Lamas, the head of whom exercised the temporal as well as spiritual authority of the whole country, and was an object of uneasiness to the court of Pekin. In the province of which Lhassa, the acknowledged high seat of Lamaism, is the capital, there were said to be three thousand monastic establishments, in three of which, Khaldan, Prebung, and Sera, there were in each fifteen thousand Lamas. The missionaries estimate the Lamas at one-third of the whole population; all the males of a family, except the eldest, being expected to enter the order, at least for a term; it being allowable in Tartary, as well as in other Buddhist countries, for a member of a monastery to return to active life. Every monastery has its Superior, who is very commonly originally a boy brought from Tibet, being supposed to be the late principal regenerated; he being, in fact, as before observed, a Buddha on his way to perfection.

The vast number of the Lamas of Tartary and Tibet naturally suggests the inquiry, how countries so poor, upon the whole, and thinly peopled, can support so large a proportion of unproductive members. Some of their subsistence is derived from grants and endowments made by the Emperors of China, whose policy it has been to encourage Lamaism, as tending to keep down the population, and repress the martial spirit of the nomadic tribes: further means are supplied by the people, who are a simple and credulous race, and who, although not animated by any devotional fervour, are liberal contributors to the temples at public festivals, and to the itinerant mendicant brethren, giving largely from their stores of sheep, and wool, and butter, and various articles of consumption. The chief maintenance of the Lamas is, however, their own industry. In the Buddhist countries of the south, as Ceylon, Siam, and Ava, and apparently in China, a priest is strictly prohibited from exercising any mechanical art, or following any secular occupation; but in Tartary, the Lamas are permitted to support themselves by their own industry, even whilst living in the monastery: the monastery being, in fact, a small town of a priestly population, dwelling in houses, in streets collected round a principal temple or temples, and the main buildings occupied by the Pontiff with his staff and servants. The other Lamas are the sculptors, painters, decorators, and printers of the establishment; those who are qualified are the schoolmasters of the children of the neighbourhood, who have no other teachers; and those who are not engaged in the service of the monastery, may employ their time for their own profit. There are amongst them, consequently, handicraftsmen, as tailors, shoemakers, hatters; some keep cattle and sell the milk and butter to the brethren, and some even keep

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shops; the consequence is great inequality of condition; those who are active and enterprising become opulent, whilst the inert and idle, who trust solely to the pittance which is doled out periodically to every member, from the common fund, may be almost in a state of starvation.

The general organization of the monasteries in Tartary and Tibet, the costume of the Lamas, and many particulars of the manner in which religious service is celebrated in the temples, have often struck travellers as presenting close analogies to the conventual system and the religious offices of the Roman Catholic Church. In this latter respect, we have the admission of the French missionaries, whose enumeration we may safely follow, and who specify the use of the cross, the mitre, the dalmatic, the hood, the office of two choirs, the psalmody, the exorcisms, the censer of five chains, the benediction of the lamas by placing the right hand on the head of the faithful, the rosary, celibacy of the clergy, spiritual retirement, the worship of saints, fasts, processions, litanies, and holy water, as so many coincidences with the Romish ritual, the origin of which cannot be accidental. The present costume and ceremonial are said to have originated with a celebrated reformer, who was born in the latter half of the fourteenth century, named Tsong Kaba, who founded the monastery of Khal-dan, near Lhassa, in 1409, and died in 1419. The chief pontiff of Lhassa at first opposed the innovations of Tsong Kaba, and having in vain invited him to a conference, paid a visit to the reformer, and expatiated at great length upon the sacredness of the ancient practices and his own pre-eminence; he was interrupted in his harangue by Tsong Kaba, who had previously taken no notice of him, and who suddenly exclaimed: "Wretch, let go the flea that you are torturing between your thumb and forefinger! I hear his groans, they penetrate to my heart." Fleas, it seems, are very abundant in Tibet, and the Grand Lama, in violation of the precept that says, Thou shalt not kill, was privily in the act of committing murder, when thus rebuked by Tsong Kaba. Struck by this proof of Tsong Kaba's divine perception, the Grand Lama acknowledged his supremacy, prostrated himself before him, and adopted his reforms. Tradition speaks of a stranger Lama from the west, who was Tsong Kaba's preceptor, and who was remarkable amongst other things for a long nose; noses in Tartary are somewhat of the shortest; from which circumstance, as well as from the palpable resemblances adverted to, Messieurs Huc and Gabet infer, not without some plausibility, that Tsong Kaba derived his innovations from the instruction of a Euro-

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pean missionary, several of whom at this early period had penetrated into Tibet, Tartary, and China.

The peculiarities of the costume are certainly foreign to the original institutes of the Vinaya, which is much more faithfully followed in the south. The shaven head and yellow robes of the priests of Ceylon, Ava, and Siam, are much more orthodox than the red robes and yellow hats or mitres of the Lamas of Tartary and Tibet.

Notwithstanding the liberality shewn by the people of Tibet, especially at particular festivals, to their monasteries and temples, they take no part in the celebration of the religious services, nor do they evince any stronger devotional interest than prevails in other Buddhist countries. In all of them, however, there are powerful means by which the priests work upon their feelings, and secure their adherence, and extort their bounty. Everywhere, except in China, learning, such as it is, is confined to the priesthood, and they are the sole instructors of youth; they are also the collectors and vendors of drugs, and the practisers of medicine. They still, as in the days of Clement, foretell events, determine lucky and unlucky times, and pretend to regulate the future destiny of the dying, threatening the niggard with hell, and promising heaven, or even, eventually, the glory of a Buddha, to the liberal. Their great hold upon the people is thus derived from their gross ignorance, their superstition, and their fears; they are fully imbued with a belief in the efficacy of enchantments, in the existence of malevolent spirits, and in the superhuman sanctity of the Lamas, as their only protection against them; the Lamas in Tartary are, therefore, constantly exorcists and magicians, sharing, no doubt, very often, the credulity of the people, but frequently assisting faith in their superhuman faculties by jugglery and fraud. In the most northern provinces of Russia, Buddhism, degraded to Shamanism, is nothing more than a miserable display of juggling tricks and deceptions, and even in the Lamasarais of Tibet, exhibitions of the same kind are permitted, whatever may be the belief and practice of those of the community who are better instructed, and take no part in them, themselves. Ignorance is at the root of the whole system, and it must fall to pieces with the extension of knowledge and civilisation. A striking conformity in this conclusion is expressed by the missionaries of different Christian communities. Messieurs Huc and Gabet observe: "After all we have seen in our long journey, and especially during our sojourn in the monarchy of Kun Lun, we are persuaded that it is by education, not by controversy, that the conversion of these people is to be most efficaciously promoted;" and we

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learn from Erman, in his late travels in Siberia, that both the Russian and English missionaries at Irkutsk, and on the Selinga, had abandoned all attempts at direct conversion, and had confined themselves to the cultivation of the Mongol and Manchu languages, in order to qualify themselves to give education to the people. The process is unavoidably slow, especially in Central Asia, which is almost beyond the reach of European activity and zeal, but there is no occasion to despair of ultimate success. Various agencies are at work, both in the north and the south, before whose salutary influence civilisation is extending; and the ignorance and superstition which are the main props of Buddhism, must be overturned by its advance.

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Art. XIV.—*A brief Notice of the Vegetable Productions of Ceylon.* By John Capper, M.R.A.S.

[Read March 6th, 1852.]

The following notes upon the Vegetable Productions of the island of Ceylon have been thrown together in the hope that, although devoid of any originality, they may be deemed worthy the honour of a reading by this Society. The writer has been led to draw up this paper chiefly from the many inquiries made of him, as the Commissioner for Ceylon at the Great Exhibition, in reference to the produce of that colony. It would appear that whilst the larger articles of coffee and cinnamon are well enough known as staples of the Ceylon trade, but few have any knowledge of the less prominent produce of the island, more especially of those articles which are cultivated for local use only, or for export to the neighbouring Indian states.

Without entering upon minute or technical details, which might extend these notes to a volume, it is proposed to give a concise and simple detail of the growth, locality, and value of each article of production.

These articles are as follows: coffee, cinnamon, coir, sugar, rice, tobacco, cotton, areca nuts, cocoa nuts, cardamoms, pepper, arrow-root, maize, manioca, fine grains, arrack, cocoa-nut oil, essential oils of cinnamon, citronella, and lemon-grass: dye-wood, ebony, and other furniture woods. It is a fact worth noting that of the above only one article has been introduced into the island by Europeans, during the 350 years they have been connected with it. The sugar cane was brought from the Mauritius, by a merchant of Colombo, about twenty years since.

It may, perhaps, not be without use if the above products be classified under three heads: those which are chiefly exported to Europe; those which are shipped to the adjacent states of India, as well as used on the island; and such as are only produced for local consumption.

The first class comprises coffee, cinnamon, coir, sugar, cardamoms, dye wood, ebony, cocoa-nut oil, and essential oils. Of these the most important by far is

Coffee. When Ceylon became a British possession it was considered as valuable only for its pearls and spice; at the present time the pearl fishery of the island has ceased to be productive, whilst the trade in cinnamon has sunk into an almost profitless speculation. Coffee is now the great staple of the island, and deservedly ranks first

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on account of the money value of the yearly exports, not less than the great number of persons, both Europeans and natives, to whom it affords a regular employment. When the Portuguese first settled in the island, in the early part of the sixteenth century, coffee was found growing in many parts of the hilly districts of the interior, though entirely uncultivated, and only known to the priests, who reared it in their temple-gardens, and prepared a medicinal beverage from the berry. The Portuguese settlers in the East paid far more attention to religious than to agricultural or commercial matters, and we accordingly hear nothing of coffee as an article of culture or trade, until late during the Dutch rule in Ceylon. Even at that period it seems to have been shipped to Holland rather as an object of curiosity, and up to the close of the Dutch administration of the island the entire yearly quantity said to have been grown throughout the country was 2,200 cwts.; though one of the Dutch revenue officers, in his report to the government, gave it as his opinion that ten times that quantity, or 22,000 cwts., might possibly be produced annually. The yearly crops have of late amounted to 300,000 cwts.

Although the British government obtained possession of the maritime provinces of Ceylon from the Dutch in the year 1796, the interior or Kandyan province was not ceded to the crown until 1815, and, inasmuch as coffee will not grow to any extent in the maritime or low country, it followed that no improvement could take place in this culture until after the latter period, when the hill districts became tranquil, and were gradually opened up by good roads. From 1820 to about 1830 the quantity of coffee shipped to England yearly increased, although it still consisted entirely of the native grown, badly prepared berry, reared without any attempt at cultivation, and ranking below almost every other kind of coffee. In 1830 the first attempt at coffee-cultivation and curing was made on a proper scale by the governor of the island, Sir Edward Barnes. The success which attended this experiment, although partial, added to the lowering of the import duty on British East India coffee, by the imperial legislature in 1835, induced several merchants and others to apply for waste forest land, for the cultivation of coffee on the West Indian principle. During 1836 and 1837 upwards of 7,000 acres of crown lands were purchased, and partly cleared and planted. The success of these first operations drew many capitalists to Ceylon for similar purposes, and the land sales, which in 1838 amounted to 10,000 acres, grew to 78,000 acres in 1841. By the end of 1847, when fresh operations had ceased, about three millions sterling appear to have been invested in coffee planting in this island, chiefly by Europeans. The number of plantations formed was

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330, the majority of which contained from 120 to 300 acres of cultivated coffee. The total acres brought under this culture, up to 1849, were 50,840, of which, however, several thousands had ceased to be productive. These estates are situated at a great variety of altitudes, ranging from 1000 to 4,500 feet above the sea level. As a rule, good coffee cannot be profitably grown in Ceylon at a less altitude than 2,500 feet: the most favourable height being from 3000 to 3,500 feet.

The best plantations are situated in the Kandyan province, where the thermometer ranges at noon about 76°, and in the morning not higher than 60°. The principal drawback to the success of these properties has been the absence of roads in many directions, compelling the planter to convey his half-dried crop on the heads of coolies, or on the backs of bullocks, for a distance of 25 to 35 miles, before finding any carriage transport. The dampness and coolness of the hill climate renders it impossible to perfectly cure the coffee berry in those elevated regions; it has therefore to be conveyed to Colombo, where a constant high temperature enables the merchant to complete the drying process, which the planter had but commenced. In this way, a crop of coffee costs as much to transport it from the estate to the place of shipment, distant about 100 miles, as it will to convey it thence to England.

The labour by which these properties are cultivated is almost entirely imported from the adjoining coast of India, a few Singalese occasionally assisting to gather the crops, when a high rate of pay is held out to them. The coffee thus grown under European superintendence, is known in this country as "Plantation" kind, whilst that which is still allowed to grow wild about the Singalese villages, gathered half-ripe, and rudely cured, is known as "Native" or ordinary Ceylon coffee.

The quantities of the two sorts exported to Europe of late years, have been as follows:

In 1848	cwts.	280,000,
1849	„	328,000,
1850	„	319,000,
1851	„	273,000,

of which above two-thirds were Plantation coffee. The island consumption amounts to about 25,000 cwts., during low prices; but when coffee becomes more in demand the natives content themselves with using the black and damaged pieces picked out from the marketable berries. This circumstance will partly account for the small shipments of 1848 and 1851, both years of lower prices than in 1849.

Cinnamon. From the earliest period at which any record existed concerning the use of this spice, and which extends back to the days

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of the Roman republic, up to the year 1760, during the latter portion of the Dutch rule in Ceylon, cinnamon grew in a wild state, amongst the thick jungles of the low and hilly country, the best always having been cut upon the light soil of the maritime provinces. The Dutch governor Falck was the first who attempted to bring the wild plants into a state of cultivation, amidst much opposition from the native chiefs. His plan, however, only extended to draining the land, and freeing the bushes from weeds and low jungle, so as to admit the light and air around them. Nothing further appears to have been done until the island had been in our possession twenty years, when extensive improvements took place. Large tracts of cinnamon land were cleared and opened by the hoe, and, after draining, the vacant spaces were filled up with young plants. The low-country headmen were induced to co-operate by means of promotions and honorary rewards, and by these means the government, in whose hands the culture and trade had always been vested, found itself in possession of five tracts of well-planted cinnamon, varying in extent from 6000 acres to 600 acres, the yearly produce of which rendered supplies from the wild bushes of the forests no longer necessary.

This spice is to be found only in the western, southern, and central provinces, and there appears little doubt that it was the abundance of cinnamon growing on the west coast of the island, which induced the first Portuguese settlers to fix the seat of their government at Colombo, a spot devoid of any harbour or shelter for shipping.

In 1833 the trade in this article was thrown open to the public, and six years later the government commenced the sale of their preserved plantations by monthly auctions. In this way the whole of them, with but one exception, have been disposed of, chiefly to English merchants and capitalists. In some cases, the gardens, as these lands were called, have been brought into a much higher state of cultivation than was previously the case; but in frequent instances they are much neglected, and, upon the whole, the quality of the spice, as now shipped, will not bear comparison with the produce of former years. The forests are still searched for the jungle cinnamon, by the natives, especially when there happens to be a little better demand for the spice; but the quality of this sort is far below that of the cultivated bark, as much as three-fourths of it being generally devoid of any flavour or aroma.

The cinnamon gardens afford employment to a considerable number of Singalese at most times of the year, both for cultivating the bushes, and for preparing the crops, which are taken off twice annually, during the rains attendant on the change of each monsoon. These croppings or peelings continue for about five months in each year, and a great

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portion of the remaining seven months is required for putting the gardens in order. Amongst other recent improvements may be mentioned pruning and manuring the bushes; these have, in some instances, brought the produce of an acre of land from 50 lbs. to 350 lbs. of spice during the year, and this too upon considerable tracts.

The operation of peeling, or removing the bark from the stick, is performed by one particular caste of natives, called "Chalias," a low class of persons, whose ancestors were originally appointed to the duty by the Singalese kings; and who until lately enjoyed many privileges and exemptions from taxation, in consideration of their services.

The trade in this spice has fallen away sensibly of late years, in spite of the efforts made to save it by liberal reductions of the export duty. During the early part of the Dutch rule in Ceylon their yearly shipments amounted to 10,000 bales, of 88lbs. each; of which 2000 were for India, Persia, and Arabia. These latter places have long ceased to take any cinnamon, whilst the exports to Europe have been reduced to 7,000 bales of 100 lbs. in 1849, 6,000 bales in 1850, and 5,800 bales in 1851, although the selling price in the London market has been brought down to about one-third of that realized twenty years since. In 1885 the export duty in Ceylon was 2*s.* 6*d.* and 2*s.* according to quality; it is now only 4*d.* per lb., on all sorts.*

Coir and Cocoanut Oil being both the products of the cocoa-nut palm or *Cocos nucifera*, equally exported to Europe, may be noticed together. The palm-tree may be seen in almost every part of the island, but its favourite locality is the low country within twelve or fifteen miles of the sea-coast. The natives believe most firmly that these trees will not thrive out of reach of the sea-beach and the salt-spray from the ocean; and accordingly, when planting their young palms at any distance from the coast, they place a quantity of salt about its roots. That this is erroneous may be seen by examining those trees nearest the sea: they will be found far less fruitful than those a short distance away. The real fact is, that the soft roots of the cocoa palm grow more rapidly in the light sandy soil of the low country, whilst at some distance inland the ground is too hard for them, and the temperature too low, especially at night. They are chiefly to be found skirting the coast from Calpentyn in the north-west province to Matura in the southern province. The natives have been accustomed to treat these in the same manner as their coffee and cinnamon, leaving the young plants to take care of themselves, exposed to the destructive attacks of wild animals and insects. In this manner twelve and often twenty years are required to bring a cocoa-nut tree into bearing, the

* The duty has since been altogether removed.

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wonder being that these neglected palms ever bear fruit at all. Of late years European capital and skill have been brought to bear upon this produce with remarkable results. In the western province about 6,000 acres are now covered by fine cocoa-nut trees, many in bearing at their fifth and sixth years. In the northern province about 10,000 acres have been cultivated in the same manner, whilst on the eastern coast from 3,000 to 4,000 acres are similarly planted. The ordinary yield of a good tree in full bearing is 50 cocoa-nuts yearly; many trees on European lands produce from 150 to 200 per annum.

For the European market the tree is only available as producing coir fibre and rope from the outer husk of the fruit, and cocoa-nut oil from the kernel when dried in the sun. The manufacture of cordage and rope dates back before the Portuguese period. During the Dutch rule this was an important branch of native industry, and the trade in them became a source of considerable profit to those servants of government who were allowed the monopoly as a remuneration for their services. When properly made from good fibre, coir rope is very soft and of a bright yellow colour, but in quality the manufacture of the present day cannot compare with that of the old Dutch time. In Ceylon scarcely any other rope or cord is used than coir; even the planks of the Singalese trading Dhonies of 50 to 100 tons are fastened together by coir yarn alone. This manufacture is confined to certain districts between Colombo and Galle along the south coast. Coir is exported to this country not only in yarn and rope, but in the fibre, in bales closely pressed: the total shipments of all sorts have lately been about 30,000 or 40,000 cwts. to Europe, and 20,000 cwts. to the states of India and colonies.

The manufacture of cocoa-nut oil for shipment to Europe has only been carried on during the last twenty-five years, although long previously made by the natives for their own use. The bullock-mill employed by them to crush the nut and express the oil is of the rudest make, and has remained unimproved for the last 500 years: a good description of it may be seen in Davy's account of Ceylon.

The first steam oil-mills and hydraulic presses were erected by the government in 1829; and when found to work well, and the article had become known and valued in this country, the establishment was sold to private parties. This oil has ever since assumed an important place amongst the exports of the island.

In 1849 the quantity shipped to England was 512,457 gallons: in 1850, 792,791 gallons, and in 1851, 322,500 gallons. It is this oil which forms the foundation of Price's Patent Candles; it is also much used by soap and pomatum manufacturers. The quantity consumed in the island must be annually about half of the above quantities.

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SUGAR, as already observed, is the only article, the manufacture of which has been introduced into Ceylon by Europeans. The first canes planted with a view to the manufacture of sugar, were carried thither from the Mauritius in the year 1832; they were planted in the central province, in the valley of Dombera. The first few acres produced abundantly, and of a good marketable quality; prices in this country being then high, the early shipments left a fair profit, whilst that sold on the spot paid handsomely. Several sugar estates were a few years later formed in the Kandyan country, and eventually eight or ten plantations of some magnitude were commenced in the southern and western provinces. Experience has shown that although one or two good crops may be obtained from newly planted land, the soil is naturally of such a poor nature as to render after-cultivation hopeless, without an outlay for manure which the crops will not justify. From 1846 to the present time sugar cultivation has been gradually abandoned, and at the present time there are but three estates in partial cultivation, and that almost entirely for local consumption. The largest quantity shipped to England in any one year was 10,000 cwts.

CARDAMOMS are collected by the natives in the central and some parts of the southern and western provinces, from plants growing in a wild state amongst dense forests or low jungles. In appearance and strength they are inferior to those brought from the Malabar coast, and sell here for about one-half of the value of the latter. Very little care is given to their drying and packing, which is of course injurious to their appearance, and there can be little doubt but, that were the plants grown in the many village-gardens, together with other produce, a very marketable article would be the result. The shipments of this do not exceed 100 to 150 cwts. annually.

EBONY is found in great abundance in the north of the island, and to some extent in the Kandyan country. The great weight of the timber renders its transport very costly unless where water conveyance can be obtained, which is seldom the case but during the rainy months. Immense forests of this wood are still existing in the island, but to a great extent too far from a port of shipment to be available. The exports of ebony have varied much of late years, from 15,000 to 5,000 cwts.

SAPAN or dye-wood is shipped to this country, where it is employed as a red dye. The tree, of which this is the mature woody part, grows abundantly in the western, southern, and central provinces, without any cultivation. It is fit for cutting when about five years old, at which time it attains a height of ten or twelve feet. The exports have been for the last few years about 6,000 cwts. annually.

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Essential Oils, of cinnamon, citronelle, and lemon-grass, are made chiefly in the neighbourhood of Galle, in the southern province. The oil of cinnamon is also made largely at Colombo; it is obtained from the broken or inferior pieces of bark rejected in packing the bales of spice. The other oils are the produce of two highly scented grasses, cultivated to a considerable extent by both natives and Europeans for the purpose of distillation. The extent of the trade in these may be thus stated, say for 1849:—oil of cinnamon, 32,400 ounces; oil of lemon-grass, 28,000 ounces.

The second division of this paper includes tobacco, areca nuts, cocoa-nuts, and arrack, as articles exported only to the neighbouring states as well as consumed upon the island.

Tobacco is cultivated with some attention and success by the Singalese of the western province, the Kandyans of the interior, and the Tamils of the northern districts of the island. The Dutch bestowed some care upon this article, but they do not appear to have succeeded in obtaining tobacco suitable to European markets. At the present time the natives frequently prepare a leaf which is mild and fragrant in use, although unsightly in appearance; but the bulk of the tobacco is coarse and rank. This arises from no want of labour expended in the culture, but rather from the leaves being gathered when too old, and from imperfect curing. The Singalese are very careful in the selection of ground for this plant, as well as in its treatment prior to and after planting. Manure is applied to the land in the first instance and once or twice to the young plants, which are also kept constantly watered during dry weather. Not a weed is allowed to appear amongst them, and every care is bestowed that is likely to forward their growth. The gathering and drying processes are managed with as little discretion as can be imagined. Very small attention is paid to the state of the weather at the picking time, and when gathered the leaves are left in heaps until they commence to ferment, when they are suspended on strings or the stalks of the cocoa-nut leaf. One estate has been formed by an European in the southern province, but at present with doubtful success. The principal export of tobacco is to the Travancore country on the Indian continent; a little goes eastward and some to the Maldive Islands, in exchange for salt-fish, shells, and mats. The yearly shipments have of late amounted to about 22,000 cwts.; at one period they reached 40,000 cwts.

Areca or Betel Nuts have for a long period formed a large item of the export country trade. These nuts are used by nearly all Asiatics,

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who masticate them with a little lime, much in the same way as tobacco is used by sailors. The first luxury which a young Singalese or Malabar indulges in is a metal betel-box, worn in the girdle; and those who are too poor for such an ornament content themselves with wrapping their daily supply in a leaf. The areca palm which produces this nut, is one of the most graceful of that tribe; it thrives at a much greater altitude and in a cooler temperature than does the cocoa-palm, though, like the latter, it prefers the light soil and damp heat of the low country. Although flourishing wherever the cocoa-nut tree is found, the districts in which the areca tree grows most abundantly are about the borders of the western, central, and north-western provinces (between Kornegalle and Matele). The fruit grows in clusters, similar to those of the cocoa-nut, at the summit of the tree, each tree yielding about 200 yearly. They are about the size of a large walnut; and when deprived of their shell, which is of no value, the nut is found to be equal in size to a nutmeg. They are exported to Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Singapore, Penang, and the Maldive Islands, to the yearly value of £30,000.

Cocoa-nuts also form a prominent feature amongst the exports to Indian states, both in the raw and dried state, in which condition they are known by the name of *copperah*. It is scarcely possible to over-estimate the value of the cocoa-nut palm to the natives of Ceylon and other parts of India. With it they may be said to be independent of all other means of subsistence; and, with a little cotton for a girdle, they could exist without any other resource. Not a part of the tree is useless; every portion is made to minister to the daily wants of the grower. Oil, vinegar, arrack, toddy, sugar, medicines, are produced from the nuts and the sap of the flower. The husk of the fruit yields him fuel, fibre for ropes, and cordage, with which he rigs ships and canoes, and secures his cattle and his fences; and when unspun forms a soft mattrass for his couch. The inner hard shell is converted into boxes, drinking-vessels, spoons, forks, and a variety of ornaments. The wood of the tree serves to construct chairs, tables, window-frames, and beams and rafters for the roof, which is thatched by the plaited dry leaves of the tree fastened down by the fresh green leaflets. These plaited leaves also form a substitute for plates and dishes. The hollowed trunk of the tree forms a good canoe, in which the villager puts off to fish with a net of coir yarn, whilst the smaller trees form useful spouts to carry off the rain-water from the eaves of his little hut.

The cocoa-nut when but half grown contains a rich, sweet, cooling liquid, termed milk, though as clear as spring-water; around the

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inside of the shell is a coating of young nut, soft and agreeable to the taste. These two parts of the fruit form the simple meal of many thousands of the natives. When fully ripe the kernel is thick and hard, and the milk has nearly disappeared; in this state it is employed in curries, or, when dried, into copperah for oil-making or exporting. The shipments take place chiefly at Galle and Colombo, and amount in value to about £14,000 yearly.

ARRACK is a spirit distilled from the fermented juice of the cocoa-nut flower, and is prepared in certain districts of the southern province of the island, under licenses from the government. It is an article scarcely known in this country, being very seldom imported: during the Dutch period in Ceylon a good deal of it was shipped to Holland and Java, but for many years past the only exports have been to the Indian presidencies, and some of the eastern islands. Until within the last ten years arrack was served out to the troops in the Madras presidency; of late, however, they have had, in place of it, East-India rum. Of the total quantity of this spirit made there are no records. The right of vending it in shops or bazaars is farmed out annually in each province, under the title of the "arrack rent," and generally realizes about £55,000.

The shipments of arrack have fallen off, from 1000 pipes in 1845, to 520 in 1850.

The third division of Ceylon vegetable produce comprises cotton, rice, pepper, jaggery, arrow-root, maize, manioca, and fine grains.

COTTON is grown very generally by both the Singalese and Tamil inhabitants of Ceylon; but upon no regular plan, nor to any extent: in some few cases the villagers produce more than they require, and barter their surplus stock with the travelling pedlars for a little salt or dried fish. In the northern and eastern districts some few land-holders rear considerable patches of an inferior sort of cotton, which they dispose of to the weavers of Jaffna and Batticaloa; but nearly all the cotton goods manufactured in the island are from imported yarn. Attempts have been made, on several occasions, to introduce American cotton seed, with improved culture, but as yet without any decided success. Fine samples have been produced, valued in this market at from sixpence to eightpence per pound; but, either from exhaustion of the soil, or the heavy cost of production, these experiments have ceased. The Singalese method of cultivation is to place four or five seeds in a patch between their young cocoa-nut plants, or

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plantains, at the commencement of the rains in either monsoon. The seedlings will be thinned out when a few inches high, and afterwards weeded once or twice by hand, but no further care is bestowed upon them until the pods are ready for gathering, which they will be in about three months from the appearance of the seedlings. The means used to free the cotton from its seed are as simple as it is possible to conceive. The article is placed in a rush bag held by one hand, whilst with the other a cross-stick is rapidly twirled round amongst the cotton, tearing away the fibres from the seeds. In the north the Tamils pass their cotton between two wooden rollers revolving slowly against each other; and which draw the fibrous substance through, whilst the seeds, being detached, fall to the ground. The staple of Ceylon cotton is very short, but of a beautiful silky texture, and frequently very white. It is impossible to say with any certainty what quantity of this article is annually produced.

Of the very highest importance to this and other eastern nations is RICE: it is to them what corn, and potatoes, and animal food are to Europeans. Few Singalese taste much else, save cocoa-nuts, during the year; every villager is anxious to secure a patch of ground commanding water, on which he may rear this essential article of food. Although the present population of Ceylon does not exceed nine individuals to the square mile, it is yet found that the land does not produce nearly sufficient for the wants of the people, the annual importations of grain amounting in value to about 450,000*l.*; of this sum fully two-thirds consist of rice, prepared or in the husk, which gives about two bushels for every inhabitant; the grain being valued at two shillings the bushel. Three hundred years ago the population of the island was undoubtedly far greater than at present; yet at that period the inhabitants not only raised sufficient corn for all their wants, but were enabled to export it in some quantities to the eastward. The gradual destruction of the gigantic tanks which formerly existed in the northern districts, for the irrigation of the low lands, has led to the depopulation of that part of the island whence were drawn the chief supplies of corn. To cultivate rice without a plentiful supply of water would be impossible. In the hilly districts irrigation is carried on by means of watercourses cut along the sides of mountains, or carried, through bamboos, across valleys, often for a distance of many miles. In the low country, or maritime provinces, the rivers are dammed up during the rainy months, and the streams carried over the rice lands, from which they are gradually drawn off by means of small channels, cut in the margin of every field. Of so much importance is a good supply of water for cultivation, that the native sovereigns of

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Lanka believed they performed as righteous an act in constructing a tank or a water-course, as in erecting a temple.

In Ceylon there are eleven kinds of rice grown, viz.: Ratcoonda, Ballanwary, Marlawarigey, Combilley, Tatterwell, Hienette, Suduhienette, Moodu-kirialla, Cooroovie, Balla-maha-vie, and the Dassa-analla. The first five are sown in March, and reaped in July; the next four varieties are sown at the end of May, and gathered at the latter part of July, or early in August; the two last kinds are sown in November and June respectively, requiring five and two months to arrive at maturity. The cultivation of rice in the low lands and the hilly regions of the interior differs in many respects. The supply of water in the maritime provinces is generally more abundant, though less to be depended on, than amongst the hills; added to which violent floods frequently carry away the young crops for many miles around. The soil of the lands in the interior is far more productive than that found in the maritime provinces, though in each situation varieties will be found. Many lands amongst the hills will yield two crops annually, and generally one; but in the low country the ground frequently lies fallow for several years; few fields being rich enough to produce even a crop every alternate year. The yield of crops varies greatly, according to soil, aspect, water, and altitude. Much land produces not more than three or four-fold, whilst some of the finest tracts in the interior yield as much as forty-fold. The Singalese have very little idea of manuring their lands: in some parts of the low country bones are applied on the land with success, but the cultivators are content with turning-in a few bullocks upon the land during the fallow season.

The Singalese have many superstitions concerning their agricultural operations, and never commence work without consulting the priest or the devil-dancer, as to a "lucky day." They hold it to be unfortunate to commence work upon the first or second day in the Singalese month, and after having begun their operations they must desist for a few days at certain intervals. In like manner the threshing of the corn is attended with various observances, and charms are placed around the fresh-gathered crop. When a newly sown field has been reaped, the owner would not dare to partake of any portion of the crop, until an offering of a small portion of it had been made to the nearest temple, in order that the priest might first eat of it.

The rice lands in the low country are seldom cultivated by the proprietors; they are usually given in charge to one or two villagers, who, with the aid of their neighbours, prepare the ground, and attend to the irrigation. The owner finds the seed, and shares equally with

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the cultivator in the produce. In the Kandyan country the proprietors usually cultivate their own lands, with the aid of their poorer neighbours, who are paid in rice, or the labour given is returned upon the neighbours' fields.

PEPPER, although only grown in sufficient quantity for local consumption, was at a former period an article of some importance amongst the exports of the island. The Dutch paid great attention to it, and spared no efforts to induce its cultivation, both in the low country and in the Kandyan districts. By the Dutch records it appears that during the early part of the last century, the shipments of this spice amounted to nearly 50,000 lbs., of which one-third was received in barter from the Kandyans, the remainder was grown at Battacalva, Calpentyn, and Negombo. Since our possession of the island, pepper has never been grown in any quantity; and when the government determined on shipping it loose amongst their cinnamon bales, in order to preserve the latter from sea-damage, the spice had to be obtained from the coast of India. The little that is now grown can scarcely be said to be cultivated; it is left almost entirely to chance, and consequently yields very indifferently.

JAGGERY, or native sugar, is produced abundantly in the northern districts of Ceylon, from the juice of the Kittool or Jaggery palm, (*Caryota urens*). The sap is drawn off much in the same manner as that from the cocoa palm, but it does not flow so readily, and to obviate this the natives are in the habit of inserting within the surface of the cut flower-spike a small mixture of lime, garlick, sáte, and bruised pepper. This is left on the incision for a few days, when it is removed, and the flower again cut; the sap will then flow readily for several months continuously. The collected juice is boiled in earthen vessels to a certain consistency, when it granulates and forms a fair sample of sugar, capable of being refined to a good degree of purity. It is a curious fact that the wood of those trees which have been thus tapped, is very much harder than that of the unemployed trees in the forests, which is quite soft and spongy: the trees longest tapped are much the hardest.

ARROWROOT and MANIOCA are both rather extensively grown in the maritime provinces, the former being inferior in quality to that grown in the West India Islands. They are both very exhausting in their effect on the land, which in those parts of the island is seldom fertile; consequently it is but rare that more than one crop of either can be taken from the same field without a long rest.

From the manioca the Singalese prepare a fine flour, resembling arrowroot, but much sweeter, and far more nourishing; boiled or

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baked with milk it forms a most delicious meal, partaking of the nature of a rich custard.

MAIZE, or Indian Corn, is not grown to any great extent, and its cultivation is confined to the eastern and northern districts. It is employed in a variety of ways, in curries, ground into meal, or boiled whole as a vegetable. It is also given to the working bullocks, with oil-cake and cotton-seed, and is highly esteemed for this purpose.

The FINE GRAINS of Ceylon comprise a great variety of seeds employed by the poorer classes, as articles of food. The principal of these are Koorakam, Cooloo, Moongatta, Panna, Abba, and Ammoo. They, as well as an inferior description of Rice, called Hill Paddy, are grown on poor lands, and yield a very small return, often not more than three-fold. They are used in various ways, some being eaten in curries, some simply boiled, whilst others are ground, and the flour made into cakes or bread. These grains require no irrigation, though their yield depends upon the quantity of rain which may fall during the early period of their growth; and, from the poverty of most of the soil on which they are raised, whole crops are frequently lost in a very dry season. In the sowing and harvesting of these products the Singalese observe no ceremonies, and hold no superstitions regarding lucky days or evil spirits; a circumstance worthy of note, as being the sole exception to their many superstitious observances.

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ART. XV.—*On the Natural and Artificial production of Pearls in China.* By F. HAGUE, *H. B. M. Consul at Ningpo.*

[*Read 17th December*, 1853.]

MANKIND had probably no sooner taken to the use of oysters as food, than pearls were discovered, and at no period could they be so rude as not to prize the beautiful animal gem; hence, in the most ancient records which have come down to us, we find the pearl enumerated amongst precious articles. In China, so early as twenty-two and a half centuries before our era, pearls are enumerated as tribute or tax; and, at a later period, they are mentioned in the Rh-'ya (the most ancient of dictionaries, compiled more than ten centuries before our era) as precious products of the western part of the empire. They are also mentioned as ornaments, as amulets against fire, &c.

With their theory of the devil's powers, the Chinese are never perplexed concerning the nature of any object; it is sufficient to state that they are the female essence of the male principle. It is but fair to add that when Western naturalists, adhering to Pliny, taught that the oyster produced pearls from the heavenly dew on which it fed, a Chinese writer plainly states that pearls are the result of discoriation in the shell.

Fresh-water pearls were first in use in China, but soon after the commencement of intercourse with the continent of the Indian Ocean, they doubtless got them from thence in greater abundance. It was very early that official intercourse first took place. The Emperor Wuti (140-86 B. C.) sent to the sea for the purchase of pearls. After the introduction of Buddhism, and when intercourse with India became more common, pearls were also frequently referred to in Buddhist writings as "Moni pearls." From one of these "Moni pearls," the product of a dragon's hair, sufficient light was emitted to cook rice! A strange but not incredible story is given (806 A. C.) of a pearl as large as a pear which retained its lustre only three years; the result, doubtless, of molecular changes. Amongst the pearls of note, is one of Japan, as large as a hen's egg, of remarkable lustre by night; of another sent to court in the middle of the eighth century, of extraordinary brightness like that of the moon; and of another, three inches seven-tenths in circumference, which, with several others, was sent up from Fokien, probably derived from Ceylon.

A curious account is recorded of an embassy sent in 1023 A. C.,

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from Shílóch'áyent'óh, by the king of Chinlien, by his ambassador named Púyáht'oli, and others, with presents of a cap and spencer, and of a quantity of true pearls; and thirty or forty years later, tribute-bearers again came from the same court, and solicited that in their audience they might be permitted to follow the customs of their own country, which was graciously accorded. On the day appointed the messengers appeared at the door of the audience chamber, kneeling and holding a golden tray containing pearls and golden figures of the water lily, and on approaching the throne they tossed the contents on the floor before the Emperor, which the courtiers instantly swept up and divided amongst them. They are noted as the most deferential of people. They must have been from some country which then existed in India, or Ceylon, or thereabouts. Marco Polo also mentions pearls in his work on China.

At what period the Chinese fishing for pearls commenced, cannot be ascertained, except perhaps by reference to local topographical works which it is very difficult, and almost impossible, to obtain. One account represents pearls as being found on the coast generally south of Canton. No particulars are given except of the fishery in the department of Lien-chan in the extreme southern part of the empire, in the Canton province (Kwantung). On the sea is an island on which there is a pool or lake, which the district magistrate annually visits to receive the tribute, personally inspecting the operation. The pearl fishers dive into the lake for pearls. The old shells are opened for pearls. The bottom of this lake is supposed to communicate with the sea—unfathomable in the centre—the crater, probably, of an extinct volcano: pearls as large as beans, sometimes an inch in circumference, have been found. The young shells are strung on a bamboo stick and dried in the sun, mixed with cassia, then roasted in some medicinal production: they contain pearls as large as millet: thus the womb of the shell is the flesh either of the large or small kinds.

Another account names the district in Lien-chan where the pearl fisheries are conducted. In the sea there is an island with a lake, into which the barbarous natives dive for shells; some years they are abundant, and in others scarce. There is a myth amongst the fishermen of a walled city at the bottom, guarded by monsters, containing pearls of large size and splendour, but which cannot be obtained for the guards; small ones, growing outside the city walls like grass, being the only ones obtainable.

Another writer says: "South-east of the Foo city, there is a smooth river with a sea (an island with a lake?), Yuen-mei river, containing large oysters, having pearls. Visited by moonlight, fishermen descend

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into the waters with a basket fastened to their waists; when they can hold their breath no longer, they give a signal to be brought up. Voracious fish sometimes attack the divers, when the rope floats upwards."

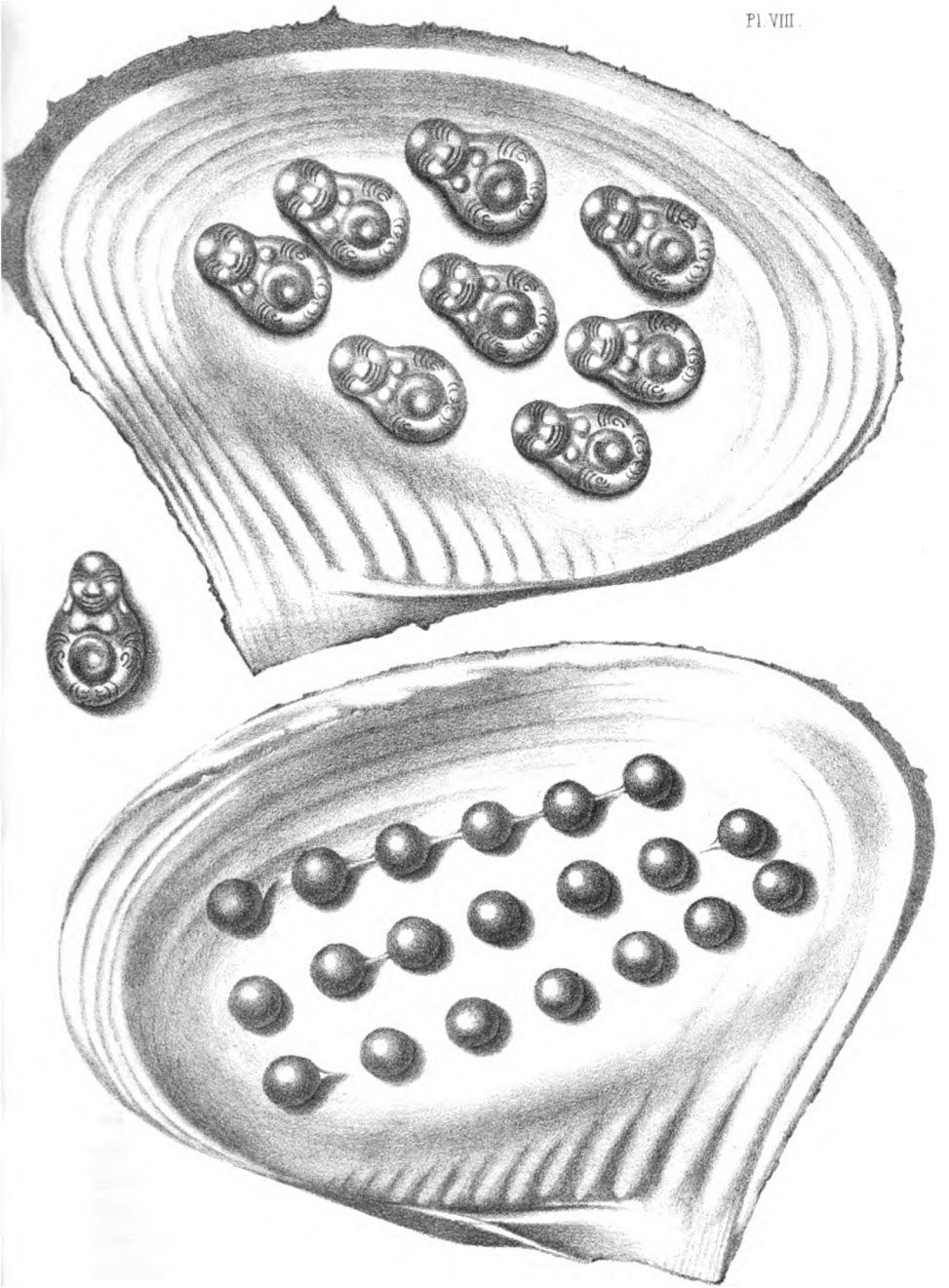
Yung-tai-kei, when at Canton, appointed a Pearl Inspector. The fishers would collect several baskets of sea plants, something similar to the willow, which they detached from the rocks under water, and brought them to the office. On the middle of these bushes were shells which contained pearls.

Another writer says: "The rude sea people at Canton dive for pearl shells and cut them out; they leave their sea vessels in which they live, and take to boats on the lake; they sink a heavy stone to anchor the boats, and then with a rope about the waist descend into the water; when they require breath they make a signal, and are aided up. It is stated that, between 1403-25, in consequence of so many of the divers being devoured by the sand-fish (shark), or nothing left but their limbs, the fishers contrived an iron rake for gathering shells without diving, but they got a few only. Afterwards, they contrived the method now pursued of a dredge—a scoop-like implement, one on each side of the boat, which, as the boats sailed along, gathered the shells.

The above remarks are gathered from old native authors, but it is not likely that the pearl fishery exists at present at all in China, the places being exhausted, as many others have been elsewhere: were they now in existence they could hardly have escaped the notice of foreigners resident at Canton. These ingenious people were the first to devise methods to imitate the pearl.

There is a note that, at the commencement of the seventh century, pearls were made of a composition or medicine. The art may have been lost, or it may be the same as that now employed at, and which originated at, Canton, and which appears to resemble that pursued by the French, who, however, have carried the art to a very much superior degree of perfection. The writer feeling much interest as to the method pursued by the Chinese with the "Muscle Pearl," in the winter of 1851-52 (in conjunction with a friend, Dr. McGowan, an American physician resident at Ningpo, by whose assistance he has been enabled to put together the preceding data), despatched an intelligent native to Hoochow, in the adjacent province, about three days' journey from Ning-po, where the manufacture of artificial pearls, &c., by means of the muscle fish, is carried on to a great extent, and he succeeded in obtaining shells shewing the process during the different stages, and also some live fish, the first ever seen by foreigners. The

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fish are collected together in April or May, and are opened principally by children, who put a small bit of bamboo in the orifice; the elders then insert whatever they wish. The foreign substance made use of, is composed of either brass, bone, pieces of round pebble, or mud. When the latter is used it is first well powdered, after which the pith or juice of a tree is mixed with it to give it solidity. These are put indiscriminately into the fish, and require nothing to keep them where they are placed; indeed, it would appear that the fish have no power of themselves to reject anything which may be placed in them.

After the fish have been operated upon, three spoonfuls of the scales of a fish well powdered and mixed with water are put into the smaller ones, and five spoonfuls into the larger ones; the pieces of bamboo are then withdrawn, and the fish are placed carefully in the ponds at a few inches apart. Some of the ponds, being small, will hold only about 5,000 fish, but the larger ponds contain a far greater number. The water in the ponds does not require to be deeper than from three to five feet, and in dry seasons water is occasionally worked into them from the canals which intersect the country in every direction for the irrigation of the land. Four or five times each year the ponds are well manured with night soil. The fish are generally taken out of the ponds after ten months, but if allowed to remain a longer time they come to greater perfection, three years being considered the maximum time. Several millions of these shells annually find a market at Soochow; the price varies considerably, some being worth about a penny the pair, while others readily fetch eightpence the pair. The greater portion of the shells are sold to the dealers as they are taken out of the ponds, but the Hoochow people prepare some few themselves, and the price of each pearl or image ready for use is from one farthing to fourpence. The shell is cut through with a fine saw as close to the pearl as possible; the bit of shell which remains attached to the pearl is then removed as well as the brass, bone, or whatever may be inside of it, white wax being substituted, and at the extremity a piece of the shell is again placed so as to render the pearl as perfect as possible. There are only a very few pearls of the best description, which no doubt arises from the haste in which the Chinese force them upon the market. It is several years since the attention of foreigners at Ning-po was first drawn to the "Muscle Pearl;" and previous to the discovery, I, as well as others, imagined the articles resembling pearls, which the wealthy natives wore so prominently on their caps, were real and valuable gems. The production of these artificial pearls is quite a trade in the neighbourhood of Hoochow, whole villages being engaged in it; indeed, it is stated that some 5,000 people find a

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livelihood by these means. The process was first discovered by Ye-jin-yang, a native of Hoochow, A.D. 1200-1300. At his death, a large temple was erected to his memory, at a place called Seaou-Shang, about twenty-six miles distant from Hoochow. This temple is still kept up and plays are performed there every year to Ye's honor. A book is extant which contains every particular connected with this interesting subject, but it could not be purchased. Mention of the art is made in the book of the district of its producing an important article of commerce. The trade is a monopoly amongst a certain number of villages and families, and any other village or family commencing it is required to pay for some plays at Ye's temple, and likewise to subscribe something towards the repair of the temple.

