *Pdzend*, or comment on that work, was composed in *Pablavi*, as a more popular idiom; but a learned follower of ZERA'TUSHT, named BAHMAN, who lately died at *Calcutta*, where he had lived with me as a *Persian* reader about three years, assured me, that the *letters* of his prophet's book were properly called *Zend*, and the *language*, *Avesta*, as the words of the *Véda's* are *Sanfrit*, and the characters, *Nagari*; or as the old *Saga's* and poems of *Ifeland* were expressed in *Runick* letters: let us however, in compliance with custom, give the name of *Zend* to the sacred language of *Persia*, until we can find, as we shall very soon, a fitter appellation for it. The *Zend* and the old *Pablavi* are almost extinct in *Iran*; for among six or seven thousand *Gabrs*, who reside chiefly at *Yezd*, and in *Cirman*, there are very few, who can read *Pahlavi*, and scarce any, who even boast of knowing the *Zend*; while the *Parsi*, which remains almost pure in the *Shabnamab*, has now become by **the** intermixture of numberless *Arabick* words,

and many imperceptible changes, a new language exquisitely polifhcd by a ferief of fine writers in profe and verfe, and analogous to the different idioms gradually formed in *Europe* after the fubverfion of the Roman empire : but with modern *Perfian* we have no concern in our prefent inquiry, which I confine to the ages, that preceded the *Mobammedan* conquelt. Having twice read the works of FIRD'AUSI' with great attention, fince I applied myfelf to the ftudy of old *Indian* literature, I can affure you with confidence, that hundreds of *Parsi* nouns are pure *Sanfcrit*, with no other change than fuch as may be obferved in the numerous *bhafhas*, or vernacular dialeds, of *India* ; that very many *Perfian* imperatives are the roots of *Sanfcrit* verbs; and that even the moods and tenfes of the *Perfian* verb fubftantive, which is the model of all the reft, are deducible from the *Sanfcrit* by an eafy and clear analogy: we may hence conclude, that the *Parfi* was derived, like the various *Indian* dialekts, from the language of the *Brahmans*; and I muft add, that in the pure *Perfian* I find no trace of any *Arabian* tongue, except what proceeded from the known intercourfe between the *Perfians* and *drabs*, efpecially in the time of B A H - R A 'M, who was educated in *Arabia*, and whole *Arabick* verfes are fill extant, together with his heroick line in *Deri*, which many fuppofe to be

the first attempt at *perjian* verification in *Arabian* metre: but, without having recourse to other arguments, *the composition of words*, in which the genius of the *Perfian* delights, and which that of the *Arabick* abhors, is a decisive proof, that the *Pārsi* sprang from an *Indian*, and not from an *Arabian*, flock. Considering languages as mere instruments of knowledge, and having strong reasons to doubt the existence of genuine books in *Zend* or *Pahlavi* (especially since the well-informed author of the *Dabistān* affirms the work of ZERA'TUSHT to have been lost, and its place supplied by a recent compilation) I had no inducement, though I had an opportunity, to learn what remains of those ancient languages; but I often conversed on them with my friend BAHMAN, and both of us were convinced after full consideration, that the *Zend* bore a strong resemblance to *Sanjcrit*, and the *Pahlavi* to *Arabick*. He had at my request translated into *Pahlavi* the fine inscription, exhibited in the *Gulistan*, on the diadem of CYRUS; and I had the patience to read the list of words from the *Pāzend* in the appendix to the *Farhangi Jehdngiri*: this examination gave me perfect conviction, that the *Pahlavi* was a dialect of the *Chaldaick*; and of this curious fact I will exhibit a short proof. By the nature of the *Chaldean* tongue most words founded in the first

long vowel like *fhemiâ*, heaven ; and that very word, unaltered in a fingle letter, we find in the *Pažend*, together with *lailiâ*, night, *meyâ*, water, *nirâ*, fire, *matrâ*, rain, and a multitude of others, all *Arabick* or *Hebrezv* with a *C baldean* termination: fo *zarnar*, by a beautiful metaphor from *pruning trees*, means in *Hebrew* to *cornpoſe verſes*, and thence, by an eaſy tranſition, to *ſing* them ; and in *Pahlavi* we ſee the verb *zam-runiten*, to *ſing*, with its forms *zamrunemi*, I *ſing*, and *zamrunid*, he *ſang* ; the verbal termination of the *Perſian* being added to the *Chaldaick* root. Now all thoſe words are integral parts of the language, not adventitious to it like the *Arabick* nouns and verbals engrafted on modern *Perſian*; and this diſtinction convinces me, that the `dialeſt of the *Gabrs*, which they pretend to be that of *ZERA'TUSHT*, and of which *BAHMAN* gave me a variety of written ſpecimens, is a late invention of their prieſts, or ſubſequent at leaſt to the *Mujelman* invaſion ; for, although it may be poſſible, that a few of their ſacred books were preſerved, as he uſed to aſſert, in flieets of lead or copper at the bottom of wells near *Yezd*, yet as the conquerors had not only a ſpiritual, but a political, intereſt: in perſecuting a warlike, robuſt, and indignant race of irreconcilable conquered ſubjects, a long time muſt have elapied, before the hidden ſcriptures could have been ſafely

brought to light, and few, who could perfectly understand them, must then have remained ; but, as they continued to profess among themselves the religion of their forefathers, it became expedient for the *Mubeds* to supply the lost or mutilated works of their legislator by new compositions, partly from their imperfect recollection, and partly from such moral and religious knowledge, as they gleaned, most probably, among the *Christians*, with whom they had an intercourse. One rule we may fairly establish in deciding the question, whether the books of the modern *Gabrs* were anterior to the invasion of the *Arahs*: when an *Arabick* noun occurs in them changed only by the spirit of the *C baldean* idiom, as *wertâ*, for *werd*, a rose, *dabâ*, for *dhahaby* gold, or *deman*, for *zeman*, time, we may allow it to have been ancient *Vahlavi*; but, when we meet with verbal nouns or infinitives, evidently formed by the rules of *Arabian* grammar, we may be sure, that the phrases, in which they occur, are comparatively modern ; and not a single passage, which *BAHMAN* produced from the books of his religion, would abide this test.

We come now to the language of the *Zend*; and here I must impart a discovery, which I lately made, and from which we may draw the most interesting consequence. *M. ANQUETIL*,

who had the merit of undertaking a voyage to *India*, in his earlieft youth, with no other view than to recover the writings of ZERA'TUSHT, and who would have acquired a brilliant reputation in *France*, if he had not fullied it by his immoderate vanity and virulence of temper, which alienated the good will even of his own countrymen, has exhibited in his work, entitled *Zendaveftâ*, two vocabularies in *Zend* and *Pahlavi*, which he had found in an approved collection of *Rawdydt*, or *Traditional Pieces*, in modern *Perfian*: of his *Pahlavi* no more needs be faid, than that it ftrongly confirms my opinion concerning the *Chaldaick* origin of that language ; but, when I perufed the *Zend* glosfary, I was inexpreflibly furprized to find, that fix or fe ven words in ten were pure *Sanfcrit*, and even fome of their inflexions formed by the rules of the *Vydcaran*; as *yufbmacam*, the genitive plural of *yufbmad*. Now M. ANQUETIL moft certainly, and the *Perfian* compiler moft probably, had no knowledge of *Sanfcrit*; and could not, therefore, have invented a lift of *Sanfcrit* words: it is, therefore, an authentick lift of *Zend* words, which had been preferved in books or by tradition ; and it follows, that the language of the *Zend* was at leaft a dialekt of the *Sanfcrit*, approaching perhaps as nearly to it as the *Prâcrit*, or other popular idioms, which

we know to have been spoken *in India* two thousand years ago. From all these facts it is a necessary consequence, that the oldest discoverable languages of *Persia* were *Cbaldaick* and *Sanfcrit*; and that, when they had ceased to be vernacular, the *Pablavi* and *Zend* were deduced from them respectively, and the *Parsi* either from the *Zend*, or immediately from the dialect of the *Brdbmans*; but all had perhaps a mixture of *Tartarian*; for the best lexicographers are sensible, that numberless words in ancient *Persian* are taken from the language of the *Cimmerians*, or the *Tartars* of *Kipcbuk*; so that the three families, whose lineage we have examined in former discourses, had left visible traces of themselves in *Iran*, long before the *Tartars* and *Arabs* had rushed from their deserts, and returned to that very country, from which in all probability they originally proceeded, and which the *Hindus* had abandoned in an earlier age, with positive commands from their legislators to revisit it no more. I close this head with observing, that no supposition of a mere political or commercial intercourse between the different nations will account for the *Sanfcrit* and *Cbaldaick* words, which we find in the old *Persian* tongues; because they are, in the first place, too numerous to have been introduced by such means, **and**, secondly, are not the names of exotic **animals**,

commodities, or arts, but those of material elements, parts of the body, natural objects and relations, affections of the mind, and other ideas common to the whole race of man.

If a nation of *Hindus*, it may be urged, ever possessed and governed the country of *Iran*, we should find on the very ancient ruins of the temple or palace, now called *the throne of JEMSHID*, some inscriptions in *Dévandgari*, or at least in the characters on the stones at *Elephanta*, where the sculpture is unquestionably *Indian*, or in those on the *Staff of FTRUZ SHAH*, which exist in the heart of *India* ; and such inscriptions we probably should have found, if that edifice had not been erected after the migration of the *Brahmans* from *Iran*, and the violent schism in the *Persian* religion, of which we shall presently speak; for, although the popular name of the building at *Iftakhr*, or *Persopolis*, be no certain proof that it was raised in the time of JEMSHID, yet such a fact might easily have been preserved by tradition, and we shall soon have abundant evidence, that the temple was posterior to the reign of the *Hindu* monarchs: the cypresses indeed, which are represented with the figures in procession, might induce a reader of the *Sab-tiImab* to believe, that the sculptures related to the new faith introduced by ZERA'TUSHT ; but, as a cypress is a beautiful ornament, and as

many of the figures appear in in prfiftent with the reformed adoration of fire, we muft have recourfe to ftronger prooff, that the *Takhti JEMSHI'D* was erefted after CAYU'M' AS. The building has lately been vifited, and the characters on it examined, by Mr. FRANCKLIN; from whom we learn, that NIEBUIIR has delineated them with great accuracy: but without fuch teftimony I fhould have fufpected the corre&nefs of the delineation ; becaufe the *Danifb* traveller has exhibited two infcriptions in modern *Perjian*, and one of them from the farne place, which cannot have been exactly tranfcribed: they are very elegant verfes of NIZA'MI' and SADI' on the injlability of human greatnefs, but fo ill engraved or fo ill copied, that, if I had not had them nearly by heart, I fhould not have been able to read them; and M. ROUSSEAU of *Ifaban*, who tranflated them with fhameful inaccuracy, muft have been deceived by the badnefs of the copy ; or he never would have created a new king WAKAM, by forming one word of JEM and the particle prefixed to it. Affuming, however, that we may reaſonas conclufively on the characters publifhed by NIEBUHR, as we might on the monuments themfelves, were they now before us, we may begin with obferving, as CHARDIN had obferved on the very ſpot, that they bear no refemblance

whatevef to jHe letters ufed by the *Gabrs* In their copies of the *Vendidad*: this I once urged, in an amicable debate with BAHMAN'S a proof, that the *Zend* letters were a modern invention; but he feemed to hear me without furprize, and infifted, that the letters, to which I alluded, and which he had often feen, were monumental chara&ers never ufed in books, and intended either to conceal fome religious myfteries from the vulgar, or to difplay the art of the fculptor, like the embellifhed *Cufick* and *Nágari* on feveral *Arabian* and *India* monuments. He wondered, that any man could ferioufly doubt the antiquity of the *Pablavi* letters ; and in truth the infcription behind the horfe of *Ruftam*, which NIEBHUR has alfo given us, is apparently *Pablavi*, and might with fome pains be decyphred : that character was extremely rude, and feems to have been written, like the *Roman* and the *Arabick*, in a variety of hãnds; for I remember to have examined a rare collection of old *Perfian* coins in the Mufeum of the great Anatomift, WILLIAM HUNTER, and, though I believed the legends to be *Pablavi*, and had no doubt, that they were coins of *Partbian* kings, yet I could not read the infcriptions without wafting more time, than I had then at command, in comparing the letters and afcertaining the proportions, in which they feverally occurred.

The grofs *Pahlavi* was improved by ZERATUS HT or his difciples into, an elegant and perfidious character, in which the *Zendâvejiâ* waa copied ; and both were written from the right hånd to the left like other *Chaldaick* alphabets ; for they are manifeftly both of *Chaldean* origin ; but the *Zend* has the fingular advantage of expreffing all the long and (hort vowels, by diftinct marks, in the body of each word, and all the words are diftinguifhed by full points between them ; fo that, if modern *Perfum* were unmixed with *Arabick*, it might be written in *Zend* with the greateft convenience, as any one may perceive by copying in that charafer a few pages of the *Sbâbndmab*. As to the unknown infcriptions in the palace of JEMSHĪD, it may reafonably be doubted, whether they contain a fyftem of letters, which any nation ever adopted: in Five of them the letters, which are feparated by points, may be reduced to forty, at leaft I can diftinguifh no more effentially different; and they all feem to be regular variations and compositions of a ftraight line and an angular figure like the head of a javelin, or a leaf (to ufe the language of botanifts) *hearted and lanced*. Many of the *Runick* letters appear to have been formed of fimilar elements; and it has been obfervcd, **that** the writing at *Perfepolis* bears a ftrong refemblance to that, which the *Irifh* call *Ogham*:

the word *Agarn* in *Sanfcrit* means *myfterious knowledge*; but I dâre not affirm, that the two words had a comnion origin, and only mean to fuggeft, that, if the characters in queftion be really alphabetical, they were probably fecret and facerdotal, or armere cypher, perhaps, of which the priefts only had the key. They might, I imagine, be decyphered, if the language were certainly known ; but, in all the other infcriptions of the fame fort, the characters are too complex, and the variations of them too numerous, to admit an opinion, that they could be fymbols of articulate founds ; for even the *Ndgari* fyftem, which has more diftinct letters than any known alphabet, confifts only of forty-nine fimple characters, two of which are mere fubconstiutions, and four of little ufe in *Sanfcrit* or in any other language ; while the more complicated figures, exhibited by NIEBUHR, muft be as numerous at leaft as the *Chinefe* keys, which are the figs of *ideas* only, and fome of which relemble the old *Perjian* letters at *Iflakbr*: the *Danifh* traveller was convinced from his own obfervation, that they were written from the left hând, like all the characters ufed by *Hindu* nations; but I muft leave this dark fubject:, which I cannot illuminate, with a remark formerly made by myfelf, that the fquare *Cbaldaick* letters, a few of which are found on the *Perfian*

ruins, appear to have been originally the *farne* with the *Dévanagari*, before the latter were enclosed, as we now see them; in angular frames.

II. The primeval religion of *Iràn*, if we rely on the authorities adduced by MOHSANI FA'NI', toas that, which NEWTON calls the oldest (and it may justly be called the noblest) of all religions ; " a firm belief, that One Supreme God " made the world by his power, and continually " governed it by his providence; a pious fear, " love, and adoration of Him ; a due reverence " for parents and aged persons ; a fraternal affection for the whole human species, and a compassionate tenderness even for the brute creation." A system of devotion so pure and sublime could hardly among mortals be of long duration; and we learn from the *Dabistân*, that the popular worship of the *Iranians* under HUSHANG was purely *Sabian*; a word, of which I cannot offer any certain etymology, but which has been deduced by grammarians from *Sabd*, a *hoft*, and, particularly the *boft of heaven*, or the *celestial bodies*, in the adoration of which the *Sabian* ritual is believed to have consisted ; there is a description, in the learned work just mentioned, of the several *Persian* temples dedicated to the Sun and Planets, of the images adored in them, and of the magnificent processions to theqion prescribed festivals, one of which is probably

represented by sculpture in the ruined city of JEMSHI'D ; but the planetary worship in *Perfia* seems only a part of a far more complicated religion, which we now find in these *Indian* provinces ; for MOHSAN assures us, that, in the opinion of the best informed *Perfians*, who professed the faith of HU'SHANG, distinguished from that of ZERA'TUSHT, the first monarch of *Irân* and of the whole earth was MAHA'BA'D, a word apparently *Sanfcrit*, who divided the people into four orders, the *religions*, the *military*, the *com~merciaU* and the *fervile'*, to which he assigned names unquestionably the same in their origin with those now applied to the four primary classes of the *Hindus*. They added, that He received from the creator, and promulgated among men, *a faer ed book in a heavenly language*, to which the *Mufelman* author gives the *Arabich* title of *defatir*, or regulations, but the original name of which he has not mentioned ; and that *fourteen* MAHA'BA'DS had appeared or would appear in human shapes for the government of this world: now when we know, that the *Hindus* believe in *fourteen* MENU'S or celestial personages with similar functions, the *first* of whom left a book of *regulations*, or *divine ordinances*, which they hold equal to the *Véda*, and the language of which they believe to be that of the Gods, we can hardly doubt, that the first corruption of the

pureft: and oldeft religion was the fyfteft of *Indian* Theology, invented by the *Brahmans* and prevalent in thefe territories, where the book of MAHA'BA'D or MENU is at this hour the ftandard of all religious and moral duties. The acceffion of CAYUJWERS to the throne of *Perfia*, in the eighth or ninth century before CHRIST, feems to have been accompanied by a confiderable revolution both in government and religion: he was moft probably of a different race from the *Mahâbuddians*, who preceded him, and began perhaps the new fyftem of national faith, which HU'SHANG, whofe name it bears, completed; but the reformation was partial; for, while they rejected the complex polytheifm of their predeceffors, they retained the laws of MAHA'BA'D, with a fuperftitious veneration for the fun, the planets, and fire ; thus refembling the *Hindu* feds, called *Saura's* and *Sagnica's*, the fecond of which is very numerous at *Banares*, where many *agnibotra's* are continually blazing, and where the *Sâgnica's*, when they enter on their facerdotal office, kindle, with two pieces of the hard wood *Semi*, a fire which they keep lighted through their lives for their nuptial ceremony, the performance of folemn facrifices, the obfequies of departed anceftors, and their own funeral pile. This remarkable rite was continued by ZERATUSHT ; who reformed the old religion by

the addition of genii, or angels, prefiding over months and days, of new ceremonies in the veneration fhown to fire, of a new work, which he pretended to have received from heaven, and, above all, by eftablifhing the actual adoration of One Supreme Being : he was born, according to MOHSAN, in the diftrict of *Rai*; and it was He, not, as AMMIANUS afferts, his protector GUSH-TASB, who travelled into *India*, that he might receive information from the *Bráhmans* in theology and ethicks. It is barely poffible, that PYTHAGORAS knew him in the capital of *Irak*; but the *Grecian* age muft then have been far advanced in years, and we have no certain evidence of an intercourfe between the two philofophers. The reformed religion of *Perfia* continued in force, till that country was fubdued by the *Mufelmans*; and, without ftudying the *Zend*, we have ample information concerning it in the modern *Perfian* writings of feveral, who profefled it. BAUMAN always namcd ZERATUSHT, with reverence; but he was in truth a pure Theft, and ftrongly difclaimed any adoration of the *fire* or other elements: he denied, that the doctrine of two coeval principles, fupremely good and fupremely bad, formed any part of his faith; and he often repeated with emphasis the verfes of FIRDAUSI on the profrpration of CYRUS and his paternal grandfathe?

before the blazing altar: " Think not, that they
 " were adorers of fire ; for that element was
 " only an exalted object, on the lustre of which
 " they fixed their eyes; they humbled them-
 " selves a whole week before GOD ; and, if thy
 " understanding be ever so little exerted, thou
 " must acknowledge thy dependence on the
 " being supremely pure." In a story of SADI,
 near the clove of his beautiful *Buhtân*, concern-
 ing the idol of SO'MANATH, or MAHA'DE'VA,
 he confounds the religion of the *Hindus* with
 that of the *Gabrs*, calling the *Brdhmans* not only
M'oghs, (which might be justified by a passage in
 the *Mefnavi*) but even readers of the *Zend* and
Pazend: now, whether this confusion proceeded
 from real or pretended ignorance, I cannot de-
 cide, but am as firmly convinced, that the doc-
 trines of the *Zend* were distinct from those of
 the *Véda*, as I am that the religion of the *Brah-*
mans, with whom we converse every day, pre-
 vailed in *Perfia* before the accession of CAYU-
 MER s, whom the *Parsi's*, from respect to his
 memory, consider as the first of men, although
 they believe in *an universal deluge* before his
 reign.

With the religion of the old *Perfians* their
philosophy (or as much as we know of it) was
 intimately connected; for they were assiduous
 observers of the luminaries, which they adored,

and eftablifhed, according to MOHSAN, Who confirms in fome degree the fragments of B E - ROSUS, a number of artificial cycles with diftinct names, which feem to indicate a knowledge of the period, in which the équinoces appear to revolve: they are faid alfo to have kuown the moft wonderful powers of nature, and thence to have acquired the farne of magicians and enchanters ; but I will only detain you with a few remarks on that metaphyfical theology, which has been profefed immemorially by a numerous fedt of *Perfians* and *Hindus*, was carried in part into *Greece*, and prevails even now among the learned *Mufelmans*, who fometimes avow it without referve. The modern philofophers of this perfuafion are cailed *Sufi's*, either from the *Greek* word for a *fage*, or from the woollen mantle, which they ufed to wear in fome provinces of *Perfia*: their fundamental tenets are, that nothing exifts abfolutely but G O D : that the human foul is an emanation from his effence, and, though divided for a time from its heavenly fource, will be finally re-united with it; that the higheft poffible happinefs will arife from its re-union, and that the chief good of mankind, in this tranfitory world, confifts in as perfedk an union with the Eternal Spirit as the incumbrances of a mortal frame will allow; that, for this purpofe, they fhould break all *connexion* (or *taalluk*,

as they call it}, with extrinfick objects, and pafs through life without *attachments*, as a fwimmer in the ocean ftrikes freely without the impediment of clothes ; that they fhould be ftraight and free as the cyprefs, whofe fruit is hardly perceptible, and not fink under a load, like fruittrees *attached* to a trellis ; that, if mere earthly charms have power to influence the foul, the *idea* of celeftial beauty mult overwhelm it in extatick delight; that, for want of apt words to exprefs the divine perfeftions and the ardour of devotion, we mult borrow fuch expreffions as approach the neareft to our ideas, and fpeak of *Beauty* and *Love* in a tranfeendent and myftical fenfe ; that, like a *reed* torn from its native bank, like *ivax* feperated from its delicious honey, the foul of man bewails its difunion with *melancholy mujick*, and flieds burning tears, like the lighted taper, waiting paffionately for the moment of its extinction, as a difengagement from earthly trammels, and the means of returning to its Only Beloved. Such in part (for I omit the minuter and more fubtil metaphyficks of the *Sufi's*, which are mentioned in the *Dabijlân*) is the wild and enthufiaftick religion of the modern *Persian* poets, efpecially of the fweet H A' F I Z and the great *Maulavi*: fuch is the fyftem of the *Védānti* philofophers and beft lyrick poets of *India*; aad, as it was a fyftem of the higheft an-

tiquity in both nations, it may be added to the many other proofs of an immemorial affinity between them.

III. On the ancient *monuments* of *Perfian* fculpture and architecture we have already made fuch obfervations, as were fufficient for our purpofe; nor will you be furprized at the diverfity between the figures at *Elephanta*, which are manifeftly *Hindu*, and thofe at *Perfepolis*, which are merely *Sabian*, if you concur with me in believing, that the *Takhti Jemfbid* was erected after the time of CAYU'MERS, when the *Brahmans* had migrated from *Iràn*, and when their intricate mythology had been fuperfeded by the limpler adoration of the planets and of fire.

IV. As to the *fciences* or *arts* of the old *Perfians*, I have little to fay; and no complete evidence of them feems to exift. MOHSAN fpeaks more than once of ancient verfes in the *Pablavi* language; and BAHMAN aflured me, that fome fcanty remains of them had been preferved: their mulick and painting, which NIZA'MI celebrated, have irrecoverably perifhed; and in regard to MA'NI', the painter and impoftor, whofe book of drawings called *Artaing*, which he pretended to be divine, is fuppofed to have been deftroyed by the *Cbinefe*, in whofe dominions he had fought refuge, the whole tale is too modem to throw any light on the queilions before

us concerning the origin of nations and the inhabitants of the primitive world.

Thus has it been proved by clear evidence and plain reasoning, that a powerful monarchy was established in *Iran* long before the *Affyrian*, or *Pifbdadi*, government; that it was in truth a *Hindu* monarchy, though, if any chuse to call it *Cujian*, *Cafdean*, or *Scythian*, we shall not enter into a debate on mere names ; that it subsisted many centuries, and that its history has been ingrafted on that of the *Hindus*, who founded the monarchies of *Ayódhya* and *Indraprestha*; that the language of the first *Persian* empire was the mother of the *Sanscrit*, and consequently of the *Zend*, and *Parfi*, as well as of *Greek*, *Latin*, and *Gothick* ; that the language of the *Affyrians* was the parent of *Chaldaick* and *Pahlavi*; and that the primary *Tartarian* language alio had been current in the same empire; although, as the *Tartars* had no books or even letters, we cannot with certainty trace their unpolished and variable idioms. We discover, therefore, in *Persia*, at the earliest dawn of history, the *three* distinct races of men, whom we described on former occasions as possessors of *India*, *Arabia*, *Tartary*; and, whether they were collected in *Iran* from distant regions, or diverged from it, as from a common centre, we shall easily determine by the following considerations. Let us observe in the

first place the central position of *Iràn*, which is bounded by *Arabia*, by *Tartary*, and by *India*; whilst *Arabia* lies contiguous to *Iràn* only, but is remote from *Tartary*, and divided even from the skirts of *India* by a considerable gulf; no country, therefore, but *Perfia* seems likely to have sent forth its colonies to all the kingdoms of *Afia*: the *Brahmans* could never have migrated from *India* to *Iràn*, because they are expressly forbidden by their oldest existing laws to leave the region, which they inhabit at this day; the *Arabs* have not even a tradition of an emigration into *Perfia* before MOHAMMED, nor had they indeed any inducement to quit their beautiful and extensive domains; and, as to the *Tartars*, we have no trace in history of their departure from their plains and forests, till the invasion of the *Medes*, who, according to etymologists, were the sons of MADAI, and even they were conducted by princes of an *Affyrian* family. The *three* races, therefore, whom we have already mentioned, (and more than three we have not yet found) migrated from *Iràn*, as from their common country; and thus the *Saxon* chronicle, I presume from good authority, brings the first inhabitants of *Britain* from *Armenia*; while a late very learned writer concludes, after all his laborious researches, that the *Goths* or *Scythians* came from *Perfia*; and another contends with

great force, that both the *Irifh* and old *Britons* proceeded feverally from the borders of the *Cafpian*; a coincidence of conclufions from different media by perlons wholly unconnected, which could fcarce Jiave happened, if they were not grounded on folid principles, We may therefore hold this propofition iirmly eftablifhed, that *Iran*, or *Perfia* in its largeft fenfe, was the true centre of population, of knowledge, of languages, and of arts ; which, inftead of travelling weftward only, as it has been fancifully fupposed, or eaftward, as might with equal reafon have been afferted, were expanded in all direktions to all the regions of the world, in which the *Hindu* race had fettled under various denominations : but, whether *Afia* has not produced other races of men, diftinct from the *Hindus*, the *Arabs*, or the *Tartars*, or whether any apparent diverfity may not have fprung from an intermixture of thofe three in different proportions, muft be the fubject of a future inquiry. There is another queftion of more immediate importance, which you, gentlemen, only can decide : namely, " by " what means we can preferve our Society from " dying gradually away, as it has advanced gra- " dually to its prefent (fhull I fay flourifhing or " languifhing ?) ftate." It has fubifted five years without any expenfe to the members of it, until the firft volume of our *Tranfactions* was publifhed;

and the price of that large volumé, if we compare the different values of money in *Bengal* and in *England*, is not more than equal to the annual contribution towards the charges of the Royal Society by each of its fellows, who may not have chosen to compound for it on his admission : this I mention, not from an idea that any of us could object to the purchase of one copy at least, but from a wish to inculcate the necessity of our common exertions in promoting the sale of the work both here and in *London*. In vain shall we meet, as a literary body, if our meetings shall cease to be supplied with original dissertations and memorials ; and in vain shall we collect the most intertelling papers, if we cannot publish them occasionally without exposing the Superintendents of the Company's press, who undertake to print them at their own hazard, to the danger of a considerable loss : by united efforts the *French* have compiled their stupendous repositories of universal knowledge ; and by united efforts only can we hope to rival them, or to diffuse over our own country and the rest of *Europe* the lights attainable by OUR ASIATICK Referebers.

THE SEVENTH
ANNIVERSARY DISCOURSE,

DELIVERED 35 FEBRUARY, 1790.

BY

THE PRESIDENT.

GENTLEMEN,

ALTHOUGH we are at this moment considerably nearer to the frontier of *China* than to the farthest limit of the *British* dominions in *Hindustan*, yet the first step, that we shall take in the philosophical journey, which I propose for your entertainment at the present meeting, will carry us to the utmost verge of the habitable globe known to the best geographers of old *Greece* and *Egypt*; beyond the boundary of whose knowledge we shall discern from the heights of the northern mountains an empire nearly equal in surface to a square of fifteen degrees; an empire, of which I do not mean to assign the precise limits, but which we may consider, for the purpose of this dissertation, as embraced on two sides by *Tartary* and *India*, while

the ocean feparates its other fides from vafiouS *Afiatick* ifles of great importance in the commercial fyftem of *Europe*: annexed to that immense tract of land is the peninfula of *Corea*, which a vaft oval bafon divides from *Nifon* or *Japan*, a celebrated and imperial ifland, bearing in arts and in arms, in advantage of fituation but not in felicity of government, a pre-eminence among eaftern kingdoms analogous to that of *Britain* among the nations of the weft. So many climates are included in fo prodigious an area, that, while the principal cmporium of *China* lies nearly under the tropick, its metropolis enjoys the temperature of *Samarkand*; fuch too is the diverfity of foil in its fifteen provinces, that, while fome of them are e::quilitely fertile, richly cultivated, and extremely populous, others are barren and rocky, dry and unfruitful, with plains as wild or mountains as rugged as any in *Scythia*, and thofe either wholly del'erted, or peopled by favage hordes, who, if they be not ftill independent, have been very lately fubdued by the perfidy, rather than the valour, of a monarch, who has perpetuated his own breach of faith in a *Cbinefe* poem, of which I have feen a tranflation.

The word *Cbina*, concerning which I fhall offer fome new remarks, is well known to the people, whom we call the *Chinefe*; but they

never apply it (I speak of the learned among
 * them) to themselves or to their country: themselves, according to Father VISDELOU, they describe as the *people of H A N*, or of some other illustrious family, by the memory of whose actions they flatter their national pride; and their country they call *Chum-cue*, or the *Central Kingdom*, representing it in their symbolical characters by a parallelogram exactly bisected: at other times they distinguish it by the words *Tien-bia*, or *What is under Heaven*^ meaning *all that is valuable on Earth*. Since they never name themselves with moderation, they would have no right to complain, if they knew, that *European* authors have ever spoken of them in the extremes of applause or of censure: by some they have been extolled as the oldest and the wisest, as the most learned and most ingenious, of nations; whilst others have derided their pretensions to antiquity, condemned their government as abominable, and arraigned their mariners as inhuman, without allowing them* an element of science, or a single art, for which they have not been indebted to some more ancient and more civilized race of men. The truth perhaps lies, where we usually find it, between the extremes; but it is not my design to accuse or to defend the *Chinese*, to depress or to aggrandize them: I shall confine myself to the dis-

cuſſion of a queſtion connected with my former diſcourſes, and far leſs eaſy to be ſolved than any hitherto ſtarted. " Whence came the ſingular " people, who long had governed *Cbina*, before " they were conquered by the *Taſters*?" On this problem, the ſolution of which has no concern, indeed, with our political or commercial intereſts, but a very material connection, if I miſtake not, with intereſts of a higher nature, four opinions have been advanced, and all rather peremptorily aſſerted, than ſupported by argument and evidence. By a few writers it has been urged, that the *Cbinceſe* are an original race, who have dwelled for ages, if not from eternity, in the land, which they now poſſeſs ; by others, and chiefly by the miſſionaries, it is inſiſted, that they ſprang from the ſame ſtock with the *Hebrews* and *Arabs*; a third aſſertion is that of the *Arabs* themſelves and of M. PAUW, who hold it indubitable, that they were originally *Tartars* deſcending in wild elans from the ſteeps *oilmaus*; and a fourth, at leaſt as dogmatically pronounced as any of the preceding, is that of the *Brabmens*, who decide, without allowing any appeal from their deciſion, that the *Cbinas* (for ſo they are named in *Sanſcrit*) were *Hindus* of the *Cſhatriyâ*, Or military, claſs, who, abandoning the privileges of their tribe, rambled in different bodies to the north-eaſt of *Bengal* ; and, forgetting by degrees

the rites and religion of their ancestors, established separate principalities, which were afterwards united in the plains and valleys, which are now possessed by them. If any one of the three last opinions be just, the first of them must necessarily be relinquished; but of those three, the first cannot possibly be sustained; because it rests on no firmer support than a foolish remark, whether true or false, that *Sem* in *Chinefe* means *life* and *procreation*; and because a tea-plant is not more different from a palm, than a *Chinefe* from an *Arab*: they are men, indeed, as the tea and the palm are vegetables; but human sagacity could not, I believe, discover any other trace of resemblance between them. One of the *Arabs*, indeed, an account of whose voyage to *India* and *Cbina* has been translated by RENAUDOT, thought the *Chinefe* not only handsomer (according to his ideas of beauty) than the *Hindus*, but even more like his own countrymen in features, habiliments, carriages, manners and ceremonies; and this may be true, without proving an actual resemblance between the *Chinefe* and *Arahs*, except in dress and complexion. The next opinion is more connected with that of the *Brahmens*, than M. PAUW, probably, imagined; for though he tells us expressly, that by *Scythians* he meant the *Turks* or *Tartars*; yet the dragon on the standard, and some other peculiarities, from

which he would infer a clear affinity between the old *Tartars* and the *Chinefe*, belonged indubitably to thofe *Scythians*, who are known to have been *Goths*; and the *Goths* had manifeftly a common lineage with the *Hindus*, if his own argument, in the preface to his *Refearches*, on the fimilarity of language, be, as all men agree that it is, irrefragable. That the *Cfinefe* were anciently of a *Tartarian* flock, is a propofition, which I cannot otherwife difprove for the prefent, than by infifting on the total diffimilarity of the two races in manners and arts, particularly in the fine arts of imagination, which the *Tartars*, by their own account, never cultivated; but, if we fhew ftrong grounds for believing, that the firft *Chinefe* were acually of an *Indian* race, it will follow that M. PAUW and the *Arabs* are miftaken : it is to the difcuffion of this new and, in my opinion, very interefting point, that I fhall confine the remainder of my difcourfe.

