

P R E F A C E .

ALTHOUGH the objects for which the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society was originally instituted, have been steadily kept in view since the publication of the first number of its Journal, and the Editor feels much indebted to those who have enabled him to arrive at the completion of this its second Volume, yet it cannot be observed without regret, that with a field so wide and with so many opportunities open to the Members for extending our knowledge of the Archæology, Philology, Geography, &c. of Western India, Persia, Arabia, Ethiopia and other neighbouring countries, so little comparatively speaking has been accomplished.

It was anxiously hoped, that the literary and scientific communications to the Society on subjects connected with Oriental Research, would have maintained a quarterly issue of its Journal, but experience has proved them to be insufficient.

Much credit however is due to those who have contributed. To Dr. Stevenson and Professor Orlebar, who have most kindly and cordially rendered their aid on Literary and Scientific subjects; to Assistant Surgeon Carter for his papers on the Tribes, Language, and Natural Products, of Southern Arabia; and to the Rev. J. Murray Mitchell, who has enriched the present volume with two interesting and highly useful synoptical accounts of the Parsi Religion, and the system of the Vedas.

Preface.

In the death of the late Ball Gungadhur Shastree, remarkable among the native community for his great talent and acquirements, the Society has lost a valuable and most useful contributor of *Indian Inscriptions*,—that branch to which Professor Lassen has particularly called the attention of our members, as being the only means of obtaining a clear and authentic knowledge of the early history of this country.

The Editor on taking leave of the Society, in consequence of his return to England, feels it due to state to his learned Associates, that the pleasure he has ever experienced in rendering his services to the Society, as well as the interest he has taken in all that concerns its welfare and the advancement of its objects, will suffer no diminution, although he may no longer be present to assist in its operations.

Bombay ; 30th, November, 1847.

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JOURNAL
OF THE
BOMBAY BRANCH
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

OCTOBER, 1844.

ART. I.—*Two ancient Inscriptions, in the Cave character, and Sanskrit language, which, engraved on Copper plates, are translated into English, by BALL G. SHASTREE, Esq., with remarks by the Secretary.*

TO JAMES BIRD, Esq., *Secretary to the Bombay Branch R. A. S.*

MY DEAR SIR,—I have now the pleasure of returning the Copper plate, you gave me the other day, with correct transcripts in the original and Balbúd characters, as well as a translation of its contents into the English language.

On comparing the names of kings, mentioned in this grant, with Mr. Walter Elliott's genealogy of the *Chalukya* race, as ascertained from the numerous inscriptions collected by that gentleman, (Journal Roy. As. Society, London, No. VII. p. 7,) I am disposed to think that the Prince, *Vishnu Vardhan*, referred to in this grant, must be the grandson of king *Vikrama*, or *Vikramaditya*, the beginning of whose reign is placed in the *Shaka year* 655, or in 733 A. D.; and whose son, the father of our donor, according to both authorities, is of the name of *Kirtí Varma*. The antiquity of the document is fully borne out by the nature of the character; which, were there no proof to the contrary, may indeed make it two or three centuries older, as may be easily seen from an inspection of Mr. Prinsep's Table of the ancient Alphabets, in the VIIth Volume of the Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal. We would certainly be at liberty to identify *Vikrama* with an elder prince of that name, the date of

whose reign is 514 *Shaka*, if it were not for a disagreement in the names that follow.

The language of the grant, unlike that of other writings of this kind, is extremely simple; and the description of the family of the reigning monarch is confined to two of his ancestors. These circumstances may perhaps be attributed to the decline of the power of the *Chalukyas*, which soon afterwards was very much curtailed, if not altogether annihilated, at least, for a considerable length of time.

The inscription is full of orthographical errors, too numerous to be enumerated. There is one particular symbol used, which I have not where met with. I allude to the mark \circ for \ddot{r} (i) instead of σ . The medial \ddot{r} (\acute{u}) is expressed both by \mathfrak{U} as well as \mathfrak{r} , which latter form, being that of the modern Deva Nagari, may indicate that the Cave character was in a state of transition when the grant was written. The inscription on the seal is literally श्री बिदुरस, *Shri Bidurasa*, which I must leave to your superior judgment to explain. The village of Aland Tirtha, the grant of which is commemorated in the Plate, may be identified with Alandi near Puna, as I know of only one other Aland, but it is situated to the north of the Bhima and not to the south.

Connected with the history of the *Chalukyas*, I send you herewith an Inscription, taken from a Copper plate grant, of the 5th century of the Christian era, which Professor Orlebar presented to your Society in 1841, after carefully comparing it with the original at my request. As confirming the few records of that period found by Mr. Elliott, it is a document of some importance; and as it has not up to this day been published in the Transactions of the Parent Society, to whom I believe, it was transmitted, you may, if you think proper, give it a place in your Journal, along with this additional relic of the *Chalukya* family, which has been brought to light through your exertions.

I am sorry that I could not prevail upon the Thakur, who brought me the Plate, to part with it on any consideration.

Believe me, dear Sir,

Your's most sincerely,

BALL G. SHASTREE.

7th August, 1844.

No. 1.

Translation of a Copper plate grant of land, found at Sattara, and now in possession of JAMES BIRD, Esq.

Blessing. King *Rana Vikrama* was descended from the family of the *Chátúkyas*; the sons of *Hariti*, of the same Gotra as the descendants of *Mánú*, meditators on the feet of *Swami Mahasena* (1); the chain of whose arms was protected by the body of the mothers of the world, and who had been blessed with the Boar signet, by Vishnu on being aroused from his slumbers in the milky ocean. May this king be glorious; who, being himself a good ruler, was gifted with good ministers and good counsellors; who had humbled the pride of all his enemies, and who had acquired great renown by his virtuous deeds in chastising the wicked men of the *Kuli Yúg*. His son *Kirti Varma* was a famous protector of the earth, and reigned for a long time, distinguishing himself for worthy actions. His son was as handsome as *Kandarpa* (2). Knowing his duties and having a feeling of gratitude, he equalled Arjuna, as if he was intended by the Creator, like that hero, to remove the vanity of men who support themselves by arms. This prince named *Vishnu Vardhan*, while he had conciliated the attachment of the world, and was in the habit of receiving homage from the crowned heads of numerous humiliated vassals, during his regency (3), bestowed formally, (pouring water, &c.) on the 15th Kartika at Kummarathya, a village called *Aland Tirtha*, situated to the south of the Bhima and to the north of the free hold called Anopalwa, upon the sons of Lakshumana Swami of the *Kaushika Gotra*, (the descendants of Viswamitra,) who had penetrated through the Vedas with all their branches—to Achala Swami, Deva Swami, Aditya Swami, Nagkumara with all their sons, grandsons, &c. This grant is made to support the performance of *Vaishwadeva*, *Agnihotra*, and other ceremonies, with the view of securing virtue to the donor himself and his parents, and is to last as long as the sun, the moon, and the earth exist. Let it be known to all the authorities on the frontier, our

(1) The son of Mahadeva, usually called Kártikeya, and Commander-in-Chief of the celestial armies.

(2) The god of love.

(3) This passage is susceptible of a different interpretation. It may mean the "Grant is made by the regent of Vishnu Sharma, named Vishnu Sidhi."

vassals, heads and great men of the place, &c. that this village is not to be entered into by troops of the state or of persons living on usury. Knowing that the grant is lawful, and that the duration of this life is as transient as the waves of the sea agitated by a gale, the same should not be resumed. Whoever, having his sense obscured by the mist of ignorance, should interrupt our grant or approve of its being interrupted, shall be guilty of the five great sins. As Vyasa, the expounder of the Vedas, says; He who makes a grant of land, lives 60,000 years in heaven; whoever resumes it, or approves of its resumption, is doomed to reside in hell for an equal length of time. Sagara and many other kings, &c. who make grants of land, do not gain so much merit as those who protect the grants of others. O king Yudhishtira! maintain with care all the former grants of land. O good king, the preservation of a grant is a more virtuous act than the giving of it. A man, though he may be on the verge of death, should never think of depriving a Brahman of his estate; for what is burned by fire springs up again, but what is burned by a Brahman's curse never revives. Whoever seizes the land, &c. Those who resume grants of land become black serpents in the hollows of trees in the arid deserts of the Vindhya. This edict is written in the 8th year of the king.

No. 2.

Translation of an Inscription of a Copper plate grant, belonging to a Thákur of the name of NAKSU BHALA, of Nandgám in the Northern Konkan. 1841.

Peace. Glory be to the Boar (1), in whom Vishnu was made manifest, who agitated the ocean, and bore the earth on the tip of his uplifted right tusk. *Shri Kirti Varma Rája*, whose body became pure as the Avabhrittha bath of the Ashwamedha sacrifice, adorned the family of the prosperous *Chalukyas*, of the same Gotra (2) as the descendants of Manú; who are praised by the whole world; the sons of Háríti (3); brought up by seven

(1) The third incarnation of Vishnú for the recovery of the earth from the waters.

(2) A distinctive appellation of Bráhman and Kshatriya families, denoting their descent from particular Rishis.

(3) Probably some local goddess, worshipped by the family.

mothers, who were even as the seven mothers of the world (4); who, through the protection of Kártikeya, gained a succession of blessings; and who, under the eye of the Boar signet, obtained through the favour of the god Narayan, subjugated all the kings of the earth. His son was *Shri Palakeshi Vallabha*, whose lotus-like feet were touched by the crowns of many hundred kings; whose firmness was as that of the mountains Merú, Malaya, and Mandara, whose whole army of infantry, cavalry, chariots, and elephants, was increasing day by day; who on his noble horse Kanta Chitra (5) reconquered his own dominions, and (afterwards) the three kingdoms of *Chera*, *Chola*, and *Pandya*; who gained a new title by the defeat of *Shriharsha*, lord of the northern countries; who ever meditated upon the feet of *Shri Nága Vardhan*, and was an eminent follower of Mahádeva. His younger brother *Jaya Sinha*, the supporter of the earth, subdued all his rivals. His son, the prop of the three (6) worlds, *Raja Shri Nága Vardhan*, informs all the present and future kings:—Be it known to you that at the request of *Ballám Thakúr*, we have assigned (pouring water &c.) for the support of the holy inhabitants of Balegram, and in furtherance of the Guggul worship of *Kapaleshwar*, the said village, which is situated on the boundaries of Goparashtra, with its public buildings, and appurtenances, with the quarters of the impost and the military; (7) that (the glory of) our father and mother may endure as long as the sun, the moon, the sea, and the earth exist, and that our own virtue and fame may be promoted. May then this our grant be respected and observed by our descendants, or other future kings, remembering that life is as transient as the clouds of November. According to the saying of the holy Vyasa, “Sagar and many other kings have enjoyed the earth, whoever may be the master of the earth, this is the fruit thereof. Whoever resumes the land which

(4) Seven female deities well known in the Hindú mythology as Bráhmi, Maheshwari, &c. the energies of Brahma and other gods.

(5) कंठचित्राख्य is erroneously written कंठान्द्राख्य.

(6) Here we have नृभुवन, instead of त्रिभुवन.

(7) This was the sense that the passage appeared to me to convey, when I originally translated the Inscription. I have been however satisfied, that it means “the village is not to be entered into by the troops and followers of the king.”

either he himself or others have given, becomes a worm, doomed to pass sixty thousand (8) years in filth."

Remarks on the foregoing Inscription.

1.—The Copper plate, of which a copy and an English translation are herewith submitted to the Society, consists of two pieces 7 inches by 5, connected by two rings, one of which bears a seal, which is exactly represented in the fac-simile. It belongs to Narsu Bhalá, a Thakur, originally an inhabitant and a Wataudár of Kavanái, in the valley of Trimbakeshwar, but now living at Nándgam in the Northern Konkan. His family has been in possession of it from time immemorial, and believing that it contained some grant to his ancestors, he was induced to send it to me to be decyphered.

2.—By the help of Mr. Prinsep's table of the Indian Alphabets, I succeeded in reading the whole of the inscription without much difficulty. The character in which it is written will be found to bear a close resemblance to that of the Allahabad Pillar, which, according to the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society for March 1838, belongs to the 5th century of the Christian era.

3.—The Plate bears no date, nor makes any mention of the place where the deed was written; but it will be found that the grant was made by Nága Vardhan, the nephew of Pulakeshi, the most mighty of the well known Chalukya race of Kallian (in the Dekhan), on whose history much light has already been thrown by the elaborate researches of Mr. Walter Elliott, of the Madras Civil Service. (9) If according to the Copper deed in the possession of Major Jervis, quoted in Mr. Elliott's paper, Pulakeshi reigned in the year 411 of Shalivahana, the Inscription now submitted cannot be more than a few years later than that period, a result which remarkably verifies what is stated as probable in the preceding paragraph.

4.—On comparing the present Inscription with one that accompanies Mr. Elliott's paper, the fact that first strikes notice is the great similarity of language. Both the documents begin with the same invocation to

(8) The word वर्ष, a year, is spelled वरिष.

(9) See Mr. Elliott's Essay on the subject p. 8. R. A. Society's Journal for May 1837.

Varáha, and designate the Chalukya family as "Manovyasa Gotra," "the children of Hariti," "supported by the seven mothers," and as having subdued all their enemies in an instant by the boar signet obtained from the favour of Bhagván Naráyan." An indubitable proof of the identity of the king Pulakeshi, mentioned in both grants, is furnished by the allusion to his horse "Kantha Chitra," and the performance of the "Ashwamedha" sacrifice, which from the amount of its expense and the difficulty of its conditions, (of which the exaction of tribute from all the contemporary sovereigns is the principal one,) has not been undertaken by many modern princes. This king, according to Mr. Elliott's genealogical table, is the son of Rána Raja or Rája Sinha, while according to the Inscription before us, he is the son of Kírti Varma. There is, however, no real contradiction between the two accounts; for as the name Rája Sinha occurs in one place according to Mr. Elliott, and he regards it as doubtful, we may suppose it was a mere title of honour like Rána Rája, and that Kártik Varma is the proper name of this king. It will be seen that the younger brother of Pulakeshi bears the name of Jaya Sinha, the same as that of his grandfather, who may be supposed to be the founder of the Chalukya (10) dynasty in the Dekhan. Thus the Copper plate now brought to light, supplies us with three additional names of the Chalukya kings; viz. Kírti Varma, Jaya Sinha, and Nága Vardhan, the father, the younger brother, and the nephew of Pulakeshi.

5.—With regard to the position of the "Gopa Rashtra," on the frontiers of which "Balegrama" is said to have been situated, we have some ground on which to hazard a conjecture. A tradition exists that near the village of Anjan Niri, about five miles from Trimbakeshwar, where extensive ruins of a town and a strong fort are still to be seen, there formerly stood the capital of the *Gaoli* or Cowherd kings. We may therefore suppose that the valley of Nashik was called Goparashtir in the time of the Chalukya kings. This hypothesis is further supported by the site of the original residence of the Thakur's family, where it is reasonable to suppose that the grant must have been found. (11)

6.—On asking Narsú Bhálá whether there was any tradition current

(10) Cháluka is a common family name among the Marathas.

(11) Balegram near Yavlé, may be said to be situated on the frontiers of this Goparashtira, but it would require a better proof to identify it positively with the village mentioned in the grant.

in his family or in his tribe respecting Ballam Thákur, at whose request the village is said to have been granted, I could obtain no information. The mention of his name, however, on so old a document proves, that the Thakurs formed a portion of the original inhabitants of the Dekhan ; and some of them possessed great influence with the reigning sovereigns of the time.

7.—In conclusion I have only to remark that the language in which the deed is written is elegant, but simple and unaffected ; and is evidently the production of a period anterior to that when the taste of the Hindus was vitiated, and they became fond of a bombastic style, abounding in laboured rhymes, far-fetched metaphors, and childish play upon words. The few errors, which occur principally in the spelling, are marked on the margin of the translation.

8.—I have already said that the character of this grant is nearly the same as that of the Allahabad Pillar. None of the initial vowels occur, with the exception of उ (u) ; the medials are more nearly allied to those of the Gujarat Plates of the 4th Century than of the Allahabad Inscription ; the only difference being that ई (i) is written ८ instead of २ ; and ए (e) and ऐ (ai) are joined as in modern Bálbudh, and not as in Bengali to which the corresponding letters in the Gujarat Plates are alike. Among the consonants I notice some dissimilarity in the following letters :—

	च	थ	ब	म	ल	स	ज्ञ	श्री
Allahabád Inscription.	४	०	□	□	८	५	५	५
The Nandagám.	८	८	५	५	८	८	५	५

I may observe that म and स of the Plate exactly correspond to those in the Gujarat Plates. It is worthy of notice that the letter ण (n) occurs in two distinct forms ४ and ८. The former of these is that of the Allahabad Pillar, and the latter of the Kutila Inscription from Bareilly of the year 992 A. D. The first form however is found only in composition.

Additional remarks on the two preceding Inscriptions, by the Secretary.

The earliest records of the Hindu social system, contained in the *Ramayana*, *Mahabharata*, and *Manu*, confirm the uniform traditions of the people, that Bengal, Orissa, and the whole of the Dekhan, south

of the *Nermada* river, were about the beginning of the Christian era inhabited by outcaste and barbarous tribes, similar to the people called by Pliny *Calingæ*, or *Parthiales*; who inhabited the sea coast, at the summit of the bay of Bengal, from point Godaveri to cape Negrais. The ascertained independent origin of the primitive words of the *Tamul* language, which are not derived from *Sanskrit*, afford strong confirmatory evidence of the comparatively recent amalgamation of these tribes with the present Hindu state, and that they were converted to the Brahmanical system, and from barbarity, by an enlightened and civilized people from the North. The numerous inscriptions, on copper and on stone, which have been arranged and commented on, with great research, by Mr. Walter Elliott, of the Madras Civil Service, supply additional proofs, relative to this subject; and clearly indicate that the *Brahmans* of the North, who introduced the foreign faith and language, were accompanied by a warlike race of *Kshatriyas*; who, from their devotion to the worship of fire, and the ceremonial observances enjoined by the *Vedas*, were denominated *Agnikulas*, and subsequently *Rajputs*. The inscriptions here translated, relative to this stage of the Hindu history of the South, are of considerable interest; and illustrate the origin of the Rajput family of the *Chalukyas*, who ruled over *Kuntala Desha*, in the Dekhan, of which the capital was Kalliani.

In an inscription, engraved on copper, in a very ancient type of the Purvada Hallá Kanara character, and in the Sanskrit language, dated Shaka 411, (A. D. 490),* the *Chalukyas*, are said to be descended from *Manu*, by the lineage of *Harita*;† who, according to the *Vishnu Purana*, was one of the sons of the *Kshatriya Viswamitra*, who obtained Brahmanhood through devotion; and from whom the *Gotra*, or family of the *Kaushika Brahmans* derive their origin. According to the inscription just mentioned, and in the possession of Major T. B. Jervis of the Bombay Engineers, the earliest member of the *Chalukya family*, cotemporary with the date of the grant, A. D. 490, was *Pulakeshi*, who conquered the South, and subdued the kingdoms of *Chera*, *Chola*, and *Pandya*, or Mysore, Tanjore, and Madura. He is mentioned in No.

* See Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, volume V. p. 343.

† According to the *Vishnu Purana* the *Harita* are classes of gods, belonging to the twelfth *Munwantara*; but in the preceding Inscriptions the name is feminine *Haruti*, who among *Bauddhas* is a *Yakshane*, or female demon

2 of the present Inscriptions ; and seems to have been preceded by ancestors in the North ; who came from the Bauddha capital of *Sawathi-pura*, thought to be the same with *Kosala*, or *Oude*. It is mentioned in the Ceylon Bauddha annals ; and is erroneously called *Wapitapura*, in Mr. Elliott's Ye-ur inscription.

The *Vishnu Vardhan*, No 1 of the Inscriptions now translated, was probably the grandson of *Pulakeshi*, by his son *Kirti Varma*; and if so, his date, ascertained from other inscriptions, would place the present Copper plate grant, about the beginning of the sixth century A. D.

The Chalukyas generally profess themselves of lunar origin, and may do so probably from deriving their title from one of the four classes of Bauddha followers, called *Chailaka* : but they must have subsequently adopted the ceremonial faith of the *Vedas*, and *Agnikulas* or worshippers of fire : as *Kirti Varma Raja* is said, by inscription No. 2, to have performed the *Ashwamedha* sacrifice. Their signet of the *Varaha*, or Boar being the third incarnation of *Vishnu*, for the elevation of the earth, submerged by the waters, and supposed by Professor H. Wilson, to be a type of the ritual of the *Vedas*, may have been adopted by the *Chalukyas*, on their conversion from Bauddha principles to the orthodox faith of the Brahmins. In both inscriptions *Kartikaya*, or the *Hindu Mars*, is the special object of reverence by the *Chalukyas*, indicating their warlike character, and probably Indo-Scythic origin.

No. 1. Transcript in Devanagri.

सस्तिस्वामिमहासेनपादानुष्यातानामानव्यसगोत्राणांहारीतीपुत्राणां
मातृगणप्रसादपरिरक्षितभुजार्गलानांक्षीरोदधिश्चयनसुप्तोत्थितप्रसादप-
रिलब्धबराहलांछनानांचलिक्यानांबंशेसंभूतः शक्तित्रयसंपन्नः ॥ जयति
रणाविक्रमनृपोनिरस्तरिपुनृपतिशौर्यमदरागः ॥ कलियुगखलनिर्मयनेसखा
श्रयभावितश्चरितैः ॥ अभवन्नस्यसकीर्तिकीर्तिर्वर्मास्थिरस्थितिः ॥ सुतःसुच
रिताधारः कृतकृत्यः पतिः क्षितेः ॥ तस्यपुत्रोमहातेजाकंदर्पइवमूर्तिमान् ॥
धर्मज्ञश्चकृतज्ञश्चपार्थतुल्यपराक्रमः ॥ अभिमानमिवोत्थुंनराणांशस्त्रजीविनां

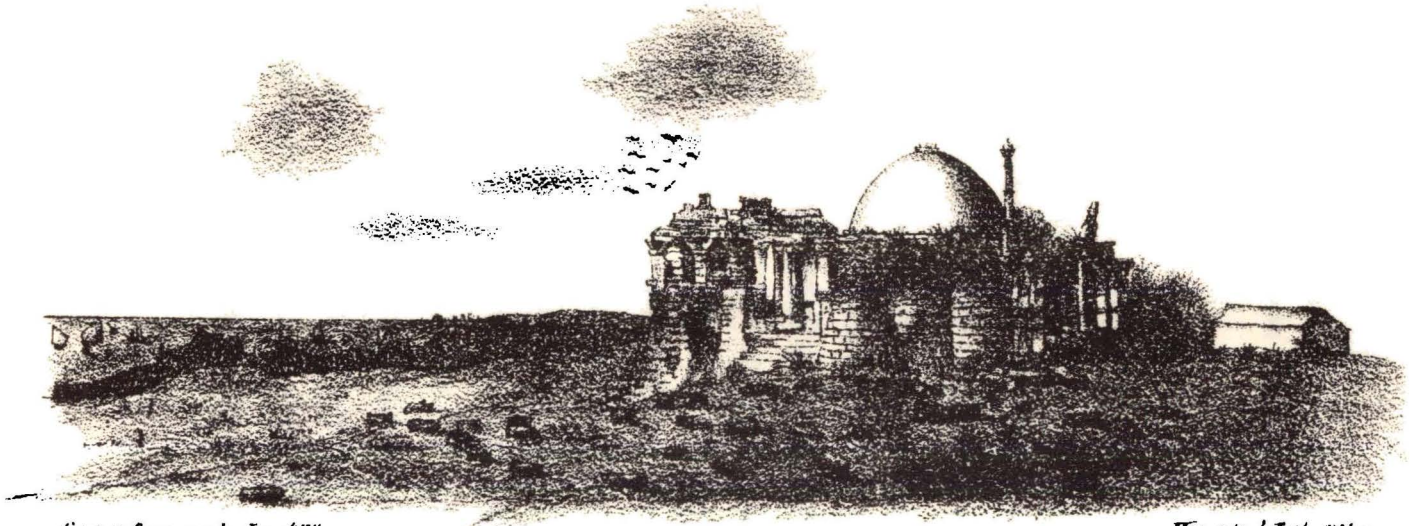
विधानाविहितोलोकेसचबीभत्सुरेवच ॥ तेनअनेकसामंतप्रणतमुकुटचूडा
मणिनिघृष्टचरणारविदेनसकलमहीमंडलतिलकभूतेनश्रीपृथिवीवलभवि-
ष्णुवर्धनयुवराजविषमसिद्धिनाकुरुमरथ्यावस्थितेनमातापित्रोरात्मनश्चपु-
प्यावाप्तयेकार्तिकपौर्णमास्यावेदेवेदांगपारगानां ॥ घृतकौशिकसगोत्रा-
णांविश्वामित्रव (धृत) लक्ष्मणस्वामिपुत्राणांअचलस्वामिवेदस्वामिदेवस्वामि
आदित्यस्वामिनागकुमारसहितानांपुत्रपौत्रादीनामव्यासगेनाचंद्रार्कक्षि-
तिस्थितिसमकालंबलिचरुवैश्वदेवाभिहोत्रहवनपंचमहायज्ञअर्पणार्थमश्री-
निलयभोगोअणोपल्वाग्राहारस्योत्तरतः भीमरथीदक्षिणतटेअलंदतीर्थना
मग्रामोविधिवदुदक्रपूर्वदत्तः ॥ विदितमस्तुसर्वेषांपर्यंतविषयपतिसामंतग्रा
मभोगीकमहत्तरादीनांआचाटभटकुसीदादीनामप्रवेश्यः सर्वादानविभु-
(शु) ध्येयवगम्यचलपवनप्रेरितोदधिजलतरंगचंचलंजीवलोकमनुप्रेक्ष्य-
(प्य) तस्मात्लोपोनकार्यः ॥ योवाज्ञानतिमिरपटलावृतमतिरा (दा)
छिद्यदा (रा) छिद्यमानंयोवानुमोदेत्सपंचभिर्महापातकैः संयुक्तोभविष्य
तात्युक्तंचभगवतावेदव्यासेनव्यासेन ॥ षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणिस्वर्गेतिष्ठतिभूमि-
दः ॥ आच्छेत्तात्तानुमंतात्तान्येवनरकेवसेत् ॥ बहुभिर्वसुधाभुक्काराज-
भिस्तगरादिभिः ॥ यस्ययस्ययदाभूमिस्तस्यतस्यतदाफलंतादृक्पुण्यंनदा-
तरंजायतेनोधराभुजां ॥ भुवमन्यप्रतिष्ठान्य (प्य) यादृग्भवतिरक्षतांपूर्वद-
त्तांद्भिजातिभ्योयन्नाद्रक्षयुधिष्ठिर ॥ महींमहिमतांश्रेष्ठादानात्श्रेयोनुपालनं ॥
ब्रह्मस्वैमामर्तिकुर्यात्प्राणैःकंठगतैरपि ॥ अग्निदग्धानिरोहंतिब्रह्मदग्धंनरो-
हति ॥ स्वदत्तांपरदत्तांवायोहरेतवसुंधरां ॥ षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणिकुंभीपाकेषुप-
च्यते ॥ विध्याटवीश्वतोयासुशुष्ककोटरवासिनः ॥ कृष्णाहयोभिजायते
भूमिदानापहारिणः श्रीमहाराजस्यप्रवर्धमानकसंवत्सरेअष्टमेशासनंलि-
खितमिति ॥

No. 2. Transcript in Devanagri.

स्वस्ति जयत्याविष्कृतविष्णोर्वाराहक्षोभितार्णवं । दक्षिणोन्नतदंष्ट्राग्रवि
श्रान्तभुवनं वपुः

श्रीमतांसकलभुवनसंस्तूयमानमानव्यसगोत्राणांहारीतीपुत्राणांसत्तलोक
मातृभिःसप्तमातृभिरभिवर्धितानांकार्तिकेयपरिरक्षणवाप्तकल्याणपरंपरा
णांभगवन्नारायणप्रसादसमासादितवराहलाञ्छनेक्षणक्षणवशीकृतशेष
महीभृतांचालुक्यानांकुलमलंकरिष्णोरश्वमेधावभृथस्नानपवित्रीकृतगान्त्र
स्यसत्याश्रयश्रीकीर्त्तिवर्मराजस्यात्मजोनेकरपतिशतमकुटतटकोटिघृष्ट
चरणारविंदोमेरुमलयमन्दरसमानधैर्योहरहरभिवर्धमानवरकरिरथदुरगप
दातिबलमनोजवैकण्ठचित्रारव्यःप्रवरदुरंगमेनोपार्जितस्वराज्यविजितचे
रचोलपाण्ड्यक्रमागतरान्यत्रयःश्रीमदुत्तरापथाधिपतिश्रीहर्षपराजयोपल
ब्धापरनामधेयःश्रीनागवर्धनपादानुध्यातपरममाहेश्वरःश्रीपुलकेशिवल्लभः
तस्यानुजोभ्राताविजितारिसकलपक्षोधराश्रयःश्रीजयसिङ्गघर्मराजस्तस्य
सूनुःतृभुवनश्रयश्रीनागवर्धनराजःसर्वानेवागामिवर्त्तमानभविष्यांश्चनरप
तीन्समनुदर्शयत्यस्तुवःसंविदितंयथास्माभिर्गोपराष्ट्रविषयांतपातिबलेग्राम
सेङ्गसपरिकरसचाटभटप्रवेशसुचंद्रार्काणवर्धनविक्षितिस्थिति समकालीन
मातापित्रोरुद्दिश्यात्मनश्चविपुलपुण्ययशोभिवृथ्यंबलाम्मठकरविज्ञासिक
याकापालेश्वरस्यगुगुलपूजानिमित्ततन्निवासिमहाव्रतिभ्य उपभोगायसल्लि
लपूर्वकंप्रतिपादितस्तदस्मदंशैरन्यैर्वागामिनृपतिभिःशरदभ्रचंचलंजीवि
तमाकलव्यायमस्मदायोनुमंतव्यःप्रतिपालयितव्यश्चेत्युक्तंभगवताव्यासेन
बहुभिर्वसुधाभुक्तराजभिस्सगरादिभिःयस्ययस्ययदाभूमिस्तस्यतस्यतदा
फलमिति।स्वदत्तांपरदत्तांवायोहरेतवसुंधरांषष्टिवर्षसहस्राणिविष्ठायांजाय
तेकृमिः।

Plate III.



from a Drawing by Lewis Thorne.

Hampton's Lith. No. 10.

TEMPLE OF SOMNATH.

ART. II.—*An Account of the temple of Somnath, translated from the Persian of the Appendix to the Mirat Ahmedi, By JAMES BIRD, Esq.: to which is added a translation, from Sanskrit into English, of an Inscription at Pattan Somnath, relative to the restoration of the temple in Samvat 1272, A. D. 1215. By W. H. WATHEN, Esq.*

Recent events, and the proposed restoration to the ancient temple of *Somnath* of the gates brought from Ghazna, said to have been originally part of it, have given this place a modern notoriety little inferior to its former celebrity. If indeed these gates formed part of the ancient temple, it may be doubted whether they ever belonged to the now existing ruins of the building at *Pattan Somnath*; where the shrine, according to the excellent account of it contained in the Appendix to the *Mirat Ahmedi*, was several times destroyed and restored. Agreeably to the Sanskrit inscription, translated in the sequel, the hall of this temple was rebuilt sometime after its destruction by Mahmūd of Ghazna, and a fresh image, or *lingum*, installed in the shrine so late as A. D. 1215, or almost two hundred years after the original one had been destroyed by that celebrated conqueror. The only modern account of this building, which we have on record, is that given by the late Sir Alexander Burnes, which was published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.* He thus describes the ruins:—"The great temple of Somnath stands on a rising ground on the north-west side of Pattan, inside the walls, and is only separated by them from the sea. It may be seen from a distance of twenty five miles. It is a massy stone building, evidently of some antiquity. Unlike Hindú temples generally, it consists of three domes, the first of which forms the roof of the entrance, the second is the interior of the temple, the third was the "sanctum sanctorum," wherein were deposited the riches of Hindú devotion. The two external domes are diminutive: the central one has an elevation of more than thirty feet, tapering to the summit in fourteen steps, and is about forty feet in diameter. It is perfect, but the images which have once adorned both the interior and exterior of the building, are mutilated, and the black polished stones which formed its floor have been removed by

* Vol. v. page 105.

the citizens for less pious purposes. Every thing in the vicinity of Pattan corroborates its age, and confirms the relations of the people."

The *Mirat Ahmedî's* account of this celebrated temple, being interesting, is here appended as translated from the Persian.