The Chinese in the south of China (Canton) also manufacture artificial pearls, the two provinces, it is stated, having exchanged their secrets many years ago; but the Hoochow people do not succeed very well with the Canton process, and there must be some very great peculiarity in either the climate or fish, as it does not appear that the Canton people, who are so noted for their perseverance with anything by which they can earn even a trifle, have ever succeeded with the Hoochow method.

From the circumstance of the trading junks, both from the northern and southern provinces, buying up all they can meet with in the shops at Ning-po, it would seem as though Hoochow was the only place in China where this trade is pursued.

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Art. XVI.—*The Gypsies of Egypt. By the late* Capt. Newbold, F.R.S., &c.

Those who chance to sojourn in the land of the Pharaohs longer than the ordinary run of travellers, and roam about the streets and environs of its large towns, can hardly fail to notice the strange appearance of certain females, whose features at once distinguish them from the ordinary Fellah Arabs and Copts of the country. In dress they differ little from the common Fellah females, the dark blue cotton *tob* being common to both; but they seldom wear the *shintiyan* (drawers), and are remarkable for going abroad without the *burka*, or veil. With the skin of a gazelle, or that of a sheep, thrown over their shoulders, they frequent the bazars and principal thoroughfares of the great towns, with unveiled faces bronzed by exposure, or stroll from village to village, occasionally calling out, in Arabic, in piercing but not unpleasing tones: "Come, ye that desire to foresee your destiny! the past and the future shall be revealed unto you;" or in shorter phrases, such as "Come and see your fortunes!" تعالي تعالي شفت البخت (*Taali, taali, shuft el bakht*), &c.

These wanderers over the face of Egypt have not escaped the keen observation of Mr. Lane; but he has erroneously confounded them with the Ghagar غجر (pronounced, in the softer dialect of Syria, Ghajar), another class of vagrants in Egypt, obscurely allied with the Helebi (حلبي) tribes now under notice. The Ghagar females are usually rope-dancers, musicians, &c.; and do not practise the arts of divination and palmistry like the Fehemi فهمي (wise) women of the Helebi tribes, who look down on them with sovereign contempt.

I have found Mr. Lane so extremely accurate in everything relating to Egypt, that it is with very great diffidence I have ventured to correct him on this one point; and I can only imagine the error to have happened from the circumstance of his having derived his information from other sources than from the gypsies themselves, who are looked down upon by the holy Ulema of Cairo, with whom this amiable and talented Arabic scholar is in close literary association, with almost the same horror as the Pariahs of India by the Brahmans.

This notice of the Helebis and Ghagars is derived chiefly from the lips of their Sheikhs; for, as among the Arabs, each tribe and sub-

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division has its Sheikh or Elder. As they are extremely jealous and suspicious of any inquiry into their habits and mode of life, I had considerable difficulty in tracing them to their encampments and haunts in and about Cairo and other places, and in inducing them to unreserved communication. This circumstance will serve in part to apologize for the present very meagre sketch of these curious tribes, who are found, singular to say, strangers and outcasts—gypsies, in short—in the land which has given them a name, and has long been supposed to have given them birth. They live at once in the heart and veins of civilized life, on its outskirts, and yet totally distinct and isolated—scattered over the wide world, yet clearly recognized as one family by the irrefragable evidence of physical resemblance, in which the peculiar eye is not the least remarkable point, and by the perfect identity of habits so striking and characteristic. The different jargons they speak, too—though the original language is almost obliterated by changes and infiltrations from those of the various countries through which they have passed, or in which they have been vagrants for many generations—bear distinct evidence of a common origin, pointing to India, or possibly to ancient Chaldea or Babylonia. In my inquiries among the gypsies of Cairo I was materially indebted to the kind assistance of Mr. Rickards, and Mr. Walne, Her Majesty's Consul.

The Helebis.

The male Helebis are chiefly ostensible dealers in donkeys, horses, camels, cattle, &c., and pretend to great skill in the veterinary art; but their character for common honesty does not stand very high in the estimation of those who know them best. With their women, they lead a vagabond life, but return to the towns at stated periods. Their wanderings are confined to the Rif, or valley of the Nile, and to the Delta, rarely extending far into the desert, except when they go forth to meet the *Hájj*, on its return from Mecca, in order to cheat the way-sick pilgrims out of their jaded beasts, or to sell cattle-medicines. Some few accompany the *Hájj* all the way to Mecca; and, having performed the pilgrimage, are proud of prefixing *Hájji* to their names—a title, however, which among the more experienced Cairenes is supposed to add but little to a man's credit in the ordinary dealings of life. "If your neighbour," say they, "has performed *one hájj*, be suspicious of him; if *two*, avoid him; but if *three*, then by all means give up your house immediately, and seek another in some remote quarter."

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The Helebis usually live in tents or *kheish* (portable huts), which they pitch on the outskirts of some large village or town. Near Cairo they are to be found at certain seasons (chiefly during the winter and spring), near a village on the right of the road from Cairo to Shúbra. They are expert in disguises, and hardly yield the palm to their brethren in Europe in cunning and deception.

Mr. Rickards writes me, that shortly after my quitting Egypt (April, 1847), the Pasha promulgated a most arbitrary edict, in which the *Musáhibín* (people not residing in their native villages) were ordered forthwith to repair to them. The distress this order gave rise to was indescribable; numerous gangs of the poor creatures, men, women, and children, were chained together, and driven from Cairo by a brutal soldiery to their distant villages, where they had no chance of employment, and consequently no means of support, except charity.

During these scenes of violence and misery, the gypsies, who were encamped at the usual place, took the hint, although they had no native villages to be driven to, struck their tents by night, decamped bag and baggage, and disappeared altogether. Not long after this flight Mr. Rickards one day met a man riding on a fine mare, gaily dressed, and looking for all the world like an Arab Sheikh in good plight. He thought he recognized the gypsy eye, and a second glance convinced him that it was no other but my gypsy friend, Sheikh Heridi, in this complete disguise.

The female Helebis (the Fehemis), as before stated, practice palmistry and divination. During their halts on the outskirts of towns and villages, and in roaming about the streets, bazars, and coffee-houses, in different disguises, they contrive to pick up, with wonderful tact and accuracy, the information necessary to their vocation, regarding the private history and prospects of persons with whom they are thrown in contact. In this secret intelligence department they are also assisted by their male relations, who, it is said, are to be found in every official department in Egypt, though not known to be gypsies; and, at all events, mingle much both with residents on the spot, and with strangers in the coffee-houses and caravanserais.

Practice of Palmistry and Divination.—In practising the art of palmistry, the Fehemi takes the right hand of the inquirer into the book of destiny into her own, holding it by the tips of the fingers, which she often bends gently back, so as to render the lines on the palm more distinct. Muttering some spell, she looks gravely and earnestly into these lines for a moment or two; and then raising her

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penetrating eyes, fixes them steadily on those of the fortune seeker, gazing into them as if reading his destiny, written in large characters, at the bottom. She then unfolds to him the result with much decision and emphasis. The tale she tells is very much like what the gypsy women impart to the nursery maids and young lads on Blackheath. There are the different dangers and felicities awaiting them at different epochs of life—the dark or light lady, or gentleman, who is to love and be loved—the jealous enemy of whom they are to beware—the number of children they are to have, &c. It is almost unnecessary to add that in most cases the weight of the silver coin, with which the sybil's hand must be crossed, exerts a corresponding influence over the future (silvery or coppery, as the case may be) aspect of the aspirant's fortunes.

In divination, the Fehemi seats herself on a mat or carpet at the foot of the divan, or on the floor, and empties her gazelle-skin bag of a portion of its contents, viz., small shells, broken bits of glass, small coloured stones of agate, jasper, basalt, &c.; coloured bits of wax, &c. She throws the shells repeatedly on the carpet, after much jugglery, grimace, repeating spells, &c.; and from the position they chance to lie in she draws her inferences, much in the same way as the servant girls in England tell their fortunes from the arrangement of the grounds of tea at the bottom of their cups.

On one occasion the shell, which is supposed to represent the person whose fortune is being told, happened to fall in the centre of a circle formed by the other shells being accidentally ranged round it. This answer to the question, which was: "Will his friends prove faithful in the hour of need?" was interpreted as highly favourable.

Thus the Fehemi goes on casting the shells and divining from them. Money is required at various stages of the operation, and the farce usually concludes with the gypsy's presenting a few bits of coloured stone or wax to her employer as charms.

I witnessed a curious trick played by one of the Fehemi women near Cairo in this sort of divination. She put one of the shells—a small cowry—into a basin of clear water, which was placed on the carpet of the floor, at the foot of the divan where a friend and myself were seated, enjoying our chibouqes and coffee. She then covered the basin with a cloth, and directed me to repeat after her an invocation in Arabic, and, while doing so, retired a few feet from the basin, after taking off the cloth, to the edge of the carpet. The shell was seen lying under the water, at the bottom of the basin as before; but no sooner was the invocation finished than the water bubbled up, and the shell was shot out to the distance of several feet, with some

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of the water, with a slight explosion, like that of a percussion-cap thrown into the fire.

This, doubtless, was the effect of some chemical substance, placed probably in the shell itself; but whether the secret of its preparation be a remnant of the art of ancient Egypt, or vended to the gypsies by some itinerant charlatan from Europe, is doubtful. The last appears the more reasonable hypothesis.

The Fehemi women, as well as the men, have a family resemblance to the Kurbáts of Syria. They are noted for their chastity, in contradistinction to the Ghagar women. Intrigues, however, have happened, but, if discovered, they are punished with death; the woman being usually thrown into the Nile, with a bag of stones tied to her neck.

Until their marriage the young Fehemi females wear a cincture of silk or cotton thread round their loins, in token of virginity. They never intermarry with the Arabs, Copts, or other inhabitants of Egypt. In this respect they are as rigid as the Hindus. They are not remarkable for cleanliness either of person or apparel; in this respect, and their passion for trinkets of brass, silver, and ivory, they remind one of the Brinjári women of India.

They are remarkably intelligent, quick in gaining information, and would make capital spies in an enemy's camp. An instance of their shrewdness in this respect fell under my own observation. Passing their encampment one day, I persuaded my companion to stop and have his fortune told; to which, after some demur, he at last consented. While the gypsy woman was looking at the lines of his hand, I took the opportunity of inspecting the interior of their tents. They resembled those of the common Bedouin of the desert, and contained little beyond some wretched horse and donkey furniture, pots, pans, &c. Everything externally denoted the most squalid poverty, excepting only an enormous mess of fowls, mutton, and savoury vegetables, seething in a large iron cauldron over a wood fire; and which proved, to more senses than one, that the care of the flesh-pots of ancient Egypt had not devolved on a race insensible to their charms. On return, I found my companion still in the hands of the gypsy, now listening to her tale with as much seriousness in his face as there was merriment and mockery before.

When she had finished, he told me that he had been perfectly astounded in hearing from her lips a circumstance which, to the best of his recollection, he had never divulged to any person; but which, no doubt, must have on some occasion inadvertently escaped him.

Language.—Few of the words which I collected from the Helebis

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are identical with those of the Kurbáts of Syria; their vocabulary appears to contain a much larger proportion of Arabic, and fewer Persian, Indian, and Turkish words. The term *Husno* is used by them in the same sense as that of *Busno* by the gypsies of Europe; under which appellation they class all strangers and tribes other than their own. A rascal, thief, or robber, is termed *kalo; ag*, or *yag*, is one of the words employed for fire; and *páni yen* for water.

Their numerals are defective, and are usually borrowed from the Persian and Indian numerals.

NUMERALS.

One ..... Ek.
Two ..... Dúi.
Three..... Dúi ek (*i.e.*, two and one), *or* Sih.
Four ..... Char, *or* Dúi fi dúi (two and two).
Five ..... Penk, *or* Peng.
Six..... Peng ek (five and one).
Seven..... Peng i dúi (five and two).
Eight..... Ister.
Nine ..... Now, *or* Peng-i-dúi fi dúi (five and two and two).
Ten ..... Dés, *or* Desh.
Eleven .... Dés wa ek (ten and one).
Twelve .... Dés wa dúi (ten and two).

The rest, up to twenty, similarly formed.

Twenty .... Yuksi.
Twenty-one Yuksi wa ek (twenty and one).

And so on to thirty.

Thirty .... Yuksi wa dés (thirty and ten).
Thirty-one.. Yuksi wa dés wa ek (twenty and ten and one).

And so on to forty.

Forty..... Kamáki.
Fifty ..... Kamáki wa dés (forty and ten).
Sixty ..... Kamáki wa yuksi (forty and twenty).
Seventy .... Kamáki wa yuksi wa dés (forty and twenty and ten.
Eighty .... Du kamáki (two forties).
Ninety .... Du kamáki wa dés (two forties and ten).
A hundred.. Bank, *or* Dúi kamáki wa yuksi (two forties and twenty).
A thousand Dés bank (ten hundred).

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In their ordinary intercourse with the villagers, however, they employ the vulgar Arabic, both in conversation and in their accounts. Their own is used, and cant words employed, for purposes of concealment. I have not yet been able to discover that they possess any written characters other than the Arabic.

ORIGIN.—The Helebis pretend to derive their origin from Yemen or the Hadramát; and assert that the early history of their race is chronicled in a written record, called the Táríkh ez Zír (تاريخ الزير), which, as far as I can glean, is an obscure and unsatisfactory document. I hope shortly to obtain a copy of this same MS.

From Yemen, they say, their tribes were expelled by the persecutions of Zír, a king of the Túba race; and wandered over Syria, Egypt, Persia, and Europe. The seven brother chiefs of the tribes which migrated into Egypt obtained from its sovereign the privilege of exemption from taxes, and of wandering about the country without molestation.

The tombs of these seven chiefs are regarded by the Helebis as holy places to this day. Two of them are said to be in the Bahriyeh district, one in the Kelyubiyeh, and the rest in the Syud.

They were unable to inform me of the derivation of Helebi (حلبي), the generic name of their tribes, which is also applied to an inhabitant of Aleppo, or Heleb (حلب).

PRESENT POLITICAL CONDITION IN EGYPT.—The present energetic ruler of Egypt would appear to be a severer taskmaster than its old kings; for he has compelled the gypsies to pay a species of poll-tax, to elude which they practise every kind of deception: hence the difficulty of arriving at a faithful approximation of their numbers.

Their principal Sheikh enumerated to me four different tribes—*Arba Byút*—each comprising about fifty families, scattered about Egypt; but this statement, I have reason to believe, is much and designedly underrated. The names of the tribes and their Elders (or Sheikhs) are as follow—

TRIBE.	SHEIKH.
Batatíyeh	Hajji Bhai.
Súrútíyeh	Abu Salim.
Shoeiha	Hajji Mandi.
El Haweidát	Sheikh Herídi.

Of these four tribes one alone formerly exercised the art of palmistry and divination, viz., the Súrútíyeh.

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Collectively, the Helebis sometimes call themselves Mahlebásh (محلباش). They affirm that some of their tribes are scattered over Abyssinia, but under different names. Kustáni was one of those given me.

Religion.—They have no known religion, priests, or houses of prayer. Yet, whenever policy or convenience demands, they conform externally to the observances of Islam.

The Ghagars.

This race, in physical appearance and vagabond habits, bears a family resemblance to the Helebis, and to the Kurbáts of Syria. During the summer months they wander about the cultivated portion of Egypt in tents and *kheish;* but in the winter they usually take up their abode in towns.

At Cairo they are to be found inhabiting a squalid quarter, called, after them, the "Hosh el Ghagar," behind the great mosque of El Hassan, at the foot of the citadel rock. Here they carry on the business of tinkers and blacksmiths, and vend ear-rings, amulets, bracelets, and instruments of iron and brass. Another colony of Ghagars take up their periodical residence in Ancient Cairo (Masr el Atíkeh).

Some of the men exercise the vocation of *pahlawáns* (athletes), mountebanks, monkey-exhibitors at fairs, &c. The women are often excellent rope-dancers; others are musicians, playing chiefly on the *tableh* (tambourine) and the *tetalla* (a sort of castanet). They are divided into distinct classes, such as Meddahín, Ghurradín, Barmeki (Barmecides), Waled Abu Tenna, Beit er Rifái, Hemmeli, Románi, &c. From their active habits of life, they are in general a fine athletic race. One of the most magnificent women I have ever seen in the East was a Ghagar rope-dancer at the palace of one of the Beys at Cairo. She had disfigured her features by tattooing the under lip and chin—a practice very common among the Arab women of Syria and Egypt, and which is often performed for them, as well as the operation of circumcision and boring the ears and nostrils, by the Ghagar women. They assert themselves to be of the same stock as the Helebis, but are never allowed to exercise the arts of palmistry and divination, and are looked down upon by the Fehemi women.

Language.—Many of their words are identical with those of the Helebis, and also with those of the Kurbáts of Syria. Some are apparently of Indian origin, such as *pani*, water; *machi*, fish;

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bakra, sheep. With the villagers they converse in the ordinary vulgar Arabic. They have no peculiar written character.

POPULATION.—It is impossible to obtain from the Ghagars a true statement of their numbers, as they, too, like the Helebis, are subjected to a poll-tax. When the tax-gatherers are on the prowl, they take themselves off, and, ostrich-like, hide their heads in the sands of the desert. After paying a first visit to them in the Hosh el Ghagar, I returned the following day, but, to my surprise, found the quarter quite deserted. Suspicious of such unusual attention bestowed on them, they had quietly absconded, and, as I afterwards learned, had crossed the Nile to some village on the skirts of the desert. Subsequently, we became better acquainted.

RELIGION.—Like the Kurbáts and Helebis, they have none; but conform, as convenience dictates, to the predominant religion of the country where they happen to pitch their tent.

Since the reading of my first paper on the Gypsies of Egypt, I have received the following additional observations, furnished by H. S. Rickards, Esq., of Cairo, who kindly undertook to make them at my request.

THE HELEBIS.

The Helebis do not give their daughters in marriage to the Ghagars, though they occasionally marry Ghagar damsels. The *húg* or *dilk* (zone of chastity) is often made of plaited leather, like the waist-covering of the women of Soudan, and is cut off on the wedding night.

The Helebi females, though chaste themselves, occasionally do not scruple to act as procuresses of Gentile or *Husno* women, and will even sometimes expose their own persons for a reward. The Arabs and Copts charge them with kidnapping children; but this they strenuously deny, as well as the common accusation of their eating cats and dogs, and other animals held in abhorrence by Moslems.

They bury their dead, but have no fixed places of interment.

THE GHAGARS.

The Ghagars speak of having brethren in Hongarieh (Hungary?), who have preserved their original language in much greater purity than the mingled jargon they now speak in Egypt. During the summer they often gain a livelihood by carrying jars of water, and sing

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at the *mulids*. With few exceptions, they are all thieves. Mr. Rickards was not more successful in obtaining a true estimate of their number than myself, owing to their jealousy on this head, and their interest in diminishing the *bonâ fide* amount of population; but I think the total number in Egypt can hardly be estimated at less than sixteen thousand.

The Núris (نوري) or Náwer.

All the Núris, like certain tribes in India, are hereditary thieves; but are now employed as police and watchmen on the Pasha's *chifleks* (country estates), on the principle of setting thieves to catch thieves. They are nominally permitted to receive 50 per cent. on property recovered from the thieves they bring to justice. This arrangement they find so advantageous, that they now seldom engage in plunder, except occasionally in Cairo itself, where there is less chance of detection. It remained for the ingenuity of the present Pasha, by the plan just mentioned, to put a stop to the extensive robberies committed by the Náwers for a succession of generations, and which Mahomed Ali's predecessors were totally unable to check.

The Náwers were formerly protected, and employed for purposes of plunder, by the Billi tribe of Arabs. The relations of the sheikhs of this tribe with the lawless Náwers resembled those of the Highland chiefs with the caterans on their estates.

The Náwers in Egypt intermarry with the Fellahín, or Arabs of the soil, from whom, in physical appearance and dress, they can be hardly distinguished. Outwardly they profess Mahomedanism, and have little intercourse with the Helebis and Ghagars.

Their present chief is a sheikh named Yúsuf, formerly the most noted thief in Egypt.

Jargons spoken by these Tribes.

The following lists of words were procured by Mr. Rickards and myself, *vivâ voce*, from the Sheikhs and leading members, both male and female, of the several tribes, after various comparisons, revisals, and corrections. The orthography is that adopted by the Royal Asiatic Society.

It will be observed that there is a marked difference in the three dialects or jargons. That of the Ghagars most assimilates the language of the Kurbáts, or gypsies of Syria, and the gypsy dialect in Borrow's work: it contains also more words of Indian origin than the Helebi and Náwer jargons.

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The Helebi comprises a large number of words of Arab root, indicating a long sojourn in Yemen, or other parts of Arabia. Its numerals, as also those of the Ghagars, bear strong marks of an Indian or Persian origin; though usually the Helebis adopt the vulgar Arabic numerals in use throughout Egypt.

The following are the numerals given me by one of the Helebi tribe, and which are also used by the Ghagars when secrecy is required.

One.....	Ek, *or* Yék.
Two	Dúi.
Three	Dúi ek, *or* Sih.
Four	Dúi fi dúi, *or* Chár.
Five	Penk.
Six	Penk ék.
Seven	Penk fi dúi.
Eight	Heshter.
Nine	Enna.
Ten	Das, *and* Deh, *and* Desh.
Eleven	Das wa ék (&c.)
Twelve	Das wa dúi (&c., to twenty).
Twenty	Yéksi.
Twenty-one	Yéksi wa ék, &c.
Thirty	Yéksi wa das.
Forty	Kumáki.
Fifty	Kumáki wa das.
Sixty	Kumáki wa yéksi.
Seventy	Kumáki wa yéksi wa das.
Eighty	Du kumáki.
Ninety	Du kumáki wa das.
Hundred.....	Bánk, *or* Sad.
A thousand	Das Bánk, *or* Das sad.

The numerals of the Nawers are evidently of Persian origin, as four.

One.....	Yék.
Two	Dú.
Three	Súso.
Four	Char.
Five	Fowi (to ten like Persian).
Ten.....	Halaheh.
A hundred	Benee.

All the tribes disclaim having any written character peculiar to

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themselves; and it is rare to find one among them who can read the common Arabic of the country. I have been informed, however, by a respectable Copt, that they have secret symbols which they sedulously conceal. It seems to me probable that the whole of these tribes had one common origin in India or the adjacent countries on its western frontier, and that the difference in the jargons they now speak is owing to their sojourn in the various countries through which they have passed. This is certain, that the gypsies are strangers in the land of Egypt.

List of Words.

Relationship.

English.	*Helebi.*	*Ghagar.*	*Náwer.*
Father	gárúbi	bálo, mánsh	báyábi.
Mother	ammámri	kuddi	
Brother	huwiji	búrdi	
Wife	kúdah	gaziyeh	gúd.
Sister	kháwishti	semah búrdi	
Husband	el baráneh	marash	maras.

Natural Objects, &c.

Sun	shems	kám, kárzi karieh	shems.
Moon	kamr	káno, kariz	mahtáweh.
Star	nejm	astra	
Air	hawa	barban, biar	mahbuseh.
Heavens	sema	kayes	
Earth	ard	turra	
Fire	megúnwara	ág *or* yág	ág *or* oug.
Water	hembi, *or* sheribni, *or* páni	páni	óah.
Rain	matr	bursunden, moga	aug.
Snow	telj	gharábi	
Cloud	reim	bárúd	
Light	núr	núr	
Sea	bahr	páni	
Mountain	gebel	melúsh, dúrúm	koh.
A spring	ain	moga	
Stone	hajjar	path	
Salt	melh	lón, iráki	namak.
Tree	mishgareh	kerian	kannín.
Milk	millanish, helwah	rágoon, rághebi chúti	rowan.
Barley	mushárish	jow	
Wheat	dahúba	ghiú	ghiúdem.
Iron	megow	sista	shir.

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English.	*Helebi.*	*Ghagar.*	*Náwer.*
Night	dámúd	rátsi	
Day	menáhrish	chibish	
Onion	musuunum	piyaz	
Dhurra grain	meghidhurra	dárineh	
Rice	rúz	barnu, fukiyeh, udbukh	
	Animals.		
A hare	erneb	kunder	
Dog	sunno	sunno	
Cat	ghutta	berkúka	
Horse	sohli	sohli, ghóra	
Mare	sohliyeh	sohliyeh, aghorai	
Ass	zowilli	kháris	
Sheep	hahaiya	bakra	
Cow	mubgursha	góru	
Bull	mutwárish	maia góru	
Fowl	chúriya	kagniyeh	búrih.
Pig	khanzír	hallúf	segel harmin.
Camel	húntif	hunt, ashtr	
Crow	gráb	mentuf, kil	
Snake	tábun	sámp	
Fish	semek	machchiyeh	
	Parts of the Body.		
Finger	sabaa	angústi	
Hand	kumáshteh	gadho, kustúr, chang	fowítak.
Eye	hazára	ankhi	
Hair	shára	bál *or* vál	
Ear	wúdu	kirkáwiyeh	
Neck	rékb	shiríti	
Knee	ruggal, *or* kumeyshtu	shang	
Teeth	sinnán, suvan	dándi, sinnam	
Head	ras	sir, shirit, kamokhti	
Flesh	udwán	maas	
Pudendum muliebre	búdí	minchiá	búd.
Penis	lib	kidh	
Belly	batn	barri	bosah.
	Miscellaneous.		
A well	bir	ghibíni	
Egg	mejáhaled	wáni	
Ring	khátim	angústri	

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English.	*Helebi.*	*Ghagar.*	*Náwer.*
God	Allah	Allah	Allah.
Ship	merkeb	kir	
Boat	merkeb	shatúr	
War	hebbáji	debbáji	
Christian	ghirni	balámu	
Door	báb	kápú	
Boy	lambún, sumgun	chabo	lowaiti.
Girl	lambúnih, sumgúnih	semah chabo *or* chai	bubúr.
Thief	gowáti	dúmáni, kálo	showústi.
Knife	tellúmeh	matwa, chúri	chíri.
Rope	hebl	dóri	
Book	kitáb	kitáb	kitáb.
City	gaonti	gao	dési.
Village	gaonti	gao	dési.
Bridge	juntara		
Paper	warkeh	warkeh	
Bread	shemún, meshmúl	márey	nán.
House	nizb	kír	
King	dazi, zilk	el reibo, el burro	
Love	hebb	hebb	
A year	sinneh		
A month	shahr	yuk sadésh	
Colour	....	....	
Poison	sun	zúngali	mubahah.
Luck, fortune	bakht	baji	sohri.
Devil	sheitan	iblis	harmir.
A Gentile (or one not a a gypsy)	hushno	chájú	keghaneh.
A lie	ezdarbish	zingalo	melúm, gowais.
Name	ism	rábon (your name)	minas.
A harlot	beskanan	gabu, besignan	gúd el harám
Zone of chastity	húg	dilk	fowi.

Adjectives.

Sick, tired	tábán	múrdal	
Bad	battal	bilbey	
Good	teyib	lásho	
Great	kebir	burra	burri.
Small	soghaiyer	thoranki	
Black	aswadish	káló	
White	abyed		
Cold	mebradish	memúdrih	
Hot	mahrarish	gurm	

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Adverbs.

English.	*Helebi.*	*Ghagar.*	*Náwer.*
Much	ketir	bhút	
A little	mefram rush	thoráki, thukránee	
Enough	keffi	bas, nunniya	
Here	henné	igde	
There	honak	aurileh	

Verbs.

To come	ig	ā, ootil	
Go	fil	ja	
To sleep	dumak	sobelar	sook.
To eat	eshna, sheml	khaba, jála	arhús.
To rob	gunwáni	chúrábi	lahis.
To drink	hunnib	mouwak	
To bring	guddi	laba	

THE GYPSIES OF SYRIA.

Although we are told by Leo Clavius that the Emperor Bajazet expelled all the gypsies from the Ottoman Empire, yet it is well known that numerous tribes of them are still scattered over the plains and mountains of Syria, Palestine, Asia Minor, and Egypt. In Palestine and the southern parts of Syria, this singular people—*vagus et profugus in terrâ*—is known under the appellation of Náwer; but in Asia Minor and the northern parts of Syria, they style themselves Kurbát (كربات), Rúmeli (روملي), or Jingánih (جنگانه): the two last terms appear to have relation with the Spanish Romani and Zincali, and the German Zigeuner.

The Náwer, Kurbáts, and Jingánih of Syria and Palestine preserve the well-known characteristics of their brethren in Europe. Nomade in their habits, neither shepherds nor tillers of the soil, they feed upon the credulity and superstition of mankind, like vultures on carrion. Bedouins of the intellectual world, they juggle the simpler sons and daughters of cities by pretended skill in the occult sciences, more especially in the art of chiromancy. Some of them are dancers and minstrels, while others vend charms, philters, poisons, and drugs of vaunted efficacy. Like their brethren in England, most of the male gypsies are profound adepts in horse-flesh, in donkey dealing,

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and in snaring game; but, instead of mending tin pots and kettles, the only handicrafts I have seen them engaged in is the making and repairing of osier baskets, tents, and in spinning cotton and woollen yarn for their tents and wearing apparel.

Religion.—They have no places of religious worship, nor have they ever been observed to pray or engage in the performance of any religious rite; though, for convenience sake, some of their sheikhs or elders, like the Druses, Ansairis, and Ismailis, have been known occasionally to conform to the exterior observance of Mahomedan worship, and to circumcise their children. The aged chief of a gypsy tribe in the plains of Aleppo repeated to me in Arabic the Mahomedan confession of faith, though not without several mistakes, and the entire omission of the words محمد رسول الله (Mahomed is the Ambassador of God). He stated that he and his tribe acknowledged one supreme, everlasting, and all-powerful Being; and believed in an existence after death, in a state of reward or punishment, connected with metempsychosis.

He denied that his tribe, like the Ansairis, worshipped the stars, or that they adored the creative principle, like the Ismailis, under the external symbol of the *pudendum muliebre*—allegations which have frequently been made against the Kurbáts by the Mahomedans and Christian Syrians. He denied also that the Kurbáts, like the Jews and Ansairis, held in abhorrence the eel and the celebrated black fish of the Lake of Antioch, which, from not having scales, are forbidden to the former under the Mosaic law: "And whatsoever hath not fins and scales ye may not eat: it is unclean unto you" (Deut. xiv. 10). I am assured, however, that the Kurbáts, who, like the Pariahs of India, are the flayers of animals dying a natural death, devour the carcases of all sorts of animals except the hog.

Physical Appearance.—In their slender but well-knit figures, tawny complexion, rather prominent cheek-bones, straight black hair, and stature rather below the middle size, the Kurbáts, Jingánihs, and Náwers in no way differ from the gypsy of Europe. The facial angle assimilates more the Hindu type than that of the Tartar or Turcoman. The dark eye is not invariable. In the mountains of Antioch I met several blue and grey-eyed gypsies, and have observed a similar feature occasionally, in the Arabs of Petra and Palmyra, among the Syrians, and also among the Xebeques and Euruques of Asia Minor. The gypsy of Asia has also that peculiar and indescribable expression and appearance of eye which I have remarked strongly developed in the gypsy of Moorish Spain and Africa—a

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feature which, like the brand in the forehead of the first murderer, stamps this marked race over the whole globe; and, when once observed, is never forgotten. The "evil eye" is not the least of the powers with which this people is superstitiously invested; and, if there be any truth in the overstrained doctrines of animal magnetism, one could not possibly frame to the imagination an eye so well calculated to produce an intense mesmeric effect.

Dress and Domestic Habits.—Half naked in the plains and mountains, they dress in towns and cities much like the ordinary classes of the inhabitants. A red tarboush, wrapped round with a red and blue striped handkerchief, a blue striped caftan, woollen or leather girdle, sandals, and the striped woollen abbáyeh, constituted the costume of some of their sheikhs whom I saw at Antioch.

In winter they are usually to be found on the outskirts of some large town, living in what are called *beit shahr*, a sort of half hut, half tent, easily removed. In summer they go forth into the plains and mountains, where they live in tents or in old ruins, but never very far distant from the haunts of their prey—mankind. These migrations are regular, and not of any great extent. They never forsake the country altogether, unless driven by political persecution.

Sheikh Rassho, the head of the Aleppo gypsies, informed me that his tribe was divided into thirty *beits*, or houses, for which, and the tax upon which, he was responsible to the Turkish Government. The names of the *beits* are for the most part Mussulman, as will appear by Sheikh Rassho's list. The old man could only recollect twenty-eight names out of the thirty, which are as follow :—

Beits.

Syud.	Mustafa.	Rejib I.
Hassan.	Hájji Abdi.	Rejib II.
Khalíl.	Mahmúd.	Jumáo.
Ahmed I.	Ahmúd.	Hallo Kálá.
Darwesh.	Khalla.	Fahl.
Assad.	Mustef.	Hamdí.
Khalaf.	Hájji.	Bósh Guzzár.
Akku Ali.	Jumái.	Akki Khallo.
Hájji Ahmed.	Mustór.	Sheikh Rassho.
	Ahmed II.	

The old gypsy, in reply to my questions, told me that the Kurbáts, Náwers, Rúmelís, and Jingánihs, were all of the same family, and had lived in Asia Minor and Syria since the creation;

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though he had heard a tradition of their forefathers having come from Hind. The Dúmáns, he thought, were their cousins.

The females of the Kurbáts dress like other women of the lower orders of Syria; but delight more in ornaments of silver and brass, ear-rings, nose-rings, armlets, bracelets, and bangles. They tell fortunes, cut faggots, spin, and take care of the dogs, cats, poultry, and children. They cook exactly like the gypsy women of England. Their cauldron, suspended from crossed sticks over the embers of a large fire, I have often found to contain a capital mess of meat and vegetables.

If any credence may be given to the assertions of the Turks and Syrians, the Kurbát damsels are not so chaste as their sisters of Europe are reported to be, although they wear constantly until marriage a certain cloth, in token and in pledge of spotless virginity, which the husband alone, on this occasion, is permitted to take off.

LANGUAGE.—I cannot find that the Kurbáts have any peculiar written characters or symbols for letters or words. Their sheikhs assured me they had, and that there were two men in the tribes who could write them; but as they could not write themselves, and as they did not produce these men, or any specimens of their writing, as they often promised to do, I am hence led to infer, as well as from other inquiries, that the written characters or symbols of their language, or rather jargon, have either been lost or are only known to a very few, who superstitiously keep them secret.

In the bazars and markets of Syria the Kurbáts speak Arabic or Turkish, as the case may be; but at home, as I have had many opportunities of observing, they speak their own language. The following scanty list of Kurbát words I obtained, *vivâ voce*, from the Aleppo tribes, and checked them subsequently by reference to a tribe near Antioch.

I have not now the opportunity to enter into an etymological analysis of the words composing the list; but it will be perceived at a glance that many are evidently from Sanscrit roots, with which the Persian, Turkish, and Arabic have been, perhaps successively, intermingled. The numerals are partly of Hindu origin, partly Persian. Those between ten and twenty are expressed thus:—*Das ek, das di, das turrun*, &c., or ten one, ten two, ten three, &c., for eleven, twelve, thirteen, &c., as in Turkish; twenty, thirty, forty, and fifty are expressed in nearly pure Persian terms; but the number sixty is expressed, as is often done in India, by *turrun vist*, or three twenties; seventy, by *turrun vist das*, or three twenties and ten; eighty, by *chár vist*, or four twenties; and ninety, by *chár vist*

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das. The number one hundred is the Persian *sad;* two hundred, *dí sad,* &c.; and the term for a thousand, beyond which the Kurbát arithmetic does not ascend, is the Persian *hazár,* used also in Hindustáni.

I have not with me Mr. Borrow's excellent work on the dialects of the gypsies of Spain and other parts of Europe, or, indeed any other work on this singular race, to consult; but, as far as my own recollection goes, I have little hesitation in saying that if any person will take the trouble of making the comparison, he will find many curious points of resemblance, with the aid of even the very imperfect and circumscribed list now sent, between all the different jargons spoken by these nomade races, and all pointing to India, through Persia, Turkey, and Tartary, as their origin. He will do well to observe that the more remote from the source, the more polluted and intermixed the original language will naturally become.

The Dúmán list of words I obtained also from one of the tribe, an itinerant minstrel, juggler, and fortune-teller from the Altún Kieupri (Golden Bridge), in the pashalik of Baghdad. While most of the words are identical with the Kurbát, it will be noted that in the Dúmán dialect, Turkish and Persian are more prevalent. The numerals are the same as those of the Kurbát, with the exception that the Dúmáns use the Persian *sih* for three, instead of *turrun,* and the Persian *deh* for ten, instead of *das.*

The genitive affix *ki,* in both dialects, as *man-ki, to-ki, hui-ki* (of me, of thee, of him; or, mine, thine, his), reminds one powerfully of the Hindustani mode of forming the same case.

List of Words—Kurbát and Dúmán.

(Spelling and pronunciation as adopted by Royal Asiatic Society.)

Kindred.

English.	*Kurbát.*	*Dúmán.*
Father	bábúr	bábúr.
Mother	aida	aida *and* ana.
Brother	bhairú	berávan.
Sister	bhanu	kochi.

Natural Objects.

Sun	gáham	gáham.
Moon	heiúf	heiúf.

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English.	*Kurbát.*	*Dúmán.*
Star	astara	astara.
Air	vál *and* vái	kannad hává.
Heavens	khúai	ghennader.
The earth	bar, ard, *or* turra	bar.
Fire	ag	ár.
Water	páni	how.
Rain	bursenden	bárán.
Snow	khíf	súrg.
Cloud	barúdi	bullút.
Light	tshek	ar *and* aidinlik.
Sea	dúnguz	daíreh *and* dúnguz.
Mountain	thull	ghiella.
A spring	kháni	kháni.
Stone	vúth	káwer.
Salt	lón	khoi.
Milk	kír *and* lebben	shir.
Barley	jow	jow.
Wheat	gheysúf	ghiannam.
Iron	náhl	khallik.
Night	arát	show.
Day	bedis	ghiundez.
Onion	lussun, piyáz	piyáz.
Dhurra (Holcum sorghum)	ak	ar.
Rice	brinj	silki.

Animals, &c.

A hare	kunder	kunder.
Dog	súrunter	kúchek.
Cat	psík	kadizor.
Horse	ghora *or* aghora	asp.
Mare	míno	míno.
Ass	kharr	kharri.
Sheep	bakra	khaidú.
Cow	góru	kaikuz.
Bull	goruf *or* maia goru	meshjúk.
Fowl	jeysh-chumári	mirrishk.
Pig	dónguz	dónguz.
Camel	dubba, asht	ashtur.
Crow	kíl, hashzeik, *and* tánuk	sereh.
Snake	sánb, sámp	marr.
Fish	machchi	machchi.

Parts of the Human Body.

Finger	anglú, ángul	pechi.
Hand	kustúm, kustúr	dast.
Eye	akki *and* ánkhi	jow.

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English.	*Kurbát.*	*Dúmán.*
Hair	vál *or* bál	khalluf.
Ear	kán *and* kannir	príúk.
Neck	gúrgúr	kántlagu.
Knee	lúlúk, chokyúm	koppaku.
Teeth	dándeir	ghiólu.
Head	sir, chir	murrás.
Flesh	márși	gósht.

Miscellaneous Nouns.

A well	astal, chál	chál.
An egg	ánó	heili.
A ring	angúshteri	dastúri.
God	kháwarje	Allah.
A ship	ghemmi, durongaye	ghemmi.
Boat	shátúr	shátúr.
War	laghísh, káwye	káwye.
A Christian	kuttúr	nosaru.
Door	kápi	kapi.
Boy	chágú	láwak.
Girl	lafti	kechikeh
Thief	kuft	khaiúk.
Tent	cháder	cháder.
Knife	chírí	khair.
Rope	kundóri	kundóri *and* sijúm.
Book	kitáb	kitáb, mushulleh.
City	viár	viár.
Village	deh, diyár	deh, diyár.
Bridge	kieupri	kieupri.
Castle	killa	kalla.
Paper	kághaz	kághaz.
Bread	manna	nán.
House	kuri *or* kiri	málá.
King	padshah	beghirtmish.
Love	mancamri *and* camri	camri.
Month	munh, mas	viha, mas.
Colour	táwúl	táwul.
Year	das di mas, varras *or* barras	deh di mas *or* dah di viha.

Personal and Possessive Pronouns.

I	man	man.
Thou	tó	to.
He	húí	húi
Mine	maki *or* man ki	ma ki *or* manki.
Thine	to ki *or* toi ki	to ki *or* toi ki.
His	hui ki	hui ki.

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Cardinal Numbers.

English.	*Kurbát.*	*Dúmán.*
One	ek	The Dúmán is the same, except *sih* for "three," and *deh* for "ten."
Two	di	
Three	turrun	
Four	char *or* shtar	
Five	penj	
Six	shesh	
Seven	heft	
Eight	hesht	
Nine	na *or* nu	
Ten	das	
Eleven	das ek	
Twelve	„ di	
Thirteen	„ turrun	
Fourteen	„ char	
Fifteen	„ penj	
Sixteen	„ shesh	
Seventeen	„ heft	
Eighteen	„ hesht	
Nineteen	„ na	
Twenty	víst *or* bíst	
Twenty-one	víst ek	
Twenty-two, &c.	víst di, &c.	
Thirty	si	
Forty	chhil	
Fifty	penjeh	
Sixty	turrun víst	
Seventy	turrun víst das	
Eighty	chár víst	
Ninety	chár víst das	
One hundred	sad	
Two hundred	di sad	
A thousand	hazar	

Adjectives.

Sick	numshti	bímár, már.
Bad	kumnarrey	kíóna.
Good	gahay	arunder.
Great	durónkay, burro	mázin.
Small	túróntay, thoranki	chúchúk.
Black	kálá, kálo	káni, shippia.
White	pannarey	suffeid.
Red	lorey, loley	kunnu.
Yellow	zard	zard, kulp.
Green	kark	sukkul.
Blue	níley	níla.
Cold	siá	súki.
Hot	tottey	khunney.

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Adverbs.

English.	*Kurbát.*	*Dúmán.*
Much	bhúyih	phurga.
A little	thoráki	endika.
Enough	basey	nar.
Here	veshli, itan, idhur	búndeh.

Verbs.

To come	pá } imperative	pa.
To go	jó }	jo.
To eat	khám }	khám.
To drink	piún } imperative	piún.
To bring	nán }	winni.
To tell fortune	fál wunnakerim	

Since my visit to the banks of the Indus I am more than ever convinced that from the borders of this classic river originally migrated the hordes of gypsies that are scattered over Europe, Asia, and the northern confines of Africa. The dialects spoken by the numerous tribes which swarm upon the territories adjacent to the Indus, from the sea to the snowy mountains of Himalaya and Tartary, have with those spoken by the gypsies a certain family resemblance, which, like their physical features, cannot be mistaken. At present I find it impossible to place my hand on any particular tribe, and say, This is the parent stock of the gypsies; but as far as my researches have gone, I am rather inclined to think that this singular race derives its origin, not from one alone, but from several of the tribes that constitute the great family of mankind dwelling on or adjacent to the banks of the Indus.

The manners and habits of a singular wandering tribe called the Jats, and their physical appearance, reminded me strongly of the gypsies of Egypt and Syria; and I have requested Mr. Macleod, the collector of customs at Kurrachee, and Lieut. Burton, of the Bombay Army, to procure me short vocabularies of the language of this nomade race.[1]

The Jats wander all over the country, from the confines of Persia, Kurdistan, and Tartary, to the shores of the Indian Ocean. I saw a

[1] See Burton's "Sindh," page 246.

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tribe of them living in rude moveable huts and tents, in a wood of babul trees near Goojah, between Kurrachee and the Indus. The Jats must not be confounded with the Játs, another tribe in Scinde.

In the vocabularies collected by Captains Eastwick, Leech, &c., of the dialects of the various tribes of the Indus and Affghanistan, will be found more or less resemblance to that of the Kurbáts—the gypsies of Syria. This resemblance is most striking in words supposed to be of Zend or Sanscrit origin. The numerals of the Kurbáts, and of almost all the tribes of the Indus, is derived from the Sanscrit or Zend and Persian. A few Persian, Turkish, and Arabic words are common to all. The following is a comparative list of the ordinary dialects of Scinde and Laghman, in Affghanistan, with that of the Syrian gypsies.

English.	*Gypsy of Syria.*	*Scinde.*	*Laghman (Afghanistan).*
Father	bábúr	bába	baba.
Brother	bhairú	bhira	
Sister	bhánú	bhen	
A boy	chogo	chhokar	
A star	astara	tara	
Air	vál *and* vái	wá *or* vá	
Fire	ag	bah *and* ag	
Water	páni	páni	
Rain	barsenden	varsát, barsát	
Salt	lón	lún *and* lón	lón.
Milk	khird *or* lebben	khir	
Barley	jow	jow	
Night	arát	rát	
A goat or sheep	bakra	bakkar	
A horse	ghora	ghora	ghora.
A serpent	sanb *or* sanp	sáp *or* sanp	
A fish	machchi	machchi	machh.
A finger	anglú *or* angúl	angúr	
An eye	akki *or* anki	akh	anch.
Hair	vál *or* bál	vár *or* vál	
Ear	kan *or* kannir	kan	kad.
Teeth	dandeir	dand	dan.
Flesh	márs *or* márs	mahs	
An egg	ano	ano	
Book	kitáb	kitab	
Paper	kághaz	kághadh	
Bread	manna	manni	
Mountain or hill	thall	thallo (a mound, Arabic *tel*)	
House	kuri	ghur	
King	pádshah	pádshah	

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English.	*Gypsy of Syria.*	*Scinde.*	*Laghman (Afghanistan).*
A year	das di mas *or* verras	várah *or* bára-mah	
A month	mas *or* munh	mahno	
Great	dúronkay *or* barra	varro *or* waddo	
Small	túrontay *or* thóranki	thóro *or* nádho	
Black	kálá, káló	káró	
Yellow	zard	zarda	zard.
Red	lórey *or* loley	lál	
Warm	tottey	kóso *or* tatto	
Enough	basey *or* bas	ghano *or* bas	
Here	veslili, itan, ithur	ithé *or* iddé	
To eat	khám	khian	
To drink	piún	pian	
To bring	nán	anán	
I	man	mun *or* awan	
Thou	to	tun	
He	húi	hú	
Mine	ma-ki *or* man-ki	mun-jo *or* mun-khi	
Thine	to-ki	to-jo *or* to-khi	
His	húi-ki	hina-jo *or* hina-khi	

"A mother" is expressed in the dialect of the Syrian gypsies by the word *aida;* in the Laghman, *pashái;* in the Síah-pósh Kaffir dialects by *ai* or *hai,* which is also used by the Mahrattas.

The Sanskrit word *lón,* "salt," *ankh* or *achi,* "eye," *dánt,* "tooth," *kan,* "ear," *gai,* "cow," *ghora,* "horse," *jow,* "barley," are found with but little variation in the dialects of the Pashai, Laghman, Highlands of Deer, Tirhai, and Siah-pósh Kaffir tribes.

GYPSIES OF PERSIA.

Since last writing I have pursued my enquiries after the gypsies into Persia, and have found them on the great plain of Persepolis, in the blooming valley of Shiraz, in the Bakhtiyar mountains, on the scorched plains of the Dashtistan, and Chaldea. In northern Persia they may be traced to the Caspian, probably far beyond; and easterly, to the deserts of Kerman and Mekran. I have previously mentioned their existence in Scinde, Beloochistan, and Mooltan.

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They affect but little the hard scanty fare and uninteresting life of the desert, preferring the vicinity of towns, villages, &c., the fixed abodes of their more industrious brethren, on whose credulity, as in other countries, they partly subsist. They wander about from town to town and from village to village, encamping almost always in their vicinity; perfectly distinct from the pastoral Iliats, Turkomans, Kurds, and other nomades, who are generally found at a distance from the abodes of settled man. Their winter quarters are usually low, warm plains, which they forsake in the summer for the cooler highlands and plateaus.