In the *Sanfcrit* Inftitutes of Civil and Religious Duties, revealed, as the *Hindus* believe, by MENU, the fon of BRAHMA', we find the following curious paffage : " Many families of the " military clafs, liaving gradually abandoned the " ordinances of the *Veda*, and the company of " *BrdhmenSy* lived in a ftate of degradation; as " the people of *Pundraca* and *Odra*, thofe of " *Dnwira* and *Camboja*, the *Yavanas* and *Sacas*,

" the *Paradas* and *Pahlavas*, the *Chinas* and " forne other nations." A full comment on this text would here be fuperfluous; but, fince the teftimony of the *Indian* author, who, though certainly not a divine perfonage, was as certainly a very ancient lawyer, moralift, and hiftorian, is direct and pofitive, difinterefted and unfufpectcd, it would, I think, decide the queftion before us, if we could be fure, that the word *Cbina* fignified a *Chinefe*, as all the *Pandits*, whom I have feparately confulted, aflert with one voice: they affure me, that the *Chinas* of MENU fettled in a fine country to the north-eaft of *Gaur*, and to the eaft of *Camarup* and *Népal*; that they have long been, and ftill are, famed as ingenious artificers; and that they had themfelves feen old *Cbinefe* idols, which bore a manifeft relation to the primitive religion of *India* before BUDDHIA'S appearance in it. A well-informed *Pandit* fhowed me a *Sanjcrit* book in *Cafhmirian* letters, which, he faid, was revealed by SIVA himfelf, and entitled *Sactifangama*: he read to me a whole chapter of it on the heterodox opinions of the *Chinas*, who were divided fays the author, into near two hundred elans. I then laid before him a map of *Afia*; and, when I pointed to *Cafhmir*, his own country, he instantly placed his finger on the north-weftern provinces of *Cbina*, where the *Chinas*, he faid,

firft eftablifhed themfelves; but he added, that *Mahachina*, which was alfo mentioned in his book, extended to the eaftern and fouthern oceans. I believe, neverthelefs, that the *Cbinefe* empire, as we now call it, was not formed when the laws of MENU were collected ; and for this belief, fo repugnant to the general opinion, I am bound to offer my reafons. If the outline of hiftory and chronology for the laft two thoufand years be correctly traced, (and we muft be hardy fcepticks to doubt it) the poems of C A'-LIDA'S were compofed before the beginning of our era: now it is clear, from internal and external evidence, that the *Ramayan* and *Mahabharat* were confiderably older than the productions of that poet; and it appears from the ftyle and metre of the *Dherma Safta* revealed by MENU, that it was reduced to writing long before the age of VALMIC or VYA'SA, the fecond of whom names it with applaufe : we fhall not, therefore, be thought extravagant, if we place the compiler of thofe laws between a thoufand and fifteen hundred years before CHRIST; efpecially as BUDDHA, whofe age is pretty well afcertained, is not mentioned in them; but, in the twelfth century before our era, the *Cbinefe* empire was at leaft in its cradle. This fad it is neceffary to prove ; and my firft witnefs is CON-FUCIUS **himfelf. I know to what keen fatire I**

fhall expofe myfelf by citing that philofopher,
 after the bitter farcalms of M. PAUW againft
 him and againft the tranflators of his mutilated,
 but valuable, works : yet I quote without fcruple
 the book cntitled *Lun Yu*, of which I poffefs the
 original with a verbal tranflation, and which I
 know to be fufficiently authentick for my prefent
 purpofe : in the fecond part of it CON-FU-TSU
 declarcs, that " Although he, like other men,
 " could relatc, as mere leffons of morality, the
 " hiftories of the firft and fecond imperial houfes,
 " yet, *for want of evidence*, he could give no
 " certain account of thern." Now, if the Chi-
 nefe themfelves do not even pretend, that any
 hiftorical monuments exifted, in the age of
 CONFUCIUS, preceding the rife of their third
 dynafty about eleven hundred years before the
Chriftian epoch, we may juftly conclude, that
 the reign of W V A M was in the infancy of their
 empire, which hardly grew to maturity till fome
 ages after that prince; and it has been alfered
 by very learned *Europeans*, that even of the third
 dynafty, which he has the farne of having raifed,
 no unfufpected memorial can now be produced.
 It was not till the eighth century before the birth
 of our Saviour, that a fmall kingdom was erefted
 in the province of *Sben-fi*, the capital of which
 ftood nearly in the *thirty-fifth* degree of northern
 iatitude, and about *jive* degrees to the weft of

Si-gan: both the country and its metropolis were called *Cbin*; and the dominion of its princes was gradually extended to the east and west. A Jung of *Cbin*, who makes a figure in the *Shdh-nāmāh* among the allies of AFRAŚIYA'B, was, I presume, a sovereign of the country just mentioned; and the river of *Cbin*, which the poet frequently names as the limit of his eastern geography, seems to have been the *Yellow River*, which the *Chinese* introduce at the beginning of their fabulous annals: I should be tempted to expatiate on so curious a subject; but the present occasion allows nothing superfluous, and permits me only to add, that *Mangukhan* died, in the middle of the thirteenth century, before the city of *Chhi*, which was afterwards taken by K.UBLAI, and that the poets of *Iran* perpetually allude to the districts around it which they celebrate, with *Cbegil* and *Kboten* for a number of musk-animals roving on their Hills. The territory of *Cbin*, so called by the old *Hindus*, by the *Persians*, and by the *Chinese* (while the *Greeks* and *Arabs* were obliged by their defective articulation to miscall it *Sin*) gave its name to a race of emperors, whose tyranny made their memory so unpopular, that the modern inhabitants of *Cbina* hold the word in abhorrence, and speak of themselves as the people of a milder and more virtuous dynasty; but it is highly

probable that the whole nation descended from the *Cbinas* of MENU, and, mixing with the *Tartars*, by whom the plains of *Honan* and the more southern provinces were thinly inhabited, formed by degrees the race of men, whom we now see in possession of the noblest empire in *Asia*.

In support of an opinion, which I offer as the result of long and anxious inquiries, I should regularly proceed to examine the language and letters, religion and philosophy, of the present *Chinese*, and subjoin some remarks on their ancient monuments, on their sciences, and on their arts both liberal and mechanical: but their spoken *language*, not having been preserved by the usual symbols of articulate sounds, must have been for many ages in a continual flux ; their *letters*, if we may so call them, are merely the symbols of ideas ; their popular *religion* was imported from *India* in an age comparatively modern; and their *philosophy* seems yet in so rude a state, as hardly to deserve the appellation; they have no *ancient monuments*, from which their origin can be traced even by plausible conjectures their *sciences* are wholly exotick; and their *mechanical arts* have nothing in them characteristic of a particular family; nothing, which any set of men, in a country so highly favoured by nature, might not have discovered and improved. They have in-

deed, both national mufick and national poetry, and both of them beautifully pathetick; but of painting, fculpture, or architecture, as arts of imagination, they feem (like other *Afiaticks*) to have no idea. Inftead, therefore, of enlarging feparately on each of thofe heads, I fhall briefly inquire, how far the literature and religious practices of *China* confirm or oppofe the propofition, which I have advanced.

The declared and fixed opinion of M. DE GUIGNES, on the fubject before us, is nearly connected with that of the *Brahmens*: he maintains, that the *Cbinefe* were emigrants from *Egypt*; and the *Egyptians*, or *Ethiopians*, (for they were clearly the farne people) had indubitably a common origin with the old natives of *India*, as the affinity of their languages, and of their inftitutions, both religious and politicai, fully evinces; but that *China* was peopled a few centuries before our era by a colony from the banks of the *Nile*, though neither *Verjiaus* nor *Arabs*, *Tartars* nor *Hindus*, ever heard of fuch an emigration, is a paradox, which the bare authority even of fo learned a man cannot fuppon; and, fince reaibn grounded on fads can alone decide fuch a queftion, we have a right to demand clearer evidence and ftronger arguments, than any that he has adduced. The hieroglyphicks of *Egypt* bear, indeed, a ftrong refein*

blance to the mythological sculptures and paintings of *India*, but seem wholly dissimilar to the symbolical system of the *Chinese*, which might easily have been invented (as they assert) by an individual, and might very naturally have been contrived by the first *Chinas*, or out-cast *Hindus*, who either never knew, or had forgotten, the alphabetical characters of their wiser ancestors. As to the table and busts of Isis, they seem to be given up as modern forgeries; but, if they were indisputably genuine, they would be nothing to the purpose; for the letters on the bust appear to have been designed as alphabetical; and the fabricator of them (if they really were fabricated in *Europe*) was uncommonly happy, since two or three of them are exactly the same with those on a metal pillar yet standing in the north of *India*. In *Egypt*, if we can rely on the testimony of the *Greeks*, who studied no language but their own, there were two sets of alphabetical characters; the one *popular*, like the various letters used in our *Indian* provinces; and the other *facerdotal*, like the *Dévangari*, especially that form of it, which we see in the *Véda*; besides which they had two sorts of *faeted sculpture*; the one simple, like the figures of BUDDHA and the three RA'MAS; and the other, allegorical, like the images of GANE'SA, or *Divine Wisdom*, and ISANI', or *Nature*, with all

their emblematical accompaniments; but the *real charadler* of the *Cbinefe* appears wholly diftinct from any *Egyptian* writing, either myfterious or popular; and, as to the fancy of M. -DE GUIGNES, that the complicated fymbols of *China* were at firft no more than *Pbenician* monograms, let us hope, that he has abandoned fo wild a conceit, which he ftarted probably with no other view than to difplay his ingenuity and learning.

We have ocular proof, that the few radical charafters of the *Cbinefe* were originally (like our aftronomical and chymical fymbols) the pictures or outlincs of vifible objects, or figurative figns for fimpie ideas, which they have multiplied by the mod ingenious combinations and the livclieft metaphors ; but, as the fyftem is peculiar, I believe, to themfelves and the *Japanefe*, it would be idly oftentatious to enlarge on it at prefent; and, for the reafons already intimated, it neither corroborates nor weakens the opinion, which I endeavour to fupport. The fame may as truly be faid of *their fpokai* language; for, independently of its conftant fluctuation during a feries etages, it has the peculiarity of excluding four or live founds, which Other nations articulate, and is clipped into monofyllables, even when the ideas expreffed by them, and the written fymbols for thofe ideas, are very complex. This has arMeu,

I fuppofe, from the fingular habits of the people; for, though their common tongue be fo *mufically* accented as to form a kind of recitative, yet it wants thofe *grammatical* accents, without which all human tongues would appear monofyllabick: thus *Amita*, with an accent on the firft fyllable, means, in the *Sanferit* language, *immeafurable*; and the natives of *Bengal* pronounce it *Omito*; but, when the religion of BUDDHA, the fon of MAYA', was carried hence into *Cbina*, the people of that country, unable to pronounce the name of their new God, called him Fon, the fon of MO-YE, and divided his epithet *Anita* into three fyllables O-MI-TO, annexing to them certain ideas of their own, and expreffing them in writing by three diftinct fymbols. We may judge from this inftance, whether a comparifon of their fpoken tongue with the dialects of other nations can lead to any certain conclufion as to their origin; yet the inftance, which I have given, fupplies me with an argument from analogy, which I produce as conjectural only, but which appears more and more plaufible, the oftener I confider it. The BUDDHA of the *Hindus* is unquestionably the FOE of *Cbina*; but the great progenitor of the *Cbincfe* is alfo named by them FO-HI, where the fecond monofyllable fignifies, it feems, a *victim*: now the anceftor of that military tribe, whom the *Hindus* call **the**

Chandravanfa, or Children of the MOON, was, according to their *Purdnas* or legends, BUDHA, or the genius of the planet *Mercury*, from whom, in the *fifth* degree, descended a prince named DRUHYA ; whom his father YAYA'TI sent in exile to the east of *Hindustan*, with this imprecation, " may thy progeny be ignorant of the " *Védar* The name of the banished prince could not be pronounced by the modern *Chinese*; and, though I dare not conjecture, that the last syllable of it has been changed into Y A O , I may nevertheless observe that Y A O was the *fifth* in descent from FO-HI, or at least the fifth mortal in the first imperial dynasty; that all *Chinese* history before him is considered by *Chinese* themselves as poetical or fabulous; that his father Ti-co, like the *Indian* king YAYA'TI, was the first prince who married several women; and that FO-HI, the head of their race, appeared, say the *Chinese*, in a province of the west, and held his court in the territory of *Chin*, where the rovers, mentioned by the *Indian* legislator, are supposed to have settled. Another circumstance in the parallel is very remarkable: according to father DE PREMARE, in his tract: on *Chinese* mythology, the mother of FO-HI was the *Daughter of Heaven*, surnamed *Flower-loving*, and, as the nymph was walking alone on the bank of a river with a similar name, she found herself on a

*The System of***INDIAN, ARABIAN & PERSIAN****LETTERS.***Soft and hard Breathings*

	a or e	ha	hha	
<i>Vowels</i>	<i>Diphthongs</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>Semivowels</i>	
ă. â.	a, â	e	ê	ya
i	î	o	ô	wa
u	û	a i	au	ra
r ĭ	r î	lr ĭ	lr î	la
â â	ê è	î î	û û	á â

Consonants

ca	{ c'ha }		{ g'ha }	na
ka	{ kha }	ga	{ gha }	
sa	sha	za	zha	sa
ta	{ t'ha }	{ d'a }	{ d'ha }	{ ña }
	{ tha }		{ dha }	
ta	{ t'ha }	da	{ d'ha }	na
	{ tha }		{ dha }	
pa	{ p'ha }	ba	{ b'ha }	ma
	{ fa }		{ va }	

Compound

cha	chha	ja	jha	nya

fudden encircled by a *rain-bow*; soon after which she became pregnant, and at the end of twelve years was delivered of a son radiant as herself, who, among other titles, had that of Su'i, or *Star of the Year*, Now in the mythological system of the *Hindus*, the nymph RO'HINI, who presides over the fourth lunar mansion, was the favourite mistress of SO'MA, or the Moon, among whose numerous epithets we find *Cumudandyaca*, or *Delighting in a species of water-flower*, that blossoms at night; and their offspring was BUDHA, regent of a planet, and called also, from the names of his parents, RAUHINEYA or SAUMYA: it is true, that the learned missionary explains the word Su'i by *Jupiter*; but an exact resemblance between two such fables could not have been expected; and it is sufficient for my purpose, that they seem to have a family likeness. The God BUDHA, say the *Lidians*, married ILA, whose father was preserved in a miraculous ark from an universal deluge: now, although I cannot insist with confidence, that the *rain-bow* in the *Chinese* fable alludes to the *Mosaic* narrative of the flood, nor build any solid argument on the divine personage NIU-VA, of whose character, and even of whose sex, the historians of *China* speak very doubtfully, I may, nevertheless, assure you, after full inquiry and consideration, that the *Chinese*, like the *Hindus*, believe this.

earth to have Deen wholly covered with water, which, in works of undisputed authenticity, they describe as *flowing abundantly, then subsiding, and separating the higher from the lower age of mankind*) that the *division of time*, from which their poetical history begins, just preceded the appearance of FOHI on the mountains of *Chin*, but that the great *inundation* in the reign of YAO was either confined to the lowlands of his kingdom, if the whole account of it be not a fable, or, if it contain any allusion to the flood of NOAH, has been ignorantly misplaced by the *Chinese* annalists-

The importation of a new religion into *Cbina*, in the first century of our era, must lead us to suppose, that the former system, whatever it was, had been found inadequate to the purpose of restraining the great body of the people from those offences against conscience and virtue, which the civil power could not reach; and it is hardly possible that, without such restrictions, any government could long have subsisted with felicity; for no government can long subsist without equal justice, and justice cannot be administered without the sanctions of religion*. Of the religious opinions, entertained by CONFUCIUS and his followers, we may glean a general notion from the fragments of their works translated by COUPLET; they professed a firm belief in the

fupreme GOD, and gave a demonftration of his
 being and of his providence from the exquisite
 beauty and perfection of the celestial bodies, and
 the wonderful order of nature in the whole fa-
 brick of the vifible world. From this belief
 they deduced a fyftem of Ethicks, which the
 philofopher fums up in a few words at the clofe
 of the *Lun-yu*: " He," fays CONFUCIUS, " who
 " fhall be fully perfuaded, that the Lord of
 " Heaven governs the univerfe, who fhall in all
 " things chufe moderation, who fhall perfectly
 " know his own fpccies, and fo act among them,
 " that his life and manners may conform to his
 " knowledge of GOD and man, may be truly
 " faid to difcharge all the duties of a fagc, and
 " to be far exalted above the common herd of
 " the human race." But fuch a religion and
 fuch morality could never have been general;
 and we find, that the people of *Cbina* had an an-
 cient fyftem of ceremonies and fuperftitions,
 which the government and the philofophers ap-
 pear to have encouraged, and which has an ap-
 parent affinity with fome parts of the oldeft *In-
 dian* worfhip: they believed in the agency of
 genii or tutelary fpirits, prefiding over the ftars
 and the clouds, over lakes and rivers, mountains,
 valleys, and woods, over certain regions and
 towns, over all the elements (of which, like the
Hindus, they reckoned five) and particularly

over fire, the most brilliant of them : to those deities they offered victims on high places ; and the following passage from the *Sbi-cin*, or *Book of Odes*, is very much in the style of the *Bráhmans* : " Even they, who perform a sacrifice with
 " due reverence, cannot perfectly assure them-
 " selves, that the divine spirits accept their ob-
 " lations; and far less can they, who adore the
 " Gods with languor and officiousness, clearly per-
 " ceive their sacred influences." These are im-
 perfect: traces indeed, but they are traces, of an
 affinity between the religion of MENU and that
 of the *Chinas*, whom he names among the apo-
 states from it: M. LEGENTIL observed, he says,
 a strong resemblance between the funeral rites of
 the *Chinese* and the *Srddha* of the *Hindus*:
 and M. BAILLY, after a learned investigation,
 concludes, that " Even the puerile and absurd
 " stories of the *Chinese* fabulists contain a rem-
 " nant of ancient *Indian* history, with a faint
 " sketch of the first *Hindu* ages." As the *Bauddhas*, indeed, were *Hindus*, it may naturally be
 imagined, that they carried into *China* many
 ceremonies practised in their own country;
 but the *Bauddhas* positively forbade the immo-
 lation of cattle; yet we know, that various ani-
 mals, even bulls and men, were anciently sac-
 rificed by the *Chinese*; besides which we dis-
 cover many singular marks of relation between

them and the old *Hindus*: as in the remarkable period of *four hundred and thirty two thousand*, and the cycle of *fixty*, years; in the predilection for the myftical number *nine*; in many fimilar fafts and great feftivals, efpecially at the folftices and equinoxes; in the juft-mentioned obfequies confifting of rice and fruits offered to the manes of their anceftors ; in the dread of dying child-lefs, left; fuch offerings fhould be intermitted; and, perhaps, in their common abhorrence of *red* objects, which the *bidians* carried fo far, that MENU himfelf, where he allows a *Brahmen* to trade, if he cannot otherwife fupport life, abfolutely forbids " his trafficking in any fort of " *red* cloths, whether linen or woollen, or made " of woven bark." All the circumftances, which have been mentioned under the two heads of *literature* and *religion*, feem collectively to prove (as far as fuch a queftion admits proof) that the *Cbinefe* and *Hindus* were originally the farne people, but having been feparated near four thoufand years, have retained few ftrong features of their ancient confanguinity, efpecially as the *Hindus* have preferved their old language and ritual, while the *Cbinefe* very foon loft both, and the *Hindus* have constantly intermarried among themfelves, whiie the *Cbinefe*, by a mixture of *Tartarian* blood from the time of their firft eftablifhment, have at length formed a race

distinct in appearance both from *Indians* and *Tartars*.

A similar diversity has arisen, I believe, from similar causes, between the people of *China* and *Japan* ; on the second of which nations we have now, or soon shall have, as correct and as ample instruction as can possibly be obtained without a perfect acquaintance with the *Chinese* characters. KÆMPFER has taken from M. TITSINGH the honour of being the first, and he from KÆMPFER that of being the only, *European*, who, by a long residence in *Japan*, and a familiar intercourse with the principal natives of it, has been able to collect authentic materials for the natural and civil history of a country *fecluded*, as the *Romans* used to say of our own island, *from the rest of the world*: the works of those illustrious travellers will confirm and embellish each other; and, when M. TITSINGH shall have acquired a knowledge of *Chinese*, to which a part of his leisure in *Java* will be devoted, his precious collection of books in that language, on the laws and revolutions, the natural productions, the arts, manufactures and sciences of *Japan*, will be in his hands an inexhaustible mine of new and important information. Both he and his predecessor assert with confidence, and, I doubt not, with truth, that the *Japanese* would resent, as an insult on their dignity, the bare

fuggeftion of their defcent from the *Cbinefe*, whom they furpafs in feveral of the mechanical arts, and, what is of greater confequence, in military fpirit; but they do not, I underftand, mean to deny, that they are a branch of the farne ancient ftem with the people of *Cbina* ; and, were that fad: ever fo warmly contefted by them, it might be proved by an invincible argument, if the preceding part of this difcourfe, on the origin of the *Cbinefe*, be thought to contain juft reafoning. In the firft place, it feems inconceivable, that the *Japanefe*, who never appear to have been conquerors or conquer'd, fhould have adopted the whole fyftem of *Cbinefe* literature with all its inconveniences and intricacies, if an immemorial connexion had not fubfifted between the two nations, or, in other words, if the bold and ingenious race, who peopled *Japan* in the middle of the thirteenth Century before CHRIST, and, about fix hundred years afterwards, eftablifhed their monarchy, had not carried with them the letters and learning, which they and the *Cbinefe* had poffeffed in common ; but my principal argument is, that the *Hindu* or *Egyptian* idolatry has prevailed in *Japan* from the earlieft ages; and among the idols worfhipped, according to KÆMPFER, in that country, before the innovations of SA CY A or BUDDHA, whom the *Japanefe* alfo call AMIDA,

we find many of thofe, which we fee every day in the temples of *Bengal*; particularly *the god-dejs with many arms*, reprefenting the powers of Nature, in *Egypt* named *Isis* and here *ISA'NI'* or *Isi'*, whofe image, as it is exhibited by the *German* traveller, all the *Brahmans*, to whom I fhewed it, immediately recognized with a mixture of pleafure and enthufiafm. It is very true, that the *Chinefe* differ widely from the natives of *Japan* in their vernacular dialeds, in external manners, and perhaps in the ftrength of their mental faculties ; but as wide a difference is obfervable among all the nations of the *Gothick* family; and we might account even for a greater diffimilarity, by confidering the number of ages, during which the feveral fwarms have been feparated from the great *Indian* hive, to which they primarily belonged. The modern *Japanefe* gave *KÆMPFER* the idea of polifhed *Tartars*; and it is reafonable to believe, that the people of *Japun*, who were originally *Hindus* of the martial clafs and advanced farther eaftward than the *ChinaSy* have, like them, infenfibly changed their features and characters by intermarriages with various *Tartarian* tribes, whom they found loofely fcattered over their ifles, or who afterwards fixed their abode in them.

Having now fhown in five difcourfes, that the *drabs* and *Tartars* were originally diftinct races,

while the *Hindus*, *Chinefe*, and *Japanefe* proceeded from another ancient ftem, and that all the three ftems may be traced to *Iràn*, as to a common centre, from which it is highly probable, that they diverged in various direktions about four thoufand years ago, I may feem to have accomplifhed my defign of inveftigating the origin of the *Afiatick* nations; but the queftions, which I undertook to difcufs, are not yet ripe for a ftrict analytical argument; and it will firft be neceffliry to examine with fcrupulous attention all the detachcd or infulated races of men, who either inhabit the horders of *India*, *Arabia*, *Tartary*, *Perfia*, and *Cbina*, or are interfperfed in the mountainous and uncultivated parts of thofe extenfive regions. To this examination I fliall, at our next annual meeting, allot an entire difcourfe; and if, after all our inquiries, no more than *three* primitive races can be found, it will be a fubfequent confideration, whether thofe three ftocks had one common root, and, if they had, by what means that root was preferved amid the violent fhocks, which our whole globe appears evidently to have fuffained.

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 expedited 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 eftablifhed on the limits of *Arabia*, *Perfia*, *India*, *Cbina*, and *Tartary* ; over the wild tribes refiding in the mountainous parts of thofe extenfive regions; and the more civilized inhabitants of the i/lands annexed by geographers to their *Afiatick* divifion of this globe.

Let us take our departure from *Idume* near the gulf of *Elanitis*, and, having encircled *Afia*, with fuch deviations from our courfe as the fubject 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 fhown, by juft reaſoning from their language, religion, and manncrs, to be neither Indians, *Arabs*, nor *Tartars*, pure or mixed ; but always remembering, that any fmall family detached in an early age from their parent flock, without letters, with few ideas beyond objects of the firft neceffity, and confequently with few words, and fixing their abode on a range of mountains, in an ifland, or even in a wide region before uninhabited, might in four or live centurics people their new country, and would neceffarily form a new language with no perceptible traces, perhaps, of that fpoken by their anecftors. *Edom* or *Idume*, and *Erylhra* or *Pbænice*, had originally, as many believe, a fimilar meaning, and were derived from words devoting a red colour;

but, whatever be their derivation, it seems indubitable, that a race of men were anciently settled in *Idume* and in *Median*, whom the oldest and best *Greek* authors call *Erythreans*; who were very distinct from the *Arabs*; and whom, from the concurrence of many strong testimonies, we may safely refer to the *Lidian* stem. 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 *Romani* 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, asserts 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 fublime work incontestably proves; but the invention and propagation of letters and aftronomy are by all fo juftly afcribed to the Indian family, that, if STRABO and HERODOTUS were not grofsly deceived, the adventurous *Idumeans*, who firft gave pames to the ftars, and hazarded long voyages in fhips of their own conftruction, could be no other than a branch of the *Hindu* race: in all events, there is no ground for believing them of *fourth* diftinct lineage; and we need fay no more of them, till we meet them again, on our return, under the name of *Pbenicians*.

As we pafs down the formidable fea, which rolls over its coral bed between the coaft of the *Arabs*, or tholè, who fpeak the pure language of ISMAÏL, and that of the *Ajams*, or thofe, who *mutter it barbaroufly*, we find no certain traces, on the *Arabian* fide, of any people, who were not originally *Arabs* of the genuine or mixed breed: anciently, perhaps, there were *Troglo-dylcs* in part of the peninfula, but they feem to have been long fupplanted by the *Nomades*, or wandering herdfmen; and who thofe *Troglodytes* were, we fhall fee very clearly, if we deviate a few moments from our intended path, and make a fhort excurfion into countries very lately explored on the Weftern, or *African*, fide of the **Red Sea**.

That the written *Abyffinian* language, which we call *Ethiopicky* is a dialed of old *Cbaldean*, and a fifter of *Arabich* and *Hebrew*, we know with certainty, not only from the great multitude of identical words, but (which is a far ftronger proof) from the fimilar grammatical arrangement of the feveral idioms: we know at the farne time, that it is written, like all the *Indiân* characters, from the left hând to the right, and that the yowels are annexed, as in *Dévandgari*, to the confonants; with which tliey form a fyllabick fyftem extremely clear and convenient, but difpofed in a lefs artificial order than the fyftem of letters now exhibited in the *Sanfcrit* grammars; whence it may juftly be inferred, that the order contrived by PANINI or his difciples is comparatively modern; and I have no doubt, from a curfory examination of many old inferiptions on pillars and in caves, which have obligingly been fent to me from all parts of *India*, that the *Ndgari* and *Etbiopian letters* had at firft a fimilar form. It has long been my opinion, that the *Abyffnians* of the *Arahan* flock, having no fymbols of their own to reprcfent articulate founds, borrowed thofe of the black pagans, whom the *Greeks* call *Troglodytes*, from their primeval habitations in natural caverns, or in mountains excavated by their own labour: they were probably the firft inhabitants of *Africa*, where they be-

came in time the builders of magnificent cities, the founders of seminaries for the advancement of science and philosophy, and the inventors (if they were not rather the importers) of symbolical characters. I believe on the whole, that the *Ethiops* of *Meroë* were the same people with the first *Egyptians*, and consequently, as it might easily be shown, with the original *Hindus*. To the ardent and intrepid Mr. BRUCE, whose travels are to my taste uniformly agreeable and satisfactory, though he thinks very differently from me on the language and genius of the *Arabs*, we are indebted for more important, and, I believe, more accurate, information concerning the nations established near the *Nile* from its fountains to its mouths, than all *Europe* united could before have supplied; but, since he has not been at the pains to compare the (even 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 *Gajots* and the *Gallas*, the *Agows* of both races, and the *Falajhas*, whomust originally have used a *Chaldean* idiom, were never preserved in writing, and the *Amharick* only in modern times: they must, therefore, have been for ages in fluctuation, and can lead, perhaps, to no certain conclusion as to the origin of the several tribes, who an-

dently fpoke them. It is very remarkable, as Mr. BRUCE and Mr. BRYANT have proved,' that the *Greeks* gave the appellation of *Indians* both to the fouthern nations of *Africk* and to the people, among we now live; nor is it lefs obfervable, that, according to EPHORUS* quoted by STRABO, they cailed all the fouthern nations in the world *Ethiopians*, thus ufing *Indian* and *Ethiop* as convertiblè terms : but we xnuft leave the gymnofophifts of *Ethiopia*, who feem to have profefled the doctrines of BUDDHA, and enter the great *Lidian* ocean, of which their *Afiatick* and *African* brethren were probably the firft navigators.

On the iflands near *Ternen* we have little to remark : they appear now to be peopled chiefly by *Mobarnniedatis*, and afford no marks of difcrimination, with which I am acquainted, either in language or manners; but I cannot bid farewell to the coaft of *Arabia*, without afluring you, that, whatever may be faid of *Ommân*, and the *Scythian* colonies, who, it is imagined, were formerly fettled there, I have met with no trace in the maritime part of *Yemen*, from *Aden* to *Mafkat*, of any nation, who were not either *Arabs* or *Abyffmian* invaders.

Between that country and *Irân* are fome iflands, which, from their insignificance in our prefent 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 *Diya-beer* yet speak the *Chaldaick* of our scripture; and the rambling *Turcmāns* have retained, I imagine, some traces of their *Tartarian* idioms; but, since no vestige appears, from the gulf of *Perjia* to the rivers *Cur* and *Aras*, of any people distinct from the *Arabs*, *Persians*, or *Tartars*, we may conclude, that no such people exists in the *Iranian* mountains, and return to those, which separate *Irañ* from *India*. The principal inhabitants of the mountains, called *Parfici*, where they run towards the west, *Parveti*, from a known *Sanskrit* word, where they turn in an eastern direction, and *Paropamisus*, where they join *Imaus* in the north, were anciently distinguished among the *Bráhmans* by the name of *Deradas*, but seem to have been destroyed or expelled by the numerous tribes of *Afgbāns* or *Patans*, among whom are the *Balojas*, who give their name to a mountainous district; and there is very solid ground for believing, that the *Afghans* descended from the *Jews*; because they sometimes in confidence avow that unpopular origin, which in general they sedulously conceal,

and which other *Mufelmans* pofitively afkerf; becaufe *Hazaret*, which appears to be the *Afareth* of ESDRAS, is one of their territories ; and; principally, becaufe their language is evidently a dialéd: of the fcriptural *Cbaldaick*.

We come now to the river *Sindhu* and the country named from it: near its mouths we find a diftrid, called by NEARCIIUS, in his journal, *Sangada* ; which M. D' ANVILLE juftly fupposes to be the feat of the *Sanganians*, a barbarous and piratical nation mentioned by modern travellers, and well known at prefent by our country men in the weft of *India*. Mr. MALET, now refident at *Puna* on the part of the *Britifh* government, procured at my requeft the *Sanganian* letters, which are a fort of *Nagari*, and a fpecimen of their language, which is apparently derived, like other *Indian* dialekts, from the *Sanfcrit*; nor can I doubt, from the defcriptions, which I have received, of their perfons and manners, that they are *Pameras*, as the *Brâb* mans* call them, or outcaft *Hindus*, immemorially feparated from the reft of the nation. It feems agreed, that the fingular people, called *Egyptums*, and, by corruption, *Gypfies*, pafled the *Mediterranean* immediately from *Egypt*; and their motley language, of which Mr. GRELLMANN exhibits a copious vocabulary, contains fo many *Sanfcrit* words, that their *Indian* origin can

hardly be doubted; the authenticity of that vocabulary seems established by a multitude of *Gypsy* words, as *angår*", charcoal, *Cafbtb*, wood, *pår*, a bank, *bbu*, earth, and a hundred, more, for which the collector of them could find no parallel in the vulgar dialect of *Hinduftiån*, though we know them to be pure *Sanfcrit* scarce changed in a single letter. A very ingenious friend, to whom this remarkable fact was imparted, suggested to me, that those very words might have been taken from old *Egyptian*, and that the *Gypsies* were *Troglodytes* from the rocks near *Tbebes*, 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 *Zuigaros*, and *Zinganos*, were no other than *Zinganians*, as M. D'ANVILLE also writes the word, who might, in some piratical expedition, have landed on the coast of *Arabia* or *Africa*, whence they might have rambled to *Egypt*, and at length have migrated, or been driven into *Europe*. To the kindness of Mr. MALET I am also indebted for an account of the *Roras* ; a remarkable race of men inhabiting chiefly the cities of *Gujarât*, who, though *Mufdmans* in religion, are Jews in features, genius, and manners; they form in

all places a diftintt fraternity, and are every where noted for addrefs in bargaining, for minute thrift, and conftant attention to lucre, but profefs total ignorance of their own origin; though it feems probable, that they came firft with their brethren the *Afgháns* to the borders of *India*, where they learned in time to prefer a gainful and fecure occupation in populous towns to perpetual wars and laborious exertions on the mountains. As to the *Moplas*, in the weftern parts of the *Indian* empire, I have feen their books in *Arabick*, and am perfuaded, that, like the people called *Malays*, they defcended from *Arabian* traders and mariners after the age of **MUHAMMED**.

On the continent of *India*, between the river *Vipafa*, or *Hyphafis*, to the weft, the mountains of *Tripura* and *Camaritpa* to the eaft, and *Himá-laya* to the north, we find many races of wild people with more or lefs of that priſtine ferocity, which induced their anceftors to fecede from the civilized inhabitants of the plains and valleys : in the moſt ancient *Sanſcrit* books they are called *Sacas*, *Cirdtas*, *Colas*, *Pidindas*, *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 defcribed them to me j and I have found realbns for believing, that they fprang

from the old *Lidian* 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 *Lidian* islands, and hasten to those, which lie to the south-east of *Sildfiy* or *Taprobane*; for *Silan* 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 *Lancd*, 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 *Mal-lirds*, 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 *Madburd* must have been so denominated, like the well known territory in the western peninsula, by a nation, who understood *Sanfcrit*. We need not be surprized, that M. D'ANVILLE was unable to assign a rea-

ion, why the *JahadioS*, or *Yavadwipa*, of PTOLEMY was rendered in the old *Latin* version the file 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 *harley* in *Sanfcr'it*; 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 *Sanfcrut* words occur in the principal' dialects of the *Sumatrans*; that, among their laws, two positive rules concerning fureties and *intereft* appear to be taken word for word from the *Indian* legislators NA'RED and HARITA; and, what is yet more observable, that the system of letters, used by the people of *Rrjang* and *Lampun*, had

the same artificial order with the *Dévanāgarī* \ 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 *Sanskrit*; 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 *Potyd* 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

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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 *Sanfcrit* and polyfyllabick, it feems at prefent, from the influence of *Cbinefe* manners, to confift of monofyllables, to form which, with fome regard to grammatical derivation, it has become neceffary to fupprefs in common difcourfe many letters, which we fee in their books; and thus we are enabled to trace in their writing a ftumber of *Sanfcrit* words and phrafes, which in their fpoken dialect are quite undiftinguifhable« The two engravings in GIORGI'S book, from sketches by a *Tibetian* painter, exhibit a fyftem 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 grofsly erroneous.

The *Tartars* having been wholly unlettered, as they freely confeß, before their converfion to the religion of *Arabia*, we cannot but fufpect, that the natives of *Eighur*, *Tandet*, and *Kbatâ*, who had fyftems of letters and are even faid to have cultivated liberal arts, were not of the *Tartarian*, but of the *Indian*, family; and I apply the fame remark to the nation, whom we call *Barmaiy* but who are known to the *Pandits* by

the name of *Brabmacbiños*, and seem to have been the *Bracbtñani* 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 *Pali*, or sacred language of BUDDHA'S priests in that country, was anciently written; a language, by the way, very nearly allied to the *Sanfcrit*, 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 falsehood, is charged by CARPANJUS with having mistaken the *Barma* for the *Vdli* letters; and when, on his authority, I spoke of the *Bali* writing to a young chief of *Aracan*, who read with facility the books of the *Barmas*, he corrected me with politeness, and assured me, that the *Pali* language was written by the priests in a much older character.

Let us now return eastward to the northern Asiatic dominions of *Ruffia*, and, rounding them on the northeast, pass directly to the *Hyperboreans*; who, from all that can be learnt of their old religion and manners, appear like the *Maffagetæ*, and some other nations usually considered as *Tartars*, to have been really of the *Gotbick* that is of the *Hindu*, race; for I con-

fidently affume, that the *Goths* and the *Hindus* had originally the farne language, gave the farne appellations to the ftars and planets, adored the farne falfe deities, performed the farne bloody facrifices, and profefled the farne notions of rewards and punifhments after death. I would not infift with M. BAILLY, that the people of *Finland* were *Goths*, merely becaufe they have the word *fhip* in their language ; while the reft of it appears wholly diftinct from any of the *Gothick* idioms: the publifhers of the Lord's Prayer in many languages reprefent the *Finnifh* and *Lapponiart* as nearly alike, and the *Hungarian* as totally different from them; but this muft be an errour, if it be true, that a *Ruffian* author has lately traced the *Hungarian* from its primitive feat between the *Caffian* and the *Euxine*, as far as *Lapland* itfelf; and, fince the *Huns* were confeffedly *Tartars*, we may conclude, that all the northern languages, except the *Gothick*, had a *Tartarian* origin, like that univerfally afcribed to the various branches of *Sclavonian*.

On the *Armenian*, which I never ftudied, becaufe I could not hear of any original compofitions in it, I can offer nothing decifive ; but am convinced, from the beft information procurable in *Bengal*, that its bafis was ancient *Perfian* of the farne *Indian* ftock with the *Zend*, and that

it has been gradually changed since the time, when *Armenia* ceased to be a province of *Irin* : the letters, in which it now appears, are allowed to be comparatively modern; and, though the learned editor of the tract by CARPANIUS on the literature of *Ava*, compares them with the *Pali* characters, yet, if they be not, as I should rather imagine, derived from the *Pablavi*, they are probably an invention of some learned *Armenian* in the middle of the fifth century. MOSSES of *Kboren*, than whom no man was more able to elucidate the subject, has inserted in his historical work a dissertation 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 *Irah*, I apply the remark, before announced generally, that ferocious and hardy tribes, who retire for the sake of liberty to mountainous regions, and form by degrees a separate nation, must also form in the end a separate language by agreeing on new words to express new ideas ; provided that the language, which they carried with them, was not fixed by writing and sufficiently copious. The *Armenian* damsels are said by STRABO to have sacrificed in the temple of the goddess ANAITIS, whom we know, from other authorities, to be the NA'HI'D,

or VENUS, of the old *Perfians*; and it is for many reafons highly probable, that one and the fame religion prevailed through the whole empire of CYRUS.