Somnath, the greatest and most celebrated of temples to be met with, is visited by the worshippers of idols from the four quarters of Hindustan. This also is the name of the city situated on the shore of the sea of *Oman*, and in the district of *Sorath*, where there is a strong fortress, now named *Pattan Deo*, and otherwise called *Prabhas Pattan*, because in that country the *Khetri* tribe is known by the name of *Prabhas*.* At this time the place of the idol is in a great measure destroyed, but it is celebrated in every country, and among the Hindús is considered the oldest of the temples: wherefore travellers and strangers have noticed it in their books both in prose and verse. The author of the *Haft Iklim* relates that there were many golden images in this temple, and that they called the greatest of them *Manat* †: but the general opinion regarding this matter, is that *Manat* was not one of the idols worshipped by the Brahmans, although it be said that this deity, before the time of *Krishna* now four thousand years, was worshipped by the Brahmans. *Mahmud Ghazi* of Ghazna, however, led by inevitable destiny, having in the year of the Hejirah 416, A. D. 1020, come into Gujarat from Ghazna, in order to throw down and destroy the idols of this temple, laid siege to it. So obstinate was the contest on both sides, during the period of the siege, that for one day no advantage was gained by the Mahomedans, but having prepared next day the usual war machines, they bravely exerted themselves in battle, while the people of Somnath crowded to the temple; from whence, after having embraced the idol, and sought its assistance, they with loud wailings rushed out and fought until more than fifty thousand persons were slain, and the fortress was yielded up. The Sultan entering the temple

* *Prabhasa*, in Sanskrit, means light or radiance, and was applied as an appellation of the *Saiva linga*, which under the name of Somnath, represented *Siva* or *Mahadeva* at Pattan Somnath; which is called, in the *Vishnu Purana*, *Prabhasa*. The Mahatmyam, or legend of the temple, said to be a part of the *Skanda Purana*, is entitled *Prabhasa Kshetra Mahatmyam*, and relates the origin of the temple—that *Soma*, or the moon, who had lost his lustre by the imprecation of *Daksha*, having propitiated *Siva*, and erected to the honor of this deity a splendid *lingum*, regained the favor of *Siva*, who conferred on the pagoda the name of *Somnatha*. The account, which the author of the *Mirat Ahmedî* here gives for the origin of the name, is not therefore correct.

† The name of one of the three idols, which, during the times of idolatry in Arabia, were worshipped in the temple of Mekka.

beheld a place, of great breadth and length, containing fifty pillars adorned with all kinds of jewels ; within which he found the idol *Manat*, in height about five cubits, and partly buried in the earth. The Sultan on beholding this broke it to pieces with the baton he had in his hand, and afterwards carrying the pieces to Ghazna strewed them in front of the great mosque where they remain to this day. Jewels of great value fell from the belly of the idol ; but this story in detail is related in the fourth volume of the *Rauzat-as-Safa*, (a work of seven volumes,) and in other entertaining books. In fine, the people of India are only in part acquainted with the religious rites of Somnath ; which they washed daily with fresh water brought from the Ganges, and conveyed from station to station, by persons placed for the purpose, and from a distance exceeding two hundred *farsakh*. Moreover more than a thousand populous villages were bequeathed for the use of this temple ; more than twenty thousand Brahmans were employed in the ceremonies of its worship, and who had so arranged for commencing such, that they began their devotions whenever a golden chain, which was suspended in the temple, was set in motion. Three hundred persons were ready to shave the heads of the devotees who frequented the temple to worship the idols, and five hundred dancing women were also attendant on them. Many of the princes of India devoted their daughters to the service of this temple, and of Somnath ; and whatever wealth was obtained by the treasury of Sultan Mahmud, not less than a million of gold coins were carried away.

It must be generally known that whatever is evident in the old books of the Brahmans is collected at the temple of the idols, and they therefore say that the original object of worship in the temple of Somnath was a *linga*, which represents the god *Mahadeva*. There were formerly twelve *lingas* named *jot lingas*, the first word of which signifies splendour ; and is one of the many names given to *Mahadeva*, such as Bhimnath, Gopinath, Somnath, &c. : but in their estimation the original title of *jot linga* is the greatest of all, regarding which they tell many wonderful stories, and that there are eleven other *lingas* in the neighbouring countries. On a certain fixed day crowds of Hindus from every distant quarter assemble here to worship, because in their belief Somnath is a holy place and contains the *linga* of radiance, besides many golden and gilded images, which have been taken away : and relative to what they relate regarding the object of worship in the original temple being buried five cubits in the earth, it appears to have been a *linga*, which they set up in this manner ; and every *linga*, except the *jot linga*, one of the twelve, which is made of cut stone, is named and worshipped under one of the appellations of *Mahadeva*.

In the year of the Hejirah 666, A. D. 1296, when *Alagh Khan*, agreeable to the orders of *Allah-ad-Khilji*, king of Delhi, conquered the province of Gujarat, he carried an army against Somnath, and destroyed the *linga*

which had been set up after the time of Mahmud of Ghazna ; and which being restored afresh was popularly worshipped. Wherefore he destroyed the stone and forwarded many articles of wealth to Delhi.

In the year of the Hejirah 790, A. D. 1387, when Zafar-Khan had erected the standard of independence in Gujarat, the Brahmans having cut and set up another *linga*, he went and destroyed it ; and again in the time of Khuld Makan it was a third time destroyed. At the present day the remains of the temple are a few columns, outside the citadel of Pattan Deo, on the banks of the river Sirsuti.

A letter from Purani Ramdat Krishna Datt, at Prabhas Pattan, (Somnath) to Lieutenant Colonel Tod, dated the 15th of the first Chaitra Shud, Samvat, 1879. (26th March 1823).

Sir,—Further, you were pleased to commission me to make a copy of the Slokes, (verses) on the pillar near the Kazi's house, and to send it to you. I have therefore made a copy, which cost me much trouble ; because, in many parts the letters are not legible, as known to you. I succeeded, however, in copying this inscription after a labour of thirty-two days ; during which time I and my son jointly, with great difficulty decyphered the letters and arranged them. I long ago sent you this copy, through the medium of *Dada Raghupant* and *Sheth Hansraj* ; along with a letter to you, one to *Baba Maratha*, and one paper relating to this copy (of the inscription) ; but I know not whether these papers ever reached, as no answer has been received. Having made another copy I now transmit it enclosed ; and on its arrival you will oblige me by writing an acknowledgment of its receipt : for a letter from you, Sir, would gratify me greatly ; and my trouble will be rewarded by the pleasure of receiving such. This is my wish : therefore being kind, favor me with a letter.

Translation of an Inscription at Pattan Somnath in Khatyawar. By
W. H. WATHEN, Esq.

I adore that eternal Being who is the source of the twenty-five principles.*

* The allusion to the twenty-five principles shews the connexion of this Inscription with the doctrines of the Sanchya philosophy, both schools of which, *atheistical* and *theistical*, acknowledge three sources of evidence ; namely perception, inference and affirmation : from which we derive acquaintance with twenty-five principles : and of these *Nature*, *Mulaprakriti*, the root or plastic origin of all, is the chief.—*Ed.*

The pulses of the five principles, Æther, Air, Fire, Water and Earth, are the *Sun* and *Moon*. Whoever contemplating these obtains abstraction, and thus discovers that which is perfection, such a one becomes concentrated in the universal spirit.

Praise be to Siva ! and the destroyers of the *daityas* (demons), *Lakshmi*, *Narayana*, these are renowned throughout the universe, and are deserving of worship !

This temple of *Sri Somnatha* is beautiful as a *Ratnakanti*, (sparkling gem,) and, in magnificence, brilliant as the splendour of the Sun and Moon.

This Deity (*Somnatha*), consisting of an assemblage of virtues, containing in himself every description of treasure, destroys and removes all kinds of pain and distress. Almighty Being ! thou art victory ! thou reignest on the shores of the ocean.

The Brahman *Sompara* is perfect, and well acquainted with the rites of sacrifice, the rules of meditation, worship, and the ceremonies of making offerings.

There was a prince, of the *Sandilya** race and *Raja Vira's* family, who caused a great sacrifice to be performed.

This Raja, sovereign of *Anahillapura Pattana*, this *Mula Raja*,† was a protector to the world.

He caused the Ganga-ghat to be built on the river ; many were the pious acts done by him.

Mula Raja, caused to be formed reservoirs of water, wells, tanks, temples, religious places, schools and dharmasalas, caravanserais—hence these became as ensigns displaying his good name. Towns, villages and hamlets, were established by him and governed happily.

He became, as a *Chudamani* gem, (unexampled) in this universe; how can I describe his mighty feats ! He conquered the whole world by his own power, and then protected his conquest.

* *Sandilya* was a Muni or sage, from whom one of the three principal families of the *Kanauj* Brahmans were descended and named.—*Ed.*

† *Anakilla* was the original name for *Nehrvala Pattan*, the ancient capital of Gujarat, where reigned in succession various tribes of *Rajputs*; among which were the *Chalukyas*, to which race *Mul Raja*, according to the inscription from *Abu*, belonged. He was the first of his family, and preceded the invasion of *Mahmud* of Ghazna.—*Ed.*

The son of *Mula Raja*, named *Sri Madhu*, then contemplated the subjection of this earth.

He caused his kingdom to become populous and well cultivated ; he enjoyed his government without fear (of his enemies.)

The son of this prince was *Durlabha Raja*, who, as *Siva* reduced *Kamadeva* to ashes, did so destroy the power of inimical kings.

His younger brother was *Vikrama Raja*, in strength resembling a lion.

Having assembled a numerous army, he took possession of the throne ; and having subjected *Fairy Devanyini*, his fame became spread throughout the three worlds.

This prince, of high descent, governing with all the virtues required of a good king, rendered his people most happy.

Having made his own the goddess of victory, she became his standard bearer.

Of this *Paramar* race,* of *Sri Vikrama's* family, *Sri Kumarapala Raja* arose, a mighty hero.

He was a most renowned warrior, he was a king terrific and formidable, as the waves of the ocean.

The descent of *Sri Kumarapala* is now to be described.

The *Chalukya* race is most famous ; and in it have arisen *Rajas*, generation after generation, forming a lofty tree of virtue ; *Rajas* who caused, like *Rudra*, the forms of religion and the ways of justice to be observed ; inasmuch as they showered favors on their people, as clouds by rain fertilize the earth.

Of this family arose a king of high renown, a great hero, named *Galla Raja*, who caused to be built the Hall of the Temple of *Someshwara*, and a famous sacrifice called *Meghadwana* was performed by his orders.

His son was *Lalakhia*, whose son was *Bhabhakhia* ; he was a great warrior, and *Bhima Raja* was his friend. This prince *Lala*, when seated on his throne, resembled the full moon in splendour.

Whose son *Jaya Sinha*, having reigned with fame on this earth, as-

* A race of *Rajputs*, so named from destroying their enemies, and well known to History as the *Puwars*. They were a branch of the *Chalukyas*, as appears from this Inscription ; but the Prince *Kumarapala*, whose era is A. D- 1174, here said to belong to them, is styled a *Chalukya* in the Sanskrit Inscription from *Abu*, No. XVIII.—*Ed.*

cended to the realms of bliss ; his son Raja Sinha caused Samvat *Kumarapala* to be placed on the throne, but he himself conducted the affairs of the state.

The son of *Kumarapala* was *Sri Rohina*, a great sovereign, endued with all virtues ; splendid as the sun, he became as *Sridhara* bright as the moon.

The protector of the world, the mighty, the renowned, Raja *Sri Bhima Bhupati*, paid much attention and respect to merchants.

Description of Sridhara Raja.

In the generations of the Chalukya family, appeared this prince, as a gem brilliant as the moon, possessor of every valuable quality, famous as Sri Rama.

Beautiful as Kamadeva, such was *Sridhara Raja*; in him was centred every virtue ; by him was adoration shewn to the *deities*, respect to the *priests*, a prince perfect in truth.

As Iswara, superior to all the *deities* of *Vaikuntha*, so was he to the lords of this earth, exalted as Indra.

As the cow *Kamudhenu*, granting the desires of all, thus liberal was he, exceedingly compassionate, and possessed of great humility.

Again superior to other Rajas, as Rajahansa to other birds, his fame and splendour pervade this globe as the rays of the moon.

In Praise of Sri Somnatha.

Who can wash away sins as the water of a torrent, who can render his worshippers prosperous and successful, such a deity is *Sri Somnatha*.

This Temple is unique in the three worlds, a fit spot for devotion : whoever has an auspicious birth meditates on this god ; the virtues of this deity are universally known, he is pure and undefiled.

Such is that Siva ! from hearing whose praise the mind becomes pure. He will bestow on his worshippers all good things, and will grant them entrance into Paradise.

Resembling a gem, his place is central ; he of his goodness will pardon the sins of those born in the *Kali age*.

His majesty and might are, as his virtues, spread throughout the world. May he always be predominant ! Serpents are his ornaments.

He is lord of the universe ; he is the sole asylum of mercy in the three worlds.

Description of Pattana.

This is a city called *Devaka Pattana*, possessing, by favor of Siva, lofty mansions, magnificent temples, numerous gardens, and delightful groves.

Description of Sridhara.

As the sea by its waves can remove mountains of sin, so *Sridhara* by his army governs *Somnatha Puri*.

There is in this city a beautiful temple of *Sri Krishna*; there is also a minister of great prudence, who expels evil doers and the vicious.

This *Sridhara*, having had several invocations recited, and sacrifices performed, has erected temples for the sake of religion, and has encircled them with gardens, groves and bowers. These temples resemble the pinnacles of the golden *Merú* in splendour and brilliancy. Of these, that of *Somnatha* is most wonderful; there are cupolas of various forms, with a variety of flags; so that the place resembles the holy mountain.

Description of the Priest of the Temple.

The Priest is the most excellent of mankind, the abode of virtue, the compassionate *Maheshwara*.

A constant worshipper of Siva, one who possesses all the most estimable and requisite qualities of a priest, an unwearied performer of sacred rites and sacrifices.

His mind is most pure, always engaged in the worship of *Hari*; he also pays adoration to *Vishnu*.

Whose devotion is such as to secure to him the possession of whatever he may desire; which will ensure him the happiness of the immortals, as well as the blessings of this life, and the comforts desired by mankind; which will obtain for him whatever object he may have fixed his inclination on; which is auspicious, which grants him all kinds of bliss.

By the virtues of this *Sri Somnatha* good fortune is procured for men. He is lord of the moon.

Sridhara Maharaja shines forth pre-eminent in his race; by this prince is great respect shewn to the Brahmans of this deity.

The king pays devoted regard to this temple of *Sri Somnatha*, he bows to the renown of *Siva*: this temple is the abode of saints. It is inhabited by *Lakshmi*; by worshipping this *Siva's* feet, all sin is removed.

By beholding this temple even the stain of evil deeds becomes effaced ; pain and disease also disappear.

In *Samvat* of Sri Vikramaditya Raja, 1272, A. D. 1215, Vama-chhavadu 4th, being Friday, this Image was installed.

ART. III. — *The late Mr. James Prinsep's Correspondence, with Dr. Alexander Burn, on the subject of Indian Antiquities.*

The learned world at large, and the Indian public in particular, interested in penetrating the gloom that overshadows the history of this country, must accept with gratitude every relic of Mr. Prinsep's labours in Indian antiquities, which his ingenuity and genius served to adorn, and render more interesting to all. We have much cause for regret that he was not spared to complete them ; as his acquirements and industry promised to illumine what less gifted investigators must leave untouched.

SECRETARY OF THE SOCIETY.

To the Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bombay.

DEAR SIR,—I beg to present, to the museum of the Society, eight letters of the late James Prinsep to my address.

The interest which attaches to the memory of one so deservedly loved, and esteemed, induces me to hope that they will be an acceptable present : — for there are many parts of them, from which such persons as are desirous of prosecuting inquiry, into the languages and customs of the ancient inhabitants of Western India, may obtain valuable hints and suggestions.

I believe that the figures on the copper plates and coins of Gujarat were what led him to the discovery of the ancient numerals, and in which much still remains to be done, for up to the time of his death, or since, I believe nothing farther has been done than is shown by the last letter of this series.



I remain, dear Sir, yours faithfully,

Bombay, 2d June, 1842.

A. BURN.

TO DR. ALEXANDER BURN, Kaira.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have submitted the copies of the two Copper plate grants, you have been so very kind as to send me, to the inspection of the Asiatic Society, at the meeting of the 1st instant, and I was directed to express the Society's best thanks for your zealous attention to its interests. I then proceeded to transcribe one of the plates, but although much of the text is readily legible, and all the essential part, regarding the succession of Rajas, might be put together and unravelled at once, it is plain that a great many passages must remain obscure, and a great deal of time be taken up in guessing contents, which, were the plates themselves here, or their exact fac-simile, would be rendered easy and distinct. I thankfully therefore accept your kind offer of sending round the plates, if you can find a convenient opportunity and a speedy one; but should the engraving be deep, and the letters not filled with dirt, you will find it very easy to take off an exact fac-simile, fully as good as the plate itself for the purpose of decyphering. Thus:—prepare some printing ink not too liquid, daub it on with a printer's dauber all over the plate, moisten some paper, (China will do,) place it carefully on the plate and press it on with the palm of the hand; it will come off with the letters in white on a black ground. I have adopted this plan even for lithographing them; passing immediately the impression, thus taken, through the rollers with a sheet of plain paper. I get the text un-reversed; and this is passed on to the lithographic stone in the usual way.

I am much provoked that the Journals have not reached you regularly. Our opportunities by sea for Bombay are irregular, but all have been dispatched long since to the care of Mr. Noton; and, now that the dak rules admit of their going direct, I hope he has sent them on. Meantime I cannot refrain from sending a duplicate of the number containing the notice of Saurashtra coins, as I wish particularly just now to combine all efforts for the further elucidation of the old *Sah* coins, and their successors, of which Mr. Wathen has sent me one or two very good specimens. Any you can add, that are at all legible, I shall be much obliged for. The group I am now on have reverse  like a man; also , and then come the peacock reverse, the obverse containing always a head—but I must break off for the dak is going.

Yours very sincerely and obliged,

3d November, 1837.

J. PRINSEP.

MY DEAR SIR,— Your last two pages of Copper plate grants are so beautifully done, that the pundit could not find half a dozen errors in my transcript, and he read it off immediately. He says it is in a good style, and has a double meaning in parts, (a fanciful way of shewing wit). I shall give a full account in January, and by that time I hope we shall make out all of the former larger plate, which is in a rather older form of character, and either less accurately copied, or perhaps more worn on the plate, so that you could not make it out so readily: with care however it can all be restored. The termination is quite clear, and it is this that makes me now write thus hastily to you.

I have, I think, discovered a clue to the numerals of this ancient character; and I wish to get as many examples of them together, and as accurately copied as possible. In words your inscription gives *Samvat* 380, in figures $\overset{\dagger}{\text{N}} \text{ ३ ८}$. The first (3) corresponds with the Cashmerian 3 nearly, and also with the old Nagari ३ or ३ . It is found on Mr. Wathen's plate thus $\text{३}^{\circ} \text{ ८}$, and reads I think 307—though he reads it, *Samvat* 9 (of the Balabhi era). It is 307 of the *Vikram Sam.* of course, and this is confirmatory of the Balabhi theory; also of the age of the alphabet, &c. &c. The same 3 is found on the Bhilsa monument; also a little modified on the Gúmsur grant. It is in your other plate also $\text{३} \text{ ३ ५}$ (probably 345), but I should much wish for a more accurate fac-simile of this and every other date you can give me, along with the extract in words of the date, year, month, &c. wherein they occur. I can then carefully analyze them by the time the translation is ready.

I am overwhelmed with inscriptionary tribute from all sides! To-day a most curious and important inscription from Cuttack has come in, with a formal Bhuddist invocation ॥ ४ ४ १ ८ ४ ॥ *namo arahantanam*. Glory to the saints, &c.

I can make nothing of your large medal; the others are all old acquaintances. The large bricks are found in Assam!! The glass seal is Mahomedan of course. I have now to scrutinize General Ventura's collection and never was so hard pressed.

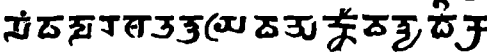
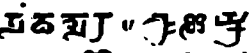


Let this plead my excuse for so hurried a reply to your welcome letter.

Yours sincerely,

Calcutta, December, 2d, 1837.

J. PRINSEP.

MY DEAR SIR,—You have partly anticipated my request in sending me your fac-simile of the 10th November. It contains another date written, and in numerals, and enables me to fix the value of the number 9, the very symbol which so puzzled us in the Bhilsa inscription ⊕

The written date is  *Samwatsara sat traya Chaturnavatty adhiko*, three hundred and ninety-four; then in figures  *vaisakh*, &c. I confess I should rather have taken  for a four, but unless there is some uncertainty in the copy, it must remain as now read. We have just before another figure somewhat similar, and very like the number in Mr. Ommaney's Baitul grant  The pundits find some difficulty in reading my transcript of this and of your first plates. Can you not send me impressions, taken like the enclosed? Ink the whole over with printer's ink laid on with a dauber, and then lay on a sheet of China or other paper moistened, as for printing. Press it on with a dauber of cotton, or with the palm of the hand, and you will find the whole writing left white and quite legible, provided always the letters are not choked up with dirt or verdigris, in which case they must be cleaned first, and there is some danger in doing this, of mistaking the direction of the letters. The eye then comes into use. But in general the eye is so fallacious as not to be trusted. For proof, see the revision of the Allahabad inscriptions from the fac-simile, compared with Dr. Mill's reading.

With repeated thanks to you for your most welcome communications,
Believe me, yours sincerely,

19th December, 1837.

J. PRINSEP.

MY DEAR SIR,—The communication between our part and Bombay is so irregular, that I can never manage to be regular with my subscribers in that quarter of the globe. Nevertheless I fancy all the numbers have been sent, and I trust ere this your missing ones have come to hand—that is the later ones; the former ones and useful tables you shall have duplicates of. It will be better to defer sending them until the new dak regulation takes effect, which will enable them to travel at very moderate rates—3 or 4 Nos. in a *bangy* parcel.

I will use your permission to draw for the amount on Remington & Co. I have about Rs. 800 or 900 due in the Bombay Presidency, which

cuts a sad hole in the balance sheet of the publication, but I know it will all come in some time or other. You ask me if copies of the inscription grants will be *acceptable* to me. Acceptable is too ordinary a word for the value I put on such articles! I have at this moment the more intense interest in them, because I have been fortunate enough to unravel the mysteries of the *lath* character—no fewer than 20 sheet samples (fac-similes) just received from *Sanchee* near Bhilsa, which have proved the half of the whole. This has followed on the heels of another discovery equally fortunate, viz. the reading of all the Khatyawar or *Saurashtra* coins with the long character. As the latter will most interest you, I enclose a proof of the legends, accounts of which you will have in the ensuing No. It gives me 11 kings of the *Sah* dynasty, all *elective* monarchs. The first line (as a sample) runs thus—

राज्ञःकुत्रिमस रुद्रसाहस स्वामि जनदमयुत्रस.

There are, as you see, no vowel marks. The obverses have *Greek* and perhaps *Pehlavi*, with the face of paramount Parthian sovereigns.

My last No. was full of coins that will also interest you; but you are in a field beyond my reach, and can pick up coins that will serve excellently to illustrate what we have. The स्तंभमूढेय is most likely *Samanta*

Deva? What surprises me, is its exact resemblance to the coppers of our *Chandra Gupta* series. Impressions (or duplicates) of our coins of this kind, and the little *Y T J E* kind with names, would be valuable to me.


Item all of the peacock device with good legends, which I hope to make out immediately. The middle series or *भूयट Paramaras*, I am now going to look at again, but we have no very perfect ones. The more inscriptions of the *Siladityas*, &c. we publish, the better. There must be items of novelty and collateral interest in them. I have all the *Girnar* fac-similes, from Mr. Wathen, to digest—a labour of months, but I hope it will prove productive.

Believe me, ever yours sincerely,

23d May, 1837.

J. PRINSEP.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have delayed thanking you for your last most welcome reply, enclosing fac-similes of numerals and of one of the coppers, (which latter is very satisfactory when placed along side of your transcript, for it shews that you are scrupulously accurate,—indeed so true

is this, that I have had little difficulty in putting the whole of the three plates into modern *nagari*, now they are all read and translated)—but this is a long parenthesis. I was going to say that I delayed until I could send you proof of my not being asleep regarding dates on the coins. Yours arrived too late for insertion; but they shall come into another plate (of the  symbol coins), and you will see *one* very perfect one of the same kind, fig 22. sent me from Ougain, by Lieut. Conolly, in perfect preservation, but unfortunately cut off in the date 𑀮𑀺𑀢𑀺? However I must turn from this to a still more prolific subject of interest in which you can aid me.

You know the *Girnar* inscription in the old character? Are you far from it, or it from you? Or do you know any one near the place who could endeavour to take a *fac-simile* on paper or cloth, particularly of the 2d paragraph on the left hand side. This edict of Asoka contains an announcement of a *Medical Service* established throughout his dominions, as far as Ceylon, and even in the rule of *Antiochus the Greek's* generals!! I should put no faith in such a result, had I not a duplicate of the edict, strange to say, from Cuttack!! There are but one or two letters varying in the two, and none in the name which is four times repeated. You may conceive how anxious I must be to have a copy that I can look upon as authentic, for Mr. Wilson's, though very good, has numerous uncouth letters which must necessarily be guessed. The paragraph in question runs thus (2d left hand).

𑀮𑀺𑀢𑀺 𑀮𑀺𑀢𑀺 𑀮𑀺𑀢𑀺 𑀮𑀺𑀢𑀺 𑀮𑀺𑀢𑀺 𑀮𑀺𑀢𑀺 𑀮𑀺𑀢𑀺 𑀮𑀺𑀢𑀺 𑀮𑀺𑀢𑀺 𑀮𑀺𑀢𑀺
𑀮𑀺𑀢𑀺 𑀮𑀺𑀢𑀺 𑀮𑀺𑀢𑀺 𑀮𑀺𑀢𑀺 𑀮𑀺𑀢𑀺 𑀮𑀺𑀢𑀺 𑀮𑀺𑀢𑀺 𑀮𑀺𑀢𑀺 𑀮𑀺𑀢𑀺 𑀮𑀺𑀢𑀺
𑀮𑀺𑀢𑀺 𑀮𑀺𑀢𑀺 𑀮𑀺𑀢𑀺 𑀮𑀺𑀢𑀺 𑀮𑀺𑀢𑀺 𑀮𑀺𑀢𑀺 𑀮𑀺𑀢𑀺 𑀮𑀺𑀢𑀺 𑀮𑀺𑀢𑀺 𑀮𑀺𑀢𑀺 &c.

“Every where in the dominions of Asoka, as well as among the sinless of other countries, as Chola, Pira, Satyaputa, Ketaliputa (Pataliputo), as far as Ceylon, and in the rule of Antiochus the Greek, &c.”

I have marked the doubtful passages, but will endeavour to send you the large page copy I got from Bombay, that you may, if possible, have it re-examined letter by letter, if it be out of the question to procure an impression from the stone itself. It is surely well worth the trial. I have deputed our librarian Lieut. Kittoc to Cuttack, on purpose to re-examine the Cuttack version, which is unfortunately erased in the names of the

places, beginning only with Antiochus' name, which is perfect. No time for more.


Your's very sincerely,




3d March, 1838.

J. PRINSEP.

MY DEAR SIR,—Your zeal and enthusiasm in the matter of antiquities far exceeds all I could have expected. To undertake a journey of 180 miles at this season, was so much beyond my hopes, that I wrote to Lieut. Postans of Bhúj, thinking to have two strings to my bow; and when I found on completing my *Girnar* tablets that they spoke of Ptolemy as well as Antiochus, and that the neighbouring Junagarh Sanskrit inscription spoke of Asoka's Greek Raja building a bridge over the *Palashni Nadi*, I thought it imperative even to do more than solicit private aid; so I wrote to Lord Auckland to have Lieut. Postans, (or any one else equally zealous and disposable,) deputed at the public charge to take minute copies of all, both inscriptions and buildings, and to survey the whole of this rich field of antiquities. No answer yet, but Lieut. Postans says he cannot yet leave, but has written to his friend, (perhaps Capt. Lang,) to do the needful.

Had I known Capt. Lang's name at first, I should have addressed him as the author of the cloth fac-similes I now possess; they are beautiful, but not perfect. To point out where a revision is desirable would require to re-copy the whole document. This will be saved by my referring you at once to the ensuing Journal, which will contain the whole *Girnar* inscription set up in type, and the notes appended will sufficiently point out the doubtful places; but an absolute fac-simile of the whole is far the easiest to take, and the most satisfactory. I give in the same Journal a comparative table of alphabets, which may be of some aid in your researches, and will add duplicate plates as well as a copy of the Junagarh Asoka inscription, in anticipation of my April number. The printer is perplexed with the nature of my materials, and cannot keep pace with my wishes at all.

The third inscription also at Junagarh, and I believe on the same stone, is almost wholly illegible, and yet it *ought* to be the plainest, being more modern than the others by some centuries; it is of the time of *Skandagupta*, whose coins have the  symbol, and is in good preservation. It should be carefully copied by hand, as well as printed in fac-simile, and

reference to the alphabet of the 5th century after Christ in my table, will assist in making it out, or to the alphabet so called no. 2 of Allahabad. I write off in a great hurry, as you say you wait my reply. Should you be able to go I shall be exceedingly pleased, because your copper plate fac-similes are a promise of perfect fidelity of copy; not a letter or vowel mark has to be altered in reading these—your present one especially, which is verbatim the same as one of the former, all but the date. I am only puzzled about the vowel i. You make  the short i, and Wathen the long one, the short one in his plate being  without the dots. In some of your plates the vowel is written  but never without the two dots.

I am so engaged in these antiquarian researches, that I leave myself no room to speak of mulberries and silk; not that I do not fully feel the importance of your efforts in this way. I hope the Government has given you all the aid you want. Your account of *Balabhipura* makes me wish for a full description of the place, and whoever does go to Girnar should be an artist, for Dr. Wilson gives a most tempting description of the sculpture in and about the place, and it evidently ought to be illustrated in the most complete manner.

Do not start until you have ascertained from Capt. Lang or Lieut. Postans what they have done. Were it the season for a trip of pleasure, the most agreeable way would be to meet there, and each work in his separate department to make a joint essay or volume. I only wish I could hie thither too.


Believe me, ever yours sincerely,

22d April, 1838.

J. PRINSEP.

MY DEAR DR. BURN,—I hasten to announce the safe arrival of the Copper plates, and of the parcel of antique coins. The former are in a perfect state, and will doubtless serve to remove all our difficulties of the pen-transcript. I will print off a fac-simile in lithography, as of the Bulal plate in the January number.

The sight of the coins reminds me of your question how to clean decayed coppers. — Certes such as these are beyond cleaning; a hard brush, sometimes a metallic wire brush, answers the purpose.

One of your coins was a *date* one, and very acceptable of course. I think there are but two figures on the  coins, and fear they are only

dates of the reign. My reading of the Junagarh inscription you will see in the April number; it leads to another useful link,—the *Sah* dynasty are antecedent and posterior to Asoka! — and the name read by me *Kritrima* 𑀓𑀲𑀭𑀸𑀓 turns out to be *Kshatrapa*, which is the title of all the dynasty; in the inscription 𑀓𑀲𑀭𑀸𑀓 is the proper writing, the 𑀓

deceived me; kri, I now know (vide my table), should be for that date 𑀓.

The value of our coins of that group is thus enhanced and the cause of their Grecian obverse explained. But I can write no more. The object of this is to send the enclosed, (after perusal), through you, to Lieut. Postans, at Girnar; should he, as his letter to me seems to indicate, have started to save the monsoon. If not, act all in concert after receiving the *hookm* from Bombay. I incline to recommend a pause until winter, but this is against my curiosity I confess. I have gutted some Journals to put Postans, or whoever is deputed, in possession of materials; the remainder shall follow, and in a few days I hope to have the April number out.

I put in duplicates of the alphabets. The Journal must go I fear by *bangy* under present regulations, but I take the liberty of franking it, being in truth for the public service.

I enclose specimens of my new mode of printing coins.

On second thought, I make them into two parcels for two successive dates.

Your's very sincerely,

9th May, 1838.

J. PRINSEP.

MY DEAR DR. BURN,—Just too late was your last, or I had certainly introduced your theory of the 𑀓 and other symbols, on the Buddhist coins, along with my plate of the *Saurashtras*. I shall still have a famous opportunity of doing so when I give a plate of all the symbol coins with old character legends. I like your account of the 𑀓 much and have little doubt you have hit the right solution, and once in the true course we shall fall on all the rest. I have been questioning my pundit and find the whole can easily be explained by him from practices yet prevailing; as in the fire worship, they make the *Chardwara Marhanthi* ground 𑀓. The *tripundra* 𑀓 is also common to Brahmans; one would think it were the original

of craniological bumpism. I cannot exactly concur in your *yoni* theory; the name has too palpable reference to other matters connected with the *lingite* worship to be construed into *yavana*. The fact of hospitals now existing so generally is curious. I must hoard up all these illustrations against the time when I shall be able to put the whole into a connected form.

Your silver coin is most welcome, though not as you hope a new name; it is *Viswasah*, son of *Rudra Dama*; the little one is a *Kunara Gupta Mahendra*; you have cleaned the letters of this excellently. The surprising thing after all is that we find such small variety of names on our coins; passing through several centuries we should have surely more than 2 Maharajas. How comes it too that we have no *Siladityas*?

I have sent the No. of the Journal, (which I hope you will get with this,) through the Secretary of the Bombay Government, to Lang or Postans at Girnar, as either or both may be appointed; the former is most conveniently situated. I regret you are not of the party, as from all I hear you would have contributed, in geology, and botany, and other physical ways to the produce of the expedition.

I shall be anxious to see what you say to my numerals; they almost all depend on your plates. I hope others may still turn up to give us the 1, 2, 6, 7, in an unequivocal shape.