The ostensible trades of the gypsies of Persia are those of the blacksmith, tinker (Ahangar آهنگر), cattle doctor, winnowing-sieve makers (غربال بند Gherbál band), fortune teller (Fál gír فال گیر), tinners of brass and iron vessels (Safih gar سفیه گر), venders of charms and philtres, conjurers, dancers, mountebanks, carvers of wooden basins, &c. They sometimes practise the art of the gold and silver smith, and are known to be forgers of the current coin of Persia and Turkey. These are the Zergars (زرگر literally "workers in gold") of the tribe. Others sometimes make saddles, and are thence called Zíngar (زینگر); hence (and from Zinganeh, a Kurdish tribe, who are supposed to be of gypsy origin) the Italian, Spanish, and German words for gypsy, viz.—Zingari, Zincali, and Zigeuner.

The professors of these different arts generally wander about in separate bands or "taifehs," and are thought by some Persians to have a separate origin; but identity of feature, and the great similarity of their secret language or jargon, prove them to be of one stock. Two great divisions, however, may be acknowledged in Persia, which comprise all those just mentioned, viz.—

1. The Kaoli (or Ghurbati, identical with the Kurbáts of Syria).
2. The Gáobáz.

Regarding the derivation of these appellations, the Persians and gypsies themselves are at variance; but the most probable inference is that the word Kaoli is a corruption for Kábuli (کابلی), or "of Cabul," whence, Sir J. Malcolm states, Bahram Gour imported twelve thousand musicians and singers into Persia. The dancing girls of Persia go by the general name of Kaoli to this day.

The name Ghurbat, or Kurbát, is also doubtful; but is most commonly supposed to mean a stranger, a wanderer from his country, as

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implied by the word Ghurbati (غربتي). The word Gáobáz is still obscure; its literal meaning in Persian (one taking pleasure in cattle) is obvious.

Independent of these Taifehs, are other troops of vagabonds of various tribes, who lead a thieving, gypsy sort of life about the country, under the names of Kaoli and Gáobáz, but who are not to be confounded with the true gypsy.

The true Kaoli and Gáobáz never, or very rarely, intermarry with the Persians, Arabs, or Turks, although outwardly professing Islam, like their brethren in Scinde, Egypt, Irak, and Syria. The Gáobáz, indeed, assert the honour of being Saiyads—a claim stoutly denied them by the Turks, Arabs, and Persians, who regard them as perfectly distinct in origin from themselves, and as outcasts; in short, they regard both Kaoli and Gáobáz much in the same light as the Hindus look upon the wretched Pariah.

The following are a few of their secret words—

	Persian Gypsy.
Father	Bá *or* Bábúr.
Mother	Dái *or* Adai.
Horse	Ghóra.
Egg	Anai *or* Tanai.
Water	Panow.
Ring	Angúshteri.
Night	Arát *and* Show.
Sheep	Bárá *and* Bakra.
Hair	Bál.
Barley	Jow.

These words are nearly identical with the Hindustani, and with the Syrian gypsy, equivalents.

[The following list of words used by the gypsies in Syria was made by Mr. W. Burckhardt Barker, at Aleppo, in September, 1847, and was presented to the Society upon the reading of the foregoing paper. It contains some additional words, and affords some corroborations which may be useful. Mr. Barker's orthography has been retained.—Ed.]

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English.	*Gypsy.*	*English.*	*Gypsy.*
Water	panee.	Sea	dengis.
Bread	manna.	Sky	hooah.
Milk	keer.	Fire	ag.
Sun	gām.	Cold	su.
Moon	heiuo.	Hot	tuhtíe.
Man	manus.	My father	babum, ur.
Woman	giour.	My mother	dadum, ur.
Girl	lavtee.	My son	ckroum, ur.
Boy	kroo.	Daughter	labtee.
Horse	uguhra.	Salt	sona.
Good	găe haï.	Camel	deven.
Bad	kumnaray.	Sheep	backrah.
Go	gis.	Death	merish.
Come	pah.	Black	kalah.
This	niha.	Red	louro.
No	nenna.	Sword	turwaur.
Gipsey	doum.	Kill	maros.
Yes	ari.	Barley	djao.
I	ma.	Corn	gehsur.
You	tu.	Cold water	sceildi panee, tahti panee.
He	hoo.		
I eat bread	ma mana kami.	White	braurah.
Drink	nepium.	Straw	biss.
Head	ser.	Cow	goorur.
Eyes	akium.	Cotton	cupep.
Nose	nakoum.	Hunger	beālā.
Mouth	yavorum.	Blood	low.
Hand	habsome.	Melon	karbeza.
Foot	kutchoum.	I want	kaimeh.
One	yek	I wish to go	kaineckdgaur.
Two	dedi.	Brother	bahr.
Three	serum.	Star	astara.
Four	shtar.	Earth	dool.
Five	peni.	A tree	loura.
Six	shesh.	Spouse	kure.
Seven	heft.	Wind	vaï.
Eight	hesht.	Goat	bizin.
Nine	neh.	Cat	isuk.
Ten	de.	Day	seratah.
Rain	waursundaw.	Snake	sob.
Mud	chekul.	Fish	machau.
Stone	wat.	Bird	kirkee.

English.	*Gypsy.*
I came from Antioch	ma z'Antuki eiroom.
You came from Antioch	tu z'Antukî eiroor.
Prayer is better than sleep	namaz soeesh guehteri.

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Art. XVII.—*Additional Notes upon the Zend Language.* *By* John Romer, Esq.

[*Read 16th June*, 1855.]

[I have lately had an opportunity of resuming the examination of the Zend question, and have put down the result to serve as a "Postscript" to my "Brief Notices,"[1] &c.—J. R., *May*, 1855.]

It is alleged that the invention of a language of so much character and grammatical peculiarity as the Zend is an impossibility, as may be proved by reference to the fictitious Formosan language, and that of the Ásmání Zabán of the Desátír. But the analogy does not hold. These pseudo tongues are the products of pure imagination; both unscrupulous inventions; the execution of the last, clumsy and open to instant detection. But the artificial construction of Zend out of Sanskrit materials (allowing for the deception of the act) proceeded on, and was effected in, a very different manner. A real language, with which the operators were well acquainted (see what Burnouf says of the mobed[2] Neriosingh), was to be taken in hand; the work was facilitated by using an alphabet—that of old Persian—corresponding, in its employment of distinct characters for the short vowels, with that of Sanskrit; the business was skilfully performed, and the knowledge of Sanskrit is so successfully applied, as to complete the fabrication of a language in which Sir William Jones, to his surprise, found six words of pure Sanskrit out of ten of the Zend text, with some of its inflexions formed by the rules of the "Vyákaran." Dr. Wilson observes that Zend shows an approach to Gujarátí idiom and Gujarátí corruption of Sanskrit, which awakened his suspicion. Nevertheless he thinks that none of the exiled and depressed Pársí priests in India could be supposed to have had the ability to invent that language, abounding as it does in analogies with other tongues, but overlooking the fact of Sanskrit being well known among them and used for translations (though the Sanskrit of these translations cannot be called classical) more than three hundred years ago.

[1] Journal of Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. v., p. 95, subsequently printed in a separate form.

[2] Burnouf is puzzled at finding a Pársí mobed called by the name of a Hindu divinity, and decides for its being Zend. He would have arrived at the right solution of his difficulty, had he known that the Pársís freely adopt Hindu proper names, mixing them incongruously with those of old Persian heroes and kings; *e. g.* Jamshedjí Manikjí, Rustamjí Ratanjí, &c.

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This language with an approach to Gujarátí idiom and Gujarátí corruptions of Sanskrit, taking also Gujarátí words as Kennedy shows, is supposed to have existed from fabulous ages *elsewhere*, on what authority is not shown, and to have been brought to India by the exiled Pársís in the eighth or ninth century. But as the authenticity of these books of the Pársís, the sole depositories of the language called Zend, has never been proved, they cannot be received as evidence of the genuineness of that language; and hence, Sir William Jones, referring to the written specimens of it shown to him by the Pársí Bahman, formed his opinion that the Zend is a late invention of their priests, subsequent at least to the Musulman invasion; the work of exiles long separated from their native land, and the original seats of their overthrown religion.

Is there any record of a people who in any place and at any time spoke Zend? Is there any historical authority for the fact, or does it rest on conjecture only, that a people speaking the language of the Zendavesta were settled in India at some remote period between the time of the Buddhist reformation and the age of the Vedas, whence they emigrated to Persia, and thence re-emigrated to India? Leaving these questions to those who may be able to answer them, let us turn to the Pehleví in its connexion with the Zend. This language, found written interlinear with the Zend, Mulla Fíroz in his day, and now Professor Westergaard, allow to be artificial. It should, however, be observed, that the Pehleví and Zend alphabets differ chiefly in the first using no distinct characters to mark the short vowels. Of an edict said to have been issued by the last Sassanians to suppress Pehlevi as a language, we are unable to speak; but whatever of truth there may be in the story, it is evident that this supposed Pehleví was not the language to which Firdausi first gave that name, declaring it to be the language in which he had written the Sháh Námeh. Pársí and Pehleví (not the interlinear Pehleví of the Parsis) are, according to Firdausi, two names for one language; and his authority must supersede any modern attempt to establish a distinction between them. Spiegel, on the authority it is said of the Mínú Khird, puts Pázend[1] as a third name for the language of the Sháh Námeh. Quite inadmissible. Pázend is a commentary, as the name implies, *written below* the Zend text; and if we accept Firdausi's testimony, *Pársí* is not nearly but altogether identical with *Persian;* and so also, as has been shown, is his Pehleví. No definition contradicting Firdausi's,

[1] The word is modern; if not, let the use of it by Firdausi or his cotemporaries, or any old authority, be shown, or that it will be found in the Táríkh-i-Tabarí or its Persian version, made fifty years before the Sháh Námeh.

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as to what was and is pure *Pehlevi*, can be accepted, unless supported by evidence as certain and authoritative as his words in the Sháh Námeh. As to learned priests trying to make the writings of the Zendavesta intelligible under the Sassanians by *Pehlevi*,[1] later by *Párs*, later in India by *Sanskrit*, and again later by *Gujaráti* translations: the notion is only adverted to, to mark entire dissent from any distinction being drawn, if intended, between what is called the *Pehlevi* of the Sassanians and the *Párs* of Firdausi. No one would confound the *true Pehlevi* of the Sassanians, or the Pehleví of that version of the "Kalila wa Damna," translated into Arabic by Abdullah Bin Al Mukaffa, who died A.H. 137 (A.D. 755), and the Pehleví of the Sháh Námeh, with the artificial jargon of the same name in the books of the Pársís.[2]

In conclusion.—Referring to the authority of Burnouf, it is objected to the hypothesis of Zend being an artificial language constructed out of Sanskrit, that there are many forms in Zend where Zend is more primitive than Sanskrit, and these very forms here and there are found irregularities and archaisms in the Vedas. Accepting these as facts, it would then appear either that the Zend is an older language than Sanskrit, or that both proceeded from one common source. Sanskrit, a highly refined, rich, and powerful language, has been ancillary to a literature profound, extensive, and varied, dating further back than three thousand years. Zend, lying dead or dormant the while, has only reappeared in the books of the Pársís, where for literature we have writings of the very smallest worth, when not absolute nonsense. Therefore the admission of this relationship between the two languages would be proving too much; and hence we are at liberty to take the more probable side of the question, and not to be called upon to believe that the insufferable drivel of the *Vendidád* was written in the times of the *Rig-Veda*. The etymological feat of deriving *Bohini* from *Svasar*, the tremendous mistake and its life-destroying consequences of writing *Agneh* for *Agre*, and Spiegel's copious list of various readings, should warn us against too readily accepting as archaisms or primitive forms, readings which may be nothing better than the clerical errors of ignorant copyists.

[1] Zend could never be made intelligible by Pehleví, because not one dastúr or mobed of ten who read and understand the Zend, can make anything of Pehleví, from its wanting distinct letters to represent the short vowels.

[2] For specimens of this language, see Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. iv., pp. 352, 355, 356, 358, 361, and 362.

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ART. XVIII.—*Notes of a Correspondence with Sir John Bowring on Buddhist Literature in China. By* PROFESSOR WILSON, PRESIDENT. *With Notices of Chinese Buddhist Works translated from the Sanskrit. By* REV. J. EDKINS.

[*Read 17th March*, 1855.]

WHEN Sir John Bowring was on the eve of leaving this country for China, he expressed that willingness which might have been expected from his literary and liberal character, to promote any objects of inquiry which the Royal Asiatic Society might desire to have set on foot. There was no time for any communication with the Society, but I took advantage of the opportunity to suggest the desirableness of endeavouring to ascertain the existence of any of the books which were carried from India to China by Buddhist missionaries, in such numbers, during the first six or seven centuries of the Christian era, availing myself of the details furnished on this head by M. Julien, in his life of Hiouen Thsang. The suggestion has been most zealously acted upon by Sir John; and I have the pleasure to lay before the Society some of the results.

My letter and lists were, in the first instance, printed and circulated, as appears by the following communication :—

"ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

"The ollowing communication having been addressed to the President of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, it has been deemed desirable by the Council to give it circulation, in order that those who are interested in the historical questions connected with this investigation may have an opportunity of furnishing the desired information. "W. H. MEDHURST, Secretary.

"Hongkong, 11th May, 1854.

"'To Dr. Bowring, "'Oxford, 15th February, 1854.
&c., &c., &c.

"'My dear Sir,—I send you herewith a list of the Sanskrit works carried to China by Hwen Tsang in the middle of the seventh century, and in great part translated by him, or under his supervision, into Chinese. If any of them, especially the originals, should be still in existence, you would do good service to Sanskrit literature and to the

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history of Buddhism by procuring copies. I have no doubt the East India Company would gladly defray any expense in procuring copies for their library.—Yours very truly, " H. H. WILSON.

" Hwen Tsang (Hiouen Thsang of Julien) spent seventeen years in India, studying Sanskrit and collecting manuscripts. In one place it is said he took with him to China 657 works; in another, that he translated 740 works, forming 1335 books. The books were first deposited in the monastery of Hong-fa-sse in the capital, and were afterwards transferred to that termed Ta-tseen-sse, newly erected by the emperor. Hwen Tsang devoted the rest of his life to translating, in which he was encouraged by the emperor, and, on his death in A.D. 650, by his successor. A number of learned men were employed under him as translators and copyists. By the latter a thousand copies were made of the Prajná Páramitá, of the Árya Bhagavatí, Vaishajya guru púrva pranidhána náma Maháyána Sútra, and of the Shat Mukhí Dháraní.

" The following are mentioned among the translations made by Hwen Tsang and his assistants :—

CHINESE NAME.	SANSKRIT NAME.
Pu-sa-tsang-king.	Bodhisatwa Pitaka Sútra.
Fo-le-king.	Buddha Bhúmi Sútra.
Lu-men-to-lo-ni.	Shat Mukhí Dháraní.
Hieu-yeng-ching-kiao-hin.	Sankhyá Shástra.
Ta-shing-o-pi-ta-mo-tsa-si-lu.	Maháyána Abhidharma Sangíti Shástra.
Yu-kia-sse-tí-lun.	Yogáchárya Bhúmi Shástra.

" The first five works in 58 books are described as :—1st, Memoirs of the Bodhisatwas; 2d, Provinces of Buddha ; 3d, Invocations of the Six Gates; 4th, Light of Doctrines; 5th, Treatises on the Abhidharma of the Great Vehicle (Maháyána). To these translations prefaces were written by the emperor and the prince royal.

" Kin-kang-pan-jo-po-lo-mi-ta-king. The Prajná Páramitá was translated before, so that it was regarded as ancient, and it was the emperor's wish to have it re-translated. Hwen Tsang at first contented himself with revising it, but finally he completed a new translation. It was finished in A.D. 661, occupying 120 volumes.

" Other translations were the—

She-ta-shing-lung.	Maháyána Sampárigraha Shástra,
The same work, as explained by Shi-thsin or Vasu Bandhu, his commentary.	as explained by Wu-sing-pu-ssa or Abhuna Bodhisatwa, that is to say, his commentary.

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Yuen-khi-shing-tao-king.	No Sanskrit name.
Pe-fa-ming-men-lun.	Satadharma Prabhávatí Dwára Shástra.
Li-men-lun.	Nyáya Pravesa táraka (? tarka).
In-ming-lun.	Nyáya Dwára táraka.
In-ming-shu-kisi.	

"These three should be works on logic, the latter being a comment on the former.

Fa-chi-lun.	Abhidharma Jnána Prastara.
Ta-pi-po-shu-lun.	Mahávibhásbá Shástra. Of this it is said there were 200 treatises, 100 of which were in China, and were there translated.

"Besides the books translated, it is said that Hwen Tsang took with him to China:—

Yu-kià-lun.	Yoga Shástra.
Shung-ching-li-lun.	Nyáya Anuséra Shástra.
Hien-hiang.	?
To-ni-fa-lun.	Abhidharma Shástra.
In-ming-lun.	Shetuvidyá Shástra (Logic).
Shing-ming-lun.	Sabdavidyá Shástra (Grammar).
Chong-lun.	Prájnya Múla Shástra Tíka.
Pe-lun.	Satashástra.
Kwi-she.	Abhidharma Kosha (Lexicon).
Po-sha.	Abhidharma Vibhásbá Shástra.
Lu-tso-o-pi-tan.	Shatpádábhidharma Shástra.
Pe-ye-kie-la-nan.	Vyákaranam (Grammar).

"Of the In-ming-lun, he took 36 copies; of the Shing-ming-lung, 13 copies; of the Sútras, 124 works; of the Treatises of the Mahávána, 90 works.

"Of works of different philosophical schools, the following are specified:

Shang-so-pu.	Sarvástl Vádas,	15 works.
San-mi-le-pu	Sammitíyas,	15 „
Mi-sha-sse-pu.	Mahísásakas,	22 „
Kia-she-pi-ye-pu.	Kásyapíyas,	17 „
Fa-mi-pu.	Dharmaguptas,	42 „
Shwe-i-tsi-yu-pu.	Sarvásti Vádas,	67 „

"The question is, whether all or any of these works, whether in the original Sanskrit or the Chinese translations, are still procurable. The originals would be of very great interest to the Sanskrit scholar.

"Oxford, 15th February, 1854." "H. H. Wilson."

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Shortly after the receipt of this communication, I received a short note from Sir John Bowring, forwarding to me the first-fruits of his inquiries, in a packet of Chinese Buddhist books, of which the following is a descriptive list. They are translations of an interesting character; but in their choice of a hero, Amitábha, are evidently not amongst the most ancient of the Buddhist authorities:—

"DESCRIPTION OF SOME CHINESE BUDDHIST BOOKS.

"The packet of four volumes, in a blue cloth case, contains three Sútras. Their collective name is Tsing t'u san king, 'The Three Sútras of the Peaceful Land.' They belong to a particular school, bearing the name Tsing t'u, which has reference to the western heaven, or Sukhavatí, where Amita Buddha resides.

"The largest, 'Wu liang shen king,' in two volumes, is said in a note at the end to have been translated many times; and five versions are still extant. Those of the Han and Wu dynasties were too diffuse; and those of the later periods, T'ang and Sung, too literal. The best of the five was that of the early Wei dynasty, A.D. 220, and it has been followed in the reprint. The translator was K'ai, a priest of the Kong country, in ancient Tibet. The title should be, in Sanskrit, 'Amitábha Buddha Sútra.'

"The second of these books is called 'Kwan wu liang shen king,' 'Gazing on Amitábha Buddha Sútra.' It is translated by Kong long yasha, a foreigner from the west, who lived in China about A.D. 425. The name of the translator is said to mean 'time.'

"The third work, consisting of one thin volume, is the 'Amitábha Sútra,' 'A-mi-ta king.' It is translated by Kumárajíva. It is a very popular work, and is inserted in many commonly-read *recueils* of Buddhist doctrines and duties, as giving a short and authoritative compendium of the 'heaven' of that religion. After the names of the principal persons in the audience are detailed, Shákyamuni addresses Shariputra, and without any of the customary dialogue, proceeds to describe Amitábha, and the 'extremely happy world' in which he resides (Sukhavatí).

"The titles of the three works have each of them the words 'But (Foe)shwo,' 'spoken by Buddha,' at their commencement. Whatever difference may exist in the titles of the first and third, in the Sanskrit originals, it does not appear in these Chinese versions. (These works, and the one that follows, look very unlike the simple moral treatises compiled by Ánanda, and must be attributed to a later date.)

"Another of Kumárajíva's translations is the 'Miau fa lian hwa king,' or 'Fa-hwa king.' The copy sent consists of three volumes.

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It is the Chinese version of the Sútra, translated recently by Burnouf from Nepaulese Sanskrit, 'The Lotus of the Good Law." The Chinese copy is frequently abridged, as the comparison with Burnouf shows. A note from the pen of M. Julien, in that work, contains what is known of the history of the translation of this Sútra in China.

"The other work, in three volumes, is a native Chinese Tantra, or T'sán. It is called 'T'si pei t'san,' 'The Tantra of Mercy.' Liang Wu ti, emperor of Southern China, A.D. 502 to 550, compiled it on occasion of his empress's death. The preface contains the story of its composition, and states that its use as a prayer-book has ever since been very efficacious.

"The remaining work, in one volume, is called 'Shen men jih sung,' 'Daily Chanting-book for [the followers of] the Jaina school.' It appears to be in use among all Buddhists here, without distinction, as a book of daily prayers. It contains a morning and evening service; extracts from many Sútras; directions for the pronunciation of the characters used in transferring Sanskrit sounds; and is, generally, a *vade mecum* placed in the hands of all who enter on the monkish life.

(Signed) "JOSEPH EDKINS."

"Shanghai, 11th July, 1854."

The following note, dated the 13th July, announces the despatch of some more books, which have not yet arrived.[1] It is to be hoped that the interposition of our representative may be the means of rescuing the relics from the new danger which they incur from the intolerance of the Chinese professors of a distorted Christianity:—

"Shanghai, 13th July, 1854.

"My dear Dr. Wilson,—I again forward you a few Buddhist books, translated from the Sanskrit into Chinese. I am now getting catalogues from the Buddhist libraries, and from the cities where we may expect to find Buddhist compositions. I am the more anxious to collect what I can, as the Tae ping wang people destroy all libraries but their own books; and in the expedition which has lately returned from Nanking, my two commissioners (one of whom was my son, who is in the Bengal Civil Service, and knows something of Sanskrit) found the libraries everywhere destroyed by these rude impostors, whose own compositions are of the most vulgar character, showing that literary gifts are quite wanting among them. * * *

(Signed) "JOHN BOWRING."

[1] They have been received subsequently.—H. H. W.

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My last communication is dated the 9th, and forwards a copy of a Chinese work, in ten volumes, procured, as Sir John Bowring states, through the kindness of Mr. Edkins, who is devoting himself especially to this particular part of the field of Chinese literature, and to whom we are indebted for the following particular account of the work in question. From his zeal and scholarship, and from the liberal encouragement of Sir John, we may look forward with confidence to the fullest illustration of the history of Indo-Chinese Buddhist literature, of which it is now capable.

" Off Foo-chow-foo, 9th August, 1854.

" My dear Dr. Wilson, H. M. S. Rattler.

* * * * *

" Mr. Edkins gives me the following account of the volumes now forwarded :—

" ' The Leng yan king (Sútra), of which a MS. copy, in ten volumes, with wooden covers, is now sent, is in some respects the most remarkable of the Buddhist Sútras translated into Chinese. Native Confucianist critics of the highest character speak of it as the best of the whole class. Bhu-fu-tsi, the well-known critic of the tenth century, thought it so good that much of its materials must have been added by his own countrymen. This high position held by the work under notice is owing to the philosophical character of its contents. It is also apparently wrought with the most finished style of composition that a translation admits of. Buddhist books, as a general rule, are in good Chinese idiom, and consequently are read very extensively by the literati. There are no greater favourites with them than this, and the Kin kiang king, the smaller Páramitá Sútra, of which a copy was formerly forwarded. Chinese readers, trained as they are by their peculiar education to an exquisite taste in style, are also fond of metaphysical speculation, as is shown by the popularity of works like these. In both of them are exhibited, in the most unflinching form, what Burnouf calls " the hardy negations " of the Indian philosophy, which turn into a blank the whole world of sensations.

" ' The Sanskrit copy of this work has perhaps been transmitted to England with others from Nepaul. To assist in interpreting it, the story and dialogue at the commencement are here sketched in a very abridged form :—

' Thus have I heard. On a time Buddha was at Sravasti. With him were assembled, in the hall of instruction, the Bhikshus, 1250 in number, all of them great arhans, without fault, &c. [Then

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follow the names of disciples, and an allusion to the Bodhisatwas, numerous as the sands of the Ganges, who were gathered to listen to Shákyamuni.] Prasenajit, king of Kosala, was celebrating the death of his father on the anniversary day of the event, by inviting the Buddhist monks to a repast. Shákya himself was present. Others were invited to the residence of a rich inhabitant of the city. Buddha directed Manjusrí to lead the Bodhisatwas and Arhans to the places where food was provided for them. Only Ánanda was absent. He had gone to a distance, and had not with him the two companions that the rules of the order required (the superior, and the Ashali, director). On the highway, travelling alone, no offering of food was made to him. Then, taking his rice-vessel in his hand, he proceeded regularly from door to door along the city thoroughfares. His aim was to beg from those who had not already bestowed their charity. He did not ask if the food that was given were pleasant or not to the taste; nor did he distinguish between Kshatriyas and Chándálas. With undeviating good feeling, he chose not rich or poor, and thus exhibited a perfect and immeasurably meritorious disposition. Ánanda already knew that "the world's honoured one" had blamed his disciples Subhúti and Kásyapa, because they came short of the evenly balanced heart of the Arhans. The former had begged from the rich only, because they could afford to be charitable. The other had begged only from the poor, because they were more in want of the benefits that almsgiving would ensure them. Ánanda had received respectfully the teaching of Buddha, and sought to conform to it. Passing the city moat, he walked slowly through the outer gate; his demeanour was grave, and he was reflecting reverently on the rules of mortification required by the monastic life. At that time, as he begged from house to house, he passed the dwelling of Matenga, a wicked woman who worked a powerful charm, and thus drew him into her inner apartment. His vow of chastity was about to be broken, when Buddha became aware of the peril of his disciple. It was just when his audience of listeners were assembled; the king, chief nobles, and private persons had come for instruction. Then from the head of Tathágata was shed the lustre of a hundred gems,—a mild radiance, from whose midst sprang the thousand-leaved lotus. Upon it appeared Buddha in a newly-assumed form. Cross-legged he sat, and uttered a mighty charm. He then commanded Manjusrí to take this charm, and go to the rescue of Ánanda. With it he was to correct the evil charm, and bring Ánanda and Matenga into the presence of Buddha.

'Ánanda, when he saw the countenance of Buddha, wept as he

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fell prostrate before him. He grieved that his work had yet to begin, and that all the instructions he had received had failed to perfect in him the power of virtue. He asked with earnestness to be taught afresh, that he might learn the method of Bodhinera shamatha damma jyána (intelligence, and quiet, serene, transparent reflection). Then, while countless Bodhisatwas, Arhans, and Pratyeka Buddhas from all regions, were listening with rapture, and silently waiting for the sacred utterance of their teacher, he addressed Ánanda:—"You and I, united by the ties of blood, have our dispositions conformed to what is naturally right. Formerly, when your heart led you to embrace my mode of life, what did you see to induce you to abandon the favours and pleasures of the world?" Ánanda replied: "I saw that the thirty-two beauties of the form of Tathágata excelled all besids, and that his body was as transparent as crystal. My constant thoughts told me that this beauty could not be produced by the passions; for the offspring of the passions is gross and impure, incapable of assuming forms of brightness and beauty. Therefore I thirsted to be a follower of Buddha, and undergo the tonsure." Then Buddha replied: "Well said, Ánanda; and you should know that all living things have, through an unbeginning past, been subject to the endless alternation of life and death, because they did not know of that fixed repose, and clear unbroken stillness which constitute the true nature and mind of man. It is because the thoughts are let loose, and riot in wrong courses, that men have to pass round the wheel of change. Would you attain to the state of Bodhi, the unsurpassed intelligence, and have your nature expand itself according to its original purity, rectify the purposes and feelings of your heart. Deliverance from the world of life and death consists in the rectification of the heart. When this is done, the good is reached; and none of the forms of crookedness will thereafter be exhibited, whatever your position may be. Ánanda, I ask you: When your heart was attracted towards the thirty-two beauties of Tathágata, how did you perceive them; and how was your love towards them called forth?" Ánanda replied to Buddha: "World-honoured sage! it was by the use of my eyes and my heart. When my eyes saw the surpassing beauty of Tathágata, my heart loved it, and therefore my desire was awakened to be freed from the revolutions of life and death." Buddha replied to Ánanda: "What you say being true, that your love comes from the eye and the heart, you must know where they are. Otherwise, the evils of the sensations cannot be conquered. Just as a king, in commissioning an army to chastise rebels, must know the place in which the rebels are; for in a moment your eye and mind (heart, the

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same word in Chinese) may lead you wrong." Ánanda replied: "All men know that the mind resides in the body; and when I look on Buddha's eyes, blue as the lotus, I know that they are in his countenance." Buddha then said: "As you now sit in the teaching hall of Buddha, and look upon the grove of Guida (in whose garden the house was situated), I ask you where is this building?" The answer was: "This quiet and pleasant hall is in Guida's garden, and the grove is outside." Buddha said: "What do you now first see?" "I see first," was the reply, "Tathágata, and then the crowd of his disciples. Then, gazing outwards, the grove and the garden present themselves." "How is it," he was again interrogated, "that you can see the grove and garden?" "Because," was the reply, "there are doors and windows in the hall." Then the world's honoured one, in the midst of the listening crowd, extended his golden-coloured arm, and touched the head of Ánanda. "There is," he informed him, "a personage called the profoundly-intelligent (Buddha) unsurpassed, perfect, *Leng yan king*,[1] and by whose perfect teaching of the virtues, the Tathágatas have found the path to the sublimest heights of wisdom. Now listen attentively." Ánanda again made a prostration, and waited humbly for the merciful instruction. Buddha then said: "When you say you see the grove and garden without, and the assembly of listeners within the hall, it is that you do not see Tathágata, but yet see what is outside, is it not?" The disciple replied: "While Tathágata is present that I should not see him, and yet see trees and fountains without, is what cannot be." Buddha in answer said: "If your mind, which is already bright with intelligence, is really in your body, you would know clearly what is within you. Thus, then, you first know what is within you, and then look upon what is external. Although not able to view the heart, liver, and other internal organs, the exterior parts of the body are easily seen. Certainly then you do not know what is within; you only know what is without. Therefore, when you say the intelligent mind is within the body, you must be wrong." Ánanda bowed and replied: "On hearing these instructions, I perceive that my mind is truly not within my body. To use an illustration, a lamp must first shine in the room where it is placed, and afterwards sends its light through apertures to the outside. Mankind, in not knowing what is within them, and seeing only what is without them, are like a lamp placed outside a house, whence it cannot illumine the interior."

"'This extract is sufficient to show that this Sútra introduces the

[1] "What is here called a king, is," says a commentator, "the heart." *Leng* implies certainty, and *yan*, firmness.

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reader into the centre of Buddhist thought. What gives it peculiar interest is, that the object at setting out is to find a remedy for the dangers arising from the passions. An example of these dangers is given; and the attempt is made to cure by metaphysical refinements what, in other systems, is undertaken by religion and morality. It was thus that the Hindus preferred to deal with the great questions originated by the struggle between good and evil in the mind of man. There is no more important aspect of the Buddhist system than the prominence assigned by it to speculative opinions, usually contradicting common sense, as the proper means of regulating and renovating human characters. In the fourth chapter, an elaborate proof is given by Buddha, to the full satisfaction of his auditors, that the senses are all deceptive. Sights and sounds, hearing and seeing, with the objects and sensations belonging to the other organs of communication between mind and matter, are consecutively doomed to nonentity.

"'The book thus described was translated, in about the eighth century, into Chinese. Panchimiti, a native of India, was the translator. A priest of Udyana (Uchang or Udjang) explained it; and there have been several native editors and commentators. Its being translated so late, and its containing the names that occur in the more recent Buddhist mythology, show that it is not a primitive Sútra.

"'The other book in these blue-covered volumes is the Peacock Sútra. No translator's name is given. The spelling of names agrees with that of Hwen Tsang, to whom, therefore, it should probably be ascribed. He introduced so many new orthographies for the foreign persons and places famous in the literature of his sect, that it is not difficult to detect him. At any rate, it is not earlier than his era. Whoever was the translator, it does him no credit; its whole object being to extol [the virtues of] certain charms (dhárani), especially one of a royal personage, called the Peacock King, who resided south of the Himalayas, and gave his name to the book. In the novel formed on the adventures of Hwen Tsang, the Peacock Sútra is mentioned as one that he translated. I cannot find any mention of this book elsewhere. The title of the Leng yan king is "Ta Fu ling ju tai mi yin sieu cheng lia i chu Pu sa wan king shu leng yan king," "The certain and firm Classic [Sútra] of the Great, Intelligent, Unrivalled Tathágata, containing the Secret Efficacy, and complete and demonstrated Sense of the Virtues of all the Bodhisatwas.'"

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BUDDHIST WORKS TRANSLATED FROM SANSKRIT.

I. Ta po je po lo mi to king (Mahâprajná páramitá Sútra).—120 volumes in twelve covers and 600 chapters, translated by Hwen Tsang. As the first work in the Chinese Tripitaka, it contains at the beginning two imperial prefaces to the whole collection. The present copy of this Sútra is from a recent edition of select Buddhist works. In the five-fold subdivision of the Mahâyána Sútras, the Prajná Sútras occur first.

II. Fang kwang po jo po lo mi king (The light-emitting Prajná páramitá Sútra).—Six volumes, containing thirty chapters, translated in the third century of the Christian era by Mo-la-cha and Chu-so-lau. It stands second in the catalogue of the whole collection. Printed A.D. 1840, from the blocks cut A.D. 1610, preserved at Kiahing.

III. Mo o po jo po lo mi king (Mahâprajná páramitá Sútra).—Six volumes, containing thirty chapters. The abridged translation by Kumárajíva and a coadjutor, of the work afterwards rendered in full by Hwen Tsang. It is third in order in the catalogue of the whole collection. The translations are distinguished by the word Mahá being transferred in the one and translated in the other. It is printed from the Kiahing blocks.

IV. Ta fang kwang fu hwa yan king.—Thirty-two volumes, containing eighty chapters, translated about the seventh century, by Shih-cha-nan-da, a priest of Kho-tan (Udin). A Chinese editor in his preface says, the Buddhist at Twa Lung-shu (Naga Kroshuna) found it in the "Dragon Palace," containing forty-eight sections (pin). The Chinese translation has but thirty-nine sections. With the preceding works I., II., III., it belongs to the Mahâyána, or Great Development Sútras. Its date then may be taken on Chinese authority, as the second century B.C., when Lung-shu lived, which is probably at least two centuries too old. Lung-shu himself may also be regarded as the author. We may conjecture that the other Mahâyána Sútras are of no earlier origin. In a note at the end by a Chinese, Chu-hung, it is said that the first translation was made in the third century A.D. by Buddha Baddala. The present copy is one of a recent edition published at Hangcheu. The third subdivision of the Mahâyána Sútras is called Hwa yan pu, from this work.

V. Ta po ni pwan king (by Dharmalatsin Mahápata Nirvána Sútra, a Brahman of Central India).—Eight volumes in forty chapters,

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translated about the fourth century A.D. Appended are two additional chapters, translated a century or two afterwards by Jana Baddala. This work gives its name to the fifth subdivision of Maháyána Sútras.

VI. Kin kang san mei king (The Diamond Sútra of ecstatic meditation).—This copy has a copious introduction and commentary by Tsih chen, a priest of T'ian tai, the translator's name unknown, three volumes and twelve chapters. It belongs, with VII., to the miscellaneous Sútras.

VII. Fu shwo ü lan pun king.—This is contained in the larger compilation U-lan-hwei-tswan, containing a commentary on it, and a manual of prayers for the autumn festival of the "hungry ghosts." This Sútra was translated in the third century A.D. by Chu-fa-hu.

VIII. Fu shwo chang shen.—A Sútra translated by Buddhapáli, a priest of Cophene.

IX. Fu shwo ta mo li chu pu sa king.—Sútra of the Bodhisatwa Malichi, translated about the thirteenth century A.D. by T'ian si tsai, a priest from the west.

X. Wu liang i king.—Sútra of limitless meaning, translated late in the fourth century by the Hindu Dharmagadayasha.

XI. King tsang yo shwo.—A selection of Sútras, consisting of fifty separate works in five volumes.

Among these will be noticed: Fu shwo tang lai pian king (the Sútra of coming changes). Translated by Chu-fa-hu, in the third century. Others by the same; four in all.

Pu sa seng ti king (Sútra of the living abode of the Bodhisatwas).—Translated by Chi kian, an Upásaka from the Getæ country; second century. Another by the same.

Shan hing fa sung king.—Translated in the second century by An-shi-kan, of the An-si country. Another by the same.

Wen chu si li wen pa ti king (the Sútra of Manjusrí's inquiries on knowledge). — Translated by Kumárajíva. It has also been translated three times subsequently.

Chĕng tsan ta chĕng kung te king (the Sútra in praise of the merits of the Maháyána).—Translated by Hwen Tsang.

Almost the whole of these fifty works were translated previously to the ninth century.

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XII. Fu ting tsun sheng to lo ni chen king.—Sútra of Buddha's most honoured and super-eminent Dháraní (charms). Translated about the eighth century, by Buddhapáli of Cophéne.

XIII. Fu pun hing tsi king.—Sútra of the collected acts of Buddha. Translated at the close of the sixth century by Chanakitta, a Hindu, in twelve volumes and sixty chapters. This work belongs to the smaller development Sútras; as such, the interlocutors do not embrace the more recent mythological Bodhisatwas and Buddhas of the Mahâyâna.

XIV. Yuan kio sien to lo lian i king.—Sútra of the meaning of the Sútra of complete perception. Translated by Buddhatala of Cophéne.

XV. Fan wang ho chu.—Collected comments on the Fan wang Sútra. The Fan wang king belongs to the Mahâyâna Vinaya pitaka, second division of the general Buddhist collection, treating of discipline according to the great development system. The part explained and included in the present work is the section on the heart of the Bodhisatwa,—Pu sa sin ti hin. The translator was Kumarajîva. The commentator and editor were Chi hien and Tan fang, Chinese Buddhists of two or three centuries ago. In three volumes and five chapters. The word "king," properly answering to Sútra, is also used for most of the works in the Kivaya division.

XVI. Tsai kia lin yan kwang tsi.—Collection of important works on discipline for the Buddhist laity, edited by Chi hien. It contains fifteen works in three volumes. The following will be noticed:

An Extract from Si fun lin tsang.—Collection of the description of four divisions. It contains a short and interesting account of the first Upásakas and Upásikás, or persons submitting to Buddhist rules, but remaining in their houses. Translated about A.D. 500 by Buddhayagama, assisted by Chu fa nian.

Kiai siau tsai king.—Sútra for avoiding suffering by submitting to the Buddhist rules.

Fu shwo chai king.—Sútra of fasting. Both these were translated by Chi kian, an Upásaka from the Getæ country, about A.D. 200.

Extracts from Fan wang king, with commentary.

Extract from Upása kiai king.—Sútra of the rules of the Upásakas. Translated by Dharmalatsus.

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Works translated from Sanskrit by Hwen Tsang and others.

A. Ch'ing wei shih len sui su, in ten volumes. This is an edition of a Shástra, with a commentary translated by Hwen Tsang. The author was Dharmapara Bodhisattwa (hu fa p'u sa), a native of Southern India. But before his time Vasubandhu Bodhisattwa (t'ian ts'in p'u sa), a native of Northern India, had, within 900 years after Buddha's entrance into the Nirvána, written a Shástra in thirty-three divisions, in verse, named, Wei sheh san shï len, being an abridgment of the fifth section of the Yü k'ia sï ti len, and this formed the basis of the present Shástra, entitled Ch'ing wei shih len. The latter is a commentary on the former, but being partly based on the Pe fa len, (Hundred laws Shástra), and also embracing discussions on other subjects, it received not the name of a commentary, but of a Shástra. It is also called Tsing wei sheh len (Shástra of pure reflection and knowledge). The commentary (sui su) is by a native of Si chwen province.

B. Ch'ing wei shih len wen shih ping ki.—The same Shástra, with a commentary by Wu-shu-hü, in five volumes.

C. Yin ming ju ching li len heu ki.—This is a Shástra translated by Hwen Tsang. The preface says, "The yin ming Shástra is one section of the Wu (five) ming Shástra of India. Of this larger work there are two editions, the Wai (outer) wu ming Shástra, and the Nui (inner) wu ming Shástra. The former is a common book of study among the people. Its first section is on sound (Shing ming), explaining old words, and old meanings of words, as is done in our dictionaries, the Kï Ya, Tsï-hwei, etc. The second (Ki'au ming) is on the arts and cunning inventions, with astrology and mathematics, such as books on similar subjects in our own country. The third (i fang ming), is on the physician's art, containing charms for curing the sick without medicine, and an account of the modes of treatment by puncturing and cupping, with mineral and vegetable remedies. In our own literature we have similar productions.

The fourth section (Yin ming), discusses the true and the false in doctrine, illustrating the one, and condemning the other.

The fifth section (Fu yin ming), is on writing, drawing, seals, and engraving, resembling our books on various kinds of writing. In India

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(Si yu) boys read this work after they are seven years old. Before that time they are taught the "Twelve Chapters."

The Nui wu ming len is a work of Buddha himself. Pitying those who only knew what was contained in the Wai wu ming len, or what belongs to common life, he undertook to remould it. He placed the first and fifth sections together, and introduced as the fifth, a new one called nui ming len. In this he explained the five developments (Maháyána) and the doctrine of retribution. Bodhisattwas and those who study the Maháyána can understand it, but others not.

Yin is explained as cause, or the ground of a doctrine, ming is clear, or, to make clear. Together they signify "explanation of fundamental knowledge" (logic).

The author was Shang-k'ih-la Bodhisattwa.

The Chinese commentator and writer of the preface from which the above extract is made, was Wu-shu-hü, who resided at Hangcheu, in the middle of the eighteenth century.

D. Pei hwa king, Sútra of the Lotus of mercy. In three volumes. Translated by Damots'in, a Hindu, in the time of the Northern Liang dynasty, in the fourth century of our era. At the commencement, Shákyamuni describes to his disciples a world in the south-east, called the Lotus (hwa) world, governed by the Lotus Buddha. When he has finished, a Bodhisattwa, one of his auditors, contrasting the splendour and happiness of that world, with the misery and vice of the present one, asks Buddha why he prefers to reside in the latter? He replies, From compassion for its suffering inhabitants, and desire to save them.

E. Kin kang pe je po lo mi (in old Chinese, pat nia pa la mit) king. An edition in large characters of the Diamond Prajná páramitá Sútra, translated by Kumárajíva.

After the preface there is a list of the commentators on this Sútra, in all seventeen, exclusive of Yang-wen-lung, the commentator in the present edition. Among them are Chï-che, the founder of the T'ian-t'ai school. Hwai-neng, the fifth successor of Bodhidharma, as patriarch, and Wang-ji-hieu, the writer of the Ts'ing tu wen. It is in two volumes. Hwen Tsang's translation of the Heart Sútra (Maháprajná páramitá (heart) Sútra) is placed at the end. It is said in the Wen hian t'ung k'an that the kin kang Sútra is the 577th chapter of the Maháprajná Sútra. The latter was delivered by Buddha in sixteen assemblies. The kin kang Sútra belongs to the ninth.

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F. Wei mo kie so shwo king. A Sútra spoken by Wei mo kie (in old Chinese Vi-ma-kit). In the Wen hian t'ung kan, it is said that Vimakita means "pure." The person so named was a believer in Buddha, without becoming a monk. Buddha sent Manjusrí to visit him when sick. The conversation that took place is given in this Sútra. It bears the name of Kumárajíva, who was the translator of forty separate works. The scene is laid in the city Vaïs'ali (Pi-she-li, old Chinese, Be-sha-li). The work consists of one volume in three chapters. In the first chapter the pure kingdom of Buddha is described, then the character of Vimakita. The third and fourth sections of the same chapter give the excuses of ten disciples and four Bodhisattwas to Shákyamuni, for non-compliance when asked by him to visit Vimakita. He had opposed them in argument with such consummate ability, that they did not dare undertake to visit him. In the second chapter, Vimakita appears as teacher, and Manjusrí and Shárputra are the principal interlocutors. In the third they come together to the garden where Buddha is discoursing, and a conversation with him then takes place, demonstrating Vimakita's progress, while still a layman, in knowledge of the law. The text throughout appears to be, the pure kingdom of Buddha, and the object is to shew, that without quitting the world, a deep acquaintance with the Buddhist doctrine may be obtained.

G. Fu ting tsun shing to lo ni king.—The exceedingly honourable and unrivalled Dháraní Sútra of Shákyamuni. This is a discourse between Buddha and Shakra on a certain charm. The preface details the particulars of ten translations of this paltry production, chiefly in the T'ang dynasty. The translator of this edition is Buddapala, a native of Kifin (Cophéne). It is included in the Imperial collection of Buddhist books.

H. Shan men ko sung tsih yan.—This is a collection in two volumes of several of the smaller Buddhist Sútras, with two other small works.

It is prefaced by an account of the introduction of Buddhist literature into China. The first of the Sútras is (1). Fu shwo sï shï urh chang king. The Sútra of forty-two sections. It was translated by Kásyapamadanga and Tsu-fa-lan, the first Hindu translators who visited China. Its date is therefore the first century of our era. The brevity of the work, and the abscence of the mythological Bodhisattwas seem to indicate that it is a genuine production of primitive Buddhism. Shákyamuni describes in forty-two paragraphs the four-

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fold division of his disciples as Arhans, etc.; the duties of those who assume the monastic vows, the ten vices, the danger and folly of vice, etc. From Burnouf's examination of the Nepaul manuscripts, it appears, that the small works (which he considered to be the oldest) of that collection, were similar in structure and materials to this and the two following Sútras.

(2.) Fu i kian king.—The last words of Buddha. This Sútra was translated by Kumárajíva. The arguments for the genuineness of this are the same as for the one preceding and following; but neither of them begins with the usual formula of Ánanda: "Thus have I heard."

(3.) Pa ta jin kio king.—The Sútra of the eight perceptions of the great man. This is translated by the Shramana (Sha-men) An shï kan of the Han dynasty (say, the second century). In a very small space it contains an epitome of the moral principles of Buddhism, its view of human life, and the way to escape from it.

(4.) Yo sï liu li kwang ju lai pen yuen kung teh king.—This work is translated by Hwen Tsang from the Árya Bhagavatí Vaishajya guru púrva pranidhána náma Maháyána Sútra.

(5.) Fu shwo A-mi-ta king.—The Amitábha Sútra, spoken by Buddha. The translator is Kumárajíva.

(6.) Pa shï pa Fu ts'an hwei king.—The Sútra of repentance of the eighty-eight Buddhas. No author's or translator's name is given. The eighty-eight Buddhas are invoked in succession by name.

(7.) Tsing tu wen.—Discourse on the pure land. A Chinese production, the author of which is not known. It contains invocations and prayers to Amitábha Buddha, and references to the Bodhisattwas worshipped by the Tsing tu school, viz., Kwan shï yin and Ta shï chï.

(8.) Niau Fu yuan k'i.—Introduction to the invocation of Buddha. It consists of a few prayers to the same personages as in (7.)

Works by Native Chinese Buddhists.

(1.) Yün t'si fu hwei.—"Collection of matters pertaining to the Yünt'si system," by the Shaman Chu-hung of the Yünt'si monastery in Hangchow. This work consists of thirteen volumes, the last containing a portrait with biography and memorials of the author. He lived at the close of the sixteenth century, when the Roman Catholic missionaries began to propagate their religion in China. The work contains some strictures on the doctrine they taught, and replies to

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some of their objections against Buddhism. The author belonged to the Tsing-tu school, which in the form he gave it, took the name of Yün t'si. The first six volumes contain his works published by himself; the next four consist of his letters, posthumous papers, and scattered essays; the remainder give an account of the monastery and order that he founded, still existing at Hangchow, with the tablets, monastic regulations, and biographical details.