Having travelled round the continent, and among the iflands, of *Afia*, we come again to the coaft of the *Mediterranean*; and the principal nations of antiquity, who firft demand our attention, are the *Greeks* and *Phrygians* who, though differing fomewhat in manners, and perhaps in dialeft, 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 univerfally agreed that they firft paffed from *Egypt*, I can add nothing to what has been advanced concerning them in former difcourfes; and, no written monuments of old *Phrygia* being extant, I fhall only obferve, on the authority of the *Greeks*, that the grand objeét of myfterious worfhip in that country was the Mother of the Gods, or Nature perfonified, as we fee her among the *Indians* in a thoufand forms and under a thoufand names. She was cailed in the *Phrygian* dialed M A', and reprcfented in a car drawn by lions, with a drum in her hând, and a towered coronet on her head: her myfteries (which feem to be alluded to in the *Mofaick* law) are folemnized at the autumnal equinox in thefe provinces,

where fhé is named, in one of her characters, M A ', is adored, in all of them, as the great Mother, is figured fitting on a lion, and appears in forme of her temples with a diadem or mitre of turrets: a drum is called *diridima* both in *Sanfcrit* and *Pbrygian*; and the title of *Dindy-mene* feems rather derived from that word, than from the name of a mountain. The DIANA of *Epbefus* was manifeftly the fame goddefs in the character of productive Nature; and the AS-TARTE of the *Syrians* and *Pbenicians* (to whom we now return) was, I doubt not, the fame in another form: I may on the whole affure you, that the learned works of SELDEN and JABLONSKI, on the Gods of *Syrki* and *Egypt*, would receive more illuftration from the little *Sanfcrit* book, entitled *Cbandi*, than from all the fragments of oriental mythology, that are difperfed in the whole compafs of *Grecian*, *Roman*, and *Hebreiv* literature. We are told, that the *Vbailicians*, like the *Hindus*, adored the Sun, and afferted water to be the firft of created things; nor can we doubt, that *Syria*, *Samaria*, and *Pbenice*, or the long ftrip of land on the fhore of the *Afcditerranean*, were anciently peopled by a branch of the *bidian* flock, but were afterwards inhabited by that race, which for the prefent we call *Arabian*: in all three the oldeft religion was the *Affyrian*, as it is called by SELDEN, and the

Samaritan letters appear to have been the same at first with those of *Pbenice*; 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 indisputably of a *CbaUdaick*, or *Arâbick*, origin,

The feat of the first *Pbeniciatis* having extended to *Idume*, with which we began, we have now completed the circuit of *Afia*; 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 *drabs*, but whose manners, literature, and history are wonderfully distinguished from the rest of mankind. *BARROW* loads them with the severest, but just, epithets of malignant, unfocial, obstinate, distrustful, sordid, changeable, turbulent; and describes them as furiously zealous in succouring their own countrymen, but implacably hostile to other nations; yet, with all the foolish perverseness, the stupid arrogance, and the brutal atrocity of their character, they had the peculiar merit, among all races of men under heaven, of preserving a rational and pure system of devotion in the midst of wild polytheism, inhuman or obscene rites, and a dark labyrinth

of errors produced by ignorance and supported by interested fraud. Theological inquiries are no part of my present subject ; but I cannot refrain from adding, that the collection of tracts, which we call from their excellence *the Scriptures*, contain, independently of a divine origin, more true sublimity, more exquisite beauty, purer morality, more important history, and finer strains both of poetry and eloquence, than could be collected within the same compass from all other books, that were ever composed in any age or in any idiom. The two parts, of which the Scriptures consist, are connected by a chain of compositions, which bear no resemblance in form or style to any that can be produced from the stores of *Grecian, Indian, Persian, or even Arabian*, learning: the antiquity of those compositions no man doubts ; and the untrained 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 hiftorian of antiquity: how far that moft ancient writer confirms the refult of our inquiries into the genealogy of nations, I propofe to fhew at our next anniverfary meeting; when, after an approach to demonftration, in the ftridt method of the old analyfis, I fhall refume the whole argument concifely and fynthetically ; and fhall then have condenfed in feven difcouries a mafs of evidence, which, if brevity had not been my objett, might have been expanded into feven large volumes with no other trouble than that of holding the pen; but (to borrow a turn of expreffion from one of our poets) " for what I " have produced, I claim only your indulgence ; " it is for what I have fupprefled, that I am " entitled to your thanks."

DISCOURSE THE NINTH.

OK

THE ORIGIN AND FAMILIES OF NATIONS.

DELIVKRED 23 FEBRUARY, 1792,

BY

THE PRESIDENT.

Y O U have attended, gentlemen, with fo much indulgence to my difcourfes on the five Afiatick nations, and on the various tribes eftablifhed along their feveral horders or interfperfed over their mountains, that I cannot but flatter myfelf with an affurance of being heard with equal attention, while I trace to one centre the three great families, from which thofe nations appear to have proceeded, and then hazard a few conjectures on the different courfes, which they may be fuppofed to have taken toward the countries, in which we find them fettled at the dawn of all genuine hiftory.

Let us begin with a fhort re vie w of the propofitions, to which we have gradually been led, and feparate fuch as are morally certain, from fuch as are only probable: that the firft: race of

Perfians and *Indians*, to whom we may add the *Romans* and *Greeks*, the *Goths*, and the old *Egyptians* or *Ethiops*, originally fpoke the farne language and profelèd the farne popular faith, is capable, in my humble opinion, of incontestable proof; that the *Jews* and *Arabs*, the *Affyrians*, or fecond *Perfian* race, the people who fpoke *Syriack*) and a numerous tribe of *Abyffinians*, ufed one primitive dialekt wholly diftinf from the idiom juft mentioned, is, I believe, undifputed, and, I am fure, indifputable; but that the fettlers 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 cailed, were primarily of a third feperate branch, totally differing from the two bthers in language, manners, and features, may indeed be plaufibly conjeftured, but cannot, for the reafons alledged in a former effay, be perfpicuoufly fhown, and for the prefent therefore muft be merely affumed. Could thefe facts be verified by the bcft attainable evidence, it would not, I prefume, be doubted, that the whole earth was peopled by a variety of fhoots from the *Indian*, *Arabian*, and *Tartarian* branches, or by fuch intermixtures of them, as, in a courfe of ages, might naturally have happened.

Now I admit without hefitation the aphorifm 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

focial union in the abfence of publick honour and juftice, for which in evil times it is a general fubftitute, would combine them at length in communities more or lefs regular; laws would be propofed by a part of each community, but enacted by the whole ; and governments would be varioufly arranged for the happinefs or mifery of the governed, according to their own virtue and wifdom, or depravity and folly; fo that, in lefs than three thoufand years, the world would exhibit the fame appearances, which we may actually obferve on it in the age of the great *Arabian* impoftor.

On that part of it, to which our united reſearches are generally confined, we fee five races of men peculiarly diſtinguiſhed, in the time of MUHAMMED, for their multitude and extent of dominion; but we have reduced them to *three*, becauſe we can diſcover no more, that eſſentially differ in language, religion, manners, and other known characteriſticks: now thoſe three races, how variouſly foever they may at preſent be diſperſed and intermixed, muſt (if the preceding conclufions be juſtly drawn) have migrated originally from a central country, to find which is the problem propoſed for ſolution. Suppoſe it ſolved; and give any arbitrary name to that centre: let it, if you pleaſe, be *Iràn*. The three primitive languages, therefore, muſt at firſt have

been concentrated in *Iràn*, and there only in fact we see traces of them in the earliest historical age ; but, for the sake of greater precision, conceive the whole empire of *Iràn*, with all its mountains and valleys, plains and rivers, to be every way infinitely diminished; the first winding courses, therefore, of all the nations proceeding from it by land, and nearly at the same time, will be little right lines, but without interfections, because those courses could not have thwarted and crossed one another: if then you consider the feats of all the migrating nations as points in a surrounding figure, you will perceive, that the several rays, diverging from *Iràn*, may be drawn to them without any interfection; but this will not happen, if you assume as a centre *Syria*, 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 diction, but for the sake of conciseness and variety, and from a wish to avoid repetitions ; the substance of my argument having been detailed in a different form at the close of another discourse ; nor does the argument in any form rise to demonstration, which the question by no means admits; it amounts, however, to such a **proof**,

grounded on written evidence and credible testimony, as all mankind hold sufficient for decisions affecting property, freedom, and life.

Thus then have we proved, that the inhabitants of Asia, and consequently, as it might be proved, of the whole earth, sprang from three branches of one stem : and that those branches have shot into their present state of luxuriance in a period comparatively short, is apparent from a fact universally acknowledged, that we find no certain monument, nor 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 MOSHES ; for so he writes his own name, which,

after the *Greeks* and *Romans*, we have changed into MOSES ; and, though it was manifestly his object to give an historical account of a single family, he has introduced it with a short view of the primitive world, and his introduction has been divided, perhaps improperly, into *eleven* chapters. After describing with awful sublimity the creation of this universe, he asserts, that one pair of every animal species was called from nothing into existence ; that the human pair were strong enough to be happy, but free to be miserable ; that, from delusion and temerity, they disobeyed their supreme benefactor, whose goodness could not pardon them confidently 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 fads 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 fages, to embellish and dignify historical truth ; and, if this were a time for such illustrations, we might produce the farne account of the *creation* and the *fall*, expressed by symbols very nearly similar, from the *Puranas*

themselves, and even from the *Féda*, 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 *Purāṇa* to the detail of that event, which they relate, as usual, in fables or allegories. I concur most heartily with those, who insist, that, in proportion as any fact mentioned in history seems repugnant to the course of nature, or, in one word, miraculous, the stronger evidence is required to induce a rational belief of it; but we hear without incredulity, that cities have been overwhelmed by eruptions from burning mountains, territories laid waste by hurricanes, and whole islands depopulated by earthquakes: if then we look at the firmament sprinkled with innumerable stars; if we conclude by a fair analogy, that every star is a sun, attracting, like ours, a system of inhabited planets; and if our ardent fancy, foaming 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 fumber or end, we cannot but confider the fubmerfion of our little fphero'id as an infinitely lefs event in refpect of the immeafurable unilverfe, than the deftruction of a city or an ifle in refpect of this habitable globe. Let a general flood, however, be fuppofed improbable in proportion to the magnitude of fo ruinous an event, yet the concurrent evidences of it are completely adequate to the fuppofed improbability; but, as we cannot here expatiate on thofe proofs, we proceed to the fourth important fact recorded in the *Mofaick* hiftory; I mean the firft propagation and early difperfion of mankind *in feparate families* to feparate places of refidence.

Three fons of the juft and virtuous man, whole lineage was preferved from the general inundation, travelled, we are told, as they began to multiply, in *three* large divifions varioufly fubdivided : the children of YA'FET feem, from the traces of *Sklavonian* names, and the mention of their being *enlarged*, to have fpread themfelves far and wide, and to have produced the race, which, for want of a corredt appellation, we cali *Tartarian*; the colonies, formed by the fons of HAM and SHEM, appear to have been nearly fimultaneous; and, among thofe of the latter branch, we find fo many names incontestably preferved at this hour in *Arabia*, that we cannot

hesitate in pronouncing them the farne peopje, whom hitherto we have denominated *Arabs*; while the former branch, the moft powerful and adventurous of whom weré the progeny of CUSH, MISR, and RAMA (nanees remaining unchanged in *Sanfcrit*, and highly revered by the *Hindus*), were, in all probability, the race, which I call *Indian*, and to which we may now give any other name, that may feem more proper and comprehensive.

The general introduction to the Jewifh hiftory closes with a very concife and obfcure account of a prefumptuous and mad attempt, by a particular colony, to build a fplendid city and raife a fabrick of immenfe height, independently of the divine aid, and, it fhould feem, in defiance of the divine power; a projeft, which was baffled by means appearing at firft view inadequate to the purpofe, but ending in violent diflentioix among the projeftors, and in the ultimate feparation of them: this event alfo feems to be recorded by the ancient *Hindus* in two of their *Puráñas*; and it will be proved, I truft, on fome future occafion, that *the lion burfting from a pillar to deftroy a blaſpbeming giant*, and *the dwarf, who beguiled and held in deri/ion the magnilicent BELI*, are one and the farne ftory related in a fymbolical ftyle.

Now thefe primeval events are defcribed as

håving bappened between the *Oxus* and *Euphrates*, the mountains of *Caucafus* and the borders of *India*, that is, within the limits of *Iràn*; for, though moft of the *Mofaick* natnes have been confiderably altered, yet numbers of them remain unchanged: we ftill find *Harrdn* in *Me fopotamia*, and travellers appear unanimous in fixing the fite of ancient *Babel*.

Thus, on the preceding fuppofition, that the firft eleven chapters of the book, which it is thought proper to call *Genefis*, are merely a preface to the oldeft civil hiftory now extant, we fee the truth of them confirmed by antecedent reafoning, and by evidence in part highly probable, and in part certain; but the *connettion* of the *Mofaick* hiftory with that of the Gofpel by a chain of fublime prediétions unqueftionably ancient, and apparently fulfilled, muft induce us to think the *Hebrew* narrative more than human in its origin, and confequently true in every fubftantial part of it, though poffibly expreffed in figurative language; as many learned and pious men have believed, and as the moft pious may believe without injury, and perhaps with advantage, to the caufe of revealed religion. If Moses then was endued with fupernatural knowledge, it is no longer probable only, but abfolutely certain, that the whole race of man proceeded from *Iran*, as from a centre, whence they

migrated at firft in three great colonies; and that thofe three branches grew from a common flock, which had been miraculoufly preferved in a general convulfion and inundation of this globe.

Having arrived by a different path at the farne conclufion with Mr. BRYANT as to one of thofe families, the moft ingenious and enterprifmg of the three, but arrogant, cruel, and idolatrous, which we both conclude to be various fhoots from the *Hamian* or *Amonian* branch, I fhall add but little to my former obfervations on his profound and agreeable work, which I have thrice perufed with increafed attention and **plea-**sure, though not with perfedt acquiefcence in the other lefs important parts of his plaufible fyftem. The fum of his argument feems reducible to three heads. Firft; " if the deluge " really happened at the time recorded by " MOSES, thofe nations, whose monuments are " preferved or whose writings are acceffible, " muft have retained memorials of an event fo " ftupendous and comparatively fo recent; **but** " in fact they have retained fuch memorials:" this reafoning feems juft, and the fact is true beyond controverfy: Secondly; " thofe memorials " were exprefled by the race of H A M , before *' the ufe of letters, in rude fculpture or painting, and moftly in fymbolical figures of **the**

" *ark*, the eight perfons concealed in it, and the
 " birds, which firft were difmiffed from it: this
 " fact is probable, but, I think, not fufficiently
 " afcertained." Thirdly; " all ancient Mytho-
 " logy (except what was purely *Sabian*) had
 " its primary fource in thofe various fymbols
 " mifunderftood; fo that ancient Mythology
 " ftands now in the place of fymbolical fculture
 " or painting, and muft be explained on the
 " farne principles, on which wc fhould begin to
 " decypher the originals, if they now exifted :"
 this part of the fyftem is, in my opinion, carried
 too far ; nor can I perfuade myfelf (to give one
 inftance out of many) that the beautiful allegory
 of CUPID and PSYCHE had the remoteft allufion
 to the deluge, or that HYMEN fignified the *veil*,
 which covered the patriarch and his family.
 Thefe propofitions, however, are fupported with
 great ingenuity and folid erudition, but, unpro-
 fitably for the argument, and unfortunately, per-
 haps, for the farne of the work itfelf, recourfe is
 had to etymological conjeflure, than which no
 mode of reafoning is in general weaker or more
 delufive. He, who profefles to derive the words
 of any one language from thofe of another, muft
 expofe himfelf to the danger of perpetual errors,
 unlefs he be perfectly acquainted with both ; yet
 my refpectable friend, though eminently (killed
 in the idioms of *Greecc* and *Rome*, has no fort

of acquaintance with any *Afiatick* dialed, except *Hebrew*; and he has confequently made miftakes, which every learner of *Arabick* and *Perjian* muft intantly detedt. Among fifty radical words (*ma*, *taph*, and *ram* being included), eighteen are purely of *Arahan* origin, twelve merely *Indian*, and feventeen both *Sancrit* and *Arabick* but in fenfes totally different; while *kco* are *Greek* only, and one *Egyptian*, or barbarous: if it be urged, that thofe radicals (which ought furely to have concluded, inftead of preceding, an *analytical* inquiry) are precious traces of the primitive language, from which all otherfr were deri ved, or to which at leaft they were fubfequent, I can only declare my belief, that the language of NOAH is loft irretrievably, and affure you, that after a diligent fearch, I cannot find a fingle word ufed in common by the *Arahan*, *Indian*, and *Tartar* families, before the intermixture of dialeds occafioned by *Mobammedan* conquefts. There are, indeed, very obvious traces of the *Hamian* language, and forne hundreds of words might be produced, which were formerly ufed promifcuoufly by moft nations of that race; but I beg leave, as a philologer, to enter my proteft againft conjectural etymology in hiftorical refearches, and principally againft the licentioufnefs of etymologifts in tranfpofing and inferting letters, in fubftituting at pleafure

any confonant for another of the farne order, and in totelly difregarding the vowels : for fuch permutations few radical words would be more convenient than Cus or CUSH, fince, dentals being changed for dentals, and palatials for palatials, it infantly becomes *coot*, *goofe*, and, by tranfpofition, *duckj* all water-birds, and *evidenily fým-bolical*; it next is the *goat* Worfhipped in *Egypt*, and, by a metathefis, the *dog* adored as an emblem of SIRIUS, or, more obvioufly, a *cat*, not the domeftick animal, but a fort of fhip, and, the *Catos*, or great fea-fifh, of the *Dorians*. It will hardly be imagined, that I mean by this irony to infult an author, whom I refpect and efteem ; but no confideration fhould induce me to affift by my filence in the diffufion of errour; and I contend, that almoft any word or nation might be derived from any other, if fuch licences, as I am oppofing, were permitted in etymological hiftories: vvhen we find, indecd, the farne words, letter for letter, and in a fenfe precifely the farne, in diiferent languages, we can fcarce hefitate in allowing them a common origin ; and, not to depart from the example before us, when we fee CUSH or Cus (for the *Sanfcrit* *narac* alfo is varioufly pronounced) among the fons of BRAHMA', that is, among the progenitors of the *Hindus*, and at the head of an ancient pedigree prefervcd in the *Rãmayan* ; when we meet with

his name again in the family of RA'MA ; when we know, that the name is venerated in the higheft degree, and given to a facred grafs, defcribed as a *Poa* by KOENIG, which is ufed with a thoufand ceremonies in the oblations to fire, ordained by MENU to form the facrificial zone of the *Brahmans*, and folemnly declared in the *Véda* to have fprung up foon after the *deluge*, whence the *Paurdnicks* confider it as *the brijly hair of the boar which fupported the globe*; when we add, that one of the feven *dwipas*, or great peninfulas of this earth, has the fame appellation, we can hardly doubt that the Cufn of MOSES and VA'LMIC was the fame perfonage and an anceftor of the *Indian* race.

From the teftimonies adduccd in the fix laft annual difcourfes, and from the additional proofs laid before you, or rather opened, on the prefent occafion, it feems to follow, that the only human family after the flood eftablifhed themftlves in the northern parts of *Iran*; that, as they multiplied, they were divided into three diftinct branches, each retaining little at firft, and lofing the whole by degrees, of their common primary language, but agreeing feverally on new exprefions for new ideas ; that the branch of YA'FET was *enlarged* in many fcattered fhoots over the north of *Europe* and *Afia*, diffufing themfelves as far as the weftern and eaftern feas, 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 H A M , 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 faros*, and contrived the old system of Mythology, partly allegorical, and partly grounded on idolatrous veneration for their sages and lawgivers; that they were dispersed at various intervals and in various colonies over land and ocean; that the tribes of MISR, CUSH, and RAMA settled in *Africa* and *India*, while some of them, having improved the art of sailing, passed from *Egypt* *Phenice*, and *Phrygia*, in to *Italy* and *Greece*, which they found thinly peopled by former emigrants, of whom they supplanted some tribes, and united themselves with others ; while 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 *Caspian* and *Eight*, *Kbatar* and *Kboten*, as far as the territories of *China* and *Tan-cut*, where letters have been used and arts immemorially cultivated ; nor is it unreasonable

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to believe, that some of them found their way from the eastern isles into *Mexico* and *Peru*, where traces were discovered of rude literature and Mythology analogous to those of *Egypt* and *India*; that, thirdly, the old *Chaldean* empire being overthrown by the *Affyrians* under GAYUMERS, 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 *Arahian* peninsula, prelling 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 bands, 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

confiderable remains in their feveral countries at the time of MUHAMMED V birth, 'ts now accomplifhed ; fuccinctly, from the nature of thefe effays ; imperfectly, from the darknefs of the fubject and fcantinefs of my materials, but clearly and comprehenfively enough to form a bafis for fubfequent refearches: you have feen, as diftinctly as I am able to Ihew, *who* thofe nations originally were, *whence* and *when* they moved toward their final ftations ; and, in my future annual difcourfes, I propofe to enlarge on the *particular • advantages* to our country and to mankind, which may rcfulr from our fedulous and united inquiries into the hiftory, fcience, and arts, of thefe *Afiatick* regions, efpecially of the *Britifh* dominions in *India*, which we may confidèr as the centre (not of the human race, but) of our common exertions to promote its true interefts ; and we fhall concur, I **truft**, in opinion, that the race of man, to advance whofe manly happinefs is our duty and will of courfe be our endeavour, cannot long be happy without virtue, nor adlively virtuous without freedom, nor fecurely free without rational **know-**
kdge.

THE TENTH
ANNIVERSARY DISCOURSE

BEUVERED 28 FEBRUARY, 1793.

THE PRESIDENT.

VN ASIATICK HISTORY, CIVIL AND NATURAL.

BEFORE our entrance, gentlerrieri, into the difquifition, promifed at the clofe of my ninth annual difcourfe, bn the *particidar advantages*, which may be déived from our concurrent re-fearches in *Afia*, it feems neceffary to fix with jprecifion the fenfé, in which we mean to fpeak of *advaniage* or *Utility*: now, as we have de-fcribed the five *Afiatick* regions on their largeft fcale, artd have expanded our coriceptions in proportion to the magnitude of that wide field, we fhould ufe thofe words, which comprehend the fruit of all our inquiries, in their mod extenfive acceptation ; including not only the folid conveniences and comforts of focial life, but its elegances and innocent pleafures, and even the gratification of a natural and laudable curiofity; for, though labour be clearly the lot of. man itx

this world, yet, in the midst of his most active exertions, he cannot but feel the substantial benefit of every liberal amusement, which may lull his passions to rest, and afford him a sort of repose without the pain of total inaction, and the real usefulness of every pursuit, which may enlarge and diversify his ideas, without interfering with the principal objects of his civil station or economical duties; nor should we wholly exclude even the trivial and worldly sense of *utility*, which too many consider as merely synonymous with *lucre*, but should reckon among useful objects those practical, and by no means Unliberal, arts, which may eventually conduce both to national and to private emolument. With a view then to *advantages* thus explained, let us examine every point in the whole circle of arts and sciences, according to the received order of their dependence on the faculties of the mind, their mutual connexion, and the different subjects, with which they are conversant: our inquiries indeed, of which Nature and Man are the primary objects, must of course be chiefly *Historical* ; but, since we propose to investigate the *Actions* of the several *Asiatick* nations, together with their respective progress in *science* and *art*, we may arrange our investigations under the same three heads, to which our *European* analysts have ingeniously reduced all the branches

of human knowledge ; and my prefent addrefs to the fociety fhall be confined to hiftory, civil and natural, or the obfervation and remembrance of *mere facts*, independently of *ratiocination*, which belongs to philofophy, or of *imitations* and *fubftitutions*, which are the province of art.

Were a fuperior created intelligence to delineate a map of general knowledge (exclusively of that fublime and ftupendous theology* which himfelf could only hope humbly to know by an infinite approximation) he would probably begin by tracing with NEWTON the fyftem of the univerfe, in which he would affign the true place to our little globe ; and, having enumerated its various inhabitants, contents, and productions, would proceed to man in' his natural ftation among animals, exhibiting a detail of all the knowledge attained or attainable by the human race; and thus obferving, perhaps, the farne order, in which he had before defcribed other beings in other inhabited worlds: but, though BACON feems to have had a fimilar reafon for placing the hiftory of Nature before that of Man, or the whole before one of its parts, yet, confiftently with our chief object already mentioned, we may properly begin with the *civil hiftory* of the five *Afiatick* nations, which neceffarily comprifes their Geography, or a de-

cription of the *places*, where they have acted, and their aftronomy, which may enable us to fix with fome accuracy the *time* of their actions; we fhall thence be led to the hiftory of fuch other *animals*, of fuch *minerals*, and of fuch *vegetables*, as they may be fuppofed to have found in their feveral migrations and fettlements, and fhall end with the *ufes* to which they have applied, or may apply, the rich affemblage of natural fubftances.

I. IN the firft place, we cannot furely deem it an inconfiderable advantage, that all our hiftorical refearches have confirmed the *Mofaick* accounts of the primitive world; and our teftimony on that fubject ought to have the greater weight, becaufe, if the refult of our obfervations had been totally different, we fhould neverthelefs have publifhed them, not indeed with equal pleafure, but with equal confidence; for *Truth is mighty, and*, whatever be its confequences, *muft always prevail*: but, independently of our intereft in corroborating the multiplied evidencea of revealed religion, we could fcarce gratify our minds with a more ufeful and rational entertainment, than the contemplation of thofe wonderful revolutions in kingdoms and ftates, which have happened within little more than four thoufand years ; revolutions, almoft as fully demonftrative of an all-ruling Providence, as the

ftructure of the univerfe and the final caufes, which are difcernible in its whole extent and even in its minuteft parts, Figure to your imaginations a moving picture of that eventful period, or rather a fucceffion of crouded fcenes rapidly changed. Three families migrate in different courfes from one region, and, in about four centuries, eftablifh very diftant governments and various modes of fociety: *Egyptians, Indians, Goths, Pbenicians, Celts, Greeks, Latians, Cbinefe, Pemvians, Mexicaiis*, all fprung from the farne immediate ftem, appear to ftart nearly at one time, and occupy at length thofe countries, to which they have given, or from which they have derived, their names: in twelve or thirteen hundred years more the *Greeks* overrun the land of their forefathers, invade *India* conquer *Egypt*, and aim at univerfal dominion; but the *Romans* appropriate to themfelves the whole empire of *Greece*, and carry their arms into *Britain*, of which they fpeak with haughty contempt: the *Goths*, in the fulnefs of time, break to pieces the unwieldly *Coloffus* of *Roman* power, and feize on the whole of *Britain*, except its wild mountains; but even thofe wilds become fubject to other invaders of the farne *Gotbick* lineage: during all thefe tranfactions, the *Arabs* poffefs both coafts of the Red Sea, Cubdue the old feat of their firft progenitors, and

extend their conquests on one side, through *Africk*, into *Europe* itself; on another, beyond the borders of *India*, part of which they annex to their flourishing empire : in the same interval the *Tartars*, widely diffused over the rest of the globe, swarm in the north-east, whence they rush to complete the reduction of CONSTANTINE'S beautiful domains, to subjugate *Cbina*, to raise in these *bidian* realms a dynasty splendid and powerful, and to ravage, like the two other families, the devoted regions of *Iràn*: by this time the *Mexicans* and *Peruvians*, with many races of adventurers variously intermixed, have peopled the continent and isles of *America*, which the *Spaniards*, having restored their old government in *Europe*, discover and in part overcome : but a colony from *Britain*, of which CICERO ignorantly declared, that *it contained nothing valuable*, obtain the possession, and finally the sovereign dominion, of extensive *American* districts; whilst other *British* subjects acquire a subordinate empire in the finest provinces of *India*, which the victorious troops of ALEXANDER were unwilling to attack. This outline of human transactions, as far as it includes the limits of *Asia*, we can only hope to fill up, to strengthen, and to colour, by the help of *Asiatick* literature; for in history, as in law, we must not follow streams, when we may investigate foun~

tains 'nor admit any fecondary proof, where primary evidence is attainable: I fhould, nevertheless, make a bad return for your indulgent attention, were I to repeat a dry lift of all the *Mufelman* hiftorians, whose works are preferved in *Arabick*, *Perfian*, and *Turkifh*, or expatiate on the hiftories and medals of *Cbina* and *Japan*, which may in time be acceffible to members of our Society, and from which alone we can expect: information concerning the ancient ftate of the *Tartars* ; but on the hiftory of *India*, which we naturally confider as the centre of our enquiries, it may not be fuperfluous to prefent you with a few particular obfervations.

Our knowledge of civil *Afiatick* hiftory (I always except that of the *JAebrews*) exhibits a fhort evening twilight in the venerable introduction to the firft book of *MOSES*, followed by a gloomy night, in which different watches are faintly difcernible, and at length we fee a dawn fucceeded by a funrife more or lefs early according to the diverfity of regions. That no *Hindu* nation, but the *Cafhmirians*, have left us regular hiftories in their ancient language, we muft ever lament; but from *Sanfcrit* literature, which our country has the honour of having unveiled, we may ftill collect fome rays of hiftorical truth, though time and a feries of revolutions have obfcured that light which we might reafonably

have expected from so diligent and ingenious a people. The numerous *Par'was* and *Itihâsas*, or poems mythological and heroick, are completely in our power; and from them we may recover some disfigured, but valuable, pictures of ancient manners and governments; while the popular *tales* of the *Hindus*, in prose and in verse, contain fragments of history; and even in their *dramas* we may find as many real characters and events, as a future age might find in our own plays, if all histories of *England* were, like those of *India*, to be irrecoverably lost: for example, a most beautiful poem by SO'MADE'VA, comprising a very long chain of instructive and agreeable stories, begins with the famed revolution at *Vâtaliputra* by the murder of King NANDA, with his eight sons, and the usurpation of CHANDRAGUPTA; and the same revolution is the subject of a tragedy in *Sanskrit*, entitled the Coronation of CHANDRA, the abbreviated name of that able and adventurous usurper. From these, once concealed but now accessible, compositions, we are enabled to exhibit a more accurate sketch of old *Indian* history than the world has yet seen, especially with the aid of well-attested observations on the pieces of the colures. It is now clearly proved, that the first *Purâna* contains an account of the deluge, between which and the *Mohammedan* conquests'

the history of genuine *Hindu* government must of course be comprehended ; but we know from an arrangement of the leafons in the astronomical work of P A R A ' S A R A , that the war of the P A ' N - D A V A S could not have happened earlier than the close of the twelfth century before CHRIST, and SELEUCUS must, therefore, have reigned about nine centuries after that war: now the age of VICRAMA'DITYA is given; and, if we can fix on an *Indian* prince, contemporary with SELEUCUS, we shall have three given points in the line of time between RAMA, or the first *Indian* colony, and CHANDRABI'JA, the last *Hindu* monarch, who reigned in *Behar*; so that only eight hundred or a thousand years will remain almost wholly dark; and they must have been employed in raising empires or states, in framing laws, in improving languages and arts, and in observing the apparent motions of the celestial bodies. A *Sanscrit* history of the celebrated VICRAMA'DITYA was inspected at *Banarès* by a *Pandit*, who would not have deceived me, and could not himself have been deceived; but the owner of the book is dead and his family dispersed; nor have my friends in that city been able, with all their exertions, to procure a copy of it: as to the *Mogul* conquests* with which modern *Indian* history begins, we have ample accounts of them in *Pasian*, from*

A L I of Yezd and the tranflations of *Turkifh* books compofed even by fome of the conquerors, to GHULA'M HUSAIN, whom many of us perfonally know, and whofe impartiality deferves the higheft applaufe, though his unrewarded merit will give no encouragement to other contemporary hiftorians, who, to ufe his own phrafe in a letter to myfelf, may, Hke him, *confiderplaiui truth as the beauty of hiftorical compofition*. From all thefe materials, and from thefe alone, a perfect hiftory of *India* (if a mere compilation, however elegant, could deferve fuch a title) might be collected by any ftudious man, who had a competent knowledge of *Sanfcrit*, *Perfian*, and *Arabick*; but, even in the work of a writer fo qualified, we could only give abfolute credence to the general outline; for, while the abftrad *fciences* are all truth, and the line *arts* all fiction, we cannot but own, that, in the *détails of hiftory*, truth and fiction are fo blended as to bc fcarce diftinguifhable,

The practical ufe of hiftory, in affording particular *examples* of civil and military wifdom, has been greatly exaggerated ; but *principles* of action may certainly be collected from it; and even the narrative of wars and revolutions may ferve as a teflon to nations and an admonition to fovereigns: a defire, indeed, of knowing paff events, while the future cannot be known, and

a view of the present gives often more pain than delight, seems natural to the human mind ; and a happy propensity would it be, if every reader of history would open his eyes to some very important corollaries, which flow from the whole extent of it, He could not but remark the constant effect of *despotism* in benumbing and debasing all those faculties, which distinguish men from the herd, that grazes; and to that cause he would impute the decided inferiority of most *Asiatick* nations, ancient and modern to those in *Europe*, who are blest with happier governments ; he would see the *Arabs* rising to glory, while they adhered to the free maxims of their bold ancestors, and sinking to misery from the moment, when those maxims were abandoned. On the other hand he would observe with regret, that such *republican* governments as tend to produce virtue and happiness, cannot in their nature be permanent, but are generally succeeded by *Oligarchies*, which no good man would wish to be durable. He would then, like the king of *Lydia*, remember SOLON, the wisest, bravest, and most accomplished of men, who asserts, in four nervous lines, that,

" as *bail and snow*, which mar the labours of
 " husbandmen, proceed from elevated *clouds*, and,
 " as the destructive *thunderbolt* follows the *brilliant*
 " *liant flajb*, thus is a free *state* ruined by men

" exalted in power and splendid in wealth, whiti
 " the people, from grofs ignorance, chufe rather
 " to become the flaves of one tyrant, that they
 " may efcape from the domination of many,
 " than to preferve themfelves from tyranny of
 " any kind by their union and their virtues.'¹

Since, therefore, no unmixed form of govern[^]ment could both deferve permanence and enjoy it, and fince changes even from the worft to the beft, are always attended with much temporary mifchief, he woukl fix on our *Britifh* conftitution (I mean our *publick law*, not the adtual *flate of things* in any given period) as the beft form ever eflablifhed, though we can only make diftant approaches to its theoretical perfektion. In thefe *Lidian* territories, which providence has thrown into the arms of *Britain* for their protection and welfare, the religion, manners* and laws of the natives preclude even the idea of polkicat freedom; but their hiftories may poffibly fuggeft hints for their profperity, while our country derives effential benefit from the diligence of a placid and fubmiffive people, whd multiply with fuch increafe, even after the ravages of famine, that, in one collectorfhip out of *twenty-four*, and that by no means the largeft or beft cultivated (I mean *Crifhna-nagar*) therd have lately been found, by an actual enumeration, a *million* and *thrce bundred thoufand*

liative inhabitants; whence it fhould feem, that in all *India* there cannot now be fewer than thirty millions of black *Britifh* fubjects.

Let us proceed to *geography* and *chronology*, without which hiftory would be no certain guide, but would refemble a kindled vapour without either a fettled place or a fteady light. For a reafon before intimated I fhall not name the various cofmographical books, which are extant in *Arabick* and *Perfian*, nor give an account of thofe, which the *Turks* have beautifully printed in their own improved language, but fhall expatiate a little on the geography and aftronomy of *India* ; having firft obferved generally, that all the *Afiatick* nations muft be far better acquainted with their feveral countries than mere *European* fcholars and travellers; that, confequently, we muft learn their geography from their own writings; and that, by collating many copies of the farne work, we may correct the blunders of tranfcribers in tables, names, and defcriptions.

Geography, aftronomy, and chronology have, in this part of *Afia*, ftiated the fate of authentick hiftory and, like that, have been fo masked and bedecked in the fantaftick robes of mythology and metaphor, that the real fyftein of *Indian* philofophers and mathematicians can fcarce be diftinguifhed: an accurate knowlodge of *Hanſcrit* and a confidential intercourfe with learned

Brahmens, are the only means of separating truth from fable; and we may expect the most important discoveries from two of our members; concerning whom it may be safely asserted, that, if our society should have produced no other advantage than the invitation given to them for the public display of their talents, we should have a claim to the thanks of our country and of all *Europe*. Lieutenant W I L F O R D has exhibited an interesting specimen of the geographical knowledge deducible from the *Puranas*, and will in time present you with so complete a treatise on the ancient world known to the *Hindus*, that the light acquired by the *Greeks* will appear but a glimmering in comparison of that, which He will diffuse; while Mr. DAVIS, who has given us a distinct idea of *Indian* computations and cycles, and ascertained the place of the colures at a time of great importance in history, will hereafter disclose the systems of *Hindu* astronomers from NA'RED and PARA'SAR to MEYA, VARA'HAMIHIR, and BHA'SCAR, and will soon, I trust, lay before you a perfect delineation of all the *Indian* asterisms in both hemispheres, where you will perceive so strong a general resemblance to the constellations of the *Greeks*, as to prove that the two systems were originally one and the same, yet with such a diversity in parts, as to show incon-

that neither fyftem was copied from the other; whence it will follow, that they muft have had fome common fourde.