Your's very sincerely,

J. PRINSEP.

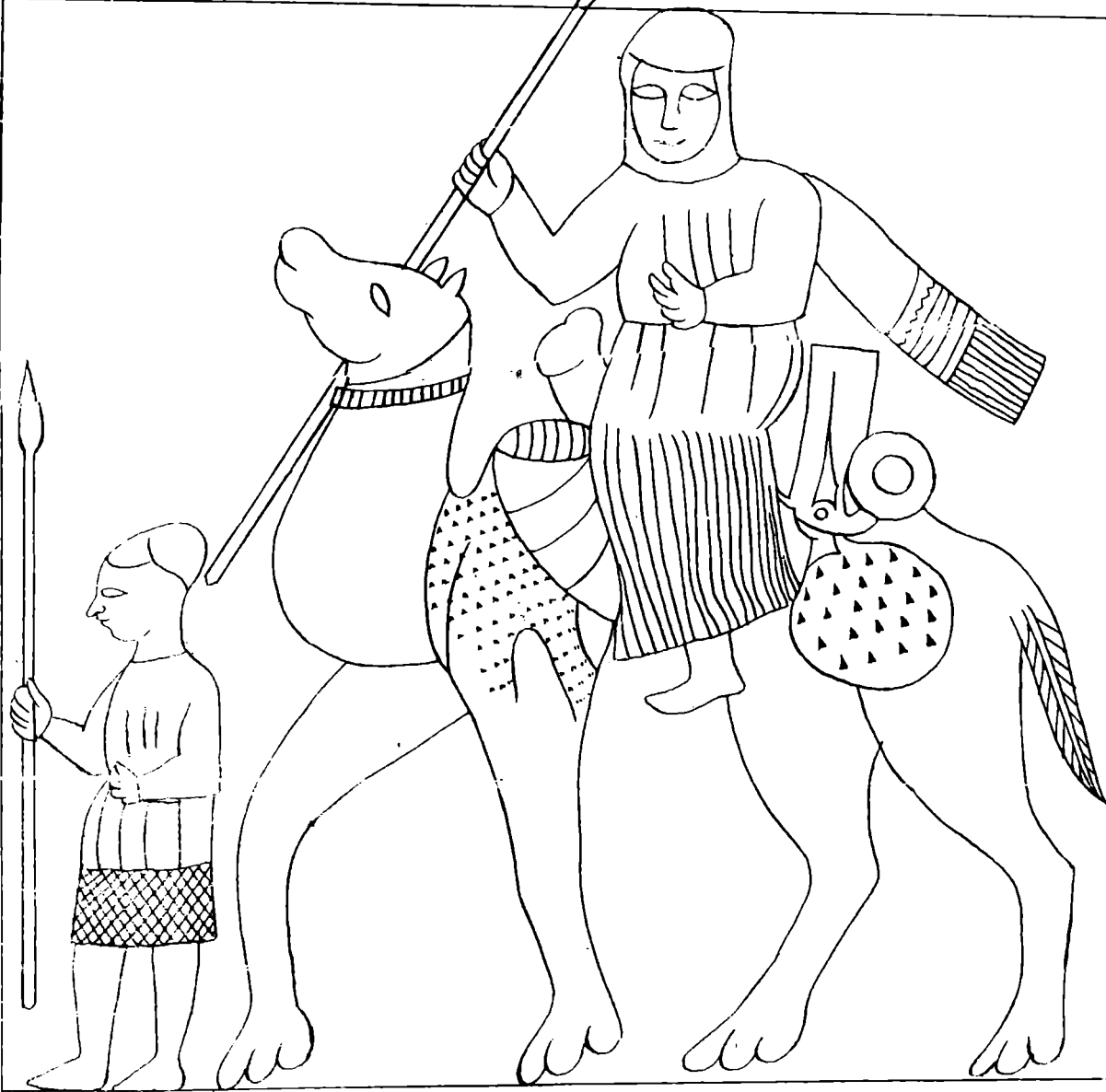
ART. IV.—*Hamaiyari Inscriptions, from Aden and Saba, translated into English: with observations on the establishment of the Christian faith in Arabia.* By JAMES BIRD, Esq.

The elegant discourses of Sir William Jones, on the various nations of antiquity, published in the early volumes of the Asiatic researches, owe their fame, more to the celebrity of his name and the universality of his learning, than any profoundness of investigation which they display. In that early period of oriental research, they were calculated to excite curiosity, if they did not exhaust learning: and this result is no where more obvious than in his fourth discourse on the Arabs; where, relative

Plate V
Inscriptions from Mareb or Saba continued.

No. 4

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to the characters, in which the old compositions of Arabia were written, he remarks,—“The Koran originally appeared in those of *Cufah*, from which the modern *Arabian* letters, with all their elegant variations, were derived, and which unquestionably had a common origin with the *Hebrew* or *Chaldaick*; but, as to the *Hamaiyaric* letters, or those which we see mentioned by the name of *Almusnad*, we are still in total darkness, the traveller *Niebuhr* having been unfortunately prevented from visiting some ancient monuments in *Yemen*; which are said to have inscriptions on them: if those letters bear a strong resemblance to the *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 the opposite coasts, but should have no reason to believe, that they sprang from the same immediate flock.” That which was inaccessible to *Niebuhr* has, through the enterprize of Officers in the Indian Navy, and recent surveys of the Southern Coast of Arabia, been laid open to our investigation: and we can only wonder that a subject of such interest, connected as it is with the history of *Arabia* and *Ethiopia*, should have been so long neglected. The profoundly learned investigation of Professor Gesenius, on the subject of *Phœnician monuments* and *Palæography*, * will greatly assist those in their researches who may be disposed to turn their attention to the origin of the *Hamaiyaric* letters; which, consisting of consonants possessing inherent vowels expressed by characters, supported on props, were called by the ancient Arabs *Al-Musnad*, or the propped character.

This in the opinion of Gesenius was remotely derived from the *Phœnician* letters, and had its origin among the *Hamaiyar* Arabs of *Yemen*, giving rise to the modern *Ethiopic*, almost similar to the ancient character. It will be our endeavour to shew in another paper the peculiarities of both alphabets, and whence they originated, but in the mean time confine our observations to the translation of the present *Hamaiyaric* inscriptions submitted to notice, which have been brought to light through the exertions of Captain Haines at Aden, and the late Dr. Mackell of the Bombay Medical Service; who, while resident at *Sanaa*, obtained them from the neighbourhood of *Mareb* or *Saba*. The stones, on which Nos. 1, 4, and

* *Scripturæ Linguaeque Phœnicæ monumenta*. Guil: Gesenii p. 84.

5, are engraved, may be seen in the museum of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and were presented to the Institution by Dr. Smyttan : in whose possession I also inspected a gold coin, brought from *Mareb*, which was probably of the time of *Naosherwan*, and supported an inscription in Zend characters.

The first inscription, engraved on a circular polished slab of white marble, found at the depth of twenty feet in digging some old ruins at Aden, was sent from thence by Captain Haines ; and is supposed by him to relate to the period when the Christian chiefs of *Azum*, or *Ethiopia*; possessed themselves of Southern Arabia and re-established Christianity. This would make the inscription as late as A. D. 521 ; while its context appears as written when Christianity was first established in Arabia ; or rather when *Aden* was first made the seat of a resident Bishop. This latter event took place during the reign of the Emperor Constantius, about A. D. 356, when *Zafar* ظفار, or *Saphar*, became the Archbishopal seat of Christianity among the *Hamaiyar* Arabs, and a Church and Bishop were established at Aden.*

This inscription reading. — SHAKIR SHARAA ZA NABAK BADWIY
MAGGA SHAMA BA ABADAN PAPA RAS ADEN.

شا کر شرح ذ انباق بدوي مککا شام بابادان پاپا راس عدن

May be translated :—“*He the Syrian philosopher in Abadan, Bishop of Cape Aden, who inscribed this in the desert, blesses the institution of the faith.*”

Aden, the *Arabia emporium* of the Romans, was prior to the Council of *Chalcedon*,† the seat of a Christian Bishop, who was subject to the Metropolitan of *Zafar* ظفار ; under whom also were the Bishops of *Najran*, *Hormuz*, and the *Island of Socotra*. These Churches were subject to the Jacobite Patriarch of Alexandria, until between the years A. D. 435 and 476, when the Nestorians, who spread themselves over Southern Arabia, seceded from the orthodox faith, under the Archbishops of Seleucia and Persia.‡ Soon after the latter date, or A. D. 535, Cosmas Indicopleustes writes there were Nestorians in India, Arabia Felix, and the island of Socotra, whose Bishops and clergy were ordained from

* Bibliothœca Orientalis Assemani: vol. iii. par : secunda p. 719 and 784.

† The council of Chalcedon was held A. D. 450.

‡ Assemanus ; tom. iii. pag. 77 ad pag. 80.

Persia. The town of *Abadan*, situated on the river Tigris, and distant from *Basra* about one and half a day's journey, being mentioned in the Aden inscription, would render the supposition probable, that, in place of having reference to the first institution of the Christian faith in Arabia, it bears allusion to the propagation of the Nestorian creed. In the modern Persian Dictionary, *Abadani*, signifying a native of *Abadan*, is the name of a man celebrated among the Arabians, for his learning and piety; and offers a curious confirmation of this Aden inscription, and of what we otherwise know from history. In the above inscription the Arabic شاکر *Shakir*, or *Ethiopic* ሰክረ, is written سقر; the original *Hamayric* using *sh* and *s* indiscriminately, and having only one character of the letter κ Φ in place of two as in the more modern alphabet. *Magga*, a corruption of the Greek word ΜΑΓΟΣ, signifying a Persian philosopher, has in the inscription the evident meaning of priest; as both Arabians and Ethiopians were wont to designate the priests, or presbyters of the Christian religion, *Kahans* كاهان, or sorcerers. Regarding these Major Price, in his essay on the history of Arabia, tells us, on the faith of the *Tarikh-Tabary*, that "the *Kahans* are described as a class of men, found both in *Arabia* and *Syria*, professing to give information on things unseen, not yet in existence, or to come to pass at some future period; to discover thefts; to describe the circumstances of an untold dream, and to furnish the interpretation: in short without any kind of previous explanation, to give to individuals, in all occurrences of life, a satisfactory reply to every inquiry. In Arabia, these soothsayers bore the name of *Kahans*, but the *Oustands*, or masters, in this occult profession, at the period under consideration, were two persons of the name of *Shakh* and *Setteiah*, to whom all in Arabia looked up for instruction in the mysteries of the art.

No. 1 of the inscriptions from Mareb is executed over the figure of a person on foot, and reads,

بدري عدوا

BADAWY ADAWA,

signifying a *Bedawin* of the opposite coast; from which it would appear that these figures must have been taken from a Christian Church, wherein were represented the characters of the several tribes constituting the Ethiopic government of *Axum*, and under whose power the country of

Southern Arabia more completely fell, about the year A. D. 521; when the *Nejash*, or ruler of *Abyssinia*, named *Elesbaan*, conquered the Hamaiyar Arabs of Mareb, and put to death their Jewish chief *Damaan*, otherwise called *Zú-Nowaas*.* The inference we have drawn from inscription No. 1 is supported by the evidence of inscription No. 4, which reads,

رب زان بجا شوا عدوے

RAB ZAN BUJA SHOWA ADAWASY,

and may be translated,—“ *The Lord mounted the Bojas of Showa, and caused them to cross the sea.* The modern tribe of *Beja*, or the *Bajaditæ*, called in the Greek inscription from *Axum*† *Bougaei*, BOΥΓΑΕΙ were a nomadic people, who inhabited the Egyptian desert, westwards of the Nile, and possessed the gold, silver, and emerald mines in that quarter. They are the ancestors of the modern *Ababdi* and *Bisharin tribes*, and are known in the country of *Nubia*, between the first and second cataracts of the Nile, by the name of *Kanuz*. Masudi, writing regarding them in Hej. 330, A. D. 941, says that the *Bujahs* occupied the tract of country, situated between the sea of *Kulzom* and the *Nile*, were at enmity with the African tribe of *Nubah*, had mines of gold and emeralds in their country, were ruled by a chief of their own, and, on adopting the faith of *Islam*, intermarried with the Arab tribes of *Rabiah*. Their Chief, when *Masudi* visited Egypt, was *Abu Merwan bin Ishak*, belonging to the family of *Rabiah*, who was accompanied by three thousand persons of his tribe mounted on camels. This last statement of the historian illustrates the character in which the *Bujah* tribe is represented by No. 4, and tends to shew that they were carriers of merchandize, between Arabia and Egypt, from the earliest times.

* See Major Price's history of Arabia, Bibliotheca orientalis Asemmani: Tom. III par: secunda p. 503.

† The Greek inscription of the time of Acizana, king of the Axomites and Homerites, was copied from a stone at *Axum*, and may be seen in Mr. Salt's voyage to Abyssinia, p- 411- The date of the inscription is A. D. 356; as the Emperor Constantius sent an embassy, through Theophilus the Indian, to the brothers Aizana and Saizana, for the purpose of persuading them to relinquish the doctrines of Athanasius, and adopt those of the Arian Patriarch Georgius.

Inscription No. 2 may be read MYNETY SABAAN ZABYA ZA OZA
SABAA ZAMATA. مینتی ثبا * ن ضا بی زاعزی صبا ضامت

and signifies—“*The monastery of the Pagan Sabeans : this is Oza of Shaba destroyed.*”

The Sabeans, who derived their name from *Shaba* שָׁבָא, otherwise spelt in Hebrew *Saba* שָׁבָא, were sometimes called *Mendai Yahya*, or the Christians of Saint John the Baptist, who came from Galilee and settled in Arabia, and Harran on the Euphrates. They gave name to a particular form of the Syriac alphabet called *Mendæan* or Sabean;* and, while Christians in name they were Jews in character, following the principles and practices of Pagans. D' Herbelot, on the authority of *Ibn Khallikhan* and other Mahomedan authors, says that they were Syrians or Chaldeans; differed from the *Magi*, or followers of Zoroaster, and worshippers of fire; professed a religion, composed of Jewish, Christian and Mahomedan articles of faith, of which the following are the principal:—They worship one God, venerate the angels and stars, turn in praying towards the North and sometime South, read the psalms of David, but chiefly believe a certain book written in the Chaldaic language, and ascribed to Adam. They also produce certain moral compositions, of which Adam, Seth, and Enoch are said to be the authors, pray seven times daily, fast during the month preceding the vernal equinox; hold in honor *Harran*, a city of Mesopotamia, whither they are wont to go on pilgrimage; believe in Sabin the son of Edris, and think that he is buried under one of the pyramids of Egypt. *Harran*, or Hellenopolis, where the worship of idols prevailed, seems to have been one of their earliest seats, and is still held in veneration by the now remaining followers of the sect.† They flourished cotemporary with the *Manicheans*, and had many principles of belief in common with them. After the manner of the Syrians, Phœnicians, and earliest Arabs, they worshipped the Moon, or Venus, as *Baalat Samin*, the Queen of heaven, one of the three Arabian idols, called *Lat*, *Manat*, and *Ozza*, and which are mentioned in the *Kuran*. The latter is noticed in the above *Hamaïyaric* inscription under the name of *Ozza*—العزى, which Sharistan and commentators on the *Kuran* say was an idol or tree, held sacred.‡

* See Grammatica Syriaca Joannis Davidis Michaelis, p. 17.

† See Assemanus Tom. III par. secunda p. 192.

‡ Specimen Historiæ Arabum Edvardi Pocockij p. 92. Assemanus vol. III par. secunda p. 582.

About the end of the fourth century of the Christian era, the worship of sacred trees, according to Cedrenus, became common in Egypt and the East; under which form *Nanæa*, *Alitta*, or *Ozza* of the Arabs, appears to have been worshipped; and little doubt can exist that *Uranîa*, or *Venus*, derived her latter appellation from the Ethiopic ሀሀ Oza signifying a tree.

No. 3 inscription appears incomplete, and to want the right hand portion of its three upper lines; but, from what can be made out from its context, it appears to relate to the destruction of a temple of the moon. The last portion of it reads,

SABA WAHAMI WORHAKI MAGGANA مَبَأُ وَاَهْمِي وَرَهْقِي مَلَكْنَا
and signifies, *the superstitious Magi, or worshippers of the Moon of Saba.*

No. 5 inscription is of great interest as relating to the history of one of the Nestorian Bishops, called, in the chronicles of *Dionysius*, *Zacchæus*; who, about the year A. D. 759, was ordained by the Patriarch George, and set over the tribe of Arabs called *Charmæ*. Below his image, sculptured on a piece of white marble, that was probably built into the wall of a Church, the following is inscribed,

RAB SANA WARIS SHAVA INAD ZA AUM GHAIHAS SADINA BA ANDAM.—MUAZZANA RAB AUM ZAGHA MAR,

رَب مَنَا وَاَرْتَشُوا اِيْنَادْ ذَا عَامْ غَاهِسْ مَا دَنْ بَا اِنْدَامْ مَعْرَنَّا رِبْ عَامْ زَا كَامَارْ

Of which the translation is,—*The Lord of peace, heir of Shava, who by right superintended the Church of the perverse remote nations. The venerated master of the people, the Saint Zagha.*

The people called *Charmæ*, over whom *Zacchæus* of the above inscription was placed, are mentioned by *Pliny* as people of Arabia, in the vicinity of the *Minæi*; who were southwards of the *Atramitæ*, or people of *Hazramaut* حَضْرَمَوْت. Their chief city *Charma* was according to *Assemanus* * an episcopal see, subject originally to the Jacobites, but subsequently fell under the power of the Nestorians, and was united, under their Metropolitan, with *Basra* (*Bassora*) and *Behrain*. It appears to be the same place as mentioned by others under the name of *Sciarma*, and may be identified with the modern *Ras Sharma*, or *Cape Sharma*, on the southern coast of Arabia; distant from which, only a few hours, lies the Bedawin town of *Dees*, where the late Mr. Hulton and Mr. Smyth of the Indian Navy, found, near *Jabal Aaledma*, in the country of Ham-

* Tom. III par secunda p. 737.

*Plate VI.
Of half the Original Size*



Hamptons Lith.

man, those Hamaiyaric inscriptions, which are published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.* They belong to an early period of the Christian era, and were written, as appears from some of them, when the Romans had free intercourse with the Southern Coast of Arabia.

One more point, in the inscription just translated, remains to be noticed. It is doubtful whether the name *Shawa* has here application to the *Save* of the *Periplus*, situated three days from *Moosa* and thirteen from *Aphar*, or زافار *Zafar*, in the country of *Sanaa*, or whether it bears reference to *Mareb*, or Saba, the kingdom of which, Pliny tells us was otherwise called *Save*.† This last is written Σαρη by Ptolemy and Arrian.

In concluding our observations on the above very curious inscriptions from Southern Arabia, which have reference to the establishment of Christianity there, it will be expected that some information be given, relative to the origin and progress of the Christian faith in these parts, prior to the foundation of *Islamism*. The inscription sent from Aden belongs probably to the time already fixed for its date, the middle of the fifth century; and the inscriptions, said to have been brought from *Mareb*, or Saba, were in all likelihood found at *Zafar* the ancient Metropolitan seat of a Bishop.

The Hamaiyar Arabs of Yemen, or Arabia Felix, otherwise known by the name of Sabeans, were in their origin of Jewish descent, and of the same general stock as the *Axumita* of the opposite coast, more generally called Ethiopians. In classical history they are known by the names of *Homerita*, *Atramita*, and *Saphorita*; the first of which appellations seems to have been taken from their tribe, the two latter from their country. During the early ages of the Christian Church they were often confounded with the Indians, on account of their vicinity to the Indian Ocean; and while the *Axumita*, *Ethiopes* or *Abissini*, were called, as regarded their relative situation to Egypt, the *nearer Indians*; the *Hamaiyar Arabs* were denominated the *ulterior* or *interior Indians*, who live beyond. In the sacred Scriptures, and by the Hebrews, both these families of Arab Jews are called the children of Cush, and are thus mentioned by *Isaiah*, Chap. xlv. v. 14, "the merchandize of Ethiopia and

* Vol. V. p. 91.

† Plinius lib: VI. Cap. XXXIII, and my observations on the coast of Arabia. Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, vol. IV.

of the Sabæans shall come over unto thee." In the age of Solomon they were subject to the Queen of Sheba, who by general agreement was Queen of the South, and Mistress of Sabæa; and who by Josephus is called "Queen of Egypt and Ethiopia," because she exercised control as would appear, over the *Bejas*, who were of Arabian origin, and possessed the western shore of the Red Sea from the earliest times. Herodotus, lib. 7 § 70, distinguishes them into two tribes, the Asiatic and African; the former of which were to the East, and served with the Indians in the army of Xerxes; the others were westward, and had crisp hair like that of Africans.

These families of Arabs, who inhabited either coast, worshipped, originally like the Jews, one God; but soon mistaking the creature for the Creator, and, following the example of other nations, adopted the worship of idols. Christianity, defaced by many Pagan notions, was introduced among them, at a very early period of our era, and some are disposed to think that the Magi, who came to worship Christ at his birth, were Arabs from the land of *Saba*, asserting that what was prefigured, by the Queen of Sheba bringing gifts to Solomon, the type of Christ's coming, was fulfilled in the persons of the Magi, who under the guidance of the star, came to inquire after a king of Israel, whom they happily found.

The light of the gospel was originally brought into Arabia, as some think, by these evangelical Magi; and was further diffused by the Apostle Paul, who went not to Jerusalem, where were Apostles before him, but departed for Arabia, and after three years returned to Damascus.* Other Apostles, who evangelized Arabia, were Matthew, Bartholomew, Thomas, Mathias, Timon the deacon, Adæus, and Mares. Timon was one of the seven deacons of the Church of Bostra, in the Hauran, which was the episcopal seat of Christianity in Arabia, or rather Syria, until after the Nicæan Council, A. D. 325, when Petra in Desert Arabia was made the seat of a Bishop. Soon after this period the *Axumitæ*, during the reign of the Emperor Constantine A. D. 327 were converted to the Christian faith † by Frumentius; and the *Hamaiyar Arabs*, or *Homeritæ*, who were of the same stock and had received the Christian religion from Saint Bartholomew, adopted the Arian faith, A. D. 354, under the instruc-

* See Epistle to the Galatians Chap. 1 v. 17.

† Socrates Eccl. Hist. lib. 1 cap. 19.

tions of *Theophilus* the Indian monk and Bishop, who was sent by the Emperor Constantius to make a treaty with the Hamaiyar Arabs, and obtain permission for the erection of Churches to accommodate the converted Arab Christians and Roman navigators of the same faith, who frequented the Arabian shores.*

Baronius, who quotes from Nicephorus contends that *Adiabene* on the Euphrates was the country of the Arabian Bishop Theophilus; while others have endeavoured to shew that he was a native of the island of Deo, on the coast of *Khatiawur*, who having brought over the Arabs from the errors of the Gentiles, went into Aria, or *Khorasan*, where he built three churches. Philostorgius asserts that, having completed his mission among the *Homeritæ*, he sailed from the island of Deo, his native country, and visited other quarters of India; where, finding Christians following a wrong faith, he set them right; and then returning from India to Arabia, and Ethiopia, he joined the Roman merchants trading to these parts, and departed for Constantinople, where he was received with much honor by the Emperor. Regarding the *Homeritæ* at this time the reader *Theodorus* observes, "Immireni, gens est Persis subjecta, ad extremos noti fines habitans. Et ab initio quidem Judei fuerant, jam inde a Regina Austri, quæ ad Solomonem olim venit. Postea Gentiles facti sunt. Anastasii vero temporibus Christianam religionem amplexi sunt, et Episcopum acceperunt."† Philostorgius corrects Theodorus by substituting the name of the Emperor Constantius in place of *Anastasius*; in which he is right, unless it be admitted that the passage from Theodorus has reference not to the conversion of the Arabs under Constantius, but to the more complete one under the Emperor *Justin*, A. D. 525; when the Nejjash of Ethiopia, *Elesbaan*, conquered the *Hamaiyar Arabs*. Considerable obscurity regarding the transactions of these two several periods exists in the history both of Arabia and Ethiopia.

Previous to this period, however it is evident from the Syriac annals of the Nestorians, and the Aden inscription, that the people of Southern Arabia, between the years A. D. 435 and 496, had seceded from the Christian creed of the Patriarch of Alexandria, and joined the Nestorians of Abadan. It also appears from the testimony of *Cosmas Indi-*

* See Assemanus tom. III par. secunda p. 599, where Nicephorus is quoted on the faith of Baronius.

† Theodorus Lib. II pag. 567; and Assemanus tom. III part secunda p. 600.

eopleustes, A. D. 585, already noticed, that the churches of Southern Arabia were under the Nestorian Archbishop of *Seleucia*, in Persia: and that, long after the propagation of the Mahomedan creed, Christianity had not become extinct in Southern Arabia. Inscription No. 5 and the Nestorian Church histories bear evidence that *Zacchæus* was presiding there in A. D. 759. The whole of this hitherto unexplored region is full of interest to the Christian and Historian: and we sincerely hope that some of the officers of the Indian Navy may ere long, find opportunities of penetrating to *Mareb*, and laying open to the eyes of the European world, the yet undiscovered treasures of *Saba*.

ART. V.—*Geological Observations on the composition of the hills and alluvial soil, from Hyderabad in Sindh, to the mouth of the river Indus.* By H. J. CARTER, Esq., of the *Bombay Medical Service*.

On descending the river Indus from Hyderabad, it will be observed, that this town stands on the northernmost extremity of a small range of hills, which extend about twelve miles along the left bank of the river, rising from fifty to sixty feet above the level of the surrounding plain. They are characterized by their light colour, their sterile aspect, and their isolated position in the alluvial plain of the Indus, being separated, for a long distance, from the lower hills of the Hala range, which are on the opposite side of the river, and having no other high land visible from them in any other direction. In their form, there is nothing particular, excepting that they terminate above in a level plain, covered with loose stones, the petrified portions of a former superposed stratum, and their base having been washed at different periods by the waters of the Indus, may partly account for its irregularities.

They are composed of a cretaceous, marly deposit, interstratified with a semi-crystalline, fawn-coloured limestone. Towards their summit the marly deposit is white and cretaceous, and the limestone in horizontal strata of irregular nodules, abounding in marine fossils, but towards their base the limestone strata become thicker, and the marly deposit more plastic and yellow.

The structure of the limestone is semi-crystalline, of a fawn colour, and

an uneven fracture, or more or less filled with cavities, formed of the moulds and impressions of marine shells.

Though these hills abound every where in marine fossils, yet the fossils themselves are almost entirely composed of the internal casts of the shells they represent, the carbonate of lime being replaced by the mass in which they are imbedded. Of the most common that are found among the loose stones on the summit and sides of these hills, are specimens of large crustaceous animals, cephalopoda, univalve and bivalve shells. In the collection presented to the Society, will be found the claw of a large crustaceous animal. Two specimens of *Nautilus*, and several univalve and bivalve shells, of which the most characteristic and most commonly met with, are represented in the accompanying plates. Independently, however, of these, there is a small ovoid fossil, formed of concentric layers, not unlike a grain of barley, both in size and shape, but rounded at each extremity, and grooved and ridged longitudinally, with the appearance of transverse lines across the ridges. On account of this little fossil being found in great abundance throughout these hills, it may be considered as particularly characteristic of their formation. It will also be found delineated in the accompanying plate.

Having left the range of hills just described, the river passes for some distance through its own alluvial plain, unbounded by any rising ground on either side, until it approaches Jerruk, when a number of irregularly scattered hills make their appearance on both sides of the river, some of which are conical and stand isolated in the plain, while others border on the margin of the river. They are of a deep ochre colour, horizontally stratified, and almost entirely composed of the fossilized remains of minute polythalamous shells. About half way between their base and summit, is a sandy stratum in which a small *Gryphæa* is found, resembling *G. virgula*, characterizing some of the upper Oolite formation in France. It differs from *G. virgula*, however, in being less elongated, less curved laterally, smoother externally, and more deeply carinated.* This shell appeared to be of much more recent date than the other organic remains, of which the rock is composed, both from its general appearance, and from not having partaken of the colour of the mass in which it was found im-

* The specimens of this shell were too much injured on arriving at Bombay to admit of being delineated.

bedded. At the base of these hills many veins of gypsum present themselves, irregularly traversing the rock, about an inch and a half in thickness. Specimens of the rock will be found in the collection presented to the Society, and some of the polythalamous shells, of which it is composed, are delineated in the accompanying plate.

After passing these hills, which extend along the right bank of the river for a few miles, the Indus winds its course through an alluvial plain of great extent, until it arrives at its exit, where its banks terminate in the low marshy land of that district.

Composition of the alluvial soil of Sindh in the neighbourhood of Hyderabad.

The alluvial soil in the neighbourhood of Hyderabad, is chiefly composed of a marly deposit, corresponding, in colour, composition and plastic property, with that of the adjacent hills; added to this there is a considerable quantity of mica mixed with it, and its dark stone colour is owing to the presence of an oxide of iron, and probably some carbonaceous matter. When exposed to the oxidizing flame of the blow-pipe, it becomes red, (thence the colour of the bricks of which the fort of Hyderabad is partly built), but on being mixed with charcoal and reduced, the marly portion becomes white, and the dark particles that remain, are attracted by the magnet.

Throughout the hills and the alluvial deposit for many miles round Hyderabad, there does not appear to be a single grain of quartz, although at Omerkote there is an admixture of chalcedony and agate in miliary grains to such an extent that it forms more than one-third of the soil.

In addition to the fossils in the hills round Hyderabad, there is a quantity of brown Hæmatite scattered over their surface, and it will be observed from one of the fossil shells in the collection presented to the Society, that this is originally formed in the centre of the fossils themselves.

INDEX TO PLATES VII. AND VIII.

FIG 1. Lateral view of the internal cast of a Nautilus $12\frac{1}{2}$ inches in its longest diameter.

a. Front view of the same specimen.

b. Section to shew the position of the syphon.

Plate VII.

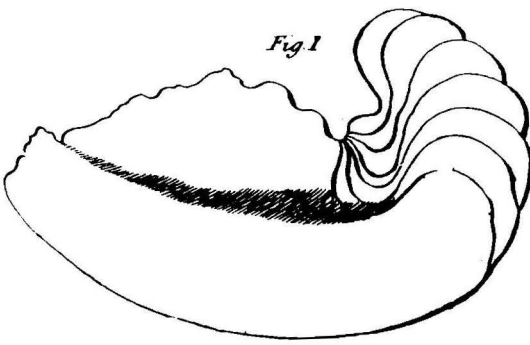


Fig. 1

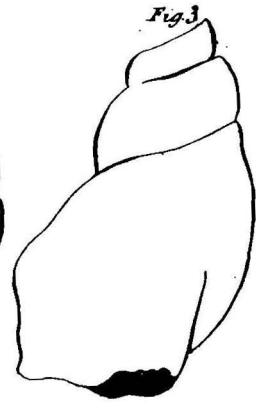


Fig. 3

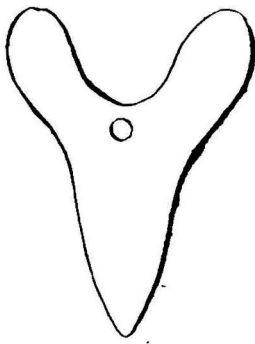


Fig. 2. a

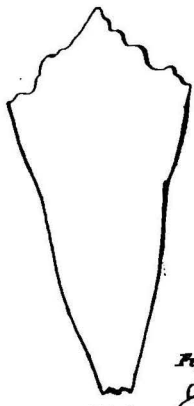
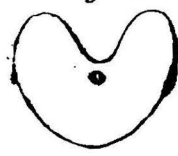


Fig. 1. a

Fig. 5

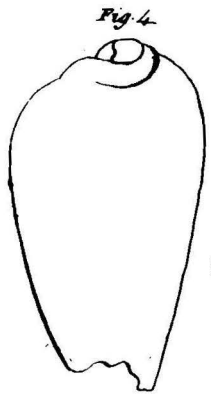


Fig. 4

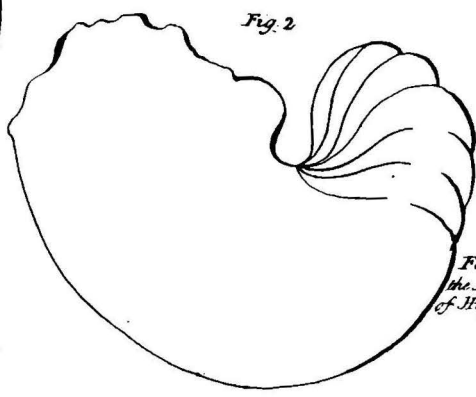
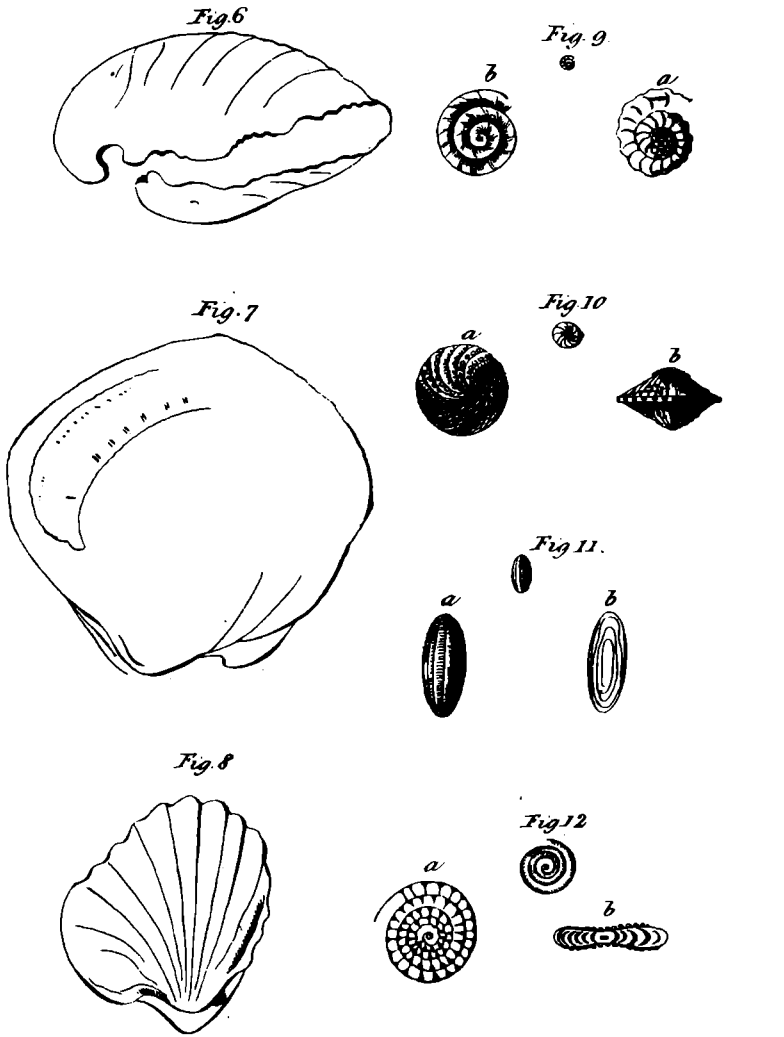


Fig. 2

Fossils characteristic of the hills in the neighbourhood of Hyderabad & Ferruck in Scind. D. Hampton del.