(2.) Lung shu tsing tu wen.—This treatise has been translated by Schott in his work on the Buddhism of China and High Asia. The author was Wang jih hien, also called, Lung shu, a Chinese Tsin si, or Doctor of Literature. It is edited by Chu-hung, the author mentioned above. The object of the work is to recommend the doctrines of the Tsing-tu sect. The eleventh and twelfth chapters are taken from the works of other Buddhist writers, and consist of extracts laudatory of this sect. Schott has shewn how the doctrine here inculcated of a sensuous paradise, where Amitábha Buddha grants immortality to all who become his worshippers, contradicts the tenet of annihilation or absorption in the Nirvána, as maintained by other Buddhist sects. The work consists of two volumes.

(3.) Yün t'si tsing tu hwei ü in two volumes. This work contains parts of the productions of Chu hung, or as he is usually called Hian ch'i ta sï, "the great teacher of the Lotus lake."

(4.) Tsing nih jen hiang tsih.—This is a collection of biographical notices of Chinese Buddhists. The writer belongs to the Tsing-tu school.

(5.) Sï tsi ta sï yih kan.—A collection of tracts in prose and verse, recommending the Buddhist doctrine and mode of life. The author is a Chinese Buddhist who resided at Hangchow at the close of the seventeenth century. He advocated the Tsing-tu doctrine. He is called "the even minded teacher," (Sï tsi ta sï).

(6.) Lian tung tsih yan.—A collection of passages from various works of the Tsing-tu school, here called the school of the "Lotus" (lian). The Amita Buddha Sútra is placed first.

(7.) Twan tsi sin yan.—Compendium of the heart doctrine which frees from all bonds. This is a catechism of the Shau men doctrine, advocating attention to the heart as much superior to the study of the

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sacred books. Its author was a pupil of Hi yün, a teacher of the esoteric school, in the fourth generation from the sixth patriarch. The modern editor gives an account of Hi yün in an appendix. The author dates his preface in the year A.D. 857.

(8.) Kwei yuan king.—The mirror (in which are displayed examples) of return to the original (state of rest and purity made known in the Buddhist system). This is a Buddhist play of the Tsing-tu school, by Chi Tu, a Hangchow priest, written not earlier than the seventeenth century. Such plays are acted not in Buddhist but in Tauist temples. They are like other plays, arranged for chanting and reciting in alternate passages. To the parts to be sung the names of the airs are prefixed. The parts recited are in the Northern or Mandarin dialect, having a greater or less admixture of the book style, according to the taste of the author. The first scenes are taken from the Amitábha Sútra, the text book of the Tsing-tu sect. In the remaining parts, three of the chief promoters of that school in China are introduced. They are Hwai yuen (called from the place of his residence Lu San), of the Tsin dynasty A.D. 400, Yung ming and Yün t'si (chu hung). Yung ming originally belonged to the Sha men (esoteric sect), but left it for the Tsing tu men.

(9.) Tan king.—A work in one volume, by the disciples of the sixth patriarch, or fifth successor of Ta-mo (Bodhidharma), containing his teaching. With several of the following works it belongs to the Shan or esoteric school. It appears to be the only book by a Chinese Buddhist dignified with the name of King (Sútra).

(10.) Ling tsin i pin shan sï ü lu.—A work in one volume, containing the instructions (ü lu) delivered orally by Ipin, a teacher of the esoteric school (Shan sï), who lived at the close of the last century. It was compiled by his pupils. Ling tsin is the name of a temple he frequented.

(11.) Ta pei p'u kio shan sï shu kiuan.—A work of the year 1580, in one manuscript volume. It is of the class called ü lu, containing oral instructions by teachers of the esoteric school.

(12.) Yung ming sin fu chu.—A work in two volumes, by Yung ming, an esoteric teacher of the Sung dynasty (vide supra). This is an abridgment by the author, of a larger work called Tsung king pe kiuan. "The mirror of the esoteric doctrine in one hundred chapters,"

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It was ordered to be reprinted by the Manchu emperor, Yung ching. This edition is dated 1838. Yung ching's preface is prefixed.

(13.) Min yin chï pin shan sï lu.—A work in one volume, containing the oral instructions of the esoteric teacher Chi pin, compiled by one of his pupils. He lived at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

(14.) Ju shï tan p'ing sin len.—This is an apology for Buddhism, by a native writer. He compares the three religions: Ju, that of the literati; Shi, the religion of Sákya; Tau, that of reason; and defends his own from the attacks that have been made upon it. It contains numerous allusions to the history of this, and the other two religions, in China.

15. Hwa yan yuan jin lun ho kiai.—One volume. A discussion on the principles of Buddhism, respecting the origin and destiny of human nature. With it are compared in a learned manner the tenets of Confucianism and Tauism on the same subject. The author was Tsung mi, a priest of the Tang dynasty; the commentator, Yuan kio, of the Yuan dynasty.

16. Kin kang pe je po lo mi king po kung lun.—A treatise, by Chi hien, a priest of the Ming dynasty, expounding the Diamond Sútra (translated by Kumárajíva), and showing the emptiness of all visible things.

17. Pe chang tsung lin tsing kwei cheng i ki.—Six volumes. A modern edition of the work called Tsing kwei (the regulations of the Buddhist priesthood). Pe chang, a monk of the Tang dynasty, was the author; but various changes have been made in it, as the lapse of time required. It contains forms of worship for the birthdays of Buddhas and Bodhisatwas, and other special occasions, as for rain, snow, and against locusts; also for the anniversaries of the deaths of celebrated Chinese Buddhists. The fourth and fifth volumes contain the regulations to be observed by the officers of the monastery, at the admission of neophytes, &c.

18. Shu ho tian t'ai san shing shi tsiuan tsi (the collected poetry of three priests of Tian tai). The emperor Yung ching, A.D. 1733, wrote a preface to this work. The three priests were Fung kan, Han shan, and Shih te, and they lived in the seventh century, at Tian tai near Ning po. In two volumes.

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19. Tung tsung shï tsi i wen. (Description of doubtful points in the succession of the Tsau tung school).—The volume contains many notices, biographical, literary, and historical, of the esoteric schools and their authorship.

20. Jih ko pian mung. (Daily lessons for the use of the neophytes).—This volume contains invocations, prayers, magical formulæ, etc., and was composed A.D. 1730, by a priest at Peking.

21. Ta fang kwang fu hwa yan king yan kiai. Explanation of the Hwa yan Sútra.—By Kiai huan. In two volumes.

22. Ta ching chi kwan shi yan.—Explanation of the principles of the Chi pwan or Tiăn tai school. By Chu hien. Four chapters in two volumes.

23. Ki tsiang pan tsàn. A mi ta fu pan tsàn. Ta pei sin tsan. Three of the liturgical works called "Tsan," in one volume. They are addressed respectively to Manjusrí, Amitábha Buddha and Kwan yin (Avalokiteswara). Works of this class probably correspond to the Nepaulese Sútras which Burnouf describes.

24. Kei ta tsăng sü.—Prefatory note to the reprint of the great Buddhist collection; other details are given having reference to the successive editions of the three Pitaka in China.

25. Chu king jih sung.—Daily readings from the Sútras. The first volume contains the Diamond Sútra, that of Yo sï, the eastern Buddha, a section of the Fa hwa king, the Sútra of the feasts of hungry ghosts, the smaller Nirvána Sútra, magical formulas, Sútra of the bloody basin, etc. The second gives the forms for morning and evening service.

26. Chu pan king tsăn chï yin.—The correct sounds of characters used in the Sútras and Liturgical works. This list gives the sound and meaning of all foreign and uncommon words in twenty-two of the commonest works. They are arranged in the order of their occurrence. The sounds are expressed by means of symphonetic characters.

27. Hai nan Jih cho ho pian.—Notices of Pü to or Hai nan. Part I. contains ten chapters in four volumes. Part II. thirty-two chapters

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in six volumes. The whole refers to Pü to, the Buddhist Island, and its tutelary goddess, Kwan yin. It is a collection of legends, historical documents, extracts from Sútras, and various other details.

28. Shi u ho shang ü lu. — Discourses of the monk Shi u, A.D. 1333.

29. U kia yan ken shï shï yan tsi.—Book of prayers and directions for the festival of the hungry ghosts. At the beginning is a page of Sanskrit words with the pronunciation.

30. Fa yuan chu lin.—A Buddhist Encyclopædia in the order of subjects. One hundred chapters in forty-eight volumes, by Tan shi, a monk of the T'ang dynasty; about A.D. 700. A recent reprint.

A Further Collection of Chinese Buddhist Works from Sir John Bowring.

Subsequently to the receipt of the works described in the preceding lists, a further collection has arrived, of which the following, as described in a communication with which we have been favoured by M. Julien, are of more than ordinary interest.

1. I-tsi-king-in-i.—Twenty-six books in five fasciculi. The title signifies "Words and Meanings of all the Sacred Books;" but it is not so much a dictionary of Buddhist terms, as a collection of notes upon the most important of the Buddhist expressions in their writings. It is the compilation of Hwen-ing, one of the fellow-labourers of Hwen Tsang, who is noticed in M. Julien's life of the latter. The Emperor Kia-khing, who reigned from 1796 to 1820, had it included in the great dictionary in sixty volumes, compiled and published by his orders.

2. Khai-yuen-chi-kiao-lu.—Twenty books with supplement, in eight thick volumes. A general catalogue of all the Buddhist works translated from Sanskrit, or written in Chinese, under the reigns of the Thang dynasty, between the years A.D. 713—741. The work

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contains a list of all the books translated from Sanskrit by Hwen Tsang.

3. Fa-hoa-whai-i.—Eighteen books in eight volumes. Collection of the meanings of the words of the sacred book, the Lotus of the excellent law. The text is translated by Kiu-mo-lo-shi (S. Kumárajíva), who flourished between A.D. 397—417. The preface states that the compilation of the Notæ variorum was made by a certain Ngin-i, but does not specify his date. The translation by Kumárajíva has been received before at Paris, but not the commentary. It is of great perspicuity, but there are abbreviated passages, and some omissions which are noticed by Hwen Thsang. It will enable, however, M. Julien to correct a number of errors which have escaped Burnouf in his translation of the "Lotus de la Bonne Loi." In one place, the author speaks of the difficulty of meeting with a genuine Buddha, or one enlightened by the acquirement of Bodhi; and he uses this illustration:—"It is as if a blind tortoise were desirous of finding a hole in a piece of timber afloat on the ocean." This passage is thus rendered by M. Burnouf:—"It is like a tortoise whose neck has been fixed in a yoke afloat on the ocean." M. Julien purposes to examine carefully without entering upon any criticism, the principal differences which exist between the translation of M. Burnouf and that of Kumárajíva. It cannot but be regarded as a very curious incident in literary history, that a translation from Sanskrit made in China in the fourth century into Chinese, should be collated with a similar translation into French, made fifteen hundred years afterwards, and without any communication between the two works.

4. Ta-pan-ni-pan-king, or in S. Mahá-parinirvána Sútra.—Text of the schools of South or Southern India. Thirty-six books in seven volumes. This translation was executed between A.D. 420—436, under the Li-ang dynasty, by Tan-wan-tsan, or S. Dharmadrisa, an Indian monk versed in the three great Buddhist series of works, and thence entitled Tripitaka Áchárya. The translation was retouched under the Song dynasty, who reigned from A.D. 420 to 477, by three Indian professors of Buddhism, named by the Chinese Whai-yen, Whai-kuwan, and Sie-ling-yun.

5. Ling-kia-o-po-to-lo-pao-king.—Four books in one volume. S. Lankávatarana Maháyána Sútra. Translation by Kiu-na-po-to-lo (S. Guna bhadra), Indian Buddhist monk, also entitled Tripitaka Áchárya, who lived under the Song dynasty A.D. 420—477.

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6. Chong-lun.—Six books in one volume. "Treatise of the Middle Doctrine" Madhyamika, founded by Nágárjuna. The catalogue of Sanskrit Buddhist books from which M. Julien has extracted 900 titles, calls this work Prajná múla Sástra Tíká, which indicates a commentary that is wanting in the present volume. The translation is by Kumárajíva, the translator of the Sad-dharma Pundarika, the Lotus of the Good Law, the same who is mentioned in Article 3.

Of these six books, four are dated from the end of the fourth to the middle of the fifth century; the other two are of the eighth century, and are said to be worked off from the very same blocks that were cut for Hwen Thsang, and have been preserved in a Buddhist monastery for a thousand years,—a circumstance that encourages the hope that a search after the Indian originals may not prove utterly in vain.

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Art. XIX.—*Extrait du Livre IV. des Mémoires de Hiouen-thsang.* Translated by M. Julien.

[*Read* 21*st April*, 1855.]

ROYAUME DE TSE-KIA.[1]

(Notice traduit du Sanscrit par Hiouen-thsang.)

Le royaume de *Tse-kia* (Tchêka) a environ dix mille lis de tour. A l'est, il s'appuie sur la rivière *Pi-po-che* (Vipâçâ) ; à l'ouest, il est voisin du fleuve *Sin-tou* (Sindh-Indus). La circonférence de la capitale est d'environ vingt lis. Le sol convient au riz, et produit beaucoup de bled tardif. On en tire de l'or, de l'argent, du *Teou-chi* (cuivre jaune),[2] du cuivre (rouge), et du fer. Le climat est très-chaud, et l'air est souvent troublé par des tourbillons de vent. Les habitants sont d'un caractère violent et emporté, et leur langage est bas et grossier. Ils s'habillent avec des étoffes d'une blancheur éclatante qu'on appelle *Kiao-che-ye* (Kâuçêya-soie), et portent des vêtements rouges comme le soleil levant, &c. Peu d'entre eux croient à la loi du *Bouddha ;* la multitude adore les esprits du ciel. Il y a dix *kia-lan* (Saṅghârâmas), et plusieurs centaines de temples des dieux (Dêvâlayas).

Il y avait jadis, dans ce royaume, un grand nombre de maisons de bonheur (*Pounyaçâlâs*), où l'on secourait les pauvres et les personnes dans le besoin. Tantôt, on y distribuait des médicaments, tantôt de la nourriture. Grâce à cette ressource, les voyageurs n'avaient pas à souffrir des atteintes de la faim.

A quatorze ou quinze lis au sud-ouest de la capitale, on arrive à l'antique ville de *Che-kie-lo* (*Câkala*). Quoique ses murs soient détruits, les fondements sont encore solides. Cette ville avait environ vingt lis de circonférence. Au centre, on a construit, en outre, une petite ville qui a six à sept lis de tour, et dont les habitants sont riches et aisés. C'était l'antique capitale de ce royaume.

Plusieurs siècles auparavant, il y eut un roi nommé *Mo-hi-lo-kiu-lo* (Mahirakoula) qui établit sa résidence dans cette ville. Il devint le souverain des cinq Indes. Il était doué de talent et de sagacité, et avait un naturel bouillant, et un courage intrépide. Parmi les rois voisins, il n'y en avait aucun qu'il n'eut soumis à sa puissance. Dans les moments de loisir que lui laissaient les affaires publiques, il voulut étudier la loi du *Bouddha*. Il ordonna qu'on choisît, parmi les reli-

[1] Inde du Nord.

[2] Suivant un auteur qui cite le dictionnaire de *Khang-hi*, on obtient le *Teou-chi* en fondant, par parties égales, du cuivre (rouge) et de la calamine.

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gieux, un homme d'une vertu éminente et qu'on le lui présentât. En ce moment, aucun des religieux n'osa répondre à l'appel du roi. Ils avaient, en général, peu de désirs, n'avaient nul goût pour la vie active, et ne se souciaient point d'acquérir de la renommée. D'un autre côté, ceux qui possédaient un profond savoir, et étaient doués de hautes lumières, craignaient l'autorité imposante du souverain. A cette époque, il y avait dans la maison du roi, un ancien serviteur qui depuis longtemps, avait adopté les vêtements de couleur (l'habit de religieux). Il savait discuter d'une manière claire et élégante, et se distinguait par la richesse et la fécondité de son élocution. L'assemblée l'ayant présenté d'une voix unanime pour qu'il répondît à l'appel du roi, "Je crois à la loi du *Bouddha*, s'écria le Prince, et après que j'eus cherché au loin un religieux renommé, l'assemblée des couvents m'a présenté ce serviteur pour discuter avec moi. J'avais toujours cru que, parmi les religieux, il y avait une foule d'hommes sages et éclairés. Par ce qui arrive aujourd'hui, je sais à quoi m'en tenir. Comment pourrais-je désormais leur montrer du respect ?"

Là-dessus, il publia un décret qui ordonnait d'abolir, dès ce moment, la loi du *Bouddha* dans tous les royaumes des cinq Indes; d'expulser les religieux, et de ne pas en laisser un seul.

Pó-lo-ó-tie'-to (Bâlâditya), roi de *Mo-kie-to'* (Magadha) avait un profond respect pour la loi du *Bouddha*, et chérissait tendrement le peuple. Comme le roi *Ta-tso-wang*, (Mahirakoula) infligeait injustement des supplices, et exerçait une cruelle tyrannie, il gardait lui-même ces frontières, et refusait de lui payer le tribut.

Dans ce moment, le roi *Ta-tso* (Mahirakoula) leva une armée pour aller le châtier. Le roi *Yeou-ji* (Bâlâditya), connaissant sa réputation, parla ainsi à ses ministres : "Je viens d'apprendre que les ennemis arrivent. Je ne puis me décider à lutter contre leurs troupes. J'ose espérer que tous les magistrats me le pardonneront, et n'inculperont point ma conduite, et qu'ils permettront à ma chétive personne d'aller chercher secrètement un refuge au milieu des plaines couvertes d'herbes."

Après avoir ainsi parlé, il sortit de son palais, tantôt gravissant les montagnes, et tantôt s'arrêtant dans les champs déserts. Tous les hommes de son royaume, ayant été comblés de ses bienfaits, il y en eut plusieurs *wan* (*wan* veut dire dix mille) qui, par affection, voulurent suivre ses pas, et fuyant avec lui, allèrent s'établir sur des îles.

Pendant ce temps-là, le roi *Ta-tso* (Mahirakoula) confia le commandement de ses troupes à son frère cadet, et s'embarqua pour aller attaquer le roi *Yeou-ji* (Bâlâditya). Celui-ci (sortant de sa retraite) alla garder les défilés de son royaume, et envoya la cavalerie légère

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provoquer l'ennemi. Dès que le tambour eut donné le signal du combat, des soldats intrépides surgirent de tous côtés, prirent vivant *Ta-tso* (Mahirakoula), et, le ramenant avec eux, vinrent le présenter au roi. Le roi *Ta-tso* (Mahirakoula), honteux de sa défaite, se couvrit le visage avec le pan de son vêtement. Le roi *Yeou-ji* (Bâlâditya) était assis sur un trône, supporté par des lions (*Siñhâsanam*), et il était entouré de ses nombreux officiers. Il ordonna alors à un des ministres qui étaient assis à ses côtés, de parler ainsi à *Ta-tso* (Mahirakoula) : " Découvrez votre visage, je veux vous parler."

Ta-tso (Mahirakoula) répondit : " Le sujet et le maître ont réciproquement changé de rôle, et des ennemis irrités ont les yeux sur moi. Comme il n'existe plus entre nous de relations d'amitié, à quoi bon me parler en face ?"

Le même ordre lui ayant été répété trois fois, il y résista jusqu'à la fin. Alors le roi ordonna qu'on lui reprochât ses crimes dans les termes suivants :—" Les trois *Précieux* et le champ du Bonheur servent d'appui à tout le peuple. Tu t'es abandonné à la cruauté, comme une bête féroce, et tu as détruit les effets de tes vertus passées. C'est pourquoi le bonheur a cessé de te protéger, et aujourd'hui tu es devenu mon prisonnier. Tes crimes ne méritent aucun pardon, et la justice veut que tu sois puni de mort."

Dans ce même moment, la mère du roi *Yeou-ji* (Bâlâditya) qui était douée d'un vaste savoir, et qui excellait dans l'art de la physionomie, apprit qu'on allait ôter la vie à *Ta-tso* (Mahirakoula). Elle accourut vers le roi *Yeou-ji* (Bâlâditya), et lui parla en ces termes : " J'ai ppris que *Ta-tso* (Mahirakoula) est d'une beauté remarquable, et qu'il est rempli de prudence ; je désire le voir un instant."

Le Roi *Yeou-ji* (Bâlâditya) ayant fait conduire *Ta-tso* (Mahirakoula) dans le palais de sa mère, cette princesse s'écria : " Hélas ! *Ta-tso* (Mahirakoula), gardez-vous de rougir de honte ! Rien n'est stable au monde, et l'on voit la gloire et l'ignominie se succéder tour à tour. Je me regarde comme votre mère, et vous comme mon fils. Il faut que vous découvriez votre visage pour me répondre quelques mots."

" Auparavant," dit *Ta-tso* (Mahirakoula), " j'étais le prince d'un royaume ennemi, aujourd'hui je suis un prisonnier de guerre ; j'ai laissé tomber ma royauté, et j'ai vu abolir les sacrifices de mes ancêtres. Je rougis à la fois devant mes aïeux et devant mon peuple. En vérité, je suis couvert de confusion. Vainement j'élève mes yeux au ciel, et je les abaisse vers la terre ; je regrette qu'ils ne puissent me délivrer de la vie. Voilà pourquoi je me couvre de mon tement."

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La mère du roi lui répartit: "La splendeur ou la décadence de l'homme sont subordonnés aux temps ; sa vie et sa mort dépendent de la destinée. Si l'on emploie toute son âme à secourir les créatures, on oublie à la fois la victoire et la défaite ; mais si l'on se sert des créatures pour satisfaire son ambition, bientôt l'amertume du blâme vient remplacer les louanges. Soyez bien convaincu que la rétribution des actions humaines suit le cours des temps (et arrive à son heure.) Otez votre voile, et parlez-moi en face ; peut-être pourrai-je vous conserver la vie."

Ta-tso (Mahirakoula) lui témoigna sa reconnaissance en ces termes : "L'homme inepte que vous voyez devant vous, après avoir hérité du trône a fait abus des supplices et du pouvoir suprême, et il a perdu son royaume. Mais, quoique chargé de chaînes, il désire encore quelques jours de vie. Il ose accepter le salut que vous lui promettez, et vous remercie d'avance de cet immense bienfait."

En achevant ces mots, il ôta son voile, et laissa voir son visage. La reine-mère lui dit : "Ayez soin de votre personne ; il faut que vous finissiez les années que le ciel vous a comptées." Elle alla ensuite trouver le roi *Yeou-ji* (Bâlâditya), et lui dit : "Maintenant, quoique *Ta-tso* (Mahirakoula) ait, pendant longtemps, accumulé des crimes, le bonheur qui lui était promis n'est pas encore épuisé. Si vous faites mourir cet homme, pendant plus de dix ans, vous le verrez devant vous, avec son visage pâle et décharné. Cependant, j'ai lu dans ses traits qu'il est destiné à regner encore, mais sans pouvoir jamais devenir le maître d'un grand royaume. Il doit posséder un petit territoire qui est situé dans le nord."

Docile aux ordres de sa mère chérie, le roi *Yeou-ji* (Bâlâditya) eut pitié de ce prince dépouillé de son royaume, lui donna en mariage une jeune fille, et le traita avec la plus grande distinction. Il rassembla tout ce qui restait de ses troupes, augmenta encore son escorte, et sortit lui-même des îles.

Le frère cadet de *Ta-tso* (Mahirakoula) revint dans son royaume, et se mit lui-même sur le trône.

Ta-tso (Mahirakoula) ayant perdu sa couronne, s'enfuit et alla se cacher sur les montagnes et dans les déserts. Puis, se dirigeant vers le nord, il chercha un asyle dans le royaume de *Kia-chi-mi-lo* (Cachemire). Le Roi de Cachemire le reçut avec les plus grands honneurs. Emu de pitié en voyant qu'il avait perdu son royaume, il lui donna des terres et une ville.

Au bout d'un certain nombre d'années, *Ta-tso* se mit à la tête des habitants de la ville qu'il gouvernait, tua, par la ruse, le Roi de Cache-

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mire, et se mit lui-même sur son trône. Profitant de sa victoire, et de la terreur qu'il inspirait, il alla, dans l'ouest, pour châtier le Roi de *Kien-to'-lo* (Gândhâra), et le tua dans une embuscade. Alors, il extermina tous les grands du royaume, détruisit les *Stoûpas*, et abolit tous les *Kia-lan* (Sañghârâmas), au nombre de 1,600. En dehors du nombre des hommes qui avaient péri sous le fer de ses soldats, il restait encore 900,000 habitants qu'il voulut exterminer jusqu'au dernier.

Dans ce moment, tous les ministres lui adressèrent des représentations, et lui dirent : " Grand roi ! vos puissants ennemis tremblent devant vous, et les soldats ont cessé de croiser la lance. Maintenant que vous avez exterminé les principaux coupables, quel crime pouvez-vous reprocher à la multitude du peuple ? Nous désirons tous sacrifier notre humble corps pour sauver ceux qui sont voués à la mort."

Le roi leur dit : " Vous croyez à la loi du *Bouddha* ; vous avez une haute estime pour le bonheur de l'autre monde ; vous vous imaginez que vous obtiendrez le fruit (de *Bôdhi*), et vous répandez au loin l'explication du *Pen-sing* (du *Djâtakasêna*).[1] Voulez-vous, par hazard, transmettre le souvenir de mes crimes aux générations futures ? Retournez à votre place, et ne me parlez plus de rien."

Là-dessus le roi emmena 300,000 hommes des premières familles, et les fit massacrer sur le rivage du fleuve *Sin-tou* (Sindh-Indus) ; 300,000 hommes des familles de la seconde classe, et les fit noyer dans les flôts du *Sindh* ; et enfin, 300,000 hommes des dernières familles et les distribua à ses soldats. Cela fait, il emporta les richesses du royaume qu'il avait perdu, rassembla ses troupes et partit ; mais il mourut avant de recommencer une nouvelle année. Au moment de sa mort, le ciel se couvrit de sombres nuages ; la terre trembla jusque dans ses fondements, et des vents violents ébranlèrent les airs. Dans le même temps, les hommes qui avaient obtenu le fruit (de *Bôdhi*) furent saisi d'un sentiment de pitié, et dirent, en soupirant : " Il a immolé, au mépris de la justice, une foule d'innocents ; il a détruit la loi du *Bouddha* ; il est tombé dans l'enfer éternel (*Wou-kien-yo*—en Sanscrit, *Avîtchi*) ; il n'a pas encore parcouru le cercle des transmigrations.

Dans l'ancienne ville de *Che-kie-lo* (*Câkala*) il y a un *Kia-lan* (Sañghârâma) où demeurent une centaine de religieux qui étudient tous la loi du petit Véhicule (Hînayâna). Jadis *Chi-thsin* (*Vasoubandhou*) composa dans ce couvent son traité intitulé *Ching-i-ti-lun* (Paramârthasatya çâstra).

A côté, s'élève un *Stoûpa*, haut de 200 pieds ; c'est là que les

[1] Le livre où sont racontées les naissances du *Bouddha*.

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quatre *Bouddhas* passés ont expliqué la loi. On y voit aussi un endroit où ces quatre *Bouddhas* ont laissé la trace de leurs pas.

A cinq ou six lis au nord du *Kia-lan* il y a un *Stoûpa*, haut de 200 pieds, qui fut bâti par le Roi *Wou-yeou* (Açôka). C'est un lieu où les quatre *Bouddhas* passés ont expliqué la loi.

A environ dix lis du nord-est de la nouvelle capitale, on arrive à un *Stoûpa*, haut de 200 pieds, qui fut bâti par le roi *Wou-yeou* (Açoka). Ce fut là que *Joulaï*, (le Tathâgatha) s'arrêta au milieu de sa route, lorsqu'il allait convertir l'Inde du Nord.

On lit dans *l'In-tou-ki* (Mémoires historiques sur l'Inde) : " Dans ce *Stoûpa*, il y a beaucoup de *Che-li* (Çarîras, Reliques) qui, dans les jours de fête,[1] répandent quelquefois une lumière éclatante.

En partant de cet endroit, il fit 500 lis, et arriva au royaume de *Tchi-na-po-ti* (Tchînapati).[2]

[1] Littéralement : Jour de jeûne.
[2] Inde du Nord.

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ART. XX.—*On the Authorities for the History of the Dominion of the Arabs in Spain. By* WILLIAM WRIGHT, ESQ., *Professor of Arabic in the University of Dublin.*

[*Read 7th July*, 1855.]

NONE of the Spanish historians who lived before the present century possessed even the slightest knowledge of the Arabic language, and even they stumbled at every step when they had to treat of the Muhammadan dynasties, and their hostile or friendly relations with the Christians. Casiri alone, in his catalogue of the MSS. in the library of the Escurial, edited and translated some extracts from Arab authors; and this was all that had been done down to 1820, when the first volume of Conde's History appeared, and the world imagined that the light of this newly-risen sun was at length, in a great measure, to dissipate the darkness that had for ages enveloped the doings of the Arab and the Berber on the soil of Spain.

Previous to Conde, however, a Jesuit, by name Masdeu, had published a so-called critical history in twenty volumes, the principal aim of which was to prove that a great many of the documents, in the authenticity of which his predecessors had placed implicit confidence, were either spurious, or had been tampered with, and must be rejected by the sound critic.

These two men are the guides that have been followed by all the subsequent historians of this interesting period of Spanish history—such as Aschbach, Romey, Rosseeuw Saint Hilaire, Schaefer, and Viardot—who have compared the statements of Conde, purporting to be drawn from Muhammadan sources, with the results attained by other Spanish writers from the study of Christian chronicles and state-papers; and have thence constructed, with a due regard to the criticisms of Masdeu, what they consider to be a tolerably accurate sketch of the history of the Peninsula during the middle ages. All of them, of course, vie with one another in lauding their two principal authorities. Aschbach pronounces the work of Masdeu to be the best on Spanish history; Romey styles Conde a master of his subject, in which judgment a recent translator of Conde's history for Mr. Bohn's Standard Library concurs. It is necessary, however, for translators to qualify themselves properly for the task they undertake; and to translate a work is not now-a-days exactly synonymous with giving a

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bald version of the original. If Conde's book was to be rendered into our language at all, it should have been by a competent Arabic scholar who was at the same time well acquainted with what has of late years been written in connection with the subject. A knowledge of Arabic, however, was scarcely to be expected from a lady translator, by whom Mr. Bohn's publication has been executed,[1] and I am not, therefore, surprised to see that the names of persons and places have retained their Spanish garb, and that not the slightest attempt has been made to correct the innumerable blunders which Conde perpetrates; whence we find *Hixem* instead of Hishém or Hishám, *Juzef Ben Taxfin* instead of Yúsuf ibn Táshfín, or more correctly Táshifín, *Mugueiz El Rumi* for Mughíth al-Rúmí or ar-Rúmí, *Abdelxiams* for Abd al-Shams or Ash-Shams, *El Adaghel* for al-Dákhil or ad-Dákhil, *Mugehid Edim* for Mujéhid (Mujáhid) al-dín or ad-dín. It might have been expected, however, that the translator would have acquired some knowledge of the historical researches of the last twenty years, in particular of Dozy's *Recherches*, of which the first volume (all hitherto published) appeared so long ago as 1849, and which at once antiquated the labours of all previous historians of the Muslim rule in Spain. This able work, which ought long ago to have been translated into our language, seems not to have attracted that notice in this country to which it is entitled, and I may therefore be excused for laying some account of it, even at this late period, before the Royal Asiatic Society.

In a letter to the well-known French orientalists, Reinaud and Defrémery, which serves as a preface, Dozy shows that everything that had been written, down to 1849, upon the history of the Spanish Arabs, ought to be regarded "comme non avenu," or at least submitted to the revision of the keenest and most searching criticism.

[1] Hence also it is not surprising that the annotations which profess to explain native terms should be frequently erroneous. Thus in vol. I., p. 15, the name *Beni-Alaftas* is rendered "sons of Alafta." The Beni-Alaftas (or rather Banú 'l-Aftas), however, are "the sons of al-Aftas," الأفطس. Another note (vol. I., p. 63) runs as follows: "As the Arabs were in the frequent habit of adding the word Medena (read *Madínah*), "City," to the name of each town, so did they prefix the word Guard, "River," to that of each river. Thence we have Guard-alete, Guard-iana, Guard el Quiber, &c., of which the moderns make Guadal-quiver, Guadiana, &c." Not a word of this is correct. The Arabic word for "river" is *wádí*, vulgarly pronounced *wád*, which the Spaniards write *guad*. Hence *wádí Lekeh*, Guadalete; *wádí Anah*, Guadiana; *al-wádí 'l-kabír* or *wád al-kabír*, Guadalquivír (not Guadalquíver); *wádí Aruh*, Guadiaro; *wádí Shúsh*, Guadajoz; &c.

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Of what avail are the objections of Masdeu and other historians, when the authenticity of the document which they call in question, is directly or indirectly proved by the evidence of trustworthy Arab authors? "As for Conde," says Dozy, "he worked upon Arabic documents without knowing much more of that language than the characters with which it is written; but making up by an extremely fertile imagination for the want of the most elementary knowledge, he has, with unparalleled impudence, forged dates by the hundred, and invented facts by the thousand, pretending all the while to translate literally from Arabic texts."[1] Evidence in support of these assertions Dozy has brought forward in abundance, and I shall here produce two or three examples of the extraordinary blunders that he has brought to light.

In treating of the reign of Al-Murtadhá (not Almortadi), Engl. tr., II., p. 97, Conde and those who have copied him have a great deal to say of one *Gilfeya* (Engl. tr., II., pp. 96-7-8), who plays an important part along with Záwí ibn Zairí al-Mançúr al-Çinhégí الصنهاجي (El Sanhagi, Engl. tr. II., p. 102), the governor of Granada. This personage Conde found in the History of Roderick of Toledo, in different editions of which the name is variously written *Silfeia* or *Silfeya*, *Gilfeya*, and *Gidfeia* or *Gidfeya*; and not having the wit to perceive that *Silfeia* or *Silfeja* was merely a corruption of *Sinfeja* or *Sinheja*, i.e. al-Çinhéji,[2] he split one man into two, and assigned a career in history to a person who never existed at all! In fact Dozy shows us that nearly all that Conde tells us of this period does not admit of being reconciled with the statements of Arab authors, such as Ibn

[1] "If faut avouer," adds Dozy (Pref. p. viii), "que Conde avait pris ses mesures pour que l'on ne découvrit pas facilement ses impostures. Il les a caché sous un caquetage de faux bonhomme. Il s'est borné à mentionner les manuscrits dont il s'est servi dans sa préface; encore faut-il avouer que ce qu'il y dit n'est pas exact; il prétend par exemple que, pour l'histoire des petites dynasties du onzième siècle, il s'est servi surtout d'Ibn-Baschkowál (Eng. tr., vol. I., p. 24). Nous connaissons ce livre, vous et moi, car il est dans la bibliothèque de la Société Asiatique, et nous savons que ce Dictionnaire biographique, écrit dans le style d'un régistre de paroisse, contient des renseignements utiles pour l'histoire littéraire, mais que, pour l'histoire politique, il n'est presque d'aucune utilité. Il fallait donc posséder tous les ouvrages manuscrits dont Conde a pu se servir; heureusement j'ai eu tous ceux qui se rapportent aux époques dont je me suis occupé."

[2] Compare *Alfayate* = الخيّاط, *Alforja* = الخُرْج, *Alfox* = الحَوْز, Portug. *refem* = رهن, &c.

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Hazm, and is little else than an inaccurate and garbled translation of Roderick of Toledo, chap. 42. See the *Recherches*, p. 32, seqq.

But even when Conde really had an Arab author before him, he fared no better. At p. 53, Dozy has printed ten lines from Ibn al-Abbár's *al-Hullatu 'l-siyará*, in his amplified version of which (Engl. tr. II., p. 149) Conde has committed no less than ten serious blunders, not to mention minor faults.

Again in the chap. entitled "Un relieur maladroit et les Historiens de l'Espagne," the Leyden Professor has pointed out a whole host of errors that owe their origin simply to the fact that some leaves in a MS. used by Casiri and Conde had been misplaced in binding. From not noticing this, Conde has been led into the statement that a certain lawyer, by name Ayyúb ibn Amr (not Amer), concluded a treaty of peace with King Beremund II. (Engl. tr. II., p. 29), whereas, for what we can tell, he perhaps never meddled with diplomacy in all his life; and that this same lawyer fell fighting against the Christians in the neighbourhood of Lerida, A.H. 393, (Engl. tr. II., p. 47,) whereas the man died in his bed five years afterwards at Cordova!

In the same chapter we have a fine specimen of Conde's method of translating from the Arabic. Ibn al-Abbár, in speaking of Abd-alláh ibn Abd-al-azíz, surnamed from his stinginess *Al-hajar* or *Piedra seca*, "the dry stone," states that:

كان علي مقدّمة المنصور محمد بن ابي عامر في غزاته الي جلّيقية بعد منصرفه من مقتل غالب بالثغر في اول المحرم سنة ٣٧١ ومعه خيل طليطلة وطبقات الاجناد وجميع الرَّجل وفيها حصر سمورة واشتنعت (وامتنعت Dozy corrects) عليه قصبتّها وعمّ بالتدمير كثيرا من نواحيها ومنها جهة دمّر فيها نحو الف قرية معروفة الاسماء كثيرة البِيَع والديارات

that is to say, that Piedra seca commanded the vanguard of the army of Al-Mançúr ibn Abí Ámir in an expedition into Galicia in the year 371, and laid siege to Zamora, but being unable to take the town, contented himself with ravaging the surrounding country, and laid waste in one direction about a thousand villages. Conde, who in his haste saw nothing but the words بالتدمير *bi't-tadmír* and نحو الف قرية

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confounded the former, which means "devastating, ravaging," with تدمير *Tudmír*, the Arabic name for Murcia, and hence we read (Engl. tr., vol. I., p. 503) that Piedra seca was a cavalier of great wealth, who possessed upwards of a thousand farms in the province of Murcia!

Such are a few specimens of the blunders that disfigure every page of Conde's History; to use the emphatic words of Dozy, it is little else than "un tissu de malentendus et de mensonges." No amount of labour can clean out this Augæan stable; the book should be burnt in all its editions and translations.

But granted that the labours of Conde are worthless, does not de Gayangos' *History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain* efficiently supply their place? The answer must be in the negative. Dozy has produced abundant evidence, both in his *Recherches* and in his *Scriptorum Arabum Loci de Abbadidis*, that the work of de Gayangos contains numerous errors, many of them of a very grave cast. True it is that we also find there much interesting and valuable matter; but still there are entire periods regarding which we obtain from it but vague and scanty information, and those historians of Spain who, unhappily for themselves, are ignorant of Arabic, have found that it only furnishes them with the means of here and there correcting Conde.

Fortunately a better day has begun to dawn; the publication of the first volume of Dozy's *Recherches* marks the commencement of a new epoch. Profoundly versed in Arabic, and thoroughly acquainted with the language and literature of Southern and Western Europe, no one is better qualified for the task that he has undertaken, and to which he has devoted all his energies from the time of his first appearance before the literary world. To him we owe, amongst other things, the publication of the Arab historians *Abd al-Wáhid* and *Ibn Adhárí*;[1] whilst in his *Scriptt. Arabb. Loci de Abbadidis*, he has collected, translated, and annotated, I believe, every passage in the extant literature of the Arabs that bears upon the royal line of the Banú Abbád of Seville. These works, however, are addressed solely to the Orientalist, and it was not till 1849 that he made some of the results which he had attained accessible to a larger circle of readers by the publication of the first volume of his *Recherches*.

To give a minute analysis of this work would be by no means a

[1] To his edition of this latter author Dozy has prefixed a valuable Introduction, treating of the Arab historians of Spain.

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brief or easy task, since it consists of no less than nine papers, besides the introductory letter; and these have no connecting link, save that they nearly all treat of the history of various portions of the Peninsula at different periods of the eleventh century. I must, therefore, content myself with giving a mere outline of its contents.

The first chapter (pp. 1–139) is occupied with the history of several of the smaller Arab dynasties; the Tujíbiyyún التجيبيون of Aragon, the Banú Háshim of Zaragoza, and the Banú Çumádih صمادح of Almeria. One must not suppose this article to be a dry list of names and chronicle of rebellions and battles. On the contrary, we find in several passages amusing and instructive details regarding the manners, customs, and pursuits of the Spanish Arabs. In particular, the sketch of the state of literature and the arts in the principality of Almeria is drawn with a masterly hand, and brings vividly before us the broad contrast in character between the Murcians of the present day and those of seven or eight centuries ago. "Au lieu de ces Murciens d'aujourd'hui, qui se couchent tôt et se lèvent tard, qui font par jour cinq repas très-exactement et qui emploient une grande partie de la journée à fumer le *cigarro*, les habitants Arabes de cette cité étaient, au rapport d'as-Schakandí, des hommes très-courageux et qui bravaient bien souvent leurs souverains. A présent Murcie reçoit du dehors presque tous les fruits qu'on y consomme, et même le blé dans les années de sécheresse; sous les Arabes, aucun pays ne pouvait rivaliser avec Murcie pour la quantité et la variété des fruits, et on n'avait pas besoin d'emprunter quoi que ce fût aux autres villes. Encore aujourd'hui on fabrique à Murcie quelques soieries légères, mais d'une qualité inférieure; sous les Arabes, cette ville renfermait quantité de fabriques, et on y travaillait entre autres la précieuse étoffe connue sous le nom de *waschj*." (وشي).

The second chapter (pp. 140–44) briefly handles some other points in the history of Murcia.

The third, entitled *Varia* (pp. 145–50), is chiefly taken up with showing that the colour worn as mourning by the house of Umayyah أمية in Spain, was *white*.

The next chapter (pp. 151–237) is the first part of a very minute critical examination of Hoogvliet's work, entitled *Diversorum Scriptorum Loci de Regia Aphtasidarum familia et de Ibn-Abduno poeta.*

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Various errors and misstatements of that Orientalist are corrected; many important extracts from Arab authors, published and translated for the first time; and several points of history and geography discussed and elucidated. See, in particular, pp. 182–93, 195 note 1, 203 seqq.

Chapter V. (pp. 238–68) is numismatical, and principally occupied with certain coins which Dozy assigns to Muhammad al-Mahdi al-Idrísí, King of Malaga, A.H. 438–44, in opposition to Adler, Tychsen and Marsden, who have ascribed them to his namesake, Muhammad al-Mahdí of Cordova, A.H. 399–400, of whose brief reign and bloody end the history is here given. At p. 263 another mistake of Marsden's is corrected, and the Arab historians are shown by the evidence of a coin to be correct in asserting that Sír سير ibn-Alí ibn-Yúsuf ibn-Táshifín, bore previously to his death the title of *Waliyyu 'l-ahd*, or heir-apparent.[1] In a note on p. 245, Dozy demolishes the city of *Citawa*, which has figured in the history of Spain since the days of Conde (Engl. tr., Vol. II., p. 71), and substitutes in its place the well-known town of Xativa شاطبة or San Felipe.

Of chapter VI., "Un relieur maladroit et les Historiens de l'Espagne" (pp. 269–81), I have already spoken above.

The next chapter (pp. 282–307) is a very interesting notice of the family of the Bakriyyún البَكْريون lords of Huelva, and in particular of the celebrated geographer Abú Ubaid al-Bakrí, the author of the المَسالك والمَمالك and the مُعْجَم ماستعجم.

Chapter VIII. (pp. 308–19) contains a brief sketch of the history of Valencia from A.C. 1061 to 1084, designed as introductory to the following chapter, the longest, and probably to the generality of readers the most interesting, in the volume: "Le Cid—textes et résultats nouveaux."

Rodrigo Diaz de Bivar, the Cid Campeador, the brave warrior, the sainted Christian, the favorite hero of the most chivalrous nation in Europe—who was he? and what did he do to merit his great reputation? Is the Cid of the ballads, the romances, and the dramas, the Cid of history? or is he only a magnificent creation of the poetic

[1] P. 264, note 1, I read وتَبَنَّتْه "adopted him as her son," for the corrupt وتبنه of the MS.

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mind? Such are the questions that have occupied the historians of Europe from the very infancy of historical criticism; and whilst all have concurred in declaring certain incidents in his history to be unworthy of belief, that destructive iconoclast, Masdeu, has gone so far as to assert that we know nothing for certain about the Cid, not even the bare fact of his existence!

Before attempting a reply to these interrogatories, Dozy shortly reviews (p. 321 seqq.) the sources of information accessible up to the time when he was writing; a review which leads to the farther questions: Is there any truth in that part of the *Cronica General* which treats of the Cid? In the chronicle that bears his name, (*Cronica del Cid?*) In the *Gesta de Roderici Campidocti*, first published by Risco in 1792? In the *Cronica rimada?* the *Poema del Cid* (or, as Dozy calls it, the *Chanson du Cid*)? and the long list of romances of which he is the hero?

To pave the way for the discussion of these topics, Dozy first presents to his readers the new document of which he was the fortunate discoverer. Whilst residing at Gotha, in 1844, he took the opportunity of examining the Arabic MS. No. 266, described in Möller's Catalogue as a fragment of the history of Spain by al-Makkarí. This description he at once saw to be erroneous, and soon perceived that the said MS. was the first part of the third volume of the *Dhakhírah* of Ibn-Bassám, a work composed at Sevillo A.H. 503 (A.C. 1109), only ten years after the death of the Cid, and that it actually contained a long and important passage regarding that personage. This Dozy gives in text and translation (p. 330–62). The whole narrative is extremely curious, and rests in part on the testimony of one who had himself seen the Cid at Valencia. From it it appears that Rodrigo was at one time in the service of the Banú Húd هود, kings of Zaragoza, and that Ahmad ibn-Yúsuf ibn-Húd al-Musta'ín employed him in his struggle with Yúsuf ibn-Táshifín. On this occasion the Cid laid siege to Valencia, which capitulated after a protracted and desperate resistance; but the ruthless Campeador violated the conditions of surrender, and wound up a long list of atrocities by burning alive the kádhí Abú Ahmad ibn Jahháf, and several other influential citizens.[1] "La victoire," adds Ibn Bassám, "la victoire suivait

[1] See the Engl. tr. of Conde, vol. II., p. 317 seqq. Mrs. Foster is pleased to add, in a note, that "there is much reason for hoping that the frightful action here attributed to the Cid Campeador has but little foundation in truth." It is, however, about as well established as any fact in the history of those times.

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toujours la bannière de Rodrigue (que Dieu le maudisse !); il triompha des princes des Barbares; à différentes reprises il combattit leurs chefs, tels que Garcia surnommé par dérision, la bouche tortue, le comte de Barcelone, et le fils de Ramire; alors il mit en fuite leurs armées et tua avec son petit nombre de guerriers, leurs nombreux soldats."

Dozy next translates several shorter passages from other authors, in which the Cid is spoken of, and corrects many grave errors committed by Conde and de Gayangos, after which he proceeds to examine the Latin and Spanish works that bear upon the subject.

The earliest of these is the *Cronica General* of Alfonso X, surnamed el Sabio, compiled during the latter half of the thirteenth century, from works of older date, Christian and Muhammadan, grave histories, poems, and historical romances. The history of the Cid fills more than the half of the fourth and last part of this chronicle, and some critics have imagined it to be the production of a different pen, but Dozy shews that there can be no doubt that the whole is by one and the same hand, with the exception of the history of Valencia, which is a translation from an Arab author (as Dozy supposes, Abú Ja'far al-Battí, the same who perished in the flames along with the kádhí Ibn-Jahháf.) For the evidence—ingenious and decisive—I must refer my readers to the *Recherches*, p. 394 seqq.[1] The probable reasons that induced Alfonso to insert this narrative in his chronicle are given at p. 412.

In the Cronica del Cid, Dozy sees nothing but "la partie correspondante de la *Cronica General*, retouchée et refondue arbitrairement par quelque ignorant du XVe, ou tout au plus de la fin du XIVe siècle, probablement par un moine de Saint-Pierre de Cardègne, puis retouchée et refondue aussi arbitrairement, au commencement du XVIe, par l'éditeur Juan de Velorado."