The jurifprudence of the *Hindus* and *Arabe* being the field, which I have chofen for my peculiar toil, you cannot exped, that I fhould greatly enlarge your collection of hiftorieal knowledge ; but I may be able to offer you fome occafional tribute, and I cannot help mentioning a difcovery, which accident threw in my way; though my proofs muft be referved for an effay, which I have deftined for the fourth volume of your Tranfactions. To fix the fituation of that *Palibothra* (for there may have been feveral of the name), which was vifited and defcribed by MEGASTHENES had always appeared a very difficult problem ; for, though it could not have been *Praydga*, where no ancient metropolis ever ftood, nor *Cdnyacubja*, which has no epithet at all refembling the word ufed by the *Greeks*, nor *Gaur*, otherwife cailed *Lacfbmanavati*, which all know to be a town comparatively modern, yet we could not confidently decide that it was *Pataliputra*, though names and moft circumftances nearly correftpond, becaufe that renowned capital extended from the confluence of the *Sone* and the *Ganges* to the fcite of *Patna*, while *Palihotbra* ftood at the jundion of the *Ganges* and *Erannoboas*, which

the accurate M. D'ANVILLE had pronounced it to be the *Tanfunà*: but this only difficulty was removed, when I found in a classical *Sanfcritti* book, near two thousand years old, that *Hiranyabdbu*, or *golden-armed*, which the *Greeks** changed into *Erannoboas*, or the river with a lovely murmur, was in fact another name for the *Sona* itself, though MEGASTHENES, from ignorance or inattention, has named them separately. This discovery led to another of greater moment; for CHANDRAGUPTA, who, from a military adventurer, became, like SANDRACOTTUS, the sovereign of upper *Hindustan*, actually fixed the seat of his empire at *Pataliputra*, where he received ambassadors from foreign princes, and was no other than that very SANDRACOTTUS, who concluded a treaty with SELEUCUS Nicator; so that we have solved another problem, to which we before alluded, and may in round numbers consider the twelve and three hundredth years before CHRIST as two certain epochs between RA'MA, who conquered *Silân* a few centuries after the flood, and VICRAMA'DITYA, who died at *Ujjayini* fifty-seven years before the beginning of our era.

II. SINCE these discussions would lead us too far, I proceed to the history of Nature distinguished, for our present purpose, from that of Man; and divided into that of other *animals*,

who inhabit this globe, of the *mineral* substances, which it contains, and of the *vegetables*, which so luxuriantly and so beautifully adorn it.

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

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

There may be only a confession of weakness, and it certainly is not meant as a boast of peculiar sensibility; but, whatever name may be given to my opinion, it has such an ~~effect~~ on my conduct; that I never would suffer the *Cécilia*, whose *wild native woodnotes* announce the approach of

fprihg, to be caught in my garden for the fake of comparing it with BUFFON'S defcription; though I have often examined the domeftick and engaging *Mayana*, which *bids us good morrow at our windows*, and expects, as its reward, little more than fecurity: even when a fine young *Manis* or *Pangolin* was brought me, againft my wifh, from the mountains, I folicted his reftoration to his beloved rocks, becaufe I found it impoffible to preferve him in comfort at a diftance from them. There are feveral treatifes on animals in *Arabick*, and very particular accounts of them in *Chinefe* with elegant outlines of their external appearance ; but I have met with nothing valuable concerning them in *Perfian*, except what may be gleaned from the medical dictionaries; nor have I yet feen a book in *Sancrit*, that exprefsly treats of them: on the whole, though rare animals may be found in all *Afia*, yet I can only recommend an examination of them with this condition, that they be leit, as much as poffible, in a ftate of naturai freedom, or made as happy as poffible, if it be neceffary to keep them confined.

2. The hiftory of minerals, to which no fuch objection can be made, is extrcraely fimpie and eafy, if we merely confider their exterior look and configuration, and their vifible texture; but the analyfis of their internal properties belongs

particularly to the fublime refearches of Chymiftry, on which we may hope to find ufeful difquifitions in *Sanfcrit*, fince the old *Hindus* unquestionably applied themfelves to that enchanting ftudy; and even from their treatifes on alchymy we may poffibly collect the refults of a£tual experiment, as their ancient aftrological works have preferved many valuable facts relating to the *Indian* fphere and the preceffion of the equinox; both in *Perfian* and *Sanfcrit* there are books on metals and minerals, particularly On *gems*, which the *Hindu* philofophers confidered (with an exception of the diamond) as varieties of one cryftalline fubftance either fimpie or compound: but we muft not expett from the chymifts of *Afia* thofe beautiful examples of analyfis which have but lately been difplayed in the laboratories of *Europe*.

3. We now come to *Botany*, the lovclieft and moft copious diyifion in the hiftory of nature ; and, all difputes on the comparative merit of fyftems being at length, I hope, condemned to *otte perpetual night of undiflurbed Jlumber*, we cannot employ our leifure more delightfully, than in defcribing all new *Afxatick* plants in the *Linnaan* ftyle and method, or in correcting the defcriptions of thofe already known, but of which dry fpecimens only, or drawings, can have been feen by moft *European* botanifts: in this

part of natural hiftory we have an ample field yet unexplored; for, though many plants of *Arabia* have been made known by GARCIA, PROSPER ALPINUS, and FORSKOËL, of *Perfia*, by GARCIN, of *Tartary*, by GMELIN and PALLAS, of *China* and *Japan*, by KCEMPFÉR, OSBECK, and THUNBERG, of *India*, by RHEEDE and RUMPHIUS, the two BURMANS, and the much-lamented KOENIG, yet none of thofe naturalifts were deeply verfed in the literature of the feveral countries, from which their vegetable treasures had been procured; and the numerous works in *Sanfcrit* on medical fubftances, and chiefly on plants, have never been infpected, or never at leaft underftood, by any *European* attached to the ftudy of nature. Until the garden of the *India* Company fhall be fully ftored (as it will be, no doubt, in due time) with *Arabian*, *Perfian*, and *Cbinefe* plants, we may well be fatisfied with examining the native flowers of our own provinces; but, unlefs we can difcover the *Sanfcrit* names of all celebrated vegetables, we fhall neither comprehend the allufions, which *Indian* poets perpetually make to them, nor (what is far worfe) be able to find accounts of their tried Virtues in the writings of *Indian* phyficians; and (what is worft of all) we fhall mifs an opportunity, which never again may prefent itfelf; for the *Pandits* themfelves have almoft

tørholly forgotten their ancient appellations of particular plants, and, with all my pains, I have not yet ascertained more than *two hundred* out of twice that number, which are named in their medical or poetical compositions. It is much to be deplored, that the illustrious VAN RHEEDE had no acquaintance with *Sanskrit*, which even his three *Bråhmens*, who composed the short preface engraved in that language, appear to have understood very imperfectly, and certainly wrote with disgraceful inaccuracy: in all his twelve volumes I recollect only *Punamavå*, in which the *Nagari* letters are tolerably right; the *Hindu* words in *Arabian* characters are shamefully incorrect; and the *Malabar*, I am credibly informed, is as bad as the rest. His delineations, indeed, are in general excellent; and though LINNÆUS himself could not extract from his written descriptions the natural character of every plant in the collection, yet we shall be able, I hope, to describe them all from the life, and to add a considerable number of new *species*, if not of new *genera*, which RHEEDE, with all his noble exertions, could never procure. Such of our learned members, as profess medicine, will, no doubt, cheerfully assist in these researches, either by their own observations, when they have leisure to make any, or by Communications from other observers among their

acquaintance, who may reside in different parts of the country: and the mention of their art leads me to the various *ufes* of natural substances, in the three kingdoms or classes to which they are generally reduced.

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

Europeans enumerate more than two hundred and fifty mechanical arts, by which the pro*-

ductions of hature may be varioufly prepared for thé convenience and ornament of life ; and, though the *Silpafaftra* reduce *them to fixty-four*, yet ABU'LEFAZL had been affliured, that the *Hindus* reckoned *three hundred arts and fciences*: now, their fciences being comparatively few, we may conclude, that tfeey anciently practifed at leaft as many ufeul arts as ourfelves. Several *Pandits* have informed me, that the treatifes on art, which they call *Upavédas* and believe to have been infpired, are not fo entirely loft, but that confiderable fragments of them may be found at *Banares*; and they certainly poffefs many popular, but ancient, works on that interefting fubject. The manufactures of fugar and indigo have been well known in thefe provinces for more than two thoufand years; and we cannot entertain a doubt, that their *Sanfcrit* books on dying and metallurgy contain very curious fads, which might, indeed, be difcovered by accident in a long courfe of years, but which we may foon bring to light, by the help of *Indian* literature, for the benefit of manufakturers and artifts, and confequently of otir nation, who are interefted in their profperity. Difcoveries of the farne kind might be colleded from the writings of other *Afiatick* nations, efpecialiy of the *Chinefe*; but, though *Perfian*, *Arabick*, *Turkifh* and *Sanfcrit* are languages now fo acceilible, that,

in order to obtain a fufficient knowledge of them, little more feems required than a ftrong inclination to learn them, yet the fupposed number and intricacy of the *Chinefe* characters have deterred our moft diligent ftudents from attempting to find their way through fo vaft a labyrinth: it is certain, however, that the difficulty has been magnified beyond the truth; for the perfpicuous grammar by M, FOURMONT, together with a copious di&ionary, which I poffefs, in *Chinefe* and *Latin*, would enable any man, who pleafed, to compare the original works of CONFUCIUS, which are eafily procured, with the literal tranflation of thém by COUPLET; and, having made that firft ftep with attention, he would probably find, that he had traversed at Jeaft half of his career. But I fhould be led beyond the limits affigned to me on this occafion, if I were to expatiate farther on the hiftorical divifion of the knowledge comprifed in the literature of *Afia*; and I muft poftpone till next year my remarks on *Afiatick* philofophy and on thofe arts, which depend on imagination; promifing you with confidence, that, in the courfe of the prefent year, your inquiries into the *civil and natural hiftory* of this eaftern world will be greatly promoted by the leamed labours of jnany among our affbciates and correpondents,

DISCOURSE THE ELEVENTH.

ON

THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE ASIATICKS*

DELIVERED 20 FEBRUARY, 1794.

BY

THE PRESIDENT-

HAD it been of any importance, gentlemen, to arrange these anniversary dissertations according to the ordinary progress of the human mind, in the gradual expansion of its three most considerable powers, *memory, imagination, and reason*, I should certainly have presented you with an essay on the *liberal arts* of the five Asiatick nations, before I produced my remarks on their *abstract sciences*; because, from my own observation at least, it seems evident, that *fancy*, or the faculty of combining our ideas agreeably by various modes of imitation and substitution, is in general earlier exercised, and sooner attains maturity, than the power of separating and comparing those ideas by the laborious exertions of intellect; and hence, I believe, it has happened, that all nations in the world had poets before

they had mere philofophers: but, as M. D' ALEMBERT has deliberately placed fcience before art, as the queftion of prec'edence is, on this occafion, of no moment whatever, and as many new fadls on the fubject of Afiatick philofophy are frefh in my remfcembrance, I propofe to addrefs you now on the fcienes of *Afia*, referving for our next annual meeting a difquifition concerning thofe fine arts, which have immemorially been cultivated, with difFerent fucces and in very difFerent modes, within the circle of our common inquiries.

By fcience I mean an aflembly of tranfcendental propofitions difcoverable by human reafon, and reducible to firft principles, axioms, or maxims, from which they may all be derived In a regulår fucceffion; and there are confequently as many fcienes as there are general objects of our intelle&ual powers: when man firft exerts thofe powers, his obje&ts are *himfelf* and the reft of *nature* ; himfelf he perceives to be compofed of *body* and *mind*, and in his *individual* capacity, he reafons on the *ufes* of his animal frame and of its parts both exteriour and internal, on the *diforders* impeding the regular fun&ions of thofe parts, and on the moft probable methods of prevehting thofe difordèrs or of removing them; he foon feels the clofe connexion between his corporeal and-mental faculties, and when

his *mind* is reflected on itself, he discourses on its *essence* and its *operations*; in his *social* character, he analyzes his various *duties* and *rights* both private and publick; and in the leisure, which the fullest discharge of those duties always admits, his intellect is directed to *nature* at large, to the *substance* of natural bodies, to their several *properties*, and to their quantity both separate and united, finite and infinite; from all which objects he deduces notions, either purely abstract and universal, or mixed with undoubted facts, he argues from phenomena to theorems, from those theorems to other phenomena, from causes to effects, from effects to causes, and thus arrives at the demonstration of a *first intelligent cause*; whence his collected wisdom, being arranged in the form of science, chiefly consists of *physiology* and *medicine*, *metaphysics* and *logick*, *ethicks* and *jurisprudence*, *natural philosophy* and *mathematics*; from which the *religion of nature* (since revealed religion must be referred to *history*, as alone affording evidence of it) has in all ages and in all nations been the sublime and consoling result. Without professing to have given a logical definition of science, or to have exhibited a perfect enumeration of its objects, I shall confine myself to those five divisions of *Asiatick philosophy*, enlarging for the most part on the progress which the *Hindus* have made in

them, and occasionally introducing the science* of the Arabs and Persians, the *Tartars*, and the *Chinese* ; but, how extensive forever may be the range which I have chosen, I shall beware of exhausting your patience with tedious discussions, and of exceeding those limits, which the occasion of our present meeting has necessarily prescribed.

I. T H E first article affords little scope; since I have no evidence* that, in any language of *Asia*, there exists one original treatise on medicine considered as a science: physics, indeed, appears in these regions to have been from time immemorial, as we see it practised at this day by *Hindus* and *Muslimans*, a mere empirical history of diseases and remedies; useful, I admit, in a high degree, and worthy of attentive examination, but wholly foreign to the subject before us: though the *Arahs*, however, have chiefly followed the *Greeks* in this branch of knowledge, and have themselves been implicitly followed by other *Mohammedan* writers, yet (not to mention the *Chinese*, of whose medical works I can at present say nothing with confidence) we still have access to a number of *Sanskrit* books on the old *Indian* practice of physics, from which, if the *Hindus* had a theoretical system, we might easily collect it. The *Ayurvêda*, supposed to be the work of a celestial

physicians, is almost entirely lost, unfortunately perhaps for the curious *European** but happily for the patient *Hindu* ; since a revealed science precludes improvement from experience, to which that of medicine ought, above all others, to be left perpetually open; but I have myself met with curious fragments of that primeval work, and, in the *Vêda* itself, I found with astonishment an entire *Upanishad* on the internal parts of the human body ; with an enumeration of nerves, veins, and arteries, a description of the heart, spleen, and liver, and various disquisitions on the formation and growth of the fetus ; from the laws, indeed, of MÊNU, which have lately appeared in our own language, we may perceive, that the ancient *Hindus* were fond of reasoning in their way on the mysteries of animal generation, and on the comparative influence of the sexes in the production of perfect offspring; and we may collect from the authorities adduced in the learned Essay on *Egypt* and the *Nile*, that their physiological disputes led to violent schisms in religion, and even to bloody wars. On the whole, we cannot expect to acquire many valuable truths from an examination of eastern books on the science of medicine ; but examine them we must, if we wish to complete the history of universal philosophy, and to sup-

ply the scholars of *Europe* with authentick materials for an account of the opinions anciently formed on this head by the philosophers of *Asia* : to know, indeed, with certainty, that so much and no more can be known on any branch of science, would in itself be very important and useful knowledge, if it had no other effect than to check the boundless curiosity of mankind, and to fix them in the straight path of attainable science, especially of such as relates to their duties and may conduce to their happiness.

II. WE have an ample field in the next division, and a field almost wholly new; since the metaphysics and logick of the *Bráhmens*, comprised in their fix philosophical *Sastras*, and explained by numerous glosses or comments, have never yet been accessible to *Europeans*; and, by the help of the *Sanferit* language, we now may read the works of the *Satogatas*, *Banddhas*, *Arhatas*, *Jainas*, and other heterodox philosophers, whence we may gather the metaphysical tenets prevalent in *China* and *Japan** in the eastern peninsula of *India*, and in many considerable nations of *Tartary*: there are also some valuable tracts on these branches of science in *Persian* and *Arabick*, partly copied from the *Greeks*, and partly comprising the doctrines of the *Súfis* which anciently prevailed, and still

prevail in great measure over this oriental world, and which the *Greeks* themselves condescended to borrow from eastern fables.

The little treatise in four chapters, ascribed to *Vyasa*, is the only philosophical *Sâjlra* the original text of which I have had leisure to peruse with a *Brdhmen* of the *Védânti* school: it is extremely obscure, and, though composed in sentences elegantly modulated, has more resemblance to a table of contents, or an accurate summary, than to a regular systematical tract; but all its obscurity has been cleared by the labour of the very judicious and most learned *SANCARA*, whose commentary on the *Védânta*, which I read also with great attention, not only elucidates every word of the text, but exhibits a perspicuous account of all other *Indian* schools, from that of *CAPILA* to those of the more modern hereticks. It is not possible, indeed, to speak with too much applause of so excellent a work; and I am confident in asserting, that, until an accurate translation of it (shall appear in some *European* language, the general history of philosophy must remain incomplete; for I perfectly agree with those, who are of opinion, that one corrected version of any celebrated *Hindu* book would be of greater value than all the dissertations or essays, that could be composed on the same subject; you will not, however, ex-

pect, that, in fuch a difcourfe as I am now delivering, I fhould expatiate on the diverfit/ or *Indian* philofophical fchools, on the feveral founders of them, on the doctrines, which they refpectively taught, or on their many difciples, who diffented from their instructors in fome particular points. On the prefent occafion, it will be fufficient to fay, that the oldeft head of a fect, whofe entire work is preferved, was (according to fome authors) CAPILA ; not the divine perfonage, a reputed grandfon of BRAHMA', to whom CRI'SHNA compares himfelf in the *Gita*, but a fage of his name, who invented the *Sânébya*, or *Numeral*, philofophy, which CRI'SHNA himfelf appears to impugn in his converfation with ARJUNA, and which, as far as I can recollect it from a few original texts, refembled in part the metaphyficks of PYTHAGORAS, and in part the theology of ZENO: his doctrines were enforced and illuftrated, with fome additions, by the venerable PATANJALI, who has alfo left us a fine comment on the grammatical rules of PAÑINI, which are more obfcure, without a glofs, than the darkeft oracle: **and** here by the way let me add, that I refer to metaphyficks the curious and important fcience of *univerfal grammar*, on which many fubtil difquifitions may be found interperfed in the particular grammars of the ancient *Hindus*, and in

those of the more moderate Arabs. The next founder, I believe, of a philosophical school was GOTAMA, if, indeed, he was not the most ancient of all ; for his wife AHALY'A was, according to *Indian* legends, restored to a human shape by the great RA'MA ; and a sage of his name, whom we have no reason to suppose a different personage, is frequently mentioned in the *Veda* itself; to his rational doctrines those of GANA'NA'DA were in general conformable; and the philosophy of them both is usually called *Nydyā*, or *logical*, a title aptly bestowed ; for it seems to be a system of metaphysics and logic better accommodated than any other anciently known in *India*, to the natural reason and common sense of mankind ; admitting the actual existence of *material substance* in the popular acceptance of the word *matter*, and comprising not only a body of sublime dialectics, but an artificial method of reasoning, with distinct names* for the three parts of a proposition, and even for those of a regular syllogism. Here I cannot refrain from introducing a singular tradition, which prevailed, according to the well-informed author of the *Dabistan*, in the *Panjāb* and in several *Perjian* provinces, that, " among other Indian curiosities, which CALLISTHENES transmitted to his uncle, was a technical system of * logic, which the Brdbmens had communicated

" to the inquisitive *Greek*," and which the *Mohammedan* writer supposes to have been the groundwork of the famous *Aristotelean* method : if this be true, it is one of the most interesting facts, that I have met with in *Asia*; and if it be false, it is very extraordinary, that such a story should have been fabricated either by the candid *MOHSANI Fanni*; or by the simple *Parsi Pandits*, with whom he had conversed; but, not having had leisure to study the *Nyaya Sutra*, I can only assure you, that I have frequently seen perfect syllogisms in the philosophical writings of the *Brāhmens*, and have often heard them used in their verbal controversies. Whatever might have been the merit or age of *Go-TAMA*, yet the most celebrated *Indian* school is that, with which I began, founded by *VYA'SA*, and supported in most respects by his pupil *JAIMINI*, whose dissent on a few points is mentioned by his master with respectful moderation : their several systems are frequently distinguished by the names of the first and second *Mīmāṃsā*, a word, which, like *Nyaya*, denotes the operations and conclusions of reason; but the tradition of *VYA'SA* has in general the appellation of *Védānta*, or the scope and end of the *Veda*, on the texts of which, as they were understood by the philosopher, who collected them, his doctrines are principally grounded. The fundamental tenet

of the *Védānti* school, to which in a more modern age the incomparable SÂNCARA was a firm and illustrious adherent, confided, not in denying the existence of matter, that is, of solidity, impenetrability, and extended figure (to deny which would be lunacy), but, in correcting the popular notion of it, and in contending, that it has no essence independent of mental perception, that existence and perceptibility are convertible terms, that external appearances and sensations are illusory, and would vanish into nothing, if the divine energy, which alone sustains them, were suspended but for a moment; an opinion, which EPICHRMUS and PLATO seem to have adopted, and which has been maintained in the present century with great elegance, but with little publick applause; partly because it has been misunderstood, and partly because it has been misapplied by the false reasoning of some unpopular writers, who are said to have disbelieved in the moral attributes of GOD, whose omnipresence, wisdom, and goodness are the basis of the *hindian* philosophy: I have not sufficient evidence on the subject to profess a belief in the doctrine of the *Védānta*, which human reason alone could, perhaps, neither fully demonstrate, nor fully disprove; but it is manifest, that nothing can be farther removed from impiety than a system wholly built on the purest

devotion; and the inexpressible difficulty, which any man, who shall make the attempt, will almost find in giving a satisfactory definition of *material substance*, must induce us to deliberate with coolness, before we censure the learned and pious redorer of the ancient *Veda* ; though we cannot but admit, that, if the common opinions of mankind be the criterion of philosophical truth, we must adhere to the system of GÓTAMA, which the *Brahmens* of this province almost universally follow.

If the metaphysics of the *Védantis* be wild and erroneous, the pupils of BUDDHA have run, it is asserted, into an error diametrically opposite; for they are charged with denying the existence of pure spirit, and with believing nothing absolutely and really to exist but *material substance*; a heavy accusation which ought only to have been made on positive and incontestable proof, especially by the orthodox *Brahmens*, who, as BUDDHA differed from their ancestors in regard to *bloody sacrifices*, which the *Veda* certainly prescribes, may not unjustly be suspected of low and interested malignity, Though I cannot credit the charge, yet I am unable to prove it entirely false, having only read a few pages of a *Saugata* book, which Captain KIRKPATRICK had lately the kindness to give me; but it begins, like other *Hindbooks*, with the

word Om, which we know to be a fymbol of the divine attributs: then follows, indeed, a myfterious hymn to the Goddeſs of Nature, by the name of *A'ryå*, but with feveral other title, which the *Bråhmens* themſelves continually beftow on their Devi; now the *Brahmens*, who have no idea, that any ſuch perſonage exiſts as DEVI, or the *Goddeſs*, and only mean to expreſs allegorically *the power of GOD*, exerted in creating, preferring and renovating this univerſe, we cannot with juſtice infer, that the differents admit no deity but *viſible nature*: the *Pandit*, who now attends me, and who told Mr. W I L - K I N S, that the *Sangatas* were atheiſts, would not have attempted to reſiſt the decifive evidence of the contrary, which appears in the very inſtrument, on which he was conſulted, if his underſtanding had not been blinded by the intolerant zeal of a mercenary prieſthood. A literal verſion of the book juſt mentioned (if any ſtudious man had learning and induſtry equal to the taſk) would be an ineſtimable treaſure to the compiler of ſuch a hiſtory as that of the laborious BRUCKER; but let us proceed to the *morals* and *jurifprudence* of the *Aſiaticks*, on which I could expatiate, if the occaſion admitted a full diſcuſſion, of the ſubject, with correctneſs and confidence.

III. THAT both ethicks and abſtraſſ; law

might be reduced to the *method of science*, cannot surely be *Amended* ; but, although such a **M**ethod would be of infinite use in a system of universal, or even of national, jurisprudence, yet the *principles* of morality are so few, so luminous, and so ready to present themselves on every occasion, that the practical Utility of a scientific arrangement, in a treatise on ethics, may very justly be questioned. The moralists of the east have in general chosen to deliver their precepts in short sententious maxims, to illustrate them by sprightly comparisons, or to inculcate them in the very ancient form of agreeable apologues ; there are, indeed, both in *Arabick* and *Persian*, philosophical tracts on ethics written with sound ratiocination and elegant perspicuity: but in every part of this eastern world, from *Pekin* to *Damascus*, the popular teachers of moral wisdom have immorially been poets, and there would be no end of enumerating their works, which are still extant in the five principal languages of *Asia*. Our divine religion, the truth of which (if any history be true) is abundantly proved by historical evidence, has no need of such aids, as many are willing to give it, by asserting, that the wisest men of this world were ignorant of the two great maxims that we must act in respect of others, as we should wish them to act in respect of our-

felves, and that, inftead of returning evil for evil, we fhould confer benefits even fe who injure us; but the firft rule is implied in a fpeech of LYSIAS, *and expreffed in diftinct: phrafes by* THALES *and* PITTACUS ; *and I have even feen it word for word in the original of* C O N - FUCIUS, *which I carefully compared with the* *Latin* *tranflation. It has been ufual with zealous men, to ridicule and abufe all thofe, who dâre on this point to quote the* *Cbinefe* *philofopher; but, inftead of fupporting their caufe, they would fhake it, if it could be fhaken, by their uncandid afperity; for they ought to remember, that one great end of revelation, as it is moft exprefsly declared, was not to intrutt the wife and few, but the many and unenlightened. If the converfation, therefore, of the* *Pandit s* *and* *Maulavis* *in this country fhall ever be attempted by pro* teftant miffionaries, they muft beware of afferting, while they teach the gofpel of truth, what thofe* *Pandits* *and* *Maulavis* *would know to be falle: the former would cite the beautiful* *Aryâ* *couplet, which was writtenat leaft three centuries before our era, and which pronounces the duty of a good man, even in the moment of his deftru&ion, to confift not only inforgiving, buteven in a defire of benefiting, bis deftroyer, as the Sandal-tree, in the infant of its overtbrow, fheds perfume on the axe, which fells it; and the latter*

would triumph in repeating the verse of SADI, who reprehensive *return of good for good as a* *Might reciprocity*, but says to the virtuous man, "*Confer beneflts on him who has injured thee*" using an *Arabick* sentence, and a maxim apparently of the ancient *Arabs*. Nor would the *Mufelmans* fail to recite four distichs of HA'FIZ, who has illustrated that maxim with fanciful but elegant allusions;

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

Now there is not a shadow of reason for believing, that the poet of *Sbiraz* had borrowed this doctrine from the *Christians* ; but, as the cause of *Christianity* could never be promoted by falsehood or error, so it will never be obstructed by candour and veracity; for the lessons of CON*FUCIUS and CHANACYA, of SADI and HA'FIZ, are unknown even at this day to millions of *Chinese* and *Hindus** *Persians* and other *Mahomedans* who toil for their daily support; nor, were they known ever so perfectly, would they have a divine sanction with the multitude ;

fo that, in order to enlighten the minds of the ignorant, and to enforce the obedience of the perverse, it is evidently *a priori*, that a revealed religion was necessary in the great system of providence: but my principal motive for introducing this topick, was to give you a specimen of that ancient oriental morality, which is comprised in an infinite number of Persian, Arabick and Sanscrit compositions.

Nearly one half of *jurisprudence* is closely connected with *ethicks*; but, since the learned of Asia consider most of their laws as positive and divine institutions, and not as the mere conclusions of human reason, and since I have prepared a mass of extremely curious materials, which I reserve for an introduction to the digest of *Indian laws*, I proceed to the fourth division, which consists principally of *science* transcendently so named, or *the knowledge of abstract quantities, of their limits, properties and relations*, impressed on the understanding with the force of irresistible *demonstration*, which, as all other knowledge depends at best on our fallible senses, and in great measure on still more fallible testimony, can only be found, in pure mental abstractions; though for all the purposes of life our own senses, and even the credible testimony of others, give us in most cases the highest degree of certainty, physical and moral,

IV. I HAVE already had occasion to touch on the *Indian* methophysicks of *natural bodies* according to the most celebrated of the *Afiatick* schools, from which the *Pythagoreans* are supposed to have borrowed many of their opinions ; and, as we learn from CICERO, that the old sages of *Europe* had an idea of *centripetal force* and a principle of *universal gravitation* (which they never indeed attempted to demonstrate), so I can venture to affirm, without meaning to pluck a leaf from the neverfading laurels of our immortal NEWTON, that the whole of his theology and part of his philosophy may be found in the *Vedas* and even in the works of the *Sufis*: that most subtil spirit, which he supposed to pervade natural bodies, and, lying concealed in them, to cause attraction and repulsion, the emission, reflection, and refraction of light, electricity, calcination, fermentation, and muscular motion, is described by the *Hindus* as *fifth element* endued with those very powers ; and the *Vedas* abound with allusions to a force universally attractive, which they chiefly ascribe to the Sun, thence called *Aditya*, or the *Attractor* ; a name designed by the mythologists to mean the child of the Goddefs ADITI ; but the most wonderful passage on the theory of attraction occurs in the charming allegorical poem of SHIK'IN and FERHAD, or the *Divine Spirit* and a human

Soul difintereftedly pious; a work which from the firft verfe to the laft, is a blaze of religious and poetical fire. The whole piaflage appears to me fo curious, that I make no apology for giving you a faithful tranflation of it: " There
" is a ftrong propenfity, which dances through
" every atom, and attracts the minuteft particle
" to fome peculiar object; fearch this univerfe
" from its bafe to its fummit, from fire to air,
" from water to earth, from all below the Moon
" to all above the celeftial fpheres, and thou
" wilt not find a corpufcle deftitute of that na-
" tural attradlibiitiy; the very point of the firft
" thread, in this apparently tangled fkein, is no
" other than fuch a principle of attraktion, and
" all principles befide are void of a real bafis;
" from fuch a propenfity arifes every motion
" perceived in heavenly or in terreftrial bodies ;
" it is a difpofition to be attracted, which taught
" hard fteel to rufh from its placc and rivet itfelf
" on the magnet; it is the fame difpofition,
" which impels the light ftraw to attach itfelf
" firmly on amber ; it is this quality, which gives
" every fubftance in nature a tendency toward
" another, and an inclination forcibly diredted
" to a determinate point." Thefe notions are
 vague, indeed, and unfatisfadlory; but permit me to alk, whether the laft paragraph of N E W - TON's incomparable work goes much farther,

and whether any ſubſequent experiments have thrown-light on a ſubjeſt ſo abſtruſe and obſcure: that the ſublime aſtronomy and exquisitely beautiful geometry, with which that work is illumined, ſhould in any degree be approached by the Mathematicians of *Aſia*, while of all *Europeans*, who ever lived, ARCHIMEDES alone was capable of emulating them, would be a vain expectation; but we muſt ſuſpend our opinion of *Indian* aſtronomical knowledge, till the *Surya ſiddhanta* ſhall appear in our own language, and even then (to adopt a phraſe of CICERO) our *greedy and capacious ears* will by no means be ſatiſfied; for in order to complete an hiſtorical account of genuine *Hindu* aſtronomy, we require verbal tranſlations of at leaſt three other *Sanſcrit* books; of the treatiſe by PARASARA, for the firſt age of *Indian* ſcience, of that by VARA'HA, with the copious comment of his very learned ſon, for the middle age, and of thoſe written by BHASCARA, for times comparatively modern. The valuable and now acceſſible works of the laſt mentioned philoſopher, contain alſo an *uni-verſal*, or *ſpecious*, arithmetick, with one chapter at leaſt on geometry; nor would it, ſurely, be difficult to procure, through our ſeveral reſidents with the *Piſhwa* and with SCINDHYA, the older books on algebra, which BHASCARA mentions, and on which Mr, DAVIS would juſtly ſet a

very high value; but the *Sanfcrit* work, from which we might expect the moſt ample and important information, is entitled *Cfbetrdderfa*, or *a View of Geometrical Knowledge*, and was compiled in a very large volume by order of the illuſtrious JAYASINHA, comprifing all that remains on that ſcience in the ſacred language of *India*: it was infpe&ed in the weſt by a *Pandit* now in the ſervice of Lieutenant WILFORD, and might, I am perſuaded, be purchaſed at *Jayanagar*, where Colonel POLIER had permiffion from the *Raja* to buy the four *Vedas* themſelves. THUS have I answered, to the beſt of my power, the three firſt queſtions obligingly tranſmitted to us by profeſſor PLAYFAIR; whether the *Hindus* have books in *Sanfcrit* expreſſly on geometry, whether they have any ſuch on arithmetick, and whether a tranſlation of the *Surya fiddhanta* be not the great *defideratum* on the ſubject of *Indian* aſtronomy: to his three laſt queſtions, whether an accurate ſummary account of all the *Sanfcrit* works on that ſubject, a delineation of the *Indian* celeſtial ſphere, with corre&ed remarks on it, and a deſcription of the aſtronomical inſtruments uſed by the ancient *Hindus*, would not feverally be of great utility, we cannot but answer in the affirmative, provided that the utmoſt critical ſagacity were applied in diſtinguiſhing ſuch works, conſtcllations;

and instruments, as are clearly of *Indian* origin, from such as were introduced into this country by *Mufelman* astronomers from *Tartary* and *Perfia*, or in later days by Mathematicians from *Europe*.

V. FROM all the properties of man and of nature, from all the various branches of science, from all the deductions of human reason, the general corollary, admitted by *Hindus*, *Arabs*, and *Tartars*, by *Persians*, and by *Chinese*, is the supremacy of an all-creating and all-preserving spirit, infinitely wise, good, and powerful, but infinitely removed from the comprehension of his most exalted creatures; nor are there in any language (the ancient *Hebrew* always excepted) more pious and sublime addresses to the being of beings, more splendid enumerations of his attributes, or more beautiful descriptions of his visible works, than in *sirabick*, *Persian* and *Sanskrit*, especially in the *Koran*, the introductions to the poems of *SADI'*, *NIZAMI*, and *FIRDAUS'I*, the four *Vidas* and many parts of the numerous *Puranas*; but supplication and praise would not satisfy the boundless imagination of the *Vedvnti* and *Sufi* theologians, who blending uncertain metaphysics with undoubted principles of religion, have presumed to reason confidently on the very nature and essence of the divine spirit, and asserted in a very remote age, what multitudes of

Hindus and *Mufelmans* assert at this hour, that all spirit is homogeneous, that the spirit of God is in kind the same with that of man, though differing from it infinitely in degree, and that, as material substance is mere illusion, there exists in this universe only one generic spiritual substance, the sole primary cause, efficient, substantial and formal of all secondary causes and of all appearances whatever, but endued in its highest degree, with a sublime providential wisdom, and proceeding by ways incomprehensible to the spirits which emanate from it; an opinion, which G O T A M A never taught, and which we have no authority to believe, but which, as it is grounded on the doctrine of an immaterial creator supremely wise, and a constant preserver supremely benevolent, differs as widely from the pantheism of SPINOZA and TOLAND, as the affirmation of a proposition differs from the negation of it; though the last named professor of that *infanephilosophy* had the baseness to conceal his meaning under the very words of Saint PAUL, which are cited by NEWTON for a purpose totally different, and has even used a phrase, which occurs, indeed, in the *Veda*, but in a sense diametrically opposite to that, which he would have given it. The passage, to which I allude, is in a speech of VARUNA to his son, where he says: " That spirit, from which these created

" beings proceed; through which having pro-
" ceeded from it, they live; toward which they
" tend and in which they are ultimately abforb-
" ed, that fpirit ftudy to know ; that fpirit is the
" Great One."

The fubject: of this difcourfe, gentlemen, is inexhaustible: it has been my endeavour to fay as much on it as poffible in the feweft words; and, at the beginning of next year, I hope to clofe thefe general difquifitions with topicks meafurelefs in extent, but lefs abftrufe than that, which has this day been difcuffèd, and better adapted to the gaiety, which feems to have prevailed in the learned banquets of the *Greeks*, and which ought, furely, to prevail in every fymposiack affembly.

A DISSERTATION
ON THE
ORTHOGRAPHY OF ASIATIC WORDS

IX ROMAN¹ LETTERS.

BY
THE PRESIDENT.

