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WORKS

OF

SIR WILLIAM JONES.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR G. G. AND J. ROBINSON, PATER-NOSTER-ROW;
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THE THIRD

ANNIVERSARY DISCOURSE,

DELIVERED 2 FEBRUARY, 1786.

Β¥

THE PRESIDENT.

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

Of

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 babitable 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 affemblage 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 feems to be that, which relates to the derivation of words from Afiatick languages. Etymology has, no doubt, some use in historical refearches; but it is a medium of proof fo very fallacious, that, where it elucidates one fact, it obscures a thousand, and more frequently borders on the ridiculous, than leads to any folid conclusion: it rarely carries with it any internal power of conviction from a refemblance of founds or fimilarity of letters; yet often, where it is wholly unaffisted by those advantages, it may be indisputably proved by extrinfick evidence. We know à posteriori, that both fitz and bijo, by the nature of two several dialects, are derived from filius; that uncle comes from avus, and firanger from extra; that jour is deducible, through the Italian, from dies; and rossignol from luscinia, or the singer in groves; that sciuro, écureuil, and squirrel are compounded of two Greek words descriptive of the animal; which etymologies, though they could not have been demonstrated à priori, might serve to confirm, if any fuch confirmation were necessary, the proofs of a connection between the members of one great Empire; but, when we derive our banger, or short pendent sword, from the Persian, because ignorant travellers thus mis-spell the word khanjar, which in truth means a different weapon, or fandal-wood from the Greek, because we suppose, that fandals were fometimes made of it, we gain no ground in proving the affinity of nations, and only weaken arguments, which might otherwise be firmly supported. That Cu's then, or, as it certainly is written in

one ancient dialect, $Cv'\tau$, and in others, probably, CA's, enters into the composition of many proper names, we may very reasonably believe; and that Algeziras takes its name from the Arabick word for an island, cannot be doubted; but, when we are told from Europe, that places and provinces in India were clearly denominated from those words, we cannot but observe, in the first instance, that the town, in which we now are assembled, is properly written and pronounced Calicátà; that both Cátá and Cút unquestionably mean places of strength, or, in general, any inclosures; and that Gujaràt is at least as remote from Jezirah in sound, 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 topicks adopted in that learned work are not quite agreeable to the title, but almost wholly syntheticals 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 bistorical disquisitions, where every postulatum will perhaps be refused, and every definition controverted: this may seem a slight objection, but the subject is in itself so interesting, and the sull 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 impersectly discerned.

The five principal nations, who have in different ages divided among themselves, as a kind of inheritance, the vast continent of Asia, with the many islands depending on it, are the Indians, the Chinese, the Tartars, the Arabs, and the Persians: who they severally were, whence, and when they came, where they now are settled, and what advantage

European world, will be shown, I trust, in five distinct essays; the last of which will demonstrate the connexion or diversity between them, and solve the great problem, whether they had any common origin, and whether that origin was the same, which we generally ascribe to them.

I begin with *India*, not because I find reason to believe it the true centre of population or of knowledge, but, because it is the country, which we now inhabit, and from which we may best survey the regions around us; as, in popular language, we speak of the *rising* sun, and of his *progress through the 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 premise, that, in all these inquiries concerning the history of *India*, I shall 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, comprises an area of near forty degrees on each side, including a space almost as large as all Europe; being divided on the west from Persia by the Arachosian mountains, limited on the east by the Chinese part of the farther peninsula, confined on the north by the wilds of Tartary, and extending to the south as far as the isles of Java. This trapezium, therefore, comprehends the stupendous hills of Potyid or Tibet, the beautiful valley of Cashmir, and all the domains of the old Indoscythians, the countries of Népál and Butánt, Cámrup or Asam, together with Siam, Ava, Racan, and the bordering kingdoms, as far as the China of the Hindus or Sin of the Arabian Geographers; not to mention the whole western peninsula with the celebrated island of Sinbala,

Sinbala, or Lion-like men, at its fouthern extremity. By India, in short, I mean that whole extent of country, in which the primitive religion and languages of the Hindus prevail at this day with more or less of their ancient purity, and in which the Nágari letters are still used with more or less deviation from their original form.