We next come (p. 413) to the *Gesta de Roderici Compidocti*, the authenticity of which has been fiercely assailed by Masdeu, who, however, is in his turn roughly handled by the Leyden Professor. Dozy's opinion of the degree of confidence to be placed in it may be best given in his own words. "Je ne considère donc pas comme exacts tous les détails qui se trouvent dans les *Gesta;* je crois que ce livre ne mérite pas la confiance illimitée que lui a accordée la droite,

[1] I may be permitted to remark that the word أخفي (p. 394, l. 24) is an error, perhaps of the press, for أطفي.

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représentée par Risco et M. Huber. Mais je me range moins encore à l'opinion de la gauche, celle de Masdeu et de ses disciples, qui rejettent ce livre comme apocryphe. Selon moi, la vérité se trouve entre ces deux extrêmes; dans le cas présent, il ne faut être ni de la droite ni de la gauche, mais du centre, ou plutôt du centre droit." At p. 415 there is an interesting disquisition on the origin of the title el Campeador, in Arabic الكنبيطور, which Dozy derives from the old German *champh*, "duellum, pugna," (whence the modern German *Kampf*, a battle,) and shows to be equivalent in meaning to the Arabic *barraz* برّاز or *mubáriz* مبارز, that is to say, "a knight who issued forth from the ranks when drawn up in battle-array, and challenged one of the enemy to single combat in the space between the two armies."

Having thus considered the various sources whence the biography of the Cid is to be compiled, Dozy proceeds in the seventh section of this chapter (pp. 445–604) to give a minute account of the life of that warrior, interspersed with disquisitions upon sundry doubtful points of history, his principal object being, however, to clear up all that is obscure in the narrative of the *Cronica General* and the *Gesta*. Here we find established, for the first time, the identity of Alvar Fañez, who appears in the romances as the constant companion of the Cid, with the البرهانس *Albar-hanis* of the Arab historians.

The next section is occupied with the investigation of the date of the *Cronica rinada*, and the *Poema del Cid*. Of the former of these works the author says: "Selon moi, il a été composé, vers la fin du XIIe ou au commencement du XIIIe siècle, d'après les traditions et les chansons populaires. Je crois que l'auteur a conservé quelques-unes de ces dernières sans y apporter aucun changement, et dans le fragment qui nous reste, j'ai cru reconnaître un chant guerrier et deux romances." Of the latter but one manuscript is known to exist, written in 1207, and Dozy believes that the work itself is not of much older date. I should mention that in a note to p. 645, there is a curious discussion on the derivation of the words غنباز, *gambax*, *gambais*, *wambuis*.

In conclusion, Dozy points out the probable causes that raised the Cid above all his brethren in arms in the estimation of after generations, and made him the favorite hero of the Castillan poets. "Etre exilé, combattre son roi, le tromper! Mais il fallait précisement cela

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pour devenir le héros de la poésie Castillane. Outre le cycle Carlovingien et celui des Infants de Lara, la poésie Castillane en avait trois autres: de Bernard del Carpio, de Fernand Gonzalez et du Cid. Ces trois derniers portent tous le même caractère, le héros qu'ils peignent brave son roi, il est rebelle."

Such is a brief outline of the first volume of the *Recherches*, the most important work on the Arab period of Spanish history that has yet been given to the world. The second volume is, I am happy to say, in the course of preparation, and will probably appear at the same time with the author's history of Spain, under the domination of the Arabs, of which a considerable portion is, I believe, now ready in MS.

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Art. XXI. — *Buddhist Inscription of King Priyadarsí— Translation and Observations by* Professor Wilson, *President.*

When laying before the Society the results of my examination of the Girnár, Dhauli and Kapur di giri inscriptions of Raja Priyadarsí I expressed an opinion, that, although the tenor of the inscriptions was not incompatible with a leaning to the religion of Buddha, yet the total absence of any positive indication of the usual epithets of Buddha, or any reference to the peculiarities of the Buddhist system, left some uncertainty with regard to the actual creed of the Raja, and his intimate connection with the followers of Buddha.

I was not unaware that at that time a monument existed, which, if it was worthy of credit, was calculated to remove all doubt on the subject, and that the name of Priyadarsí was to be found in connection with that of Buddha in an ancient inscription, the text of which, as well as a translation, had been published in the ninth volume of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal; but I found such reason to question the accuracy of the translation, and so much difficulty in suggesting anything more satisfactory, that I hesitated to admit the fidelity of the transcript, and waited till further investigation should justify or correct the reading of the original. This has now been done, and although the text is not without its difficulties, yet there is enough sufficiently indisputable to establish the fact that Priyadarsí, whoever he may have been, was a follower of Buddha.

The inscription I refer to was found by Major Burt, upon a block of granite, about two feet in length and breadth, lying adjacent to a place named Bairath, six kos east of Bhabra, three marches north-east of Jaypur. A copy from a fac-simile was sent by him in August, 1840, to the Asiatic Society of Calcutta, where, with the assistance of the Pundit Kamala Kanta, the text was printed with a translation by the late Major Kittoe, by whose talents, activity, and zeal the antiquities of India have been on many occasions successfully illustrated. In the present instance, although some of the leading topics of the inscription admitted of little doubt, yet many of the terms were so unfamiliar, and the identifications of the Pundit so very unsatisfactory, that no reliance could be placed upon the translation, and it was obviously necessary to await some further verification of the oriingal,

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especially as the stone itself had been sent to Calcutta, and deposited with the Society.

In the meantime, however, the return of Major Burt to this country has furnished us with the means of verifying the reading of the original inscription, by the communication of the fac-simile taken by him; of his own corrected transcript; and its Nágarí representative. The fac-simile is here lithographed, the Nágarí reading is subjoined: unfortunately, the fac-simile is somewhat the worse for wear, and besides the imperfections of the stone itself, there are some deficiencies, which, however, may be filled up from the transcript made by Major Burt before the document was damaged: the passages from the original transcript are given in double outline in the lithograph. The stone itself is in the possession of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Major Burt's Nágarí rendering is as follows:

1. पियदसि लाजा मागधे संघं अभिवादे (वा) नं आहा अपाबाधतं च फिसु विहालतं चा

2. विदितेवे भंते आवतकेहा मा बुधसि धंमसि संघसीतिं गालवे चां पसादे च एकेचि भंते

3. भगवता बुधेन भासिते सवेसे सुभासिते वा एचु खा भंते पामियाये दिसेया हेवं सधंमे

4. चिले (वा) ती के हामतीति अलहामि हकां तंवातवे इमानि भंते धंमपलियायानि विनयसमुकसे

5. अलियवसाणि अनागतभयानि मुनिगाथा मोनेयसुते उपतिसपसिने एचा लाघुलो

6. वादे मुसावा (?) अधिगिच्य भगवता बुधेन भासिते एतानि भंते धंम पलियायानि इच्छामि

7. कितिबहुके भिखपाये चा भिखांनिये चा अभिखिनं सुनयुचा उपधालेयेयु चा

8. हेवं मेवा उपासका चा उपासोका चा एतेनि भंते इमं लिखाधेयामि अभिहेतिमेजा उतंति

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ﻣﺎ ﻳﺘﻌﻠﻖ ﺑﺎﻟﺘﺮﺑﻴﺔ ﻭﺍﻟﺘﻌﻠﻴﻢ ﻭﺍﻟﺘﺪﺭﻳﺐ ﻭﺍﻟﺘﺄﻫﻴﻞ ﻭﺍﻟﺘﻮﺟﻴﻪ ﻭﺍﻟﺘﻨﻤﻴﺔ ﻭﺍﻟﺘﻄﻮﻳﺮ ﻭﺍﻟﺒﺤﺚ ﺍﻟﻌﻠﻤﻲ ﻭﺍﻟﺘﻘﻨﻲ ﻭﺍﻟﺘﻌﺎﻭﻥ ﻓﻲ ﻫﺬﻩ ﺍﻟﻤﺠﺎﻻﺕ ﻣﻊ ﺍﻟﺠﻬﺎﺕ ﺍﻟﻤﻌﻨﻴﺔ ﻓﻲ ﺍﻟﺪﻭﻟﺔ ﻭﺧﺎﺭﺟﻬﺎ ﻭﻓﻖ ﺍﻟﺴﻴﺎﺳﺔ ﺍﻟﻌﺎﻣﺔ ﻟﻠﺪﻭﻟﺔ ﻭﺍﻟﺘﺸﺮﻳﻌﺎﺕ ﺍﻟﻨﺎﻓﺬﺓ ﻭﺍﻟﻤﺘﻄﻠﺒﺎﺕ ﺍﻟﻮﻃﻨﻴﺔ ﻭﺍﻟﺪﻭﻟﻴﺔ ﻭﺍﻟﻤﻌﺎﻳﻴﺮ ﺍﻟﻤﻌﺘﻤﺪﺓ ﻓﻲ ﻫﺬﺍ ﺍﻟﺸﺄﻥ

ﻭﻳﺘﻮﻟﻰ ﺍﻟﻤﺠﻠﺲ ﻓﻲ ﺳﺒﻴﻞ ﺗﺤﻘﻴﻖ ﺍﻟﻐﺮﺽ ﻣﻦ ﺇﻧﺸﺎﺋﻪ ﺍﻟﻘﻴﺎﻡ ﺑﺎﻟﻤﻬﺎﻡ ﺍﻟﺘﺎﻟﻴﺔ :

١ - ﺍﻗﺘﺮﺍﺡ ﺍﻟﺴﻴﺎﺳﺎﺕ ﻭﺍﻟﺨﻄﻂ ﻭﺍﻟﺒﺮﺍﻣﺞ ﺍﻟﻌﺎﻣﺔ ﻟﻠﺘﺮﺑﻴﺔ ﻭﺍﻟﺘﻌﻠﻴﻢ ﻭﺍﻟﺘﺪﺭﻳﺐ ﻭﺍﻟﺘﺄﻫﻴﻞ ﻭﺍﻟﺘﻮﺟﻴﻪ ﻭﺍﻟﺘﻨﻤﻴﺔ ﻭﺍﻟﺘﻄﻮﻳﺮ ﻭﺍﻟﺒﺤﺚ ﺍﻟﻌﻠﻤﻲ ﻭﺍﻟﺘﻘﻨﻲ ﻭﺍﻟﺘﻌﺎﻭﻥ ﻓﻲ ﻫﺬﻩ ﺍﻟﻤﺠﺎﻻﺕ ﻣﻊ ﺍﻟﺠﻬﺎﺕ ﺍﻟﻤﻌﻨﻴﺔ ﻓﻲ ﺍﻟﺪﻭﻟﺔ ﻭﺧﺎﺭﺟﻬﺎ ﻭﻓﻖ ﺍﻟﺴﻴﺎﺳﺔ ﺍﻟﻌﺎﻣﺔ ﻟﻠﺪﻭﻟﺔ ﻭﺍﻟﺘﺸﺮﻳﻌﺎﺕ ﺍﻟﻨﺎﻓﺬﺓ ﻭﺍﻟﻤﺘﻄﻠﺒﺎﺕ ﺍﻟﻮﻃﻨﻴﺔ ﻭﺍﻟﺪﻭﻟﻴﺔ ﻭﺍﻟﻤﻌﺎﻳﻴﺮ ﺍﻟﻤﻌﺘﻤﺪﺓ ﻓﻲ ﻫﺬﺍ ﺍﻟﺸﺄﻥ

٢ - ﺍﻗﺘﺮﺍﺡ ﺍﻟﺴﻴﺎﺳﺎﺕ ﻭﺍﻟﺨﻄﻂ ﻭﺍﻟﺒﺮﺍﻣﺞ ﺍﻟﻌﺎﻣﺔ ﻟﻠﺘﺮﺑﻴﺔ ﻭﺍﻟﺘﻌﻠﻴﻢ ﻭﺍﻟﺘﺪﺭﻳﺐ ﻭﺍﻟﺘﺄﻫﻴﻞ ﻭﺍﻟﺘﻮﺟﻴﻪ ﻭﺍﻟﺘﻨﻤﻴﺔ ﻭﺍﻟﺘﻄﻮﻳﺮ ﻭﺍﻟﺒﺤﺚ ﺍﻟﻌﻠﻤﻲ ﻭﺍﻟﺘﻘﻨﻲ ﻭﺍﻟﺘﻌﺎﻭﻥ ﻓﻲ ﻫﺬﻩ ﺍﻟﻤﺠﺎﻻﺕ ﻣﻊ ﺍﻟﺠﻬﺎﺕ ﺍﻟﻤﻌﻨﻴﺔ ﻓﻲ ﺍﻟﺪﻭﻟﺔ ﻭﺧﺎﺭﺟﻬﺎ ﻭﻓﻖ ﺍﻟﺴﻴﺎﺳﺔ ﺍﻟﻌﺎﻣﺔ ﻟﻠﺪﻭﻟﺔ ﻭﺍﻟﺘﺸﺮﻳﻌﺎﺕ ﺍﻟﻨﺎﻓﺬﺓ ﻭﺍﻟﻤﺘﻄﻠﺒﺎﺕ ﺍﻟﻮﻃﻨﻴﺔ ﻭﺍﻟﺪﻭﻟﻴﺔ ﻭﺍﻟﻤﻌﺎﻳﻴﺮ ﺍﻟﻤﻌﺘﻤﺪﺓ ﻓﻲ ﻫﺬﺍ ﺍﻟﺸﺄﻥ

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1. Piyadasi lá (já) Mágadhen sangham abhiváde (vá) nam áhá apábádhatam cha phisu vihálatam chá

2. Viditeve bhante ávatakehá má budhasi dhammasi sanghasítin gálave chám pasáde cha ekechi bhante

3. Bhagavatá Budhena bhásite savese subhásite vá echu khá bhante pámiyáye diseyá hevam sadhamme

4. Chile (vá) tí ke hásatíti alahámi hakám tamvátave imáni bhante dhamma paliyáyáni vinayasamukase

5. Aliyavasáñi anágatabhayáni munigáthá moneyasute upatisapasine echá lághulo

6. Váde musává (?) adhigichya bhagavatá budhena bhásite etáni bhante dhamma paliyáyáni ichchámi

7. Kitibahuke bhikhapá ye chá bhikhánni ye chá abhikhinam sunayu chá upadhálayeyu chá

8. Hevam mevá upásaká chá upásoká chá eteni bhante imam likhádhaiyámi abhihetimejá utantí.

My own transcript from the fac-simile differs in some respects from the preceding: the differences are not in general very material, and may in part arise from the difficulty of discriminating between dots and vowel marks and flaws or imperfections in the stone, and in part from corrections obviously required—thus, *chá*, with the long final vowel, is either a dialectical peculiarity or an inaccuracy for *cha* with a short final, as it sometimes appears in the original.

1. Piyadasi lá (já) mágadhe sangham abhiváde (má) nam áha apabádhatam cha pisu vihálatam cha

2. viditeva bhante ávatake ha má budhasi dhammasi sanghasíti golave cham (?) pasáde cha ekechi bhante

3. Bhagavatá Budhena bhásite save se subhásite vá echu kho bhante pámiyáye diseyá hevam sadhamme

4. Chila (va) tí ke hosatíti alahámi há (ki) tavátáve imáni bhante (dham) ma paliyáyáni vinayasa makase

5. aliyavasáni anágatabhayáni muni gáthá mauneya súte (u) patása pasine echá lághulo

6. váda musává(cha)m adhigachya bhagavatá budhena bhásite etáni bhante dhamma paliyáyáni ichchámi

7. kiti bahuke bhikhapá ye cha bhikhani ye cha abhikhinam sunayu cha upadháleyeyu cha

8. Hevam meva upásaká cha upásiká cha etáni bhante ima(m) likhá (pa) yámi abhi heti maja (nan)titi.

The importance of this inscription has, as might have been

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anticipated, engaged the attention of Professor Lassen (Indische Alterthumskunde, vol. ii., p. 221), and of the late M. Burnouf. The observations of the latter exhibit that careful and cautious spirit, as well as profound knowledge, and patient ingenuity, which characterized that lamented scholar's researches. They are published in the appendix to his translation of the Lotus de la bonne loi, with other valuable dissertations, which have appeared as a posthumous publication. I propose to compare his renderings with those which I would suggest; and, in differing occasionally from his version, I avail myself of his own candid and just remark, that as no one can flatter himself that he can at once arrive at a definitive comprehension of these difficult monuments, so there is no one that may not hope to contribute to their interpretation.

The inscription opens with the name of the prince Priyadarsí, omitting the title, beloved of the gods, which occurs in his other inscriptions; it is followed by the syllable lá, no doubt the first of lájá for rájá, the second syllable being indistinct; the next words are Mágadhe sangham, which M. Burnouf would correct to Mágadham, but the syllable is clearly dhe, and the supposed dot or anuswára may be merely a defect in the stone—the nasal after sangha is indistinct, but it is apparently there; the sense will not be affected—the assembly of or in Magadha. The next term is partially defective, but it should no doubt be abhivádemánam, for abhivádyamánam, salutable respectfully, venerable, an epithet of the sangha or assembly, to whom the raja, áha, speaks.

The words that follow are of less obvious coustruction and import; they appear to be apabádhatam cha pisu vihálatam cha. The Calcutta reading is apabhadatam cha phásu vihala tam cha. Major Burt reads "phisu" for the first member of the last phrase. The vowel is clearly "i," but the consonant is questionable. Kamala Kanta renders these words, with the preceding, "The raja speaks—that the sacrifice of animals is forbidden is well known to you—spare them;" a translation decidedly wrong. M. Burnouf shows that apabádha occurs in Mágadhi texts for alpabádha, little pain, and that phisu has the sense of happiness, ease, and infers that the raja wishes the assembly, peu de peines, et une existence agréable. It is difficult to suggest anything more probable; but the explanation does not carry conviction with it: if we could read pasu for pisu, we might perhaps be allowed to render it more consonantly to Buddhist ideas, and translate the passage, the raja recommends to the assembly the infliction of little pain, and indulgence to animals, pasuviháratám.

The second line begins viditeva, verily it is known, in which all

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agree; but this is followed by a word that frequently occurs in this inscription, of which the use is not familiar—Bhante or Bhamte. Kamala Kanta identifies it with the Sanskrit bhante, but in what sense is not very obvious; thus, viditam eva bhánte, he translates, is well known unto you; ichchuka bhánteh, those who act thus; etáni bhante, hearing these things—manifest inconsistencies and blunders. M. Burnouf renders it throughout by Seigneurs, Sirs, considering it the Prákrit form of the Sanskrit Bhavantah, the plural of the honorific pronoun Bhaván, your honour, your reverence, in which I was at first disposed to concur, but have since had reason to doubt its accuracy. If any authority, which he probably had, is given by M. Burnouf, it has escaped my notice; but in turning over the leaves of a Jaina work (the Parikramana vidhi), which, according to Dr. Stevenson, means the Rules of Confession to a Guru, I found the word Bhante in the section of the Bárah vrata (or Twelve obligations) repeated fourteen times, and in every instance with the pronoun aham —aham bhante—preceding apparently some promise or admission: I declare, I promise, or acknowledge. The book is written in the Mágadhi of the Jainas, mixed with provincial Hindi, and is full of technicalities, which it would require a learned Yati to expound. The purport of each declaration, therefore, I cannot pretend to explain; but there can be little doubt that aham bhante means I say or declare—no doubt from the Sanskrit root *bhan*, to say or speak.[1]

M. Burnouf is also most probably correct in his proposed rendering of yávatake, for ávatake, citing many examples of such

[1] The following is one of the fourteen declarations in the Jain work referred to, and will convey a notion of the language employed:—"Aham bhante apachchhimá maranantiyá sankhaná dhúsaná tasa vayassa ime pancha aïyára payálá tam jahá ihaloga sahassa paüge jíviyá sahassa paüge maraná sahassa paüge káma bhogasahassa paüge mábhanum mujh maranantiya e chyár nánasavisaye dansanasavisaye pancha-anuvayamsavisaye tinnayunavayamsavisaye chattarasisháyayamsavisaye bárah vratám mánhi gyán ke bich man kari vachan kari káya kari jo köi dúshan lagá höi Bítrágjí tumari sákhi gurudebji tumari sákhi kari dúshan lágá höi tassam ichhámi dukkadam." The last words are good Hindi, and may be rendered, "if there should occur any fault of mind, speech, or body in respect of knowledge with regard to the twelve obligations, should such fault occur in your conviction, passionless sage, or in your conviction, spiritual teacher, then I wish or consent (to perform) its difficult (expiation)." In what precedes we have a series of technical terms for which an interpreter is needed. For the only published work of the Jainas, the Kalpa Sutra, we are indebted to the Rev. Dr. Stevenson. According to him, Parikammane, or Parikramana, is going to confess to a Guru; vaya is used for vrata, and aïyára for áchára. Sanskrit equivalents for several of the terms may be readily suggested, but the sense of the special denominations is peculiar to the Jainas.

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elision. The following letter is indistinct, and may be hi, instead of ha; má, may be intended for me, or mama, my: the three next terms, which are very important, as involving the recognition of the whole Buddhist system, are undoubtedly buddhasi dhammasi sanghasi; the locative case of the páli noun, in Buddha—in dharma, or the law—and in the Sangha, or congregation. Kamala Kánta M. Burnouf agree in considering the next word gálave, or possibly golave, for the vowel marks are questionable, as representing gaurava, respect. The following character, cham, is doubtful; but pasáde, for prasáda, favour, is clear enough, and is followed by the conjunction cha, so that the first chá may be nothing more; in this way a probable meaning may be given to the sentence: "It is well known to what extent both my respect and favour (are placed in) Buddha, the law, and the assembly." The Calcutta rendering, "For those of the Buddhist faith such offering is not meet; the offering of upasad is best of all," is simply nonsense.

Much more cannot be said in favour of what follows: "Some there are who kill: that which the supreme Buddha spake at the conclusion of his commandments was well spoken." M. Burnouf has more correctly, "All, Sirs, that was spoken by the divine Buddha was well spoken." There is a flaw in the stone after Bhaga, which may be unexceptionably filled up by va, making, with the following syllable tá, Bhagavatá, a usual epithet of Buddha. E kechi, at the end of line 2, may very probably be read as M. Burnouf proposes, ye kechit, whatsoever things or words, referring to bhásite, but the following, bhante, will mean, I affirm.

Echu kho, M. Burnouf reads, ye cha khalu, what verily; but it were perhaps preferable to read the first, eshu, in those things or words; and for the following pámiyáye diseyá, we may read prameyo drisyate, "capability of proof is to be seen—so the pure law Saddharma will continue for a long time." The commencement of the fourth line is much defaced; but chila, for chira, long, is clear enough; hosatíti is for bhavishyati, will be.

Alahámi hakám is the reading of Major Burt's copy, but the first syllable of the second term appears to be há long, and the vowel of the second is indistinct in the original. M. Burnouf proposes to render the words by arhámi aham, I think it right; hákam being met with in other inscriptions for ahikam. I consider this, however, as far from satisfactory, although I cannot offer anything more so. Tava táve may very probably be for távat távat, so much, to such an extent; perhaps rendering alahámi by arhámi, it might be interpreted, "I am worthy of, or fit for; I expect this to such and such extent;"

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but the passage is doubtful. The Calcutta rendering is altogether absurd, and founded on an erroneous reading of the text.

The next words are apparently imáni bhante, but then succeeds a flaw. M. Burnouf would supply it by dha, as in Major Burt's Nágarí transcript; and this is probably correct, especially in connection with the following paliyáyáni, instead of the payayáni of the Calcutta transcript, and which M. Burnouf considers to be paryayáni, expositions, or injunctions, or precepts of the law, which is not unlikely, the law being that of the chief discipline, vinayasya mukhyasa, for vinayasa makasa. Major Burt's transcript reads mukase. M. Burnouf would read the two words vinaya símokase, limites de la discipline; but, although there is some indistinctness in the original, the preferable reading seems to be that which is here suggested.

With regard to the ensuing terms aliyavasáni and anágatabhayáni, which are sufficiently distinct, M. Burnouf declares that he entertains no doubt, and translates them, "Les facultés surnaturelles des Aryas, et les terreurs de l'avenir." I cannot share his confidence; the second phrase, unarrived, or future dangers, is unquestionable; but the reading and purport of the first are by no means obvious. Aliyavasáni might represent ari-avasáni, end or destruction of, or by enemies; or if the first word be árya, it may be used as signifying the Brahmans: vasa may mean subjection to, that is, the opposition or persecution of the Brahmans. That the term implies something evil is probable from its connection with anágata bhayáni, future dangers.

For muni gáthá we may accept the songs or verses of the sage; les stances du solitaire; meaning, according to M. Burnouf, Sákya himself, which is rather doubtful. The first syllable of the next term is rather indistinct, but the word may be mauneya sute; the sútras of the munis. Now if these are to be connected with the notion of future dangers they must relate to the texts antagonistic to the Buddhists, and may indicate the verses of the Vedas, and the aphorisms of the philosophers, Kapila and the rest.

M. Burnouf reads, with the Nágarí version, the next words, upatisa pasine e cha lághulováde, which he renders, "la spéculation d' Upatissa et l'instruction de Ráhula," conceiving the text to contain the names of Upatissa, one of Sákya's principal disciples, and of Ráhula, his son. The reading of the first is doubtful, the initial may be an "u," but it is indistinct, and the third syllable is more like tá than tí. Pasine, M. Burnouf would connect with pasya, behold, as if alluding to the views or doctrines of Upatissa; but, in that case, we should have Upatisasa, not Upatisa, and if we could suppose the insertion of an "s" after tá to be a blunder, it would give us upatápasine for upatapaswinah,

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inferior or pretended ascetics. For e chá lághulovade, M. Burnouf refers, ováde to avaváda, instruction, but it would rather imply reproof; but, as M. Burnouf indicates, there is a sútra of the Mahá-wanso headed Ráhulováda, or, as translated by Turnour, admonitory discourse addressed by Buddha to Ráhula, which is no doubt in favour of M. Burnouf's rendering. At the same time it may be allowable to give it a different construction and signification, and to render it, laghu loka váda, the light or censorious language of the world; a sense which would agree with what follows, if we explain musavácham as M. Burnouf proposes, doctrines fausses. The next word adhigichya may be an error for adhigachya, the Prákrit form of adhigatya, having gone over, or having overcome, or refuted, rejeté.

The following passage is intelligible enough, and may be connected with the preceding: Bhagavatá Budhena bhásite etáni bhante dhamma paliyayáni ichhámi, I affirm these things, said by the divine Buddha, and desire (them to be considered) as the precepts of the law.

Kiti bahuke may be the reading of the following words, but the sense is not very distinct. M. Burnouf renders them, "c'est la gloire à laquelle je tiens la plus," understanding by kiti, kírtti, fame; but this seems doubtful. The Calcutta version "you all," appears to come nearer to the sense, which is, perhaps, as many as there may be; that is, mendicants, male and female—although the designations are unusual Bhikhapá ye cha Bhikhanni ye cha instead of Bhikhu and Bhikhuni; abhikhanam is the Sanskrit abhikshanam, always, perpetually.

The fac-simile here presents a flaw, preceded by suna, and followed by two indistinct letters, and then the legible words dhálayeyu cha; the transcript of Major Burt reads the passage as if it had been perfect when the fac-simile was taken, sunayu cha upadhálayeyu cha, which may be rendered without any violence, may they the mendicants hear and observe.

The beginning of the last line is somewhat indistinct; but it is probably as in the transcript, hevam eva, verily; so also, upásaká cha upásiká cha, both the male and female secular followers (are to hear and observe) those things; upasoka, for the second of these, is apparently an error: etáni, (for which), I declare, I have caused this to be written—imam li — after which, in the present state of the fac-simile there is a blank followed by several letters, some only of which are legible. Major Burt's transcript reads, likhádhaiyámi, probably for likhápayámi: then follow abhihetimejá untati, words very unintelligible. They are corrected in the Calcutta version to abhimate

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me cha untati, which are explained, this is my desire and will. M. Burnouf conceives untati may be an error for ukti, declaration. Professor Lassen suggests, with more plausibility, that the sentence should be abhimati me hotite; it is rather, perhaps, abhimati me hosatíti—this will be my pleasure.

Although therefore unable to offer an entirely satisfactory version of this inscription, and while hesitating to admit it as evidence, as M. Burnouf is disposed to regard it, of the existence at the time of the principal Buddhist authorities, the Vinaya, Sútras, Gáthás, and the writings of Upatissa and Ráhula, we cannot refuse to accept it as decisive of the encouragement of Buddhism by Priyadarsi; the indications of which are sufficiently positive, setting aside the apocryphal allusions to Upatissa and Ráhula. We have Buddha designated by name, and with the title by which he is most frequently styled, Bhagavat—divine or lord. We have the Buddhist triad distinctly specified—the law, dharma—the assembly, sangha—and Buddha; and the inscription is addressed to the second, or the body of the church, in Magadha, the country in which the religion first took root and long predominated; and we have the two classes of Buddha's followers specified, the clerical, or male and female mendicants—Bhikshus and Bhikshunis—and the lay or the male and female worshippers, or Upásakas and Upásikás. The document is therefore unquestionably Buddhist. It is somewhat defective in being without any date. Major Kittoe thinks it refers to the convocation said to have been held at Páṭaliputra, in the 17th year of Dharmásoka's reign, or A.D. 309; but this is merely conjecture.

I subjoin the three translations of this short inscription, for the convenience of comparison, and for the purpose of illustrating the difficulty of interpreting such documents, and the little dependence to be placed upon the versions of the Pundits, without very careful supervision.

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Calcutta Translation.	*M. Burnouf.*	*Propoed Translations.*
Piadasi (the beloved) Raja, unto the multitude assembled in Mágadha, saluting them, speaks thus:	The king Piyadasi to the assembly of Mágadha, which he has saluted, wishes few troubles, and an agreeable existence.	Piyadasi, the king, to the venerable assembly of Mágadha, commands the infliction of little pain, and indulgence to animals.
That the sacrifice of animals is forbidden is well known unto you: spare them! for those who are of the Buddhist faith such sacrifice is not meet: the offering of Upasad is best of all.	It is well known, Sirs, to what extent proceed my respect and faith for Buddha, for the law, and for the assembly.	It is verily known, I proclaim, to what extent my respect and favour (are placed) in Buddha, in the law, and in the assembly.
Some there are who kill: that which the supreme Buddha spake at the conclusion (of his commandments) was well spoken.	All that has been said, Sirs, by the blessed Budda, all that only has been well spoken: it must be shewn therefore, Sirs, what are the authorities (for what he said), in this manner the good law will be of long duration: that is what I myself think necessary.	Whatsoever (words) have been spoken by the divine Buddha, they have all been well said, and in them, verily I declare that capability of proof is to be discerned: so that the pure law (which they teach) will be of long duration, as far as I am worthy (of being obeyed)
Those who act thus follow in the right path: they will remain healthy in their faith for a long time to come.		
There are some who make blood-offerings; but of these there are few; this is right and proper (the Buddhist creed): these of the faith I protect; likewise those who keep company with the righteous and uncovetous.	In the meanwhile, Sirs, the subjects which the law embraces, the limits designated by the Vinaya, the supernatural faculties of the Aryas, the dangers of the future—	For these, I declare, are the precepts of the law of the principal discipline (Vinaya), having overcome the oppressions of the Aryas, and future perils—

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Calcutta Translation.	*M. Burnouf.*	*Proposed Translation.*
The scriptures of the Munis (the Vedas) are observed by their disciples; their future state is to be dreaded: the texts of the Vedas, in which the sacrifice (of animals) is enjoined are mean and false: obey them not.	The stanzas of the Solitary (Buddha), the sutras of the Solitary, the speculations of Upatissa, solely the instruction of Ráhula, rejecting the false doctrines.	(and refuted), the songs of the Munis, the sútras of the Munis, (the practices) of inferior ascetics, the censure of a light world, and (all) false doctrines.
Follow that which the lord Buddha hath commanded: do so for the glorification of the faith.	This is what has been said by the blessed Buddha: these topics which the law embraces, I desire, Sirs, and it is the glory to which I am most attached.	These things as declared by the divine Buddha, I proclaim and I desire them to be regarded as the precepts of the law.
This I desire that all of ye priests and priestesses, religious men and religious women; yea, every one of you hearing this, bear it in your hearts.	That the male and female ascetics may hear and meditate upon them constantly; as well as the faithful of both sexes.	And that as many as there may be, male and female mendicants, may hear and observe them, constantly as well also as male and female followers (of the laity).
This my pleasure I have caused to be written: yea, I have devised it.	It is for that purpose that I have caused this to be written—such is my pleasure and my declaration.	These things I affirm, and have caused this to be written (to make known to you) that such will be my intention.

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ART. XXII.—*The Chinese on the Plain of Shinar, or a connection established between the Chinese and all other Nations through their Theology. By the* REV. T. M'CLATCHIE, M.A., *Missionary to the Chinese from the Church Missionary Society.*

[*Read February* 16, 1856.]

PREFATORY REMARKS.

No one who takes the trouble to investigate the various Mythological systems of the Heathen world, can fail to be struck with the very remarkable similarity which exists between them. To account for this similarity is an interesting, and, at first sight, a difficult undertaking.

The Pagan world may be regarded in two points of view, viz.: either *before* their dispersion at Babel, when the several nations were in embryo and the human race formed one community on the plain of Shinar; or, *after* the dispersion, when this community, broken up into various tribes, scattered over the face of the earth, and colonized the various regions of the world.

With regard then to the striking similarity which exists between the different systems of Pagan Idolatry, the first question for consideration is this—Is the similarity mentioned of such a nature as to be easily and naturally accounted for on the supposition that *after* the dispersion, and subsequent to their settlement, each nation (including the Chinese) *independently* of all the rest, adopted a system of theology which nevertheless coincided in many particulars with all the others?

There is no doubt that this theory will, to a certain extent, account for the resemblance alluded to. For instance, no one who contemplates the sun, the dispenser of light and heat, who nourishes the earth with his genial warmth; the moon "walking in brightness;" and the stars, which with subdued light, wander through infinite ethereal space, can fail to be struck with, and to admire the beauty of these orbs, and the silent majesty with which they glide along their allotted paths: and it would not be very surprising, therefore, if each Pagan nation, being removed from the light of revelation, should have adopted *independently* of all the rest, the same worship of the heavenly host.

Nor can we regard it as at all impossible that idolatrous nations should also agree with each other, without any previous concert or communication, in worshipping such of their deceased ancestors as had, during their lifetime, secured the respect and admiration of their contemporaries, either by their warlike achievements, or by their

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benevolent actions. We may especially grant the probability of this when we consider that religious worship may be, as regards the unenlightened Heathen, a natural consequence of the reverence, blended with affection, with which the memory of such public benefactors as those alluded to, is cherished. "If such persons," argue the Chinese, as they think, conclusively, "be worthy of respect and veneration while living, why should we not continue to exhibit respect and veneration towards them when they are dead? Would you trample upon, or show disrespect to, the remains of your deceased parent? Why then should not *we* continue to venerate, after death, those who, when alive, commanded by their good deeds the respect and admiration of all mankind?"

In the general worship, therefore, of the heavenly host, and of deceased ancestors, we have an agreement between the various systems of the Pagan world in what may be considered "obvious and natural;" and there is nothing very remarkable, so far, in the similarity which exists between all the systems of the Heathen.

These various systems, however, do not merely agree in what is "obvious and natural;" but they also agree, in a most singular manner, in what is "arbitrary, and circumstantial, and artificial:" and *this* agreement cannot be accounted for on the hypothesis mentioned.

Not to dwell unnecessarily upon this point, it will be sufficient merely to mention two of the many striking agreements alluded to; *e. g.* 1. The chief God of every Pagan system, without exception, is designated "*Mind*" (Νους or Mens.) 2. This chief God, whose body is the universe, *triplicates* and also divides into *eight* portions in each system. Now, it is quite impossible to believe that each Pagan nation, independently of all the rest, not only chose the same designation for their chief God, but also chose the numbers three and eight, without any previous concert or communication whatever. With regard to the Triad and Ogdoad, the case is even stronger than with regard to the remarkable designation "Mind." For, it will be found on investigation, that the universe does not naturally fall into these divisions of three and eight, inasmuch as the *details* of these numbers vary considerably in each system; so that we are driven to the conclusion that the numbers three and eight were *first* chosen, and then the stubborn universe was made, however reluctantly, to bend to them.

Hence, as the various theological systems of the Pagan world (including the Chinese) all agree in so remarkable a manner, not merely in what is "obvious and natural," but also in "*arbitrary* circumstantials," which could not have been the case if each nation

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had framed its own system independently of all the rest, and after its final settlement, the inevitable conclusion must be as follows :—

"The common arbitrary opinions and observances, which alike prevail in every part of the globe, must have had *a common origin*, and each national system, however some minor differences might distinguish it from all other national systems, must have been equally a shoot from *a primeval system* so vigorous as to extend its ramifications to all countries of the habitable world."—Faber's Origin of Pag. Idol., vol. i., p. 60.

The fact of the common origin of all the Pagan systems being thus established, the next difficulty is to discover this source of idolatry. Can we suppose that subsequent to the dispersion, and their several settlements, all the other nations adopted the system framed by one?

Here we are met by two difficulties; first, those who adopt this theory differ considerably as to what nation formed the model for imitation to the rest. Some say Egypt, some Phenicia, some India, and some Hindostan. All is uncertainty. And even if this point were set at rest, then comes the difficult task of accounting "for the extraordinary circumstance, that all nations upon the face of the earth, whether seated in Europe or Asia, or in Africa, or in America, should have been content to borrow with rare unanimity, the religious system of one single people."—Ibid. p. 62.

Nor can we adopt the hypothesis, based upon the supposition that the children of Cush and a few followers, were alone concerned in the apostasy of Babel, that all nations, after their settlement, were conquered by this roving tribe, and were compelled to adopt its idolatrous system. It is not easy to admit that "a single tribe, and that too broken into small fragments by an eminent display of divine vengeance, could manage to subdue and convert all the rest of mankind, who had previously retired in a prosperous and orderly manner to their appointed settlements."—Ibid. p. 63.

We are therefore obliged to adopt the third and only remaining hypothesis, viz.: that "all nations while yet in embryo, and during these ages of the infancy of society which immediately followed the deluge were assembled together in one community, previous to their separation and dispersion over the face of the earth, and in that state of primitive union agreed in the adoption of a system, which when afterwards broken into tribes the germs of future nations they equally carried with them into whatever region they might at any subsequent time be induced to colonize."—Ibid. p. 61.

This last proposition Mr. Faber, in his learned and interesting

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work, shows to be in accordance with the scriptural history of Nimrod and the tower of Babel, and also with profane history. Alluding to the founding of the universal empire under Nimrod, that learned author observes:—

"In the short account which Moses gives of this early transaction, no direct mention is made of any attempt to introduce a new system of religion; though something of the kind seems to be hinted at in the assertion that nothing could restrain the roving imagination of this rebellious community; but the Jews have ever supposed that idolatry commenced at Babel; whence they have a story that Abraham was cast into a furnace by Nimrod for refusing to worship the sacred fire which was the symbol of the solar deity. We have, however, far better authority than Jewish tradition, though I see no reason why we should slight it as altogether nugatory, for asserting that the first systematic apostasy from pure religion was consummated at Babel, and that from that centre it spread itself over the whole world. The prophet of the Apocalypse styles Babylon or Babel *the mother of harlots and abominations of the earth*; by which it need scarcely be observed is meant, in the figurative language of scripture, that all the abominations of apostate idolatry originated from that city as from a common parent," &c.

"Thus so far as I can judge, it indisputably appears that the idolatry by which all the nations of the earth were infatuated, was a system originally invented at Babel under the auspices of Nimrod and his Cuthites, and afterwards in progress of replenishing the world with inhabitants by the various scattered members of his broken empire, carried off alike to the nearest, and to the most remote countries of the globe." &c.—Ibid. pp. 77–8.

Having thus briefly stated Mr. Faber's argument, I now proceed to the inquiry which forms the subject of the following pages. The question I propose is this—Were the ancestors of the Chinese to be found amongst the ancient community who engaged in building the tower of Babel on the plain of Shinar, or not? In order to establish an affirmative answer to this inquiry, it will be necessary to investigate Chinese theology, and there to search for any traces which may exist of the one general primeval system of idolatry established previous to the building of Babel. If we find that the Chinese have also traces of this one system, and that they agree with all other nations not only in the adoption of what is "obvious and natural," but also in "arbitrary circumstantials," while they differ from them as to *detail*, then the conclusion is inevitable that this nation also has derived its theology from the one source common to all, and was therefore represented in

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the single community which existed subsequent to the deluge, and the members of which agreed to adopt that one system which was afterwards carried by them, when broken into tribes, into the several nations which they founded. Thus we shall be able to establish a remarkable connection between the Chinese and all other heathen nations through their theology and to show that they do not in reality occupy so isolated a position among the nations of the earth as has been hitherto so generally assigned them.

The principal points which I shall endeavour to establish are—1. That as all other Pagan nations, however they may worship multitudes of divinities, yet hold the existence of one God, κατ' εξοχην, the First Cause of all things, so also do the Chinese recognise this First Cause, and assign to him precisely the same titles and attributes as those given to him by the rest of the Pagan world; 2. That those portions of the animated world, &c., which all other nations have designated "God," the Chinese also so designate; and 3. That the chief object of idolatrous worship in China, viz. *Shang-te*, is a deified man, and is the same Being designated by Mr. Faber the "Great Father" of the Pagan world, who is Adam or Noah, and is designated by the several nations who worship him Baal, Jupiter, Osiris, Brahm, &c., or Νους, Menu, Menu, Man, &c. The Triad and Ogdoad, two of those "arbitrary circumstantials" which, together with variety of detail, prove that the several heathen nations have derived their theology, not from any single nation, but from one source common to all, are also to be found in the Chinese system.

It may be necessary to observe here, that the two polytheistic systems found in all Pagan nations, viz. that which admits of visible representations of the Gods, and that which is designated the material system (and which are *in reality* but one and the same system) are both found in China. The Confucianists, like all other materialists, reject the absurdities of the grosser polytheistic sects, and make their deities *souls* or portions of the animated material world, which is regarded by this sect as the greatest Numen, and as a divine animal endowed with life. It is this latter system, being that inculcated in the Chinese Classics, which the following pages are intended to elucidate.

I. God, κατ' εξοχην.

1. The charge brought by the Apostle against the heathen world is, that they "worshipped and served the *creature*, more than the *Creator*." This was a consequence of their mode of reasoning; for, instead of arguing from creation to the existence of a God of all

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power and might, they subjected the Creator himself to those laws by which his creation is governed. This constituted their fundamental error, from which all their misconceptions sprang. As they saw that the mechanic, for instance, could not produce any work of art, without some material to work upon, they rashly concluded that God was such an one as themselves in this respect, and that therefore He could not make the world without some previously existing material out of which to form it, and hence all the Pagan philosophers without exception held that God made the world out of pre-existing, eternal matter.

"All philosophers," says Gassendi, "agree in the pre-existence of the matter of which the universe is composed, because nothing can be produced from nothing; whereas, however, scripture truth declares that the universe was created out of nothing and from no material."—Cudworth's Intellec. Syst. vol. iii., p. 144.

These philosophers, however, may be divided into two classes. In the *first* class may be ranked those who, like Plato and others, while they associated God and eternal matter, and supposed a certain connection between those two, yet did not make the former wholly dependent upon the latter; and in the *second* class may be included those who, like the Stoics, inseparably united the two, and held that the one could not exist separate from the other.

2. The Chinese philosophers, like Anaximenes and others, conside the material origin of all things to be K'e or Air, which is the primary matter from which all things are formed.—(See Morrison's Dictionary, part ii., vol. i., No. 5311.)

This K'e, or Matter, is considered by them to be eternal, and it is associated with an eternal, ungenerated, and therefore self-existent First Cause, which the Confucianists generally style Le or Fate (see Ibid. No. 6942). And as the other Pagans have designated this Eternal Fate "God," and declared him to be "Incomprehensible," so also the Chinese philosophers designate him "God," and predicate of him the same attribute of incomprehensibility; *e. g.*:—

"Le is God (Shin) and is *Incomprehensible*."—Sing-le-ta-tseuen, ch. ii., p. 36.

"Being asked whether the God (Shin) spoken of is the Maker and Transformer of heaven and earth, he (Choo-tsze) replied God (Shin) is just that Le," &c.—Ibid. p. 35.

"They (the Chinese) often say Le is God (Shin)."—Morrison's Memoirs of Dr. Milne, p. 161.

As the Pagans considered all things to depend upon their God, κατ' ἐξοχήν, for existence, so do the Chinese philosophers; *e. g.*:—

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"If this Le had no existence, then, *there would be no heaven, nor earth, nor men, nor things;* all would be without a connecting bond."—Choo-tsze's Complete Works, ch. xlix., p. 3.

This GOD and eternal matter, the Confucianists, like the Stoics, consider to be inseparably united together, so that the one cannot exist without the other; *e. g.*:—

"Le being eternal, K'e is eternally united with it."—Ibid. ch. xlix. 10.

"Le is not a separate thing, he rests in the midst of the K'e; if there were no K'e, then Le *would not have anything to rest upon.*"—Ibid. ch. xlix., 1.

"Separated from K'e, there is no GOD (SHIN); separated from GOD (SHIN), there is no K'e," &c.—The two Chings, &c., vol. i., p. 52.

"All (material) things have visible traces, but GOD (SHIN) who is in their midst (inherent in all things) is invisible. GOD (SHIN) is never separate from matter. Hence GOD (SHIN) is the Incomprehensible One who is in the midst of (*i. e.* inherent in) all things, and renders them mysterious," &c.—Yih-king, vol. xii., 17, 13 Com. (Imp. edit.)

The same law, also, which led the rest of the Pagan world to associate eternal matter with God, is also recognised by the Confucianists; *e. g.*:—

". . . . As in the world men and things, grass and trees, birds and beasts are all generated from seed, and *there is nothing which is without a seed*, if unsown soil produces a single thing, this is the K'e," &c.—Choo-tsze's Le and K'e, sentence 10.

"*Ex nihilo nihil fit*," and hence when anything appears to spring up spontaneously, the K'e or primary matter is considered to be the seed whence it is produced.

3. Matter, although considered eternal, was yet held by many to have been *generated by the Deity.* It is stated, for instance, in the Timæus, ch. ix., that the universe was generated by its "Creator and Father;" and Plato is supposed to have followed Hermes and the Egyptians in thus holding that "the matter emanated from the Deity or divine nature itself."—(Cudworth, vol. i., p. 570, note.) Such is also the Confucian doctrine; *e. g.*:—

"Le existing, K'e is afterwards *generated.*"—Choo-tsze's Works, ch. xlix. p. 1.

"Le *generated* the K'e."—Sing-le-ta-tsenen, ch xxx., p. 10.

Thus while the Confucianists associate eternal matter with GOD, they yet consider that the former was generated by the latter, or in other words, that matter is inferior to God, not *in time*, but *by nature*,

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and this was the doctrine held by Probus, Simplicius, and all the later Platonists.—(See Cudworth, vol. i., p. 302, note.)

This Le inherent in K'e, or God and Matter, form the one compound source of all things.

"With regard to the *one origin* of all things, their Le is the same, but their K'e is diverse."—Choo-tsze's Works, ch. xlix., 7.

And this Le or God is like the Stoical Θεος κατ' εξοχην, the *only* Incorporeal thing in the universe; for,

"Le is Incorporeal, K'e is Corporeal."—Ibid. p. 1.

4. Various names and titles were given to the Θεὸς κατ' ἐξοχὴν by the Pagan philosophers; *e. g.*, Fate, Reason, Incorporeal Reason, Providence, Nature, Heaven, &c. He was considered to be a perfect indivisible unity; the Immoveable Author of all motion; Incomprehensible and Hidden; and was said to pervade all things, &c. His proper names were Jupiter, Baal, Mithras, Hammon, &c., according as he was designated by the various Pagan nations.—See Cudworth, vol. i., 196, note; 423–4; vol. ii., 9, 14, note; 108–9, 148. Also Enfield's Hist. of Philos. vol. i., p. 334, &c.