EVERY man, who has occasion to compute traits on *Afiatick* Literature, or to tranſlate from the *Afiatick* Languages, muſt always find it convenient, and ſometimes neceſſary, to expreſs *Arabian*, *Indian*, and *Perſian* words, or ſentences, in the characters generally uſed among *Europeans*; and almoſt every writer in thoſe circumſtances has a method of notation peculiar to himſelf; but none has yet appeared in the form of a complete ſyſtem; ſo that each original found may be rendered invariably by one appropriated ſymbol, conformably to the natural order of articulation, and with a due regard to the primitive power of the *Roman* alphabet, which modern *Europe* has in general adopted. A want of attention to this object has occaſioned great confuſion in Hiſtory and Geography. The

ancient *Greeks*, who made a voluntary sacrifice of truth to the delicacy of their ears, appear to have altered by design almost all the oriental names, which they introduced into their elegant, but romantick, Histories; and even their more modern Geographers, who were too vain, perhaps, of their own language to learn any other, have so strangely disguised the proper appellations of countries, cities, and rivers in *Ajia* that, without the guidance of the sagacious and indefatigable M. D'ANVILLE, it would have been as troublesome to follow ALEXANDER through the *Panjâb* on the Ptolemaick map of AOATHODJEMON, as actually to travel over the same country in its present state of riddens and disorder. They had an unwarrantable habit of moulding foreign names to a *Grecian* form, and giving them a resemblance to some derivative word in their own tongue: thus, they changed the *Gogra* into *Agoranis*, or a river of the assembly, *Vcbab* into *Oaydracce*, or *Jbarpfighted*, and *Renos* into *Aornos*, or a rock inaccessible to birds; whence their poets, who delighted in wonders, embellished their works with new images, distinguishing regions and fortresses by properties, which existed only in imagination. If we have less liveliness of fancy than the Ancients, we have more accuracy, more love of truth, and, perhaps, more solidity of judgement; and, if our

works fhall afford lefs delight to thofe, in refpect of whom we fhall be Ancients, it may be faid without prefumption, that we fhall give them more corradl information on the Hiftory and Geography of this eaftern world; fince no man can perfectly defcribe a country, who is unacquainted with the language of it. The learned and entertaining work of M. D'HERBELOT, which profeffes to interpret and elucidate the names of perfons and places, and the titles of books; abounds alfo in citations from the beft writers of *Arabia* and *Perfia* ; yet, though his orthography will be found lefs defective than, that of other writers on fimilar fubjects, without excepting the illuftrious Prince KANTEMIR, ftill it requires more than a moderate knowledge of *Perfian*, *Arabick*, and *Turkifh*, to comprehend all the paffages quoted by him in *European* chara&ers; one inftance of which I cannot forbear giving. In the account of *Ibnu Zaidim*, a celebrated *Andalufian* poet, the firft couplet of an elegy in *Arabick* is praifed for its elegance, and expreffed thus in *Roman* letters:

Iekad he'in tenagikom dhamairna;
Iacdha alaina alaffa laula taffina.

" The time, adds the tranflator, will foon
" come, when you will deliver us from all our
" cares: the remedy is allured, provided we

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

يَكَادُ حِينَ تُنَاجِيكُمْ صَاحِرُنَا
يَقْضِي عَلَيْنَا الْأَسَى لَوْلَا تَأْسِينَا

Yecddu hhina tunajicum d'emdirund
Takdi alaitid 'Idfay lau Id taafsind.

" When our bofoms impart their fecrtts to
 " you, anguifh would almoft fix our doom, IF
 " we were not mutually to confole ourfelves,"

The principal verbs may have a future fenfe, and the laft word ftiay admit of a different inter*pretation. Dr. HUNT, I remember, had found in GIGOEIUS the word *dbemdyer*, which he cem*ceived to be in the original. After all, th*rhyme feems imperfect, and the meafure irre*regular. Now I afk, whether fuch perplexities could have arifen, if *D'Herbelot* or his Editof had formed a regular fyftem of exprefling *Arabick* in *Roman* characters, and had apprized his readers of it in his introductory differtation ?

If a further proof be required, that fuch a fyftem will be useful to the learned and effential to the ftudent, let me remark, that a learner of *Perfian*, who fhould read in our beft hiftories the life of Sultan AZIM, and wifh to write his name in *Arabick* letters, might expreis it *thirty-nine* different ways, and be wrong at laft: the word fhould be written *Adzem* with three points on the firft confonant.

There are two general modes of exhibiting *Afiatick* words in our own letters: they are founded on principles nearly oppofite, but each

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

quoting it in some piece of criticism. He would read thus:

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

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

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

' Law more aw day reegyeurs aw nool otruh pareillyuh,
 ' Onne aw bo law preeay :
 ' Law croellyuh kelay fuh boofhuh lays oreillyuh,
 ' Ay noo layfuh creeay.

' Luh povre ong faw cawbawn oo luh chomuh luh coovruh,
 ' Ay foozyet aw fay lwaw,
 ' Ay law gawrduh kee velly o bawryayruh dyoo *Loovruh*
 • **Nong dayfong paw** no rwaw!'

• **The** second system of *Asiatick* Orthography consists in scrupulously rendering **letter for letter**;

without any particular care to preserve the pronunciation ; and, as long as this mode proceed* by unvaried rules, it seems clearly entitled to preference.

For the first method of writing *Perjian* words the Warmest advocate, among my acquaintance, was the late Major DAVY, a Member of our Society, and a man of parts, whom the world lost prematurely at a time, when he was meditating a literary retirement, and hoping to pass the remainder of his life in domestic happiness, and in the cultivation of his very useful talents. He valued himself particularly on his pronunciation of the *Perjian* language, and on his new way of exhibiting it in our characters, which he influenced the learned and amiable Editor of his *Institutes of Timour at Oxford* to retain with minute attention throughout his work. Where he had acquired his refined articulation of the *Perfian*, I never was informed; but it is evident, that he spells most proper names in a manner, which a native of *Perfia*, who could read our letters, would be unable to comprehend. For instance: that the capital of *Azarbaidjan* is now called *Tabriz*, I know from the mouth of a person born in that city, as well as from other *Iranians* ; and that it was so called sixteen hundred years ago, we all know from the *Geography of Ptolemy* ; yet Major DAVY always wrote it

Tubburaze, and infilled that it fhould thus be pronounced. Whether the natives of *Semer-kand*, or *Samarkand*, who probably fpeak the dialed: of *Soghd* with a *Turanian* pronunciation call their birthplace, as DAVY fpelled it, *Sum-murkund*, I have yet to learn ; but I cannot believe it, and am convinced, that the former mode of writing the word expreffes both the letters and the found of them better than any other combination of characters. His method, therefore, has every defect; fince it renders neither the original elements of words, nor the founds reprefented by them in *Perfia*, where alone we muft feek for genuine *Perfian*, as for *French* in *France*, and for *Italian* in *Italy*.

The fecond method has found two able fup-porters in Mr. HALHED and Mr. WILKINS; to the firft of whom the publick is indebted for a perfpicuous and ample grammar of the *Bengal* language, and to the fecond for more advantages in *Indian* literature than *Europe*, or *India*, can ever fufficiently acknowledge.

Mr. HALHED, haying juftly remarked, that ' the two greateft defefts in the orthography of ' any language are the application of the fame ' letter to feveral different founds, and of different ' letters to the fame found,' truly pronounces therft both to be ' fo common in *Englifh*, that he was ' exceedingly embarrafed in the choice of letters

' to exprefs the found of the *Bengal* vowels, and
 ' was at laft by no means fatified with his own
 ' felection.' If any thing difflatisfies die, in his
 clear and accurate fyftem, it is the ufe of *double*
 letters for the long vowels (which might how-
 ever be juftified) and the frequent intermixture
 of *Italick* with *Roman* letters in the fame word ;
 which both in writing and printing muft be
 very inconvenient: perhaps it may be added,
 that his diphthongs are not expreffed analogoufly
 to the founds, of which they are compofed.

The fyftem of Mr. WILKINS has been equally
 well confidered, and Mr. HALHED himfelf has
 indeed adopted it in his preface to the *Compila-
 tion of Hindu Laws*: it principally confifts of
 double letters to fignify our third and fifth
 vowels, and of the common profodial marks to
 afcertain their brevity or their length; but thofe
 marks are fo generally appropriated to books of
 profody, that they never fail to convey an idea
 of metre ; nor, if *either* profodial fign were adopt-
 ed, would *both* be neceffary ; fince the omiffion
 of a long mark would evidently denote the fhort-
 nefs of the unmarked vowel, or converfely. On
 the whole, I cannot but approve this notation
 for *Sanfcrit* words, yet require fomewhat more
 univerfally expreffive of *Afiatick* letters: as it is
 perfect, however, in its kind, and will appear
 in the works of its learned inventor, I fhall an*

nex, among the examples, four distichs from the *Bhagawat* expressed both in his method and mine *: a translation of them will be produced on another occasion ; but, in order to render this treatise as complete as possible, a fuller specimen of *Sanskrit* will be subjoined with the original printed in the characters of *Bengal*, into which the *Brahmans* of that province transpose all their books, few of them being able to read the *Devanagari* letters : so far has their indolence prevailed over their piety!

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

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

All things abound with error, as the old searcher for truth remarked with dependence; but it is really deplorable, that our first step from total ignorance should be into gross inaccuracy, and that we should begin our education in England with learning to read the five vowels, two of which, as we are taught to pronounce them, are clearly diphthongs. There are, indeed, five simple vocal sounds in our language, as in that of Rome ; which occur in the words an innocent bull, though not precisely in their natural order, for we have retained the true arrangement of the letters, while we capriciously disarrange them in pronunciation; so that our eyes are satisfied, and our ears disappointed. The primary elements of articulation are the soft and hard breathings, the spiritus lenis and spiritus asper of the Latin Grammarians, If the lips be opened ever so little, the breath suffered gently to pass through them, and the feeblest utterance attempted, a sound is formed of so simple a nature, that, when lengthened, it continues nearly the same, except that, by the least acuteness in the voice it becomes a cry, and is probably the first sound uttered by infants; but if, while this element is articulated, the breath be forced with an effort through the lips, we form an aspirate more or less harsh in proportion to the force exerted. When, in pro-

nouncing the fimple vowel, we open our *lips* wider, we exprefs a found completely articulated, which moil nations have agreed to place the firft in their fymbolical fyftems: by opening them wider ftill with the corners of them a little drawn back, we give birth to *the fecond of the Roman* vowels, and by a large aperture; with a farther inflexion of the lips and a higherelevation of the tongue, we utter the *third* of them. By purfing up our lips in the teaft degree, we convert the fimple element into another found of the fame nature with the firft vowel, and eafily confounded with it in a broad pronunciation: when this new found is lengthened, it approaches very nearly to the *fourth* vowel* which we form by a bolder and ftronger rotundity of the mouth; a farther contraction of it produces *the fifth* vowel, which in its elongation almoft closes the lips, a fmall paffage only being left for the breath. Thefe are all fhort vowels; and, if an *Italian* were to read the words *an innocent bull*, he would give the found of each correffponding long vowel, as in the monofyllables of his own language, *fa, fi, fo,,fe, fu*. Between thefe ten vowels are numberlefs gradations, and nice inflexions, which ufe only can teach; and, by the compofition of them all, might he formed an hundred diphthongs, and a thoufand triphthongs; many of which are found

in *Italian*, and were probably articulated by the Greeks; but we have only occasion, in this tract, for two diphthongs, which are compounded Of the *first* vowel with the *third*, and with the *fifth*, and should be expressed by their constituent letters: as to those vocal compounds which begin with the *third* and *fifth* short vowels, they are generally and not inconveniently rendered by distinct characters, which are improperly ranged among the consonants. The tongue, which assists in forming some of the Vowels, is the principal instrument in articulating two liquid sounds, which have something of a vocal nature; one, by striking the roots of the upper teeth, while the breath passes gently through the lips, another, by an inflexion upwards with a tremulous motion; and these two liquids coalesce with such ease, that a mixed letter, used in some languages, may be formed by the first of them followed by the second: when the breath is obstructed by the pressure of the tongue, and forced between the teeth on each side of it, a liquid is formed peculiar to the *British* dialect of the *Celtick*.

We may now consider in the same order, beginning with the root of the tongue and ending with the perfect close of the lips, those less musical sounds, which require the aid of a vowel, or at least of the simple *breathing*, to be fully ar-

tieulated ; and it may here be premised, that the *harfb breathing* distinctly pronounced after each of these *confonants*, as they ate named by grammarians, constitutes its proper *affirate*.

By the affittance of* the tongue and the palate are produced two congenial founds, differing only as *bard* and *foft*; and these two may be formed ftill deeper in the throat, fo as to imitate, with a long vowel after them, the voice of a raven; but if, while they are uttered, the breath be harfhly protruded, two analogous articulations are heard, the fecond of which feems to characterize the pronunciation of the *Arabs*; while the nafal found, very common among the *Perjians* and *Indians*, may be confidered as the *foft palatine* with part of the breath paffing through the nofe; which organ would by itfelf rather produce a *vocal* found, common alfo in *Arabia*, and not unlike the cry of a young antelope and fome other quadrupeds.

Next come different claffes of *dentals*, and among the firft of them fhould be placed the *fibilants*, which moft nations exprefs by an *indented* figure : each of the *dental* founds is hard or foft, fharp or obtufe, and, by thrufting the tip of the tongue between the teeth, we form two founds exceedingly common in *Arabick* and *Englifh*, but changed into lifping fibilants by the *Perfiam* and *French*, while they on the

othef hand have a found unknown fo the *Arabs*, and uncommon in our language, though it occurs in fome words by the compofition of the hard fibilant with our laft vowel pronounced as a diphthong. The liquid *nafal* follows thefe, being formed by the tongue and roots of the teeth, with a little affiftance from the other organ; and we muft particularly remember, when we attend to the pronunciation of *Indian* dialects, that moll founds of this clafs are varied in a fingular manner by turning the tongue upwards, and almoft bending it back towards the palate, fo as to exclude the *t* nearly from the order, but not from the analogy, of dentals.

The labials form the laft feries, mod of which are pronounced by the appulfe of the lips on each other or on the teeth, and one of them by their perfedl clofe: the letters, by which they are denoted, reprefent in mod alphabets the curvature of one lip or of both ; and a *natural character* for all articulate founds might eafily be agreed on, if nations would agree on any thing generally beneficial, by delineating the feveral organs of fpeech in the act of articulation, and feleding from each a diftind and elegant outline. A perfect language would be that, in which every idea, capable of entering the human mind, might be neatly and emphatically expreffed by one fpecifick word, fimple if the idea were fun-

ple, complex, if complex; and on the same principle a perfect system of letters ought to contain one specifick symbol for every sound used in pronouncing the language to which they belonged: in this respect the old *Perfian* or *Zend* approaches to perfection; but the *Arabian* alphabet, which all *Mehammedan* nations have confidently adopted, appears to me so complete for the purpose of writing *Arabick*, that not a letter could be added or taken away without manifest inconvenience, and the same may indubitably be said of the *Devanagari* system; which, as it is more naturally arranged than any other, shall here be the standard of my particular observations on *Ajiatick* letters. Our *English* alphabet and orthography are disgracefully and almost ridiculously imperfect; and it would be impossible to express either *Indian*, *Perfian*, or *Arabian* words in *Roman* characters, as we are absurdly taught to pronounce them; but a mixture of new characters would be inconvenient, and by the help of the diacritical marks used by the *French*, with a few of those adopted in our own treatises on *fluxions*, we may apply our present alphabet so happily to the notation of all *Ajiatick* languages, as to equal the *Dhandgari* itself in precision and clearness, and so regularly that any one who knew the original letters, might rapidly and unerringly transpose into them

all the proper names, appellatives, or cited passages, occurring in tracts of *Afiatick* literature

अ

This is the fimpleft element of articulation, or firft *vocal* found, concerning which enough has been faid: the word *America* begins and ends with it; and its proper fymbol therefore is A; though it may be often very conveniently expreffed by E, for reafons, which I fhall prefently offer. In our own anomalous language we commonly mark this elementary found by our fifth vowel, but foiftetimes exprefs it by a ftrange variety both of vowels and diphthongs; as in the phrafe, *a mother bird flitters over her young*; an ^regularity, which no regard to the derivation of words or to blind cuftom can in any degree juftify. The *Ndgari* letter is called *Acâr*, but is pronounced in *Bengal* like our *fourth* fhort vowel, and in the *weft* of *India*, like our *Jirjl*: in all the dialects properly *Indian* it is confidered as *inherent* in every confonant; and is placed laft in the fyftem of the *Tibetians*, becaufe the letters, which include it, are firft explained in their fchools. If our double confonants were invariably conne&ed, as in *Sanfcrit*, it would certainly be the better way to omit the fimple element, except when it begins a word. This letter anfwers to *thcfat-bhab*, ox *open* found of

अ आ इ ई उ ऊ ऋ ॠ

ऌ ॡ ए ऐ ओ औ अं अः

क का कि की कु कू कृ कृ

कृ कृ के कै को कौ कं कः

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



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

long vowels. Its natural mark would be the fhort A doubled; but an *acute* accent in the middle of words, or a *grave* at the end of them, will be equally clear, and conformable to the practice of polifhed nations on the continent of *Europe*. The very broad found of the *Arabian* letter, which they call *extended*, and which the *Perfians* extend yet more, as in the word *asan*, may aptly enough be reprefented by the profodial fig, fince it is constantly long; whereas the mark *bamzab* as constantly *Jbortens* the letter, and gives it the found of the point above, pr below, it; as in the words *osiil* and *IJlâm*; the changes of this letter may perplex the learner, but his perplexity will foon vanifh, as he advances. In writing *Afiatick* names, we frequently confound the broad *a* with its correspondent fhort vowel, which we improperly exprefs by an O; thus we write *Coffim* for *Kajim* in defiance of analogy and correctnefs. Our vowel in *fond* occurs but feldom, if ever, in *Arabian*, *Indian*, or *Perfian* words: it is placed, neverthelefs, in the general fyftem with the fhort profodial mark, and ftands at the head of the vowels, becaufe it is in truth only a variation of the fimple breathing.



Our *third* vowel, correctly pronounced, appears next in the *Nagari* fyftem; for our fecond

short vowel has no place in it. This vocal found is represented in *Arabick* by an acute accent *under* the letter; which at Mecca has almost invariably the same pronunciation *j* but, since, in the *Zend*, a character like the *Greek E-pfilon* represents both our *second* and *third* short vowels, the *Persians* often pronounce *zir* like *zeber*, calling this country *Hend*, and the natives of it *Hendùs*: nevertheless it will be proper to denote the *Sanskrit icâr*, and the *Arabian cafr* by one unaltered symbol; as in the words *Indra* and *Imâm*.

*

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

Se cerca, fe dice :
 L'amico dov'd ?
 L'amico infelice,
 Rifpondi, mori!
 Ah ! no; si gran duolo
 Non darle per me,
 Rifpondi, ma folo:
 Piangendo parti.

It was once my practice to represent this long vowel by two marks, as in the words *Lebeid* and *Deiwan*, to denote the *point* in *Arabick* as well as the letter above it; but my present

opinion is, that *Lebid* and *Diwan* are more conformable to analogy, and to the *Italian* orthography, which of all *European* systems approaches nearest to perfection.



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



The same lengthened, and properly expressed by an accent, as in the word *virtu*: it is a very long vowel in *Persian*, so as nearly to treble the

quantity of its correspondent short one; and this, indeed, may be observed of all the long vowels in the genuine *Isfabani* pronunciation; but the letter *vau* is often redundant, so as not to alter the sound of the short vowel preceding it; as in *khofh* and *khod*: it may, nevertheless, be right to express that letter by an accent.

২১

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

২২

The same complex sound considerably lengthened *j* and, therefore, distinguishable by the profodial sign of a *long* vowel

২৩

In *Bengal*, where the *ra* is often sunk in the pronunciation of compound syllables, this letter expresses both syllables of our word *lily* ; but its

genuine found, I believe, is *lr* a ihort triphthong peculiar to the *Sanfcrit* language.



Whatever be the true pronunciation of the former fymbol, this is only an elongation of it, and n>ay, therefore, be diftinguifhed by the metrical fig of a long vowel.



Our *fecond* long vowel, beft reprefented, like the others, by an accent, as in *Veda*, the facred book of the *Hindus*, which is a derivative from the *Sanfcrit* root *vid*, to *know*. The notation, which I recommend, will have this important advantage, that learned foreigners in *Europe* will in general pronounce the oriental words, expreffed by it, with as much correctnefs and facility as our own nation.



This is a diphthong compofed of *our firft* and *third* vowels, and expreffible, therefore, by them, as in the word *Vaidya*, derived from *Veda*, and meaning *a man of the medical craft*: in *Bengal* it is pronounced as the *Greek* diphthong in *poimen*, a fhepherd, was probably founded in ancient *Greece*. The *Arabs* and the *Englifh* articulate this compofition exactly alike, though we are

pleased to exprefs it by a fimple letter, which, on the continent of *Europe*, has its genuine found. In the mouth of an *Italian* the conflituent vowels in the words *mai* and *miei* do not perfectly coalefce, and, at the clofe of a verfe, they are feperated ; but a *Frenchman* and a *Perfian* would pronounce them nearly like the preceding long vowel; as in the word *Mai*, which at *Paris* means our month of the fame name, and at *Isfahan* fignifies wine: the *Perfion* Word, indeed, might with great propriety be written *mei*, as the diphthong feems rather to be compofed of our *fecond* and *third* fhort vowels; a compofition very common in *Italian* poetry.

3

Though a coalition of *acàr* and *ucàr* forma this found in *Sanfcrit*, as in the myftical word *òm*, yet it is in fad: a fimple articulation, and the *fourth* of our long vowels.

3

Here, indeed, we meet with a proper diphthong, compounded of our *firft* and *fifth* vowels; and in *Perfia* the conflituent founds are not perfectly united; as in the word *Firdaufi*, which an *Italian* would pronounce exactly like a native of *Isfahan*. Perhaps, in *Arabick* words, it may be proper to repreſent by an accent the letters *yā* and *wōw*, which, preceded by the

open vowel, form the respective diphthongs in *Zobair* and *Jau'beri*; but the omission of this accent would occasion little inconvenience.

अ०

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

अः

This too is an abbreviation or substitute, at the close of a syllable, for the *strong aspirate*, and may be distinguished in the middle of a word by a hyphen, as in *dub-c'ba*, pain, though it seems often to resemble the *Arabian* *bà*, which gives only a more forcible sound to the vowel,

which precedes it, as in *bhicmah*, science. It is well known, that, when such *Arabick* words are used in construction, the final aspirate of the first noun has the sound of *ta*; but, as the letter remains unaltered, it should, I think, be preferred in our characters, and expressed either by two points above it, as in *Arabick*, or by an accentual mark; since if we write *Zubdabu'lmulc*, or, *the Flower of the Realm*, with a comma to denote the suppression of the *alif*, every learner will know, that the first word should be pronounced *ZnbdaL*. The *ha* is often omitted by us, when we write *Persian* in *English* letters, but ought invariably to be inserted, as in *Sbdbntamab*; since the aspiration is very perceptibly founded in the true pronunciation of *dergab*, *rubab*, and other similar words. The *Sanscrit* character before us has the Angular property of being interchangeable, by certain rules, both with *ra*, and *fa*; in the same manner as the *Sylva* of the *Romans* was formed from the *Æolick* word *bylpa*, and as *arbo*s was used in old *Latin* for *arbor*.

क

We come now to the first proper consonant of the *Indian* system, in which a series of letters, formed in the throat near the root of the tongue, properly takes the lead. This letter has the sound of our *k* and *c* in the words *king* and *cannibal* ;

but thefe will be great convenience in expreffing it uniformly by the *fecond* of thofe marks, whatever be the vowel following it. The *Arabs*, and perhaps all nations defcended from S E M, have a remarkable letter founded near the palate with a hard preflure, not unlike the cawing of a raven, as in the word *Kafim*; and for this particular found the redundance of our own alphabet fupplies us with an ufeful fymbol: the common people in *Hhejâz* and *Egypt* confound it, indeed, with the firft letter of *Gabr*, and the *Perjians* only add to that letter the hard palatine found of the *Arabian kaf*; but, if we diftinguifh it invariably by *k*, we fhall find the utility of appropriating our *c* to the notation of the *Indian* letter now before us. The third letter of the *Roman alphabet* was probably articulated like the *kappa* of the *Greeks*; and we may fairly fuppofe, that *Cicero* and *Cithara* were pronounced alike at *Rome* and at *Athens*: the *fVelJh* apply this letter uniformly to the fame found, as in *cae* and *cefn*; and a little practice will render fuch words as *citâb* and *cinnara* familiar to our eyes.



We hear much of afpirated letters; but the only pjroper *afpirates* (thofe I mean, in which a ftrong breathing is diftinctly heard after the confonants) are to be found in the languages of // i -

dia; tittlefe the word *cachexy*, which our medical writers have borrowed from the *Greek*, be thought an exception to the rule: this afpiration may be diftinguifhed by a *comma*, as the letter before us is expreffed in the word *dhatdtra*, a *fpade*. The *Arabian*, *Perfian*, and *Tufcan* afpirate, which is formed by a harfh protrufion of the breath, while the confonant is roughly articulated near the root of the tongue, may be written as in the word *makhxen*, a *treafury*.

ग

Whatever vowel follow this letter, it fhould constantly be expreffed as in the words *gul*, a flower, and *gil*, clay; and we may obferve, as before, that a little ufe will reconcile us to this deviation from our irregular fyftem. The *Germans*, whofe pronunciation appears to be more confident than our own, would fcarce underftand the *Latin* name of their own country, if an *Englijhman* were to pronounce it, as he waft taught at fchool.

श

The proper afpirate of the laft letter, as in the word *Raghuvanfa*: the *Perfians* and *Arabs* pronounce their *gbain* with a bur in the throat, and a tremulous motion of the tongue, which gives it a found refembling that of *r*, as it is pronounced in *Northumberland*-; but it is in truth a compound

guttural, though frequently exprefled by a jimpl* letter, as in *Gaza*, which fhould be written *Gbaz-zab*, a city of *Paleftine*, and in *gazelle*, as the *French* naturalifts call the *ghazàl*, or antelope, of the *Arabians*. The *Perfian* word *migh*, a cloud, is *meg'ha* in *Sanfcrit*; as *mifh*, a fheep, appears alfo to be derived from *mejha*, by that change of the long vowels, which generally diftinguifhes the *Iranian* from the *Indian* pronunciation.

3

This is the *mz/ʈf/palatine*, which I have already propofed to denote by a *point* above the letter *n*; fince the addition of a *g* would create confufion, and often fugged the idea of a different fyllable. Thus ends the firft ferief of *Ndgari* letters, confiding of the *hard* and *foft* guttural, each attended by its proper afpirate, and followed by a *nafal* of the fame clafs; which elegant arrangement is continued, as far as poffible, through the *Sanfcrit* fyftem, and feems conformable to the beautiful analogy of nature.

5

The next is a ferief of *compound* letters, as mod grammarians confider them, though fome hold them to be fimple founds articulated near the palate. The firft of them has no diftinct fign in our own alphabet, but is exprefled, as in the word *China*, by two letters, which are cer-

tainty*not its component principles: it might, perhaps, - be more properly denoted, as it is in the great work of M. D'HERBELOT, by *tfb*; but the inconvenience of retaining our own fymbol will be lefs than that of introducing a new combination, or inventing, after the example of Dr. FRANKLIN, a new character. *China* is a *Sanfcrit* word; and it will be convenient fo to write it, though I feel an inclination to exprefs it otherwife.



The fame compofition with a flrong breathing articulated after it. Harfh as it may feem, we cannot, if we continue the former fymbol, avoid expreffing this found, as in the word *ch'handas*, metre.



This too feems to have been considered by the *Hindus* as a fimple palatine, but appears in truth to be the complex expreffion of *dzh*: perhaps the fame letter may, by a fmall difference of articulation, partake of two different founds. This at leaft we may obferve, that the letter" under consideration is confounded, as a fimple found, with *ya*, and, as a compound, with *za*, one of its conftituents; thus the *ydfmin* of *Arabia* is by us called *jafmin*, while the lame man is

Giorgi at *Rome* and *Zorzi* at *Venice*; or (to give an example of both in a single word) *yug*, or *junction*, at *Banares*, is *jug* in *Bengal*, and was pronounced *zug'*, or, in the nominative, *zugon* at *Athens*. We should, however, invariably express the letter before us by *ja*.

The *Arabian* letters *d'hald*, *dad*, and *d'ha* are all pronounced in *Perfia* like *za*, with a fort of lip from an attempt to give them their genuine found : they may be well expressed as in fluxionary characters, by a series of points above them,

• • •
z, z, z, —

४

The preceding letter aspirated, as in the word *J'bafha*, a fifth.

५

This is the *second* nafal composed of the former and the letter *ya*. As the *Italian* word *agnello* and our *onion* contain a composition of *n* and *y*, they should regularly be written *anyello* and *onyon*; and the *Indian* found differs only in the greater nafality of the first letter, which may be distinguished, as before, by a point. A very useful *Sanfcrit* root, signifying *to know*, begins with the letter *ja* followed by this compound nafal, and should be written *jñya*; whence *jñyana*, knowledge; but this harsh combination is in

Bengal softened into *gya*: it is expreffed by a diftinct character, which ftands laft in the plate annexed



In the curious work entitled *Tohfahul Hind*, or *The Prefent of INDIA*, this is the fourth ferief of *Sanfcrit* letters; but in general it has the *third* rank, more agreeably, I think, to the analogy of the fyftem. This clafs is pronounced with an inflexion of the tongue towards the roof of the mouth, which gives an obtufe found to the confonant, and may be diftinguifhed by an accent above it. The firft is the *INDIAN t'a*, as in the word *côt'ara*, a rotten tree, and is commonly expreffed in *Perfian* writings by four points, but would be better marked by the *ARABIAN ta*, which it very nearly refembles.



The fame with a ftrong breathing after it, as in *Vaicuni'ba*, or *unwearied*, an epithet of *Vifhnu*.



A remarkable letter, which the *Muflimans* call the *INDIAN dal*; and exprefs alfo by four points over it; but it fhould, by analogy to the others, be diftinguifhed by an accentual mark as in the word *dan'da*, punifhment. When the

tongue is inverted with a flight vibratory motion, this letter has a mixture of the *ra*, with which it is often, but incorrectly, confounded! as in the common word 'her for *bera*, great. It resembles the ARABIAN *dad*.

ढ

The preceding letter aspirated, as in *D'bacā*, improperly pronounced *Dacca*. In the same manner may be written the ARABIAN *dha*, but without the comma, since its aspirate is less distinctly heard than in the *Indian* sound.

ण

This is the *naṣal* of the third series, and formed by a similar inversion of the tongue: in *Sanskrit* words it usually follows the letters *ra* and *ṣa* (as in *Brahman a*, derived from *Brahman*, the Supreme Being; *Viṣṇu*, a name of his preferring power) ; or precedes the other letters of the third class.

त

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

थ

Its aspirate, which ought to be written with a comma, as in the word *Afwatt'ba* the *Indian*

fig-tree, iest it be confounded by our countrymen with the *Arabian* found in *thurayya*, the *Pleiads*, which is precisely the *English* aspiration in *think*; a sound, which the *Persians* and *French* cannot easily articulate : in *Persian* it should be expressed by *s* with a point above it.

द

The soft dental in *Devata*, or *Deity*.

ध

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

न

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

प

Next come the *labials* in the same order; and first the hard labial *pa*, formed by a strong compression of the lips ; which so ill suits the

configuration of an *Arabian* mouth, that it cannot be articulated by an *Arab* without much effort.



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



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



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



This is the last nasal, as in *Menu*, one of the first created beings according to the *Indians*: it

is, formal by closing the lips entirely, whilst the breath passes gently through the nose ; and here ends the regular arrangement of the *Nagari* letters. Another series might have been added, namely, *fa*, *fa*, *za*, *zba*, which are in the same proportion as *ta*, *tba*, *da*, *dba*, and the rest; but the two last sounds are not used in *Sanfcrit*.

य

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

व

The two liquids *na* and *ma*, one of which is a lingual and the other a labial, are kept apart, in order to preserve the analogy of the system; and the other two are introduced between the two femivowels: the first of these is *ra*, as in *RAMA*, the conqueror of *Silan*.

The fecohd ia *la*, in Lanca, another name of that ifland both' in *Tibut*, and in *India*. A defeat in the organs of the common *Bengalefe* often caufes a confufion between thefe two liquids, and even the found of *na* is frequently fubftituted for the letter before us.



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

words it is a consonant, and pronounced like our *va*, though with rather less force.



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



The second is improperly written *fha* in our *English* system, and *cha*, still more erroneously, in that of the *French*; but the form generally known may be retained, to avoid the inconvenience of too great a change even from wrong to right. This letter, of which *fa* and *ha* are not the component parts, is formed so far back in the head, that the *Indians* call it a cere-

mal: either it was not articulated by the Greeks, or they chose to express it by their *Xi*; since of the *Persian* word *Ardashir* they have formed *Artaxerxes*.

ॡ

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

ॢ

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

ॣ

The *Indian* system of letters closes with a compound of *ca* and *fha*, as in the word *park-fha*, ordeal: it is analogous to our *x*, a superfluous character, of no use, that I know of, except in algebra. The *Bengalese* give it the sound of *cy*, or of our *k* in such words as *kind* and *fky*; but we may conclude, that the other pronunciation is very ancient, since the old *Persians* appear to have borrowed their word *Racjhab* from the *Racfha*, or demon of the *Hindus*, which is written with the letter before us. The *Greeks*

rendefed his letter by raeir *Kbi*, changing *Ddc-fhin*, or the fouth, into *Dakbin*.

All the founds ufed in *Sanfcrit*, *Arabick*, *Per-Jiarij* and *Hindi*, are arranged fyftematically in the table prefixed to this differtation *; and the Angular letter of the *Arabs*, which they call *din*, is placed immediately before the confonants. It might have been claffed, as the modern yews pronounce it, among the ftrong *nafals* of the *Indians*; but, in *Arabia* and *Perfia*, it has a very different found, of which no verbal defcription can give an idea, and may not improperly be called a *nafal vowel*: it is uniformly diftinguifhed by a *circumflex* either above a fhort vowel or over the letter preceding a long one, as *ilm*, learning, *aalim*, learned.

Agreeably to the preceding analyfis of letters, if I were to adopt a new mode of *Englifh* orthography, I fhould write *Addiforfs* defcription of the angel in the following manner, diftinguifling the *fimple breathing*, or firft element, which we cannot invariably omit, by a perpendicular line above our firft or fecond vowel:

Sô hwen sm énjel, bai divain čamánd,
 Widh raifin tempefts fhecs a gilti land,
 Sch az av Iet or pel Britanya pad,
 Cál̄m and fir̄m hi draivz dhi fyúryas bláft,
 And, pliz'd dh'almaidiz arderz tu perform,
 Raid* in dhi hwerlwlnd and dairects dhi ftarm.

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

I.

Four Distichs from the ŚRĪBHAGAWAT.***MR. WILKINS'S Orthography.**

āhamēvāśmēvāgrē nānyādyāt śādāsāt pārām
pāschādahām yādētāchchā yōvāśōshyētā sōsmayānām

rēctōthām yāt prātēcyētā nā prātēcyētā chātmanēc
tādvēdyād ātmanō māyām yāthā bhāśō yāthā tāmāb

yāthā māhantēc bhōōtānēc bhōōtēhōōchchāvāchēshwānōō

prātēhātānyāprātēhātānēc yāthā tēshōō nātēshwābām

ētāvādēvā jējñāsyām tāttwā jējñāsōōnātmanāh

ānwāyā vyātēcēkābhyām yāt syāt sārvastrā sārvaḍā.

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

श्रीभगवानुवाच

अहमेवासमेवाग्रे नान्यद्यत् सदसत् परम्
पश्चादहं यदेतच्च योवशिष्येत सोऽस्म्यहम्

ऋतेर्थं यत्प्रतीयेत न प्रतीयेत चात्मनि
तद्विद्यादात्मनो मायां यथा भासो यथा तमः

यथा महान्ति भूतानि भूतेष्वेवावचेष्टनु
प्रविष्टाः प्रविष्टानि तथा तेषु न ते बहं

एतावदेव जिज्ञास्यं तत्र जिज्ञासुनात्मनः
अन्वयव्यतिरेकाभ्यां यत् स्यात् सर्वत्र सर्वदा

This wonderful passage I should express in the following manner:

ahamévāsamévāgrē nānyadyat tadafat parānt
 pas'chādaham yadétachcha yóvas'ishyéta sōfmyaham
 rītért'ham yat pratíyéta na pratíyéta chátmani
 tadvidyádátmanó māyām yat'hà bhāśō yat'hà tamah
 yat'hà mahānti bhútāni bhútéshhūchchāvachéshwānu
 pravish'tānyapravish tāni tat'hà téshu na téshwaham
 étāvadēva jijnyāsyam tattwa jijnyāfunātmanah
 anwaya vyatirécābhyām yat syāt servatra servadā.

II.

MO'HA MUDGARA.