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

The inhabitants of this extensive tract are described by Mr. LORD with great exactness, and with a picturesque elegance peculiar to our ancient language: "A people, says he, presented themselves to mine "eyes, clothed in linen garments somewhat low descending, of a "gesture and garb, as I may say, maidenly and well night 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 preliminary Dissertation, that this "country has been inhabited from the earliest an" tiquity by a people, who have no resemblance, either in their figure "or manners, with any of the nations contiguous to them," and that, although conquerors have established themselves at different 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 consisted, and our own personal knowledge of them nearly verifies; as you will perceive 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 fun, new rifing from the main,
- "Smiles pleas'd, and sheds his early orient beam.
- "Th' inhabitants are fwart, and in their locks
- " Betray the tints of the dark hyacinth.
- " Various their functions; some the rock explore,
- "And from the mine extract the latent gold;
- "Some labour at the woof with cunning skill,
- " And manufacture linen; others shape
- " And polish iv'ry with the nicest care:
- " Many retire to rivers shoal, and plunge
- " To feek the beryl flaming in its bed,
- " Or glitt'ring diamond. Oft the jasper's found
- "Green, but diaphanous; the topaz too
- " Of ray serene and pleasing; last of all

ON THE HINDU'S.

- " The lovely amethyst, in which combine
- "All the mild shades of purple. The rich soil,
- "Wash'd by a thousand rivers, from all sides
- " Pours on the natives wealth without control."

Their fources of wealth are still abundant even after so many revolutions and conquests; in their manufactures of cotton they still surpass all the world; and their features have, most probably, remained unaltered fince the time of Dionysius; nor can we reasonably doubt, how degenerate and abased so ever the Hindus may now appear, that in some early age they were splendid in arts and arms, happy in government, wise in legislation, and eminent in various knowledge: but, fince their civil history beyond the middle of the nineteenth century from the present time, is involved in a cloud of fables, we feem to possess only four general media of fatisfying our curiofity concerning it; namely, first, their Languages and Letters; secondly, their Philosophy 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 lamented, that neither the Greeks, who attended ALEXANDER into India, nor those who were long connected with it under the Bactrian Princes, have left us any means of knowing with accuracy, what vernacular languages they found on their arrival in this Empire. The Mobammedans, we know, heard the people of proper Hindustan, or India on a limited scale, speaking a Bháshá, or living tongue of a very fingular construction, the purest dialect of which was current in the districts round Agrà, and chiefly on the poetical ground of Mat'hurà; and this is commonly called the idiom of Vraja. Five words in fix, perhaps, of this language were derived from the Sanscrit, in which books of religion and science were composed, and which appears to have been formed by an exquisite grammatical

arrangement, as the name itself implies, from some unpolished idiom; but the basis of the Hindustani, particularly the inflexions and regimen of verbs, differed as widely from both those tongues, as Arabick differs from Persian, or German from Greek. Now the general effect of conquest is to leave the current language of the conquered people unchanged, or very little altered, in its ground-work, but to blend with it a confiderable number of exotick names both for things and for actions; as it has happened in every country, that I can recollect, where the conquerors have not preserved their own tongue unmixed with that of the natives, like the Turks in Greece, and the Saxons in Britain; and this analogy might induce us to believe, that the pure Hindi, whether of Tartarian or Chaldean origin, was primeval in Upper India, into which the Sanscrit was introduced by conquerors from other kingdoms in some very remote age; for we cannot doubt that the language of the Véda's was used in the great extent of country, which has before been delineated, as long as the religion of Brahmà has prevailed in it.

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

The characters, in which the languages of India were originally written, are called Nágari, from Nagara, a City, with the word Déva fometimes 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 Cashgar and Khoten, to Ráma's bridge, and from the Sindhu to the river of Siam; nor can I help believing, although the polished and elegant Dévanágari may not be so ancient as the monumental characters in the caverns of Jarasandha, that the square Chaldaick letters, in which most Hebrew books are copied, were originally the same, or derived from the same prototype, both with the Indian and Arabian characters: that the Phenician, from which the Greek and Roman alphabets were formed by various changes and inversions, had a similar origin, there can be little doubt; and the inscriptions at Canarab, of which you now possess a most accurate copy, seem to be compounded of Nágari and Ethiopick letters, which bear a close relation to each other, both in the mode of writing from the left hand, and in the fingular manner of connecting the vowels with the confonants. 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 founds in the Chinese grammars corresponds nearly with that observed in Tibet, and hardly differs from that, which the Hindus confider 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 fufficient in this differtation 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 profesfors of those philosophical tenets, which the Ionick and Attick writers illustrated with all the beauties of their melodious language. On one hand we see the trident of NEPTUNE, the eagle of JUPITER, the satyrs of BACCHUS, the bow of CUPID, and the chariot of the Sun; on another we hear the cymbals of RHEA, the fongs of the Muses, and the pastoral tales of Apollo Nomius. In more retired scenes, in groves, and in seminaries of learning, we may perceive the Bráhmans and the Sarmanes, mentioned by CLEMENS, difputing in the forms of logick, or discoursing on the vanity of human enjoyments, on the immortality of the foul, her emanation from the eternal mind, her debasement, wanderings, and final union with her The fix philosophical schools, whose principles are explained in the Dersana Sástra, comprise all the metaphysicks of the old Academy, the Stoa, the Lyceum; nor is it possible to read the Védánta, or the many fine compositions in illustration of it, without believing, that PYTHAGORAS and PLATO derived their sublime theories from the same fountain with the sages of India. The Scythian and Hyperborean doctrines and mythology may also be traced in every part of these eastern regions; nor can we doubt, that Wod or Oden, whose religion, as the northern historians admit, was introduced into Scandinavia by a foreign race, was the same with 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 FO'.