Precisely the same designations, &c., are given by the Chinese Confucianists to their Shin κατ' εξοχην; *e. g.*:—

a. "*Heaven*," "*Providence*," &c.

"Being asked the difference between (the titles) 'Heaven' and 'Providence,' 'Nature' and 'Le,' and whether 'Heaven' refers to his self-existence, 'Providence' to his flowing forth, and being conferred upon all things; 'Nature,' to the substance (*i. e.* God and matter together), which the myriad of things obtain in order to exist; and 'Le,' to each matter and thing having its own law; yet spoken of unitedly, then 'Heaven,' 'Le,' 'Providence,' and 'Nature,' all designate the same being; is this correct? He (Choo-tsze) replied: Just so; some persons, however, now assert that 'Heaven' does not refer to the azure sky; yet, in my opinion, the azure sky *must not be omitted*."—Choo-tsze's Work's, ch. xlii. p. 1.

Thus the Confucianist Shin, κατ' εξοχην, is indifferently styled "Fate (Le)," "Nature," "Heaven," or "Providence." In the title "Heaven," however, is included the *material* Heaven (or K'e), in which this Supreme God is inherent when the world is arranged by him from chaos. These different titles of this Supreme Shin, Choo-tsze also states in the above passage, refer to his various powers; so also the Θεὸς κατ' ἐξοχὴν.

"You may mention nature, fate, fortune; names of this kind are all *names of God variously employing his power*."—Cudworth, vol. i., p. 249, note.

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b. "*Reason*," or "*Incorporeal Reason*."

"Le is Incorporeal Reason, the *Origin* of life; K'e is the corporeal vessel, the *Receptacle* of life."—Choo-tsze's Works, ch. xlix. 5.

"That which is Incorporeal is Reason, that which is corporeal is the Receptacle. 'Incorporeal' refers to Le; 'corporeal,' to matter and things."—Sing-le-ta-tseuen, ch. xxxiv. p. 22.

"That which is Incorporeal is Reason, that which is corporeal is the Receptacle." *Com.* "Reason is Incorporeal, the GOD (SHIN) who renders all things mysterious," &c.—Yih-king, vol. ii., 14, 33.

c. "*Nature*."

"Nature is the entire Heavenly Le; when we speak of Nature, we include the K'e."—Choo-tsze's Works, ch. xlix. 11.

". . . . Yet if we *always* consider the K'e to be Nature, and Nature to be the K'e, we do not clearly understand the subject."—Ibid. ch. xliii.. 10.

Thus under this one title "Nature," two things totally different are included by the Confucianists; viz., Fate or GOD, the Maker of the universe, and the Matter from which he forms it; yet, these two although inseparably united, must not be confounded, for this title is only given to the K'e or primary matter, in consequence of the *melior natura* inherent in it. Thus, also,—

"The Stoics divide *nature* into *two parts;* one, that which works; the other, that which offers itself to be wrought upon. In the former is the power of acting, in the latter is simple matter, nor is one able to do anything without the other. Thus under one term of nature, they comprehend two things very diverse, *God* and *the world*, the artificer and the work, and they say that one cannot do without the other, as if nature were *God mixed up with the world.* For sometimes they so confound things, that God becomes the very *soul of the world*, and the world the *body* of God."—Cudworth, vol. i., p. 196, note.

"What is nature, says Seneca, but *the Divine Reason inherent in the whole universe and in all its parts?* Or, you may call him if you please, the author of all things."—Enfield's Hist. Philos. vol. i., p. 334.

d. "*The Great Extreme*."

"The Great Extreme is Incorporeal Reason," &c.—Sing-le-ta-tsouen, ch. i., p. 12.

"Reason is the Great Extreme of the Yih-king (Classic)."—Choo-tsze's Works, ch. xlix., 16.

"The Great Extreme is Le."—Ibid. p. 8.

This title of the SHIN, κατ' ἐξοχήν, is derived, we are told by Choo-tsze, from "a pivot," or from "the centre beam of a house,"

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and it corresponds to the title "Tigillum," given to the Supreme Ζευς or Θεος κατ' εξοχην. Hence he is the great source whence all things emanate; *e. g.*:—

"The Original Extreme obtains this designation from the idea of a pivot. The sages meant by the Great Extreme *the Root ofH eaven, Earth, and all things;* hence Choo-tsze designated him 'The Infinite,' (ἄπειρον, see Cudworth, vol. ii., p. 47), and thus placed his *immateriality* beyond a doubt."—Choo-tsze's T'ae-keih, sentence 13.

e. He is *an indivisible Unity or Monad.*

"Heaven divides and becomes Earth, Earth divides and becomes the myriad of things, but Reason *cannot be divided,*" &c.—Sing-le-ta-tseuen, ch. ii., p. 22.

"Body is divisible, but God (Shin) *cannot be divided.*"—Ibid. p. 34.

"The Great Extreme is Unity and without compare."—Choo-tsze's Works, T'ae-keih, sentence 27.

Hence he pervades all things without division of his substance; *e. g.*:—

"Being asked, with regard to Le being Unity, and when distributed amongst the myriad of things to pervade them, then the myriad of things have each a Great Extreme within it; according to this can the Great Extreme be divided into portions? He (Choo-tsze) replied: in reality, there is but *one* Great Extreme, and each of the myriad of things have received it, and each has within it a complete Great Extreme; for instance, the moon in heaven is but one, and when it is scattered amongst the rivers, then it is seen in each, yet *we cannot say that the moon is divided.*"—Choo-tsze's Works, ch. xlix. p. 10.

"God (Shin) is Unity; he rides upon the K'e, and changes and transforms it," &c.—Sing-le-la-tseuen, ch. xi., p. 33.

So also Parmenides and Xenophanes "affirmed that the *one* or *unity* was the first principle of all; matter itself, as well as other things being *derived from it;* they meaning by this one, *that highest or Supreme God who is over all.*"—Cudworth, vol. ii., p. 38.

f. He is the *Immoveable Author of all motion.*

"Le has (the power of producing) motion and rest, and therefore the K'e moves and rests. If Le had not this (power of producing) motion and rest, then how could the K'e of itself move or rest!"—Choo-tsze's Works, ch. xlix. 8.

"We *cannot predicate* motion or rest of Le; but that which moved and generated the Light, rested and generated the Darkness,

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is Le inherent in the K'e, and which therefore cannot but move and rest. He rests upon the pivot as in a chariot, and thus *is not affected by* the motion or rest."—Ibid. p. 32.

Hence in the language of the philosophers this Supreme God "moves, yet moves not; rests, yet rests not; *i. e.*, he confers these powers upon the primary matter in which he is inherent, while he himself is not affected by either the motion or the rest, occupying as he does "the pivot," or centre of motion.

"That which when at rest cannot move, and when in motion cannot rest, is Matter; that which moves, yet moves not, rests, yet rest not, is God (Shin)."—Ibid.

The Θεος κατ' εξοχην is designated by Aristotle "το πρῶτον κινοῦν ἀκίνητον, the first immoveable mover."—Cudworth, vol. ii., p. 84.

g. He is *Omnipresent*, and *the Author of all change and transformation.*

"Confucius said, He who comprehends the doctrine of change and transformation, understands what God (Shin) accomplishes."—Com. "The acts of God (Shin) are incomprehensible; we must look at change and transformation in order to understand them. God (Shin) is omnipresent[1] in the midst of all these changes and transformations."—Yih-king, ch. xiv., 16.

Having, however, exhausted all their powers of imagination in devising names and titles by which to designate their Supreme God, the philosophers acknowledge how far he is above all these, and hence they designate him "Woo ming," or "the nameless One."

God (Shin) is not confined to place and is omnipresent; he unites himself to *the mind* of man, which thus has its origin in Unity. Reason and Unity are but *forced* names of God (Shin): if we consider God (Shin) to be God (Shin), this is the best appellation."—Sing-le-ta-tseuen, ch. xii., 2.

"According to the old Egyptian theology . . . . God is said to have both *no* name and *every* name."—Cudworth, vol. ii., p. 259.

h. He is *Empty Space* or *Incorporeal Vacuum.*

"Le is a bare empty, wide world, without corporeal vestiges," &c. —Choo-tsze's Works, Le and K'e, sentence 10.

"Reason is the Great Vacuum, and is Incorporeal."—Sing-le-ta-tseuen, vol. xii., 1.

[1] We have here an instance of the very different meaning attached to the *same* word by the Heathen and by Christians. By the Omnipresence of God, the former mean that he is present *in* all things, whereas *we* mean by that term that all things *are present to* God.

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By this "Great Vacuum," is meant the infinite Empty Space in which the universe revolves, and in which the latter is contained or comprehended.

"This Principle (Le) is so great, that it *comprehends* heaven and earth, and is the support of generation and transformation; so minute, that it *enters into every fibre and particle;* there is no distance which it cannot traverse, and there is nothing so mean that it does not reach it; yet we must discern what it is which thus pervades (all things)." —Choo-tsze's Works, ch. xli., 15; xlvi., 12.

So also Philo held that "God is that space which *surrounds and encompasses the whole nature of things.*"—Cudworth, vol. iii., p. 242, note.

Onatus the Pythagorean says, "It seemeth to me that there is not only one God, but that there is one *the greatest and highest* God that governeth the whole world, &c. That is that God who *contains and comprehends the whole world,*" *&c.*—Cudworth, vol. i., p. 374.

i. He is *Hidden.*

"I have already said that the Great Extreme is (like one who) *hides his head,*" &c.—Choo-tsze's Works, T'ae-keih, sentence 19.

"Ammon, in his books, calleth God *most hidden,* and Hermes plainly declareth that it is hard to conceive God, but impossible to express him."—Cudworth, vol. i., p. 564.

k. He *animates* the K'e or Matter in which he is inherent, and is thus the Supreme Soul of the animated universe.

"K'e accumulated forms Body; Le unites with it, and *then* it has the power of *intellect and perception;* just as when oil is poured upon fire, then there is much flame," &c.—Choo-tsze's Works, Le and K'e, sentence 22.

Hence the world (or *arranged* K'e) is an animal endowed with life and reason, and is *the body* of God who pervades all its parts. Plotinus thus states the opinion of the ancient philosophers on this point:

"It is *absurd to affirm* that Heaven (or the World) is inanimate, or devoid of life and soul, when we ourselves, who have but a part of the mundane body in us, are endued with soul. For how could a part have life and soul in it, the whole being dead and inanimate?" This one soul of the world and whole mundane animal was by the Stoics and others considered to be "the πρωτος Θεος, the *first* and *highest* God of all."—Cudworth, vol. ii., p. 176.

5. The title Le is chiefly given to the SHIN, κατ' εξοχην, *in chaos, e. g.*:—

"It is Le which prevents the twofold matter and the five elements

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from losing their distinctness, although blended together (in chaos)," &c. —Choo-tsze's Works, Le and K'e, sentence 9.

Hence the following distinction has been made in the application of the titles Le (Fate) and T'ae-keih (The Great Extreme).

Leibnitz is of opinion that the Le of the Chinese is the *chaotic soul of the world*, and their T'ae-keih the soul of the *formed* universe; in fine, *the Deity of the Stoics.*—Enfield's Hist. of Philos. vol. ii., p. 577.

6. From the above statements we perceive that the Chinese, *in common with all other Pagan nations*, hold:—1. That there is one Eternal, Ungenerated First Cause of all things. 2. That this First Cause is "Fate," "Providence," "Nature," "The Infinite," "Heaven," "Reason," "Incorporeal Reason;" an indivisible Unity, an Immoveable Mover, Hidden, Incomprehensible, Omnipresent, the Root and Author of all things, &c. 3. That he is the Supreme Soul of the whole universe, which is by his presence constituted a living animal, endowed with intellect and the power of motion. And 4. That matter is eternally associated with him. This First Cause, the other Pagans respectively designate Θεος, Deus, &c. &c., and the Chinese designate him SHIN.

II. One of the most important doctrines of the Heathen world, and one which is to be found in all Pagan systems, is that of the endless succession of similar worlds. It is only by the light of this doctrine that we can get any very clear insight into the theology of Pagan nations, and its importance in this respect is thus stated by Mr. Faber:—

"The doctrine of a succession of similar worlds, more or less systematically and explicitly maintained, may almost be considered as *the key* to ancient mythology. As such therefore it merits a particular examination. With it the theory of the metempsychosis is immediately connected, forming indeed a constituent part of it," &c.—Orig. of Pag. Idol. vol. i., p. 3.

1. This doctrine is inculcated in the Yih-king in the Pŏ diagram, which is stated to represent "falling down," or "the soft (*i. e.* gross matter) overcoming the Hard;" *i. e.* the inherent soul of the world (see III. 2), and thus all things return to primeval chaos. (See Yih-king, vol. ii., ch. 1, p. 60.) In the Fŭh diagram, however, "the Hard" regains the ascendancy and "returns." This MIND or soul of the world then proceeds to form a new universe or body for himself, and hence this diagram is said to "*manifest* the MIND of Heaven and Earth," or the world. (See Ibid. vol. vii., 9, 38).

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To transcribe the statements of this doctrine by the various Chinese philosophers would occupy too much space. I must therefore refer the reader to the Sing-le-ta-tseuen for further information on the subject, and shall merely quote here the opinion of Choo-foo-tsze, which is as follows:—

"Being asked, 'From the opening and spreading out (of the world from chaos) to the present time, is not 10,000 years; how was it *before* that time?' He (Choo-tsye) replied, before that there was another (world) similar to the present one. Being asked whether Heaven and Earth are capable of being annihilated; he replied, no; but it is my opinion that *when men completely depart from correct principles*, then the whole will become chaos, and men and things will cease to exist, and then there will be *a new commencement*."—Choo-tsze's Works, T'heen and Te, sentence 5.

These are called the "Great Revolutions" of the world, and are compared to a year; *e. g.*:—

"A day has a day's revolution, a month has a month's revolution, a year has a year's revolution; Heaven and Earth's commencements and terminations are *the great Revolutions*," &c.

Shaou Pih-wăn says, "Each complete Great Revolution resembles *a year*."—Sing-le-ta-tseuen, ch. viii., p. 13.

Each destruction of the world and return to chaos, is accomplished by a general deluge, *e. g.*: —

"What Woo Fung says about a great termination (of all things) in a general convulsion (of nature), the sea removing out of its place, the hills sinking down, and the rivers overflowing; men and things utterly destroyed, and the ancient traces all effaced refers to the destruction of the world by Deluge. The shells of the sea snail and pearl oyster have been seen on high hills and on stones; these stones formed (portions of) the soil of the former world," &c.—Choo-tsze's T'heen and Te, sentence 6.

It is when all things have been thus destroyed and when the time arrives for the formation of a new world that the inherent "MIND" or soul "of Heaven and Earth" comes forth, as stated in the Yih-king to accomplish the task; *e. g.*:—

"When the myriad of things have been generated and are flourishing, Heaven and Earth do not exert their MIND; but, when all things have decayed, and *require to be again generated*, then Heaven and Earth exert their MIND.'—Ibid. sentence 23.

Thus when one Body or World is destroyed by a Deluge, MIND arouses from a state of inactivity and comes forth to generate a new one for himself.

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Although the Chinese philosophers differ as to *the age* of the present world, yet they all agree as to the fact of *a succession of* worlds, as an examination of the Chinese work above mentioned will abundantly show. The Deluge, being such a signal display of divine vengeance, it is not to be wondered at that it should have made a deep and lasting impression upon the minds of succeeding generations; nor can we feel much surprise that the Pagan world should thus multiply this one fearful judgment into an endless repetition of the same phenomenon. The order of things, according to this doctrine, is as follows: the world is first formed from Chaos, and the First Man is born from this *ovum mundi*. This and some few succeeding generations form the golden age of the world when universal righteousness and happiness prevail. After this, however, the human race becomes degenerate, and wickedness prevails; and when this state of things reaches its climax, then the whole world is destroyed by a Deluge, and returns to chaos. It is *form* alone, however, which is thus destroyed, the matter (K'e) of which the universe and its several parts are formed being eternal (I. 2). Hence, after a certain period has elapsed, the world again springs forth from chaos, the first man reappears, and a new world similar to the former one, and peopled by the same inhabitants, is called into being. The minute similarity of these worlds may be gathered from the following incident. Conversing one day with an intelligent Confucianist on this subject, he remarked, "We are now seated at this table, conversing about this passage (in the classics); and, after this world has returned to Chaos, when the corresponding period to the present, shall arrive in the succeeding world, you and I shall again be seated at this table, conversing about this same passage."

It is evident that these endless appearances of the First Man constitute him an *eternal* Being; thus adorning a mere mortal with one of the principal attributes of Deity. In fact, this Man, as we shall see presently, is the MIND mentioned in the Yih-king, who is deified and regarded as the Creator and Governor of the universe.

2. The eternal K'e which, by constantly revolving, ultimately arranges itself, from its chaotic state into the formed universe, is, as we have seen, constituted a rational Being or animal by the inherent Divine "Reason" or supreme soul of the universe. (See i. 4, k.)

The Chinese philosophers represent this animated universe by a Globe, or Circle, or Egg, thus  ,and it is supposed to be infinite in extent, and eternal in duration, the *form* only being subject to change. This circle of the universe is designated by various names

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and titles, most of which are derived from the inherent "Reason," *e. g.*:—

a. The K'e is the "*Great Extreme.*"

"The Great Extreme is one K'e, which divided," &c.—Choo-tsze's Works, T'ae-keih, sentence 3.

This title (like most others) is given to this animated K'e, in consequence of the *melior natura* inherent in it; *e. g.*:—

"God (Shin) is Unity, he rides upon the K'e," &c.—Sing-le, &c., ch. xi. 33.

"Because of its (*i. e.* the K'e's) *one* God (Shin) it is designated *the Great Extreme*," &c.—Yih-king, vol. ii., 14, 25, Com.

Hence, to avoid confusion, the Chinese philosophers generally confine the title "Great Extreme," when treating of Cosmogony, to the K'e, and designate the inherent Reason or God "The Infinite," expressing the inseparability of the two by the conjunction "and," thus, "Infinite *and* Great Extreme."—Compare Choo-tsye's Works, T'ae-keih, sentence 30, with Sing le, &c., vol. i., 12.

b. The K'e is "*Heaven*" or "*Shang-te.*"

The inherent Divine Reason takes no part in the generation of the world, further than endowing the K'e or Great Extreme with the necessary powers to generate it from his own substance. It is this animated K'e therefore, which, depending upon the inherent Le, generates all things; *e. g.*:—

"Le existing then K'e exists, flows forth and pervades, *generates* and *nourishes*," &c.—Choo-tsye's Works, Le and K'e, sentence 12.

"The Great Extreme is one K'e, which, by degrees, divided and became two K'es . . . . . it also divided and became five K'es (*i. e.* five elements); it scattered and became *all things.*"—Ibid. T'ae-keih, sentence 3.

Hence, this Great Extreme is designated "Heaven" and "Shang-te."

"Heaven is *the accumulated K'e.*"—Ibid. T'heen and Te, sentence 39.

"When *Heaven* produces and completes the myriad of things, and rules and governs them, the title given to that Being is Te," *i. e.* Shang-te.—Legge's "Notions of the Chinese," &c. p. 12.

"On Choo He's principles T'ae-keih (The Great Extreme) and Shang-te *are the same.*"—Ibid. p. 63, note.

c. The K'e is the "*Supreme One.*"

The Yih-king contains the Chinese Cosmogony in numbers, and when the K'e or Shang-te is in his Chaotic or undivided state, the rudiments of all things being blended into *one undivided mass*, he is designated "One" (not *person* but *unit*); and, as all the other

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numbers, or portions of the universe are generated from his substance, he is designated the "Supreme Unit," or "One;" *e. g.*:—

"The Supreme One is the original K'e of Chaos, before the separation of Heaven and Earth. *Before dividing*, he is designated *One.*"—Le-ke, vol. xviii.; Le Yun, iv., p. 8.

"The Great Extreme is the one Chaotic K'e, *before Heaven and Earth divided.* This is the 'Great Commencement' and the 'Supreme One.'"—Chow Yih Lew, vol. iv., 7, 39.

The manner in which the K'e or Supreme Unit, or Shang-te, generates all things from his own substance, is thus described in the classics:—

"Thus it is that ceremonies date their origin from the Supreme One; he *dividing*, constituted Heaven and Earth; *revolving*, he produced Light and Darkness; *changing*, he brought about the four seasons; and *arranging*, he appointed the Kwei-shins," *i. e.* Gods and Demons.—Medhurst's "Theology of the Chinese," p. 82.

Thus we have in this origin of all things or animated monad, the same distinction as that made by Pythagoras between *Unity* and *One.* The former is the God κατ' εξοχην, and is *indivisible* (i. 4, e.); the latter is the material *divisible* Demiurge (or K'e) who generates all things from himself by his constant gyrations, and who is the Father of Gods, Demons, and Men (III. 6).

d. The K'e is MIND (SIN).

"If there were no K'e, then Le would not have anything to rest upon."—Choo-tsze's Works, Le and K'e, sentence 5.

"If there were no MIND, then Le would not have anything to rest upon."—Ibid. ch. xliv. 2.

Here the "K'e" of the first sentence is designated MIND in the second. Again,

"MIND is the Great Extreme."—Ibid. T'ae-keih, sentence 27.

e. The K'e is represented *by an Egg*; *e. g.*—

"The Great Extreme—the K'e—embracing three is one. The San-Woo-leih-ke says that previous to (the separation of) Heaven and Earth, Chaos was like *an egg*, turbid and watery, and about to burst."—Wan-haou-tseuen-shoo, p. 1.

And as the K'e, or *ovum mundi*, is a rational animal, it bears the same relation to the fully formed world which the Fœtus does to the full-grown being:—

"Before the K'e divided, his form was *a fœtus*, like an egg," &c.—Imperial Thesaurus.

This "Heaven," or "Shang-te," when he is completed and becomes the formed world, is still represented by a Circle or Egg; *e. g.*:—

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"Heaven's (*i. e.* the World or Shangte's) form is like a bird's egg; Earth rests in his midst, and Heaven upholds her outside, as the shell does the yolk, the whole being round like a bullet; and hence the phrase 'Circumference of Heaven' means that his form is *a complete circle*. Both portions are Heaven (*viz.*) the concave half above the Earth, and the half below the Earth," *i. e.* Tartarus.—Sing-le, &c., vol. xii. 22.

Thus the Sacred Mundane Circle is used to represent both the *Chaotic* and the *arranged* world. The former is the lesser circle, and the latter is the greater.

3. The K'e or Universe is both Infinite and Eternal; *e. g.*:—

"The Great Extreme is a great thing; the four quarters, Zenith and Nadir, are called Yu. (Duration) from ancient to modern times is called Tsow. Nothing is so great as Yu; so great is it that the four quarters *go into infinity*. Nothing is so great as Tsow; from the most ancient times to the present, *the coming and going of ages is unceasing* (*i. e.* the World is Infinite and Eternal). Every one should be acquainted with this. Being asked who asserts this, he (Choo-tsze) replied, *the ancients* assert it," &c.—Choo-tsze's Works, T'ae-keih, sentence 25.

This animated World or Shang-te is the greatest *Numen* worshipped in China.

"The Great Extreme is the most extreme point, beyond which we cannot go; Most High, most Mysterious, most Pure, most Divine, surpassing everything," &c.—Ibid. sentence 30.

4. The eternal K'e or Shang-te is twofold, and like man, consists of subtle and gross K'e, the former the Soul, and the latter the Body.

"At the commencement of Heaven and Earth, before Chaos was divided, I consider that there were only two things, *Water* and *Fire*. The sediment of the Water formed the Earth."—Ibid. T'heen and Te, sentence 4.

This ethereal Fire is the Active Principle or Soul of the K'e, and it is designated Yang, Light; the Water, which is not the element, but a turbid, muddy mass, from which the Earth is eventually formed, is the Passive Principle, and is designated Yin, Darkness. It is on the former or Active Principle that the inherent Divine Reason confers intellect and the power of motion; the latter merely forms the ethereal Body or Vehicle of the Intellectual Fire.

"Intellect, perception, and motion, belong to the *Light*, bodily substance to the *Darkness*."—Ibid. ch. li., 19.

Hence it is from this Intellectual Fire that the whole K'e or Universe is styled MIND or Shang-te; for,

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"MIND is the *brilliant portion* of the K'e."—Ibid. ch. xliv., 2.

Thus the Origin of all things, or animated Chaos, consists of three hypostases; viz.: 1. The Eternal, Ungenerated "Nature" or GOD (I. iv. c.). 2. MIND or the Soul of the World—the subtle K'e; and 3. The grosser K'e, his ethereal Body: and the relation between these three is stated as follows:—

"MIND compared with Nature is *more material;* compared with the K'e (*i. e.* the grosser K'e or Body) he is certainly *more spiritual.*" Ibid. p. 4.

Hence Chaos consists of *a rational Soul,* or Intellectual MIND *inherent in Matter.*

a. It is the *material* Principle, or turbid muddy mass, which the Chinese philosophers chiefly mean by the term "Chaos," *e. g.*:—

"That which forms the Chaos of Heaven and Earth is *the Water.*" Sing-le, &c. xxvi., p. 19.

5 Shang-te or MIND—the Light—is the firstborn from Chaos.

"Before Chaos was divided, the twofold K'e was confused and dark until it divided, and then the centre formed a wide and *most brilliant* opening, and the '*Two E*' (Light and Darkness) were established."—Choo tsze's Works, T'heen and Te, sentence 6.

Thus MIND, or Shang-te, in separating himself from Chaos or Matter, generates Yin and Yang, or Darkness and Light, like the Chaldean Bel, *by cutting himself in two;* hence he is addressed thus,

"O Te (Shang-te) when *thou* hadst separated the *Yin* and *Yang,*" &c.—Legge's "Notions," &c. p. 28.

Thus, also, although Shang-te is the *Son* of the Earth, or Matter, being the first generated God, yet as he emerges from Chaos by his own power, and then forms matter into the Earth, he is also said to *generate* the Earth, and he is therefore her *Father.* Earth afterwards becomes his *Wife.* In all this we have *the foundation* on which the poets built the various amours of Jupiter. The Rainbow is said by the Chinese to be the offspring of an adulterous connection between Heaven or Shang-te and Earth.

6. Shang-te, or the Light, is also designated "Day," and the Darkness in Matter is designated "Night."

"Day and Night revolve without ceasing, and are the two principles, Light and Darkness," &c.—Choo-tsze's Works, T'heen and Te, sentence 26.

Hence, in Chinese cosmogony, darkness broods over chaos until the birth of light, and thus *night is prior to day.*

7. MIND or Shang-te—the Subtle Ether—is the *demiurgic* framer

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of the world; and the Divine Reason, or GOD, uniting with him, constitutes him the Ruler and Governor of the world; *e. g.*:—

"K'e accumulated forms body, Le unites with it, and *then* it has the power of intellect and perception; just as when oil is poured upon fire there is much flame. That which *causes* it to have perception is the Le of (*i. e.*, inherent in) MIND; that which *has* perception is the soul of the K'e,—*i. e.*, MIND himself, or the subtle K'e.—Choo-tsze's Works, ch. xlix., 5.

"Being asked, with regard to the MIND and Le of heaven and earth, whether Le is Providence and MIND the Ruling Power (Shang-te), he (Choo-tsze) replied, MIND certainly is the Ruling Power, but that which constitutes him the Ruling Power is Le; not that, separated from MIND, there is a distinct thing, viz. Le, or that, separated from Le, there is a distinct thing, viz. MIND (*i. e.* these are *different* though not *separate* things, being eternally united). Being further asked whether MIND is the same as the Ruler, he replied, MAN is the same as Heaven (*i. e.* the world), and MIND is the same as the Ruler (Shang-te)."—Ibid. T'hëen and Te, sentence 20.

As it is the inherent reason which makes Shange-te or the Subtle Ether to be a MIND or rational soul, it follows that all Shang-te's acts in generating and governing the world are in reality the acts of the Supreme God or Le; *e. g.*:—

"Shang-te is *Le acting as Lord.*"—Ibid. sentence 27.

a. From the above statements it appears that the title "Heaven," given to the animated K'e, has a *threefold* application,—viz. 1, to the GOD κατ' ἐξοχην, or Le; 2, to the Ruling Power, or Shang-te—the subtle K'e; and 3, to the material Heaven or Universe—the gross K'e—which is Shang-te's body. These are the *only* applications of this term to be met with in the Chinese Classics; *e. g.*:—

"Being asked the meaning of the word "Heaven" in the Classics, he (Choo-tsze) replied, 'People must examine and distinguish for themselves; in some places *the azure firmament* is meant, in some *the Ruling Power* (Shang-te or MIND), and in some *Le is alluded to.*"—Ibid. sentence 29.

b. Hence Shang-te, or MIND complete, is the animated material Heaven, and there is no such thing to be found in the Chinese Classics as a *personal* God distinct from matter; *e. g.*:—

"The *Firmament* is *Heaven.* It is *this* Heaven which revolves and pervades (all things) without cessation. Now, to assert that Heaven has *a person* (Jin) up there, who records and judges sin and wickedness, *is certainly incorrect;* to assert that there is *nothing whatever* which governs it, is also incorrect. People should consider this point."—Ibid. sen. 28.

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Thus *a* Lord and Governor of Heaven is admitted, while a *personal* one is denied; Shang-te or MIND being the inherent soul of heaven or the universe, who governs this his body, just as the soul in man governs *his* body; *e. g.*:—

"The substance or *body* is called heaven, and the Lord and Governor thereof is called Te"—*i. e.* Shang-te.

"Shang-te is the Lord and Governor of Heaven, *as the human* MIND *is the lord and governor of the body*."—Medhurst's "Inquiry," &c., p. 28.

"Shang-te is the Ruler of Heaven, *just as* the MIND is the ruler of the body."—Legge's "Notions," &c., p. 52.

c. Although, however, the animated Heaven or World is Shang-te complete (body and soul), yet as the soul constitutes the being himself, it is the subtle invisible ether or "MIND" which is chiefly meant by the designation "Heaven" or "Shang-te" (see above, § 4); *e. g.*:—

"Heaven and Te (Shang-te) indicate *one* Being. The stars and constellations are not Heaven. Heaven must by no means be sought for *in what is visible.* In what does he, who seeks for Heaven in natural appearances, differ from a person who knows that a man has a body, colour, and form, but does not recognise *the honourable, sovereign* MIND?"—Ibid. p. 37.

6. It is from this animated Heaven or Shang-te that the whole mundane circle or world which he contains within himself is designated "Heaven;" *e. g.*:—

"Earth has hollow places; Heaven surrounds her on all sides, and has no hollow place. That which presses in and fills up all things is Heaven. The four quarters of Earth incline downwards, and rest upon Heaven; Heaven embraces Earth, and his K'e penetrates every place, so that *the whole mass is Heaven.*"—Chung Yung Pun-e-hwae-tseuen, ch. i, p. 26.

"Heaven and Earth are in reality but *one* thing; *Earth is also Heaven.*"—Works of the Two Chings, &c., vol. i., 30, 6.

Hence the World or Shang-te is indifferently styled "Heaven", or "Heaven and Earth;" and to worship this animated sacred circle is to worship Shang-te; *e. g.*:—

"Confucius said.... By sacrifices to *Heaven and Earth* they served Shang-te."—Chung Yung, sec. 19.

And *this* is the Being who is said in the Classics to "forgive" or "not forgive" sins; *e. g.*:—

"The phrase '*Heaven and Earth* will not forgive,' means that all things are devoted to destruction,"—*i. e.* are about to return to chaos. —Choo-tsze's Works, T'hëen and Te, sentence 5.

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a. Thus Heaven and Earth, which are regarded as *male* and *female* (III. 5), ultimately resolve themselves into *one* Being, who partakes of *both* sexes, and is designated Heaven or Shang-te, and who contains and generates all things within himself:

"The *myriad of things* are included in Heaven and Earth; *Heaven and Earth* are included in Heaven."—Chung Yung, Pun-e, &c., ch. i., 26.

7. In this K'e, therefore, we have a compound Being, viz. the animated World, in whom Heaven or MIND—the subtle K'e—is the Soul, and the grosser K'e, or Matter, which ultimately becomes the Earth, is the Body. Hence we meet with such statements as the following:—

"Earth is *Matter*, Heaven is *God* (Shin)."—Chang-tsze, Ching-mung, i., 17.

"Heaven is *God* (Shin), Earth is *Body*."—Pit-tsze, ch. xlvii., 2.

This MIND or Shang-te pervades every portion of his body, the world, and is the principle of life in all creation. The soul in man is a portion of this subtle Ether or Soul of the World, and his body is derived from Earth or Shang-te's body; *e.g.*:—

"Every ether (*i.e.* soul) in existence, is it not from *Heaven?* every body in existence, is it not from *Earth?*"—Sing-le, &c., ch. xxvi., 9.

Hence, in the formation of man, Heaven or Shang-te confers the soul, and Earth the body: so that man is a microcosm, or lesser Shang-te (see iv).

8. This animated K'e, or Shang-te, triplicates his substance at the commencement of each universe; *e.g.*:—

"That which is infinitely great is called 'supreme,' and that which is undivided is called 'one'; this is the principle of the Great Extreme, which, including *three*, consists of *one*.—Medhurst's "Theology," &c., p. 82.

"The Great Extreme—the K'e—embracing *three*, is *one*."—Wan-haou-tseuen-shoo, p. 1.

"The "three" here spoken of are "Heaven, Earth, and Man," which are called the "San-tsae," or "the three Powers" of nature; and this triplication of the universe is effected by the power of the inherent MIND or soul, hence it is said,—

"When Te (Shang-te), the Lord, had so decreed, he called into existence *heaven, earth*, and *man*," &c., literally, "*the Three Powers*."—Legge's "Notions," &c., p. 29 (see Chinese).

9. This animated K'e, or Shang-te, is also divided in the Chinese Classics into *eight* material forms; and this Ogdoad, we learn from the Yih-king, vol. xii., 17, 18, consists of Heaven, Earth, Thunder, Wind,

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Water, Fire, Mountains, and Dew. These are the "eight Diagrams" of the Yih-king.

Thus we have in the Chinese system also the Triad and the Ogdoad, which are found in *every other Pagan system*. That these arbitrary numbers are not borrowed from any other system is plain from the fact of their differing *in details* from the others; and thus we have plain proof that the founders of the Chinese empire derived their system from the one source common to all before the Dispersion, and carried it with them from the Plain of Shinar to China.

In the "eight Diagrams" Heaven and Earth are regarded as the great Father and Mother, and the remaining six are styled "the Six Children," viz. three males and three females. The three males, or sons, are triplications of Heaven, or Shang-te; and the three females, who are united to them in marriage, are three daughters, triplications of Earth, or the Great Mother (see Yih-king, vol. xii., 17, 18). These are the chief gods of the Classics. Thus the three sons (or gods) resolve themselves into Shang-te, the Great Father, and the three females (or goddesses) into Earth, his wife; and Shang-te and his wife are blended into one compound hermaphroditic character, viz. Heaven, or the hermaphroditic Shang-te (see above, § 6, a). *e. g.* :—

"With regard to the whole (Heaven or Universe) then *Earth* is this one Heaven, and the *six children* are also this one Heaven."—Yih-king, vol. xiii., 19, 13 Com.

Thus the Triplication and the Ogdoad are alike *a delusion*, both resolving themselves into Shang-te himself (see vii. 3).

III. We now proceed to form the complete universe, or Shang-te, from the animated K'e. We have already seen that this K'e is two-fold, and that it consists of an ethereal Fire or Light, which is the active and intellectual Principle, and grosser matter, which is designated Darkness, and which forms the ethereal Body, or vehicle of the Light or MIND.

1. The Light, which is the Good Principle, is designated "God," and the Darkness, or Evil and Material Principle, is designated "Demon;" *e. g.* :—

"*Demon* and *God* (Shin) are the K'e."—Choo-tsze's Works, chap. li., 3.

"The Darkness is Demon, the Light is God."—Ibid. p. 6.

"The Light is *Good*, the Darkness is *Evil*."—Ibid. Yin and Yang, sentence 23.

Both these Principles are by some of the Chinese philosophers designated "God" (see Hwae Nan-tsze's Cosmogony, p. 1, &c.); but

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the greater part designate the Good Principle alone "God," and the Evil Principle "Demon."

2. The Light, or Good Principle, is in the Yih-king designated "Këen," because its nature is "Hard;" and the inferior Principle is designated "Kwăn," because it is "Soft" and yielding. These two Principles generate the material world, of which they form the *twofold* Soul or MIND; *e. g.*:—

"When they assume form, Këen (the rational portion, or ψύχη) becomes Heaven, and Kwăn (the sentient portion or anima) becomes Earth."—Ibid. chap. xxviii, 1.

Being thus endowed with Body, the twofold soul is now regarded as *immaterial* when compared with it (see also II., 4); *e. g.*:—

"Heaven and Earth are Corporeal, Këen-Kwăn is *Incorporeal;* Heaven and Earth form the body of Këen-Kwăn, Këen-Kwān is the essence of Heaven and Earth."—Ibid. chap. xlix., 26.

This Këen-Kwăn, or twofold soul of Heaven and Earth, as we have already seen (II, 2. *d.*) is MIND, or Shang-te; *e. g.*:—

"Këen-Kwăn is the Ruler (Shang-te) who governs all things."—Yil-king, vol. x., 13, 21.

Thus Shang-te's body is the whole world, and his soul is the twofold soul of the world.

a. Hence Shang-te (like Jupiter) is either Demon (Kwei) or God (Shin); that is, he is the chief Demon-God, or twofold soul of the world. Here we also perceive the vast difference which exists between "SHIN" and "Kwei-shin" in the Chinese Classics; the former being the Divine Reason, or soul of Shang-te, to whom the latter owes all his powers as well as his existence, and "Kwei-Shin" or "Demon-God" being Shang-te himself, or MIND, the twofold soul of the world.

3. This animated Heaven is designated "God," and the animated Earth is designated "Demon;" *e. g.*:—

"Heaven belongs to the Yang, and is God (Shin); Earth belongs to the Yin, and is Demon."—Sing-le, &c., chap. xxviii., 5.

And these are so designated from their souls; *e. g.*:—

"The soul of the Yang (Heaven) is God (Shin), and the soul of the Yin (Earth) is Demon."—Choo-tsze's Works, chap. li., 6.

Of these two Beings, however, as we have already seen, the animated Heaven or completed Këen, the rational soul of the world, from whom the whole circle or universe is called Heaven, is the most honourable; *e. g.*:—

"Këen is the commencement of all things, hence he is designated "*Heaven*" and "*Light*," and "*Father*" and "*Prince*."—Yih-king, vol. ii., ch. 1, page 1. Com.

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a. Thus the *completion* of the rational soul of the world (Këen, or Shang-te proper), *i. e.* the endowing him with a body, is the same thing as the generation of Heaven; and the *completion* of the Demon, or anima mundi (Kwăn), by the generation of a grosser body, is the same as the generation of Earth; all this being effected by the constant revolutions of the K'e or Great Extreme, which thus divides into Yin (animated Earth) and Yang (animated Heaven); *e. g.* :—

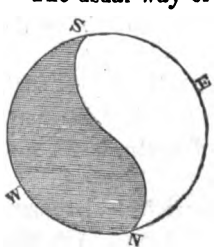
"He (*i. e.* Choo He) also said, the expressions, 'The producing of Heaven, the producing of Earth, the completing the Demon, the completing the Te (Shang-te),' mean the same as this, 'The Great Extreme moving and resting produced the *Yin* and *Yang*.'"—Legge's "Notions," &c., p. 63, note.

4. The two principles of Light and Darkness, which form the twofold MIND or soul of the material world, and constitute Heaven and Earth living Beings, are thus described by Choo-tsze :—

"That which fills up the midst of (*i. e.* informs) Heaven and Earth, *so that these can* make and transform (all things), is the twofold K'e, Yin and Yang, which cause termination, commencement, increase, and decline. The Yang (Light) is generated at the north, spreads out to the east, and fills up to the south. The Yin (Darkness) commences at the south, fills up to the west, and terminates at the north. Hence the Yang always dwells upon the left (*i. e.* the east), and to generate, nourish, cause to grow, and to cherish, is its province. Its species are Hard, Bright, Just, and Righteous, and the path of every good man belongs to it. The Yin always dwells upon the right (*i. e.* the West), and to hurt, wound, injure, and destroy is its occupation. Its species are Soft, Dark, Partial, and Selfish, and the path of every mean man belongs to it," &c.—Choo-tsze's Works, Yin and Yang, sentence 25.

The Light, or Intellectual and Good Principle, is the rational portion of MIND, or ψύχη κοσμου, and is the most subtle ether inherent in the material heaven. The Darkness, or Material and Evil Principle is the *anima mundi* inherent in matter or the earth, on which it bestows life.

The usual way of depicting this twofold Principle of all things on walls and houses in China is thus :—



The Chinese do not say, "north, south, east, west," as we do, but generally, "south, north, west, east." In this diagram the spectator is supposed to stand *inside* the sphere, with his face to the north and his back to the south; then the east, the Empire of Light, will be on the left hand, and the west, the

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Empire of Darkness, on the right. The Chinese do not mark the cardinal points in these diagrams; they are merely added here for the convenience of the reader.

This doctrine of an animated universe is held by all classes in China. The phrase "Wĕh-Tëen-Wĕh-Te" (Living Heaven and Earth), is constantly heard in Shanghae from men, women, and children; and the constant argument brought in favour of this idea is, "If Heaven were not alive how could he revolve? If Earth were not alive how could she generate things?"

As I was crossing a ferry one day, accompanied by a large number of passengers, I asked my usual question on such occasions, viz.:— "Can any one present read?" "Why?" said one. "Because," said another, "he wishes to give us books." "To teach us to worship Heaven and Earth" (*i. e.* Shang-te) said a third. "My books," I replied, "do not teach men to worship Heaven and Earth." "But don't you know that Heaven and Earth are alive?" asked another, repeating several times the phrase "Wĕh-T'ëen, Wĕh-Te," as proof of the accuracy of his statement. I answered, that my doctrine was "*Inanimate* Heaven and Earth," and that I worshipped the *Creator* of both. Upon this several shouted out, "Wĕh-T'ëen-Wĕh-Te! Wĕh-T'ëen-Wĕh-Te!" calling to one's mind the idolatrous cry, "Great is Diana of the Ephesians!" I begged of my fellow-passengers to believe in the only God, Jehovah, and not in the animated Heaven. "If," I added, "Heaven be alive, how comes it to pass that he allows astronomers to calculate his movements?" "Tush!" exclaimed one, pointing to the sky, "just look at him how great he is! Nothing can be greater than Heaven and Earth!"

As the Soul which animates the Earth is designated "Demon," all other Demons are supposed to be generated by her, and are comprehended in her substance. Hence the Chinese architect, who undertook to build my house at Shang-hae, refused to make the piles on which it stands six feet in length, lest in driving such long stakes he might wound the heads of some of the Demons, and so bring down calamities upon himself!

5. This complete animated World or Heaven and Earth, is regarded as being both Male and Female; and the animated Heaven or MIND now becomes the Male or Husband, who is styled in the classics "Imperial Heaven," while the animated Earth is regarded as the Female, and is styled "Empress Earth." These "two K'e" are the Chinese Great Father and Mother of all things; *e. g.*:—

"Këen is Heaven, and hence he is styled '*Father;*' Kwăn is

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Earth, and hence she is styled '*Mother*,'" &c.—Yih-king, ch. xvii., p. 18.

"Heaven and Earth are *the Father and Mother of all things*."—Ibid. vol. iv., ch. iv., p. 6.

"If Heaven and Earth did not mingle together, the myriad of things *could not exist*."

"Heaven and Earth *generate all things*, and throughout all ages cannot be separated from the myriad of things."—Choo-tsze's Works, T'heen and Te, sentence 7.

"The officers slowly made obeisance three times and replied, you *stand upon* Empress Earth, and you *wear as a cap* (overhead) Imperial Heaven. Imperial Heaven and Empress Earth certainly hear what you say," &c.—Officers of the Tsaou and Tsin Countries. See Chun Tsew of Confucius.

In the Sho-king, book v., section 3, "Where one sage is said to influence Imperial Heaven, and another to influence Shang-te, a commentator says that 'Imperial Heaven' and 'Shang-te,' *both refer to Heaven*, and the difference is only *in the variation of the expression*," &c.—Medhurst's "Inquiry," &c., p. 23.

"Empress Earth . . . . is associated in the Chinese mind with Imperial Heaven, here called High Heaven, in the management of human affairs," &c —Medhurst's "Theology," &c, p. 49.

Thus the whole World, or "Heaven," or Shang-te complete, is a great Hermaphroditic Deity, who is at once the Father and the Mother of all things, and who generates all things within himself, from his own "capacious womb"—the Earth. Thus when the world or Shang-te is regarded as "one K'e," he forms a complete Being or animal, in which MIND or Heaven is the Soul, and Matter or Earth is the Body (II. 7). Regarded as "two K'e," MIND or "Imperial Heaven" is the Male or Husband, and Matter or "Empress Earth" is the Female or Wife; and these two Beings, united in one universe, form the great Hermaphroditic Heaven or Shang-te, who generates all things from and within himself.

"If any one doubts whether Empress Earth is included, I should then say that Empress Earth was evidently included in the designation Shang-te."—Shoo-king, Canon of Shun. Com.

6. The First Man, the third great Power of nature, is the son of these two Beings, viz, Heaven or Shang-te, and his wife Empress Earth; *e. g.*:—

"(Choo-tsze) being asked how the First Man was generated, replied that he was formed from the K'e; the finer particles of the

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Yin (animated Earth) and Yang (animated Heaven) and the five elements combined and completed his form," &c.—Choo-tsze's Works, T'hëen and Te, sentence 5.

"Chaos is a bubbling, turbid water, which inclosed and mingled with the dual pewers (*i. e.* Heaven and Earth) like a chick *in ovo*, but when *their offspring* Pwanku appeared, their distinctiveness and operations were apparent."—Williams' "Middle Kingdom, vol. ii., p. 196.

"The K'e of Heaven and Earth revolves without ceasing, *constantly generating both men and things;* it's midst contains coarse and fine (K'e) so that men are *depraved* and *upright.*"—Choo-tsze's Works, T'hëen and Te, sentence 26.

Thus the triplication of the K'e or Great Extreme is Shang-te or Heaven, the Father; Empress Earth, his wife; and the First Man, their son; and these "three" MINDS, or Worlds, are in reality but "one" universe or Great Extreme, or Shang-te; and hence Shang-te is always worshipped in the state religion under his triplication "Heaven, Earth and Man."

7. This Great Father and Mother are astronomically the Sun and Moon, by whom the Stars are generated; *e. g.*:—

The Yin and Yang "placed in opposition are Heaven and Earth, *Sun* and *Moon*," &c.—Yih-king, vol. x., 13, 21, Com.

"By the seminal influence of the Sun and Moon, the Stars were produced."—Chinese Repos. vol. iii., p. 55.

"The Sun and Moon are regarded as *the foci of the dual powers*, the male and female principles, and the former as the lord of life, like a great prince nourishes and bestows his favours, while the moon his queen is matched to him."—Williams's "Middle Kingd." vol. ii., p. 151.

Hence Shang-te or the Sun is thus addressed in the Book of Odes.

"How *majestic* is Shang-te, looking down on this lower world, *how gloriously does he shine!*" &c.—Medhurst's "Inquiry," &c., p. 39.

Hence also the Sun is supposed to be animated by the Soul of "Heaven" or Shang-te, which was translated to it; *e. g.*:—

"The Shin (θεος-ψυχη) of Heaven (the Universe) resides in *the Sun*," &c.—Sing-le, &c., 12, 30.

The Yin and Yang are always depicted thus on guard-houses in China , which represents the great Father Shang-te or the Sun escaping in the Lunar boat from the flood.—See Faber's Orig. of Idol.

8. Shang-te or Heaven, and his wife Earth, being the patrons of generation, are invoked at marriages; *e. g.*:—

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"The first copy (of the marriage contract) we shall take and burn before *Heaven and Earth*," &c.