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

मृच्छन्तीहि विनाशमनुष्ठां ननु तनुर्विहिनः सुविच्छां ।
 यन्न भक्षेति ननु कर्मोपात्तं विदुः तेषां विनाशमनुच्छिन्तं ॥

काउरकाया कुरुक्षेत्रः स साधो यमपती विविच्छिन्नः ।
 कन्यायं दानं उवाच उवाच चिन्तयति दिदं भ्रातः ॥

ଯାନବର୍ଧନଜନଯୋବନର୍ବର୍ବ° ହସାଦିନିମେଷାଂକାଳଃ ସର୍ବ° ।
 ଯାମାୟାମିଦମାହିନ° ହିସାବ୍ରହ୍ମପଦ° ପ୍ରବିଶାଶୁବିଦିଷ୍ଟା ॥

ନଳିନୀଦଳଗତଜଳବତ୍ରବନ° ଓହ୍ଲୀବନଯାତିଶୟଚର୍ଚ୍ଚନ° ।
 ହ୍ରାମିହସହ୍ନୁନସ° ଗତିବେକାଭବତିଭବାର୍ବବତ୍ରାଶୋନୌକା ॥

ସାବହ୍ନନ° ଡାବନ୍ୟବୀ° ଡାବହ୍ନନୀଞ୍ଜବେଶୟନ° ।
 ହିତସ° ନାବେନ୍ଦ୍ରଫୁଲ୍ଲଦୋଷଃ କଥାମିହମାନବତ୍ରବସାଗ୍ରୋଷଃ ॥

ଦିନସାମିନ୍ୟୋନାୟାମ° ପ୍ରାତଃ ନିଶିବବସନ୍ତୋପ୍ତବସାୟାତଃ ।
 କାଳଃ କ୍ରୀଡ଼ିତାଞ୍ଜିତ୍ରାୟୁନୁଦମ୍ପିନିମୁକ୍ତାଶାବାୟୁଃ ॥

ବର୍ଜି° ଗଳିତ° ପଳିତ° ଯୁକ୍ତ° ଦତ୍ତବିହୀନ° ଆତ° ଉକ୍ତ° ।
 କବର୍ତ୍ତକକ୍ଷିତଶୋଭିତଦନ୍ତ° ଉଦମ୍ପିନିମୁକ୍ତାଶାଭିତ° ॥

ସୁବବଦୟାଦିବତକୃତଲବାସଃ ଶୟାଭୁଜନୟାତ୍ରିନ° ବାସଃ ।
 ସର୍ବପରିଗ୍ରହଭୋଗତ୍ରାଗଃ କନ୍ୟାମୃତ° ନରକୋତିବିବାଗଃ ॥

ନାତ୍ରୋପିକ୍ରୋଧେବହୋଯାନବର୍ଦ୍ଧନ° ବିପ୍ରହସାହୋ ।
 ଭବ୍ୟଯାଚିତଃ ସର୍ବବ୍ରହ୍ମ° ବାହ୍ମନ୍ୟାଚିବାହ୍ମନ୍ଦିବିହ୍ନୁ° ॥

অক্ষুণ্ণাচলসপ্তসমুদ্রাব্রহ্মপুৰন্দৰদিনকৰবদ্বাদ্ধাঃ ।

নহু° নাই° নাম° নোকমুদপিকিমর্থ° ত্রিমুজেশোকঃ ॥

অমিমাচিচান্যত্রৈকোবিস্কৰ্য্যর্থ° দশ্যসিমম্যসাহিষ্কঃ ।

সৰ্ব° পশ্যঅন্যাত্মান° সৰ্বত্রোৎসৃজভেদজ্ঞান° ॥

বান্ধাবত্ৰীভাশক্তুশ্বৰ্গদ্যাবৎকনীৰক্তঃ ।

বৃহদ্যাবৎচিত্তাবগ্নঃ পৰমেব্রহ্মণিকোপিননমঃ ॥

দ্বাদশপদটিকাভিৰাশেষঃ শিষ্যাণা° কথিতোভ্যুপদেশঃ ।

যেষা° নৈষবাবোতিবিরেক° তেষা° কঃ কুরুতামতিবেক° ॥

múd'ha jahíhi dhanágamatrifhn'ám
 curu tenubuddhimanah fuvitriflinám
 yallabhafS nijacarm6páttam
 vittam tdna vinodaya chittam.
 cá tava cántà caftè putrah
 fanfcáróyam ativavichittrah
 cafya twam và cuta áyáta
 ftaltwam chintaya tadidam bhfátah.
 má curu dhanajanayauvanagarvam
 harati aiméflidt calah farvam
 máyámayamidamac'hilam hitwà
 brehmapadam previsas'u veditwa..

nalínidalagafajalavattaralam
 tadVajjivanamatis'aya chapalam
 cfhenamiha fajjana fangatirécà
 bhawati bhawánavataranè naucà*
 angam galitam palitafn mundam
 dantavihin am játam tund'am
 taradhtitacampitasóbhítadand'am
 tadapi namunchatyás'a bhánd'am.
 yávajjananam távanmáran'am
 t&vajjatiani jat'hare s'ayanam
 iti fanfare fp'hut atara dofah
 cat'hamiha mánava tava fantófah.
 cHfcay4tónyau fáyam prirtah
 sis'iravafantau punaráyátah
 fcakh crid ati gach'hatyáyu
 ftadapi na munchatyásáváyuh..
 furavaramandiratarutalaváfah
 s'ayya bhútalamajinam váfah
 fervaparigrahabhógatyágah
 cafya fuc'ham na caróti virágah.
 s'atrau mitrè putrè bándhau
 mà curu yatnam vighrahafandhau
 bhava famachittah fervatra twam
 vánch'hafyachbađ yadi vilhnutwam.
 afh'taculáchalafeptaiámúdra'
 brehmapurandaradinacaramdráh
 natwam náham náyara lóca
 Hadapi cimart'ham criyatè sócah,

OF ASIATICK WORDS.

twayi mayi chányatraicçi víflinur
 v̐yart'ham cupyafi mayyafahiflinuh
 fervam pasyatmanyatmanam
 fervatrotfrija bhedajnyanam.

valaftavat end as'acta
 ftarun'aftávat tarúnlraiftah
 vridhraftávach chintámagnah
 peremg brahman! cópi nalagnah.

dwádas'a pajj'hat'icdbhíras'éftiah
 s'ifhyánam cat'hitóbhyupadés'ah
 yéfhám naifha caróti viv^cam
 téfhàm cah curutámatirécam.

A verbal Tranflation.

1. Reftrain, deluded *mortal*, thy thirft of acquiring wealth; excite an averfion *from it in thy body*, underftanding, and inclination: with the riches, which thou acquired by thy own ac^{*}tions, with thefe gratify thy foul.

2. Who *is* thy wife; who thy fon ; how extremely wonderful is even this world; whose *creature* thou alfo *art*; whence thou cameft—meditate on this, O brother, *and again* on this.

3. Make no boaft of opulence, attendants, youth; all *theſe* time fnatches away in the twinkling of an eye: checking all this illufion like *Maya*, fet thy heart on the foot of BRAHME, fpeedily gaining knowledge of him.

4. As a drop of water moves tremulous on the lotos-leaf, thus *is* human life inexpressibly flippery: the company of the virtuous *endures* here but for a moment; that is, our flâp in passing the ocean of the world.

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

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

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

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

9. Place not thy affections too strongly on foe or friend, on a son or a kinsman, in war or in peace: be thou even-minded towards all, if thou desirest speedily to attain the nature of

جاءت إلّ على جذر	ما أسره أنس التي
والقلب طار به العن	الوهم أثقل جنبها
فخلصت منها العدر	رصدت أساو وقومها
الأنفاجها شذر	توعت خلا خيلا لها
فقدت بها نجم التبحر	تشكو الطريق لظلمة
بؤاد جفن القمصر	فوليه قد كحلت
دعى النجوم على أشكر	وروى العمام كاجل
على جد فيها الترهذر	بكي عيون للسمك
عجا لما تلب الفيزر	والبرق يبيهم فسر
الأصباح في صورا محذر	والرمح كما دججرون
حذرت عناني من خفر	فهرت تباينة وقد
وسقى رايضا للظفر	والذئع بل خذروها
ومرت قوادي بالشكر	شفت اذ كاست
أن جد لي من السفر	ظلت تعابني على
وأذقت حرقه	قالت أذيت قوادنا
وطبع ناصحك الغد	فحص أوامر للهوى
أرض وما ترضى المكن	وتدور من أرض إلى
ونارة قومي بين	يوما تنيرك الحار
حول اليلاد سوي لخم	ماذا عادك جولة
وسيت لأمر الشر	ألف أطباء الفدا

10. Eight original mountains, and seven seas,
 BRAHME, INDRA, the Sun, and RUDRA, *these*
are permanent: not thou, not I, not this or that
 people; wherefore then should anxiety be raised
 in our minds ?

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

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

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

III.

The following elegy, which is chosen as a spe-
 cimen of *Arabick* *, was composed by a learn-
 ed Philosopher and Scholar, MIR MUHAM-
 MED HUSAIN , before his journey to *Haidar-*
abad with RICHARD JOHNSON, Esq.

ma anfa Id anfa allati
jdat ilayya dlai hadhar

* Plate V. and Plate III.

álnaúmu átkkálá jafnába
 waálkalbu t'ára bibi áldbaár
 ras'adat ásáwida kaúmihá
 fatakbálláfat minhá álgbarar
 nazaát kbalákbilán' lehá
 állá tufájibá bisbar
 tesbcú ált' arika lid'hulmabin'
 fakadat bibá najma álsubar
 fi lailabin' kad cabbalat
 bisawádibá jafna álkamar
 wa terai álgbamáma caájmulin'
 terái álmjúma álai áfbar
 tebci úyünor' lilsemái
 álai b'adáyikibá álzubar
 waálberku yebfomu thegrubu
 ájabán' libática álgbiyar
 waálrádu cáda yukbarriku
 álás'mákba fi s'ummi álb'ajar
 fabawat tuáánikuni wakad
 b'adbarat ínáki min kbafar
 waáldemú bella kbudúdabá
 wasakai riyad'án' lilnad'bar
 wateneffasat id'b callamat
 waramat fuwádi biálsberar
 d'ballat tudátibunel álai
 án jedda li ázmu álsafar
 kálat ádbabta fuwádaná
 waádbaktabu b'erra álsakar

tadsi dwamera lilbarwai
watut'iuu nas'ib'aca algbudar
watediru min ard'in ilal
ard'in wama terd'ai almekarr
yauman tesiru bica albibbaru
watarab'an turmai bibarr
ma dba asadaca jaulabon
b'aula albiladi siwai ald'ajar
aalifta ad'bbaa alfelá
wanesita arama albasber
am kad meletta jiwaraná
ya wai'ba kbillin kad nafar
fárb'em alai kalbi alladbi
rama alfuluwwa wama kadar.

The Tranflation.

1. Never, oh ! never fhall I forget the fair one, who came to my tent with timid circumfpection:

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

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

4. She had laid afide the rings, which ufed to grace her ankles; left the found of them fhould expofe her to calamity:

5. She deplored the darknefs of the way,
which hid from her the morning-ftar.

6. It was a night, when the eye-Jafhes of the
moon were tinged with the black powder (*Al-
cohol*) of the gloom :

7. *A night*, in which thou mighteft have feen
the clouds, like camels, eagerly grazing on the
ftars;

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

9. The lightning difplayed his fhining teeth,
with wonder at this change *in the firmament*;

10. And the thunder aimoft burft the ears of
the deafened rocks.

11. She was defirous of embracing me, but,
through modefty, declined my embrace.

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

13. When fhe fpake, her panting fighs blew
flames into my heart.

14. She continued cxpoftulating with me on
my exceffive defire of travel.

15. ' Thou haft melted my heart, fhe faid,
' and made it feel inexprefible anguifh.

16. ' Thou art perverfe in thy conduct to her
' who loves thee, and obfequious to thy guileful
' advifer.

17. 'Thou goeft round from country to
' country, and art never pleafed with a fixed
' refidence.

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

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

20. ' Haft thou aflbciated thyfelf with the
' wild antelopes of the defert, and forgotten the
' tame deer ? .

21. ' Art thou weary then of our neighbour-
' hood ? O wo to him, who flees from his be-
' loved!

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

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

IV.

As a fpecimen of the old *Perfian* language and
character, I fubjoin a very curious paffage
from the *Zend*, which was communicated to
me by BAIIMAN the fon of BAHRA'M, a na-
tive of *Texdy* and, as his name indicates, a
Pint: he wrote the paffage from memory;
fince his books in *Pablavi* and *Dai* are not

yet brought to *Bengal*. It is a supposed answer of I'ZAD or GOD to ZERA'HTUSHT, who had asked by what means mankind could attain happiness.

*Az pid u mād ebe ce pid u mād ne kbošnūid
bid bargiz bihišt ne tūid; be jāyi cirfāb bizab
vinid: mebān rā be āzarm nīc dārid, cebān rā be
bičb gūnab mayāzārid: aj kbīšbāvendī dervīšb
nang medārid: dād u vendād ī khālīkī yečlā beb
cār dārid; az rīstākbīzi ten pasin endīšbeb ne-
māyid; matādā ce ašbū ten kbīšb rā dūzakbī cu-
nid, va ānche be kbīšbten nāsbābad be cāfān mā-
pāfendīd va mā cunīd: herche be gītī cunīd be
mainū az aūeb pāzīrab āyed*.*

A Verbal Translation.

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

* • Plate VII. The *Zend* Letters are in Plate III.

would be unpleasing to 'yourfelves, think not that pleasing to Others, and do it not: whatever good you do on earth, for that you (hall receive a retribution in heaven."

It will, perhaps, be fufpected (and the language itfelf may confirm the fufpicion), that this doctrine has been taken from a religion very different both in age and authority, from that of ZERA'H-TUSHT.

V.

The following ftory in modern *Perfian* was given to me by *Mirzà* ABDU'LRAHHI'M of *Isfahàn*: it feems extracted from one of the many poems on the loves of MEJNU'N and LAİLÌ, the ROMEO and JULIET of the Eaft. Each verfe confifts of a *Cretick* foot followed by two *Choriamb*?, or a *Choriambus* and a *Moluffus*.

شیر مست سرستان الم	پرورش یافته دامن غم
آبدنگ ورنظیلمای جنون	خال رساره بامون مجنون
یافت چون راه بکامنه عشق	آستان شد در خانه عشق
بهرش شخص جنون سایه فکند	قصه عاشقیش کشت باند

در عرب هر طرفي غوغا شد	نقل او نقل مجالس باشد
بد اميري بعرب والا شان	صاحب مكننت و ثروت بجهان
ترکشل ز غم بجهان دیده	پر کل داغ محبت چیده
دیده در طفلي خود سوز فراق	تاخي زهر فراقش بر داق
يافت چون قصه آن در رسکال	کرد فرمان بگلاني در حال
که سويي بجد قدم حاز ز سر	شوبه تعجیل روان چون صرم
آنگه دلبرده ز مجنون بشکله	به برم زرد بسيادر همراه
رفت و آورد غلامک در حال	ليالي آن بادشاه ملک جمال
بغلامي دگرش شد فرمان	که نوام شوبه سوي دشت روان
جانب ذينت ارباب جنون	شمع پر نور محبت مجنون
زود آوردم آن سوخته را	آن جگر سوز غم اندوخته را
رفت و برگشت غلامک چون کلاه	والي کشور عشقش همراه

کرد اودا چونظر مرد اير	ديد زاري بغم عشق اسير
بر سرش شخص جنون کرده وطن	زخم بهران به تنش پيراهن
موي اسر بر بدنش کشته قبا	موزه از آبله پابر پا
ممانه از خار مغيالان بر موش	خرقه از ريك بيابان بر دوش
گفت کاي کم شده داد کينم	تيج خواهي که تمنيات دهم
سرفرازت کنم از نکنت وجاه	لبي آرم بهزت خاطر خواه
گفتني ني که بعيد است بعيد	ذره را ام نظري با خورشيد
گفت خواهي که کنسي راست بکو	سير آن صفحه رخصار نکو
يلنداري برهاش ميلي	راست هر کوي بجان ليلي
گفت کاي قدوده ارباب کرم	ذره مخاکد رت تاج سرم
هر دم درد زليالي کافي است	خواهش وصل زلي الصافيت
هر خور سندی اين جز و حقير	بس بود بر تو ي از مهر منير
گفت کردید سوي دشت روان	ديده گريان و مره اسنگ نشان

Sbirmasti feri pīstāni ālem
perveresh yāftebi dāmeni ghem
ābi rang ò rokbi lailāyi jonūn
kbāli rokhsārebi bāmūn Mejnūn
yāft chūn rāb bi cāsbānebi īsbk
āsitān sbud bideri kbānebi īsbk
ber ferešb sbakbsi jonūn sāyab ficand
kis'sebi āāsbiki āsb gasht boland
der ārab ber t'arafi ghaughā sbud
nakli ù nokli mejālis-bā sbud
būd āmīri biārab vālā sbān
*s'abibi micnat ò servat * bijebān*
torc tāzi ghemi bejrān dīdab
pur guli dāgbi moh'abbat cbīdab
dīdab der t'ifliyi kbōd sūzi ferāk
talkbiyi zabri ferākesb bimezāk
yāft chūn kis'sebi ān derd sigāl
card fermān hīgbulāmi der bāl
ceb sūyi najd kadam sāz zi fer.
sbau beb tājīl ravān chūn s'ers'er
ān ceb dil bordab zi Mejnūn bi nigāb
beb berem zūd biyāver hemrāb
raft ò āvard gbulāmac der bāl
Laili ān pādīsbabi mulci jemāl

* The reader will supply the point over s, when it darts forth.

heb gbulámì digaresb shud fermán
 ceb tò bem shau bi súyì dasht raván
 jánibi xínati árbábi jonún
 shemí pur níri mob'abbat Mejnún
 zúd áver berem ân súkhtab rà
 ân jigarsúzi gbem ándúkhtab rà
 raft ó bergasht gbulámac chù nigáb
 váliyi cishvari ishkesh bemráb
 card úrà chù nazar mardí ámr
 díd zári bi gbemi ishk ásir
 ber feresb shakbs'i joním cardab vat'en
 zakhmi bejrán bi tenebsh píráben
 múyi fer ber bedenesb gashtab kobà
 múzah áz ábilabi pà ber pà
 shánab áz kbári mughbilán ber mûsh
 kbirkab áz rígi biyábán ber dúsh
 goft cáì gomshudabi vádiyi gbem
 bícb khwábi ceb temennát debem
 serferázat cunam áz micnat ó jáb
 Laili árem bíberet kbál'er khwáb
 goft nì nì ceb balídest balíd
 zerreb rá bem nazari bà khorshíd
 goft khwábi ceb coní rást bigú
 fái'ri ân safb'abi rokhsári nicú
 yá nedári bijemálesb mallí
 rást bergúyi bi jáni Lailí

goft cāi kodvabi árbábi cerem
zerrabi kháci deret táji serem
ber dilem derd zi Laili cáfíft
kbwábesbi vas'l zi hí ínsáfíft
babri kborfendiýi ín jozvi b'akír
bas buvad pertaví áz mibri monír
goft ò gardíd súyi dasht ravàn
dídad giryán ò mizbab áshcúshàn

The Tranflation.

1. *The man, who had inebriated himself with milk from the nipple of Anguifh, who had been nourthfed in the lap of Affliction,*

2. MEJNU'N, mad with the bright hue and fair face of LAILÌ, himfelf a dark mole on the cheek of the defert,

3. Having found the way to the manfion of love, became *fixed like* the threshold on the door of love's palace.

4. Over his head the form of Madnefs had caft her fhadow: the tale of his pafñon was loudly celebrated.

5. Among the *Arabs* a tumult arofe on all fides: the relation of his adventures was a defTert in their affemblies.

6. A powerful Prince reigned in *Arabia*, poffeffing worldly magnificence and riches: -

7. He had seen the depredations of Grief through absence from a beloved object: he had plucked many a black-spotted flower from *the garden of love*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

14. ' Go to that ornament of frantick lovers, ' MEJNU'N, the illumined taper of love.

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

16. The boy went, and returned, in the twinkling of an eye, accompanied by the ruler in the territories of love*

17. When the Prince looked at Mm, he beheld a wretch in bondage to the misery of defire.

18. Madnefs had fixed her abode on this head: he was clothed, as with a veft, with the wounds of feparation.

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

20. In his hair ftuck a comb of *Arabian* thorns: a robe of fand from the defert covered his back.

21. ' O THOU, (aid *the Prince*, who haft been
' loft in the valley of forrow ; deft thou not wifh
' me to give thee the objectt of thy paffion,

22. ' To exalt thee with dignity and power,
' to bring *LAILI* before thee gratifying thy foul?'

23. ' No, no; answered he, far, far is it from
' my wifh, that an atom fhould be fecn together
' with the fun.*

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

25. ' Or haft thou no inclination to enjoy her
' charms ? I adjure thee, by the foul of *LAILI*,
' to declare the truth !'

26. He rejoined: ' O chief of men with
' generous hearts, a particle of duft from thy
' gate is a diadem on my head.

27. ' The pain of my love for LAILI is sufficient for my heart : a wifh to enjoy her preference *thus* would be injuftice.

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

29. He fpalce, and ran towards the defert, his eye weeping, and his eye-laffles raining tears.

Thefe couplets would fully anfwer the purpofe of fhewing the method, in which *Perfian* may be written according to the original characters, with fome regard alfo to the *Iſfabdnî* pronunciation ; but, fince a very ingenious artift, named MUHAMMEP GHAU'TH, has engraved a tetractich on copper, as a ſpecimen of his art, and fince no moveable types can equal the beauty of *Perfian* writing, I annex his plate *, and add the four lines, which he has felected, in *Engliſh* letters: they are too eafy to require a tranſlation, and too insignificant to deferve it.

Huwal' dziz

*Cajbmi terab'b'um zi to darim ma
keblab toyi ru beceb arim ma
hajati ma az to her ayed tamam
damenat az caf naguzarim ma.*

• Plate VI.

VOL.

I.

Z

VI.

The first specimen of *Hindi*, that occurs to me, is a little *Gbazal* or love-fong, in a *Choriam** bick measure, written by GDNNA' BEIGUM, the wife of GHA 'ZIU'LDIN KHAN, a man of confummate abilities and confummate wickedneis, who has borne an active part in the modern tranfadions of Upper *Hinduftan*.

هڊعي همسي سنڀن ساز باوسي هي

اه ابڪرت داغ غم خوابسي حمام

هي ميري طرح جگر خون تيرا مدت سي

هوض درد رزي سي وه بهري دين ساري

تہمت عشق عبث کوني دين مجھپر منت

اب تمنا کو يہان مرده باوسي هي

صنہ سينہ ميرا جاوہ طاوسي هي



ای حنا کسکی ججهی خواش با بوسی ہی

جس لب زخم نی شمشیر تیرزی جوسی ہی

ان بہرہ سچ ملنی کی خوان سسی توتک جوسی ہی

*Muddatî bemsè fokban fâz bi fâlûsî baî
ab tamennâ cò yebân muzbedetî mâyûsî baî
âb ab cafratî dâghî ghemî kbûbân sè temâm
safbaî sinab mērâ jilwaî t'âûsî baî
baî mērî t'arab jigar knîni tērâ muddatsè
aî binnâ cîfî tujbè kbwâbîfbi pâbûsî baî
âwâzî derd mezè sè zwab bberè baîn sûrè
jis lebi zakbam nè fhemfbiri tērî cbûsî baî
tobmatî îfbk âbas cartè baîn mujbper Minnat
bân yeb fecb milnè cî kbûbân sè tû tuc kbûsî baî.*

The Tranilation.

1. My beloved foe speaks of me with difflimulation; and now the tidings of despair are brought hither to the defire of my foul.

2. Alas, that the fsmooth surface of my bofom, through the marks of burning in the fad absence of lovely youths, is become like the plumage of a peacock.

3. Like me, O *Hinnà* (the fragrant and elegant fhrub, with the leaves of which the nails of *Arabian* women are dyed crimfon), thy heart has long been full of blood: whose foot art thou defirous of kiffing ?

4. Inftead of pain, *my beloved*, every wound from thy cimeter fucks with its lips the fweetnefs, with which it is filled.

5. The fufpicion of love is vainly caft on M I K N A T — Y e s ; true it is, that my nature rather leads me to the company of beautiful youths.

Thus have I explained, by obfervations and examples, my method of noting in *Roman* letters the principal languages of *Afia*; nor can I doubt, that *Armenian*, *Turkifi*, and the various dialects of *Tartary*, may be expreflèd in the fame manner with equal advantage; but, as *Cbinefe* words are not written in alphabetical characters, it is obvious, that they muft be noted according to the beft *pronunciation* ufed in *China*; which has, I imagine, few founds incapable of being rendered by the fymbols ufed in this effay.

ON
THE GODS OF GREECE, ITALY, AND
INDIA,

WRITTEN IN 1784, AND SINCE REVISED,

BY
THE PRESIDENT.

WE cannot juſtly conclude, by arguments preceding the proof of facts, that one idolatrous people muſt have borrowed their deities, rites, and tenets from another; ſince Gods of all ſhapes and dimenſions may be framed by the boundleſs powers of imagination, or by the frauds and follies of men, in countries never connected ; but, when features of reſemblance, too ſtrong to have been accidental, are obſervable in different ſyſtems of polytheiſm, without fancy or prejudice to colour them and improve the likenefs, we can ſcarce help believing, that ſome connection has immemorially ſubſiſted between the ſeveral nations, who have adopted them : it is my deſign in this eſſay, to point out ſuch a reſemblance between the popular worſhip of the old *Greeks* and *Italians* and that of the *Hindus*; ſhould there be room to doubt of a great ſimi-

larity between their ftrange religions and that of *Egypt, China, Perfia, Pbiygia, Phtvnice, Syria*; to which, perhaps, we may fafcly add ibaie of the fouthern kingdoms and even iflands of *America* ; while the *Gothick* fyftem, which prevailed in the northern regions of *Europe*, was not merely fimilar to thole of *Greece* and *Italy*, but almoft the fame in another drefs with an embroidery of images apparently *Afiatick*. From all this, if it be fatisfactorily proved, we may infer a general union or affinity between the mod diftinguifhed inhabitants of the primitive world, at the time when they deviated, as they did too early deviate, from the rational adoration of the only true G O D .

There feem to have been four principal fources of all mythology, I. Hiftorical, or natural, truth has been perverted into fable by ignorance, imagination, flattery, or ftupidity ; as a king of *Crete*, whofe tomb had been difcovered in that ifland, was conceived to have been the Cod of *Olympus*, and MINOS, a legiflator of that country, to have been his fon, and to hold a fupreme appellate jurifdiction over departed fouls; hence too probably flowed the tale of CADMUS, as BOCHART learnedly traces it; hence beacons or volcanos became one-eyed giants and monfters vomiting flames ; and two rocks, from their appearance to mariners in certain pofitions, were

fuppofed to cruſſi all veſſels attempting to paſs between them; of which idle fictions many other inſtances might be collected from the *Odyſſey* and the various *Argonautick* poems. The leſs we ſay of *Julian* ſtars, deifications of princes or warriours, altars rail'd, with thoſe of APOI LO, to the baſeſt of men, and divine titles beſtowed on ſuch wretches as CAJUS OCTAVIANUS, the leſs we ſhall expoſe the infamy of grave ſenators and fine poets, or the brutal folly of the low multitude: but we may be affured, that the mad apotheofis of truly great men, or of little men falſely called great, has been the origin of groſs idolatrous errors in every part of the pagan world. II. The next ſource of them appears to have been a wild admiration of the heavenly bodies, and, after a time, the ſyſtems and calculations of Aſtronomers: hence came a conſiderable portion of *Egyptian* and *Grecian* fable; the *Sabian* worſhip in *Arabia*; the *Perſian* types and emblems of *Mihr* or the ſun, and the far extended adoration of the elements and the powers of nature; and hence perhaps, all the artificial Chronology of the *Cbineſe* and *Indians*, with the invention of demigods and heroes to fill the vacant niches in their extravagant and imaginary periods. III. Numberleſs divinities have been created ſolely by the magick of poetry; whoſe eſſential buſineſs it is, to perſonify

the moſt abſtraſt notions, and to place a nymph or a genius in every grove and almoſt in every flower: hence *Hygieia* and *Juſo*, health and remedy, are the poetical daughters of *Æſculap-
plus*, who was either a diſtinguiſhed phyſician, or medical ſkill perſonified ; and hence *Cbloris*, or verdure, is married to the *Zephyr*. IV. The metaphors and allegories of moralifts and metaphyſicians have been alſo very fertile in Deities; of which a thouſand examples might be adduced from PLATO, CICERO, and the inventive com-
pilation on HOMER in their pedigrees of the Gods, and their fabulous ſeſſions of morality: the richeſt and nobleſt ſtream from this abundant fountain is the charming philoſophical tale of PSYCHE, or the *Progreſs of the Soul*; than which, to my taſte, a more beautiful, ſublime and well ſupported allegory was never produced by the wiſdom and ingenuity of man. Hence alſo the *Indian* MAYA', or, as the word is explained by ſome *Hindu* ſcholars, "the firſt in-
*' cination of the Godhead to diversify himſelf " (ſuch is their phraſe) by creating worlds,¹ is feigned to be the mother of univerſal nature, and of all the inferiour Gods ; as a *Cafomirian* informed me, when I aſked him, why CA'MA, or *Love*, was repreſented as her ſon ; but the word MAYA', or *deuſion*, has a more ſubtile and recondite ſenſe in the *Veddnta* philoſophy,

where it fignifies the fyftem of *perceptions*, whether of fecondary or of primary qualities, which the Deity was believed by EPICHRMUS, PLATO, and many truly pious men, to raife by his omniprefent fpirit in the minds of his creatures* but which had not, in their opinion, any exiftence independent of mind.

In drawing a parallel between the Gods of the *Indian* and *European* heathens, from whatever fource they were derived, I fhall remember, that nothing is lefs favourable to enquiries after truth than a fyilematical fpirit, and fhall call to mind the faying of a *Hindu* writer, " that who-
" ever obftinately adheres to any fet of opinions,
" may bring himfelf to believe that the freffeft
" fandal wood is a flame of fire : " this will effectually prevent me from infilling, that fuch a God of *India* was *the* JUPITER of *Greece*; fuch, *the* APOLLO fuch, *the* MERCURY : in fad, fince all the caufes of polytheifm contributed largely to the ailemblage of *Grecian* divinities (though BACON reduces them all to refined allegories, and NEWTON to a poetical difguife of true hiftory), we find many JOVFS, many APOLLOS, many MERCURIES, with diftind attributes and capacities ; nor fhall I prefume to fuggeft more, than that, in one capacity or another, there exifts a ftriking fimilitude between the chief objects pf wprfhup in ancient *Greece* or *Italy* and in the

very interesting country, which we now inhabit

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

Dissquisitions concerning the manners and conduct of our species in early times, or indeed at any time, are always curious at least and amusing; but they are highly interesting to such, as can satisfy themselves with CHROMIUS in the play, "We are men, and take an interest in all * that relates to mankind:" They may even be of solid importance in an age, when some intelligent and virtuous persons are inclined to doubt the authenticity of the accounts, delivered by MOSSES, concerning the primitive world;

fince no modes or fources of reafoning can be unimportant, which have a tendency to remove fuch doubts. Either the tirt eleven chapters of *Genejis*, all due allowances being made for a figurative Eaſtern ſtyle, are true, or the whole fabrick of our national religion is falſe ; a conclufion, which none of us, I truſt, would wiſh to be drawn. I, who cannot help believing the divinity of the MESSIAH, from the undiſputed antiquity and manifeſt completion of many prophecies, eſpecially thoſe of ISAIAH, in the only perſon recorded by hiſtory, to whom they are applicable, am obliged of courſe to believe the ſanctity of the venerable books, to which that iâcred perſon refers as genuine; but it is not the truth of our national religion, as fuch, that I have at heart: it is truth itſelf; and, if any cool unbiaſſed reaſoner will clearly convince me, that MOSES drew his narrative through *Egyptian* conduits from the primeval fountains of *Indian* literature, I ſhall eſteem him as a friend for having weeded my mind from a capital error, and promiſc to ſtand among the foremoſt in affiſting to circulate the truth, which he has aſcertained. After fuch a declaration, I cannot but perſuade myſelf, that no candid man will be diſpleaſed, if, in the courſe of my work, I make as free with any arguments, that he may have advanced, as I ſhould really deſire

him to do with any of mine, that he may be disposed to controvert. Having no fytem of my own to maintain, I fhall not purfue a very regular method, but fhall take all the Gods, of whom I difcourfe, as they happen to prefent themfelves; beginning, however, like the *Romans* and the *Hindus*, with JANU or GANE'SA.

The titles and attributes of this old *Italian* deity are fully comprised in two choriambick verfes of Sulpitius; and a farther account of him from Ovid would here be fuperfluous:

*Jane pater, Jane tuens, dive biceps, biformis,
O cate rerum fator, O principium deorum !*

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

He was the God, we fee, of *Wifdom*; whence he is reprinted on coins with *two*, and, on the *Iletrujcan* image found at *Falifci*, with *four*, faces; emblems of prudence and circumfpection; thus is GANESA, the God of *Wifdom* in *Hindu*ftan, painted with an *Elephant's* head, the fymbol of fagacious difcemment, and attended by a favourite *rat*, which the *Indians* confider as a wife and provident animal. His next peat character (the plentiful fource of many fuperftitious ufages) was that from which he is em-



phatically styled *the father*, and which the second verse before-cited more fully expresses, *the origin and founder of all things*: whence this notion arose, unless from a tradition that he first built shrines, raised altars, and instituted sacrifices, it is not easy to conjecture; hence it came however, that his name was invoked before any other God; that, in the old sacred rites, corn and wine, and, in later times, incense also, were first offered to JANUS; that the *doors* or *entrances* to private houses were called *Janua*, and any previous passage or thorough-fare, in the plural number, *Jani*, or *with two beginnings*; that he was represented holding a rod as guardian of ways, and a key, as *openings* not gates only, but *all important works and affairs* of mankind; that he was thought to preside over the morning, or *beginning of day*; that, although the *Roman* year began regularly with *March*, yet the eleventh month, named *Januarius*, was considered as *first* of the twelve, whence the whole year was supposed to be under his guidance, and opened with great solemnity by the consuls inaugurated in his fane, where his statue was decorated on that occasion with fresh laurel; and, for the same reason, a solemn denunciation of war, than which there can hardly be a more momentous national act, was made by the military cental's opening the gates of his temple.

" would not on any account build a house, with-
 " out having placed on the ground an image of
 " this deity, which they sprinkle with oil and
 " adorn every day with flowers; they set up his
 " figure in all their temples, in the streets, in the
 " high roads, and in open plains at the foot of
 " some tree; so that persons of all ranks may in-
 " voke him, before they undertake any business,
 " and travellers worship him, before they pro-
 " ceed on their journey." To this I may add,
 from my own observation, that in the com-
 modious and useful town, which now rises at
Dharmdranya or *Gaya*, under the auspices of the
 active and benevolent THOMAS LAW, Esq. col-
 lector of *Rotas*, every new-built house, agree-
 ably to an immemorial usage of the *Hindus*, has
 the name of GANESA inscribed on its door;
 and, in the old town, his image is placed over
 the gates of the temples.

We come now to SATURN, the oldest of the
 pagan Gods, of whose office and actions much is
 recorded. The jargon of his being the son of
 Earth and of Heaven, who was the son of the
 Sky and the Day, is purely a confession of ig-
 norance, who were his parents or who his pre-
 decessors; and there appears more sense in the
 tradition said to be mentioned by the inquisitive
 and well informed PLATO, " that both SA-
 " TURN or *time*, and his consort CYBELE, or

with all the pomp of his magistracy. The twelve altars and twelve chapels of JANUS might either denote, according to the general opinion, that he leads and governs twelve months, or that, as he says of himself in OVID, all entrance and access must be made through him to the principal Gods, who were, to a proverb, of the same number. We may add, that JANUS was imagined to preside over infants at their birth, or the *beginning* of life.

The *Indian* divinity has precisely the same character: all sacrifices and religious ceremonies, all addresses even to superior Gods, all serious compositions in writing, and all worldly affairs of moment, are begun by pious *Hindus* with an invocation of GANE'SA; a word composed of *isa*, the governor or leader, and *gana*, or a company of deities, nine of which companies are enumerated in the *Amarcojh*. Instances of opening business auspiciously by an ejaculation to the JANUS of *India* (if the lines of resemblance here traced will justify me in so calling him) might be multiplied with ease. Few books are begun without the words *salutation* to GANE'S, and he is first invoked by the *Brdbmans*, who conduct the trial by ordeal, or perform the ceremony of the *boma*, or sacrifice to fire: M. SONNERAT represents him as highly revered on the Coast Of *Coromandel*; " where the *Indians*, he says.

" would not on any account build a house, without having placed on the ground an image of this deity, which they sprinkle with oil and adorn every day with flowers; they set up his figure in all their temples, in the streets, in the high roads, and in open plains at the foot of some tree; so that persons of all ranks may invoke him, before they undertake any business, and travellers worship him, before they proceed on their journey." To this I may add, from my own observation, that in the commodious and useful town, which now rises at *Dbarmdranya* or *Gaya*, under the auspices of the active and benevolent THOMAS LAW, Esq. collector of *Rotas*, every new-built house, agreeably to an immemorial usage of the *Hindus*, has the name of GANESA inscribed on its door; and, in the old town, his image is placed over the gates of the temples.

We come now to SATURN, the oldest of the pagan Gods, of whose office and actions much is recorded. The jargon of his being the son of Earth and of Heaven, who was the son of the Sky and the Day, is purely a confession of ignorance, who were his parents or who his predecessors; and there appears more sense in the tradition said to be mentioned by the inquisitive and well informed PLATO, " that both SATURN or *time*, and his consort CYBELE, or

" the *Earth*, together with their attendants, were
 * the children of *Ocean* and *THETIS*, or, in left
 " poetical language, sprang from the waters of the
 " great deep."* *CERES*, the goddess of harvests,
 was, it seems, their daughter; and *VIRGIL* de-
 scribes " the mother and nurse of all as crown-
 " ed with turrets, in a car drawn by lions, and
 " exulting in her hundred grandsons, ail divine,
 " all inhabiting splendid celestial mansions." As
 the God of time, or rather as *time* itself per-
 sonified, *SATURN* was usually painted by the
 heathens holding a scythe in one hand, and, in
 the other, a snake with its tail in its mouth, the
 symbol of perpetual cycles and revolutions of
 ages: he was often represented in the act of de-
 Touring years, in the form of children, and,
 sometimes, encircled by the seasons appearing
 like boys and girls. By the *Latins* he was
 named *SATURNUS*; and the most ingenious ety-
 mology of that word is given by *FESTUS* the
 grammarian who traces it, by a learned analogy
 to many similar names, à *fatu*, from planting,
 because, when he reigned in *Italy*, he introduced
 and improved agriculture: but his distinguishing
 character, which explains, indeed, all his
 other titles and functions, was expressed alle-
 gorically by the stern of a (ship or galley on the
 reverse of his ancient coins} for which *OVID*
 assigns a very unsatisfactory reason, " because

ftanger aririved il a fhip on the
 " Swim coaft \$" as if he could have been ex-
 pelted on horfe-back or hovering through the
 air

The account, quoted by POMEY from ALEX-
 ANDRR POLYHISTOR, cafts a clearer light, if it
 really came from genuine antiquity, on the whole
 tale of SATURN; " that he predicted an ex-
 " traordinary fall of rain, and ordered the con-
 " ftrution of a veffel, in which it was neceffary
 " to fecure men, beafts, birds, and reptiles from
 " a general inundation."