This may be a proper place to ascertain an important point in the Chronology of the *Hindus*; for the priests of Buddha left in *Tibet* and

and China the precise epoch of his appearance, real or imagined, in this Empire; and their information, which had been preserved in writing, was compared by the Christian Missionaries and scholars with our own era. Couplet, De Guignes, Giorgi, and Bailly, differ a little in their accounts of this epoch, but that of Couplet seems the most correct: on taking, however, the medium of the four several dates, we may fix the time of BUDDHA, or the ninth great incarnation of VISHNU, in the year one thousand and fourteen before the birth of CHRIST, or two thousand seven bundred and ninety-nine years ago. Now the Cáshmirians, who boast of his descent in their kingdom, affert that he appeared on earth about two centuries after CRISHNA the Indian APOLLO, who took so decided a part in the war of the Mababbarat; and, if an Etymologist were to suppose, that the Athenians had embellished their poetical history of PANDION's expulsion and the restoration of ÆGEUS with the Afiatick tale of the PA'NDUS and YUD-HISHTIR, 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 interesting epoch, by fixing the age of CRISHNA near the three thousandth year from the present time; and, as the three first Avatars, or descents of Vishnu, relate no less clearly to an Universal Deluge, in which eight persons only were saved, than the fourth and fifth do to the punishment of impiety and the humiliation of the proud, we may for the present assume, that the fecond, or filver, 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 descendent 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 fame descent, styled their greatest festival Ramastoa; 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 These rites and this history are extremely curious; and, although I cannot believe with NEWTON, than ancient mythology was nothing but historical truth in a poetical dress, nor, with BACON, that it confisted solely of moral and metaphysical allegories, nor with BRYANT, that all the heathen divinities are only different attributes and representations of the Sun or of deceased progenitors, but conceive that the whole system of religious fables rose, like the Nile, from several distinct sources, yet I cannot but agree, that one great spring and fountain of all idolatry in the four quarters of the globe was the veneration paid by men to the vast body of fire, which "looks from his fole dominion like the God of this world;" and another, the immoderate respect shown to the memory of powerful or virtuous ancestors, especially the founders of kingdoms, legislators, and warriors, of whom the Sun or the Moon were wildly supposed to be the parents.

III. The remains of architecture and sculpture in India, which I mention here as mere monuments of antiquity, not as specimens of ancient art, seem to prove an early connection between this country and Africa: the pyramids of Egypt, the colossal statues described by Pausanias and others, the sphinx, and the Hermes Canis, which last bears a great resemblance to the Varábávatár, or the incarnation of Vishnu in the form of a Boar, indicate the style and mythology of the same indesatigable workmen, who formed the vast excavations of Cánárab, the various temples and images of Buddha, and the idols, which are continually dug up at Gayá, or in its vicinity. The letters

on many of those monuments appear, as I have before intimated, partly of Indian, and partly of Abysfinian or Ethiopick, origin; and all these indubitable facts may induce no ill-grounded opinion, that Etbiopia and Hindustan were peopled or colonized by the same extraordinary race; in confirmation of which, it may be added, that the mountaineers of Bengal and Babar can hardly be distinguished in some of their features, particularly their lips and nofes, from the modern Abysfinians, whom the Arabs call the children of Cu's H: 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 crifp 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 Arü and Ethiopians, by which he clearly meant certain nations of India; where we frequently see figures of BUDDHA with curled bair apparently designed for a representation of it in its natural state.