H. I. Carter del.

Plate VIII.



Fossils characterizing the Hills in the neighbourhood of
Hydrabad & Jerruk in Scind

H. I. Carter del.

Hamptons Lith

FIG 2. Lateral view of another specimen with round keel, 3 inches in its longest diameter.

a. Section to shew the position of the syphon.

FIGS. 3, 4, 5. Internal casts of univalve shells.

FIGS. 6, 7, 8. Internal casts of bivalve shells.

FIGS. 9, 10, 12. Specimens of multilocular fossils, characteristic of the hills about Jerruk.

FIG 9. Specimen natural size. *a* Superficial view. *b* Section both magnified.

Fig. 10 Specimen natural size. *a* Superficial view. *b* Lateral view magnified.

Fig. 12 Specimen natural size. *a* Horizontal section. *b* Vertical section magnified.

FIG 11. Natural size of a fossil characterizing the hills in the neighbourhood of Hydrabad. *a* External view. *b* Section magnified.

ART. VI.—*Some desultory Observations on that class of Monuments, still extant in Scotland, called Runic Stones, supposed to belong to an age anterior to the date of the earliest writings treating of Scottish history; with a catalogue of some of the most remarkable of the Stones now extant.*
By GEO. BUIST, LL. D.

[The following paper was drawn up many years ago, but permitted to fall aside. It was laid before the Society as connected with oriental antiquities, with a view to its remaining for reference in their archives, but without any idea of its being printed in their transactions. It is now by desire of the Society published as presented: the want of books of reference and the numerous avocations of the writer depriving him of the power of removing its imperfections by correcting or recasting it as he could have wished.]

RUNIC STONES.—A designation promiscuously applied to two very different and dissimilar classes of relics, the origin of one of which is probably attended with as much mystery and interest, as any thing which has occupied the attention of the antiquary. We shall reserve the consideration of the first of these, till after we have shortly noticed that class of monuments, entitled to the designation of true Runic remains, these being distinctly attri-

butible to a Danish origin. Olaus Wormius, a learned Dane, in a work entitled "Danicorum Monumenta," London 1643:—and Kysler, in a work entitled "Antiquitates Septemtrionales," published in Hanover in 1720, fully treat of the real monuments of Denmark, and give us representations of those in innumerable illustrations. They generally consist of very massy and large blocks of stone hewn into the form of crosses, or on which a cross, and in this case generally the Maltese cross, is sculptured. Besides these, strange and fantastic groups of men and of animals, with many monstrous representations of incongruous creatures, are presented us. The serpent is a prevailing emblem, while the human figures are often provided with the heads and feet of animals, or the wings of birds. The Centaur, as delineated in classic sculpture, is not unusual, and the most singular and intricate interweavings of unintelligible tracery characterize the whole. These monuments seem to abound in Denmark and Norway; they are usually inscribed with Danish or Icelandic characters, the legends merely intimating that they were erected by such a person in honour of some friend or relative. A good specimen of this class of stones, was some years ago sent from Sweden for the use of the Scottish Antiquarian Society, and is now placed on the castle hill of Edinburgh. The scroll in this case, as in many other similar ones, is formed by the waving grooves which define the outline of the serpent. Another class of true Runic monuments with inscriptions, is found in the Isle of Man and in other places in Britain. A collection of very beautiful and apparently accurate drawings of these, by Mr. Oswald, was published in the Transactions of the Antiquarian Society of Scotland, for 1822. In many points, they greatly resemble the crosses about to be described in the latter part of this paper. The form of the cross itself is the same, and many of its concomitant ornaments are similar, as are the monstrous representations of men and of animals with which they both abound. But the Manx crosses are all inscribed with characters closely allied to the modern Icelandic, not one of which is ever to be found on the other class of relics; and the singular, symbolical characters, as well as the picture writing with which the latter often abound, and by which they may at all times be distinguished, are wholly wanting in the former. They are ascribed to the middle of the 10th century. The celebrated Ruthwell stone is worthy of a separate notice, though it probably belongs to the same class as those of the Isle of Man. It has been minutely described by the Rev. Dr. Duncan of Ruthwell, both in the Antiquarian Tran-

Plate II.



St Nigeans Stone.

C I R O J T E R
 I R E U O N E T
 C T U F O R
 C U F

Hampton's list

Full sized fac simile of the inscription on the edge of the St Nigeans Cross

sactions, and the new Statistical Account (No. III, 1833). It seems to have been an erection of different periods, and by different hands. It is now in the form of a cross. Besides the decorations, images, and emblems which adorn it, it is covered at the borders round the compartments, in which they are contained, with inscriptions, partly in Latin and consisting of scraps from the Vulgate version of the New Testament, so that the whole of them can be easily made out, despite of mutilation. The characters are partly of Runic, differing, however, widely from the Norse or Icelandic used by Danes, and nearly identical with that of the Exeter manuscript noticed by Hicks, in his Thesaurus, and generally admitted, as that commonly characterized as Anglo Saxon. This monument, though formerly neglected, is now very carefully preserved. It was first figured and described by Gordon (*Iter Septentrionale*, p. 160: London 1726); who alludes to the singularity of the two varieties of inscription, and it was subsequently noticed by Pennant, Chalmers, and Hicks. Repp ultimately was able to make out and decypher the Runic portion of the inscription.

The class of monuments to the description of which we propose addressing ourselves, is widely different from the above; with which however, they have been mostly heretofore confounded. They are confined to one or two localities only; in these they are abundant, and may be yet found to throw light on the dark and mysterious portions of the annals of these countries, which doubtless enacted a distinguished part in the early epochs of incipient civilization, but the written records of whose history have utterly perished. Of the monuments of which we speak, there are probably not fewer than two hundred now extant in Scotland; and at no very distant period perhaps twice this number existed; there are at least twenty or thirty in Ireland; but there does not appear to be one in England, in Wales, or in any other part of Europe besides. In this mysterious feature of their history they agree with the celebrated round towers, of which there are two in Scotland, sixty one in Ireland, and so far as appears (notwithstanding the assertions of O'Brian, on both subjects to the contrary) not one in any other known portion of the Globe. In infinitely the greater number of cases, these monuments consist of large upright blocks of stone from 3 to 25 feet in height; (the only example of the latter stupendous dimensions being Sueno's pillar near Forres,) covered with rich and elaborate carvings, and in most cases, besides these, representing in low relief a cross of Calvary or being them-

selves cruciform. There are, however, numerous cases wherein the stone is impressed with a few rude but characteristic symbols without symmetrical or intelligible sculpture; and a number, smaller still, where a richly sculptured sarcophagus, which those of Egypt scarcely rival, takes the place of the symbolized monolith. In early ages, when written characters were little known and still less resorted to for ordinary purposes, the simple and natural practice of pictorially representing notable events, formed a convenient and universally intelligible substitute, for writing; because it appealed to a power of discerning the connection betwixt an action or series of actions, and their detailed similitudes possessed and exercised by all. This was the natural source of picture-writing, and a parallel case seems to have brought language itself into existence. It was the practice in early times, to detail on the monument of a warrior, the leading characteristics of his life, and hence, most probably, the source of those richly and elaborately detailed scenes represented on most of the monuments under consideration, and which in all probability, were, while understood, pictorial biographies of those for whose sake they were erected. It must at once be admitted, however, that very many of these carvings receive no elucidation from this view of the matter, and that the exotic or monstrous animal forms, and the mystic combinations of these which we observe, (amongst which, however, some system manifestly prevails,) are in the present state of our information, totally inexplicable. The fact of the abundance of tropical animals, as the lion and the monkey, so conspicuously detailed on the St. Andrew's Sarcophagus, and to be found on many other stones besides; of the elephant on Sueno's pillar, and apparently in a disguised form on a vast proportion of other monuments,—and represented according to O'Brian not on the crosses alone, but some of the round towers, (as that of Brechin for instance which has been well noticed in the pictorial history of England,) is beyond measure singular.

The existence of purely classical sculpture amongst the ornaments, and of classic monsters, as in the Aberlemno Centaur; and of symbols so strikingly Egyptian as that of Essie cross, is another feature of extraordinary mystery. The most characteristic figures of these stones, however, are those of a set of monstrous looking creatures, such as the lizard-like animal, on the St. Medoes cross (vide Fig.) the interwoven serpents with two, or a multitude of heads, and occasionally complicated limbs; and which are always systematically intertwined

with each other, like the warp and woof of a web (of which the corner stone of the St. Andrew's coffin furnishes an example);—the long eared, long billed, cockatrice-looking creature; and above all, an animal probably meant to be a representation of an Elephant, though it would be difficult from its distortions, to point out to what class of actual living creatures it was meant to be considered allied. In fact, whenever the simple emblematical picture is departed from, the whole remaining animal images on these stones are invariably monstrous. It is singular that the purely symbolical figures are specially alluded to by Boethius, and have scarcely ever been noticed by any subsequent author “Boethius, is willing” (says Pennant) “that these engraven pillars should be supposed to have been copied from the Egyptians, and that the figures are hieroglyphic or expressive of meaning, as those found in the cases of mummies and sculptured obelisks of Egypt. The historian's vanity in supposing his countrymen to have been descended from that ancient nation is destitute of all authority, but his conjecture that the figures we so frequently see on the columns of this country, had their signification, and were the records of an unlettered age, is so reasonable as to be readily admitted.” In this case the acute and observant traveller's censure is much more liable to criticism, as we shall afterwards more fully see, than the hypothesis of the able, but unfortunately unauthentic historian.

The symbolical figures, by one or more of which nearly the whole of the monuments under consideration are characterized, and the few which want them may be readily identified by their style of carving, are 1st a zigzag, ornamented at both ends with sceptre heads. Fig. 1st—Pairs of circles of

Fig. 1

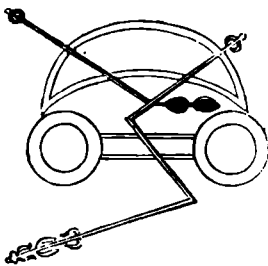


Fig. 1

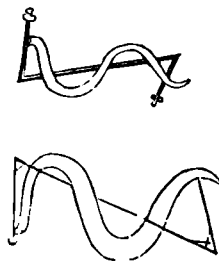


Fig. 2

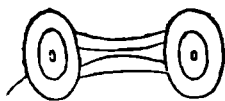


Fig. 2

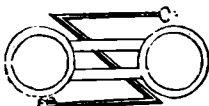


Fig. 2

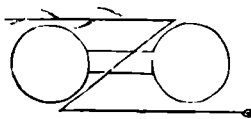


Fig. 3

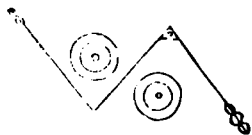


Fig. 4.

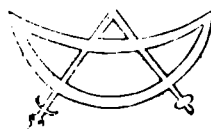


Fig. 5

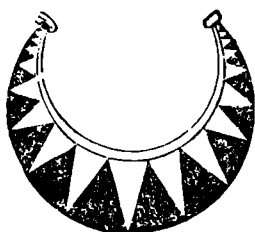
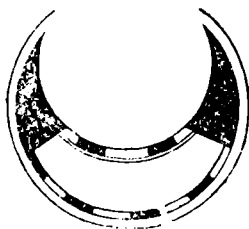
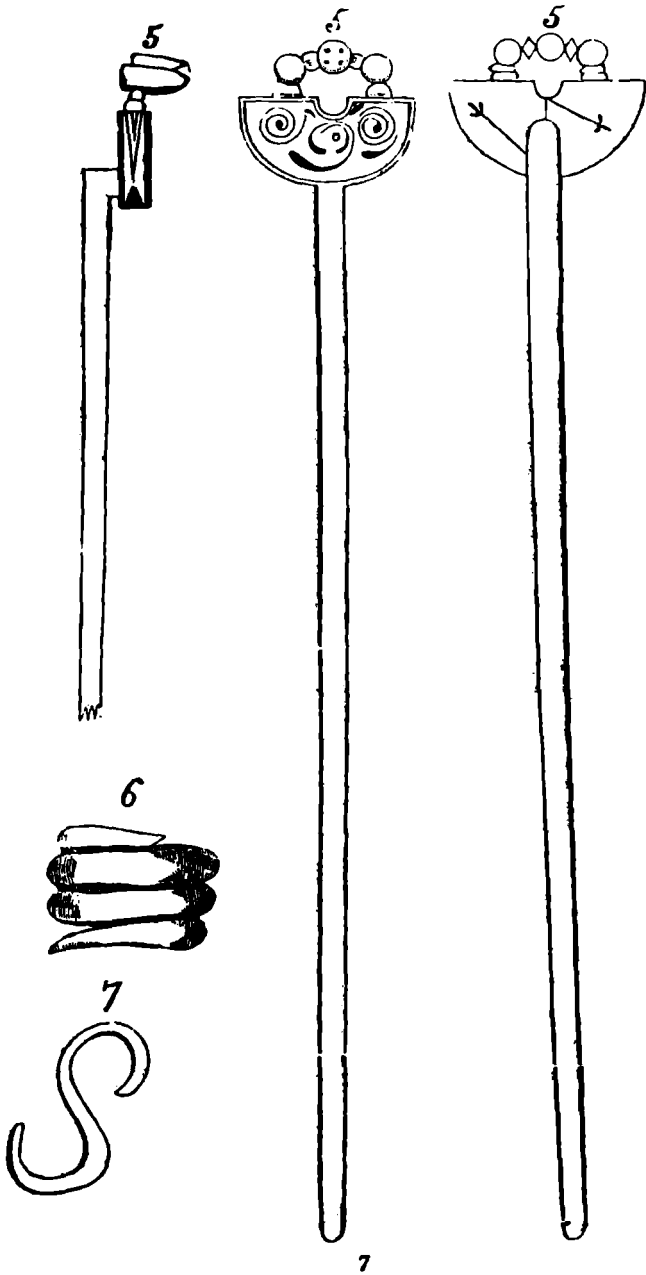
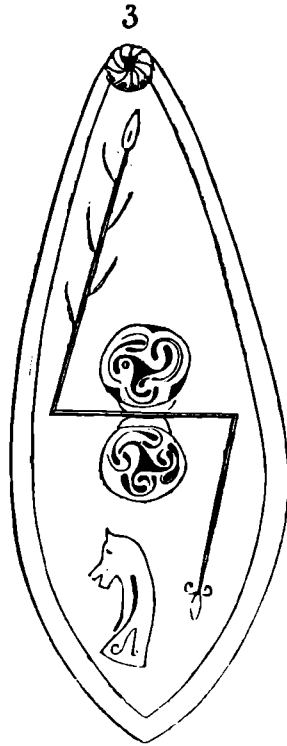
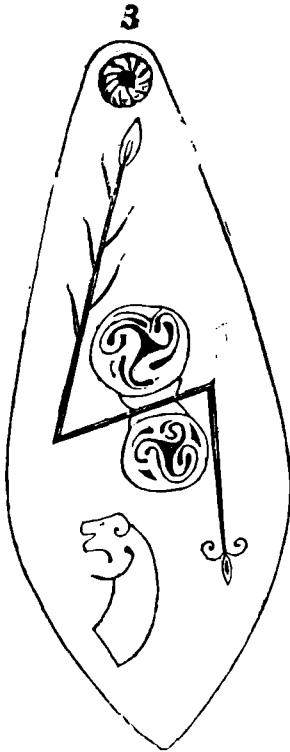
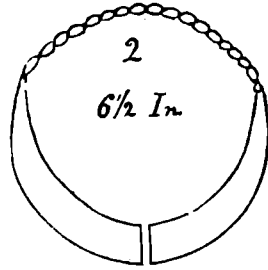
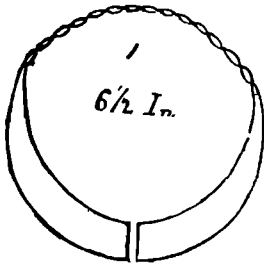


Fig. 5

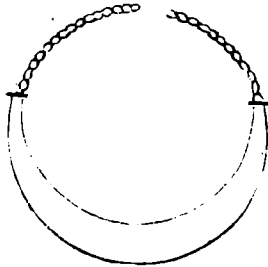


equal size fig. 2, joined together with parallel bars, and frequently divided by the zigzag fig. 1, or of unequal sizes, and joined by a single perpendicular bar, as fig. 3. A lunette divided by a something like a broken sceptre fig. 4. There are besides these other mysterious figures very generally found to prevail, but which are not so universal or uniform as to become characteristic. It does not appear, so far as the various published representations of the Irish crosses inform us, that amongst them these symbols are found. No explanation worthy of a moment's notice ever seems to have been thought of by any writer on this subject; and it is not meant that any should in the present want of information be here attempted to be given. It is a singular fact that at a place called Norries Law near Largo, in Fife, there was found (in 1819) a splendid suit of silver scale armour: of which about 180 ounces went to the melting pot of the silversmith. The helmet was barred and morrioned, and was quite entire:—the shield was triangular, about 10 inches by 14, and covered with mysterious emblems. All that now remains of these singular relics, are





the supposed armlets or collars, the scale or broaches, a bodkin, and finger ring represented below. Of these, a bodkin and a scale or clasp contain a most distinct and minute engraving of figures 1 and 2 of the Runic stones ! What are we to make of this ? Silver armour could at no time be employed as an available defence, and must have only been used on occasions of state. We have no reason to believe that within the period of authentic Scottish history, the abundance of the precious metals, or the tastes of our ancestors, were such as to lead us to look, under any circumstances, for vestures so expensive. Were the habits of those of an earlier age more luxurious ? Nothing can be more gorgeous than the attire of some of the figures on the St. Andrew's coffin. Does the occurrence of the symbol on the Largo armour, warrant us in assigning it to a period co-eval with the crosses ? Or may it have been a copy of a symbol, whose revered mysticism remained throughout later ages ? To none of these questions will the cautious antiquary venture to give a confident reply. This much we know, that on this class of monuments, and on the Largo armour, alone have the symbols 1 and 2 ever been known to be found. The excellence of the work of the bodkin and finger ring could not be surpassed in execution by any modern silversmith. At the time the present paper was drawn up, the writer had never seen the common silver collar worn by the natives of India: a representation of one of these is here also given; it corresponds, in form so exactly with the portions 1 and 2 of the armour as to leave no doubt on his mind as to the identity of their uses. The only difference betwixt them is, the one opens before, the other behind; it is not at all unlikely that this may arise from alterations afterwards made on it.



The symbol represented in figure 4, is perhaps still more frequent in its occurrence than the preceding. It bears a singular resemblance to the mysterious relics so often found in Ireland, of which the following figures are given by O'Brien, who describes it as an emblem of the sacred ships of the Buddhist worship.* "These semicircular implements, Ledwitch (quoted by O'Brien) acknowledges to have created more trouble to antiquarians, in determining their use, than all the other antiquities put together."

The cross however is of all the characteristics, far the most uniformly present; and is indeed wanting in only a very small proportion of them. O'Brien points out that this is by $\alpha\sigma$ means a purely Christian emblem; but has been generally and extensively employed in the East, either before the incarnation, or where Christianity was unknown. It is certainly a remarkable fact, that in no case we have ever seen or heard of, is a crucifixion detailed on any of these monuments, at the same time the cross is so uniformly and distinctly of the form of that called, the cross of Calvary, that we have no doubt of its being Christian.† It is generally surrounded by an ornamented circlet or halo; its shaft and transepts are covered with minute and elaborate carving, while some special enrichment commonly adorns the point of the intersection, or the extremities of the arms. It stands in relief from $\frac{1}{2}$ an inch to 3 inches according to the character of the stone. In these cases where the whole stone is cut cruciform-wise, as is frequently the case in Scotland, and still more so in Ireland, the general character and ornaments are the same as in the stones where reliefs are represented. The general character of the ornamental carving is so peculiarly marked or distinguished, that when any or all of the emblematical characteristics, above referred to, are wanting, it is quite adequate to indicate the class to which the stone belongs. The fret work represented on the shaft of the St. Madoe's cross is the most frequent variety of enrichment. Next to this in abundance, and before it in characteristicness, are the reticulated entanglements often occurring by themselves, and into which the convolutions of serpents, the tails of animals or other

* The figures referred to have, by a mistake been placed in a preceding page.

† Since the above was written, I have seen in the British museum the vesture of a Coptic priest on which the cross of Calvary is painted precisely as represented on the cross stones. Its wearer, as has been ascertained from contemporary Egyptian relics, must have flourished about the sixth century before our era.

flexible delineations, are invariably interwoven. It will be observed, (and the end pannels of the St. Andrew's stone coffin afford an excellent illustration of the fact,) that however absurd the effect produced may be, that they are always interlaced like oziers in basket work, or the warp and woof in a web; the upper and lower mandibles of a bill being made to bend alternate-wise at the sculptor's pleasure, so as to conform to the rule, however unnatural it may look for the figure represented, or inconvenient it might be for the animal if alive. The style of the carving, thus minute and elaborate, is remarkably indicative of an extremely early and rude state of society. So far as the intellectual part of the artistship is concerned, there seems to have been no adequate draught or plan of the sculpture previously prepared. It is manifest that one portion of the figure had often been cut out without any due consideration of the room required for the remainder, or the position or proportion to be assigned to it; and the consequence is, that while a head, for example, is represented of an exaggerated size or shape, the body or limbs are huddled together in whatever extent of space happened to be left for them uninvaded by previous carving. To this, however, the cross, which is always drawn with remarkable symmetry and precision, is an exception; as also, but in a less degree, are the leading emblems:—the picture department, which, from this, we may suppose was considered the least important, suffering chiefly from distortion. Connected with this, is the remarkable fact, that the blocks or slabs, from which these monuments were made, seem very rarely to have undergone such a preliminary process of preparation, as would, in more refined times, be reckoned essential for the most ordinary piece of hewn work, much more for ornamental sculpture. The stones resemble, as nearly as may be, well-formed blocks, carved just as taken from the quarry. Where "wants," or irregularities occur, they are rarely squared off or cut away, but the outline of the carving is made to accommodate itself to the irregularities of the stone. The St. Andrew's coffin, so often referred to, affords in another way a remarkable illustration of the same class of facts. Though very elaborately carved, and most likely an object of great veneration, no provision whatever has been made for jointing, cementing, or batting together the pieces of which it is composed: they, on the other hand, are furnished with rude, but strong elongated tennons, to be inserted doubtless in the floor or pedestal on which it stood. It must be added that a style of ornament somewhat similar to this, and pro-

bably imperfectly copied from it by later sculptors, prevails on monuments of a different class and more recent date. Of these Olaus Wormius, Kysler and Saxo (edition by Stephanus) furnish us with examples of the true Scandinavian stones; while the stone of lamentation and crosses of Iona and Oronsay, as represented by Pennant, and whose antiquity does not probably exceed 400 years, contains a similar style of carving. On three of these stones only have inscriptions in written characters been traced; none of them have ever been interpreted. The characters are all different from each other, belonging apparently to dissimilar alphabets. Of two of these Mr. Stewart says,—“The inscription of the Newton stone, Aberdeenshire, has already been submitted to several eminent antiquarians, none of whom have been able to decypher or explain it. The late General Vallancey, the celebrated Irish antiquary, pretended to have read the two words Gylf—Gomarra, but professed to be unable to proceed further. On the Fordoun stone is found what appears to be alphabetical writing, but so entirely defaced, that not a single letter is now distinctly legible.” It seems doubtful whether the Newton stone belongs to the class of monuments under discussion, and the inscription on that of Fordoun, which is otherwise extremely well marked, seems to have been engraven *after the sculpture of the stone itself*, part of which appears to have been hewn off to make way for it. It is very doubtful, indeed, whether any authentic case exists, of an alphabetical inscription on any of these monuments. That on the St. Vigean’s cross has most the look of authenticity. The letters seem a combination from the old Irish and Anglo-Saxon alphabets as represented by Fosbrook (*Encyclopedia of Antiquities*) and O’Brien (*Irish Dictionary*). It may, however, have been an after-thought and no part of the original sculpture. The number of these crosses believed to exist in Scotland at present, is about 200; and when we consider, that for a period of about 600 years, they have ceased to be objects of reverence; and had a protracted war of destruction waged against them, which their solidity, compactness, and general fitness for building materials greatly encouraged; that in our own day, with all our boasted refinement and love of archaeological research, dozens of them are perishing unheeded before our eyes; we probably do not greatly exceed, when we say, that perhaps not less than thrice this number existed, when the full reverence which occasioned their erection was accorded them.



Hampton's Irish



ABERLEMNO Forfarshire.

This Stone together with those at Crofs Town and Camus Crofs are said to commemorate the defeat of the Danes 854

The following imperfect catalogue of those we have seen or inquired after, may help to guide the student, as to authorities and subjects of examination, and may by calling to it the attention of the public, help to stay the progress of dilapidation to which this class of our earliest and most mysterious antiquities are at present being exposed. The works chiefly referred to, are the *Itinerarium Septentrionale*, by Alexander Gordon, A. M., Edition, 1726. *Remarkable Ruins and Romantic Prospects of N. Britain, &c.*, by the Rev. Charles Cordiner, Banff, 2 vols., 1788. *Pennant's Tour*, 1790. *Observations on several monumental stones in North Britain*, by J. Logan; F. S. A., Edin., with 14 engravings, London *Archæologia*, 1827. The illustrations of this paper seem carefully and correctly drawn and engraven. An account of some sculptured pillars, &c., by John Stewart, of Incherceek hill, Gr. Prof. Aberdeen: *Trans. Scotch Antiq. Soc. Vol. 2, &c. &c.*; and the unpublished collection in the possession of the present writer, who has been for years engaged in endeavouring to elicit information, by comparing with each other carefully drawn representations of these monuments—information concerning which is still a desideratum in archæology.

The engravings of Gordon are, as specimens of art, extremely rude and defective, but tolerably correct so far as they go. Cordiner's are defaced with the abomination of affected ornaments to an extent which makes them utterly worthless as references. Pennant's are occasionally good: they seem to have been taken by his servant, without the superintendence of the traveller himself, and are occasionally quite unworthy of trust. The drawings of Logan and others in the *Archæological and Scottish Antiquarian Transactions*, seem faultless; as also are those in the new *Statistical Account*. To save space in references, the name of the author alone is given in the subjoined list.

ABERLEMNO, FORFARSHIRE:—described by Boethius and Buchanan, figured by Gordon, Cordiner and Pennant, and in unpublished collection. The stone is in good preservation. It is situated at the west end of the parish church, apparently deeply immersed in the ground:—Described by Stewart.

ABERNETHIE, PERTHSHIRE:—Two rude blocks of trap, very characteristically figured; dug from the foundation of an old house in 1830.—Unpublished collection.

AULDRAR, FORFARSHIRE:—a very well preserved cross. It is mi-

nutely described by Pennant, who did not profess to have seen it. There is no published drawing of it. From 1778 it seems to have been utterly lost sight of. It was in 1832 dug from under a heap of rubbish, as something then for the first time discovered. It is now carefully kept at Auld Bar castle.—Unpublished collection.

BALKELLO, FORFARSHIRE:—6 miles north of Dundee; mentioned by Gordon;—stone broken, and much injured.—Unpublished collection.

BALKOURIE, NEAR MEIGLE FORFARSHIRE:—a large but rude block, with sculpture, (No. 2) and other half effaced characters, without a cross.—Unpublished collection.

BEAULIU in ROSSHIRE:— a cross described and figured by Cordiner.

BENNACHIE GAIRIOCH, ABERDEENSHIRE, figured and described by Gordon and Cordiner, more accurately by Logan, *Archæologia*, called Maiden-stone, defaced on one side.

CAMUS CROSS, MONIKIE, FORFARSHIRE:—a large cruciform stone in good preservation, were it not so thickly covered over with lichens: described by Boethius, Hollingshead, and Buchanan, as the funeral monument of a Danish chief, slain 845; figured by Gordon, who gives a description from the Latin MS. of Commissary Maule, 1600.—Unpublished collection.

CRAIL SLAB:— in the church floor, sculptured only on one side; no published description—discovered 1837.—Unpublished collection.

CRIEFF CROSS OF PERTHSHIRE:— figured, in *Trans. Scot. Ant.* 1821, very much mutilated; stands in the centre of the village as a market cross.—Unpublished collection.

COSSENS—near Glammis, Forfarshire:—cross, described and figured by Gordon—described and called St. Orlan's Stone in the new *Statistical Account*. Unpublished collection.

CROSS—TOWN, Aberlemno, Forfarshire:—One very superb cross and two lesser ones in perfect preservation, close by the side of the Forfar and Brechin road; the same group as that at Aberlemno. These stones have always been objects of attraction to antiquaries. Drawings (incorrect as usual) are given by Gordon, Cordiner and Pennant. — Unpublished collection.

CALLAGE, Perthshire:—a fine stone not any where described.

CREICH:—"There is an obelisk near the church of Creich in Sutherland, 14 feet high by 4 broad, richly sculptured, and said to be the

burial place of a Danish Prince."—Chalmer's *Caledonia*, vol. 1 p. 466. This is nowhere else described, that I am aware of.

DOGTON, Kinglassie, Fife :—A broken cross described and very correctly drawn by Pennant ; called Doctan, described in new *Statistical Account* ;—Unpublished collection.

DUNNICHAN, Forfarshire :—A rude, but well marked stone, described by Gordon, now built into a park wall.

DUNKELD, Perthshire.—Two large crosses mutilated, used for many years as gate posts, stood neglected at the door of the Cathedral ; one of them turned upside down.—No published account of: unpublished collection.

DUPLIN, Perthshire :—A fine cruciform stone quite entire, described by Pennant and Gordon.—No published drawing.—Unpublished collection.

DYKE, near Forres in Moray :—Cordiner gives a drawing of.

DYCE,—church, of figured by Logan ; in good preservation. *Archæologia*, 1827.

EDDERTON, in Ross-shire :—"There is another obelisk which is 10 feet high, with carved figures, which stands in the parish of Edderton in Ross-shire." It is said by popular voice to be the monument of a Prince of Denmark, who, having fallen in battle, was interred there. Chalmers's *Caledonia*, Vol. I. p. 466.

ESSIE, Forfarshire.—A very richly carved cross near the old church yard. It is figured and described by Cordiner, 1780. Like the Auld-bar stone, it seems to have been broken, carried away and lost sight of, till it was exhumed and re-erected by the parish clergyman, about 20 years since.—Unpublished collection.

ELGIN, Moray.—Only one side of the stone visible, the other built into the church wall; well represented by Logan. *Archæologia*, vol. 22.

FAR.—"At the church of Far, Sutherlandshire, there is a sculptured stone, said to be the monument of a Danish Chief."—*Caledonia*, Vol. I. p. 466.

FORDOUN, Mearns-shire.—A finely preserved stone, dug out beneath the old parish church, accurately represented by Professor Stewart of Aberdeen, and described by him as "probably a monument erected to the memory of Kenneth III., who is said by Fordoun, Wintroun, and Boethius, to have been murdered near Fettercairne, A. D. 994, by Fenella or Fennelli, in revenge for the loss of her son."

FORRES—*Sueno's Pillar, near Forres*, is the most remarkable of

these monuments, both for its magnitude and the richness of its sculpture. It is situated between Forres and Elgin, and is 25 feet in height, and 4 in breadth at the base. It has been badly figured by Gordon, Cordiner and others. It contains on one side a cross, on the other the usual pictorial sculpture. I have not examined this obelisk, and the published engravings on it are so discordant and manifestly unfaithful, that no reliance can be placed on them. It *seems* to belong to the class under review, but the usual emblems appear wanting, though the general sculpture is characteristic. It has always been assigned to the Danes, and known indeed as a monument of the chief Sueno, who, it is said, was here defeated and slain. Boethius is the earliest writer who treats of it: in which he is followed by Buchanan, as well as by Gordon and others — “This stone is supposed, probably erroneously, to have been erected in commemoration of the Scottish victory” (say the writers of the Pictorial History of England); “but what can we make of the Elephant by which it is surmounted?” The cut given by them as well as by O’Brien (Round Towerses), is taken from Cordiner’s engravings.