Now it feems not eafy to take a cool review
 of all thefe teftimonies concerning the birth,
 kindred, offspring, character, occupations, and
 entire life of SATURN, without affenting to the
 opinion of BOCHART, or admitting it at leaft to
 be highly probable, that the fable was raifed on
 the true hiftory of NOAH; from whose flood a
 new period of time was computed, and a new
 feries of ages may be faid to have fprung; who
 rofe frefh, and, as it were, newly born from the
 waves; whose wife was in fact the univerfal
 mother, and, that the earth might foon be re-
 peopled, was early bleffed with numerous and
 flourifhing defendants: if we produce, there-
 fore, an *Indian* king of divine birth, eminent for
 his piety and beneficence, whose ftory feems
 evidently to be that of NOAH difguifed by Alfa-

tick fiction, we may safely offer a conjecture, that he was also the same personage with SATURN. This was MENU, or SATYAVRATA, whose patronymick name was VAIVASWATA, or child of the SUN; and whom the *Indians* believed to have reigned over the whole world in the earliest age of their chronology, but to have resided in the country of *Dravirā*, on the coast of the Eastern *Indian* Peninsula: the following narrative of the principal event in his life I have literally translated from the *Bhagavat*; and it is the subject of the first *Purana*, entitled that of the *Matjya*, or *Fijb*.

' Defining the preservation of herds, and of
 ' *Brahmans*, of genii and virtuous men, of the
 ' *Vedas*, of law, and of precious things, the lord
 * of the universe assumes many bodily (hapes;
 * but, though he pervades, like the air, a variety
 ' of beings, yet he is himself unvaried,
 ' since he has no quality subject to change.
 ' At the close of the last *Culpa*, there was a
 ' general destruction occasioned by the sleep of
 1 BRAHMA'; whence his creatures in different
 ' worlds were drowned in a vast ocean, BRAH-
 ' MA', being inclined to slumber, desiring repose
 ' after a lapse of ages, the strong demon H A Y A-
 4 GRI'VA came near him, and stole the VEDAS*
 ' which had flowed from his lips. When HERI,
 ' the preserver of the universe, discovered this

f deed of the Prince of *DJnavas*, he took the
 ' fhape of a minute fifh, called *Jap'bari*. A
 * holy king, named *SATYAVRATA*, then reigned;
 ' a fervant of the fpirit, which moved on the
 c waves, and fo devout, that water was his only
 ' fuftenance. He was the child of the Sun,
 ' and, in the prefent *Calpa*, is invefted by N A -
 ' RA'YAN in the office of *Menu*, by the name of
 ' SRA'DDHADE'VA, or the God of Obfequies.
 ' One day, as he was making a libation in the
 ' river *Critamala*), and held water in the palm
 ' of his hand, he perceived a fmall fifh moving
 * in it. The king of *Dravira* immediately
 ' dropped the fifh into the river together with
 4 the water, which he had taken from* it; when
 ' the *fap'bari* thus pathetically addreffed the be-
 nevolent monarch: i⁴ How canft thou, O
 " king, who fhoweft affetfion to the oppreffed,
 " leave me in this river-water, where I am too
 " weak to refill the monfters of the fteam,
 " who fill me with dread?" He, not knowing
 ' who had affumed the form of a fifh, applied
 ' his mind to the prefervation of the *fap'burz*,
 ' both, from good nature and from regard to his
 * own foul j and, having heard its very fuppliant
 ' addrefs, he kindly placed it under his pro-
 ' tection in a fmall vafe full of water; but, in a
 4 fingle night, its bulk was fo increafed, that it
 4 could not be contained in the jar, and thus

' again addrefled the illuftrious Prince I " I am
 " not pleafed with living miferably in this little
 " vafe ; make me a large manfion, where I may
 " dwell in comfort." The king, removing it
 " thence, placed it in the water of a ciftern; but
 ' it grew three cubits in lefs than fifty minutes,
 ' and faid: " O king, it pleafes me not to flay
 " vainly in this narrow ciftern : fince thou haft
 " granted me an afylum, give me a fpacious
 " habitation." He then removed it, and placed
 ' it in a pool, where, having ample fpace around
 4 its body, it became a fifh of confiderable fize.
 ;" This abode, O king, is not convenient for me,
 " who muft fwim at large in the waters: exert
 " thyfelf for my fafety; and remove me to a
 i4 deep lake:" Thus addrefled, the pious mo-
 ' narch threw the fuppliant into a lake, and,
 * when it grew of equal bulk with that piece of
 ' water, he caft the vaft fifh into the fea. When
 ' the fifh was thrown into the waves, he thus
 ' again fpoke to SATYAVRATA: "here the
 " horned fharks, and other monfters of great
 " ftrength will devour me; thou fhouldft not,
 " O valiant man, leave me in this ocean/* Thwu
 ' repeatedly deluded by the fifh, who **had ad-**
 ' drefled him with gentle words, the king faid;
 " who art thou, that beguiled me in that affumed
 " fhape ? Never before have I feen or, heard of
 " fo prodigious an inhabitant of the waters, who,

" like thee, haft filled up, in a fihgte **day**, a **lake**
 " an hundred leagues in circumference. Surely,
 " thou art BHAGAVAT, Who appeared before
 " me; the great HERI, whose dwelling was on
 " the waves; and who now, in compaffion to thy
 " fervants, beared the form of the natives of the
 " deep. Salutation and praife to thee, O firff
 " male, the lord of creation, of prefervation, of
 " deftruction! Thou art the higheft object, O
 " fupreme ruler, of us thy adorers, who piously
 " * feek thee. All thy delufive defcents in this
 " world give exiftence to various beings;; yet I
 " am anxious to know, for what caufe that fhape
 " " has been aflumed by thee. Let me not, O
 " " lotos-eyed, approach in vain the feet of a
 " " deity, whose perfect benevolence has been ex-
 " " tended to all; when thou haft fhewn us to
 " " our amazement the appearance of other bodies
 " " not hi reality exifting, but fucceffively ex-
 " " hibited." The lord of the univerfe, loving
 " " the pious man, who thus implored him, and
 " " intending to preferve him from the fea of de-
 " " ftruction, caufed by the depravity of the age,
 " " thus told him how he was to act. " In feven
 " " days from the prefent time, O thou tamer of
 " " enemies, the three worlds will be plunged in
 " " an ocean of death; but, in the midft of the
 " " deftroying waves, a Urge veflel, fent by me
 " " for thy ufe, fhall ftand before thee. Then

" (halt thou **take** all medicinal herbs, all the variety of feeds; and, accompanied by seven Saints, encircled by pairs of all brute animals, thou shalt enter the spacious ark and continue in it, secure from the flood on one immense ocean without light, except the radiance of thy holy companions. When the ship shall be agitated by an impetuous wind, thou shalt be fallen it with a large sea-serpent on my horn; for I will be near thee: drawing the vessel, with thee and thy attendants, I will remain on the ocean, O chief of men, until a night of BRAHMA shall be completely ended. Thou shalt then know my true greatness, rightly named the supreme Godhead; by my favour, all thy questions shall be answered, and thy mind abundantly instructed." HERI, having thus directed the monarch, disappeared; and SATYAVRATA humbly waited for the time, * which the ruler of our senses had appointed. The pious king, having scattered towards the East the pointed blades of the grass *darbba*, and turning his face towards the North, fate meditating on the feet of the God, who had borne the form of a fish. The sea, overwhelming its shores, deluged the whole earth; and it was soon perceived to be augmented by showers from immense clouds. He, still meditating on the command of BHAGAVAT, saw the vessel

' advancing, and entered it with the chiefs of
 * *BrdBrnans*, having carried into it the medicinal
 ' creepers and conformed to the directions of
 ' *HERI*. The faints thus addressed him: " O
 ' king, meditate on *CE'SAVA* ; who will, surely,
 " deliver us from this danger, and grant us prof-
 " perity." The God, being invoked by the
 ' monarch, appeared again distinctly on the vast
 ' ocean in the form of a fish, blazing like gold,
 ' extending a million of leagues, with one stu-
 ' pendous horn ; on which the king, as he had
 ' before been commanded by *HERI*, tied the ship
 ' with a cable made of a vast serpent, and, happy
 ' in his preservation, stood praising the destroyer
 ' of *MADHU*. When the monarch had finished
 ' his hymn, the primeval male, *BHAGAVAT*,
 (who watched for his safety on the great ex-
 'panse of water, spoke aloud to his own divine
 ' essence, pronouncing a sacred *I'urdna*, which
 ' contained the rules of the *Sane'* by a philosophy:
 ' but it was an infinite mystery to be concealed
 ' within the breast of *SATYAVRATA* ; who, fit-
 ' ting in the vessel with the faints, heard the
 ' principle of the soul, the Eternal Being, pro-
 ' claimed by the preserving power. Then *HERI*,
 ' rising together with *BRAHMA* , from the de-
 ' structive deluge, which was abated, flew the
 ' demon *HAYAGRIVA*, and recovered the sacred
 ' books. *SATYAVRATA*, instructed in all divine

and human knowledge, was appointed in the
 4 present Calpa, by the favour of VISHNI*, the
 * seventh MENU, furnished VAIVASWATA : but
 the appearance of a horned fish to the religious
 4 monarch was *Máyá*, or delusion; and he, who
 shall devoutly hear this important allegorical
 narrative, will be delivered from the bondage
 of sin.'

This epitome of the first *Indian* History, that is now extant, appears to me very curious and very important; for the story, though whimsically dressed up in the form of an allegory, seems to prove a primeval tradition in this country of the *universal deluge* described by MOSES, and fixes consequently the *time*, when the genuine *Hindu* Chronology actually begins. We find, it is true, in the *Vurdu*, from which the narrative is extracted, *another deluge* which happened towards the close of the *third* age, when YUDHISTHIR was labouring under the persecution of his inveterate foe DURYÓDHAN, and when CRISHNA, who had recently become incarnate for the purpose of succouring the pious and of destroying the wicked, was performing wonders in the country of *Mat'hum* ; but the second flood was merely *local* and intended only to affect the people of *Vraja*: they, it seems, had offended INDRA, the God of the firmament, by their enthusiastic adoration of the wonderful child;

" who lifted up the mountain *Goverbena*, at #
 " it had been a flower, and, by ftieitering all the
 ' herdfmen and fhepherdefles from the ftorm,
¹¹ convinced INDRA of his fupremacy." That
 the *Satya*, or (if we may venture fo to call it)
 the *Saturnian*, age was in truth the age of the
general flood, will appear from a clofe exa-
 mination of the ten *Avatars* or *Defcenfs*, of the
 deity in his capacity of preferver; fince of the
 four, which are declared to have happened in
 the *Satya yug*, the *three* *first* apparently relate to
 fome ftupendous convulfion of our globe from
 the fountains of the deep, and the fourth exhibits
 the miraculous punifhment of pride and impiety:
 firft, as we have fhown, there was, in the opinion
 of the *Hindus*, an interpofition of Providence to
 preferve a devout perfon and his family (for all
 the *Pandits* agree, that his wife, though not
 named, muft be underftood to have been faved
 with him) from an inundation, by which all the
 wicked were deftroycd ; next, the power of the
 deity defcends in the form of a *Boar*, the fymboi
 of ftrength, to draw up and fupport on his tulks
 the whole earth, which had been funk beneath
 the ocean; thirdly, the fame power is reprro-
 fented as a *tortoife* fustaining the globe, which
 had been convulged by the violent affaults of de-
 mons, while the Gods churned the fea with the
 mountain *Monday* and forced it to difgorge the

feared things and animals, together with the water of life, which it had swallowed: these three stories relate, I think, to the same event, shadowed by a moral, a metaphysical, and an astronomical, allegory; and all three seem connected with the hieroglyphical sculptures of the old *Egyptians*. The fourth *Avatár* was a lion issuing from a bursting column of marble to devour a blaspheming monarch, who would otherwise have slain his religious son and of the remaining six, not one has the least relation to a deluge: the three, which are ascribed to the *Trátdyugt* when tyranny and irreligion are said to have been introduced, were ordained for the overthrow of Tyrants, or, their natural types, - Giants with a thousand arms formed for the most extensive oppression; and, in the *Diudparyug*, the incarnation of CRISHNA was partly for a similar purpose, and partly with a view to thin the world of unjuil and impious men, who had multiplied in that age, and began to swarm on the approach of the *Caliyug*, or the age of contention and baseness. As to BUDDHA, he seems to have been a reformer of the doctrines contained in the *Védas*; and, though his good nature led him to censure those ancient books, because they enjoined sacrifices of cattle, yet he is admitted as the ninth *Avatar* even by the *Brahmans* of *Casi*, and his praises are sung by the

poet JAYADE'VA : his character is in many respects very extraordinary; but, as an account of it belongs rather to History than* to Mythology, it is reserved for another dissertation. The tenth* *Avatdr*, we are told, is yet to come, and is expected to appear mounted (like the crowned conqueror in the *Apocalyps*) on a white horse with a cimeter blazing like a comet to mow down all incorrigible and impenitent offenders, who (shall then be on earth.

These four *Tugs* have so apparent an affinity with the *Grecian* and *Roman* ages, that one origin may be naturally assigned to both systems; the first in both is distinguished as abounding in *gold*, though *Satya* mean *truth* and *probity*, which were found, if ever, in the times immediately following so tremendous an exertion of the divine power as the destruction of mankind by a general deluge; the next is characterized by *silver*, and the third, by *copper*; though their usual names allude to proportions imagined in each between vice and virtue: the present, or *earthen*, age seems more properly discriminated than by *iron*, as in ancient *Europe*; since that metal is not baser or less useful, though more common in our times and consequently less precious, than copper; while mere *earth* conveys an idea of the lowest degradation. We may here observe, that the true History of the

world fecitos obvidufly divifible into four age!
*at perriods * which may be called, firft, the*
EMuvian, or ptireft age; namely, the times
preceding the deluge, and thofe Succeeding it
hilt the mad introduction of idolatry at Babel;
next, the Patriarchal, or ptjre, age; in which,
indeed, there were mighty hunters of beafts and
of men, from the rife of patriarchs in the family
of SEM to the fimukaneous eftablifhment of
great Empires by the defendants of his brother
H A M ; thirdly, the *Mofaick, or lefe pure, age ;*
from the legation of MOSES, and during the time,
 when his ordinances were comparatively well-
 dbleñred and uncorrupted; *W{ily, the Prophetical,*
 or *impure*[^] age, beginning with the vehement
 warnings given by the Prophets to apoftate
 Kings and degenerate nations, but ftill fubfifting
 2nd to fubfift, until all genuine prophecies fhall
 lie fully accomplished. The duration of the
 Hift'orical ages muft needs be very unequal and
 difproportionate; while that of the *Indian Yugs*
 is difpofed fo regularly and artificially, that it
 cannot be admitted as natural or probable: men
 da not become reprobate in a geometrical pro-
 greffion or at the termination of regular periods;
 yet fo well-proportioned are the *Tugs*, that even*
 the length of human life is diminished, as they
 advance, from an hundred thoufand years in a
 fttbdecuple ratio; and/ as the number of principal

[^]foatdfs in each decreafes arthtmetically from four .fo the number.of years 19 each decreafe* geometrically, and all together conftitute the extravagant fum of four million three hundred and twenty thoufand; years; which aggregated multiplied by feVenty-one, is the period, in which every MENU is believed to prefide over the world. Such a period, one might conceive, would have fatisfied ARCHYTAS, the *meqfurer of fea and earth and the numberer of their fands*, or ARCHIMEDES, who invented a notation, that was capable of expreffing the number of them.} but the comprehensive mind of an *Indian Chronologift* has no limits ; and the reigns of fourteen MENUS are only a fingle day of BRAHMA', fifty of which days have elapsed, according to the *Hindus*, from the time of the CrealBon : that all this puerility, as it feems at first view, may be only an agronomical riddle, and allude to the apparent revolution of the fixed ftars, of which the *Brahmans* made a myftery, I readily admit, and am even inclined to believe ; but fo technical an arrangement excludes all idea of ferious Hiftory. I am lenllble, how much thefe remarks will offend the warm advocates for *Indian antiquity* ; but we muft not facrifice truth to a bafe fear of giving offence: that the *Védas* were a&ually written before the flood, I fhaU neve* believe; nor can we infer from the preceding

ibrp* that the learned *Hinus* believe it; for the allegorical flumber of BRAHMA' and the theft of the {acred books mean only, in Ampler language, *Ar f the human race was become corrupt*; but that the *Vedas* are very ancient, and far older than other *Sanfcrit* compofitions, I will venture to affert from my own examination of them, and a comparifon of their ftyle with that of the *Purans* and the *Dberma Safta** A fimilar comparifon juftifies me in pronouncing, that the excellent law-book afcribed to SwAY'AMBHUvA MENU, though not even pretended to have been written by him, is more ancient than the BHA'GAVAT; but that it was compofed in the firft age of the world, the *Brahmans* would find it hard to perfuade me; and the date, which has been afligned to it, does not appear in either of the two copies, which I poffefs, or in any other, that has been collated for me: in fact the fuppofed date is comprized in a verfe, which flatly contradicts the work it felf; for it was nor MENU who compofed the fyftem of law, by the command of his father BRAHMA', but a holy perfonage or demigod, named BHRI-ou, who revealed to men what MENU had delivered at the requeft of him and other faints or patriarchs. In the *Mdnava Safta*, to conclude this digreffion, the meafure is fo uniform **and** melodious, and the ftyle fo perfectly *Sanfcrit*

the book muſt be more modern than the ſcriptures of MOSES, in which the Simplicity, or rather nakedneſs, of the *Hebrew* dialed, more, and ſtyle, muſt convince every unbiaſſed man of their ſuperior antiquity.

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

Qui genus indocile ac diſperſum montibus altis
Compoſuit, *kgcfquc iledity*

and, we may ſuppoſe, that all the fourteen M E - NUS are inducible to one, who was called N U H by the *Arabs*, and probably by the *Hebrews*^ though we have diſguiled his name by an improper pronounciation of it. Some near relation between the ſeventh MENU and the *Grecian*

MINOS may be inferred from the singular *ch*; **rafter of the Hindu d**, YAMA, **who was** also a child of the Sun, and thence named VAIVASWATA; he had too the same title with his brother, SRADDHADEVĀ: another of his titles was DHKRMARAJA, or *King of Justice* and a third PiTRiPETi, or *Lord of the patriarchs*; but he is chiefly distinguished as *judge of departed souls*; for the *Hindus* believe, that, when a soul leaves its body, it immediately repairs to *Yama-pur* or the city of YAMA, where it receives a just sentence from him, and either ascends to *Swarga*, or the first heaven, or is driven down to *Narar* the region of serpents, or assumes on earth the form of some animal, unless its offence had been such, that it ought to be condemned to a vegetable, or even to a mineral, prison. Another of his names is very remarkable: I mean that of CALA, or *time*, the idea of which is intimately blended with the characters of SATURN and of NOAH; for the name CRONOS has a manifest affinity with the word *cronos*, and a learned follower of ZERATUSHT assures me, that, in the books which the *Babians* hold sacred, mention is made of an *universal inundation* named the deluge of TIME.

It having been occasionally observed, that CERES was the poetical daughter of SATURN, we cannot close this head without adding, that

the *Hindus* also have their *Goddeſs of Abundance*, whom they uſually call *LACSHMI**, and whom they conſider as the daughter (not of *MENU*, but) of *BHRIGU*, by whom the firſt Code of ſacred ordinances was promulgated: ſhe is alſo named *PEDMA* and *CAMALA* from the ſacred Lotos or *Nymphaea* ; but her moſt remarkable name is *SRI*, or, in the firſt caſe, *SRI'S*, which has a reſemblance to the *Latin*, and means *fortune* or *proſperity*. It may be contended, that, although *LACSHMI* may be figuratively called the *CERES* of *Hindujian*, yet any two or more idolatrous nations, who ſubſiſted by agriculture, might naturally conceive a Deity to preſide over their labours, without having the leaſt intercourſe with each other; but no reaſon appears, why two nations ſhould concur in ſuppoſing that Deity to be a female: one at leaſt of them would be more likely to imagine, that the *Earth* was a Goddeſs,* and that the God of abundance rendered her fertile. Beſides, in very ancient temples near *Gayd*, we ſee images of *LACSHMI*, with full breaſts and a cord twilled under her arm like a *born of plenty*, which look very much like the old *Grecian* and *Roman* figures of *CERES*.

The fable of *SATURN* having been thus analysed, let us proceed to his deſcendents; and begin, as the Poet adviſes, with *JUPITER*, whoſe



and the fame Godhead: thus the principal divinity of the *Greeks* and *Latins*, whom they called ZEUS and JUPITER, with irregular inflexions Dios and Jovis, was not merely *Fulminatory* the Thunderer, but, like the deftroying power of *India*, MAGNUS DIVUS, ULTOR, GENITOR ; like the preferring power, CONSERVATOR, SOTER, OPITULUS, ALTOR, RUMINUS, and, like the creating power, the *Giver of Life* ; an attribute, which I mention here on the authority of CORNUTUS, a confummate mafler of mythological learning. We are advifed by PLATO himfelf to fearch for the roots of *Greek* words in fome barbarous, that is, foreign, foil; but, fince I look upon etymological conjectures as a weak bafis for hiftorical inquiries, I hardly dare fuggeft, that ZEV, SIV, and Jov, are the fame fyllable differently pronounced: it muft, however be admitted, that the *Greeks* having no palatial *figma*, like that of the *Indiatif*, might have expreffed it by their *zeta*, and that the initial letters of *zugon* and *jngum* are (as the inllancc proves) eafily interchangeable.

Let us now defcend, from thefe general and introductory remarks, to fome particular obfervations on the refemblance of ZEUS or JUPITER to the triple divinity VTSHNU, SIVA, BRAHMA'; for that is the order, in which they arc expreffed by the letter^ A, U, and M, which coalefcc and

form the myftical word O'M; a word, which never efapes the lips of a pious *Hindu*, who meditates on it in filence: whether the *Egyptian* ON, which is commonly fuppofed to mean the Sun, be the *San/ait* monofyllable, I leave others to determine. It muft always be remembered, that the learned *Indians*, as they are intrufted by their own books, in truth acknowledge only One Supreme Being, whom they call BRAHME, or THE GREAT ONE in the neuter gender: they believe his Eflence to be infinitely removed from the comprehension of any mind but his own; and they fuppofe him to manifeft his power by the operation of his divine fpirit, whom they name VISHNU, the *Pervader*, and NA'RA'YAN, or *Moving on the wáters*, both in the mafculine gender, whence he is often denominated the *Firft Male*; and by this power they believe, that the whole order of nature is preferved and fupported; but the *Féddntis*, unable to form a diftinct idea of brute matter independent of mind, or to conceive that the work of Supreme Goodnefs was left a moment to itfelf, imagine that the Deity is ever prefent to his work, and constantly fupports a feries of perceptions, which, in one iénfe, they call *illufory*, though they cattjiot but admit the *reality* of ail created forms, as far as the happinefs of creatures can be affected by them. When they confider the divine power



exerted in *creating*, or in giving existence to that which existed not before, they call the deity BRAMA' in the masculine gender also; and, when they view him in the light of *Destroyer*, or rather *Changer* of forms, they give him a thousand names, of which SIVA, ISA, or ISWARA, RUDRA, HARA, ~~SAMRAU~~, and MAHADEVVA or MAHESA, are the most common. The first operations of these three *Powers* are variously described in the different *Purāna's* by a number of allegories, and from them we may deduce the *Ionian* Philosophy of *primeval water*, the doctrine of the Mundane Egg, and the veneration paid to the *Nymphæa*, or *Lotos*, which was anciently revered in *Egypt*, as it is at present in *Hindustān*, *Tibet*, and *Népal*: the *Tibetians* are said to embellish their temples and altars with it, and a native of *Népal* made prostrations before it on entering my study, where the fine plant and beautiful flowers lay for examination. Mr. HOLWEL, in explaining his first plate, supposes BRAHMA' to be floating on a leaf of *betel* in the midst of the abyss; but it was manifestly intended by a bad painter for a lotos-leaf, or for that of the *Indian* fig-tree; nor is the species of pepper, known in *Bengal* by the name of *Tāmbula*, and on the Coast of *Malabar* by that of *betel*, held sacred, as he asserts, by the *Hindus*, or necessarily cultivated under the inspection of *Brahmans*; though, as

the vines are tender, all the plantations of them are carefully secured, and ought to be cultivated by a particular tribe of *Súdras*, who are thence called *Tambuli's*.

That *water* was the primitive element and first work of the Creative Power, is the uniform opinion of the *Indian* Philosophers ; but, as they give no particular account of the general deluge and of the Creation, it can never be admitted, that their whole system arose from traditions concerning the flood only, and must appear indubitable, that their doctrine is in part borrowed from the opening of *Birds'it* or *Gene'sis*, than which a sublimer passage, from the first word to the last, never flowed or will flow from any human pen : " */// the beginning* GOD created the /« heavens and the earth.—And the earth was " void and waste, and darkness was on the face " of the deep, and the spirit of GOD *moved upon* *' the face of the waters; and GOD laid: *Let* " *Light be—and Light was.*" The sublimity of this passage is considerably diminished by the *Indic* paraphrase of it, with which MENU, the son of BHAHMA', begins his address to the sages, who consulted him on the formation of the universe: '* This world, says he, was all darkness, " undiscernible, undistinguishable, altogether as " in a profound sleep; till the self-existent in- " visible GOD, making it manifest with five elc-



" ments and other glorious forms, perfectly dif-
 " pelled the gloom. He, defiring to raife up
 " various creatures by an emanation from his
 " own glory, firft created the waters, and im-
 * preffed them with a power of motion: by that
 " power was produced a golden Egg, blazing
 " like a thoufand funs, in which was born
 " BRAHMA', felf-exifting, the great parent of all
 " rational beings. The waters are called *náràḥ*
 " ⁱ ſince they are the offspring of NERA (or I'S-
 " WARA ; and thence was NA'RA'YANA named,
 " becaufe his firft *ayama* , or *moving*, was on
 " them.

" THAT WHICH is, the invifible caufe, eter-
 " nal, felf-exifting, but unperceived, becoming
 " mafculine, from *neuter*', is celebrated among all
 " creatures by the name of BRAHMA. That
 " God, having dwelled in the Egg, through re-
 " volving years, Himfelf meditating on Himfelf,
 " divided it into two equal parts ; and from
 " thole halves formed the heavens and the earth,
 " placing in the midft the fubtil ether, the eight
 " points of the world, and the permanent recep-
 " tacle of waters.¹

To this curious defcription, with which the
Mañava Sajitra begins, I cannot refrain from
 fubjoining the four verfes, which are the text of
 the *Bhagavat*, and are believed to have been pro-
 pounced by the Supreme Being to BRAHMA' ;

the following version is most scrupulously literal*,

" Even I was even at first, not any other
" thing; that, which exists, unperceived; fu-
" preme; afterwards I AM THAT WHICH IS;
" and he, who must remain, am I.

" Except the FIRST CAUSE, whatever may
" appear, and may not appear, in the mind,
" know that to be the mind's MA'Y A' (or *Delu-*
" *Jion*), as light, as darkness,

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

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

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

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

• See the Original, p. 234, Plate IV.



elegance, leaves us wholly in the dark, *which of the Gods was is the aclor in it*: other Mythologies are more explicit; and we may rely on the authority of CoitxuTis, that the old *European* heathens confidered JOVE (not the ion of S.V-TUJJN, but of the *Ether*, that is of an unknown parent) as the great *Life-giver*, and *Father of Gods and men*; to which may be added the O*-*phean* doctrine, prcferved by PROCLus, that " the abyfs and empyreum, the earth and fea,, " the Gods and Goddcflcs, were produced by " ZEUS or JUPI TER." In this character he correponds with BRAHMA'; and, perhaps, with that God of the *Babylonians* (if we can rely on the accounts of their ancient religion), who, like BRAHAMA', reduced the univcrfe to order, and, like Bit Au MA', *lojt bis head*, with the blood of which new animals were instantly formed: I allude to the common ftory, the meaning of which I cannot difcover, that BRAHMA' had five heads till one of them was cut off by NA-JIA'YA'X.

That, in another capacity, JOVE was the *Helper and Supporter* of all, we may collcd: from his old *Latin* epithets, and from CICERO, who informs us, that his ufual name is a contraétion of *Juvans Pater*-, an etymology, which ihows the idea entertained of his character, though we may have fomc doubt, of its accuracy, CALLI-

MACHus, we know, addrefles him as *the be* Jtawer of all good, and offecurity from grief* ; and, *fince neither wealth without virtue, nor virtue without zwealth, give complete bappinefs*, he prays, like a wife poet, for both. An *Indian* prayer for riches would be directed to LACSinn', the wife of VISHNU, fince the *Hindu* Goddefles are believed to be the *powers* of their refpecivc lords: as to CUVF/KA, the *Indian* PLUTUS, one of whofe names is *Paulaflya*^ he is revered, indeed, as a magnificent Deity, refiding in the palace of *Alaca*,^ or borne through the (ky in a fplendid car named *Pufbpaca*^ but is manifeftly fubordinate, like the other feven Genii, to the three principal Gods, or rather to the principal God confidered in three capacities. As the foul of the world, or the pervading *mind*, fo finely defcribed by VIRGIL, we fee JOVE represented by feveral *Roman* poets; and with great Sublimity by LUCAX in the known fpeech of CATO concerning the *Ammonian* oracle, " Ji;PITF.if is, " wherever we look, wherever we move." This is precifely the *Indian* idea of Vishnu, according to the four verfes above exhibited, not that the *Brahmans* imagine their male Divinity to be the *divine Effence* of the great one, which they declare to be wholly incomprehenfible; but, fince the power of *preferring* created things by a fuperintending providence, belongs emi

nently to the Godhead, they hold that power to exist tranſcendently in the *preferring* member of the Triad, whom they ſuppoſe to be EVER* WHERE ALWAYS, not in ſubſtance, but in ſpirit and energy: here, however, I ſpeak of the *Vaiſhnavi*'s; for the *Saiva*'s aſcribe a fort of pre-eminence to SIVA, whoſe attributes are now to be concifely examined.

It was in the capacity of Avenger and Deſtroyer, that JOVE encountered and overthrew the *Titans* and *Giants*, whom TYPHOX, BKIARKUS, TITius, and the reſt of their fraternity, led againſt the God of *Olympus*; to whom an Eagle brought *lightning* and *thunderbolts* during the warfare: thus, in a ſimilar conteſt between SIVA and the *Daityas*, or children of DITX, who frequently rebelled againſt heaven, BRAHMA is believed to have preſented the God of Deſtruction with *fiery Jbafts*. One of the many poems, entitled *Ramayan*, the laſt book of which has been tranſlated into *Italian*, contains an extraordinary dialogue between the crow *Bbujbumia*^ and a rational Eagle, named GARUDA, who is often painted with the face of a beautiful youth, and the body of an imaginary bird; and one of the eighteen *Puranas* bears his name and comprizes his whole hiſtory. M. SONNE RAT informs us, that VISHNU is repreſented in ſome places riding on the GAUUDA, which he ſup-

poses to be the *Pondicberri* Eagle of Biussox, especially as the *Bráhmans* of the Coast highly venerate that class of birds, and provide food for numbers of them at stated hours: I rather conceive the *Garúda* to be a fabulous bird, but agree with him, that the *Hindu* God, who rides on it, resembles the ancient JUPITER. In the old temples at *Gaya*, VISHNU is either mounted on this poetical bird or attended by it together with a little page; but, left an etymologist should find GAVVML:ID in GVNIN, I must observe that the *Sanskrit* word is pronounced *Garura*; though I admit, that the *Grecian* and *Indian* stories of the celestial bird and the page appear to have some resemblance. As the *Olympian* JUPITER fixed his Court and held his Councils on a lofty and brilliant mountain, for the appropriated feat of MAHA'DK'VA, whom the *Saiva's* consider as the *Chief of* of the Deities, was mount *Cailasa*, every splinter of whose rocks was an inestimable gem: his terrestrial haunts are the snowy hills of *Himalaya*, or that branch of them to the East of the *Bráhmajputra*, which has the name of *Caudraji'iva*, or the *Mountain of the Moon*. When, after these circumstances, we learn that SIVA is believed to have *three* eyes, whence he is named also *TuvCHAN*, and know from PAUSANIAS, not only that *Triophtalmos* was an epithet of



Zeus, but that a statue of him had been found, so early as the taking of Troy, with a third eye in his forehead, as we see him represented by the Hindus, we must conclude, that the identity of the two Gods foils little doubt of being demonstrated.

In the character of *Dejroyer* also we may look upon this *Indian* Deity as corresponding with the *Stygian* JOVE, or PLUTO; especially since CALI, or Time in the feminine gender, is a name of his consort, who will appear hereafter to be PROSERPINE: indeed, if we can rely on a Persian translation of the *Bhagavat* (for the original is not yet in my possession), the sovereign of *Patala*, or the *Infernal Regions*, is the *King of Serpents*, named SE'SHANA'GA; for CRISHNA is there said to have descended with his favourite ARJUN to the feat of that formidable divinity, from whom he instantly obtained the favour, which he requested, that the souls of a *Brabman's* six sons, who had been slain in battle, might reanimate their respective bodies; and SU'SHANA'GA is thus described: " He had
 « a gorgeous appearance, with a thousand heads,
 " and, on each of them, a crown set with re-
 " splendent gems, one of which was larger and
 " brighter than the rest; his eyes gleamed like
 " flaming torches; but his neck, his tongues;
 " and his body were black; the skirts of his

habilitment were yellow, and a foarkling jewel
 " hung in every one of his ears ¹ arms were
 ** extended, and adorned with rich bracelets,
 " and his hands bore the holy fhell, the radiated
 " weapon, the mace for war, and the lotos."
 Thus PLUTO was often exhibited in painting
 and fculpture with a diadem and fceptre; but
 himfelf and his equipage were of the blacked
 {shade.

There is yet another attribute of MA H A'-
 DE V A, by which he is too vifibly diftinguifhed
 in the drawings and temples of *Bengal*. To
 defstroy, according to the *Vedantis* of *India*, the
Siijs of *Perfia*, and many Philofophers of our
European fchools, is only to *generate* and *re-*
produce in another form: hence the God of
DeftruStion is holden in this country to prefide
 over *Generation*; as a fymbol of which he rides
 on a *white bull*. Can we doubt, that the loves
 and feats of JUPITER GENITOK (not forgetting
 the *white bull* of EURO PA) and his extraordinary
 title of LAPIS, for which no fatisfadiory reafon
 is commonly given, have a connexion with the
Indian Philofophy and Mythology? As to the
 deity of *Lampfacus*, he was originally a mere
 fcare-crow, and ought not to have a place in
 any mythological fyftem; and, in regard ta
 BACCHUS, the God of *Vintage* (between whose
 acts and thofe of JUPITER WE find, as BACON



observes, a wonderful affinity), his *Itbyballick* images, measures, and ceremonies alluded probably to the supposed relation of Love and Wine; unless we believe them to have belonged originally to SIVA, one of whose names is *Vagis* or BA'GL'S, and to have been afterwards improperly applied. Though, in an Essay on the Gods of *India*, where the *Brahmans* are positively forbidden to taste fermented liquors, we can have little to do with BACCHUS, as God of Wine, who was probably no more than the imaginary Favourite over the vintage in *Italy, Greece, and the lower Asia*, yet we must not omit SIX-RADEVI the Goddess of Wine, who arose, say the *Hindus*, from the ocean, when it was churned with the mountain *Mandar*: and this fable seems to indicate, that the *Indians* came from a country in which wine was anciently made and considered as a blessing through the dangerous effects of intemperance. Induced their early legislators to prohibit the use of all spirituous liquors; and it were much to be wished, that saw a law had never been violated.

It may be introduced the Jupiter *Mari-rius* or NEPTUNE, of the *Romans*, as resembling MAHADEVA in his generative character; especially as the *Hindu* God is the husband of BHAVANI, whose relation to the waters is evidently marked by her lineage being referred to

them at the conclusion of her great festival called *Durgotfava*: (he is known also to have attributes exactly similar to those of *VENUS Marina*, whose birth from the sea-foam and splendid rise from the Conch, in which file had been cradled, have afforded so many charming subjects to ancient and modern artists; and it is very remarkable, that the *REMBIIA*' of *INORA*'S court, who seems to correspond with the popular *VENTS*, or Goddeſs of Beauty, was produced, according to the *Indian* Fabuliſts, from the froth of the churned ocean. The identity of the *trisula* and the *trident*, the weapon of *SIVA* and of *NEPTUNE*, ſeems to eſtabliſh this analogy; and the veneration paid all over *India* to the large *buccinum*, eſpecially when it can be found with the ſpiral line and mouth turned from left to right, brings inſtantly to our mind the muſick of *TitiTox*. The Genius of Water is *V A - KTXA*; but he, like the reſt, is far inferior to *MAIIK'S'A*, and even to *INDRA*, who is the Prince of the beneficent genii.