"(The contract) being solemnly sworn to, they knelt in humble worship before Heaven and Earth."—Wang Keaou-Lwan, &c.

These two Beings are represented in Choo-tsze's T'heen and Te, sentence 37, by two symbols, which cannot be mistaken; the passage is unfit for translation.

9. The animated "Heaven" or Shang-te surrounds the Earth or World and preserves it in existence by his constant gyrations; *e.g.*:—

"Heaven revolving without cessation, Day and Night revolve, and Earth is supported in the centre. If Heaven should cease for an instant, Earth *must then sink down;* but Heaven revolves quickly, and therefore much sediment is condensed in his midst. Earth is the sediment of the K'e, therefore we say, the subtle and clear (K'e) became Heaven, the heavy and gross (K'e) became Earth."—Choo-tsze's Works, T'hëen and Te, sentence 2.

10. MIND proper, or the ψυχη κοσμου, the subtle ethereal Fire, is placed at the *outer* circle of this "Heaven" or complete Shang-te, who consists of *nine spheres; e. g.*:—

"Persons constantly assert that Heaven has nine stories, and divide these into signs; this is incorrect, he has merely *nine spheres*, but the lower portion of the K'e is comparatively gross and dark, above *at the highest point*, it is *most clear and bright*."—Choo-tsze's Works, T'hëen and Te, sentence 3.

Hence this animated "Heaven" or Shang-te, the Husband of the world, is thus spoken of in the classics:—

"Heaven is *widely extended over all*, without any private feeling, forgetting the difference between self and others (in making any decision) his justice and equity pervade to the utmost distance, in everything judging and discriminating accurately, therefore Heaven is called Te," *i. e.* Shang-te.—Medhurst's "Inquiry," &c., p. 6.

"In the collection of Imperial Odes, 9th section, 6th page, the writer says, 'We reverence Shang-te, because he *widely overspreads* all regions.'"—Ibid. p. 93.

"The *vast* and *sublime* Shang-te is the governor among the nations."—Ibid.

Wishing to ascertain accurately the views of the mass of the people at Shang-hae on this point, I set out, on one occasion in particular, to visit the principal temples in the city and to make certain inquiries of all those whom I might happen to meet. To relate all the incidents of this day is unnecessary; I shall merely mention one and request the reader *ab uno discere omnes*.

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On going into the chief temple, I entered into conversation with a man who was standing near the idol, smoking his pipe. "Whom do you worship?" I asked. "I worship Heaven just as you foreigners do," he replied. "Who is the Heaven you worship?" "Why, Shang-te, of course," said he. "Can you *see* Shang-te or not?" I inquired. "Why," replied he, looking at me with surprise at my ignorance, and leading me to the door while he pointed up to the sky, "there he is!" "What," said I, do you mean that *blue sky* up there?" "Of course," said he, "that is Shang-te, *the same as your Jesus!*"

I have never yet asked the above questions without receiving *precisely the same answers*, for *all* classes of Confucianists in China consider Shang-te to be the animated material Heaven.

11. This animated "Heaven," or "Shang-te," is the only Being who has ever received supreme worship in China, so far as we can learn; for the account given of *the earliest act of worship*, is as follows:—

"Shun then offered a sacrifice of the same class (with the border sacrifice) to Shang-te," &c. On which passage the commentator remarks, "the border sacrifice was the usual offering presented to *the expansive heavens*," &c.—Medhurst's Shoo-king, p. 17, and note.

The reason of this title "Expansive" being given to Shang-te or the "heavens," is as follows:—

"Because of *the immensity of his ether*, he is designated 'Expansive Heaven;' because his throne is on high (*i. e.* spread over the earth) he is designated 'Shang-te.'"—Chow Le, section 18, 2.

Hence the Confucianists consider it absurd to make images of Shang-te as the other polytheists do; *e. g.*:—

"In the works of Choo-foo-tsze, section 12, p. 12, one asked in regard to the phrase 'offending against Heaven,' whether Heaven is that passage meant the azure canopy of heaven, or the principle of order? to which Choo replied, 'the substance or body,'" *i. e.* the material Heaven "is called heaven, and the Lord and Governor thereof," *i. e.* the subtle Ether or animating soul; "is called Te (Shang-te), but you must not confound this being with him whom the Taouists call the thrice pure great Te, whom they represent as enrobed in splendour and enthroned in state."—Medhurst's "Inquiry," &c., p. 27.

12. As the whole complete universe is styled "Heaven and Earth," or "Heaven," or "Shang-te," the intellectual Fire, or ψυχη κοσμου, which animates it, is indifferently styled "the MIND of

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Heaven and Earth," or "the MIND of Heaven," or "the MIND of Shang-te," in the Chinese classics; *e. g.*:—

"In the same section, the writer talks of submitting himself to the inspection of Shang-te's mind, upon which Choo-foo-tsze has the following—'virtue and vice are all known to Heaven (see II., 7, 5): it is as if a catalogue of all our faults were made out and reckoned up; when we do anything good it is present to the mind of Te (Shang-te) and when I do anything bad it is also present to the mind of Te.' The phrase, "the mind of Shang-te' is explained by the commentator to mean 'the mind of Heaven.'"—Ibid. p. 23.

"Being asked whether the MIND of Heaven and Earth has life or is motionless, effecting nothing; he (Choo-tsze) replied, we must not assert that the MIND of Heaven and Earth has not life, but, *it cannot think and plan like man*," &c.—Choo-tsze's Works, T'heen and Te, sentence 19.

It is this MIND of soul of the world, who appoints Emperors; *e. g.*:—

"Prefixed to the Yew-heŏ is a historical poem, in which the writer, speaking of the present dynasty, says, 'The mind of Te (Shang-te) surveyed the glories of the Tartar dynasty, and raised T'hëen-ming to the throne, who after reigning eleven years, reverted to the palace of Te'"—Medhurst's Inquiry, &c., p. 34.

13. From the preceding statements, the complete universe, or Shang-te, regarded as one K'e, or complete Being, Soul, and Body, may be thus described by a diagram:—



MIND
or
Heaven
or
Heaven and Earth
or
Shang-te
or
MAN (see Part IV.)

The Supreme Soul of the whole universe, or Shang-te, is the Divine "Reason," or GOD, κατ' ἐξοχήν, the Infinite Immaterial Space in which the universe, which is his visible representation, revolves. As in the

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case of man, he unites chiefly with the MIND of Shang-te or the World, and makes it to be a rational Sould. From this twofold Soul (ψύχη and anima), the world is designated MIND, or Shang-te, and this twofold subtle Ether, by whose expansions and contractions all creation is generated or dies, is designated (as in man) "Kwei-shin," or "Demon-god." The ψύχη κόσμου, or rational portion of this twofold Soul, being the most pure Ether, is considered to be "hard" as to its nature, and is therefore designated "Këen." This Këen is the Demiurge or Great "Father" himself, who being constituted an intelligent Being or Soul by the First GOD or "Reason," which unites with him, generates or arranges the various portions of the world by his delegated power. From the *Supreme* Soul or GOD, κατ' ἐξοχήν, who pervades the whole universe without division of substance, the animated World, or Shang-te, is designated "Reason," "Heaven," &c. &c. Hence the philosopher Ching-tsze thus describes him:—

"If we divide him (Heaven or Shang-te), and describe him, then his *Body* is called Heaven (the World); the ruling power (ψυχὴ or rational Soul) is called Te (Shang-te); the active energy (*twofold* Soul) is designated Kwei-shin (Demon-god); and that which renders all things mysterious is designated GOD (SHIN). With regard to nature, he (Shang-te, or the rational Soul) is designated K'ëen. K'ëen is the commencement of all things, and hence he is designated Heaven, Light, Father, and Prince."—Yih-king, vol. ii., p. 12, Com.

By drawing the line A. B., we have Shang-te, or the world regarded as "two K'e," *i. e.*, "Imperial Heaven," the Husband, and Empress Earth, his wife; and these two Beings thus joined in one, form the great Hermaphroditic Shang-te, who generates all things from and within his own substance.

IV. Thus this complete universe, or "Heaven and Earth," or "Heaven," or "Shang-te," or by whatever other designation he may be called, although adorned with all the attributes of the true God, is yet merely a MAN; for he has a Body, viz, Heaven and Earth, the former his *head*, the latter his *feet*; his soul is twofold, partly rational and partly sentient, the former being the most subtle and pure Ether or Fire; and united with his rational Soul, is the GOD, κατ' ἐξοχήν, the Divine "Reason." (Le Fate), which is his "*virtuous nature*," conferring upon him all the powers which he possesses, and to whom he owes his existence.

1. The World, or Shang-te, whether he be designated "Heaven," or "Heaven and Earth," or "MIND," is expressly declared to be a MAN; *e. g.*:—

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"Heaven is a mould—*a Great Man*; Man is a small Heaven (Microcosm)."

"Heaven and Earth are a mould—a Great Man; Man is a small Heaven and Earth."—Yu-luy, ii., 26.

"MAN is the MIND of Heaven and Earth."—Le Ke, iv., 26 (Le Yun).

By the term "Man" here, Sages and Emperors are chiefly meant; *e. g.*:—

"The Sage is the same as Heaven (Shang-te)."—Choo-tsze's Works, ch. xvii., 30.

"The Sage is Heaven (Shang-te), and Heaven (Shang-te) is the Sage."—Ibid. ch. xxviii., 9.

"He (the virtuous Prince) stands as *one with* Heaven and Earth (Shang-te), and rebels not."—Chung Yung, sec. 29.

"One of the titles of the Emperor is *Heaven*, or *the Divinity*."—Medhurst's Inquiry, &c., p. 70.

Hence the Emperor is worshipped with the same degree of honour as Heaven, or Shang-te.—See Chinese Repos. vol. ii., p. 375.

Hence also the Emperor's wife is the same as "Empress Earth;" *e. g.*:—

"Eight days after this (16th June, 1833), on the 7th of the 5th moon, another paper appeared in the Gazette, praising her majesty, whose name was Tung-këa, for her great virtues ever since she became consort to Heaven (*i. e.* the Emperor), and during the thirteen years that she had held the relative situation of *Earth* to *Imperial Heaven*," *i. e.*, Wife to the Emperor.—Medhurst's Inquiry, p. 212.

2. The animated World, or Shang-te, and Man, are precisely the same, being formed from *the same materials*, viz. Le and K'e; *e. g.*:—

"That which *makes man to be man* is, that his Le is the Le of Heaven and Earth, and his K'e is the K'e of Heaven and Earth," &c.—Choo-tsze's Works, sentence 23.

And, as the K'e in the World, or Shang-te, is twofold, viz. MIND and Matter, so also in Man:

a. The gross K'e, or body in Man, is the same as the gross K'e, or body of Shang-te, viz. Heaven and Earth; *e. g.*:—

"Heaven and Earth are one K'e, just as all the bones of a Man constitute *one* Body." &c.—Chung Yung, ch. iii., 51.

"Man's *head* is round like Heaven, his *feet* are square like Earth," &c.—Choo-tsze's Works, ch. xlii. 31.

"The Sun and Moon in Heaven (Shang-te) correspond to the eyes in Man," &c.—Sing-le, &c. xxvii., 1.

"The Shin of Heaven (ψυχὴ κόσμου) resides in the Sun (Shang-

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te's eye) as the Shin (ψυχή) of a Man is manifested in *his* eye."—Ibid. xii., 30.

"Man receives the gross and subtle K'e, and resembles Heaven and Earth in form. . . . . His head is round like Heaven, his feet are square like Earth, his eyes are like the Sun and Moon, his voice like thunder," &c.—Ibid. xxvi., 29.

b. Also, the subtle K'e or MIND in Man, is the same as the subtle K'e or MIND of Heaven and Earth, *i. e.*, Shang-te proper.

"The MIND of Heaven and Earth pervades all things; Man obtains it, and then it becomes *the Mind of Man;* things obtain it, and then it becomes *the Mind of things;* Grass, Trees, Birds and Beasts obtain it, and then it becomes *the Mind of Grass, Trees, Birds and Beasts;* all is but the *one* MIND of Heaven and Earth."—Choo-tsze's Works, ch. xlix., 23.

Hence the Minds or Souls of Men, Birds, Beasts, Trees, &c., are all alike Shang-te, being portions of this one MIND who pervades, animates, and governs every portion of his Body the World, as the Soul does the body in Man; *e. g.*:—

"Heaven and Earth are one K'e, just as the various bones of a Man constitute *one* body. Shang-te is the Ruler of Heaven (*i. e.*, his Body, the World), *just as the Soul is the Ruler of the body.* How can there be two (Rulers)?"—Legge's Notions, &c. p. 52.

As there can be but one rational Soul (or Ruler) in Man, so there is but one rational Soul (or Ruler) in the animated World, and all other Souls (or Gods) being but decerpted portions from this ψυχη κοσμου, are all alike Shang-te; *e. g.*:—

"If we speak of all the Gods (Shin) of Heaven (the World) *collectively,* we designate them Shang-te."—Le-Ke, book v., 34, Com.

3. As MIND, or Shang-te, is a *twofold* Soul in "Heaven and Earth,' so is he also in Man, and *in both,* this twofold soul is designated "Kwei-Shin," or "Demon-god."

"Heaven and Earth are *one thing with my body;* that which is designated Demon-god (in the World) is *my own K'e.*"—Choo-tsze's Works, ch. li., 22.

"That which Heaven and Earth possess *in common with Men* is called Kwei-shin," *i. e.*, Demon-god, or ψυχη and anima.—Medhurst's Theology, &c. p. 167.

4. On the ground that Man and Shang-te are one and the same, the former is exhorted to virtue; *e. g.*:—

"Man is *one thing with* Heaven and Earth (complete Shang-te) why then should he demean himself?"—Works of the Two Chings, &c. vol. i., 52.

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Heaven, Earth, and the myriad of things are *one substance with my body;* when *my* MIND is properly adjusted, the MIND of Heaven and Earth (Shang-te) is properly adjusted," &c.—Chung Yung, i., 25, Com.

"The shin (rational soul) of Man, is the shin (rational soul) of Heaven and Earth (Shang-te); so that when Man demeans *himself,* he demeans *Heaven and Earth* (Shang-te). Can he then venture to do so?"—Sing-le, &c., ch. xii., 4.

Hence we see the reason why the rational soul in Man is designated God (Shin), namely, because it is a decerpted portion of the subtle Ether, or that God (Shin—Shang-te) who is the Soul of the World.

V. Shang-te, or the animated World, being thus shown to be but a mortal, although adorned in the attributes of Jehovah, the next subject of inquiry is, *Who* is this Man? To this question two answers may be given; *e. g.*:—

1. He is Pwan-koo.

The Great Extreme, or Chaos, we have seen, is a compound substance, consisting of MIND and Matter, the former the Soul, and the latter the Body: hence this origin of all things is evidently *a Man.* Now the Confucian law regarding dissolution is, that the soul and body return to their respective sources whence they were originally derived; *e. g.*:—

"Every ether (soul) in existence, is it not from *Heaven?* every body in existence, is it not from *Earth?*"—Sing-le, &c. xxvi., 9.

Hence when dissolution takes place,

"The body and anima descend (to Earth), and the Intellect and ether (*i. e.,* the rational soul in an ethereal vehicle) ascend (to Heaven)."—Le Yun, i., 20.

According to this law, therefore, when Chaos or the eternal First Man, separates into his component parts, the Soul or MIND ascends, and in this case *becomes* Heaven or Shang-te, while the Body or Matter descends and *becomes* Earth, and thus, as Socrates says, "*Life* springs from *Death.*" These two, now uniting in one universe, form the First Man, *in human form,* or lesser Shang-te, who is Pwan-koo, or *Adam.* Hence we are told that,

"The First Man was Pwan-koo. At the approach of death his body was transformed; his breath was changed into winds and clouds, his voice into thunder, his left eye into the sun, and his right into the moon, his limbs became the four regions, his blood and serum rivers, his sinews and arteries the earth's surface, his flesh fields, his beard the

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stars, his skin and hair herbs and trees, his feet and bones metals and rocks, his fine marrow pearls and precious stones, his dropping sweat rain," &c.—Chinese Repos. vol. iii., 55.

Thus we have here a man, from first to last, who is, *first*, Chaos, or the Fœtus; *secondly*, the animated Heaven and Earth or World, and who, *lastly*, appears in human form; and hence the Great Extreme, or Animated Chaos, is said to have *triplicated* himself, or divided into three MINDS or Shang-tes. (See above, II. 8, and III. 6.)

Hence, when we turn to Chinese history, we find that Pwan-Koo, the First Man, or Animated Chaos, was succeeded by three sovereigns, styled *Heaven* Emperor, *Earth* Emperor, and *Man* Emperor; and these three Beings, the commentator states, are in reality "Heaven, Earth, and Man," the Three Powers of Nature, and the triplication of the "Great Extreme," or "Supreme Unit," or "Shang-te."—See "Mirror of History," vol. i.

Now these Beings being all formed by the union of the Male and Female Principles, are *Hermaphrodites*, and for the same reason *all* males and females are so regarded in China; *e. g.*:—

"Keen (Heaven or Shang-te) completes the male, Kwăn (Empress Earth) the Female. Although the male belongs to the *Yang*, yet we cannot affirm that he is not *Yin* (*i. e.*, female); and, although the female belongs to the *Yin*, yet we cannot affirm that she is not *Yang* (*i. e.*, male).—Choo-tsze's Works, Yin and Yang, sentence 17.

Thus we have in this family of the First Man (Pwan-Koo and his three hermaphroditic successors) in reality *eight* persons—viz., Pwan-Koo, or Shang-te, or MIND, the Great Father, his wife, three sons, and their three wives; and these eight individuals issue forth from chaos or the *ovum mundi*, and correspond to the prominent characters in the family of Adam."

2. Shang-te is also Fuh he.

It is plain, from what has been already stated, that the First Man in his human form is in reality but a *re-appearance* of a former First Man, viz., animated Chaos; and between these two individuals intervenes a universal Deluge, from which the *second* First Man (if I may so designate him) escapes. Now this First Man, who escapes the Deluge and reappears at the commencement of each new world, is Fuh-he; *e. g.*:—

"Fuh-he is the First (who appears) at each opening and spreading out (of the universe)."—Sing-le, &c. xxvi., 19.

This Fuh-he, who is but a re-appearance of Pwan-koo or Adam, escapes from the Deluge with *seven companions*; and hence, in this

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material system, the universe is not only divided into *three*, but also into *eight*; *e. g.* :—

"Although the Great Extreme of the Yih-king has not been delineated, yet Këen (Imperial Shang-te or MIND) is the Great Extreme. Speaking of both portions (of the sacred circle or universe), then Kwăn (Empress Earth) may be paired with him, and the *six children* are also included (*i. e.*, in the circle). With regard to the whole (circle or universe), then Earth is this one Heaven (universe or Shang-te) and the six children are also this one Heaven," &c.—Yih-king, vol. xiii., 19, 13 Com.)

Here we have also a family of eight persons, who issue from the sacred circle, viz., Shang-te or Fuh-he, his wife, and their six children. These "six children," we find, on reference to the Yih-king, vol. xii., chap. xvii., p. 18., are three sons and three daughters; and these brothers uniting in marriage with their three sisters complete the universe.

In this Fuh-he and his family, then, we have the prominent characters in *Noah's* family, who escaped from a general Deluge, which destroyed the rest of the human race.

It is evident that this family corresponds to Pwan-koo's, the males and females being here *separated;* for we are told that previous to this time there was *no distinction of sex*, Fuh-he having been the first who instituted *marriage*.—See Chinese "Mirror of History," vol. i., p. 7.

By the constant succession of similar worlds, the two periods of the world's history, viz., Chaos (or Creation) and the Deluge, are blended together, and consequently the families of Pwan-koo (or Adam) and Fuh-he (or Noah), are also blended together, the latter being merely a re-appearance of the former. This confusion is facilitated by the fact, evidently known to the ancestors of the Chinese, that the Adamic and Noetic families both consisted of eight persons; and hence in this material system they divided the universe or chief god into eight arbitrary forms. (II. 9.)

As the Deluge occupies so prominent a position in Chinese cosmogony, the First Man or Shang-te is rather Fuh-he than Pwan-koo, yet it is plain that the former is only a re-appearance of the latter; or, in other words, the Chinese classical Shang-te is the same Being as the "Great Father," worshipped by the whole Pagan world under the different designations of Jupiter, Baal, Osiris, Brahm, &c., *Adam re-appearing in Noah.*

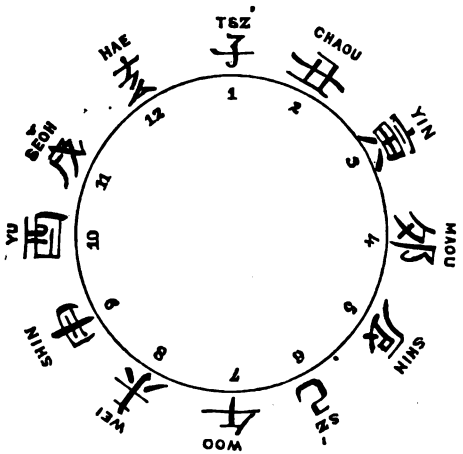
VI. The above system of theology will be found, on examination, to correspond with remarkable accuracy, to the general system adopted

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by the subjects of Nimrod's kingdom before their dispersion, and which was afterwards carried by them into the various countries where they settled.

1. The Yih-king is the Chinese authority on Cosmogony, and the doctrines of the Chinese philosophers are derived from this source. The doctrine of the endless succession of similar worlds as drawn from this ancient classic by Choo-foo-tsze (II., 1.) has striking points of resemblance to that taught by the stoics. Choo-tsye attributes the destruction of each universe to *the degeneracy of the human race*, and also states that each return to chaos is caused by *a general deluge*.

These rounds of nature are designated "*Great Revolutions*" or "*Years*" of the world. The circle in which the universe is supposed to revolve is divived into twelve portions thus,



Each complete revolution of this circle is called a "*Yuen*," and each subdivision a "*Hwuy*." A Hwuy is generally supposed to consist of 10,800 years: on this point, however, the philosophers differ. In the first Hwuy, which answers to the Fŭh Diagram of the Yih-king, Heaven (Shang-te) emerges from the Ovum mundi or Chaos; in the second, Earth; and in the third, Man; each world commencing with this Triad. The Deluge prevails during the 12th and last Hwuy, that is the *ninth* period from the formation of the First Man, and on the return to the first Hwuy, the universe is again generated from chaos as before. The Cycle, which is formed by the combination of this Circle with another of ten divisions, is said to have been invented by "Naou the Great" after the Deluge.—See Kae-peih-yeu-e, vol. i., pp. 1, 2; also Kang-këen, &c., p. 11.

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"After an interval of rest, says Seneca, in which the Deity will be intent upon his own conceptions (II. 1,) the world will be *entirely renewed*; every animal will be reproduced, and a race of men free from guilt, and born under happier stars will repeople the earth. *Degeneracy and corruption* will, however, again creep into the world; for it is only when the human race is young that innocence remains upon the earth. The grand course of things from the birth to the destruction of the World, which, according to the Stoics, is to be repeated with *endless succession* is accomplished within a certain period. This period, or fated round of nature, is probably what the ancients meant by *the Great Year*."—Enfield's Hist. of Philos. vol. i., p. 341.

MIND or Shang-te, who is inherent in Chaos, generates the world from his own body, Matter; and after the expiration of a certain period, swallows up his offspring again; he himself remaining like "the Deity" of the Stoics, in profound quiescence during the Deluge. Thus Shang-te corresponds to the "Devouring Jupiter" of the Stoics.

"The world, says Seneca, *being melted*, and having *re-entered* into the bosom of Jupiter, this God continues for some time totally concentred in himself, and remains concealed, as it were, wholly immersed in the contemplation of his own ideas. Afterwards we see *a new world* spring from him perfect in all its parts," &c.—Faber's Orig. of Pag. Idol., vol. i. p. 139.

2. Thus Jupiter and Shang-te are *the same Being;* for,

a. Shang-te is the pure Ether or Fire (II., 4.)

"The Stoics held that *the ether* was signified by the name of Jove."—Cudworth, vol. i., p. 428, note.

"Let Jupiter, therefore, be no longer that *fiery and ethereal substance*, which the ancient Pagans, according to Plutarch, supposed him to be," &c.—Ibid. p. 424.

b. Shang-te is placed at the *outer* circle of Heaven or the Universe, which consists of *nine spheres* (III., 10). Cicero says,

"All things are connected together in *nine spheres*, of which one is the celestial and *outermost*, which comprehends and encompasses all the rest, *the Supreme God himself* confining and containing the others." "But here," remarks Dr. Mosheim, "Cicero's summus Deus is the last of those nine spheres *of which the ancients supposed Heaven to consist*."—Cudworth, vol. ii., p. 127, note.

"The Stoical system teaches that *both* the active and passive principles in nature are *corporeal*, since whatever acts or suffers must be so. The efficient cause or God, is *pure ether or fire*, inhabiting *the exterior surface of the heavens*, where everything which is divine is placed," &c.—Enfield's Hist. of Philos., vol. i., p. 331.

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c. Shang-te is the Soul of the World, containing and governing it as the soul governs the body in man. (II., 7 *b.*)

"As we are governed by a soul, so also the world has a soul which *contains it*, and this soul is called Ζευς or Jupiter."—Cudworth, vol. ii., p. 296 note.

d. Shang-te is designated MIND. (II., 4, 7.)

"By Zeus the Greeks understood that MIND of the world which framed all things in it, and containeth the world."—Ibid. vol. i., p. 424.

e. Shang-te preserves the world in existence by his constant gyrations. (III., 9.)

Jupiter is thus invoked in a passage in Euripides:—

"Thee, the self-sprung, I invoke, who *enfoldest* the whole nature of things, *whirling* in ethereal gyration, around whom *day* and variegated *night*, and the countless throng of stars perpetually dance."—Ibid. p. 631 note.

f. Shang-te is a *twofold* Soul, partly rational (ψυχη) and partly irrational (anima). See III., 2.

So Plutarch's "Ruler," or Jupiter;

"From this (evil soul)" *i. e.*, anima, "and that orderly and best substance," *i. e.* the rational and good soul, "God made it prudent and regular, and imparting, as it were, intelligent form to sensitive, regular to moving, appointed it *the ruler of the universe.*"—Ibid. p. 335 note.

So also Plato:—

"Must we not necessarily say that the soul *governing* and *residing in* all things that move, governs also heaven (*i. e.* the world)? Assuredly. One or more? At least more than one; nor ought we to lay down fewer than *two*, the one *beneficent*, the other *working contrary things?*"—Ibid. p. 339 note.

g. Shang-te or the World is a Man, and Man is a microcosm, the Soul of the latter being twofold, like the soul of the world whence it is derived. (IV., 1, 3.)

So Jupiter or the World:—

"Man, according to Plato, bears the image of *the whole world;* both the world and man being a compound of *soul* and *matter*, and the soul of both, being *partly rational* and *partly irrational.*"—Ibid. p. 348 note.

"From this we see the nature, as well as the origin and birth, of that soul which *governs and rules the whole universe.* That mundane soul consists of two parts, &c. From this soul of the world were derived, according to Plato's opinion, *those souls by which our*

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bodies are governed. What is said of it, therefore, we are to suppose as said of these also. As the soul of the world consists of two parts, one brute and irrational, the other rational and wise, *so also our minds.*"—Ibid. p. 335 note.

h. The rational Soul of the World, or Shang-te proper, is designated God (Shin), and hence the rational soul in Man being a decerpted portion from this rational soul of the world, is designated God (Shin). See IV., 3, 4.

So also the ψύχη κόσμου or Jupiter proper; (*a.*) is designated God (θεος), and hence (*b.*) the rational soul in man, being a decerpted portion from this rational soul of the world, is designated God (θεος) also.

a. "God (θέος) is the soul (ψύχη) of the world."—Ibid. p. 211 note.

b. According to Zeno's doctrine, the "*minds* of men are *parts of God.*"—Ibid. vol. ii., p. 107 note.

"The Stoics do not hesitate frequently to call *the human mind* God."—Ibid. p. 106, note.

Vetet enim *dominans illa in nobis Deus,* injussu hinc nos demigrare."—Tusc. Disp. lib. i., cap. xxx. lxxiv.

Hence also, as men are called Gods (Shin) in China, so were they called Gods (Θέοι) in Greece and elsewhere;

". . . . . it is *a common practice* with the Stoics and Platonists to call men *gods,* as supposing that the sovereign portion of man, namely, *the mind and rational soul,* emanated from God himself, and is a part of God; and that if man bestows due care on this part, and abstracts it from body, he then becomes wholly like unto God, nay altogether a god."—Cudworth, vol. i., p. 373, note.

"Wherefore, in order to be consistent, they ought also to have placed *all souls* among the gods, and to have mutually paid divine honours to each other."—Ibid. vol. ii., p. 106, note.

According to the Chinese not only Mind but also,

"*Human speech* and action . . . . . belong to the Shin (God).—Medhurst's "Theology," &c., p. 9.

And according to the Stoics,

"Even mind and *voice* are corporeal, and in like manner *Deity.*"—Enfield's Hist. of Philos., vol. i., p. 332.

i. Shang-te, the animated Heaven, receives various titles in the Chinese Classics: *e.g.* "The *vast* and *sublime* Shang-te," &c. (III., 10.)

So also Jupiter, or the animated Heaven;

"Aspice hoc *sublime candens,* quem invocant omnes *Jovem,* &c. The reason of which speeches seems to have been this, because in

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ancient times some had supposed *the animated heaven, ether, and air* to be *the supreme Deity.*—Cudworth, vol. i., p. 423.

k. The animated World, or Shang-te, generated and animated by the GOD (SHIN) κατ' εξοχην is designated "Heaven," and is the chief numen worshipped in the state religion. (II., 3. 6.)

So the animated world or Jupiter:

". . . . . he (the God κατ' εξοχην) generated the universe a *blessed God.*—Timæus, sec. 13.

"The world, and that which by another name is called *Heaven*, by whose *circumgyration* all things are governed, ought to be believed *a numen*, eternal, immense, such as never was made, and shall never be destroyed."—Cudworth, vol. i., p. 210.

"Let the universe then be called *Heaven*, or the world, or by any other name which it usually receives," &c.—Timæus, sec. i.

l. Shang-te, or MIND, or the animated universe, must not be confounded with idols; (III., 11).

So also Jupiter, or the animated universe;

"Seneca speaks of the Tuscan augurs as employing the terrors of Jupiter's lightnings to keep in awe those who could only be restrained from wickedness by fear; and adds, that they believed the thunder of heaven to be in the hands not of the Jupiter worshipped by the Romans *in the Capitol and other temples*, but of a Supreme Intelligence, the *guardian* and *governor* of the universe, the *maker* and *lord* of this world. But, he adds, 'to this Deity agree the several names of Fate, Providence, Nature, or *the universe sustaining itself by its own energy*;' a doctrine we shall afterwards see was held by the Stoics."—Enfield's Hist. of Philos. vol. i., 111. .

m. Earth or Matter first generates Heaven or Shang-te, the ethereal Fire, and then consorting with this her son, she generates the rest of creation, (II., 4, 5. III., 5.)

So also Heaven or Jupiter;

"Earth first produced Heaven radiant with constellations; that is, the *fiery* and *more subtle* particles of matter flew off from the rest, and rose to loftier regions, forming the heavens and the stars, &c. Then Earth *consorting with her own offspring Heaven*, gave birth to several Deities, and last of all to Saturn," &c.—Cudworth, vol. i., 406, note.

Hence as Shang-te is either the *Soul* or *Husband* of the world, so is Jupiter;

n. Heaven or Shang-te and his wife the Earth, are astronomically the Sun and Moon; (III., 7.)

"The Stoics, amongst the Greeks, look upon the fiery substance of the whole world (and especially the Sun) as animated and intellectual, to be *the supreme Deity*," &c.—Cudworth, Ibid. p. 472.

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"Jupiter is said to be the Sun by Macrobius, Nonnus, and the author of the poems which bear the name of Orpheus."—Faber's Orig., &c., vol. ii., p. 206.

"....the Persians added the worship of the moon to that of the sun, and regarded the moon as the sun's wife."—Cudworth, vol. i., p. 473, note.

o. Man is the offspring of Heaven or Shang-te and Earth, his wife; the former gives the soul, the latter the body; and at death these return to their respective sources. (II., 7, III., 6, V., 1.)

"The mighty *earth* and the *ether of Jove*, the father of men and gods, *generate the human race*. What is produced from the earth *goes back again to earth*, and that which springs from ethereal seed *returns to the celestial pole*."—Ibid. vol. iii., p. 279, note.

"Earth is the *mother*, she produces *the body;* ether adds *the soul*."—Ibid. p. 280, note.

3. Chaos animated by MIND is the chief god (Shang-te) of the Chinese Philosophers. (II., 2, c; 3.)

"This Chaos, which was also called Night, was *in the most ancient times* worshipped as one of the superior divinities."—Enfield's Hist. of Philos., vol. i., p. 90.

Besides the material principle, "the Egyptians admitted *an active principle*, or *intelligent power*, eternally united with the chaotic mass, by whose energy the elements were separated and bodies were formed, and who continually *presides over* the universe, and is the efficient cause of all things."—Ibid.

4. The K'e when in its chaotic state is designated "one," and this "one" is a compound Being composed of *two* Beings, a Male (Heaven) and a Female (Earth). (II, 2, c. III., 4, 5.) Thus all things are generated from an *hermaphroditic* unity. The whole Pagan world likewise held that,

"All things were produced from *an hermaphroditic unity*."—Faber's Orig. &c. vol. iii. p. 69.

5. Chaos, properly so called, is the *Water*, which is a turbid and muddy mass from which all things are generated by the inherent MIND; (II., 4, a.)

"It is probable that by the term *Water* Thales meant to express the same idea which the Cosmogonists expressed by the word *chaos*, the notion annexed to which was, as we have shown, *a turbid and muddy mass*, from which all things were produced."—Enfield's Hist., &c., vol. i., p. 151.

6. The Eternal Matter, or K'e, is two-fold, gross and subtle (II., 4.)

The Pagan Philosophers of other nations also,

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". . . . supposed two kinds of matter: one a *grosser* nature and dissolvable from various causes; the other *more subtle*, and capable of being destroyed by divine power alone."—Cudworth, vol. iii., p. 111, *note.*

Thus the K'e, or *material* "Nature" (I., 4 c.) is one whole, consisting of a subtle Ether or Fire, which is the active principle (Shin—God), and grosser matter which is the passive principle, and the ethereal body of the former, which is the animating MIND or Soul: *both* of these being in reality the *same* substance—K'e, air;

"Pythagoras, Heraclitus, and after them Zeno, taking it for granted that there was no real existence which is not *corporeal*, conceive nature to be *one whole*, consisting of a *subtle ether* and *gross matter*, the former *Active*, and the latter the *Passive* Principle, as essentially united as *the soul and body in man*; that is, they supposed *God*, with respect to nature, to be not a co-existing, but an informing principle."—Enfield's Hist., &c., vol i., p. 335.

8. The two principles are Light, the Active, and Darkness, the Passive Principle. The latter is *prior* to the former (II., 6).

"The *mus araneus* being blind, is said to have been deified by the Egyptians, because they thought that *darkness was older than light.*"—Cudworth, vol. i., p. 399.

9. Hwae Nan-tsze, and some others, designate *both* these principles "God (Shin);" but the generality of the Chinese Philosophers designate the Light or Good Principle "God (Shin)," and the Darkness or Evil Principle "Demon (Kwei)," III., 1. According to Plutarch,

"Zoroaster and the ancient Magi made *good* and *evil*, *light* and *darkness*, the two substantial principles of the universe, that is, asserted an evil demon co-eternal with God, and independent of him," &c.—Ibid. p. 486.

This class, "called the better principle *God*, and the worse *demon*," &c.—Ibid. 371, *note.*

"Some suppose that there are *two* gods, as it were of contrary arts, so that one is the author of good, the other of evil things; others call him that is better a *god*, but the other a *demon* only."—Ibid. 354.

". . . . almost all the oriental nations believe the all-pervading light to be *God.*"—Ibid. p. 475, *note.*

"In the earliest ages, God himself was believed to be *light* and *ether.*"—Ibid. vol. iii., 279.

10. The Light or MIND proper is the first *generated* God (Shin), and is the chief God of the Chinese Pantheon (II., 5);

So Jupiter or the Light,

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"But the earth being then invisible by reason of the darkness, a *light* breaking out through the ether illumined the whole creation; this light being said by him (Orpheus) to be that *highest of all Beings* (before mentioned) which is called counsel and life."—Ibid. vol. i., p. 503.

11. The K'e, which *emanates from* the GOD (SHIN), κατ' ἐξοχην (I., 3), consists of two principles: the one Light or an intellectual God (Shin), the other Darkness or an evil Demon (Kwei'). So Zoroaster;

"If these authorities be carefully compared, it will appear probable that Zoroaster, adopting the principle commonly held by the ancients, that from nothing, nothing can be produced, conceived *light*, or those spiritual substances which partake of the active nature of fire, and *Darkness* or the impenetrable opaque and passive mass of matter, to be *emanations from one Eternal Source;* that to the derived substances he gave the names already applied by the Magi to the causes of good and evil: Oromasdes and Araminius, and that the first Fountain of Being, or the Supreme Divinity, he called Mithras."—Enfield's Hist. &c., vol. i., p. 64.

Hence in the SHIN, κατ' ἐξοχην, of the Confucian Classics we have Mithras, or the Θεος κατ' ἐξοχην of Zoroaster; and in the twofold matter generated by the former, we have Zoroaster's two generated deities, viz., Oromasdes (Shang-te) and Araminius.

12. Chaos consists of a rational Soul inherent in matter; or three hypostases, viz., Reason, MIND, and Matter. MIND, or Shang-te, being merely the *Demiurge* or *second* God, who owes his existence and all his powers to the Divine Reason (II., 4, 7).

So the Egyptians, &c.,

". . . . they determining *mind* and *reason* first to have existed of themselves, and so the whole world to have been made. Wherefore they acknowledge *before* the heaven and *in* the heaven a living power, and place *pure mind* above the world as the Demiurgus and architect thereof."—Cudworth, vol. i., p. 540.

The maker of the world *was not* "the Supreme Being, but . . . . *far below* the parent and founder of all things."—Ibid. p. 598, *note.*

"Among the *rulers*" of the world, "Jamblicus assigns the *first* place to the *Demiurgic Mind*, which he tells us is Ammon, Phtha, and Osiris."—Ibid. p. 602, *note.*

Thus, although a GOD (SHIN), κατ' ἐξοχην, who is in reality the Father of all things, is acknowledged by the Confucianists, yet this First God is wholly neglected by them, and the *second* God, or Shang-te receives all the worship due in reality to the First; no higher God being recognized in the state religion than this Demiurge,

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who is regarded as the Creator himself. In this, however, the Chinese resemble the rest of the Pagan world, *e.g.*,

"The Father perfected all things, that is, the intelligible ideas (for these are those things which are complete and perfect), and delivered them to the *second* God to *rule over* them. Wherefore, whatsoever is produced by this God according to its own exemplar, and the intelligible essence, must needs owe its original also to the highest Father. Which *second* God the generations of men *commonly take for the first*, they looking up no higher than to the *immedate* architect of the world."—Ibid. p. 484.

13. In the Chinese Chaos we have Plato's Trinity, *viz.*, 1. The indivisible Unity, or First God, the Soul of the K'e, or Shang-te 2. MIND, or Shang-te proper, the rational portion of the Soul of the world; and 3. The anima mundi, or irrational portion of the soul of the world (II., 4).

". . . . these three divine hypostases of the Egyptians with the Pythagoric or Platonic trinity of first, τὸ ἓν, or τ' ἀγαθὸν *unity* and goodness itself, secondly, νοῦς, *mind*, and thirdly, ψυχη (*i.e.*, anima), *Soul*."—Ibid. p. 601 (see also pp. 484-5).

14. The two principles of Light and Darkness ultimately become the twofold soul of the world, intellect being first placed in this soul by the GOD (SHIN) κατ' ἐξοχεν, and the soul being then placed in body, *viz.*, the universe (III., 3, 4).

So Plato,

"In pursuance of this reasoning, placing intellect in soul, and soul in body, he (the Θεὸς κατ' ἐξοχην,) *constructed* the universe."—Timæus, ch. 10.

15. Shang-te complete is the whole animated world, Heaven is his head, Earth (including Tartarus, ii., 2 e), his feet, the Sun and Moon are his eyes, his rational soul (NOUS or MIND) is the pure ether &c., &c. (IV., 2; V., 1.)

So Jupiter.

"The whole universe constituted one body; the body of that king from whom originated all things; and within that body every elemental principle alike revolved; for all things were contained within the vast womb of the God. Heaven was his head; the bright beams of the stars were his radiant locks; the east and the west those sacred roads of the immortals were his tauriform horns; the sun and the moon were his eyes; the grosser atmosphere was his back, &c.; the all productive earth was his sacred womb; the circling ocean was his belt; the roots of the earth, and the nether regions of Tartarus were his feet; his body the universe was radiant, immoveable, eternal; and

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the pure ether was his intellectual soul, the mighty *Nous* by which he pervades, animates, preserves, and governs all things."—Faber's Orig. &c., vol. i., p. 42.

So also the Egyptian Serapis,

"The celestial world is my head; the sea is my womb, the earth supplies to me the place of feet; the pure ether furnishes me with ears; and the bright lustre of the sun is my eye."—Ibid. p. 43.

16. The Chinese and Stoics agree precisely in their ideas of *Man*. Man according to the Stoics and others, had a twofold body, viz., Head and Feet; and a two-fold soul, viz., Demon and God (θεος). This they transferred to the universe or Heaven, *i.e.* Jupiter. According to the Chinese also, Man's body is two-fold, viz., Head and Feet; and his soul is two-fold, viz., Demon and God (Shin): and this they have also transferred to the universe or Heaven, *i. e.* Shang-te.

VII. Shang-te or MIND is the "Great Father" (Adam reappearing in Noah) worshipped by the whole Pagan world, under the various designations Jupiter, Baal, Brahm, Osiris, Eros, &c., &c.

1. Shang-te or MIND, the creative Soul of the world, is born from the *ovum mundi*. (II., 2 e: 5.)

"We perpetually meet with a legend of *the great father* being born out of *an egg*, &c."—Faber's Orig. &c., vol. i., p. 171.

"The creative soul of the world therefore, which triplicates itself at the renovation of the mundane system *is produced out of an egg*, which floated during the intermediate period between two worlds, on the surface of the ocean, notwithstanding it is described as being the productive cause of all things."—Ibid. p. 172.

2. Shang-te triplicates his substance into *three* worlds, viz., Heaven, Earth, and Man, which, however, are regarded as being but *one* universe. (II., 8, III., 6.)

"Whether they (the Pagan world) addicted themselves to Demonolatry, to Sabianism, or to gross materialism, we still invariably find the same propensity to *the triple division*, which was esteemed so peculiarly dear to the god whom they worshipped. Pursuant to such a speculation the unity of the whole world, that supposed body of the great father was divided into what were called *three* worlds, though the three were nevertheless fundamentally but *one* universe," &c.—Ibid. pp. 44, &c.

This Triad consists of *two gods*, viz., "Imperial Heaven," or Shang-te, and "Man;" and *one goddess*, viz., "Empress Earth;" so that under this Triad we have "Heaven" or Shang-te, the *father;* Earth, the *mother;* and Man, their *son*.

"Thus we find (amongst the Pagan mythologists) triads consisting

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of a god and two goddesses, and again of *two gods and one goddess* Each of these principal varieties had also its sub-varieties. Under..... the *second* we have a *father*, a *mother*, and a *son*."—Ibid. p. 24.

These three Beings are also styled "Heaven-Emperor, Earth-Emperor, and Man-Emperor," being three sovereigns who divide the universe between them. (V., 1.)

"Noah was esteemed the universal sovereign of the world; but when he branched out into *three kings*, that world was to be divided into *three kingdoms*, or (as they were sometimes styled) three worlds. To one of the three kings, therefore, was assigned the empire of heaven; to another, the empire of the earth, including the nether regions of Tartarus; to a third, the empire of the ocean. Yet the characters of the three kings as we examine them *mutually melt into each other*; until at length we find but *one* world and *one* sovereign, who rules with *triple* sway the three grand mundane divisions."—Ibid. p. 17.

3. This great Hermaphroditic Shang-te, who thus triplicates his substance, is also said in the Yih-king, to divide into *eight* Beings or portions. The great Father triplicates, generating *three sons;* the great Mother triplicates generating *three daughters;* and these three brothers united with their three sisters, are designated "the six children."—See Yih-king, vol. xii., ch. xvii., p. 18. (II., 9, V., 2.)

"The genuine triad doubtless consisted of *three sons born from one father*, and united in marriage with their *three sisters;* and this was sometimes mystically expressed under the notion of the primeval Demon-god wonderfully *triplicating his substance*, &c. We shall constantly find the old hierophants confessing, that in reality they have but one god, and one goddess, for that all the male divinities may be ultimately resolved into *the great father*, as all the female divinities finally resolve themselves into *the great mother*."—Ibid. p. 24.

This Ogdoad or "Eight Diagrams" of the Yih-king, are materially "Heaven, Earth, Thunder, Wind, Water, Fire, Mountains, and Dew," (II., 9); a most arbitrary division of the great Demon-god Shang-te, or the animated universe.

"There was another characteristic of the chief Demon-god which was not to be overlooked. The ancients well knew that his family at the commencement of *both* worlds consisted of *eight persons* . . . and at all hazards these determined analogical speculatists were resolved to elicit the number eight from the reluctant frame of the unbending universe. From the whole connection of this legend there can be no doubt, I think, that the eight forms of the great father mean *the eight*

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persons who were saved in the ark; those eight persons whom the Egyptians adored as their *chief gods*, and whom they depicted sailing together in a ship over the ocean. Yet, when the same great father is materially identified with the universe, his eight forms are then expressly pronounced to be the somewhat heterogeneous ogdoad of Water, Fire, Sacrifice, the Sun, the Moon, Ether, Earth, Air . . . An Ogdoad is said to have been produced from the womb of the hermaphroditic Jupiter, who is described as the great parent identified with the universe; but, while it is just as heterogeneous in point of composition as the last," and also, we may add, as the Chinese Ogdoad, "*its members are by no means coincident*, though the sum total in both cases equally produces the number *eight*. This second ogdoad consists of Fire, Water, Earth, Air, Night, Day, Metis, and Eros. Here again as in the case of the former one," and of the Chinese, "*the members are plainly accommodated to the number;* the number is not chosen, because by a *natural arrangement* the members exactly amounted to eight, but eight members are arbitrarily associated together because the precise number eight had been *previously selected*, and the sum total was to be made up whether congruously or incongruously."—Ibid. pp. 44-46.

4. The *Ovum mundi*, or sacred circle, out of which Shang-te and his family are generated after the Deluge, represents either the Chaotic World in which MIND is hidden in the womb of Earth or Matter, or the arranged and completed Universe of which MIND is still the animating Soul (II., 2, e).

Of the *Ovum mundi* Mr. Faber says:

"The ancient pagans, in almost every part of the globe, were wont to symbolize the world by *an egg*. Hence this hieroglyphic is introduced into the cosmogonies of nearly all nations; and few are the persons, even those who have not made mythology their peculiar study, to whom the mundane egg is not perfectly familiar. The symbol was employed to represent not only *the Earth*, but likewise *the universe* in its largest extent," &c.

"But there was another world which the hieroglyphical egg was employed to represent, as well as the Earth or Universe. At the period of the Deluge, the rudiments of the new world were enclosed together within the Ark, which floated on the surface of the ocean in the same manner as the globe of the Earth was thought to have floated in the waters of Chaos. Hence the Ark was esteemed a microcosm or little world; and hence arose a complete intercommunion of symbols between *the Ark* and *the Earth*. The egg accordingly, being made a symbol of the Earth was also made a symbol of *the Ark*," &c.

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"As the globe, which is a solid circle, is sometimes substituted for the egg, so *the circle* or *ring*, which is a plain sphere, sometimes occupies the place of the globe," &c.—Ibid. pp. 175, 176, 189.