FOWLIS, WESTER, in *Perthshire*.—There is a very fine cross, with, on the opposite side, a religious procession. Mr. Gough (Camden, Lond. 1789,) states, that this has not been noticed by any preceding writer. It is of one stone 11 feet high. It is mentioned in the new Statistical Account as “being commemorative of a wolf hunt, where the wolf, being pursued through a village, snatched off the head of a child;” As improbable a theory as can well be conceived.—Unpublished collection.

GLAMIS—*Opposite the manse door*, figured by Gordon, Cordiner and Pennant; described by Boethius, and Buchanan, (nearly all subsequent writers following them,—as a tombstone commemorative of the murder of Malcolm II. Anno 1033. It is 10 feet high, and 5 broad at the base. There is a similar stone within Glamis Parish, and another at the village of Cossens near by, (*vide* Cossens) all ascribed to the same source.—Unpublished collection.

INVERKEITHING—figured and described by Gordon, noticed in Statistical Account, considered Danish by both.

INVERMAY PERTHSHIRE within the inclosures; noticed by Gordon.

KINKARDINE, *near Auchterarder*. PERTHSHIRE. Stone in good preservation; no published description.

KINNELAR *churchyard, Ross-shire*. Logan. Archæologia, XXI.

LARGO FIFE.—A small but well marked cross, just behind Largo house. The one side is concealed, being built into the court yard wall.—New Statistical Account.—Unpublished collection.

LINDORES, Fifeshire.—On an eminence called the **KAIM** hill of Lindores, near Newburgh, there is a rude block marked with the symbols 1 and 2. Its genuineness is doubtful.—Unpublished collection.

MAINS OF STRATHMARTIN, Forfarshire.—In the Schoolmaster's garden wall, supposed to be of this same class, carving uninteresting, without characteristic symbol.—Unpublished collection

INCHTUIR, Forfarshire.—What seems a fine cross but of small size. The ornaments of one side concealed. Forms the step of a stair leading to the church-yard.—No published account.

MEIGLE.—A splendid group, consisting of two superbly carved stones with crosses, and a great many sculptured blocks and slabs, which may probably have formed the sides, end, and cover, of a sarcophagus, like that of St. Andrew's, Boethius, Buchanan, and W. H. Maule in his MS. history of the Picts, described these as monumental stones to a Queen Venora or Fenella, and are followed by most other authors. She is said to have been torn to pieces by wild beasts, for her murders and adulteries, about the 9th century. She is said by others to have been the wife of the celebrated King Arthur. "Perhaps the carvings on these stones," sagaciously conjectures Gordon, "as it sometimes, happens, may have given rise to this conjecture; they are all carefully kept and in good preservation."—Unpublished collection.

MUGDRUM, near Newburgh, FIFE.—A large but rude block described by Camden, Gordon, and Pennant, correctly figured in the new Statistical Account of Fife; erroneously there and in Swan's Views of Fife, connected with MacDuff's cross.—Unpublished collection.

MONIFIETH, Forfarshire.—A sculptured but well preserved fragment, built into the church wall.—Unpublished collection.

MORTLACH, Aberdeenshire.—A large stone figured by Logan. Archæologia, vol. XXII.

NEWTON, Ross-shire.—A very rude but well marked stone, referred to by Logan. Archæologia, XXII.

NIGG, Ross-shire. "There is a similar stone to that of Standwick—in the church yard of Nigg, which tradition also assigns to the Danes." Chalmers's Caledonia, vol. I., p. 466.

PITMUIRS CROSS, *Forfarshire*.—Broken over by the transept, very much defaced; seems to belong to the Aberlemno group.—Unpublished collection.

PITNAPPIE. *Aberdeen-shire*. * * * *

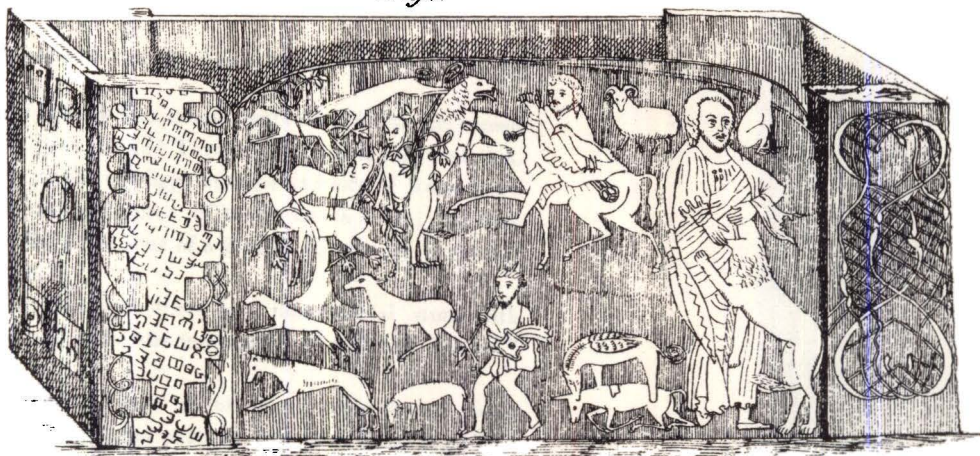
RUTHVEN, *Banff*.—Rudely sculptured and much defaced.—Logan; *Archæologia*.

RHYNIE MUIR, *of Aberdeenshire*. Two large stones, one 2 feet by 10, the other 1 foot by 9; both figured by Logan. *Archæologia*: with two others—dimensions not known.

ST. ANDREW'S, *Fife*.—In digging a very deep grave in the Cathedral yard of St. Andrew's, a little north of the celebrated square tower, in 1833, a large slab, sculptured with hunting scenes, and the figures of men on horseback, of lions, asses, and other animals, was met with, together with a variety of other fragments; they were for sometime tumbled about, broken and partly carried away; the present writer, from the character of their carving, at once pronounced them to be the fragments of a magnificent stone coffin belonging to the same order of monuments as that under discussion. The Rev. C. Lyon, a zealous local antiquary, immediately caused search to be made for other fragments pronounced to be wanting; a considerable number of which were found in 1836, and had correct drawings very carefully taken of the pieces most entire. When put together, it proved to be a most elaborately carved Sarcophagus; the one end and a portion of the side and corner are all that are wanting (*Vide plate fig.*). To the scandal of the oldest university in Scotland, this most interesting relic is still tumbled about in pieces without the smallest consideration or regard. A portion of it is figured, from the drawings of Mr. Lyon, in the *Pictorial History of England*; in which however it is incorrectly described. Dr. Dibbin having carried a piece of this stone away with him, has it correctly represented in his 2d. vol.; he considers it as early Saxon.—Unpublished collection.

ST. MADDOES, *Perthshire*.—A monument very rudely sculptured on one side, but extremely rich and variegated on that on which is the cross. This is in a state of fine preservation; more for the good fortune of the cross than the credit of the local antiquarian taste, it lies buried in the soft earth of the church yard; whence its repose was first disturbed in 1835. It has not, so far as I am aware, been noticed by any antiquary.—Unpublished Collection.

Plate XI.
Fig. 1.



St. Andrew's Stone Coffin.

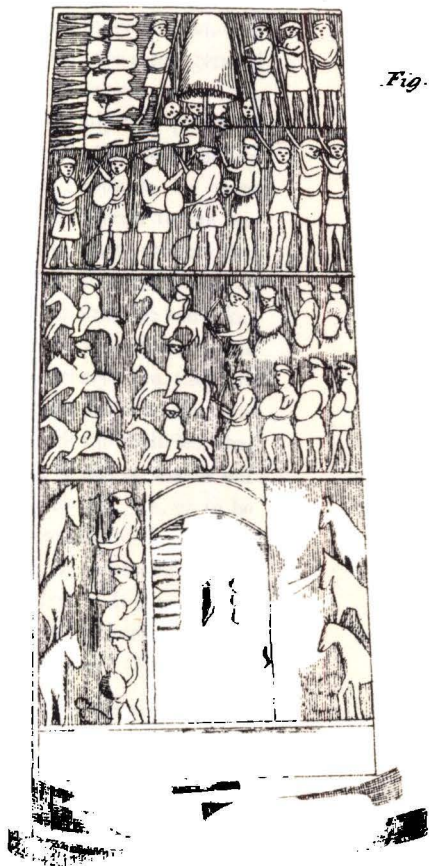


Fig. 2.

St. Andrew's Stone Coffin

St. Andrew's Pillar

STANDWICK, *Ross-shire*—A fine cross, figured by Cordiner, copied and commented on by O'Brien (*Round Towers*). Chalmers says of this, "At Standwick, in the parish of Nigg, on the east shore of Ross, there stands an obelisk with the sculptures of hearts and a cross; and here tradition accounts that the three sons of a Danish King were interred." *Caledonia*; vol. I. p. 466.

WICK. "At Wick in Caithness there is a monumental stone with hieroglyphic characters, said to be the monument of a Danish Prince." Chalmer at Sup.

From the extent of country over which these relics prevail, comprising the whole eastern and midland parts of Scotland, from the Forth to the northernmost part of Caithness; and from the perfect uniformity, under whatever designation they may pass, or whatever history tradition may assign them, of their carvings, style of sculpture and hieroglyphic symbols, we seem perfectly entitled to draw this one inference at least, that the whole of these monuments are of one class, and had the same general set of objects in view: that they were erected under similar circumstances, and when the same general customs and mode of sculpture prevailed amongst all their erectors. As we have no recorded statements of any thing peculiar in this way ever having prevailed in Scotland, we seem entitled either to suppose the period of their erection anterior to the existence of written history, or even of distinct tradition; or, to assume that the custom of raising these sculptured crosses was but of brief duration; otherwise we could hardly fail to have some notices of a thing so remarkable either by the contemporary writers of other countries, or as handed down by tradition to our own. Vague as these conjectures are, they are all which we are entitled to form, from the facts before us, as to the date or mode of their erection. We cannot concur with the idea of O'Brien, that they are older than the Christian era.* The crosses which he makes out to have existed as religious symbols before the Christian era, or to be found at present in heathen countries as religious symbols, bear no resemblance to those on the sculptured stones, which are uniformly of the shape designated "The Cross of Calvary" in heraldry. It is worthy of remark at the same time, that in no single case of a well marked monument of the class, do we find the representation of a crucifixion. The case of

* This observation, though correct as concerns the drawings and description of O'Brien, requires to be received with some modifications.

the goodly Burn-stone, near Perth, would be an exception to this could it be proved to belong to this class of relics: but though in general form and aspect it resembles them, its sculptures are so defective, that, differing from them as it does in this most characteristic particular, I have left it out of the list. Nor is it possible they can have fallen much within this era. Fordoun, who wrote at the close of the 14th century, does not notice their existence, and to us we must therefore assume them to have been considered by him of no importance. The same thing holds of Wintoun, who wrote nearly contemporaneously (1420), though there is every reason to believe quite independently of Fordoun. By the time of Hector Boece, A. D. 1500, the more remarkable groups of them seem to have attracted attention; but authentic tradition was as silent regarding them as at present, and the ideas of their describers as cloudy as are those of the antiquarians of our own time. For the history of Scotland by contemporary writers, before the time of Fordoun, we must go beyond the boundaries of our native country and rely on English or French writers, who, though less copious than might be desired, seem to have devoted no little consideration to our affairs. The line of these from the time of Bede in the 6th century, is tolerably continuous. The utter silence of the whole of them in reference to a set of monuments whose existence must have been matter of national importance, and which must themselves, for a long period, have been subjects of deep national reverence, implies, that since the year 500, they have neither been erected nor greatly revered. We have from an architectural fact, an indirect evidence of their very great antiquity. The church of St. Vigeans, near Arbroath, is known to have been built considerably before the Abbey of Arbroath, which was founded by David I., A. D. 1200. In the wall near the foundation of the north transept, we find one of these monuments used as a common building stone and luckily not defaced. It is apparent from this, that before 1200, these relics, the elaborateness of whose carving, irrespective of the greatness of their number, proves the deep and long enduring reverence which must have been attached to them, had lost all consideration in the eyes of even the priesthood, or had fallen into utter disesteem. Assuming, then, that the emblem of the cross brings them within the limits of the Christianization of Scotland, and that the silence of English, and ignorance of Scottish, historians, as to the true theory of their erection, carries their date beyond the 6th century, we shall obtain a set of conditions very concordant with

each other, to give us a plausible conjecture at least on this mysterious subject. We are disposed to assume, that while these monuments might commemorate the death, or mark the spot of interment, of eminent individuals, that they were also objects of religious worship—in fact monolith shrines. They prevail all over the ancient Pict land, and hardly beyond it. We have every reason to believe, that, about this period, a colony of Irish became located in Scotland, who would, as a matter of course, bring their habits and customs along with them. “The existence of the celebrated Round Towers in these two districts alone on the face of the earth, is a striking proof of their early connection; and though the perfect identity of the sculptures on the crosses in Scotland and in Ireland has not as yet been so thoroughly established as have the characteristics of the Round Towers, their similitude is so extreme and their existence so remarkably adstricted to these two countries, of the history of this period of peculiar darkness.

The sacrificial processions on various of these monuments—on that of Fowlis Wester in particular,—as well as the representation of other religious ceremonies, seem to point to Pagan observances, then last being obliterated by the prevailing creed. On the coffin at St. Andrew's, and on the crosses at Duplin and Auldbar in Scotland, and on that of Kells in Ireland, we have the representation of a man tearing open the jaws of a lion or other wild animal, in attitude so precisely similar, that they might pass for copies from the same original, and, in all likelihood, referred to the same event. The idea of Mr. Logan, that the complicated carved work and reticulated interlacings represented on them all, is part of the bardic custom of tying the mystic twig,” seems more than plausible. *Archæologia*, XXII.

ART. VII. — *Notice by the Secretary of the Society on ten Hindu gold coins, found at the village of Hewli, in the Southern Konkan, and presented by Government: also on a collection of gold Zodiac coins of the Emperor Jehangir.*

The ten gold coins transmitted, by Government, for the acceptance of the Society, weigh each 63 grains: and have generally on one side the figure of a lion, with an inscription below in Telagu letters, *Balya Shri*,

(ॐ ॐ ॐ) which may be translated prosperity to the *Bali*; and which are oblations of food offered, at the four cardinal points, to *Indra* god of the firmament, *Yama* judge of the dead, *Varuna* the ocean, and *Soma* the moon.* Two of the coins are hammered and quite plain on one side; having on the other stamped symbols for the four preceding deities, indicated by letters, among which I recognize the Telagu letter K (ఓ) standing for *Yama*, and the cave *ch.* (ఓ) for *Soma*: The centre symbol must therefore be intended for *Vaivaswat* or the sun. On the reverse of six of the coins we find written within a circle the word *Rudra*, a name for *Siva*; and on another of them the *Trisul*, or emblem of *Siva*, with an inscription below in Deva Nagari, or *Shrimanya Devaya* (श्रीमान्य देवाय) to the *prosperous god*. This last is the newest of the series and indicates the establishment of the Saivite worship.

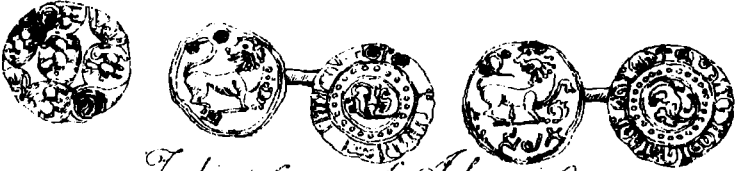
In the McKenzie collection of Hindu gold coins, two of them are enumerated as the *Sinha Mudra Fanam*, or the *Fanam* with the lion impression, without any further information being given regarding them. These and the ones now under consideration may, with much probability, be assigned to the successors of the *Andhra* Kings of Telingana; or the *Narapati* Sovereigns of *Warangal*, who appear to have been originally feudatories of the *Chalukya* Kings of *Kalyani*. This family is known by the name of the *Kakataya* Princes of *Warangal*, who at the commencement of their career, in the end of the eleventh century of our era, were *Jains*. Their original residence was *Anumakonda*, from whence, sometime after Sal. 1010, A. D. 1088, these Princes removed to *Warangal*, which became their capital, and represented the chief Hindu state of Southern India, till destroyed by the Mahomedans, during the reign of Ghias-ad-din Toghlok of Delhi, Hejrah. 721. AD. 132. The then reigning Prince of *Warangal* is called in Colonel Briggs' translation of Ferishta *Ludder Dew*: being an evident mistake for his real name *Rudra Deva*: whose possessions appear to have been bounded on the North West by those of *Rama Raja* of *Devagiri*, the modern *Daolatabad*.

The coins now submitted for examination, having on the reverse the name of *Rudra*, may have been struck during the reign of the Prince just mentioned; but there are good grounds for assigning them a higher anti-

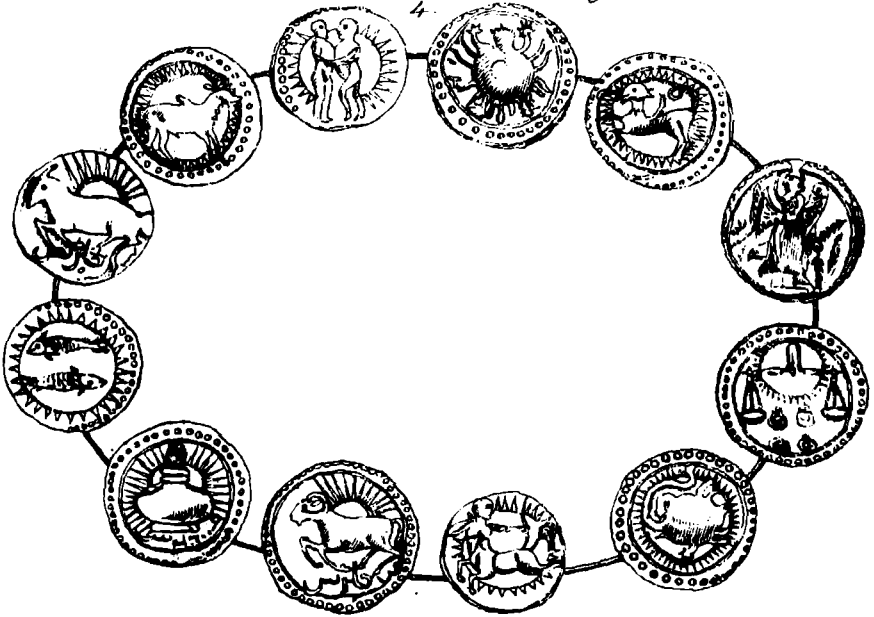
* See perpetual obligations of a householder in Wilson's translation of the *Vishnu Purana*, Quarto p. 302.

Plate XII.

Hindia Coins from the Konkan.
₁ ₂ ₃



Zodiac coins of Schangir.
₄



5. Persian Inscription on the reverse.

از انکبر شاه چه بگیرد شاه مکت را که روی در ریبند

quity, or the beginning of A. D. 1100: as at this time the second of the *Kakataya* Princes of Warangal, named *Rudra Deva*, adopted the *Saiva* in place of the *Jain* faith, and built many temples to *Siva*, or Mahadeva, in order to expiate the crime of having killed his father. Only one decisively *Saivite* coin appears in this collection, and is the most recent of the series: all the others indicating the prevalence of the *Jain* practice of astrology, and the worship of the *Bali* or *Baliah*, which are sidereal spirits.

Zodiac coins of Jehangir.

The Zodiac coins of the Emperor Jehangir, consisting of Silver Rupees and Gold Mohurs, are now procurable with much difficulty in India; while there are, I believe, existing collections of them which have been carried to Europe. Catrou, in his history of the Moghal dynasty (page 147), states that the celebrated Empress *Nur-Jehan*, better known, as the favourite wife of the Emperor, by the title *Nur-Mahal*, or the light of the Palace, caused these coins to be struck; when, to obtain full possession of her husband's heart, she procured the banishment of all rivals in his affections, or removed them by less innocent means. John Bowman, Esquire, is in possession of a fine collection of these Gold Mohurs; all of which, excepting those bearing the zodiac signs of *Cancer* and *Capricornus*, were struck at Agra. The two last were issued from the Mint at Ahmedabad. On the obverse of each are the names of Akbar and Jehangir, inscribed in Persian letters, and dated in the 13th year of the *Jalus*, or personal era of the Emperor Jehangir; which on some of the coins is accompanied by figures 48, intended to represent as would appear the 48th year of the personal era of the Emperor Akbar, or Hejira 1011; when Akbar proclaimed himself, on his arrival at Agra, Emperor of the Dekhan. The 13th year of Jehangir's personal reign corresponds however with Hejira 1027; when the Emperor, after an absence of five years in Gujarat, returned to his Capital of Agra, and soon after lost his father-in-law, the father of the Empress *Nur-Mahal*; who proposed to transmit his fame to posterity by perpetuating his memory in a monument of solid silver, and with the same view may have caused these Zodiac coins to be struck.

(Signed) JAMES BIRD,
Sec. B. B. R. As. Society.

ART. VIII.—*On the origin of the Hamaiyaric and Ethiopic alphabets*, by JAMES BIRD, Esquire.

In making public translations of the *Hamaiyaric inscriptions*, from *Aden* and *Saba*, embraced in Art. IV of the present number of the Society's Journal, it was my intention to reserve a consideration of the question, "*whether this alphabet be of Greek or Semitic origin*," till a more convenient opportunity might permit me to analyze the character of individual letters. My public engagements will not, however, at present admit the execution of this plan, and I am therefore obliged to submit an imperfect outline of my opinion on the subject, in deference to the advice of a friend, who suggested the propriety of publishing, along with *translations* of the inscriptions, an *alphabet* of the character. At no distant period I will resume the subject of the *Hamaiyaric* and *Ethiopic* alphabets, and endeavour to shew that the former had its origin from the ancient *Phœnician*, made apparent by the accurate researches of the learned Gesenius; and that the latter differs not materially from the former, except in having adopted the system of seven Greek vowels, expressed by particular marks and modifications of the letters in the first column, which Dr. Wall remarks, has been termed *Ghiz* אֱוִי, or the *free*, in order to mark its pre-eminence; because the letters, in this column, are not restricted to particular vowel terminations, but constituted the entire system, when the Bible was translated from *Greek into Ethiopic*, and the Abyssinians, converted to Christianity, in the time of Frumentius, received the Greek Scriptures between A. D. 325 and 335.

The *Syrian*, like the *Hebrew* and *Phœnician*, consists of an alphabet of 22 letters, written from right to left; which are either separate or joined with the preceding or succeeding characters; but the *Hamaiyaric* of inscriptions, found on the coast of Southern Arabia, has on the contrary an alphabet of 25, if not 26 letters, written from left to right; for it is probable that further research will discover that the *Hamaiyaric* embraces the whole 26 letters, composing the alphabet of the *Ghiz*, or modern *Ethiopic*. The scheme and arrangement of the latter, called, from two syllables of the series belonging to its first letter, ሆሆላ ገ *Ho He Ya T*, differs from that of the *Phœnician* and *Hebrew*, which commences with *Aleph* and *Bet*; but an inspection of the accompanying alphabetical table, plate XIII, will render evident to the most unlearned observer,

that the names of 22 letters in modern *Ethiopic*, corresponding in character with the *Hamaiyarie* of inscriptions from Arabia, and the *Ethiopic* of inscriptions from *Axum* and *Tigré*, differ in no respect from the names and power of the 22 *Phœnician* and *Samaritan Hebrew letters*, from which they were derived. In some of the inscriptions, copied by Messrs. Hulton and Smith, from the neighbourhood of the Bedwin town of *Dees*, distant only four hours from *Ras Sherma*, on the Southern coast of Arabia, the following letters, *Bet*, *Waw*, and *Mai*, retain their original *Phœnician* character, viz. א א װ, but have not been inserted in the present table.

The names of the *Hamaiyarie letters*, corresponding as they do with those of the *Hebrew* and *Phœnician*, obviously indicate its *Semitic* origin; and no doubt can exist that these constitute the character, anciently known among the Arabs as *Al Musnad*, or the propped; being in many cases not materially different from the *Hebrew* and *Syriac* characters, having only the addition of foot props. This and other forms of the Arabic alphabet, including the *Kufic*, was borrowed from the *Phœnician* and *Hebrew* letters, that were in current use among the Jews from the second century before Christ to the seventh of the Christian era. Michaelis in his *Grammatica Syriaca*, pp. 22, 23, correctly asserts, “Quo tempore Arabes a Syris literas sumserunt mutuas, quod factum est Muhammedis ætate, seculo Septimo ineunte aut paulo antea, tres modo vocales habuisse Syros necesse est, tot enim ab illis acceperunt Arabes, *Fatha*, *Kesre*, *Damma*, quas et Cuphica jam scriptio habuit, totidemque vocales, literis ipsis innexas Sabiorum seu Galelæorum alphabetum habet.” The *Hamaiyarie*, like the character of the *Palmyrene inscriptions*, seems altogether deficient in vowel signs, which as Dr. Wall satisfactorily shews were not in use when the Septuagint version of the Bible was made: all the letters of the Hebrew text being, at this time, employed as signs of syllables, beginning with consonants and ending with vowels.* The letters of the alphabet were all consonental, inclusive of *א ו א* of the Arabic, or the *Ain*, *Alif*, *Waw*, and *Yod* of the Hebrew and Syriac, which were termed quiescent in the pointed texts of the Bible; but were afterwards employed as *vowel signs*, as seen, from the *Hamaiyarie inscriptions*, by a

* Examination of the ancient orthography of the Jews, and of the original state of the text of the Hebrew Bible, by Charles William Wall, D. D. Professor of Hebrew in the University of Dublin, vol. II. p. 271.

comparison of these with the corresponding words in Arabic. The Syrians had at first only three vowels, corresponding to the same in Arabic; but, as the *literati* advanced in translating the Bible and other works into Greek, they endeavoured to express all the sounds of the proper Greek names, substituting at first five Greek vowels, and subsequently carrying them as far as seven;* which number were also adopted by the *Ethiopicans* on the transfer of the *Hamaiyeric character* to the shores of Axum. The quiescent letters of both the *Arabic* and *Ethiopic alphabets* possess no sound in themselves, till animated by points; and the *Waw*, on the coins of the Maccabees, Λ or the Hebrew *waw* so modified is found to retain this character in some other inscriptions, such as the Bactrian Pali, from *Shah Baz Ghari*; which, as can be clearly shewn, had a kindred origin with the Pehlvi writing on the Persian monuments of *Nakhshi Rustam*, *Nakhshi Rajib*, and *Takhti Bustan*, and are closely allied to the letters of the Palmyrene inscriptions; of which the first dates not earlier than the year 135 of our era. The opinion of Dr. Wall, therefore, "that it was from reading Greek that the Jews learned the use of vowel signs, and in consequence applied three of their letters occasionally to this use, precisely in the same manner as the cognate letters were afterwards employed in unpointed Syriac, and are, at this moment, employed in unpointed Arabic,"† is so consonant to truth and the practice followed in the Hamaiyeric inscriptions from Southern Arabia, as to bring home to us conviction, that, while the Hamaiyeric is a derivative from Phœnician, it at the same time employed four additional characters to express the Greek consonental sounds of Zeta, ζ Eta, η Pi, π and Psi, ψ as apparent in the comparison made of the several alphabets. Along with this adoption of Greek vowels and additional consonental characters, the Hamaiyeric and Ethiopic alphabets use, as numbers, certain figures derived from the numerical system of Greek letters.

If the opinions regarding the origin of the *Hamaiyeric* and *Ethiopic alphabets* be correct, and of which I entertain not a doubt, it will follow as a matter of course that the *Hamaiyeric inscriptions from Aden*, and those translated in Art. IV. should be read from left to right, like *mo-*

* *Grammatica Syriaca Joannis Davidis Michaelis*, p. 24, et *Bibliotheca Orientalis Assemani* Tom. I p. 522.

† Wall's examination of Jewish Orthography, vol. II p. 221.

den Ethiopic; and made use of diacritical points, such as appear to have been introduced into Syriac by the Nestorian Christians. The Ethiopic inscriptions, on the reverse of the Greek tablet at Axum, published in Mr. Salt's voyage to Abyssinia;* and written in precisely the same character as the Hamaiyric of Southern Arabia, read from left to right, and record that John, Bishop of Ethiopia, taught from the neighbourhood of the River (Nile) the Sabæans of Hazramaa. He is the same John who was sent, as appears, into Ethiopia, during the reign of the Emperor Justin A. D. 521, in order to settle the Christian faith of that country, and was accompanied by several missionary assistants. This and other facts give probability to the opinion that the Hamaiyric of inscriptions, in Southern Arabia, are of comparatively modern origin, and cannot, at the utmost, have an antiquity beyond 200 years before the birth of Christ; when, on the coins of the Maccabees, we find many Hebrew letters cognate with those of the Hamaiyric inscriptions. The language of those now translated is a mixture of *Ghiz and modern Arabic*; and as the adjectives, found in the inscriptions, are formed on the principles of Ethiopic Grammar, while the preposition *Ba*, used both in Persian and Ethiopic is found in them, it must necessarily follow that these inscriptions can be but little anterior to the commencement of the Christian era, and are, in all probability, several centuries after it, when the Hamaiyric sprung from the Phœnician, altered to express Greek vowels and proper names.

The comparatively modern origin of the Hamaiyric alphabet may be also deduced from what we know regarding the origin of the *Coptic*; which, cannot be traced back further than the 1st Century of our era, though the language itself existed at an earlier period. When the early Christians translated the Bible into Coptic, the versions of it from the Septuagint were written from left to right; and where Coptic sounds could not be expressed by Greek letters of similar force, additional Coptic letters were used. In this manner seven additional Coptic characters, were added to the 24 letters of the Greek alphabet; exhibiting, in this respect, a remarkable similarity with the practice pursued in the Hamaiyric characters, and in the translation of the Scriptures from Greek into Ethiopic. We not only observe this analogy between the systems of the two alphabets, but can distinguish an almost identity of character between the seven ad-

* Salt's voyage to Abyssinia.

ditional letters of the Coptic alphabet and those similar found in Ethiopic. The following seven letters not in the Greek alphabet, $\Psi \Phi \Theta \Sigma \Gamma \Delta$ or *sh, f, h, h, z, s, ti*, will, on a comparison with the alphabetical table of the Hamaiyatic here submitted, be found to be almost identical in character.

The Semitic origin of the Hamaiyatic letters, and their derivation from the Phœnician may be yet further accounted for by what Masudi in his Golden meadows, and other Arabic historians relate, that the descendants of Khatan or Yoktan, inhabiting Southern Arabia, used the *Suryani*, or Syriac language, previous to the amalgamation of the several dialects now constituting the Arabic language, which probably derived its title, posterior to the Exodus, from the Hebrew אֲרָב *Arab*, signifying a mixed people. Philostorgius further relates that Syrians were settled in the neighbourhood of the Ethiopic ocean, "*Ad maris rubri inquit exteriorum sinum sinistro latere degunt Axumitæ, ex vocabulo Metropolis ita appellati: urbium enim caput Auxumis dicitur. Ante hos autem Auxumitas, Orientem versus, ad extimum pertingentes Oceanum, accolebant Syri, ab eorum quoque regionum incolis ita dicti. Etenim Alexander Macedo eos ex Syria abductos, illic collocavit: qui quidem patria Syrorum lingua etiamnum utuntur!*" And Strabo notices that towards Arabia Felix in the Indian Ocean, there were Colonies of Sidonians, Syrians, and people of the island of Arwad.*

I must therefore dissent from an opinion expressed in a late publication, on the Historical Geography of Arabia, that the Hamaiyatic characters only consist of 20 letters, or can be the first alphabet of mankind.† Mr. Forster terminates his observations with this remarkable conclusion, "there is every moral presumption to favour the belief, that, in the *Hisn Ghorab* inscriptions, we recover the alphabet of the *world before the flood*:" but neither Palæography nor Philology will bear him out in so unphilosophical a conclusion. I may briefly recapitulate the chief points which argue against the correctness of his interpretation of the Aden, Hisn Ghorab, and Nakab-al-Hajar inscriptions. 1st. The Hamaiyatic inscriptions on the coast of Southern Arabia are precisely in the same character as the Ethiopic inscriptions found on the opposite coast of Axum, and on the reverse

* Bibliotheca Orientalis Assemani, Tom. IV p. 603.

† The Historical Geography of Arabia by the Revd. Chas. Forster, B. D. in 2 vols. London, vol. II. p. 408.

of the Greek Tablet there ; which dates not earlier than the 4th Century of our era. 2nd. The existence in Hamaiyarie of three quiescent letters, used by the Syriac as vowels, and the change of *Ain*, into *a i*, or *u* ; a practice which had not existence prior to the commencement of the Christian era. 3rd. The striking similarity between the *ancient Hamaiyarie*, and alphabetic characters of the *Modern Ethiopic*, which had not an antiquity greater than the time of Frumentius, while the probability is that it is considerably later, or about A. D. 508, when Philoxenus translated the Scriptures into Syriac, and adopted the system of the Greek vowels. 4th. The introduction into Hamaiyarie of three, if not four, additional letters to express Greek sounds, which differed from those of the Hebrew or Phœnician. 5th. The figure of a *cross* accompanies most of the inscriptions from Southern Arabia, and is very apparent below the Hisn Ghorab inscription, indicating its comparatively recent and Christian character. Such seem to me strong reasons for differing from Mr. Forster, and from his system of reading the inscriptions from right to left, instead of from left to right as in modern Ethiopic. At some future time I will return to this subject.