IV. It is unfortunate, that the Silpi Sástra, or collection of treatises on Arts and Manufactures, which must have contained a treasure of useful information on dying, painting, and metallurgy, has been so long neglected, that sew, if any, traces of it are to be found; but the labours of the Indian loom and needle have been universally celebrated; and fine linen is not improbably supposed to have been called Sindon, from the name of the river near which it was wrought in the highest persection: the people of Colchis were also samed for this manufacture, and the Egyptians yet more, as we learn from several passages in scripture, and particularly from a beautiful chapter in EZEKIAL containing the most authentick delineation of ancient commerce, of which Tyre had been the principal mart. Silk was fabricated immemorially by the Indians, though commonly ascribed to the people of Serica or Tancùt.

Tancùt, among whom probably the word Ser, which the Greeks applied to the filk-worm, fignified gold; a fense, which it now bears in Tibet. That the Hindus were in early ages a commercial people, we have many reasons to believe; and in the first of their sacred law-tracts, which they suppose to have been revealed by Menu many millions of years ago, we find a curious passage on the legal interest of money, and the limited rate of it in different cases, with an exception in regard to adventures at sea; an exception, which the sense of mankind approves, and which commerce absolutely requires, though it was not before the reign of Charles I. that our own jurisprudence fully admitted it in respect of maritime contracts.

We are told by the Grecian writers, that the Indians were the wisest of nations; and in moral wisdom, they were certainly eminent: their Niti Sástra, or System of Ethicks, is yet preserved, and the Fables of Vishnuserman, whom we ridiculously call Pilpay, are the most beautiful, if not the most ancient, collection of apologues in the world: they were first translated from the Sanscrit, in the sixth century, by the order of Buzerchumihr, or Bright as the Sun, the chief physician and afterwards Vexir of the great Anu'shireva'n, and are extant under various names in more than twenty languages; but their original title is Hitópadésa; or Amicable Instruction; and, as the very existence of Esop, whom the Arabs believe to have been an Abyssinian, appears rather doubtful, I am not disinclined to suppose; that the first moral sables, which appeared in Europe, were of Indian or Ethiopian origin.

The Hindus are said to have boasted of three inventions, all of which, indeed, are admirable, the method of instructing by apologues, the decimal scale adopted now by all civilized nations, and the game of Chess, on which they have some curious treatises; but, if their numerous works on Grammar, Logick, Rhetorick, Musick, all which are

extant

extant and accessible, were explained in some language generally known, it would be found, that they had yet higher pretentions 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 Purána's comprise a series of mythological Histories in blank verse from the Creation to the supposed incarnation of BUDDHA; and their Vėdas, as far as we can judge from that compendium of them, which is called Upanishat, abound with noble speculations in metaphyficks, and fine discourses on the being and attributes of GoD. 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 facred 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 aftronomical and mathematical writings contain, will not, I trust, remain long a fecret: they are easily procured, and their importance cannot The Philosopher, whose works are said to include a fystem of the universe founded on the principle of Attraction and the Central position of the sun, is named YAVAN ACHA'RYA, because he had travelled, we are told, into Ionia: if this be true, he might have been one of those, who conversed with PYTHAGORAS: this at least is undeniable, that a book on astronomy in Sanscrit bears the title of Yavana Jática, which may fignify 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 enterprizing race, from whom both Greece and India were peopled; the race, who, as Dionysius describes them.

first assayed the deep,

^{&#}x27; And wafted merchandize to coasts unknown,

- ' Those, who digested first the starry choir,
- · Their motions mark'd, and call'd them by their names.'

Of these cursory observations on the Hindus, which it would require volumes to expand and illustrate, this is the result: that they had an immemorial affinity with the old Persians, Ethiopians, and Egyptians, the Phenicians, Greeks, and Tuscans, the Scythians or Goths, and Celts, the Chinese, Japanese, and Peruvians; whence, as no reason appears for believing, that they were a colony from any one of those nations, or any of those nations from them, we may fairly conclude that they all proceeded from some central country, to investigate which will be the object of my suture Discourses; and I have a sanguine hope, that your collections during the present year will bring to light many useful discoveries; although the departure for Europe of a very ingenious member, who first opened the inestimable mine of Sanscrit literature, will often deprive us of accurate and solid information concerning the languages and antiquities of India.