This way of conſidering the Gods as individual ſubſtances, but as diſtinct perſons in diſtinct characters, is common to the *European* and *Indian* ſyſtems; as well as the cuſtom of giving the higheſt of them the greateſt number of names: hence, not to repeat what has been ſaid of *JuPITER* came the triple capacity of *DIANA*;



and hence her petition in CALLIMACHUS, that she might be *polyonymous* or *many-titled*. The comfort of Si v A is more eminently marked by these distinctions than those of BRAHMA' or VISH-K v : (he resembles the IsIs *Myrionymps*, to whom an ancient marble, described by GKUTEII, is dedicated ; but her leading names and characters are PA'RVAT'I, DUKGA', BHAVA'NI.

As the *Mountain-horn* Goddefs, or PA'RVATI, she has many properties of the *Olympian* JUNO: her majestic deportment, high spirit, and general attributes are the same; and we find her both on Mount *Caiiifa*, and at the banquets of the Deities, uniformly the companion of her husband. One circumstance in the parallel is extremely singular; she is usually attended by her son C A R T i c e v A, who rides on a *peacock*; and, in some drawings, his own robe seems to be fringed with eyes; to which must be added that, in some of her temples, a *peacock*, without a rider, (stands near her image. Though C A R ? T I C E Y A, with his *fix* faces and numerous eyes, bears some resemblance to ARGUS, whom JUNO employed as her principal wardour, yet, as he is a Deity of the second class, and the Commander of celestial Armies, he seems clearly to be the OR us of *Egypt* and the MA its of *Italy*: his **name** SCANDA, by which he is celebrated in one of the *Purdnas*, has a connexion, I am persuaded,

with the old SKCANDKR of *perfia*, whom the poets ridiculoufly confound with the *Macedonian*.

The attributes of DuRGA', or *Difficult of ac~*
cefs, are alfo confpicuous in the feftival above-
mentioned, which is called by her name, and in
this chara&er ſhe refembles MINERVA, not the
peaceful inventreſs of the fine and ufeſul arts,
but PALLAS, armed with a helmet and ſpear:
both repreſent heroick *Virtue*, or Valour united
with Wiſdom; both flew Demons and Giants
with their own hands, and both protedted the
wife and virtuous, who paid them due adoration.
As PALLAS, they ſay, takes her name from *vi-*
brating a lance, and uſually appears in complete
armour, thus Cuius, the old *Latian* word for a
ſpear, was one of JUNO'S titles; and ſo, if Gi-
RALDUS be corredt, was HOPLOSMIA, which at
Elis, it ſeems, meant a female drefſed in panoply
or complete accoutrements. The *unarmed* M I -
NERVA of the *Romans* apparently correſponds,
as patronreſs of Science and Genius, with SERES-
WATI, the wife of BRAHMA', and the emblem
of his principal *Creative Vower*: both goddeſſes
have given their names to celebrated grammatical
works; but the *Sdnjzvata* of SAKU'PA'CHA'-
RYA is far more concife as well as more ufeſul
and agreeable than the *Minerva* of SANCTIUS.
The MINERVA of *Italy* invented the *flute*, and

SERESwATi prefides over melody: the protect-refs of *Athens* was even, on the fame account, furnamed *MusicE*.

Many learned Mythologifts, with GIRALDUS at their head, confider the peaceful MINERVA as the Isis of *Egypt*; from whose temple at *Sais* a wonderful infeription is quoted by PLUTARCH, which has a refemblance to the four *Sanjcritvertes* above exhibited as the text of the *Bhggavat*: " I am all, that hath been, and is, and fhall be ; " and my veil no mortal hath ever removed." For my part I have no doubt, that the isWARA and ísí of the *Hindus* are the OSIRIS and Isrs of the *Egyptians*; though a diftintt effay in the manner of PLUTARCH would be requiite in order to demon ft rate their identity : they mean, I conceive, the *Powers of Nature* confidered as Male and Female; and Isis, like the other goddeifes, reprefents the active power of her lord, whose *eight* forms, under which he becomes vifible to man, were thus enumerated by CALIDAŚA near two thoufand years ago: " *Water* was the firft " work of the Creator; and *Fire* receives the " oblation of clarified butter, as the law ordains; " the *Sacrifice* is performed with folemnity; the " two *Lights* of heaven diftinguith time ; the " fubtil *Ether*, which is the vehicle of found, " pervades the univerfe; the *Earth* is the na- " tural parent of all increafe; and by *Air* all

" things breathing are animated: 'may is A, the "power propitioufly apparent in thefe eight "forms, blefs and fustain you!" The five elements, therefore, as well as the Sun and Moon, are confidered as is A or the *Rulet*, from which word.ifi may be regularly formed, though isAwi be the ufual name of his *afive Power*, adored as the Goddefs of Nature. I have not yet found in *Sanfcrit* the wild, though poetical, tale of Io; but am perfuaded, that, by means of the *Puranas*, we fhall in time difcover all the learning of the *Egyptians* without decyphering their hieroglyphicks: the bull of is WAR A feems to be APIS, or AP, as he is more correctly • named in the true reading of a paflage in JEREMIAH; and, if the veneration fhown both in *Tibet* and *India* to fo amiable and ufeul a quadruped as the Cow, together with the *regeneration* of the LAMA himfelf, have not fome affinity with the religion of *Egypt* and the idolatry of *Ifraël*, we muft at leaft allow that circumftances have wonderfully coincided. BIIAVA'M now demands our attention; and in this character I itif^polr the wife of MAHAWVA to be as well the JUNO *Cinxia* or LUCINA of the *Roman** (called aifo by them DIANA *Solvoizona*, and by the *Greeks* IUTHYIA) as VENUS herfelfj not the *Idalian queen* of laughter and joHity* who, with her Nymphs and Graces, was the beautiful

child of poetical imagination, and answers to the *Indian* REMBH A' with her celestial train of *Ap-Jura's*^ or damsels of paradise; hut VENU* *Ura* nia*, *fa* luxuriantly painted by LUCRETIUS, and so properly invoiced by him at the opening of a poem on nature; VENUS, presiding over *gene* ration*, and, on that account, exhibited sometimes of both sexes (an union very common in the *Indiaa* sculptures), as in her *bearded* statue at Rome, in the images perhaps Called *Hermatbena** and in those figures of her, which had the form of a *conical marble*; " for the reason of which figure " we are left, says TACITUS, in the dark;" the reason appears too clearly in the temples and paintings of *Hindujtan* ; where it never seems to have entered the heads of the legislators or people that any thing natural could be offensively obscene; a Angularity, which pervades all their writings and conversation, but is no proof of depravity in their morals. Both PLATO and C I - CERO speak of EROS, or the Heavenly CtfPiu* as the son of VENUS and JUPITER; which proves, that the monarch of *Olympus* and the Goddess of Fecundity were connected as MAHA'DE'VA and BHAVA'NI : the God CAMA indeed, had MA'YA' and CASYAPA, ck for his parents, at least according to the *Mytho* logists* of Co/Zw'r; but, in most respects the twin-brother of Cu P I D with richer and more

lively appendages. One of his many epithets is *Dipaca*, the *Inflamer*, which is erroneously written *Dipuc*; and I am now convinced, that the sort of resemblance, which has been observed between his *Latin* and *Sanskrit* names, is accidental : in each name the three first letters are the *root*, and between them there is no affinity. Whether any Mythological connection subsisted between the *amaracus*, with the fragrant leaves of which HYMEN bound his temples, and the *tulasi of India*, must be left undetermined : the botanical relation of the two plants (if *amaracus* be properly translated *marjoram*) is extremely near.

One of the most remarkable ceremonies, in the festival of the *Indian* Goddesses, is that before-mentioned of casting her image *into the river*: the *Pandits*, of whom I inquired concerning its origin and import, answered, " that it was prescribed by the *J'eda*, they knew not why ; " but this custom has, I conceive, a relation to the doctrine, that *water* is a *form* of ISWARA, and consequently of ÍSA'XI', who is even represented by some as the patroness of that element, to which her figure is restored, after having received all due honours on *earthly* which is considered as another *form* of the God of Nature, (though subsequent, in the order of Creation, to the primeval fluid. There seems no decisive



proof of one original fyftem among idolatrous nations in the worfhip of river-gods and river-goddefles, nor in the homage paid to their fstreams, and the ideas of purification annexed to them: fince *Greeks, Italians, Egyptians, and Hindus* might (without any communication with each other) have adored the feveral divinities of their great rivers, from which they derived pleasure, health, and abundance. The notion of Doftor MUSGKAVK, that large rivers were fupposed, from their ftrength and rapidity, to be conduced by Gods, while rivulets only, were protected by female deities, is, like mod other notions of Grammarians on the genders of nouns, overthrown by facts. Moft of the great *Indian* rivers are feminine; and the three goddess of the waters, whom the *Hindus* chiefly venerate, are G A N G A', who fprang, like armed PALLAS, from the head of the *Indian* JOVEJ' YAMUNA', daughter of the Sun, and SERES-VATI: all three meet at *Prayaga*, thence called *Triveniy* or *the three plaited locks*; but seres-WATI', according to the popular belief, flak* under ground, and rifes at another *Triveni* near *Hugli* where fhe rejoins her beloved G A N G A'. The *Brahmaputra* is, indeed, a male riv«f| and, as his name lignifies the Son of BIUHMA', I thence took occafion to feign that he was married to G A N G A', though I have not yet feen any

the father of *Hanumat* was the God of Wind, named P A V A N , one of the eight Genii; and, as P A N improved the pipe by adding fix reeds, and* " played exquisitely on the cithern a few " moments after his birth," so one of the four systems of *Indian* music bears the name of H A N U M A T , or I A X V M A N in the nominative, as its inventor, and is now in general estimation.

The war of *Lanka* is dramatically represented at the festival of R A M A on the ninth day of the new moon of *Chaitra* ; and the drama concludes (says HOLWELL, who had often seen it) with an exhibition of the fire-ordeal, by which the victor's wife Sītā gave proof of her conjugal fidelity: " the dialogue, he adds, is taken * from one of the Eighteen holy books," meaning, I suppose, the *Puranas*; but the *Hindus* have a great number of regular dramas at least two thousand years old, and among them are several very fine ones on the story of R A M A , The first poet of the* *Hindus* was the great V A L M I C I , and his *Ramayana* is an Epic Poem on the same subject, which, in unity of action, magnificence of imagery, and elegance of style, far surpasses the learned and elaborate work of NONNUS entitled *Dionysiaca*, half of which, or twenty-four books, I perused with great eagerness, when I was very young, and should have marvelled to the conclusion of it, if other pur*

fuits had not engaged me: I fhall never have
 leifure to compare the *Dionyjiacks* with the
Ramayan, but am confident, that an accurate
 comparifon of the two poems would prove
 DIONVSOS and RAMA to have been the fame
 perfon; and I incline to think, that he was
 RAMA, the fon of CUSH, who might have
 eftablifhed the firft regular government in this
 part of *Afia*. I had almoft forgotten, that
Meros is faid by the *Greeks* to have been a
 mountain of *India*, on which their DIONYSOS
 was born, and that *Méru*, though it generally
 means the north pole in the *Indian* geography[^]
 is alfo a mountain near the city of *Naifhada* or
Nyfa, called by the *Grecian* geographers *Diony-*
fopolis, and univerfally celebrated in the *Sanfcrit*
 poems; though the birth place of RAMA is
 fuppofed to have been *Ayódbya* or *Audb*. That
 ancient city extended, if we believe the *Brdb**
mans, over a line of ten Yojans[^] or about forty
 miles, and the prefent city of *Lac'bnau*, pro-
 bounced *Luc* now, was only a lodge for one of
 its gates, called *Lacjbmanadwara*, or the gate of
 LACSHMAN, a brother of RAMA: M. SON-
 NERAT Fuppofes *Ayodhya* to have been *Sum*;
 a moft erroneous and unfounded fuppofitioa!
 which would have been of¹ little confequence*
 if he had not grounded an argument on it, that
 RAMA was the fame perfon with BUDDHA,

who muſt have appeared many centuries after the conqueſt of *Lanca*.

The ſecond great divinity, *CKISIIXA*, paſſed a life, according to the *Indians*, of a moſt extraordinary and incomprehenſible nature. He was the ſon of *DEVACI BY VASUOKVA*; but his birth was concealed thro' fear of the tyrant *CANS A*, to whom it had been predicted, that a child born at that time in that family would deſtroy him; he was ſoftered, therefore, in *Mat'turd* by an honeſt herdfman, furnamed *ANAN-D'A*, or *Happy*, and his amiable wife *YASÓD'A*, who, like another *PALES*, was conſtantly occupied in her paſture[^] and her dairy. In their family were a multitude of young *Gopa's* or *Cowberds*, and beautiful *Gopi's*, or *milkmaids*, who were his play fellows during his infancy; and, in his early youth, he ſelected *nine* dainfels as his favourites, with whom he paſſed his gay hours in dancing, ſportiqs, and playing on his flute, For the remarkable number of his *Gopis* I have no authority but a whimſical picture, where nine are grouped in the form of an elephant, on which he ſits and pipes: and, unfortunately, the word *nava* ſignifies both *nine* and *new* or *young*; ſo that, ſo that in the following ſtanza, it may admit of two interpretations

navaballavi
perifada faha celicutubalat



med *Ethiopian*, or *Parthian*, coronets; with rays
dueling their heads ; jewels in their ears ; two
necklaces, one ftraight, and one pendent on their
bofoms with dropping gems; garlands of well-
difpofed many-coloured flowers, or collars of
pearls, hanging down below their waifts; loofe
mantles of golden tiftue or dyed filk, embroi-
dered on their hems with flowers, elegantly
thrown over one fhoulder, and folded, like
ribbands, acrpfs the breaft.; with bracelets too
on one aim, and on each wrift : they are naked
to the waifts, and uniformly with *dark azura*
fleth, in allufion, probably, to the tint of the;
Primordial fluid, on which NARA'YAN moved
in the beginning of time ;* but their fkirts are
bright yellow, the colour of the curious pcri-
carpium in the centre of the water-lily, where
Nature, as Dr. MURRAY obferves, *infome de-*
gree difclofes her Jecrets each feed containing,
before it germinates, a few perfect leaves: they
are fometimes drawa with that flower in one
hand; a radiated elliptical ring, ufed as a miffile
weapon, in a fecond; the facred fhell, or left-
ha a i ^ ^ c i n u m , in a third; and, if a fourth; but C I M - S H K
battle-ax,
he appears, as he fometimes *does appear among*
*the *Jfojr* & is more fplendidly decofaie ^ ^ han
^ ^ a n d i vecirs a rich garland of fyIvan Roixwfo,
wh ^ n c e he k named VA\AMA'T.T. aa low of





his ankles, which are adorned with firings of pearls. Dark blue, approaching to *black*, which is the meaning of the word *Crijhna*, is believed to have been his complexion; and hence the large bee of that colour is consecrated to him, and is often drawn fluttering over his head: that azure tint, which approaches to blackness, is peculiar, as we have already remarked, to VISHNU; and hence, in the great reservoir cistern at *Catmsdu* the capital of *Nepal*, there is placed in a recumbent posture a large well-proportioned image of *blue* marble, representing NA'KA'YAV floating on the waters. But let us return to the actions of CKIMIVA; who was not less heroick, than lovely, and, when a boy, flew the terrible serpent *Ctiliya* with a number of giants and monsters: at a more advanced age, he put to death his cruel enemy CANSA; and, having taken under his protection the king YUUNI SHT* ii R and the other *Pândus*, who had been grievously oppressed by the *Cams*, and their tyrannical chief, he kindled the war described in the great Epick Poem, entitled the *Mjhubbdtat*, at the prosperous conclusion of which he returned to his heavenly seat in *Vaiconf ba* having left the instructions comprised in the *Gita* with his disconsolate friend ARJU:*, whose grandson became sovereign of *India*.

In this picture it is impossible not to discover,

at the first glance, the features of APOLLO* furnished *Nomios*, or the *Pastoral*, in *Greece*, and OPIFER in *Italy* ; who fed the herds of ADMETUS, and flew the serpent *Python* ; a God amorous, beautiful, and warlike : the word *Góvinda* may be literally translated *Nomios*, as *Céfava*, is *Crhiilus*, or with *Jine hair* ; but whether *Gópdlá*, or the *berdſman*, has any relation to *Apollo*, let our Etymologists determine. Colonel VALLANCEY, whose learned enquiries into the ancient literature of *Ireland* are highly interesting, informs me, that *Crihna* in *Irish* means the SUN ; and we find APOLLO and SOL considered by the *Roman* poets as the same deity : I am inclined, indeed, to believe, that not only CRISPINA or VISHNU, but even BRAHMA and SIVA, when united, and expressed by the mystical word O'M, were designed by the first idolaters to represent the Solar fire ; but PHŒBUS, or the orb of the Sun personified, is adored by the *Indians* as the God SU'RYA, whence the word, who pay him particular adoration, are called *Sauras* : their poets and painters describe his chariot as drawn by seven green horses, preceded by ARUN, or the *Dawn*, who acts as his charioteer, and followed by thousands of Genii worshipping him and modulating his praises. He has a multitude of names, and among them twelve epithets or titles, which

denote his' distinct powers in each of the twelve months: those powers are called *Adityas*, or sons of ADITI by CASYAPA, the *Indian* URANUS; and one of them has, according to some authorities, the name of VISHNU or *Pervader*. SŪRYA is believed to have descended frequently from his car in a human shape, and to have left a race on earth, who are equally renowned in the *Indian* stories with the *Heliadae* of Greece: it is very Angular, that his two sons called ASWINAU or ASWINICUMA'RAU, in the dual, should be considered as twin-brothers, and painted like CASTOR and POLLUX, but they have! each the character of ÆSCULAPIUS among the Gods, and are believed to have been born of a nymph, who, in the form of a mare, was impregnated with sun-beams. I suspect the whole fable of CASYAPA and his progeny to be astronomical; and cannot but imagine, that the *Greek* name CASSIOPEIA has a relation to it. Another great *Indian* family are called the *Children of the Moon*, or CHANDRA; who is a male Deity, and consequently not to be compared with ARTEMIS or DIANA; nor have I yet found a parallel in *India* for the Goddesses of the *Chafe*, who seems to have been the daughter of an *European* fancy, and very naturally created by the invention of *Bucolick* and *Georgick* poets: yet, since the *Moon* is a form of

ISWARA, the God of Nature, according to the verse of CA'LIDA'SA, and since ÍSA'NI has been shown to be his *confort* or *pözver*, we may consider her, in one of her characters* as LUNA; especially as we shall soon be convinced that, in the shades below, she corresponds with the HECATE of *Europe*.

The worship of Solar, or Vestal, *Fire* may be ascribed, like that of OSIRIS and Isis, to the second source of mythology, or an enthusiastick admiration of Nature's wonderful powers; and it seems, as far as I can yet understand the *Védas*, to be the principal worship recommended in them. We have seen, that MAHA'DE'VA himself is personated by *Fire*; but, subordinate to him, is the God AGNI, often called PA'VACA, or the *Purifier*, who answers to the VULCAN of *Egypt*, where he was a Deity of high rank; and his wife SWA'HA' resembles the younger VESTA, or VESTIA, as the *Eolians* pronounced the *Greek* word for a *hearth*: BHAVA'NI, or VENUS, is the confort of the Supreme Destructive and Generative Power; but the *Greeks* and *Romans*, whose system is less regular than that of the *Indians*, married her to their *divine artificer* whom they also named HEPHAISTOS and VULCAN, and who seems to be the *Indian* VISWACARMAN, the *forgers of arms* for the Gods, and inventor of the *agnyajtra*, or *fiery*

shaft, in the war between them and the *Daityas* or *Titans*. It is not easy here to refrain from observing (and, if the observation give offence in *England*, it is contrary to my intention) that the newly discovered planet should unquestionably be named VULCAN; since the confusion of analogy in the names of the planets is inelegant, unscholarly, and unphilosophical: the name URANUS is appropriated to the firmament; but VULCAN, the flowed of the Gods, and, according to the *Egyptian* priests, the oldest of them, agrees admirably with an orb, which must perform its revolution in a very long period; and, by giving it this denomination, we shall have seven primary planets with the names of as many *Roman* Deities, MERCURY, VENUS, TELLUS, MARS, JUPITER, SATURN, VULCAN.

It has already been intimated, that the MUSES and NYMPHS are the GO'PYA of *Matb'urà*, and of Góverdban, the *Parnajfus* of the *Hindus*; and the lyric poems of JAYADE'VA will fully justify this opinion; but the *Nymphs* of *Mufick* are the thirty RAGINGS or *Female Pajjions*, whose various functions and properties are so richly delineated by the *Indian* painters and so, finely described by the poets; but I will not anticipate what will require a separate Essay, by enlarging here on the beautiful allegories of the

Hindus in their fyftem of mufical modes, which they call R A' G 'A S, or *Pajfwns*, and fuppofed to be Genii or Demigods. A very diftinguifhed fon of BRAHMA', named NA'RED, whofe actions are the fubject of a *Purana*, bears a ftrong refemblance to HERMES or MERCURY: he was a wife legiflator, 'great in arts and in arms, an eloquent meflenger of the Gods either to one another or to favoured mortals, and a mufician of exquisite {kill; his invention of the *Find*, or *Indian* lute, is thus defcribed in the poem entitled *Magha*: " NA'RED fat watching from " time to time his large *Vina*, which, by fche ^c impuife of the breeze, yielded notes, that " pierced fucceffively the regions of his ear, " and proceeded by mufical intervals.¹ The law tradt, fuppofed to have been revealed by NA'RED, is at this hour cited by the *Pandits*; and we cannot, therefore, believe him to have been the patron of *Thieves*; though an innocent theft of CRISHNA'S cattle, by way of putting his divinity to a proof, be ftrangely imputed, in the *Bhagavat*, to his father RRAHMAY M.

The laft of the *Greek* or *Italian* divinites, 'for whom we find a parallel in the Pantheon of *India*, is the *Stygian* or *Taurick* DIANA', otherwife named HECATE, and often confounded with PROSERPINE; and there can be no doubt of her identity with GALT, or the wife of SIVA



in his character of the *Stygian* Jove. To this black Goddefs with a collar of golden fkulls, as we fee her exhibited in all her principal temples, *human facrifices* were anciently offered, as the *Vēdas* enjoined ; but, in the prefent age, they are abfolutely prohibited, as are alfo the facrifices of bulls and horfes: kids are ftill offered to her; and, to palliate the cruelty of the flaughter, which gave fuch offence to BUDDHA, the *Brahmans* inculcate a belief, that the poor victims rife in the heaven of INDRA, where they become, the muficians of his band. Inftead of the obfolete, and now illegal, facrifices of a man, a bull, and a horfe, called *Neramedha*, *Gomedba*, and *Aswamedha*, the powers of nature are thought to be propitiated by the lefs bloody ceremonies at the end of autumn, when the feftivals of CA'LI' and LACSHMI' are folemnized nearly at the fame time : now, if it be afked, how the Goddefs of Death came to be united with the mild patronefs of Abundance, I muft propofe another queftion, " How came PROSERPINE to " be reprefented in the *European* fyftem as the " daughter of CERES ?" Perhaps, both queftions may be answered by the propofition of natural philofophers, that " the apparent deftruction of " a fubftance is the production of it in a different form.¹" The wild mufick of CA'LI'S priefts at one of her feftivals brought inftantly

to my recollection the *Scythian* measures of DIANA's adorers in the splendid opera of *IPHIGENIA in Tanris*, which GLUCK exhibited at *Paris* with less genius, indeed, than art, but with every advantage that an orchestra could supply.

That we may not diminish this assemblage of *European* and *Asiatick* divinities with a subject so horrid as the altars of HECATE and CA'LI', let us conclude with two remarks, which properly, indeed, belong to the *Indian* Philosophy, with which we are not at present concerned, first; *Elysium* (not the place, but the bliss enjoyed there, in which sense MILTON uses the word) cannot but appear, as described by the poets, a very tedious and insipid kind of enjoyment: it is, however, more exalted than the temporary *Elysium* in the court of INDRA, where the pleasures, as in MUHAMMED'S paradise, are wholly sensual; but the *Mukti*, or *Elysian* happinesses of the *Veddnta* School is far more sublime; for they represent it as a total absorption, though not such as to destroy consciousness, in the divine essence; but, for the reason before suggested, I say no more of this idea of beatitude, and forbear touching on the doctrine of transmigration and the similarity of the *Veddnta* to the *Sicilian*, *Italic*, and old *Academick* Schools.

Secondly; in the mythical and elevated character of PAN, as a personification of the *Uni-*

verfe, according to the notion of lord BACON, there arifes a fort of fimilitude between him and CRISHNA confidered as NA'RA'YAN. The *Gredan* god plays divinely on his reed, to exprefs, we are told, ethereal harmony; he has his attendant Nymphs of the paftures and the dairy; his face is as radiant as the Iky, and his head illuminated with the horns of a crefcent; whilst his lower extremities are deformed and fhaggy, as a fymbol of the vegetables, which the earth produces, and of the beafts, who roam over the face of it: now we may compare this portrait, partly with the general character of CRISHNA, the Shepherd God, and partly with the defcription in the *Bhagavat* of the divine fpirit exhibited *in the form of this Univerfal World*; to which we may add the following ftory from the fame extraordinary poem The Nymphs had complained to YAsODA, that the child CRISHNA had been drinking their curds and milk: on being reproved by his fofter-mother for this indiscretion, he requested her to examine his mouth; in which, to her juft amazement, fhe beheld the *whole univerfe* in all its plenitude of magnificence.

We muft not be furprized at finding, on a clofe examination, that the characters of all the pagan deities, male and female, melt into each other, and at laft into one or two; for it feems.

a well-founded opinion, that the whole crowd of gods and goddeffes in ancient *Rome*, and modern *Fardries*, mean only the powers of nature, and principally thofe of the SUN, expreffed in a variety of ways and by a multitude of fanciful names.

Thus have I attempted to trace, imperfectly at prefent for want of ampler materials, but with a confidence continually increafing as I advanced, a parallel between the Gods adored in three very different nations, *Greece*, *Italy*, and *India*; but, which was the original fyftem and which the copy, I will not prefume to decide; nor are we likely, I believe, to be foon furnifhed with fufficient grounds for a decifion: the fundamental rule, that *natural, and mojl human, operations proteed from thejimple to the compound*, will afford no afliftance on this point; fince neither the *Afiatick* nor *European* fyftem has any fimplicity in it -, and both are fo complex, not to fay abfurd, however intermixed with the beautiful and the fublime, that the honour, fuch as it is, of the invention cannot be allotted to either with tolerable certainty,

Since *Egypt* appears to have been the grand fource of knowledge for the *wejiern*, and *India* for the more *eajiern*, parts of the globe, it may feem a material queftion, whether the *Egyptian*^
£9ipmunicated their Mythology and Philofophy

to the *Hindus*, or converfely j büt what fheleara*
 ed of *Memphis* wrote or faid concerning *India*,*
 no mortal knows : and what the learned of *Vá~*
ranes have afferted, if any thing, concerning
Egypt, can give us little fatisfaction: luch cir-
 cumftantial evidence on this queftion as I have
 been able to collect, fhall neverthelefs be ftated;
 becaufe, unfatisfactory as it is, there may be
 fomething in it not wholly unworthy of notice;
 though after all, whatever colonies may have
 come from the *Nile* to the *Ganges*, we fhall, per-
 haps, agree at laft with Mr. BRYANT, that
Egyptians, *India?is*, *Greeks*, and *Italians*, pro-
 ceeded originally from one central place, and
 that the fame people carried their religion and
 fciences into *China* and *Japan*: may we not
 add, even to *Mexico* and *Peru* f

Every one knows, that the true name of *Egypt*
 is *Misr*,fpelled with a palatial fibilant both in
Hebrew and *Arabick*: it feems in *Hebrew* to
 have been the proper name of the firft fettler in
 it; and, when the *Arabs* ufe the word for a great
 city, they probably mean a city like the capital of
Egypt. Father MARCO, a *Roman* Miflinary,
 who, though not a fcholar of the firft rate, is in-
 capable, I am perfuaded, of deliberate falfehood,
 lent me the laft book of a *Ramayan*, which he
 had tranflated through the *Hindi* into his native
 language, and with it a ihort vocabulary of My-

thological and Hiftorical names, which had been explained to him by the *Pandits* of *Betiya*, where he had long refided: one of the articles in his little dictionary was, " *Tirut*, a town and province, in which the priests from *Egypt* fet-
" tied;" and, when I asked him, what name *Egypt* bore among the *Hindus*, he said *Mis'r*, but observed, that they sometimes confounded it with *Abyffinia*. I perceived, that his memory of what he had written was correct; for *Mis'r* was another word in his index, " from which coun-
" try, he said, came the *Egyptian* priests, who
" fettled in *Tirut*" I fufpected immediately, that his intelligence flowed from the *Mufelmans*, who call fugar-candy *Mifri* or *Egyptian*; but, when I examined him clofely, and earneftly defired him to recoiled from whom he had received his information, he repeatedly and pofitively declared, that " it had been given him
" by feveral *Hindus*, and particularly by a *Bráh-*
" *man*, his intimate friend, who was reputed a
" confiderable *Pandit*, and had lived three years
" near his houfe." We then conceived, that the feat of his *Egyptian* colony muft have been *Tirdbit*, commonly pronounced *Tirut*, and anciently called *Mit'hila*, the principal town of *Janacadesa*, or north *Bahar* ; but *MAHE'SA Pandit*, who was born in that very diftrid, and who fubmitted patiently to a long examination concern-

ing *Misr*, dverfet all our conclufions: he denied, that the *Brdbmans* of his country were generally furnamed MISR, as we had been informed ; and faid, that the addition of MISRA to the name of VA'CHESPETI, and other learned authors, was a title formerly conferred on the writers of *miscellanies*, or *compilers* of various tradts on religion or ffience, the word being derived from a root fignifying to *mix*. Berng afked, where the country of *Misr* was, " There are two, he anfwered, of that name ; one of them *in the weft* " under the dominion of *Mufelmans*, and another, which all the *Saftras* and *Puranas* mention, in a mountainous region to the *north* of " *Ayodhya*;" it is evident, that by the firft he meant *Egypt*, but what he meant by the fecond, it is not eafy to afcertain. A country, called *Tiruhāt* by our geographers, appears in the maps between the north-eaftern frontier of *Audh* and the mountains of *Nepal*; but whether that was the *Tirūt* mentioned to father MARCO by his friend of *Betiya*, I cannot decide. This only I know with certainty, that *Mifra* is an epithet of two *Brdhmans* in the drama of *SACONTALA*, which was written near a century before the birth of CHRIST ; that fome of the greateft lawyers, and two of the fineft dramatick poets, of *India* have the fame title; that we hear it frequently in court added to the names of *Hindu* parties; and that none of the *Faudits*, whom I have Once

consulted, pretend to know the true meaning of the word, as a proper name, or to give any other explanation of it than that it is a *Jurname of Bráhmans in the west*. On the account given to Colonel, KYD by the old *Rajd of Crifbnanagar*, " concerning traditions among the *Hindus*, that " some *Egyptians* had fettled in this country,** I cannot rely ; becaufe I am credibly informed by some of the *Raja's* own family, that he was not a man of solid learning, though he possessed curious books, and had been attentive to the conversation of learned men: besides, I know that his son and most of his kinsmen have been dabblers in *Persian* literature, and believe them very likely, by confounding one source of information with another, to puzzle themselves, and mislead those with whom they converse. The word *JWivR*, spelled also in *Sanskrit* with a palatal sibilant, is very remarkable; and, as far as Etymology can help us, we may safely derive *Nilus* from the *Sanskrit* word *nila*, or *blue*; since *DIONYSIUS* expressly calls the waters of that river " an *azure stream*;" and, if we can depend on *MARCO'S Italian* version of the *Rámdyan*, the name of *Nila* is given to a lofty and sacred mountain with a summit of pure gold, from which flowed a river of clear, sweet, and fresh water. *M. SONNERAT* refers to a dissertation by Mr. *JSCHMIT*, which gained a prize at the Academy of Inscriptions, " On an *Egyptian* Colony esta-

" blifhed in *India*:" it would be worth while to examine his authorities, and either to overturf or verify them by fuch higher authorities, as ate now acceffible in thefe provinces. I ftrongly in* dine to think him right, and to believe that *Egyptian* priefts have actually come from the *Nile* to the *Gangâ* and *Tamund*, which the *Brdbmans* moft afluredly would never have left; they might, indeed, have come either to be inftruded or to inftrud; but it feems more probable, that they vifited the *Surmans* of *India*, as the fages of *Greece* vifited them, rather to acquire than to impart knowledge; nor is it likely, that the felt fufficient *Brdhmans* would have received them as their preceptors.

Be all this as it may, I am perfuaded, that a connexion fubfifted between the old idolatrous nations of *Egypt*, *India*, *Greece*, and *Italy*, long before they migrated to their feveral fettlements, and confequently before the birth of MOSES; but the proof of this propofition will in no degree affect the truth and fancity of the *Mofaick* Hiftory, which, if confirmation were neceffary, it would rather tend to confirm. The *Divine JLtgate*, educated by the daughter of a king, and in all refpects highly accomplifhed* could not but know the mythological fyftem of *Egypt*; but he muft have condemned the fuperftitions of that people, and defpifed the fpeculative

aburdies of their priests ; though some of their traditions concerning the creation and the flood were grounded on truth. Who was better acquainted with the mythology of *Athens* than SOCRATES ? Who more accurately versed in the Rabbinical doctrines than PAUL ? Who possessed clearer ideas of all ancient astronomical systems than NEWTON, or of scholastick metaphysics than LOCKE ? In whom could the *Romish* Church have had a more formidable opponent than in CHILLINGWORTH, whose deep knowledge of its tenets rendered him so competent to dispute them ? In a word, who more exactly knew the abominable rites and shocking idolatry of *Canaan* than MOSES himself ? Yet the learning of those great men only incited them to seek other sources of truth, piety, and virtue, than those in which they had long been immersed. There is no shadow then of a foundation for an opinion, that MOSES borrowed the first nine or ten chapters of *Genesis* from the literature of *Egypt*: still less can the adamantine pillars of our *Catholic* faith be moved by the result of any debates on the comparative antiquity of the *Hindus* and *Egyptians*^ or of any inquiries into the *Indian* Theology. Very respectable natives have assured me, that one or two missionaries have been absurd enough, in. If zeal for the conversion of the *Gentiles**

to urge, " that the *Hindus* were erai now al-
" moft *Cbrijians*, becaufe their

, VISH*

" Ntr, aad MAHE'SĀ, were no other than the
" *Chrijian* Trinity ;* a fentence, in which we
can only doubt, whether folly, ignorance, or
impiety predominates. The three *poxvers*, *Crea**
tive, *Prefervative*, and *Dejlruftive*, which the
Hindus exprefs by the triliteral word O'm, were
grofsly afcribed by the firft idolaters to the *beat*,
light, and *flame* of their miftaken divinity, the
Sun; and their wifer fucceffors in the Eaft, who
perceived that the Sun was only a created thing,
applied thofe powers to its creator; but the
Indian Triad, and that of PLATO, which he
calls the Supreme Good, the Reafon* and the
Soul, are infinitely removed from the holinefs
and fublimity of the doctrine, which pious
Chriftians have deduced from texts in the Got*
pel, though other *Chriftians*, as pious, openly
profefs their diflent from them. Each fed muft
bejuftified by its own faith and good intentions:
this only I mean to inculcate, that the tenet of
our church cannot without profanenefs be com-
pared with that of the *Hindus*^ which has only
an apparent refemblance to it, but a very dif-
ferent meaning One lingular fact, however,
muft not be fuffered to pafs unnoticed* That
the name of CRISHNA, and the general outline
of his story, were long anterior to the birth of

our Saviour, and probably to the time of HOMER, we know very certainly; yet the celebrated poem, entitled *Bhagavat*, which contains a prolix account of his life, is filled with narratives of a most extraordinary kind, but strangely variegated and intermixed with poetical decorations: the incarnate deity of the *Sanskrit* romance was cradled, as it informs us, among *Ilerdfmau* but it adds, that he was educated among them, and passed his youth in playing with a party of milkmaids; a tyrant, at the time of his birth, ordered all new-born males to be slain, yet this wonderful babe was preserved by biting the breast, instead of sucking the poisoned nipple, of a nurse commissioned to kill him; he performed amazing, but ridiculous, miracles in his infancy, and, at the age of seven years, held up a mountain on the tip of his little finger: he laved multitudes partly by his arms and partly by his miraculous powers; he raised the dead by descending for that purpose to the lowest regions; he was the meekest and soft-tempered of beings, washed the feet of tired *Brdbmans*, and preached very nobly, indeed, and sublimely, but always in their favour; he was pure and chaste in reality, but exhibited an appearance of excessive libertinism, and had wives or mistresses too numerous to be counted; lastly, he was benevolent and tender, yet fo-