ART. IX.—*Historical Researches on the Origin and Principles of the Bauddha and Jaina Religions : embracing the leading Tenets of their System, as found prevailing in various countries : illustrated by descriptive accounts of the Sculptures in the Caves of Western India, with translations of the cave inscriptions from Kanari, Ajanta, Ellora, Nasik, &c. indicating the connexion of these caves with the Topes and Caves of the Panjab and Afghanistan.* By JAMES BIRD, Esq., F. R. G. S. Member of the Royal Asiatic Society, and of the Bombay Medical Service.

ANALYSIS.

On looking at the Indian provinces, where unquestionable Bauddha monuments remain, we are surprised at the great extent of country, over which this religion was spread ; and view with wonder the relics which mark its former existence : scattered as they are from the caves of Balkh

Bamian, and the Indus westward, to the confines of Nepal and the Ganges eastward ; from Kashmir and the sources of the Jelum, on the north, to the southern promontary of Cape Comorin, and the island of Ceylon. The state and principles of this religion, as now found existing in Ceylon, have been well illustrated and examined by the late Honorable Mr. Turnour ; its condition and leading tenets in China, were learnedly expounded by the late Mr. Remusat ; Mr. Hodgson in his various papers on Nepal Buddhism, published in Prinsep's Journal, has made us familiar with Bauddha religious literature in Nepal ; and Mr. Klaproth has performed for us a like service regarding that of Japan. But relative to the inscriptions written in *Prakrit*, and found on the monuments and caves of this ancient religion throughout India, little or no information has been conveyed to us beyond what is contained in the brilliant discoveries of the late Mr. James Prinsep, on the subject of Asoka's monuments, and the observations of William Erskine, Esquire, on the remains of the Buddhists in India, published in the 3rd Volume of the Bombay Literary Society's Transactions. Our selections from the present work, therefore, though desultory, will be of interest to those general readers, who take some pains to inform themselves regarding the former state of India, both under its Hindu and Mahommedan rulers.

It has been ascertained, beyond doubt, that the earliest grammar of the Pali language, in which the greater body of Bauddha literature was written, was composed in the Dekhan ; and it is a subject worthy of learned investigation to determine the relative antiquity of the Sanskrit and Pali grammatical systems ; with which question the comparative antiquity of the Brahmanical and Bauddha religions is closely connected. In the publication from which we are now about to quote, the author, for the better investigation of his subject, has done so under the following heads :—

First, a description of the principal excavations of Western India.

Second, a sketch of the system of Buddhism, as it prevails in Ceylon, Burmah and Siam, Tibet, Tartary and China.

Third, translations of the Western Cave inscriptions, and the connexion of these with Buddhism as it now prevails in other countries.

Fourth, observations on the symbolical marks preceding the inscriptions ; their similitude to those on the coins found west of the Indus and in the Panjab, and on the connexion between the *Topes*, or Buddhist mausolea of these countries, and the Western Caves.

Fifth. The history of Buddhism traced and illustrated.

Under the first head he describes the excavations of Karli, Kanari, Nasik, Junir, Aurungabad, Mahar, Ajanta, Ellora, Badami, and Mahamalaiapur. The caves generally consist of two classes. "In the first of them the objects of worship, represented by the sculptures, are confined to personages and manifestations of the deity belonging to the simpler and more philosophical form of Buddhism, which seems to have prevailed at its origin; in the second, the variety and modifications of objects worshipped have reference to the more complicated and extended Brahmanical Pantheon, the Sakta form of Hinduism, the worship of Siva Bhairava, in conjunction with his consort *Uma*, or Parvati. The former, characterized by simplicity of design and execution, consist of one or more arched temples, which contain the *Dehgap*, or stone spire of an hemispherical form: and these are surrounded by flat roofed excavations, in which are found one or more sitting images of Buddha, a number of small cells, and sometimes broad benches running round the apartments, shewing that such were dedicated to the use of a monastic fraternity, and the education of disciples, who had abandoned the world in order to submit to religious discipline. These temples are further distinguished by having long inscriptions in a language, which is neither pure *Pali* nor *Sanskrit*, though approaching sufficiently near either to be intelligible through their medium: and the character in which it is written differs but little from that of the inscriptions on *Asoka's pillars*; which was in use we know during the third century B. C. To this class belong, as would appear, the caves of Karli, Kanari, Aurungabad, Nasik, Junir, Mahar on the Bankut river, and the southern ones at Ellora. The large excavation at Kanari, in the vicinity of Bombay, is further distinguished by having in front of it, on a ledge of the mountain, several small mounds, or burying places of *Rahats*, or *Saints*, who were tenants of the caves. One of these, a dilapidated pyramidal building of earth and stone, was opened by me in 1839; when two copper urns containing human ashes were found. In one of the urns there was a small gold box, containing a fragment of white cotton rag, accompanied by a pearl, a ruby, and some small pieces of gold: in the other there was a silver box along with the ashes. The most interesting relics however discovered on this occasion were two copper plates, one of which bore an inscription in the *Lath* character of the caves, and the other in a more florid writing, similar to that of the *Chattisgarh* and

Seoni inscriptions of the 8th and 9th centuries ; which has been aptly enough denominated the *Andhra* character, and from which the alphabets of the southern Peninsula were derived. The last part of this inscription contains the Bauddha creed as inscribed on the base of the image from Tirhut, and on the stone extracted from the Thupa at Sarnath, near Benares ; identifying these as Bauddha Mausolea, with which the Thupas of the Punjab and Kabul are in other respects analogous.

“The second class of excavations, to which belong the nine middle caves of Ellora, those at Elephanta and Badami, are characterized by a more florid and laboured style of sculpture, representing groups of many armed figures of Vishnu and Siva in their various avatars; miniature scenes of battles from the sacred epics, the *Ramayana*, and *Mahabarat*; triad figures of *Siva* in union with the female principle, or *Uma*; and stone lingas in the recess. A greater grandeur of design and spirit of execution is observable in the figures of this class than in the simpler sculptures of the earlier Bauddha College, such as Kanari; and exaggeration is resorted to in order to give energy to the suggestions of imagination on subjects of religion to which they refer. Their architectural character too, from which the style of the ancient Hindu temples of the tenth and eleventh centuries, A. D. has been derived, would not indicate that such is the early efforts of a rude people, emerging from barbarism, but rather that it has been matured by experience : and that though the types of Buddhism and Saivism were not radically different, when the two religions emanated from a common system, yet the things here typified embrace so many Brahmanical combinations, that the very presence of Saiva symbols and images, in structures exclusively Bauddha, imply, that when such were executed, the tenets of both religions were matter of high debate in the civil society of India. The comparatively few inscriptions found in this class of caves, and the nearer approach of the letters to the present alphabets of the southern Peninsula, point out the more modern origin of the structures : while the smaller number of cells for the priests, compared to the extent of these caves, shew that they were less places of tranquillity and retirement, for monastic establishments, than of public resort and pilgrimage, or *Tirthas*, for the great mass of the people.

“The caves of Ajanta are of a character intermediate between these

two classes of excavations, possessing much of the extent and grandeur of the latter, but without the same marked traces of Hinduism, or of Tantrika principles, that are found engrafted on Buddhism at Ellora. Many of the Bauddha figures would here, however, appear to be distinguished by the symbolical representation of particular animals and things, which indicate some deviation from the original worship of *Buddha Sakyā*, and may be the origin of the Bauddha adaptation of Sakyā's religion to Vaishnava principles, as explained in the *Sri Bhagavata*; by which the different descents and forms of the deity, as Vishnu, are made the origin of the *Jain* saints. The images in the different caves are characterized by being represented naked, or covered by a robe, and have distinguishing marks engraved on the pedestals, or *Sinhāsan*; such as the ape, the lotus, the wild cow, the antelope, the goat, and the *kumbha* or jar; which are the appropriate symbols of the Jain saints, Abhimandanu, Padmaprabha, Vasupujaya, Santi, Kunthi, and Malli. The Bauddha religion of Nepal acknowledges indeed many forms of Buddha, mortal and celestial; but the presence of the *Jain* symbols, on the pedestals of the images at Ajanta, their clothed and naked representations, similar to the Swetambara and Digambara images of the Tirthankaras, and a sculpture of Garura, supporting the roof of one of the caves, have suggested to me the opinion, that while some of the neighbouring excavations at Ellora were dedicated to Tantrika principles and Saiva mythology, engrafted on Buddhism, those of the more primitive Bauddha caves at Ajanta, shew corruption from admixture with the more congenial principles of the Vaishnava faith. I give this opinion more with a view of future research, by those who may find leisure for investigating the native literature and annals of the Jains, than under the conviction that it is one admitting of proof; but as the Vaishnava and Saiva faiths divided the popular mind of India, from the fifth to the tenth centuries of our era, the opinion is worthy of consideration. The larger inscriptions too at Ajanta, though they may be long posterior to the excavations, are closely allied by the character of their alphabet, to the *Chattisgarh* inscriptions of the eighth and ninth centuries, which have been already noticed."

Regarding the architecture of the caves, the author remarks, "Professor Heeren is of opinion that the style of modern Hindu architecture takes its origin from the pyramid; but on looking at the general character of this architecture, as developed in the temples erected, throughout the southern

Peninsula, posterior to the twelfth century of our era, I am rather disposed to conclude, that the model from which they derive their origin is the composite *Deghop* as seen in plate VI. The architecture of the caves is altogether of a monumental kind, possessing much of the colossal grandeur and vastness of the Egyptian style; with which, in the general outline, it possesses a similarity of design: the shafts of the pillars being cinctured, at intervals, by bands of three or more rings, or decorated, in other respects, by the spaces between the bands being reeded and sculptured with figures. The columns too have rarely any distinct base, and exhibit examples of double capitals, peculiar to Egyptian architecture; the square member of the cave pillars being sculptured with a figure of Buddha, as seen in plate XV, instead of the heads of *Isis* as observable on the sides of the Egyptian capitals."

The individual excavations are then described; and in the introduction to the work, and head,

Excavations of Ajanta,—we find the following observations. "These monuments which I have classed as intermediate between the simple Bauddha caves, and those which have been termed Brahmanical, by Mr. Erskine, are nearly as magnificent and extensive as those of Ellora; which must, however, be reckoned of later origin, and mark the change of faith among the people of Western India from simple Buddhism to Saisivism, and the orthodox system of Hinduism which is now prevalent.

"These excavated temples, known by the name of the caves of Ajanta, or the pass, are situated about three miles south-westward of the village of *Fardapur*, which lies at the bottom of the *Ghat* leading from *Aurangabad* into the province of *Khandesh*. The bed of a mountain torrent, winding through the rocky bottom of a ravine, leads to a deep and narrow dell; where the perpendicular face of the rock may be between two and three hundred feet in height, at the place where the caves commence. The repeated doublings of the ravine seem to out of this sequestered spot from all communication with the world; and the dell at its further extremity narrows into a chasm, which is shut out, on either side, by precipices of rock at least a hundred and fifty feet high, where a cascade of seventy or eighty feet, after falling into a deep and capacious bason at the bottom, overflows to form the rocky torrent, just described, which is dry during the months of April and May. The sides of the ravine, where not precipitous, are clothed with wood; and the features of the

scenery, if not magnificent, are highly romantic, and have an air of wild solitude peculiarly striking.

“The caves are situated in the ravine on the right side, at about one third of its height; and following the winding course of it, from east westward about a quarter of a mile, describe more than the quarter of a circle. Those which were accessible and visited by me, during the hot weather of 1828, amounted to twenty two; but some new ones have been since discovered. Four of these are arched ones containing the *dehgop*, and the others are flat roofed.” The former are genuine *Chaityas*, or temples dedicated to *Adi Buddha*, as in Nepal: the others are generally *Viharas*, or monastic institutions for the ascetics, in many of which are found images of *Buddha* seated on thrones, here sculptured with devices of different animals, now the distinguishing marks of the *Jain* saints, and perhaps appropriated to the different manifestations of *Buddha*. Since my visit a subscription was raised to remove obstructions and make pathways to the caves, and two new caves were thus discovered.

“The following drawings, which were made and lithographed by a native artist, convey a tolerably accurate idea of the style of painting and the subjects of the scenes; which represent rural processions, love and marriage, the storming of fortifications, and groups of women in various attitudes, particularly in the one of performing *Tapasya*, or religious austerity, on the *Asan Siddha* or holy bed of the ascetic. In others of the scenes, teachers are represented instructing their *Chelas* or scholars, in the art of mental abstraction, or *Dhyan*, by meditating on the blue lotus; six *Dhyani Buddhas*, of which *Vajra Satwa* is the sixth, are seen springing divinely from the lotus. Another of the paintings represents the contest of the *Asuras* to get back the ravished daughter of their king, who had been carried to the *Tavatinsa* heaven, or *Bhavana* of *Indra*, an account of which is communicated in Mr Upham’s system of Buddhism. In the sculptures most of the figures have curled or wig-like hair, and their heads are generally covered by tiaras. The same are similarly represented in the paintings, which are executed “*alla fresco*,” on a composition of white calcareous earth and cowdung, smoothed finely over with a thin coating of choona, or tufaceous lime, found in India. The women are always drawn without any covering to the breast, and their drapery has the form of a petticoat below, part of which is thrown

in some instances over the left shoulder, leaving the right breast bare. The dress of the men is nearly similar to that of the women, and the figures of both are painted black, blue, and other colours, among which however a yellow, or copper brown, is the prevailing one. Several animals as horses, elephants, and bullocks highly ornamented, are depicted; and some visitors remarked that three horses yoked abreast in a carriage were observable. A grave figure with curled hair, thick lips, and lobe ears, sometimes appears amongst the paintings, and is evidently of a character entirely different from the figures around him; and this with the striped petticoats of the women suggests an opinion that the people who executed the paintings were the subjects of the most illustrious prince of the Indies, named the *Balhara*, who was king of *Maharmi-al-adan*, or of those who have their ears bored, and that the inhabitants were subjects of the kingdom of Calabar, who were dressed in those sorts of striped garments which the Arabs call *Fauta*.

The Buddhas here represented, seem to be of all nations and colours, and have each a nimbus round their head similar to that round the heads of Christian saints, and which was not introduced we know previous to the establishment of our era. The people who frequented these religious shrines must have had an extensive acquaintance with various nations; and the nicely combed and curled hair of the women, whose locks, brought down in ringlets over the ears, descending on the neck, with the head dress or fillet which surrounds the brow like a muslin band, and the high tiara of the chiefs or princes, loaded with pearls, indicate artificial taste and habits at the time when these paintings were executed. Some visitors have remarked that Grecian military costumes were to be seen, but I did not observe any such at my visit, and the only thing of this kind which has come to my notice is the head covering of one of the figures drawn for me by Professor Orlebar, and which certainly has a very close resemblance to the Grecian helmet. Mr. Orlebar, in an account of these caves kindly communicated to me, remarks that these paintings are not historical, but seem intended to convey moral instruction, and that in the Indo Buddhist system, education was a primary object. In one of the Dehgop caves, a female worshipper of Buddha is painted in the act of teaching, surrounded by a group of smaller figures who are attentively listening, and among whom one seems to be a Brahman. In several of the scenes, representing masters teaching their scholars, the modern *Sannyasi* of the Hindus is observable.

There is one large painting already referred to, representing a siege. Mr. Orlebar remarks that, on the fore ground from the left, the besieging army is seen in advance, and consists of elephants, infantry, and cavalry under the wall of the town. Within the walls the king is seated on his throne and surrounded by attendants; while some of the besieged are throwing themselves down from the wall on the enemy; some are descending, and some have already alighted; and of these one spirited group represents a struggle between two of the besiegers, and a warrior whose dishevelled flowing hair shews that he has just alighted, and others are on their knees begging for quarter. The wall in its construction is as singular as the defence of it. It consists of a series of peaked battlements, in which there are no loop holes. The besieged are here represented with fair European countenances, while some of the besiegers are dark. The infantry of the latter are armed with a shield and sword, of a curious form, and with a short spear. Those mounted on elephants have spears, or bows and arrows; but their dress is generally scanty and they have apparently no defensive armour. The whole appears, as I have already said, to be an attempt of the *Asurs* to get back the ravished daughter of their king from the heaven of Indra.

Besides these, there are domestic scenes, seraglio scenes, processions, and portraits of princes, larger than the rest. There is an Abyssinian black prince seated on a bed along with a fair woman, to whom he appears to be married; here a fair man is dressed in a robe and cap like that of a monk or abbot, and there again, in other parts of the painting, are females seated in flower gardens surrounded by attendants, or are seen sitting within small buildings, with light pillars, resembling Chinese summer houses. Round the neck and over the right arm of many figures, male and female, the mystic triple necklace is disposed, while these hold in their hands the lotus, and appear as if engaged in the contemplation of some deep point of philosophy. Other figures, represented of a dark complexion and with curled hair, are standing on the lotus, and hold in their hands the discus, or *Chakra*, which is one of the sacred emblems in the *Phra Patha*, or divine foot of Buddha, and is typical of eternity and universal domination. We learn, from Captain Lowe, that, according to the Siamese ritual, the worshipper with uplifted folded hands is directed to enumerate it among the sacred emblems. The head dress of many of the figures, which is pyramidal, resembles the Persian tiara; and though less

peaked than the *Mukut*, or crest of Buddha, depicted in the Phrabat, it may be here, as in the other, emblematical of the solar ray, being analogous, in this respect, to the winged crown on the obverse of the Sassanian coins of Persia, the reverse of which is remarkable for a fire altar, and two wheels, or Chakras, over the heads of the officiating priests. The spirit of polytheism is disposed to imitation, so that the legends and practices of one sect are often appropriated by another. We need not therefore be surprised that the Bauddhists of Siam worship the sun, under the name of *Pra Athit*, as mentioned by Captain Lowe; or that we should find pure Buddhism, on the west of India, early corrupted by an admixture of the Sabeian and Magian faith; or blended, afterwards, as in Nepal, with the worship of Siva and Tantra rites. Shamanism, or the gross form of Buddhism, which exists among the Tartar tribes, is combined with astrological superstition of magic and sorcery; and, if it differs in practice, is similar in its doctrine with the *Kala Chakra* system of Tibet, which has been already explained in a note on authority of De Koros. Whatever apparent differences may exist between the style of sculpture, and symbols which mark the alliance of one class of cave monuments with a period when primitive Bauddhist notions prevailed, and of those which refer another class of them to a time, when these notions, were corrupted by foreign admixture; such may be ascribed with more truth to the spirit of imitation and the accommodating temper of superstition, than to the possibility of having derived their origin from rival sectaries, so opposite to each other as were the Bauddhists and Brahmans. The caves of the western coast are doubtless Bauddha, or Jain; and of the latter only a few remains are to be met with at Ellora, which may be posterior to the corruption of pure Buddhism by Tantrika principles.

Among the paintings at Ajanta there are several portraits; one of which is a Raja on his knees performing his devotions, and there are other four placid faces of men and women. The hair of the women is tied by a bandeau, after the fashion of the women on the Garrow hills near Bhagalpur; who are described by Mr. Elliot as having their hair bound with a tape, three inches long, so as to keep it back from their foreheads, though generally it is tied with a string on the crown of the head. There is also a portrait of a lion monstrosity not unlike an Egyptian sphynx. It is deformed by a cap being given to the curling hair of its head, and a girdle to its body, and has doubtless some emblematic

meaning, as it appears at the feet of a Buddha standing on the leaves of the lotus, below which the many headed Nag is painted.

Besides these there is a hunting scene, wherein dogs are represented with collars and short tails, and horses with saddles not unlike what we see in Europe. The borders and patterns on the roofs of the caves are extremely well painted, and many of them are even tasteful and elegant. Some of the colors are fresh as when they were first laid on, especially the light blue, but the red has generally faded into a dirty brown."

Caves of Ellora. These magnificent monuments, which belong to the second class of excavations, are next described, and under this head we find some preliminary observations regarding points of doctrine, wherein the *Buddha* and *Jaina* sectaries agree or differ, from which the religious sculptures belonging to these particular sects may be appropriated to each of them. We quote the following:—"The two heterodox sectaries of *Buddha* and *Jina* agree in placing within the limits of south Bahar, and its immediate vicinity, the locality of the death and apotheosis of the last *Buddha*, and of the last *Jina*; disavow the *vedas*, and deities of the Hindu Pantheon; lived originally in a state of celibacy in religious societies, or monasteries, as we learn from the fables of the *Pancha Tantra*; select their priests from among the children of all branches of the community; have preserved for their sacred language the *Pali* or *Prakrit*, a dialect closely resembling the Magadhi or vernacular tongue of South Bahar; have nearly the same traditional chronology for the origin of the two sects; do not eat after sunset, and sweep the spot on which they sit down from their regard for the preservation of animal life. Both sects agree too in holding the doctrine of eternal atoms, which are the elements, earth, water, fire, and air; and which become the world's cause when in a state of aggregation, and of its dissolution when universally separated. This opinion they maintain in common with the *Vaishika* school of Hindú philosophy, of which *Kanada* is the author; and which is controverted by the more orthodox opinions of the *Vedantists* or the followers of the *Mimansa* philosophy. Though this information, regarding their early opinions, is obtained from the controversial disquisitions of their Brahmanical adversaries, it is essentially correct; and such opinions are perhaps more original than those now prevailing among the *Buddhas* of Nepal; who, according to Mr. Hodgson, admit the *Pancha Bhuta* or five elements, of which the five *Dhyani* or celestial *Buddhas*

are personifications. The Nepalese also admit *Manasa* and *Dharma*, or the sentient principle and condition of merit, as the sixth *Dhyani Buddha*, but as these last do not appear to have been admitted by the earlier Bauddha sectaries in India, nor were such opinions mixed up with the *Saiva* and *Sakta ritual* in Nepal, until a later period, we should be cautious in drawing the inference that such were parts of original practical Buddhism; and the conclusion seems more rational that such *Tantra* rites and symbols were grafted on Bauddha speculation, as was the case we know with the *Gyut*, the seventh and last portion of the *Kah-Gyur* or great scriptural collection of Tibet. The first volume of this portion was introduced from the north it is said, into India, during the tenth century, and into Tibet during the eleventh." *

Succeeding these observations we find an analysis of the character of various sculptures, met within three separate classes of caves at Ellora, called the northern, middle, and southern. The first range consisting of the *Adi-natha*, *Jaggannatha*, *Parishrama*, and *Indra Sabhas*, with some minor excavations now nearly filled up with earth, have been called *Bauddha* or *Jaina* by Mr. Erskine. To these succeed the *Dumar-lena Jan-wassa*, *Kumarwara*, *Ghana*, *Nilkantha*, *Runeswara*, *Kailas*, *Das Avatar*, and *Rikk Ravan*, which have been thought Brahmanical works, and belonging to this religion. The last or southern range, consisting of the *Tin-loka* or *Tin-tala*, the *Do-tala* or *Dukhyaghar*, *Viswakarma*, and the group of caves, called *Dehreh-wara*, are purely Bauddha ones, and similar to those of *Kanari* and *Karti*."

Of the individual excavations *Kailasa* is thus described:—"It is the most extensive and wonderful structure at Ellora, consisting of a Pagoda in form of a cone, about one hundred feet high, standing in a vast area of nearly four hundred feet in depth, and connected by two bridges and elaborate sculptures on an elegant portico; the upper story of which, rising above the gateway, contains the *Nandi* (Sivá's bull,) and appears to have been intended as a room for the accommodation of the band of musicians that attended at great festivals. On passing the gateway below, the visitor enters the area, and proceeding under a small bridge comes to a solid square mass of stone; the sides of which are sculptured with various figures, and support a room above, connected with the balcony of the

* See Analysis of the Kah-Gyur, by H. H. Wilson. Journal A. S. vol. 1. p. 386.

gateway. The western face of this basement has a sculptured representation of what the Brahmans call *Lakshmi* seated on the lotus, and watered by the trunks of two elephants, similar to a sculpture of the same goddess from Mahamalaiapur, given by Dr. Babington in plate VIII of his report on these interesting structures. Brahmanical identification of this sculpture, as the *Sakti* among *Saiva* figures, would show how nearly the original creed of Bauddhas and Brahmans approached each other; and though most of the sculptures of Kailasa belong, as will be seen, to the favored religious sectarism of Siva, the statue of the goddess is here represented agreeably to Bauddha ideas, which recognize the female divinity, *Adi-Prajna*, or *Adi-Dharma*, as symbolized by the *lotus*, or *yonî*; and manifested in Nepal as (*jalsa-rupa*) or the form of water. * On either side of this figure the passage opens right and left into the area, where are standing stone statues of two elephants, one of which is headless. Having passed these we are conducted to a second passage under another small bridge, that connects the upper room of the stone basement before mentioned with the body and upper story of the great temple. Two gigantic statues, similar to the usual representations of Buddha, are to be seen under the bridge at the second passage, and are usually named *Raja Bhoja* and *Ghatotkacha*; the latter of whom is mentioned, by the *Mahabharat*, as the natural brother of the *Pandus*. Two flights of steps lead from the first passage to the upper room which contains the *Nandî*, and is furnished with two doors and two windows. Opposite the latter there are two stone obelisks rising from the area below, and from this room, which is on a level with three small apartments over the gateway, the visitor may cross over the second bridge, and enter, (by a handsome open portico raised on lion pillars,) the grand apartment of the temple, which is supported by two rows of pillars. Two projecting portions, or balconies from the latter, appear to have been once connected, by a bridge, with smaller temples in the upper part of the scarped rock that encloses the area below. The hall of the great temple is about sixty six feet by fifty five in measurement, and the height of the ceiling varies from sixteen to seventeen

* Mr Hodgson's Notes on his sketch of Buddhism. Trans. R. A. S. vol. II page 249-253. In plates XXII and XXX of the Ajanta drawings, women are represented pouring water over the devotees, to remind them, as appears, of this essential principle of their faith.

feet. At the eastern end a doorway leads to a recess containing the *linga*; and the outer wall of the temple is sculptured with a profusion of imagery descriptive of a battle, which refers, as would appear, to the war of the *Kuravas* and *Pandus*, the theme of the *Mahabharat*. Interiorly a doorway, on each side of the recess containing the *linga*, leads to an open platform, where five smaller chapels rise in the form of a pyramid, and are elaborately sculptured with figures of the Hindu mythology, but contain no *lingas*.

Words cannot well convey an idea of this magnificent structure; on the right and left of which are several smaller excavations, in the upper part of the rock enclosing the area; and in rear of the temple, level with its base, three colonnades consisting of a single row of pillars, and corresponding pilasters, are seen between it and the northern, eastern, and southern scarps of the rock. Here between the pilasters, in the several compartments, are sculptured so many figures of the different divinities, as if they were meant to represent the whole of the Hindu Pantheon. Those in the *northern* colonnade, distributed in twelve compartments, are dedicated to the Saiva faith, and intended to represent its superiority to that of Vishnu. It is scarcely necessary here to enumerate the character of the several figures, as others have already done so, though not quite correctly; and I may satisfy myself and the reader by only alluding to some of the principal. The first on this side is the *linga*, surmounted by nine heads, which are those of the demon *Ravana* supporting the symbol, and who is said to have been so devoted a follower of *Siva* as to yield up nine of his heads to the service of this deity, and was about to sacrifice the tenth, that he might obtain immortality and universal dominion. The remaining figures are chiefly various representations of *Siva* and *Parvati*; number *seventh* is a *Bhakta*, or follower of this deity; and the *twelfth* one represents *Siva* issuing from the primitive *linga*, (pillar of radiance,) when he revealed himself to his consort *Parvati* or *Chandi*, to slay the demons *Chanda* and *Manda*, who, through a boon granted by the divine mothers, had become so powerful as to fill with alarm the three worlds; and who, though once subdued by *Devi*, were now exalted beyond her might. In the *eastern colonnade* there are nineteen compartments, containing figures that are also chiefly representations of *Siva's avatars*. In the *second* he has assumed the form of *Virabhadra* to destroy as appears *Daksha's* sacri-

fiœ; though the Brahman attendants call this the destruction of *Tripura Asur*,* one of the three demons destroyed by Maheswara. In the succeeding one the same deity, as an archer, is standing on a chariot drawn by horses; and with his upper left hand holds the extended bow, while the lower and third hand, on the opposite side, supports the trident. An elegant sketch of both figures has been given by Captain Grindlay, who calls the latter *Jayadharatha*, meaning nothing more than the bearer of victory; but which is here a representation of *Siva* going to battle against *Jalandhara*, as related in the Padma Purana; and of which the legend will be found in Colonel Kennedy's work on Hindu mythology.† The *sixth* compartment contains a figure of *Vishnu* in the form of *Narasinha*, or a man lion, destroying the demon *Hiranyakasipa*. From the *twelfth* to the *nineteenth* compartment, *Siva* appears in his character of eight *Bhairavas*. The southern colonnade contains a similar number of compartments as that on the north side. In the first of these, a figure half male and half female, is represented with one breast, being the type of the two productive principles of nature, and only another form of *Siva*, called *Ardha Nariswara*. ‡ The third compart-

* In all the Hindu legends regarding the destruction of demons, and varied considerably in different works, there would appear to be a veiled meaning or allegory, relative to the efficacy of penance and abstraction, or piety and virtue, raising their votaries to superhuman power, hostile to the religion of the Vedas, and the more recent introduction of the Saiva and Vishnava faith. The three demons here called *Tripura*, having received a boon from Brahma, obtained the construction of three cities, and had become so powerful as to occasion distress to the gods. *Siva* was applied to by the immortals for the destruction of the demons; but while their chief adhered to virtue it was not allowable that this deity should slay them. The gods failing in their suit to *Siva*, next applied to *Vishnu*; who, deluding the demons by heretical opinions, propagated by a shaved head (or Buddha,) dressed in dirty clothes and holding in his hand a pot and besom, brought down destruction on the inhabitants of the city of *Tripura*, who had been initiated in the new doctrines. As the demons through the delusion of *Vishnu* had thus abandoned piety, *Siva* no longer hesitated to carry into effect the wishes of the gods; and accordingly destroyed the *Tripura Asuras*. Col. Kennedy in his Mythology has given the whole of this legend from the Siva Purana, and mentions also the version of it as related in the Bhagavata.

† Hindu Mythology, page 485.

‡ The following passage, from the Linga Purana, translated by Col. Kennedy, in his Hindu Mythology, will familiarize the reader with the variety of epithets given to the forms of *Siva*, and his consort *Gauri*, or *Parvati* :—

ment contains a figure with four heads grasping a pillar, and intended for *Brahma* paying his devotion to the *Agni Linga*. In the fourth one, *Vishnu*, in the *Narasinha avatar*, is tearing out the bowels of *Hiranya Kasipa*; and in the succeeding one he is sculptured sleeping on *Sesha*, or the *Dharanidhara* of the Jains, the serpent who supports the universe, and the well known representation of *Vishnu* as *Narayana*, who is thus addressed in the first hymn of the *Atharvana Veda*:—"Glorious *Narayana*, celestial light—*Narayana*, the universal spirit—*Narayana*, the supreme *Brahma*, to thee be veneration.—*Narayana*,—God of

"*Siva* is the Supreme Being, and *Gauri* is his energy; *Siva* is the male, and *Gauri* the female principle of existence; *Siva* is the meaning, and *Gauri* the voice; *Siva* is the day, and *Gauri* the night; *Siva* is the sacrificer, and *Gauri* the sacrifice; *Siva* is the heaven, and *Gauri* the earth; *Siva* is the sea, and *Gauri* the tide; *Siva* is the tree, and *Gauri* the fruit; *Siva* is *Brahma*, and *Gauri* *Savitri* (the wife of *Brahma*); *Siva* is *Vishnu*, and *Gauri* *Lakshmi*; *Siva* every male, and *Gauri* every female being; actuality is *Siva*, potentially *Gauri*; a multitudinous sparks issue from fire, so multitudinous forms of a two fold nature proceed from *Siva* and *Gauri*, of which the outward form is *Gauri*, but the spirit *Siva*; the senses are *Gauri* and the power of perception *Siva*; intellection is *Gauri*, and the intellect is *Siva*; the pedestal is *Gauri*, and *Siva* is the lingam, the object of unceasing worship by men and gods; all things of a feminine nature are *Gauri*, and all of a masculine, *Siva*; the three worlds are but the form of *Gauri*, whose soul is *Siva*. Thus are *Siva* and *Gauri* the causes of all things, the preservers of this universe, and those to whom the adoration of men ought at all times to be devoutly addressed,"

The prototype of the same goddess, in Egypt, appears to be *Isis* or *Matb*, the mother goddess; who like *Ambica*, (motherly,) or *Parvati*, was named the mundane habitation of *Horus*, or the recipient of productive power, and like the Hindu goddess, is represented more in her physical than astral character: in which latter she becomes the *Nanaia* of the *Ard-okra* or *Mithraic* series of coins found in the Punjab, and was among the Persians and Greeks, the *Queen of heaven*, sometimes the moon and sometimes the planet *Venus*. The goddess *Uma* (mother) of India appears to have had appellations similar to those given to the Egyptian goddess; and is called on the *Rathas*, (or evolutions of form), at, *Mahamalaipur*, *Bhuvan Bhajana* भुवन भाजन: or the mundane vessel. She is there depicted with only one breast being the masculo-feminine principle of production. (See Dr. Babington's figures from the east side of the *Rathas*, No. 3. Trans: R. A. S. Vol II plate XVI). But I must not anticipate conclusions from facts connected with the very interesting coins, which have been discovered of late years in the north west of India; to the illustration of which I propose to devote another volume, calculated I hope to shed light on the History and Mythology of India.

gods, preserver of the universe.—Narayana contemplator supreme, to thee be veneration.—Narayana the supreme veda, the great wisdom.—Narayana, thou art all things and manifestly present, to thee be veneration.—Narayana, from whom Brahma originated, from whom Siva sprang.—Narayana, from whom Indra was born, to thee be veneration.—Narayana, the sun and moon—Narayana, light and sacrifice—Narayana, visible in fire, to thee be veneration.—Narayana the object of worship, and the pious preceptor—Narayana, eternal emancipation, to thee be veneration.—Narayana, the chief end and accomplishment and happiness of all—Narayana, the sun and Vishnu, to thee be veneration.” The seven heads of the *Naga*, or serpent, form a canopy over the head of the recumbent figure, as seen in the sitting images of *Paraswanatha*; and from its navel springs a lotus, on which Brahma sits. The whole must be intelligible to the reader from the substance of the hymn just quoted, shewing how intimately the primitive notions of Bauddhas and Brahmans were connected with the worship of the sun and sacrifice; till such gave way before abstract meditation and seclusion, with a tender regard for animal life. The last however, as the means of obtaining emancipation and final felicity, yielded to the preference given to the faith in particular divinities, of which there are strong indications in the sculptures we are now contemplating. The remaining figures have chiefly reference to the incarnations of *Vishnu*, as stated in the *Bhagavata* and *Garuda Puranas*, regarding which I before hazarded a conjecture that the adaptation of primitive *Buddhism* to *Vaishnava* principles had given origin to the present form of the Jaina faith.*

The sixth compartment contains a figure of *Krishna* attended by cows, in his character of the cowherd of *Vindravan*; and which from its resemblance to that of the *Apollo Nomios* of the Greeks, bears strong indication of a foreign origin. In the seventh, *Vishnu* is hurling from his throne the giant *Bali*, and traversing earth at a footstep; according to the legend that when the giant gave him, in his dwarf avatar, as much ground as he could cover in three steps, he placed his feet on the three worlds. *Vishnu*, in the *Varaha avatar*, or incarnation of a hog raising up *Prithivi*, or the earth, that had been submerged by the waters, is sculptured in the ninth compartment; and similar sculptures

* See page 75.

to those just mentioned, may be seen among Dr. Babington's drawings from Mahamalaiapur. The tenth compartment represents *Krishna* slaying the serpent *Kaliya*, that had poisoned the pure and sacred river *Yamuna*, and caused the death of many of the cowherds of *Vindravan*. The coincidence between this legend and that of the snake at Delphi, killed by the Pythian Apollo, must be more than casual; and would lead one to conjecture that the tribe of the *Yadavas*, from which *Krishna* sprung, was a northern one, having access to the mythological legends of Greece.*

Chapter second is devoted to Bauddha opinions, and religious tenets in various countries; and regarding the general principles of the Bauddha religion, and the designation of the Bauddha sectaries, we quote the following. "Prior to the publication of Mr. Hodgson's essays, on Nepal Buddhism † much obscurity prevailed in the different accounts of this religious system; rendered yet more unintelligible by European authors having blended the physical and moral parts of it, so as to leave little distinction between, what relates to the nature of a first cause, giving origin to the world; and what to the vital and human soul, produced for the expiation of sin, or to raise man above the power of the passions, and the influence of corporeal impressions; till, in a spirit of philosophy, and true knowledge, (the *γνώσις των όντων* of Pythagoras,) he had reached that perfection which assimilates him with Divinity. To clearly comprehend the subtle speculations, and over refined metaphysics of this religion, it is necessary to remember that its anthropology, which had its origin with *Gautama*, or *Sakya Sinha*, presents a series of the same human degradation and regeneration, as is observable in the periodical revolutions of the physical world. Each of the Bauddha schools teaches, that, at the expiration of long periods of time, this world is destroyed and reproduced; and that the living creatures of former worlds, who had not yet fully expiated their sins by abstraction of the mind, and mortification of the body, dying in the *Abhassara brahma*

* It is still more remarkable that Krishna's appellations of Govinda and Kesava, गोविंद केसव, in Sanskrit, are direct translations of Apollo's titles, in Greek, νόμιος Nomios (the herding), and ευχάιρης Eukhaites (the well haired).

† Mr. Hodgson's various papers, A. R. Vol. xvi. p. 421, T. R. A. S. Vol. ii, p. 222, and Prinsep's Journal, Vol. iii and v.

loka, one of the celestial mansions, the scene of mortal transmigration, return to each new world; deprived of the natural effulgence, which prevented them from being affected by corporeal perceptions, or by the influence of passion and a spirit of discord.* The Suttans (aphorisms) of Ceylon, and the scriptures of Nepal, relative to the origin of mankind, seem uniform in their accounts; describing generative creation as a degradation, by successive emanations, and maintaining opinions similar to the *Theosophes* of some among the Christian Gnostics; who paid continual attention to the state of the soul, by meditation on the divinity, as being the source of inexhaustible love. Their science, according to Clemens of Alexandria, consisted of two parts; of which the *first* was occupied with divine things, considering the first cause by which all had been made, and without which nothing that is, can exist; examining the essence which penetrates and unites one substance with another: while they sought to discover the powers of nature and asked to what end they tended. The *second* part treated of human things, of the condition of man, of his nature, and what he ought to do and suffer; here examining his vices and virtues, and the means by which happiness could be attained. †

* Sangermano, from Burmese authority, regarding the felicity and misery of beings that live in this world, states that the Bauddhas say, at the death of a man, animal, or other living being, the soul perishes together with the body; but then, from this complete dissolution another individual springs, which will be man, or beast, or Nat, (celestial spirits,) according to the merits or demerits of the actions done by its predecessor during life. Through this successive series of dissolutions and regenerations, all beings go on, for the duration of one or more worlds; till, at length, they have performed such works as render them worthy of the state of Niban (nirvan), which is the most perfect of all states; or one of quiescence as before explained. Sangermano's description of the Burmese Empire, Chapter iii, par. 6; also Mr. Turnours translations of the *Agganna Suttan* of Ceylon; and Mr. Hodgson on Buddhism. Trans: R. A. S. Vol, ii, p. 235.

† These characteristic opinions among the *Christian Gnostics*, to be met with in Clementis Alexandrini Stromatum, Lib. Sept. have been thus embodied by M. Jacques Matter, in his *Historie Critique du Gnosticisme*, Tome second, page 98. Clementis says, "Dei ergo cultus est continua animæ cura qui est præditus cognitione, et ejus perpetua in Deo occupatio per charitatem, qui nunquam intermittitur. Cultus non qui versatur circa res hominum, unus quidem est qui reddit meliores: alius vero, qui in ministerio occupatur: medicina quidem corpus, philosophia vero animam reddit meliorem. Clementis Alexandrini Opera, Græce et Latine, a Frederico Sylburgio, fol. 700.

The *Bauddhas* or *Saugatas*, as followers of *Buddha Sugata*, are frequently called *Nastikas*, or atheists, being disowners of another world; and the term *Jina* or *Arhata*, importing the subjugation of passion, is used to designate the *Jainas*. The last, in reference to the nakedness of one class, are denominated *Digambaras*, while the less strict sect, "clad in white," are named *Swetambaras*. *Buddha Muni* or *Gautama*, the reputed founder of the Bauddha sect, is the author of *Sutras* (aphorisms,) constituting the body of his doctrine, termed *Agama*; which, from different constructions of the text, has given rise to four schisms or schools, called the *Madhyamika*, *Yogacharya*, *Sautrantika*, and *Vaibashika*. * The same division of these sectaries, as known to the Brahmanical opponents of their doctrines, exists in the Buddhism of Tibet, † and appears not to be materially different from the four leading schools of Nepal, as explained by Mr. Hodgson. In as far as we can now judge, the identity of opinions among Bauddhas, in various countries, may be admitted; and we need not hesitate to express our belief that this religion is a uniform system spreading from a common source, however it may seem to vary, by minor differences of tenets, among particular people. It possesses too a body of religious literature; which, whether in Ceylon, Burmah, Nepal, Tibet, China, or Japan, seems identical in its general principles; being more vulgar or refined, atheistical, or theistical, according to the standard of speculative opinion among its followers. In China, Ceylon, and Burmah, the atheistical system seems prevalent, while in Nepal the theistical is generally accepted, and is also acknowledged in Tibet."

On the subject of agreement between the creeds of the *Bauddhas* and *Jainas*, and the principles which distinguish the primitive followers of the latter, the author makes the following observations.

"The appellation of *Arhatas*, (saints,) by which the more ancient of the Jaina sect appear to have been known, seems applicable to such of the *Digambara* teachers as were deified by their followers; and who except in some minor points of doctrine, recognizing *jiva* (life,) or *manas* (the

* Mr. Colebrooke on the Philosophy of Indian Sectaries, Trans. R. A. S. Vol. i p. 558.

† Notices of different systems of Buddhism, from Tibet authorities, by Alex. Csoma Korosi. Prinsep's Journal. Vol. vii, 142.

sentient soul), distinct from *Parmatma* * (supreme intelligence), and admitting *akasa* (ether), as the fifth element, were in no respect to be distinguished from the *Bauddas*, or followers of *Gautama*. Like the Christian Gnostics and followers of *Saturnine*, they distinguished the *Bodhatma*, (intelligent soul,) or the *πνευμα* and *νοος*, spirit and intelligence, from the *Chaitana Atma* or *ψυχῆ ζωτικῆ* † (the sentient soul). Colebrooke draws the conclusion that the *Sarmanes*, distinguished from the *Brachmanes*, by Clemens Alexandrinus, in the end of the second century of our era, were the Gymnosophists of the Indians; an appellation that seems to him more applicable to the sect of *Jina* than that of *Buddha*, who is said to be the author of distinct precepts, and worshipped as a god, on account of his distinguished virtue. ‡ It does indeed

* Mr. Colebrooke on the *Nyaya*, or dialectic school of Hindu philosophy, Trans: R. A. S. Vol. I, p. 99. and again on the Bawddha sectaries, at page 550; also Delamaine on the Jains, page 416 of the same volume. It appears from the analysis of the *Kahgyur*, by Professor H. H. Wilson and Alex. Cosma Korosi, that the *Prajna Paramita*, or transcendental wisdom of Tibet, like the Karmika system of Buddhism in Nepal, teaches the existence of the *Shad Ayatan*, or seats of the six senses, admitting *manasa* as the sixth, and recognizing *Akasa* (ether), as the fifth element, which though reckoned by the *Nyayikas*, was disputed by the *Bauddhas*, and even by the most primitive *Jains*, if Mr. Colebrooke's exposition of these doctrines be correct. See Prinsep's Journal, Vol. 1. p. 377. Mr Hodgson's quotations in proof of his authority on Buddhism; in Prinsep's Journal. Vol V. p. 80. and Trans: R. A. S. Vol I. p. 551.

† *Historie critique Du Gnosticisme, et de son influence, sur les sectes religieuses et philosophiques des six premiers siècles de l'ere chretienne* Vol I. p. 281; and Colebrooke on the Jains. Trans. R. A. S. Vol I p. 551.

‡ Mr. Colebrooke in his account of the Jains, has overlooked one passage of Clemens, that more clearly distinguishes them from the *Bauddhas* than the one he has quoted. It makes particular mention of the *Dehgop*, or pyramidal altar covering the bones of Buddha. "Brachmanes quidem certe neque animalium comedunt, neque vinum bibunt: sed aliqui quidem ex-iis, quotidie sicut nos, cibum capiunt; nonnulli autem ex-iis ter-tio quoque die, ut Alexander Polyhistor in lib. de rebus Indiciis. Mortem autem contemnunt, et vivere nihili faciunt: credunt enim esse regenerationem: aliqui autem colunt Herculem et Panem. Qui autem ex Indis vocantur *Σεμνοί*, id est *honesti* ac *venerandi*, nudi totam vitam transigunt: Ii veritatem exercent, et futura prædicunt, et colunt quandam pyramidem, sub qua existimant alicujus Dei ossa reposita. Neque vero Gymnosophistæ, nec qui dicuntur *Σεμνοί*, id est *venerandi*, utentur mulieribus, hoc enim præter naturam et iniquum esse existimant: qua de causa seipsos castos conservant. Virgines autem sunt etiam mulieres quæ dicuntur

appear that the *Jainas* are particularly meant; and that the sect here intended were the *Digambaras*, who are also called *Allobi*, अल्लोभो (exempt from passion,) and are so named by Col. Miles in his account of this religion. But both sects, who appear to have lived together as people of one religion, are indiscriminately called *Arhatas* and *Sramanas*; and among the followers of *Buddha* those who have obtained superior proficiency in *Bodhijnan* (divine knowledge), and are segregated from the community of monks, are styled *Arhans*; while the rest of the congregation are divided into different degrees of proficiency, and named *Bhikshu*, *Sravaka*, and *Chailaka*. The laity of the Jains engaged in secular employment, and obeying the precepts of their scriptures, without practising ascetical devotion, are called *Sravakas*; one of the appellations for a Bauddha proficient. Their priests too are the *Saddhus* (Saints), and the *Yatis*, or secular instructors. The former denomination is of similar meaning as *Arhat*, corrupted in Burmah into *Rahatan*, and applied to designate members of the monastic fraternity generally; while in Nepal the same class are called *Bandyas*, and in China *Bonzes*. The general principles of agreement in opinion between the *Bauddhas* and *Jainas*, disavowing the divine origin of the *Vedas*, and appealing rather to reason than to revelation, or authority, accompanied by a tender regard for the preservation of animal life, have been pointed out in the preceding pages; and we are now prepared to consider the extent and quality of the religious literature, possessed by both sects."

The conformity of the Bauddha principles of belief with the tenets taught among the ancient Sabeans, is thus noticed

"Some of the general principles of the Bauddha religion have been noticed in previous pages of this work; so far as such were deemed necessary to the better understanding of changes that have taken place in *Systems of Hindu belief*; and are yet reflected, to the eye of the observer, from the sculptures of *Ellora*, *Elephanta*, and *Badarni*. Various systems of philosophy, similar in outline and object to the Grecian schools, are known to exist among the Hindus; and the leading tenets of two of them, the *Sankhya Darshanas*, or the numeral or rational system, are

Σειναι, Videntur autem observare caelestia et per eorum significationem quaedam futura predicere." The Greek appellation Σειναι, used in the above passage is like the *Pali Sumana*; meaning an ascetic, or devotee, and the same as the Sanskrit *Sramana*.

remarkably identified with the only two *philosophical schools* of the Bauddha religion, the *Madhyamika* and *Yogacharya*. The object of all, however, was, by the exercise of judgment or reasoning, to *discriminate spirit from matter, Purusha from Prakriti, or soul from nature*; till having ascended by regular steps to perfection, the sage was able to distinguish the *root, or plastic origin* of things, from that modification of them which is distributive, and pertains to individual beings. It was thus he learned to identify himself and all things with the source from whence they came, and to which, after a life of virtuous penance, he was doomed to return, escaping the evil of transmigration into other forms. Final excellence (*nishreyas,*) and deliverance from evil (*moksha,*) are the promised rewards of a thorough knowledge of the principles taught by this religion: but this state of felicity is, among *Bauddhas* and *Jainas*, more commonly expressed by the term *nirvana*, profound calm, or imperturbable quiescence. * The characteristic tenet of the *atheistical Sankhya of Kapila*, and of the *Nepal Bauddha School*, called by Mr. Hodgson *Swabhavika*, seems to be that matter is *eternal and productive*, and that *God*, or the intelligence of this system, is rather the energy of *necessity and chance*, than the *ruling creator* of the universe. That however which principally distinguishes its opposite, the *theistical School of Patanjali*, is that an *intelligent agent* is superadded to elementary matter, and acknowledged as *God, or Iswara*; but who is unconcerned with good or bad deeds, and their consequences, though *omniscient*, and instructor of the earliest beings that had a beginning (the deities of mythology). † This more nearly perhaps identifies itself with the *Prajnika Swabhavika* ‡ system of Nepal, than with the

* See Mr. Colebrooke's Essays on the atheistical and theistical Schools of the Sankhya philosophy; and on that of the Bauddha sect. Trans R. A. S. Vol. I page. 95—566.

† Ward's Account of the Hindus Vol 1.

‡ Swabhava, a compound of *Swa* (own) and *bhava* (nature), is meant to express that all specific forms result from spontaneous, or instinctive creation; and *Prajnika*, from *pra* (the intensitive prefix), and *jna* (wisdom), implies the material goddess *Prajna*, or intellectual energy superadded to crude matter, for the purposes of creation and the evolution of things. In this it differs from the School of *Patanjali* who makes this agent, or energy, *Iswara*; while the *Aishwarika* School, like the *Brahmanical*, appears to teach that all material forms proceed from *Maya* (illusion), and are in action, or *Pravritti*, but emanations of the deity. "Body, (says the Swayambhu purana of Nepal), is com-

purely theistical, or *Aishwarika School*, which acknowledges the *self-existent God*, or the first *intellectual essence*, as *Adi Buddha* revealed by his own will, and immaterial in his essence. The primitive Buddha atheistical doctrine does not, as before noticed, admit of a triad: nor was such recognized by the two schools of the Sankhya, till a modification of their principles, taught in the mythology of the *Puranas*, ascribed the origin of the world (Sangha), to the union of the active (Buddha), and passive powers of nature, * (Dharma:) which *three*, in the *aggregate* were one person or *deity*; but *distributive*, were analogous to the gods *Brahma*, *Vishnu*, and *Maheswara*. This triadic doctrine is solely referable to a state of *Pravrutti*, (energy and change,) or the evolution of things; and may, as Mr Hodgson remarks, be resolved into a *duad*, similar to the *Yin* and *Yan*, † or the imperfect and perfect principles of the *Chinese rational system*, and astronomical creed of the *Sabeans*, and *Fire worshippers*.

Masudi, in his meadows of gold and mines of jewels, ‡ gives so clear a view of the *dualism* of these doctrines, and the introduction of them from *India* into *China*, that I cannot better strengthen the opinions now given than by here quoting, and translating from Arabic, his account. "The religion of the Chinese," says he, "is that of ancient times, a faith

pounded of the five elements. Soul which animates it, is an emanation from the self-existent." The last, as we shall have occasion hereafter to show, appertains rather to the modern *Jainas* than to the *Bauddhas*: for, in *Burmah* at least, it is pronounced heretical; and Sangermano, in his account of the laws of *Gautama*, says, "The last of these imposters taught that there exists a Supreme Being, the Creator of the world and of all things in it, and that he alone is worthy of all adoration. All these doctrines of the six false gods are called the laws of the six Deities. demons." Tandy's Translation of Sangermano, page 81.

* It would thus appear that both the *Swabhava*, and *Projnika Swabhavika Schools* of Buddhism, are essentially atheistical in their principles, and teach materialism: for, as Mr. Colebrooke observes of the Sankhya philosophy, these may be said to affirm two eternal principles, *soul* and *matter*: though *Prakriti*, or nature, abstracted from modifications, is no other than matter. See Colebrooke's Observations on the Nyaya School: Trans: R. A. S. Vol: 1. p. 95.

† These are the male and female principles, the active and passive elements, the *tamasa* and *rajasa* of the Hindus, or the qualities of *depravity and passion*.

‡ See his account of the Chinese, in the Arabic history called *Murawwaj-az-zahab-wa-maadin-al-jawahir*.

called *Shaminah*, * (Samanian,) similar to the practical devotions of the *Korish*, prior to the advent of *Islamism*; as they worship idols, and turn towards them in their prayers. The intelligent among them invoke by prayer the creator; and place before them, as an altar or type, the images and idols; but the ignorant, from want of knowledge, associate such with the divine creator, and relying on them as his partners, think that adoration of these conducts them to the resting place of God, though, in their devotions, such be considered of inferior rank, and less worthy of worship, than the Lord God, Most High by his glory, greatness and power. The worship of idols, therefore, though inferior to his praise, is the means of approaching him; and such was the cause of its beginning and origin, among the Chinese, through intercourse and familiarity with the *Grandees of India*: an opinion which is prevalent both among the learned and unlearned of the latter country, as we have already related. This is the current tradition among the people of China, relative to the doctrine of the *two principles* and *rundanists*; and though they differ and dispute concerning them; yet, amidst all their rules, they adopt such part of their ancient law as seems best to them. Their country adjoins that of *Soghd* (Sogdiana), and their tenets, as before related, are those of the *Moghaniah*, (Magians or fire worshippers,) relative to opinions on light and darkness. Previously they were a truly ignorant people, and their principles of belief were similar to those of the Turks; till such time as a *fiend of a fire worshipper* overcame them by his opinions, and taught that every thing in this world, is in a state of enmity and opposition; such as life and death, health and sickness, light and darkness, riches and poverty, collection and division, conjunction and disjunction, sunrise and sunset, existence and non existence, day and night, with such like things."—

On the reputed age and origin of the two earliest *Bauddha* schools, the *Madhyamika* and *Yogacharya*, we have the following historical observation. "The four schisms, or schools, to which the opinions of *Buddha Muni*, *Sakya Sinha*, or *Gautama* gave rise, have been noticed in the first part of this chapter; and the leading tenets of the *Madhyamika* and *Yogacharyas*, with their relative identity to systems of Hindu philosophy, have just been briefly stated. It is of some importance, however,

* This word is derived from the Persian, *Shamya* شيميا, interpreted heaven; but is explained in the Dictionary called *Burhani Kaatis*, to be a Syriac word meaning significant light, or understanding.

in tracing the rise and progress of Buddhism, to ascertain about what period these schools originated. The third convocation of the Bauddha priesthood, according to the authority of the *Ceylon scriptures*, took place in the reign of *Dharma Asoka*; but agreeably to the *Tibet books* it is assigned to the time of *Kaniska*, a king of Northern India, reigning about four hundred years after the death of *Sakya*. At this time however, his followers had separated themselves into *eighteen sects*, under the four principal divisions already recorded: and from what is related in the biographical account of *Nagarjuna*, who is the reputed author of the *Madhyamiha*, it appears, that, as an orthodox follower of Buddha, he denounced the six *Arhatas*, or mortal predecessors of *Gautama*, who are recognized both in China, Tibet, and Nepal. Our knowledge of this fact rests on Mr. Turnour's translation of a passage of the *Raja Tarangini*, a history of Kashmir, which has been differently interpreted by Professor Horace Wilson. I am disposed, however, to prefer the former; as from what I have been able to ascertain of the origin of the *Jainas* from the *Bauddha* sect, and the consequent derivation of their sacred language, the *Prakrit* from *Pali*, their separation seems to have taken place about the time of *Nagarjuna*, and to have originated in some such difference of opinion as gave a preference to *Kasyapa*, the *Brahmanical predecessor* of *Gautama*, and made him the author of a system of religion which was once common to both.

Nagarjuna, the same as *Nagasena* of the Pali work called *Milindapanno*, was, as would appear, a *Bauddha hierarch*, who lived B. C. 43. He is celebrated for a controversy on the subject of his religion, with *Milindo*, the Raja of *Sagala*, a city well known to Greek history, and otherwise named *Euthymedia* or *Ethydemia*, having been so called in honor of the Bactrian king *Ethydemus*; who, after successfully directing an insurrection in Bactria, against the Seleucidæ, pushed his conquests into India, and established this city under his own name. * Some are of opinion that its Grecian appellation of *Ethydemia* was imposed on it by his son *Demetrius*; who, after his father's death, and that of *Menander*, seized on that portion of the *Bactro-Indian* empire which had been theirs. Difference of opinion too exists as to the particular site of this city, which, in the time of Alexander the Great, was called *Sangala*, and is said, in Arrian's history of India, to be situated between the two last rivers of the *Panjab*, the ancient *Hydraotes*, and *Hyphasis*, or

* See Danville's Ancient Geography, Vol. II. p. 105.

the modern *Ravi* and *Vipasa*. The town of *Hurrepah*, south west of Lahore, and distant from it somewhat more than sixty miles, has been, with apparent truth, identified by Mr. C. Masson, as the site of *Sagala*, which, in Alexander's time, was the capital of the *Kathai*, *Kshatriyas*; * and is mentioned in the *Kerna Parva* of the *Mahabarat* under the name of *Sakala*. † In the latter, it is called a city of the *Bahikas*, otherwise named *Arattas*; who are said to be without ritual, or religious observances; and who, as distinguished from the pure *Hindus*, or followers of the *Vedas* and orthodox system, must have been *Bahalikas*, Bactrians, or of *Indo Scythian* extraction. The inference, that the people of *Sagala* belonged to the latter, is rendered more certain by facts, that this city is mentioned, in the Parthian mansions of *Isidorus Characenus*, ‡ as belonging to the *Sacæ*, or Scythians; and by Ferishta's history, and the Persian romances again mentioning that one of its Rajas was assisted by *Afrasiab*, in a war against the celebrated *Kaikhusrav*, or *Cyrus*. A point of connexion, between the *Græco-Bactrian* kingdom and one of the earliest schools of Bauddha philosophy, seems thus established with tolerable certainty, and the name of the city of *Sagala*, met with in the western cave inscriptions, must afford additional proof, that the religious opinions and ritual of Buddhism were not uninfluenced, in the north of India, by the mythology, if not the philosophy of the Greeks. *Nagarjuna's* principal disciples, according to the Tibetan books, were *Arya Deva* and *Buddha Palita*, and though the latter may not be the same as the *Buddha Palit* of No. 23 inscription from the Buddhist tope at *Bhilsa*, the occurrence of this name, on a monument of such antiquity,

* According to the manner of derivatives from Sanskrit, the *Ksha* क्ष of the latter is changed into *Kha* ख, and the *r* being always omitted in Pali words, the Sanskrit appellation, for a man of the military classes, *Kshatriya* क्षत्रिय, thus becomes in Pali *Khatya*, a name not far removed from the *Kathai* of the Greeks, which seems a corruption of the original word.

† See Prinsep's Journal for 1837. p. 57, and Asiatic Researches. Vol. xv. p. 108.

‡ Isidorus wrote after the flight of Tiridates, about A. D. 36, and mentions the city in these words " Hinc Sacastana Sacarum Scytharum, quæ et Paratacena, schæu : 63, ubi Barda urbs, et Min urbs, et Palacenti urbs, et Sigal urbs; ubi regia Sacarum, propeque Alexandria urbs, et non procul Alexandriopolis urbs: vici etiam sex," Geographiæ veteris scriptores Græci Minores, Vol. II.

should not at least pass without remark. Regarding the probable age of the *Yogacharya* school, the Tibetan books mention that the principal works on this system are referred to *Arya Sanga*, about the seventh century of our era.

Two other schools of Bauddha doctrine, the *Sautrantika*, and *Vaibhashika*, which are rather dogmatical, existed among the early sectaries of this religion ; and were, as Mr. Colebrooke observes, anterior to the age of *Sankara-Acharya*, and *Kumarila Bhatta*, the last of whom instigated a persecution of the Bauddhas, by which they were driven from Hindusthan. Could the authority of Tibetan books be trusted, the origin of the last of these schisms would be placed in the middle of the sixth century B. C. and immediately after the death of *Gautama*: but there is reason for mistrusting the narrative of events related by the early Bauddha annals, which can only be considered authentic from the well established period of the Emperor *Asoka*. The same division of Bauddha sectaries, as known to their Brahmanical opponents, exists among the Bauddhas of Tibet, whose books mention that the *Vaibhashika* consisted of four principal classes, originating with Sakya's four disciples: who are called *Rahula*, *Kasyapa*, *Upali*, and *Katyayana*.* The latter, called in Pali books *Kachchayano*, was an inspired saint and lawgiver, who corrected the inaccuracies of *Panini*, the father of Sanskrit grammar; and is acknowledged, by the literature of Ceylon, to have been the author of the earliest *Pali* grammar; from which the oldest compiled version, called the *Rupasiddhi* was composed in the *Dekhan*. † The identity of the author is, Mr. Colebrooke says, involved in the impenetrable darkness of mythology; ‡ but if the era of *Gautama* be accurately fixed, and the early annals of Buddhism allowed to be authentic, the origin both of *Sanskrit* and of *Pali* grammar must be dated six centuries B. C.: but this is a subject which is yet imperfectly investigated.

Both the *Sautrantika* and *Vaibhashika* sects admit the existence of external objects and of internal sensations; distinguishing, under the former, elements, (*bhuta*), and things appertaining thereto, (*bhautika*) which are organs and sensible qualities. They reckon, under the latter,

* See notices of different systems of Buddhism, extracted from the Tibetan authorities by Alex. C. Koros. Prinsep's Journal for 1838. p. 143.

† Introduction to Mr. Turnour's translation of the Mahawanso, page XXV.

‡ See Asiatic Researches: Vol. VII. p. 199.

intelligence, (*Chita*), and what belongs thereto, *chaitta*. The elements are only *four*, consisting of atoms, which when conjoined, form compound substances, or bodies, the objects of sense that are apprehended by individual consciousness, or intelligence, dwelling within body. The *Vaibhashikas* acknowledge the *direct perception* of exterior objects, and the *Sautrantikas* contend for the *mediate apprehension* of them, through images presented to consciousness: but both are of opinion that objects cease to exist when no longer perceived, and teach that, both in the physical and moral world, events are but a concatenation of cause and effect, which are *unreal* and momentary. A belief to the contrary, or in the durability of objects, arises from *avidya* or error; to remove which, these schools maintain that the object of knowledge is the destruction of percipient power; by which the bound soul, (*badhnati*), associated with works, (*karman*), obtains liberation, and exemption from further transmigration.

Some doubt exists regarding the recorded antiquity of the Sautrantika and Vaibhashika schools, which are, however, connected, by this last tenet, with a comparatively modern modification of them; called *Karmika* and *Yatnika* systems of Nepal. The former teaches that phenomena are illusory, resulting only from an act of the sentient principle, (*manas*;) which, yet unembodied, falsely believes in their reality.* This school of Buddhism, which, in Mr. Hodgson's opinion, admits of conscious moral effort, is, he conceives, an attempt to remedy the *Swabhavi-*

* The reader is requested to compare on this subject Mr. Hodgson's quotations on the Karmika system, (Prinsep's Journal for 1836 p: 78,) and Mr. Colebrooke's observations on the philosophy of Indian sectaries, Trans. R. A. S. Vol. 1 p. 562. The following is the quotation from the *Racha Bhagavati*, given by Mr. Hodgson in proof and illustration of these opinions. "The being of all things is derived from belief, reliance, (*pratyaya*), in this order: from false knowledge, delusive impressions; from delusive impressions, general notions; from them, particulars; from them, the six seats, (or outward objects, of the senses; from them, contact; from it, definite sensation and perception; from it, thirst or desire; from it, embryotic (physical) existence; from it, birth or actual physical existence; from it, all the distinctions of genus and species among animate things; from them, decay and death, after the manner and period peculiar to each. Such is the procession of all things into existence from *Avidya*, or delusion; and in the inverse order to that of their procession, they retrograde into non-existence. And egress and regress are both *Karmas*, wherefore this system is called Karmika. (Sakya to his disciples in the *Racha Bhagavati*)."

ka denial of personality, conscious power, and wisdom, of a first cause; which denial necessarily results from the theory of self productive energy of matter, called by the Burmese *dammata*, or fate; * and which leaves such cause without the attributes of moral power, conscious intellectual effort, or will. It was a sequel to the declaration of such opinion, that the universe was *without a moral ruler*, and that the change of deity from a state of *nirvritti*, (quiescence,) to that of *pravritti*, (energy,) was effected *without conscious intellectual power*, or free will. If such was the state of a first cause, human nature was equally without a sense of right and wrong, and deprived of free will; for, according to the philosophical schools of Buddhism, man became an irresponsible being, without the power or will of effecting his eternal happiness. To remove this objection, however, to the atheism of Bauddha doctrines, which had linked the physical origin of a first cause with the phenomena of human nature, it was requisite to teach that every free willed man might, through a proper cultivation of his moral sense, and the just conduct of his understanding, realize that external connexion between virtue and felicity, which none of the schools have ever attempted to deny. The *Karmika* system had asserted the superiority of man's moral sense, and the *Yatnika* was produced to advocate the doctrine of his free will; † but both seem comparatively modern, and must have succeeded the *physical theories*, taught by the Bauddha philosophers, regarding the origin of the world and the nature of the first cause. That general law of material energy, or fate, by which one world was destroyed and another reproduced, being made applicable to the phenomena of human nature, primitive men were said to fall off from the perfection of their ancestors, to give themselves up to vice and abandon virtue, and to have their lives gradually diminished; until by their lust, anger, and ignorance, the physical dissolution of the world takes place, and human beings perish only to re-appear under new forms. ‡

* See Sangermano, chapter II para. 1.

† The following quotation by Mr. Hodgson, on the Swabhavika doctrine, shows its tendency to refer every thing to instinct or fate; "who sharpened the thorn? who gave their varied forms, colors, and habits to the deer kind and to birds? Swabhava! It is not according to the will (ichchha) of any; and if there be no desire or intention, there can be no intender or designer: Bauddha Charitra," Prinsep's Journal, 1836. page 73.

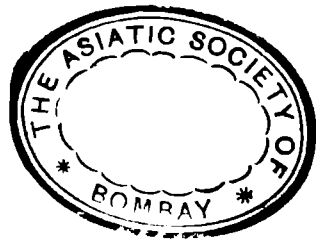
‡ Compare this with the general principles of the Bauddha religion, announced in the first part of this analysis, page 88.

The opinion that these schools are of modern origin, is strengthened by the connexion of the *Karmika* system with some of the leading doctrinea of the *Jaina* sectaries; who teach that the duration of punishment, or reward, is according to the powers of the mind and senses; and that, in proportion as they are held in subjection, till apathy or stoical indifference be acquired by discipline, man's happiness or misery is accordingly insured. The act of the sentient power (*manas,*) which, through ignorance (*avidya,*) maintains a belief in the reality of worldly objects, or a desire to maintain its union with them, can, by a higher intellectual effort, *extinguish such sentient desire*; and obtain *moksha*, or release from the trammels of existence, by the realization of true knowledge that all events of this world are unreal.* Contemporary with the adoption, by the Baudhas, of the *Karmika* doctrines, the existence of a fifth element (*akasa*), having been admitted, and *manas*, or the sentient principle, being at the same time acknowledged as the sixth, and called *vajara satwa*; these, together with the four original elements, are represented by the six *Dhyani Buddhas* of the *Aishwarika*, or theistical school; and to which, Mr. Hodgson thinks, the *Karmika* and *Yatnika* systems, on the subject of human nature, more naturally attach themselves than to the physical *Swabhavika*.†

The material *Swabhava* places nature supreme, and considers it as *Iswara*, or God; but that modification of it, which unites a transcendental omniscient principle, called *Prajna*, with the material one, typifies such as the goddess *Dharma*; who is the first member of the *Baud-*

* The reader may consult on this subject, Major Delamaine on the *Karmas* of the *Jains*; and what Mr. Colebrooke has written on the opinions of the *Buddha* sect. The latter, from Brahmanical sources, is in direct accordance with Mr Hodgson's quotation, No 4 on the *Karmika system*. These two dogmatical schools are like the exoteric, or practical course of discipline prescribed by Pythagoras, by which, the corporeal parts of man's nature being mortified and subdued, the intellectual portion of it was fitted for the contemplation of immutable truth, and union with the divine nature.

† See note 15 on the sketch of Buddhism. These dogmatical schools have a theistical tendency; and, like the *Tantrika* portion of the *Kahgyur*, almost teach the doctrine of *Maya*, or illusion, regarding the material existence of things. The reader may refer to the article of this Chapter pointing out the assimilation of doctrines taught by the last volume of the *Nepal Tantrika works*, with those of the *Saiva Hindus*.



dha triad, and is associated with the type of nature's energy, or *Buddha*, as the *second*, both of which give rise to *Sangha*, or union, as the *third*. *Dharma* is here considered the plastic, or elemental state of all things, to which is united for the production of effects in the versatile world, the second member of the *Bauddha* triad or the efficient cause of things. A yet more decidedly theistical system, the *Aishwarika*, represents intellectual essence supreme, and calls it *Adi Buddha*; who, in producing effects and changes in the material world, operates through *secondary* causes, or the *five elements*, of which the *Dhyani Buddhas* are types; and to which are linked individual energies, named *Bodhisattwas*, operating in conjunction with passive conceptive principles called *Saktis*. But when the deity is represented in unity, he is called *Adi Buddha*; and has, according to Mr. Hodgson's quotations five bodies, five jnyans, and five sights, and is said to be the *mukat*, (crest,) of the five Buddhas, without partner. * The latter from its representation in the *Phrabat*, or solar foot, would appear symbolical of the solar ray; and the *Dehgop* of the caves is but a *type* of the *corporeal frame* of the *five elements*, or *Dhyani Buddhas*; which are the vehicles of the subtile person, or spirit, and are generally found represented on four sides of the *Dehgopas*, † both in India and Nepal, the centre of which is supposed to be occupied by the fifth *Vairochana* or light. The *Karmika* and *Yatnika* systems of Nepal have admitted the sentient principle, *manasa*, as the sixth *Dhyani Buddha*; but all these are personifications, or *Buddhas* of celestial origin. Those of mortal birth, before enumerated, and of whom

* Prinsep's Journal, 1836, page 85, and quotation 14.

† The *Dehgop* may be considered an aggregation of the elements, effected by the presidency of spirit, and, viewed as a type of elemental creation, presents an analogy to the *mundane egg*, from which, according to the doctrines of antiquity, sprung the first born of the world. In Colonel Sykes's Notes on the religious, moral, and political state of ancient India, (Journal of the R. A. S., Vol VI, page 267.) taken chiefly from the travels of the Chinese Buddhist priest Fa Hian, the believers of this doctrine are distinguished from the primitive followers of *Sakya* or *Gautama*, and are denominated sectaries, on partisans of *Anda* (the Egg). There seems no just ground for not considering this doctrine part of original Buddhism, though it may have been rejected by *Sakya*; as it is recognized in the inscription from the *Dehgop* of the Karli cave, and in the inscriptions from the Bauddha caves of Beira and Bajah; a translation of which by me will be found in Vol. I of the Society's Journal, page 438.

Gautama is the last, having obtained plenary power, or omnipotence, *through union with divinity*, have been manifested during the different regenerations of the world: of which there are said to have been *twelve*, reckoning backwards from the present *kappo*, or creation, in which four Buddhas have already appeared and one is yet to come.

The Buddhas acknowledge three different kinds of beings, the material and generative, (*Kama*;) the material, not procreating by the usual laws, (*rupa*;) and the immaterial, (*arupa*;) who do not generate at all. The first order of beings including mankind and genii, (*Nath*, *) ascend according to their good or evil conduct, by progressive transmigrations to states of final beatitude, (*nirvana*;) where they are exempt from further change, or are doomed to pain and punishment in the mansions of the demons, or by repeated worldly transmigration into the bodies of inferior animals. The virtuous, through the merit of their actions, when finally emancipated from existence, are transported to the *bhuvanas* of *Buddha*, while the wicked are hurried to the six abodes of the *Daityas* or *Niraka*, the hell for sinners, fabled to be below the world of waters, (*Jalakand*;) which support the earth. Mankind and their protecting genii (*Nath*;) occupy the earth, and atmospheric region above it; which last is variously divided into *bhuvanas*, or mansions, called by the Ceylon scriptures the *Deva-lokas*. Above these are the three *bhuvanas* of *Mahudeva*, the six of *Vishnu*, and the eighteen of *Brahma*; which are the places of the *visible gods*, or of those celestial physical causes, or beings, which are destined, at the dissolution of worlds, to be the germs of future ones. Above all are the *Buddha bhuvanas*, of which the *Agnishta* is the highest, and the abode of *Adi Buddha*. Below it, some accounts place ten, and others thirteen *bhuvanas*, inhabited by the emancipated *Arhatas*, *Bodhisatwoas*, or faithful followers of *Buddha*, who have passed into a state of *nirvana*; where from *finite* they become *infinite* beings, and the same "with divinity."

In the following account of the Bauddha system of Cosmography, Astronomy, and Astrology, we are made acquainted with the origin of the

* Col. Sykes, in his notes on the religious, moral, and, political state of ancient India, (Journal R. A. S. page 289 Vol VI) seems to think that the worship of the Hindu *Devatas* and of the *Naths*, or spirits, is a corruption of original Buddhism; but the inscriptions of Western India and the *Buddha* scriptures of Nepal and Ceylon prove the contrary to be the fact, and that this worship was part of the original system.

religious principles of Buddhism ; which, connected with systems of sidereal astrology, and the worship of the planetary powers, will explain to us why these principles assimilate with tenets taught among the ancient Sabæans. “ Bauddha opinions, regarding the generating influence of the atmospheric region and mansion of the planets, have been explained in the previous pages ; and, as has been shewn, this *intermediate aerial space*, peopled with genii, or the *Nath*, possesses the power of secondary causes in the business of creation. The sun, moon and stars, here illuminate the world, divide day from night, distinguish the seasons, and indicate good or evil to mankind. * This belief inculcates that *malignant beings exist inimical to man*, while other *benevolent genii* exercise their influence in protecting him, and hence originates the practice of propitiating the latter, or averting the malignancy of the former, by the astrological worship of the *Bali*, or nine planets. † Besides the seven heavenly constellations, the Bauddhas reckon the ascending nodes, *Rahu* and *Ketu*, as two others ; which are invoked, with offerings and song, in cases of sickness or important undertakings in life. We are yet little informed on the subject of their astronomical system ; but from what Sangermano mentions of the Burmese notions, it appears not materially different from that of the Jainas, excepting that the progressive falling downwards of the earth in space, and the existence of two suns, two moons, and two sets of planets, for the northern and southern quarters, form no part of Bauddha astronomical belief. It is maintained, however, that mount *Meru* exists in the middle of the earth, encircled by seven ranges of hills, between which are seven rivers, and that the sun, and moon, and planets revolve round it, in parallel orbits ; illuminating successively four great islands ; of which *Jambu-dwipa*, or India, is the southern one. The different faces of mount *Meru*, toward the four cardinal points, reflect the solar beams of various colours, and communicate such respectively to the islands and

* Sangermano Chap. III. para. 14.

† See Mr. Upham's account of the Bali in Ceylon, chap. x. This system of sidereal astrology, called in Ceylon *Baliah*, or the worship of the planetary powers above, is similar in all respects to the Syrian idolatry of worshipping and propitiating the *Balim*, or host of heaven, which protected and influenced mankind in health and sickness. These are the spirits of the stars, the *Zoφασημω* or the sentinels of heaven ; and, in the Greek inscriptions which I copied from the gate of the great mosque at Damascus, (once a Christian church, and previously a heathen temple,) they are called “ the things of eternity, and of uncontrolled power in every period of birth and generation.”

inhabitants of these quarters. Neither Bauddhas nor Brahmans agree about the particular colours of the different faces; though they generally enumerate them *white* on the east, *yellow* on the south, *green* or *black* on the west, and *red* on the north. * Four kings of the *Nath* are said to preside over these quarters; with whom, as types of the elements and of colour, the *Dhyani Buddhas* seem to have an analogy; as *Akshobhya*, who occupies the eastern niche of the *Dehgop*, is described of a blue colour, and *Ratnasambhava*, on the southern, is said to be yellow or golden. † Around the summit of mount Meru is arranged the *Bhuvana* of *Indra*, or the *Tavatinsa heaven*; where flourishes the sacred tree *Kalpa-vriksha*, granting every desire. The *Lokapalas*, or eight regents of the heavenly quarters, worshipped by the Bauddhas and Jains, are with the elephant of *Indra*, inhabitants of this celestial mansion: in which the *Nath* and *spirits* of the good, not yet joined to divinity in *nirvana*, shining by their own light, need not that of the sun. ‡

The Bauddhas have a system of solar Zodiacs, analogous to ours; wherein the names of the twelve constellations manifest their connexion with the *Greek* and *Arab* schemes of the Zodiac originally derived perhaps from the *Chaldeans*. An annual movement of the sun and planets is admitted, in addition to their diurnal motion; and a gradual declination of them, *north* or *south*, producing the various seasons, is taught with the hypothesis, that there are three distinct paths in the heavens, an *inner*, *middle*, and *outer*. The inner corresponds to our summer solstice, or the tropic of Cancer; the middle to our equinox, or the equator; and the outer to our winter solstice, or the tropic of Capricorn. The inner part is said to be nearest mount *Meru*, and corresponds with the hot season; the middle to the rainy; and the outward, farthest removed, to the cold, when the sun is most distant. They are otherwise named the paths of the goat, ox, and elephant; and as the latter animal delights in cold and

* See Vishnu Purana, translated by Wilson, 4to at note 2, page 167.

† Hodgson's sketch of Buddhism, Trans. R. A. S. Vol. II page 230. and the note at page 20 of the original work.

‡ The ancients supposed human souls were invested after death with a subtle body, which was inseparable from it, until the time of its final exemption from transmiration; and this they called the *σῶμα ἀγώγιδες* or luciform body, spoken of by the New Platonists, or Christian writers of the fourth and fifth centuries, who repeated the tenets of Pythagoras and Plato. See Colebrooke's translation of the Sankhya Karika, page 136.

damp places, he appears to have been selected to distinguish the season when the sun, passing to the south, brings the termination of rain and the production of cold.

The third chapter contains translations of the cave inscriptions, which shew their connexion with the Bauddha religion, and those abstract principles of metaphysical belief that constitute the original system. The following is an extract, "The more intimately we become acquainted with the principles of the Bauddha religion, the stronger will be our conviction, that such principles have their origin in physical and metaphysical opinions, on the subject of a first cause, made applicable to explain the phenomena of the world and of human nature, and that such opinions were closely connected with the worship of the heavenly bodies, and the Sabeian idolatry. This Sabeism too, instead of being engrafted on the Bauddha system, appears to have preceded it, and to have been the source from whence it sprung. But whatever be the conclusion deduced, regarding the relative antiquity of the two systems, their present union in Siam and Tartary, has been indicated by preceding observations; and the *translated cave inscriptions* will tend to establish a fact that the *astrological belief in spirits*, which commenced with the first astronomical observations, was early connected, in the *Greek* and *Bauddha* schools of philosophy, with opinions of those who essayed to explain the origin of the world, and the nature of that cause producing its versatile effects. *Philo*, a Jewish writer of Alexandria, acquainted with the philosophical opinions of the Orientals and those of the Greeks, endeavoured, some time before the Christian era, to convince the world of the excellence and superiority of a *secret system of knowledge*, which had been long since founded in the bosom of the Jewish religion. Like the Bauddha system it taught that the ætherial region was peopled with inhabitants of an immortal nature; some of whom kindred with the earth, and addicted to its pleasures, descended to attach themselves to other spirits, for which, they had a worldly desire; but that others of them, disgusted with the vanities of life, considering the body as a prison, fled on light wings to heaven, where they passed the remainder of their existence. Others of them, yet more pure and excellent, disdaining all the temptations that earth could offer, became the ministers of the supreme God, and the agents of the great King, seeing all and understanding all. Similar opinions are maintained by the Bauddhas regarding the origin of

mankind; and Mr. Hodgson's account of this subject seems but a version of what is related in Genesis, about the association of the Nephilims with the daughters of men;* by which mankind, falling from their state of original purity, came under the dominion of the passions, and a spirit of discord, as already noticed in the general principles of this religion. The Nepal statement of the same history is that the half male and female beings, inhabiting in light and purity, the *Abhaswara Bhuvana*, and who had never yet in their minds conceived the sexual desire, or known the distinction of sex, having eaten of the earth, at the instigation of *Adi Buddha*, lost the power of flying back to their *Bhuvana*, and were obliged to remain on earth; where they lived on its fruits, and associated with each other. † This legend appears to have been taken from a confused idea of Mosaic history; and may have been introduced into the Bauddha religion when the *Indian astronomers*, with a knowledge of it, framed the system of the *Varaha Kalpa*. But on this head, and the connexion of the Bauddha religion with the worship of the sun, the translated inscriptions afford information; and are at least, the only authentic documents of antiquity, which embody primitive principles of the system beyond the chance of sectarial interpolation."

Several translations of the inscriptions from the caves of western India are subsequently given, and establish the connexion and union of Bauddha religious principles with those of the *Sabeans* and followers of *Mithra*: which union probably arose from a community of ideas that *Kraka*, the sun, or holy fire was, in his igneous essence, the same with the deity of creation, or Vulcan, the *Hæphaistos* of the Greeks, the *Opifex Mundi*, or the mundane artisan, and the same as the *Viswa Karma* of the Hindus: for according to the Saiva faith of the latter, the *Mithra* of the fire worshippers is the *Unadi*, or *Agnilinga*, the pillar of radiance of the *Linga Purana*, from which the deity first manifested himself for the creation of the world. It is true indeed that the *Athakatha* and Bauddha annals of Ceylon declare the *adoration of the sun and fire heretical*: ‡ but while *Gautama*, or *Buddha*, may have originally confined his

* Genesis, Chapter VI.

† See Hodgson's second question in his Sketch of Buddhism T. R. A. S. Vol II page 234.

‡ Turnour's examination of the Pah Buddhistical annals, in Prinsep's Journal, Vol VI. p. 733.

religious ordinances to *Dhammo*, (morality,) and *Winayo*, (discipline), his system was early corrupted by its union with the principles and practice of the Sabæans and fire-worshippers. The monogram preceding inscription No 8 Plate I. from the caves of Junir, is of constant occurrence on the gold coinage of Kadphises, and on the Indo Scythic, or Indo Mithraic series of coins, from Kabul and the Punjab. Coin figure I, plate XXXVIII Vol IV (Prinsep's Journal page 630,) of this series is unique and of particular interest; as the king on the obverse is represented seated on a war charriot, similar to the chariot of the sun, while the inscription on the reverse, reads *Maha rajasa rajadatu Jina sidato, mitra-rato Dhimukta satha nanado*, translated, *of the great king, the source of energy, Jina the establisher, the supreme emancipated Saint of Mithra, the preserver*. The connexion of this series of coins with the Bauddha system of religion is yet further established by the Pali name of Buddha, "*Satha*," being found in Greek on the coin fig; 13 plate XXXV (Prinsep's Journal, Vol. V. p. 548) and written. ΖΑΘΟΥ

This part of the subject is further illustrated in *chapter fourth*, containing the author's observations on the symbolical marks preceding the inscriptions; and their similitude to those on coins found west of the Indus and in the Punjab. In the last or *fifth chapter* the history of Buddhism is traced and illustrated, whereby it appears that this religion arose out of the ancient Persian worship of the expanse of the firmament, under the name of *Jove*, (or the Hindu Indra,) with the deities of the sun, the moon, earth, fire, water and the winds, to which the Babylonian and Persian festival of *Sakaia* was dedicated and held sacred. But our analysis must here stop, and those requiring further information must refer to the original work; which will be soon issued from the Indian Press, to be immediately afterwards republished in England with additions and improvements.

ART. X.—Literary and Scientific Notices.

We propose to devote two or three pages of the Journal, under this head, to interesting literary dissertations, from other works, on *Philology, Palæography, Antiquities, and discoveries in Geography and Science*;

and will feel obliged to contributors or correspondents, who may kindly favour us with *short* analyses of information on such subjects.

1.—*Stewart's Lydian and Phrygian Inscriptions.*

Mr. John Robert Stewart, formerly of Bombay, and well known for his devotion to literary pursuits, who in the spring of 1837, made a tour from Smyrna to Constantinople, visiting the vicinity of Dongala, Nacoleia, now Sidy Ghazy, Dorylæum, and Brussa, has lately published the *Inscriptions*, from the ancient monuments of Lydia and Phrygia, written in the most archaic form of the Greek letters. The words are divided, by points, like those of the *Hamaïyaric Inscriptions* of Southern Arabia; and are alternately written from left to right, and from right to left. Mr. Stewart has not attempted to solve the meaning of these inscriptions; and does not appear aware that Dr. Grotfend, in revising the observations of M. M. Letronne and Saint Martin on similar inscriptions found in Lycia, has partly made out the meaning of inscription No. 1. We have only yet been able to make a hasty examination of their contents; ascertaining, however, that the language used is a mixture of *Persian* and *Phœnician* words, recording the dedication of the stone monuments, on which these inscriptions are found, to the *Artai* or *Kabiri*, signifying the *great* and *powerful* ones, or the *Hero-gods* and idols of chief note in Phrygia and Lydia.

2.—*Antimony and Lead mines of Beluchistan.*

Major George LeMessurier, who surveyed the route, via Sohrab and Bagwana, from Kelat to Sunmianni, taking the latitudes and levels of the country, visited the antimony mines of *Seykran*, near *Bagwana*, and found the antimony in crystals of an inch square, imbedded in black vitrified rock. The mines appear to have been extensively worked at some former period; but the want of water and fuel in the neighbourhood, must always prevent the successful working of these mines as a profitable speculation. The lead ore found was of inferior quality and small in quantity. There are also mines of inferior copper ore, near *Turkabr*, but the exact locality is kept a secret by the people of the country.

3.—*Central Africa and Navigation of the Jub river.*

The river Juba or Jub, on the Suhaili coast of South Eastern Africa, which debouches in 0. 38, south latitude, is known to be navigable in boats

for three months; and could in all probability be made available for establishing a commercial communication with the south western provinces of Abyssinia, and its capital Shoa. Recent intelligence, from the well known missionary Dr. Krapf, seems to establish the practicability of navigating the Jub river as far as *Garague*, distant from *Shoa* little more than 70 miles; and, as the disposition of the natives inhabiting its banks would not be inimical to further exploration of this celebrated stream, it behoves our Indian Governments, both for the interests of geography and commerce, to adopt measures for obtaining more minute and accurate information than we at present possess regarding it. An iron steamer and one of our cast off pilot brigs, or schooners, might be placed, with an efficient establishment at the disposal and under the direction of some well qualified officer of the Indian Navy, who is acquainted with this part of the coast; and might be willing to lend both his talents and his energies for securing the success of any undertaking to navigate and explore this river; and for establishing such a friendly intercourse with the natives of the country as might lead to permanent commercial advantages. Lieutenant W. Christopher, already favourably known by his geographical reports, and an enquiry into the present resources of Eastern Africa, is doubtless well fitted for the execution of any such expedition as now proposed for the exploration of the Jub river.

ART. XI.—*Extracts from the Proceedings of the Society.*

At a monthly meeting of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, held, in the Library rooms, on Thursday the 13th June 1844.

The Hon. J. H. Crawford, President, in the Chair.

Read and approved the minutes of the last meeting.

The following gentleman was proposed as a member, to be balloted for at the next meeting of the Society :

W. Seton Brown, Esq. by G. Buist Esq. LL. D. seconded J. F. Morier, Esq.

N. A. Dalzell, Esq. proposed as a subscriber to the Library by Manockjee Cursetjee, Esq. seconded by the Secretary, was admitted agreeably to the regulations of the Society.

The following donations were laid on the table :

TO THE LIBRARY.

By Government, copy of General Circular Orders passed by the Sudder Adawlut Bombay.

TO THE MUSEUM.

By the Rev. G. Pigott, a small collection of shells from Zanzibar and Aden.

By Lieut. C. W. Montriou, I. N. skeleton, of an ant-eater, *Manis*.

This animal was given *alive* to Lieut. M. through the kindness of Mr. Ellis, C. S. Rutnagherry, but unfortunately it died after having been kept for fifteen days.

* The Secretary then presented and read a paper on the history of the Kalhora dynasty of Sindh, by Captain James McMurdo.

On the motion of Dr. Burnes K. H., seconded by the Hon. the President, the thanks of the Society were voted to the Secretary, for the interesting paper presented, and it was resolved that it be published in the forthcoming number of the Society's Journal.

The Secretary was also requested to return thanks for the various donations presented to the Society.

The meeting then adjourned to Thursday the 11th July next.

At a monthly meeting of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, held, in the Library rooms, on Thursday the 11th July, 1844.

The Hon. J. H. Crawford, President, in the Chair.

Read and approved the minutes of last meeting. W. Seton Brown Esq. and C. Forbes Esq. C. S. having been balloted for, were duly elected members of the Society.

Assistant Surgeon J. Jephson, was proposed as a member by J. Morier, Esq. and seconded by the Secretary, to be balloted for at the next meeting of the Society.

The following communications were read:—

The Secretary submitted a circular, from the Sub-Committee of the Museum, suggesting that they should be empowered, in accordance with Art. III, of the rules of the Museum, for the better preservation of such Zoological specimens as are at present suspended in the gallery of the Society's rooms, to transmit them to the Zoological Society of London, where they would be better appreciated.

Resolved.—That the sense of the next meeting of the Society shall be taken on the subject of the above rule; whether the words, “and dispose of donations, “empower the curators to exchange, or give away, at their discretion, articles belonging to the Museum, without the previous sanction of a monthly meeting of the Society.

Read, a letter from M. M. Etienne d' Quatremere, dated Paris, 6th May 1844, acknowledging the receipt of the Secretary's letter, intimating his election as an Honorary Member of the Society, and conveying his thanks for the distinction thus conferred on him by the Society.

Read, a letter from Chas. C. Rafn, Secretary to the Royal Society of Northern Antiquarians, dated Copenhagen, 5th October 1843, intimating the Society had presented to the Bombay Asiatic Society, a copy of their memoirs, from 1840 to 1843; requesting, at the same time, that the other parcels enclosed in the packet, and addressed to individuals, might be transmitted accordingly.

Resolved—That the Secretary be directed to return thanks for the donation, and that the parcels adverted to in Mr. R's letter, be duly forwarded by the Secretary.

The following donations were laid on the table:

TO THE LIBRARY.

By Government, copy of Meteorological Observations kept at Madras from the year 1822 to 1843.

By the Royal Society of Northern Antiquarians, Memoires de la Societe Royale des Antiquaires du nord, 1840-1843. Section Asiatique.

Specimens of Glyphography or engraved drawings from the copper surfaced blocks, by the Patentee, Mr. Palmer, were submitted to the meeting, with an intimation that Major T. B. Jervis, F. R. S. had been appointed sole agent for India and China, to receive orders from Societies and other public bodies desirous of illustrating publications, on Literature or Science, by this cheap mode of engraving.

TO THE MUSEUM.

An Hippocampus, from Viziadroog, by Lieut. C. W. Montriou, I. N.

A Turittella, by Lieut. Christopher, I. N.

A Collection of Specimens of rocks and shells, fossil and recent, from

various places in England and Ireland ; including a series of the plans of the coal measures, were presented by Professor Orlebar.

The Secretary then presented, and read the following papers to the Society.

* 1st. An account of the temple of Somnath, translated by the Secretary from the Persian of the Appendix to the *Mirat Ahmedi*, to which is added a translation, from Sanskrit into English, of an inscription at *Pattan Somnath*, relative to the restoration of the temple in Samvat. 1272. A. D. 1215, by W. H. Wathen Esq.

2nd. A discourse on the form of the earth, or the science of Geography, being the introductory chapter of the *Nazhat-al-Mushtak*, or amusement for those requiring it, in an account of great towns, countries, provinces, islands, cities, and quarters of the world, by *El-Edrisi*, translated from the Arabic by the Secretary.

Resolved, that the thanks of the Society be given for the donations and papers presented.

The meeting then adjourned to Thursday the 8th of August next.

At a monthly meeting of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, held in the Library rooms on Thursday the 8th of August, 1844.

The Hon. J. H. Crawford, President, in the Chair.

Read and approved the minutes of last meeting.

Assistant Surgeon J. Jephson, proposed as a Member, was ballotted or and duly elected.

William Pole Esq. proposed as a Member, by J. Harkness Esq. seconded by A. B. Orlebar Esq., and W. Acland Esq. proposed by A. S. Le Messurier Esq. seconded by Colonel G. R. Jervis, to be ballotted for at the next meeting of the Society.

The following motion, of which due notice was given, was then submitted.

“That the sense of the next meeting of the Society be taken, whether the words, “ and dispose of donations,” as specified in ART. III. of the rules of the Museum, empower the curators to exchange, or give away at their discretion, articles belonging to the Museum, without the previous sanction of a monthly meeting of the Society.”

It was thereon resolved—

. That such transfer shall be left at the discretion of the curators, and

recorded in the proceedings of the succeeding monthly meeting.

The following donations were laid on the table—

TO THE LIBRARY.

From the Government of Fort Saint George, through the Government of Bombay, the 6th volume of the Madras Astronomical Observations recently published at that Presidency.

From the Government of Bombay; No. VI. Transactions of the Medical and Physical Society of Bombay.

From J. J. Waterston Esq. a few volumes of the Civil Engineer's and Architect's Journal's.

From Captain Postans, through Messrs. Frith and Co. Copy of a lithographed drawing of the celebrated temple of Somnath.

TO THE MUSEUM.

The capital of a column, and two broken female images, from Zenobia on the Euphrates, by Lieut. C. D. Campbell, I. N. The capital is from a double line of columns which formed the sides of a road leading from gateway to gateway in a fortified enclosure. The figures were corner supports in a square stone edifice with vaulted roofs. The place has been termed "Zenobia" by the expedition, under the supposition that it was built by the Queen of Palmyra; also, a large collection of shells, and some *Echindæ* from Aden, by Captain S. Young I. N. were presented through A. B. Orlebar Esq.

The Secretary then read the following communications to the meeting:

1st. A letter, from the Secretary to Government in the General Department, dated the 2nd instant, accompanying copy of a dispatch (No. 23, dated 31st May last,) from the Hon. the Court of Directors, enclosed with a communication from the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, relative to the preservation of the "Cave temples of India," and the desired execution of correct drawings of the fresco paintings found therein. In this letter the Hon. the Governor in Council expressed a hope that the Society would co-operate with Government in carrying out the objects of the Hon. Court and the Parent Society.

It was thereon resolved that the Secretary be instructed to write, in reply, that the Society is ready to co-operate with Government in any

way it may point out for obtaining copies of the drawings specified in the letter of the Hon. the Court of Directors, or in carrying out a plan for preserving from decay, the sculptures and inscriptions in the Caves of Western India. The Secretary, at the same time, noticed that the lithography of the fresco drawings, copied for Mr. Wathen, from the Caves of Ajanta, was now completed, along with copies of the inscriptions from Kanari, Karli, Beira, Bajah, Mahar, Junir, Ajanta, and Nassick, which he had translated, and expected to publish about November next.

* 2nd. Two ancient inscriptions, on copper, in the Cave character, translated into English by Ball Gungadhur Shastree Esq. and accompanied by a letter from him relative to the probable dates of the grants. The first of these, now in possession of the Secretary, which, with the Devanagri transcript, had been handed over to B. Gungadhur Shastree Esq. is a grant of the village Aland on the Bhima, to the sons of Lakshmana Swami, of the family of Kanshika, by *Vishnuvardhana*, son of Kirti Varma, son of Itana Vikrama, of the Chalukya family, claiming descent from the lunar race, and formerly ruling over the Kuntala Desha, of which Kaliani, in the Dekhan, was the capital. It is dated in the eighth year of the King; and, as *Vishnuvardhana* is herein called the nephew of *Palakeshi Vallabha*, whose date is well known from many grants, the present one cannot be later than A. D. 733, and may be as early as the beginning of the sixth century.

The original of the other grant, also in the Cave character, and in the possession of Narsoo Bhalu of Nandgoan, in the Northern Konkan, belongs to the same family of the Chalukyas; being in the name of Kirti Varma Raja, son of *Palakeshi Vallabha*, who conquered the kingdoms of Chera, Chola, and Pandya, or Mysore, Tanjore, and Madura. It is without date, but the land was granted for the support of the worshippers of *Kapiliswara*, or *Siva*, as worshipped by the Kapilas, a sect allied to the Bauddhas, and who, as devotees of the skull necklace, are represented, as associated with them, by the sculptures of the caves of Ellora.

The Secretary was directed to return thanks to the respective donors, and the meeting adjourned to Thursday the 12th of September next.

At a monthly meeting of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic society, held in the Library rooms on Thursday the 12th September 1844.

James Burnes, K. H. F. R. S. Vice President, in the Chair.

Read and approved the minutes of last meeting.

Professor Wm. Pole F. R. A. S. and W. Acland Esq. proposed as Members, were ballotted for and duly elected.

The following papers were laid before the meeting by Dr. Buist :

* 1st A paper on the Runic monuments found in Scotland and Ireland, and not known to exist in any other part of the world. These consist, for the most part, of magnificently sculptured crosses, ornamented with representations of hunting, and of battle scenes, of religious processions, &c. Many of the animals represented on them, such as elephants, lions, monkeys &c. are obviously Oriental. Some of the figures are apparently hieroglyphical, though their meaning is unknown. The attire and occupations of the individuals represented throw a considerable light on the manners of a period to which written history does not extend. The object of laying the paper before the Society was to endeavour to elicit information on the subject, by inducing a search after analogous relics, if any such exist in India.

2nd A paper on the use of Mr. Adie's Barometer, with some suggestions for an improvement in its structure, so as to render it less liable to accidents in tropical climates : with suggestions, for the improvement of the marine Barometer, so as to increase the delicacy of its readings and adapt it either for sea or land purposes ; and a notice of an improvement, suggested by Dr. Glen, on the syphon Barometer, so as to adjust the scale at once, and get rid of double readings.

The thanks of the Society were voted to Dr. Buist for the papers ; and it was resolved—that they be published in an early number of the Society's Journal, with such illustrations as may be found practicable.

The following donations were laid on the table :

TO THE LIBRARY.

1. By Government two lithographed copies of the Mahratta translation of the Mithakshara and Dhyaya Bhag.
2. From Mr. Shirra, through Messrs. Forbes and Co. Copy of the Maulmein Almanac and Directory, and general commercial trade list, for 1844, accompanied by a map of Maulmein and its environs.
3. By the Bombay Geographical Society, its Transactions from September 1841, to May 1844.
4. By C. J. Erskine Esq. through the Rev. J. M. Mitchell, the follow-

ing Sanskrit M. S. S. Linga Purana, Garuda Purana, Devi Mahatmya from the Markandeya Purana, Parashara Upa-Purana.

TO THE MUSEUM.

1. By Major General Sir H. Pottinger, Bart., G. C. B. A number of very curious Chinese figures, carved in wood, representing the imaginary rewards and punishments of a future state. The collection consists of exact copies of the originals; which were formed of clay, and taken, during the campaign of 1841-42, from a Buddhist temple at Yenyao, a city in the province of Chekiang, in China.
 2. By Major General Sir H. Pottinger, Bart., G. C. B. A tablet of wood richly carved, and ornamented, in honor of the Emperor of China, taken from a Jos house near the city of Chinkeangfoo. The following is a translation of the inscription it bears:
 "A thousand times ten thousand years! may the Emperor live ten thousand times ten thousand years"
 3. By E. E. Elliott Esq. A small collection of shells, and a fine specimen of dog-tooth spar.
 4. By C. B. Skinner Esq. Twelve bottles of snakes, fishes, insects, &c.
 5. By Captain J. Young I. N. Specimens of flying fish from the Arabian Coast.
 6. By Dr. Leith; Specimens of Apophyllite &c. from the Deccan.
- The best thanks of the Society were voted to the respective donors.
 The meeting then adjourned to Thursday the 10th October next.