5. With regard to the confusion, visible also in the Chinese system, between the Creation and the Deluge, and the blending together of the Adamic and Noetic families (V., 2), Mr. Faber says,

"The primitive world commenced with a single pair; who may indeed have had other children, but who were chiefly memorable as being the parents of *a triad of sons* espoused to *a triad of daughters*," &c.

"Now it is a curious circumstance that in all these particulars, the new world, with more or less exactness, resembles the old. *It also* commenced from a single pair, remarkable as having for their offspring a triad of sons espoused to a triad of daughters-in-law, &c.

"Such being the clear analogy between the histories of the two worlds a fresh theoretical refinement was built upon it. The doctrine of a mere succession of worlds was heightened to the doctrine of a succession of *similar* worlds. Each mundane system was thought to present an exact resemblance of its predecessor. The *same persons* appeared in *new bodies*, &c.

"Agreeably to these speculations, while Noah and Adam are *each* esteemed the great universal father both of gods and men, the former was supposed to be no other than a *re-appearance* of the latter; and in a similar manner, the divine souls which once animated the Adamitical triad, were thought to have been again incarnate in the persons of the Noetic triad," &c.—Ibid. pp. 11–14.

6. The designation given to Shang-te, who animates the world as the soul does the body, is MIND (II., 2 d: 4 & 7 b).

"A somewhat similar observation may be made on the name which the Greeks employed to designate the all-pervading Mind or Intellect, that was thought to animate and govern the world *as the human soul does the body*. In point of matter of fact, this Mind was certainly *the great father or Noah viewed as a re-appearance of Adam*. The Adamitical Noah, therefore, being the fabled Mind of the world, the Greeks borrowed the proper name (*Nous* or *Nus*) of that patriarch, and employed it to describe Mind or Intellect."—Ibid. p. 173.

Hence Shang-te, the soul of the world, is the same as Janus, Jupiter, &c.

". . . . the imaginary Soul of the World is the same as that *great universal father, both of gods and men, whom the Gentiles adored under so many different names:* for Janus, Jupiter, Cronus, Dionusus, Osiris, and Brahm, are all undoubtedly the great father; and at the same

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time they are all equally described as being *the pervading soul of the world.*"—Ibid. p. 170.

And, in the three MINDS, or Emperors, into which this Demiurgic MIND, or Shang-te, divides himself, we have the Platonic "three kings" (V., 1 a);

"The demiurgic Mind or Soul which Proclus rightly identifies with the creative hemaphroditic Jupiter of Orpheus and Plato, is said by Amelius to have triplicated itself; so that this one Mind became three Minds, or *three kings*, and these three Minds or demiurgic principles, as Proclus subjoins, are the same as the Platonic three kings, and as the Orphic triad of Phanes, and Uranus and Cronus."—Ibid. p. 171.

7. Shang-te is also the Husband of the Earth or World which forms his body or Wife (ii., 7, iii., 5). These two Beings are worshipped under the titles "Imperial Heaven" and "Empress Earth," and the whole universe or Shang-te is a great Hemaphroditic Deity formed by their union;

"This Intelligent Being who was indifferently the *soul* and the *husband* of the world, was the great father or principal Demon-god of the Gentiles; while his *body* or *consort*, the Earth, was their primeval great mother or chief goddess. The two were allowed to be the most ancient of their deities, and the first of the Cabiric gods; and they were ever venerated conjointly in different countries under the names of *Cœlus* and *Terra*, *Osiris* and *Isis*, *Taautes* and *Astarte*, *Saturn* and *Ops*, *Woden* and *Frea*, or *Isani* and *Isi*."—Ibid. p. 165.

"The writings of the old mythologists strongly maintain the doctrine which identifies both the great father and the great mother, or these two persons blended into *one compound hermaphroditic character* with *the whole material creation*."—Ibid. p. 41.

8. Shang-te and his wife the Earth, are worshipped as the patrons of generation, and are represented indecorously (III. 8).

"These two ancient personages, from whom all things were allowed to have been produced, were on that account esteemed the patrons of generation, and were thought to preside over births of every sort and description. They were reckoned the two principles of fecundity, whether animal or vegetable; and as the universe was supposed to have originated from their mystic union, they were *in every quarter of the globe*, represented by two symbols: which were indeed sufficiently expressive of their imagined attributes, but which cannot be specified *consistently with a due regard to decorum*."—Ibid. p. 24.

9. Shang-te and his wife Earth, are astronomically the Sun and Moon (III., 7);

"As they (the ancient hierophants) highly venerated the souls of

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their paradisiacal and arkite ancestors, considering them in the light of Demon-gods who still watched and presided over the affairs of men; it was a very easy step in the progress of apostate error to imagine that they were *translated to the heavenly bodies*, &c. Since they perceived the Sun and the Moon to be the two great lights of heaven, and since they worshipped with an especial veneration the great father and the great mother, they would naturally *elevate these two personages to the two principal luminaries*. Such accordingly was the plan they adopted," &c.—Ibid. p. 31.

10. From the union of MIND and Matter, Shang-te, or the world, is stated to be "a great man," and Man "a small world" (IV. 1);

For the same reason Mr. Faber says,

". . . . physiologists were accustomed to style the world *a great man*, and man *a small world*," &c.—Ibid. p. 163.

11. The souls of men are emanations from Shang-te (IV., 2 b);

"The souls of men consequently were reckoned to be emanations from the great Soul, and were considered as fellows and members of the principal deity."—Ibid.

12. All the other deities resolve themselves into Shang-te (Ibid. and II., 9);

"Though the gentiles were ostensibly polytheists, yet in absolute strictness of speech they worshipped only *one great compound deity*, who was the reputed parent of the universe. All their gods ultimately resolve themselves into a single god, who was esteemed the great father; all their goddesses finally prove to be only one goddess, who was accounted the great mother; and these two beings at length appear as *a sole divinity*, who was thought to partake of *both sexes*, and who was venerated as alike the father and the mother of the whole world."—Ibid. vol. ii., p. 205.

13. Shang-te remains inactive until the time arrives for the formation of a new world. During the period of the Deluge he remains securely shut up in the *ovum mundi* (or Ark), all things being absorbed into his substance (II., 1 a);

"Every thing is then (at the return to chaos) absorbed into the unity of the great father; and this mysterious being during the period that elapses between each two mundane systems, reposes on the surface of the mighty deep, floating securely, either in *a wonderful egg* or in the calix of the lotos, or on a naviform leaf, or on a huge serpent coiled up in the form of a boat, or in a sacred ship denominated Argha, of which the other vehicles are consequently symbols. To destroy, however, is but to create afresh, for destruction affects *form* alone; it reaches not to *substance*. Hence when the great father has slept a

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whole year of the creator, the space which ever intervenes between world and world, he *awakes from his slumber*, and produces a new order of things. Out of the chaotic materials of the prior world, another world is fashioned," &c.—Ibid. vol. i., p. 112.

14. Shang-te's body is the world, and his soul is the soul of the world. All things are generated by him and return to his substance (II, 2 b, III., 2, IV., 2 b);

So also the great father of the whole Pagan world;

"All nature was *produced from him* and *returned to him;* all nature was his *body;* and his pervading spirit was *the soul of the world*."—Ibid. p. 40.

15. Shang-te is the *Son* or *Father* of the Earth or Ark (II., 5); and the

". . . . speculations of Paganism . . . . represented Noah both *as the father and as the son of the Ark*," *&c.*—Ibid. p. 198.

16. Shang-te is merely a MAN (IV., 1, V., 1, 2);

"The person, therefore, who in the mythology of the Pagans is venerated as the creator of the world, who is esteemed the Soul of the Universe, and of whom every thing material, whether great or small, is a member or form, is plainly *not the Supreme Being*, whom by their perverted wisdom they had ceased to know; but *a mere man* who was deemed the head and parent of each successive similar world, who was thought to have produced and still to animate every living creature, and who was worshipped as the chief god and oldest of the Demon-gods."—Ibid. p. 49.

17. This First Man is regarded as an Hermaphrodite. (V., 1, a.);

"The notion of the first created man being an Hermaphrodite has doubtless arisen from a misconception of the primeval tradition, which through Noah was handed down to the builders of the tower, respecting the process of forming the original pair. As the woman sprang out of the side of the man, and as therefore she made a part of him before such disjunction, it was mystically said that Adam or Swayambhuva was androgynous, and that all things were produced from an hermaphroditic unity."—Ibid. vol. iii., p. 68.

18. The Source of all Shang-te's powers, however, is the GOD (SHIN) κατ' ἐξοχήν, who unites with his Soul or Mind. (II,. 7);

"For them (those who rejected two *independent* principles) *Wisdom*, ever kindly ready to solve all difficulties, had provided another expedient. This was, since the great triplicated father was confessedly eternal, to *identify him with the Deity;* and since matter was also eternal to make the Soul of the great father the Soul of the world, and to give him the whole universe for his body. But here it would

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readily be objected, how can the mere man Adam or Noah, whose office it is to appear at the beginning of every new world, be admitted as God, when his form had been always that of a simple mortal? To this question *Wisdom* is at no less for a reply; the body indeed was the body of a man, but the immortal soul was *the Deity himself;* from time to time he descends and becomes incarnate in the person of the great Father, and on special occasions appears in the form of other eminent characters; the spirit of this eternal great Father with whom when multiplied into three forms each world commences, is to be revered as the true plastic arranger and governor of the universe; beside him there is no God, for his *three forms* or his *eight forms* are equally a delusion, *emanating from him, and resolvable into his sacred essence.*" (II., 8, 9.)

"Thus, as the Apostle speaks, did *Wisdom* teach mankind," including the founders of the Chinese Empire, "at Babel, *to change the truth of God into a lie, and to worship the creature more than* or *in preference to the Creator.*"—Ibid. vol. i., p. 102.

From the above statements it appears: 1. That the Chinese system of Theology, as derived from the Yih-king, corresponds in a very remarkable manner to all the other Pagan systems: 2. That this remarkable agreement not only extends to what is "obvious and natural," but also to "arbitrary circumstantials," proving that the Chinese have not borrowed from any other nation: and this proof is rendered still stronger by the fact that these "circumstantials" differ in detail from those of all other systems (*e. g.*, the Triad and Ogdoad). 3. Hence the conclusion is inevitable that the Chinese also derived their system from one primeval system common to all the Pagans: or, in other words, that the founders of the Chinese Empire formed a part of the single community assembled on the plain of Shinar, under Nimrod, before the dispersion, and after that event carried to China that idolatrous system which has existed there to the present day.

NOTE.

As the above system appears to me to throw light upon the unhappy controversy which has now been carried on for some years in China, I shall make a few remarks here on this subject.

The want of a new translation of the Scriptures into the Chinese language, has long been felt by the missionaries in China. Some years ago preparations were made to supply this want. and the delegates appointed at the various missionary stations to engage in this work, assembled at Shang-hae in the month of June, 1847.

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These gentlemen had scarcely commenced their labours, when a difference of opinion arose amongst them with regard to the proper Chinese term to be used as the translation of אֱלֹהִים and Θεὸς. One party considered that the Chinese term "SHIN" is the translation of these terms, and the other thought that wherever these terms occurred in the Scriptures, the designation of the being most honoured by the Chinese, viz., "Shang-te," should be inserted in the Chinese translation, the term "Shin" appearing to them to signify "Spirit," and not "God."

This difference of opinion gave rise to a *vivâ voce* discussion which lasted for some days: and the discussion was afterwards carried on in writing for about five months. Afterwards, several missionaries published their views on the subject. Neither party, however, having been at all influenced by the arguments of the opposite one, this important question remains still undecided; and the Bible Society, feeling unable to decide which opinion is correct, has generously offered to assist each party in printing the new translation, with the terms of which they severally approve, throwing any responsibility which may attach to this course on the several Missionary Societies.

It is, however, a matter of the utmost importance, that we who are privileged to preach the Gospel of Christ to the Chinese, should "with *one mouth*," as well as "with *one heart*," proclaim the glad tidings of salvation; and hence, with an humble desire to promote, if possible, so excellent an object, I have endeavoured to lay before the reader the *complete* system of theology inculcated in the classical writings. I feel sure that the only way to bring the controversy to a favourable termination, is to lay before classical scholars the very striking similarity which exists between the Chinese and all other Pagan systems.

It appears to me that in investigating any Pagan system of philosophy, we should take especial care to ascertain the ideas attached to important terms *by Heathen writers themselves*. For if caution be not exercised on this point, we are in danger, by affixing a *Christian* sense to such terms, of giving the Heathen credit for an amount of knowledge which they never possessed, and of thus damaging any conclusions we may draw from our own researches.

"It is the custom with a great many," says Dr. Mosheim, "to believe the ancients to have attached *the same idea* to words that we do at this day, and to take for granted that the old philosophers followed the same laws and principles in their reasoning as ourselves: hence they altogether remodel these Philosophers, and present them before us, not as they really were, but *such as they would have been*,

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had they been educated in our schools."—Cudworth, vol. i., p. 53 note.

The mistakes which may arise from this method of interpreting the works of Heathen writers, might be fully exemplified from what has been published in China on the subject of the controversy above alluded to. I shall, however, merely notice a few of the most important.

1. It has been strongly urged that the Chinese term "Shin" merely means "spirit or spiritual," and not "God," because the Chinese Philosophers, and also the literati of the present day (amongst whom the Lieutenant Governor of Fokien Province has been appealed to) define that term "Woo-hing," or "Incorporeal," and this term "Incorporeal," it is taken for granted, is equivalent to *our* terms "spirit or spiritual." Such would doubtless be the case in any *Christian* work; but it is not so in *Chinese* writings. This is plain from the fact that Choo-foo-tsze, who has been appealed to by the writers on both sides of the controversy, states, ch. xlix., p. 25, of his "Complete Works," that Heaven, or the Subtle Ether, is "Incorporeal (Woo-hing)," and the Ether is certainly not "spirit or spiritual" in *our* sense of these terms.

The fact is that the terms "Incorporeal," "Immaterial," &c., are used by the Chinese Philosophers in precisely the same way as ασωματον was used by the Western Pagans, and must be considered *relatively*, and not necessarily implying what *we* mean by these terms: for, *the same thing* is sometimes pronounced by Pagan Philosophers to be both "material" and "immaterial," when spoken of in reference to *finer* or *more gross* substances; *e. g.*:—

"MIND compared with Nature is *more material*, compared with the K'e he is certainly *more spiritual*." (II, 4.)

Here Mind or the ψυχη κοσμου, (*i. e.* Shang-te), which rules the world, and is "Woo-hing," is stated to be either a "material" or "immaterial" Being, according as he is compared with the GOD κατ' εξοχὴν, or with the more material world, in which he is inherent, and which forms his body. On this subject Dr. Mosheim says,

"..... it appears very doubtful, whether that which the ancients termed ασωματον (Woo, *not*, hing, *body*), and incorporeal, was intended to be such as what *we* call spiritual and spirit. Certainly many things seem to show, that that very thing which *they* supposed to be immaterial, was considered by them *to consist of particles*, although certainly the most subtle."—Cudworth, vol. i., p. 53, note.

That which this learned writer here states to be so doubtful, has, in the case of the Chinese Philosophers, been taken for granted; with what degree of accuracy let the passage quoted from the works of

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Choo-tsze testify. It is plain that a point so doubtful ought to have been first *proved*, before any argument was built upon it, as to the meaning of the term "Shin."

2. It has also been urged that "Shin" means "spirit or spiritual," and not "God," because the rational soul in man is so designated. This is, in fact, the great stronghold of those who consider that the term "Shin" means "Spirit," and not "God."

But here, it seems to me, two important points which ought to have been first *proved*, before this argument can have any weight, have been taken for granted; viz.: *first*, that the rational soul *is* in the estimation of the Chinese Philosophers what *we* call "spirit or spiritual:" and, *secondly*, that the meaning which *the Chinese themselves* attach to the term "God," renders it impossible that *they* should apply such a term to the rational soul.

Now with regard to the first point, the rational soul, in the opinion of the Chinese, is a portion of the subtle Ether or Soul of the World (iii., 2, b.), which according to *our* ideas is *material*, inasmuch as it consists of particles, although, as Dr. Mosheim says, "the most subtle." Hence an examination into the ideas entertained by the Chinese themselves as to the nature and origin of the soul, would have shown the inconclusiveness of the argument alluded to, as to the meaning of the term "Shin." With regard to the second point: the Chinese Philosophers have been shown to resemble the rest of the Pagan world in holding "Shin," like Θεὸς and Deus, to be the ψυχη κοσμου, and the rational soul in man to be *an emanation* from that Soul; and hence we find these two souls designated by the same term. In this case it is plain that such an application of the term "Shin" no more necessarily proves that term to mean "mere spirit," than the like application of Θεὸν and Deus proves that these terms mean "mere spirit," and not "God." On the contrary, we have here a most remarkable point of similarity in the use of the three terms, Shin, Θεὸς, and Deus.

The application which the Chinese Philosophers themselves make of the term "Shin" in their writings, it appears to me, places it beyond question that this term agrees precisely to the term "God" as used by all Pagan Materialists: for,

a. As all Pagan nations held one Θεὸς κατ' εξοχην, so the Chinese hold one SHIN, κατ' εξοχην, the Author of all things.

b. The Chinese Pilosophers give precisely the same titles and attributes to their Supreme "Shin" which the rest of the Pagan world gave to their Supreme "Θεὸς."

c. The position and power assigned to both "SHIN" and "Θεὸς" in the Universe is precisely the same;

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d. With regard to the first *generated* Deity, as "almost all" the Oriental nations call the Light "God;" so the Chinese call it "Shin." So that, as in the earliest ages "God" was considered to be Light and Ether, so do the Chinese consider "Shin" to be Light and Ether.

e. The twofold Principle of the world was designated by the Pagans "Light" and "Darkness;" the better Principle or Light they designated "God," and the inferior "Demon;" and the Chinese hold this twofold Principle, designating the Light or better Principle "Shin," and the inferior one or Darkness "Demon." Also, the Chinese, in common with the rest of the Pagans, designate the Light "Good," and the Darkness "Evil."

f. The Light or "God" was the ψυχη κοσμου, and was designated Jupiter; and the Chinese hold the Light or "Shin" to be the ψυχη κοσμου, and designate it Shang-te.

g. The Pagans considered the soul in man to be a portion of this ψυχη κοσμου or "God," and hence they designated it Θεὸς, Deus, or "God; and the Chinese consider the soul to be a portion of the ψυχη κοσμου or "Shin," and hence they designate it "Shin."

It is unnecessary to pursue this parallel further; sufficient has, I think, been stated to show that the meaning of the terms Θεὸς and Deus must be affected by the meaning attached to the Chinese term "Shin;" so that, if the latter must be regarded, from its use in the Chinese Classics, as signifying "Spirit," and not "God," so must the former be also regarded as signifying "Spirit," and not "God;" for no material difference can be found in the application of these several terms in the Chinese and other Pagan systems.

With regard to the term "Spirit," it appears to me hopeless for any one to expect to find amongst Pagan writers a term signifying "Spirit" in our *Christian* sense of that term. The Heathen have no idea of any nearer approximation to pure spirit than very subtle ether. Neither the Greek Πνευμα, nor the Latin "Spiritus," signified Spirit in *our* sense of that term, until Christianity gave them that higher application. As to Angels and Spirits, we are indebted, as Mr. Locke observes, *to Revelation*, for our knowledge of the existence of these Beings; so that, to regard the "Shin" of China (amongst whom are ranked *Trees*, *Birds*, and *Beasts*, &c.) as "immaterial Spirits," or "Angels," is, to say the least of so extraordinary a statement, giving the Chinese credit for a knowledge which they do not possess. (See Legge's "Notions of the Chinese," &c., p. 149, and Medhurst's "Inquiry," &c., pp. 146–7.

If, as in the case of "Shin," we investigate the meaning and

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application of the Chinese term "Ling," we shall find that it corresponds accurately to the terms πνευμα and spiritus as used by the Pagan Greeks and Romans.

The twofold soul in man and in the world is anima and ψυχη; the former being designated by the Chinese, Greeks, and Romans, "Demon," and the latter being designated by these Pagans respectively "Shin" "Θεος," and "Deus." As the "Yin," or inferior principle always "confers body," the anima or Yin-soul is the *ethereal body* of the rational soul. Such was also the idea of the Platonists, Pythagoreans, and others. Hence in China, as in other Pagan nations, the demons in Hades are represented *in human form.*

a. Although *both* souls were by Western philosophers designated πνευμα, yet this was the proper appellation of the anima; and in China also, although both souls are designated "Ling," yet this, like πνευμα, is the proper appellation of the anima; *e.g.*,

"The clear K'e of the yang (*i.e.* the ψυχη) is called Shin (God), and the clear K'e of the Yin (*i.e.* the anima), is called Ling (Spirit)."—Kang-he.

These "Ling" or Simulacra were,

"The πνευματα of Homer, which Ulysses beheld in the lower regions, or *spirits representing the form of the human body.*"—Cudworth, vol. iii., p. 284, *note.*

b. These "Ling" are material, *e.g.*,

"That which makes the p'hih, anima or sensitive soul, differs from the h'wăn, rational soul, is that the anima is *matter,*" &c.—Medhurst's Inquiry, &c., p. 101.

And, of the term πνευμα, Dr. Mosheim says,

"I have already more than once remarked, that this word in ancient authors frequently means, *not what we call spirit,* but a thin, subtle, nature, resembling a shadow rather than a body, and yet consisting of *a certain matter.*"—Cudworth, vol. iii., p. 370, *note.*

c. Kang-he states that the Ling, or anima, is "man's animal spirits," and we learn from the Chun Tsew of Confucius, and elsewhere, that it is nourished by animal food, such was also the πνευμα, or anima, of the Western Pagans, *e.g.*,

". . . . blood is the food . . . . of the πνευμα, *i.e.*, that subtle body called *the animal spirits.*"—Ibid. p. 266.

Thus the very same thing, which was designated in the West "πνευμα" and "Spiritus," is designated "Ling" by the Chinese; hence these three terms correspond, and, as the Apostles taught their hearers to apply the term πνευμα in a higher sense than they were previously accustomed to do, so must the Missionary of the present day teach the

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Chinese a higher and more noble application of the term "Ling," than they are capable of discovering by the mere light of nature.

3. In what has been stated regarding the application of the word "Heaven," in the Chinese Classics, by two of the most voluminous writers on the controversy, we have another example of the necessity of investigating the meaning attached to so important a term by *the Chinese themselves*. From want of caution on this point, these authors have fallen into the mistake of considering that the Chinese use the appellation "Heaven," just as Christians do. One of these writers says on this point,

"In this application of the word Heaven to the Supreme (*i.e.* Shang-te), the Chinese are not singular. It is used *in the sacred Scriptures* by metonomy for the Divinity."—Medhurst's Inquiry, &c., p. 20.

The other writer alluded to, speaking of the application of the term "Heaven" to Shang-te in the Classics, says,

"It is a mode of speech which has *the sanction of the Bible*—which *the blessed Saviour Himself* did not disdain to employ."—Legge's Notions, &c., p. 38.

From these statements it is evident that these authors are not aware that Shang-te, or MIND, is *a Soul*, and not a *personal* Being, distinct from matter, or they would not have fallen into the mistake of imagining that the Holy Scriptures and the Chinese Classics speak of the *same* thing—"Jehovah," under the *same* title—"Heaven." And yet, it seems strange that these writers should not have suspected the truth on this point, for they both quote the statements of the Classics that Shang-te governs the world as the soul does the body in Man.

4. From the Chinese sysem of Cosmogony laid before the reader in the previous pages, it will be seen that Shang-te is the identical "Great Father," or Adam re-appearing in Noah, worshipped by the whole Pagan world, and which idolatrous worship was set up on the plain of Shinar, whence each nation (and amongst the rest the founders of the Chinese Empire), carried it to the several countries in which they settled after the confusion of tongues and the consequent dispersion. Shang-te, notwithstanding his high-sounding titles, must therefore take his place with Baal, Jupiter, Osiris, &c., all of whom were the "Great Father," or First Man.

This "Great Father," however, has frequently been mistaken for the true God, in consequence of the attributes which belong to Jehovah alone being given to him by his votaries. This mistake has been made also by those Missionaries in China who consider that the wor-

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ship of Shang-te ought to be sanctioned by the Chinese Scriptures. Of the two writers above alluded to, one, captivated by Shang-te's attributes and titles, unhesitatingly pronounces him to be "*God over all blessed for ever;*" while the other, more timidly, declares him to be the true God, "*as far as the Chinese know him,*" whatever that qualification may mean. On this subject, Mr. Faber says,

"Some writers of note . . . . from some remarkable expressions which have been used by Gentile authors in various countries, and which *in their legitimate acceptation* can only be applied with propriety to the Supreme Being . . . . have inferred that the true God was the object of pagan, no less than of Jewish and Christian veneration, though his attributes were disguised and his worship was debased by much vanity and superstition, &c.

"But this, so far as I can judge, is *wholly insufficient* to establish the hypothesis, that the chief deity of the Gentiles was truly and properly Jehovah, acknowledged as the Creator of the world, though dimly viewed through the mist of polytheistic absurdity. The mere ascription of certain attributes of Jehovah to that deity *will not prove their identity; nor can it set aside the apostolic declaration,* that by their wisdom the heathens knew not God, and that to all intents and purposes they were no better than atheists." — Faber's Orig, &c., vol. i., p. 54.

One of the above-mentioned writers on the Chinese controversy, has even gone so far as to assert that the triplication of Shang-te into "Heaven, Earth, and Man," bears "some allusion to the mysterious doctrine of the Trinity, which may have been derived by tradition from the patriarchal age." (Medhurst's "Theology of the Chinese," p. 85.) This writer, however, is not the only Missionary who has fallen into this error concerning the "Great Father," as the following statement of Sir William Jones will show:

"Very respectable natives have assured me, that one or two missionaries have been absurd enough, in their zeal for the conversion of the Gentiles, to urge that the Hindoos were even now almost Christians because their Brahma, Vishnou, and Mahesa were no other than the Christian Trinity; a sentence in which we can only doubt whether folly, ignorance, or impiety predominates. The tenet of our Church cannot, without profaneness, be compared with that of the Hindoos, which has only an apparent resemblance to it, but a very different meaning."

Mr. Faber, while he considers this censure of Sir W. Jones too severe, remarks,

"An examination" of these Triads "seems to me very clearly to

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prove that they have *no sort of relation whatever* to the Christian doctrine of the Trinity, but that they sprang from a totally different source."—Ibid. p. 18, and *note*.

From all these instances of mistake respecting the Chinese system, we may perceive the necessity, in translating and interpreting Heathen authors, of observing the useful caution given by Dr. Mosheim, viz., that

"Those who read the works of ancient authors, and meet with the words *νους ασωματος*, simplex, &c., &c., therein, should take care not necessarily to consider them as conveying the same idea as that which *we* attach to them in reference to *God*, *Soul*, and *things divine*."—Cudworth, vol. i., p. 54, *note*.

Having already shown who Shang-te really is, and that he is merely the animated Universe composed of MIND and Matter, it is unnecessary to dwell upon the impiety and danger of sanctioning the worship of such a Being in the Holy Scriptures. It is much to be regretted that one million of New Testaments are now being printed in China by some of the Missionaries, with the funds of the Bible Society, in which the designation "Shang-te" is inserted wherever *Θεον* occurs in the original, and the term "Shin" is used as the translation of *πνευμα*: so that, as the Confucian Classics inculcate the worship of Shang-te, so do the Holy Scriptures; and both the Classics and the Scriptures, by this use of the term "Shin," inculcate *pantheism*. Let the reader imagine what would be the effect of inserting the word "Jupiter," in our version of the Scriptures, wherever the word "God" occurs, and the word "God" wherever "spirit" or "soul" occurs, and he will then be able to form some idea of the notion of Christianity which the Chinese are likely to derive from the "million Testaments" now in process of printing. No amount of divine attributes bestowed upon Shang-te, who is really a MAN, can ever make him to be the Infinite Jehovah. Jehovah is the only true "SHIN," and beside Him there is no other.

I could, if it were necessary, state many instances in which the Chinese readers of Christian tracts, and of the New Testament, on being interrogated as to whom they supposed the Shang-te mentioned therein to be, have unhesitatingly replied "Heaven and Earth;" and who have as unhesitatingly stated that "Jesus is the son of Heaven and Earth," *i.e.*, the Hermaphroditic Shang-te. Instead, however, of dwelling upon such cases, I shall merely allude to one of the most remarkable instances of the danger of preaching and teaching the worship of Shang-te—I mean that of the Insurgents. These men have been confirmed in the worship of Shang-te by various tracts and books

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circulated amongst them, and also by the preaching of Missionaries. They have received this teaching and have adopted the doctrines inculcated. They have even printed large portions of a Bible, in which Shang-te takes the place of Jehovah, and hence in their published works they designate the Being whom they worship, indifferently, "Shang-te," or "Jehovah." They state that we foreigners have brought no new doctrine to them, for that both Chinese and foreigners have always worshipped *the same Being*, viz., Shang-te. These men are, I suppose, as well instructed in the Scriptures, and in the doctrines therein inculcated, as any others in China who derive their knowledge from the same source; indeed, judging from the translations of their books which have appeared in newspapers, &c., we should consider them to be perfect Christians if we were not aware that these translations make them appear, as Dr. Mosheim says, "not as they really *are*, but such as they *would have been* had they been educated in our schools."

Whom then do these men suppose the Shang-te of their Scriptures, and the Being preached to them by the Missionaries, to be? Let them answer this question for themselves. In speaking of the origin of souls, they say,

"Whence are generated, and whence come forth the souls (of men)? These are all conferred by *Imperial Shang-te, the original K'e*, whence they are generated and come forth. Hence it is said (in the Classics), that one Root (*i.e.*, Shang-te or MIND) scattered and became innumerable radii (*i.e.*, Souls) and these innumerable radii all revert to one Root," viz., Pater Æther or Shang-te. (See also Sing-le-ta-tseuen, ch. xxxiv, pp. 19, 21.)—T'ae-ping Chaou Shoo, p. 10.

"Hence man being formed *by the creative energy of Heaven and Earth* (*i.e.* Shang-te), in the course of nature derives his birth from his parents at the fixed period," &c.—Proclamation of Lew, Great Generalissimo of the T'ae-ping Celestial Empire. North China Herald, May 20th, 1854.

Thus it appears that the Insurgents, led astray by the preaching of some of the Missionaries (however unintentionally) and also by the Bibles in their possession, declare the Shang-te of the Confucian Classics, who is worshipped at the round hillock at Pekin, to be *our* Jehovah, and consider both to be the subtle Ether (K'e) or MIND, inherent in Heaven, Earth, Man, and all things. Hence in their San Tsze King, they designate Shang-te the "Hwăn foo," literally "the rational soul father," *i.e.*, either the ψυχη κοσμου designated "Father" in the Classics, or, the Father of the rational souls of men which are, as has been shown decerpted portions of Shang-te himself or the subtle

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Ether. In this error, it seems, these men in common with the rest of their countrymen, are now to be confirmed by a million of New Testaments.

From what is stated in the Chinese system with regard to the two Principles of the Universe, it is plain that these are the two Persian Principles of Light and Darkness, Good and Evil. The Light is the good God or Shang-te proper, the rational soul of the world, who is opposed by the evil Demon, and who is regarded as the framer of the world. At each return of all things to Chaos, the Darkness or evil Principle envelops the Light and overcomes him for a time, producing destruction and death. That this Light or Shang-te is not the true God, is plain from what is said of him; and we have also the direct testimony of Scripture on this point, *e.g.*:

"Holy Scripture at once testifies the remote antiquity of such speculations; and decidedly proves that the pure light or good principle of the Persians *was not the true God, as some have imagined;* but no less than the thick darkness or evil principle *a mere creature.* In the address of Jehovah to Cyrus his anointed, he is represented as saying, in manifest allusion to the philosophy of the Magi: *I am the Lord, and there is none else. I form the light and create the darkness; I make the peace and create the evil. I the Lord do all these things.*" Isaiah xlv., 6, 7. "The *peace* or harmony of the renovated world; the *evil* or confusion of the dissolved world."—Faber's Orig., &c., vol. iii., p. 98, and note.

An attempt to graft this Philosophy of the Magi upon Christianity gave rise to the heresy of Manes, Cerinthus, &c. Manes held that all things proceeded from two principles; the one "a pure and most subtle matter called Light, and the other a gross and corrupt substance called Darkness." He held that there were two souls in man, "one of which is sensitive and lustful, and owes its existence to the evil principle; the other rational and immortal, a particle of 'the divine light.'" He considered that Jesus Christ is "a most splendid substance, consisting of the brightness of the eternal Light;" that "his residence is in the Sun," and that the Holy Ghost is "a luminous and animated body diffused throughout every part of the atmosphere which surrounds this terrestrial globe. This genial principle warms and illuminates the minds of men, renders also the earth fruitful," &c. —Mosheim's Eccles. Hist., vol. i., p. 174, &c.

Now it appears to me that in consequence of preaching the worship of Shang-te in China, the Insurgents have fallen into this heresy of the Manacheans. Their Shang-te, or the Light, they are taught is

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"God over all blessed for ever," and God "as far as the Chinese know him." They are assured that Jesus Christ is also Shang-te; and that the Holy Ghost is also Shang-te. Now the term used for the Holy Ghost is "Shing Shin" (literally "Holy *God*"), and they are taught that the soul is also *properly* called "Shin" (Θεος or Deus). Hence as their Scriptures tell them that the "Holy Shin" (who inhabits the outer circle of the Universe and pervades and animates it, iii., 10,) resides *in* them, and that their souls are truly and properly termed "Shin," they naturally conclude that their souls are portions of Shang-te, the Light, or Holy Ghost (iv., 2, b). Hence, as their Classics teach them that a greater portion of this ψυχη κοσμου resides in Princes, they regard them as being Shang-tes or Jehovahs. Thus, in a tract lately printed, we find the "celestial king" addressing the eastern prince Yang thus, "When our celestial elder brother Jesus, in obedience to the commands of our heavenly Father, came down into the world, in the country of Judea, He addressed His disciples, saying, at some future day the Comforter will come into the world. Now I, your second elder brother, considering what you brother Tsing have reported to me, and observing what you have done, must consider that the Comforter and the Holy Ghost spoken of by our celestial elder brother *is none other than yourself.*"

Such is the result of an attempt to discover the Jehovah of the Holy Scriptures in the Heathen Chinese Classics. Nor can I see how those who teach the Insurgents to worship Shang-te can consistently charge them with "Blasphemy," for making such statements as the above, which are in their minds, but legitimate consequences of the statements made in the million of New Testaments.

Nor indeed can I see how, if this course of teaching be persisted in, the Chinese will be able to understand the simplest statements of the Gospel. Take, for instance, that beautiful passage, John iii., 16, which in the Chinese version in the hands of the Insurgents reads thus, "Shang-te so loved the world that He gave His only-begotten Son," &c. Now, not to mention the fact that Shang-te *never did* "love the world," and that *he is not* "the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ," the statement in this passage, according to *Chinese* ideas, will merely mean, as I have frequently heard the Chinese interpret it, that Jesus Christ is "the Son of Heaven and Earth," or the Hermaphroditic Shang-te, and that He is our "Chief Sage," in whom (like Confucius and others) dwells a greater portion of the ψυχη κοσμου than in others, and in whom *we* are bound to believe, just as *they* "believe in Confucius." Hence the Chinese *readily assent to* the statement that

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"Jesus is Shang-te," because they consider that our Saviour, being the Son of Heaven and Earth, is, like their sages, *the human representation* of this Hermaphroditic Shang-te.

I trust that the time is not far distant when all erroneous preaching and teaching shall cease in China, and when the Chinese shall be taught by *all* Missionaries to know Him "*whose name alone is* JEHOVAH (*not* Shang-te), and who has Himself said, "I am JEHOVAH; *that is my name:* and my glory *will I not give to another.*" &c.—Isa. xlii., 8.

The authority chiefly quoted in the preceding pages is the celebrated Chinese Philosopher Choo-foo-tsze, who is the most voluminous commentator on the Classics, and whom I have chosen, chiefly because his works have been appealed to by the writers on both sides of the controversy. This Philosopher lived about 700 years ago, and the estimation in which he is held by the Chinese may be gathered from the following eulogium passed upon him by the oldest student of Chinese at present in China:—

".... Choo-foo-tsze, the learned commentator on the Four Books and the elucidator of the five Classics, who, by fixing the sense of the standard writings of the Chinese, has created, as it were, the mind of China, and established a system from which all subsequent writers have borrowed, and according to which all modern essayists must be conformed or they cannot succeed at the literary examinations through which alone distinction and power can be attained. The opinions of Choo-foo-tsze therefore *constitute the orthodoxy of China*, and all who differ from him are considered *heterodox*, insomuch that some modern writers who have dared to dissent from his views have not only failed in obtaining office, but have also been prevented through fear of persecution from publishing their lucubrations."—Medhurst's Theology, &c., p. 162.

Choo-tsze, however, has introduced no *new* system, as appears from the following:—

"As it regards the learning of Confucius, Choo alone, say the Chinese historians, fully comprehended its true import; and has transmitted it to future generations so perfect and immaculate that were Confucius himself, or any of the ancient sages, to come back to life, they would not alter what he has written."—Chinese Repository, vol. xviii., p. 204.

The Yih-king, from which Choo-tsze derives his opinions on Cosmogony, was composed by Wăn Wang, about B.C. 1150. The history of the formation of the Universe is given in this ancient Classic in numbers, according to the Pythagorean system. Number *One*, or

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as it is called, "Supreme One," is the chief God, or Shang-te, being the first Deity generated from Chaos; number *Two*, or Duality, is Matter; and number *Three* is the union of these two, forming the complete animated Universe, or First Man. This is the Triad. The formation of the Ogdoad is as follows:—

"The Great Extreme (*i. e.* the eternal, animated K'e) generated the Two E, (*i. e.* Light and Darkness, or two-fold MIND); the Two E generated the four simulacra (*i. e.* each soul generated a body: the ψυχη generated Heaven, the anima Earth; making *four* things in all), and the four simulacra generated the Eight Diagrams," (*i. e.* the two-fold soul uniting with the two-fold body formed the Great Father and Mother, Keen and Kwăn, or Heaven and Earth animated; and these generated the "six children.")—Yih-king, vol. ii., ch. xiv., p. 25.

The difference between the views of Laou-tsze, the founder of the Taonist sect, and those of Confucius on Cosmogony, may be gathered from the following passage in which Choo-tsze alludes to the doctrine of the former and dissents from it:—

"Reason is the Great Extreme of the Yih-king; the odd number One is the Yang (animated Heaven, or Shang-te); the even number Two is the Yin (animated Earth, his Wife); Three is the odd and even number united (the complete Hermaphroditic Shang-te, or First Man). When it is said that Two generated Three, this means that Two and One form Three. Taking One to be the Great Extreme, then *there is no necessity to say that Reason generated One.*"—Choo-tsze's Works, T'ae-keih, sentence 43.

The Great Extreme, or "One," who generates all things from himself, is, as we have seen, the ψυχη κοσμου, or Shang-te, whose body is Heaven, or the World, and which Choo-tsze himself states to have been eternally generated by the *Incorporeal* Great Extreme, or Reason, *i. e.*, the GOD, κατ' εξοχην (i., 3). This Divine Reason now uniting with "One," or Shang-te, makes him to be an Intelligent Mind, so that these two, *viz.*, Reason and Mind, being henceforth one complete Being, Choo-tsze considers it "unnecessary to say" that Mind is generated by Reason, both being thus eternally united, and one being unable to exist without the other. Laou-tsze, however, seems on all occasions, to have stated the distinctness of the Divine Reason and Mind, or Shang-te, and to have always insisted on the priority of the former, *e. g.*:—

"I do not know whose son it (*i. e.*, the Divine Reason) is: it is *prior to* the (Supreme) Ruler of the visible (heavens)," *i. e.*, Shang-te. —Medhurst's Theology, &c., p. 246.

Hence it is probable that Laou-tsze, although he held the eternity

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of matter, yet did not make the Divine Reason (God) dependent upon it, as the Confucianists do. These two sects, however, are alike in one respect, namely, that they both pay divine honours to Shang-te, the *second* God, or Demiurge, and thus "worship and serve the *creature* more than the *Creator*." That the *three* sects, *viz.*, the Confucianists, Taouists, and Buddhists in reality worship *the same Being* as their chief God, appears from the following legend:

"The Lotus once floated the Star Supreme One (*i. e.*, Shang-te)."

Comment.—"During the Han Dynasty, in the reign of the Emperor Woo, there was a man seen in the midst of the sea, who had *two horns*, a face *like a gem*, and a flowing beard; his loins were encircled with the leaves of a tree, and he reclined in *a lotus leaf*, more than 100 feet in length. In his hand he held *a book*, and he floated up the East sea. Suddenly he disappeared in a fog, and what became of him is unknown. (The Philosopher) Tung Fang-sŏh says, that this was the star 'Supreme One.'"

In this Being, who is the Classical Shang-te, or "Supreme One," whose chariot is said to be Ursa Major, we see combined the gemmy face of the Taouist Shang-te, and he is seated on a leaf of the Lotus, which is sacred to Buddha. The "sea" represents the waters of the Deluge, on which this "Great Father" of the Pagan world, the *horned* Jupiter, reclines in the Ark, "in profound meditation," until the time arrives when he must arouse himself, and form a new world or Body from chaos.—(As to the antiquity of Buddhism, see Faber's Orig., &c., vol. i., pp. 86, &c.)

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Professor George Henry Bernstein, *Breslau.*
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REGULATIONS

FOR

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

[AS AMENDED TO THE 18TH MARCH, 1854.]

OF THE OBJECTS OF THE SOCIETY GENERALLY, AND OF ITS MEMBERS.

ARTICLE I.—The ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND is instituted for the investigation and encouragement of Arts, Sciences, and Literature, in relation to Asia.

ARTICLE II.—The Society consists at present of *Resident*, *Non-resident*, *Honorary*, *Foreign*, and *Corresponding* Members; but henceforth no Members shall be elected except as *Resident*, *Non-resident* or *Honorary* Members.

ARTICLE III.—Members, whose place of abode is in Great Britain or Ireland, are considered to be *Resident*.

ARTICLE IV.—Those whose usual abode is not in Great Britain or Ireland, are considered to be *Non-resident*.

ARTICLE V.—Foreigners of distinction, or any persons who have contributed to the attainment of the objects of the Society in a distinguished manner, are eligible as *Honorary* Members.

ARTICLE VI.—All the Members of the Society, of whatever denomination, must be elected at the General Meetings of the Society, in the manner hereinafter described.

ARTICLE VII.—*Honorary* Members, when residing in England, have a right of admission to the Meetings, Library, and Museum of the Society; but are not eligible to its offices, nor entitled to copies of the Journal.

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MODE OF ELECTING THE MEMBERS.

ARTICLE VIII.—Any person desirous of becoming a *Resident* or *Non-resident* Member of the ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, must be proposed by Three or more subscribing Members, on a certificate of recommendation, declaring his name and usual place of abode.

ARTICLE IX.—Every recommendation of a Candidate proposed for election, whether as a *Resident* or *Non-resident* Member, shall be read at two successive General Meetings of the Society, and after the first reading, the certificate shall remain suspended in the Meeting-room of the Society till the ballot for the election takes place, which will be immediately after the second reading of the certificate.—Except in the cases of the Members of Branch Societies, who are eligible for immediate ballot.

ARTICLE X.—The Council may, upon special grounds, propose to a General Meeting the election of any Foreigner of distinction, or any person who shall have contributed to the attainment of the objects of the Society in a distinguished manner, to be elected an *Honorary* Member of the Society; and upon such proposition the Society shall proceed to an immediate ballot.

ARTICLE XI.—No candidate shall be considered as elected, unless he has in his favour the votes of three-fourths of the Members present who vote.

ARTICLE XII.—The election of every candidate shall be entered on the minutes of the proceedings of the Meeting at which he is elected; but should it appear, upon inspecting the ballot, that the person proposed is not elected, no mention thereof shall be inserted in the minutes.

ARTICLE XIII.—When a candidate is elected a *Resident* or *Non-resident* Member of the Society, the Secretary shall inform him of his election by letter.

ARTICLE XIV.—To an *Honorary* Member there shall be transmitted, as soon as may be after his election, a Diploma, under the seal of the Society, signed by the President, Director, and Secretary.

OF BRANCH SOCIETIES AND THEIR MEMBERS.

ARTICLE XV.—Literary and Scientific Societies established in Asia may be admitted, by a vote of a Special General Meeting, on the recommendation of the Council, to be Branch Societies of the ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ARTICLE XVI.—Members of the Branch Societies, while on furlough, or otherwise temporarily resident in England, shall be admitted to the Meetings of the ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, on the footing of *Honorary* Members. If desirous of becoming *Non-resident* or *Resident* Members, they shall be eligible at a General Meeting, by immediate ballot, and they

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will be required to make the payments directed by Articles XXXV. and XXXVII.

ARTICLE XVII.—The following Societies are declared to be Branch Societies of the ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

THE LITERARY SOCIETY OF BOMBAY;
THE LITERARY SOCIETY OF MADRAS;
THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF CEYLON;
THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF HONG-KONG.

OF THE COUNCIL AND OFFICERS, AND OF COMMITTEES.

ARTICLE XVIII.—There shall be a Council of Fifteen *Resident* Members, besides the Officers, constituted for the management and direction of the affairs of the Society.

ARTICLE XIX.—The Officers of the Society shall form a part of the Council, and shall consist of a President, a Director, the Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, a Secretary, and a Librarian.

ARTICLE XX.—The President of the Society shall be appointed for a period of Three years, from the Annual Meeting at which he may have been elected; or in the event of his appointment taking place at an intermediate period, then for Three years from the next ensuing annual General Meeting; and he shall be re-eligible at an interval of one year after vacating the office. The Vice-Presidents henceforth elected shall hold their office for the same period and on the same terms as the President. The Council and Officers, (except the President and Vice-Presidents,) shall be elected annually by ballot, at the Anniversary Meeting of the Society.

ARTICLE XXI.—Five Members of the Council shall go out annually, three by seniority and two by reason of least attendance, and five new Members shall be elected in their places, from the body of the Society.

ARTICLE XXII.—The Council shall have the power of provisionally filling up vacancies in its own body, occasioned by resignation or death.

ARTICLE XXIII.—The Council shall meet once in every month, or oftener, during the Session.

ARTICLE XXIV.—The Council shall be summoned, under the sanction and authority of the President or Director, or, in their absence, of one of the Vice-Presidents, by a circular letter from the Secretary.

ARTICLE XXV.—At any Meeting of the Council, *Five Members* of it being present shall constitute a *quorum*.

ARTICLE XXVI.—Committees for the attainment of specific purposes within the scope of the Society's views, may, from time to time, be appointed by the Council, to whom their reports shall be submitted previously to their being presented at a Special, or at an Anniversary Meeting of the Society.

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FUNCTIONS OF THE OFFICERS.

ARTICLE XXVII.—The functions of the PRESIDENT are, to preside at Meetings of the Society, and of the Council; to conduct the proceedings, and preserve order; to state and put Questions, according to the sense and intention of the Members assembled; to give effect to the Resolutions of the Meeting; and to cause the Regulations of the Society to be put in force.

ARTICLE XXVIII.—The functions of the DIRECTOR are twofold, *general* and *special*. His general functions are those of a *Presiding officer*, being next in rank to the President; by virtue of which he will preside at Meetings when the President is absent, and discharge his duties. His special functions relate to the department of Oriental Literature, which is placed under his particular care and superintendence.

ARTICLE XXIX.—The duties of the VICE-PRESIDENTS are, to preside at the Meetings of the Society and of the Council, when the Chair is not filled by the President or Director; and to act for the President on all occasions when he is absent, and when his functions are not undertaken by the Director.

ARTICLE XXX.—The TREASURER will receive on account of and for the use of the Society, all moneys due to it, and make payments out of the funds of the Society, according to directions from the Council.

ARTICLE XXXI.—The Treasurer's Accounts shall be audited annually, previously to the Anniversary Meeting of the Society. The Council shall, for that purpose, name three Auditors, of whom two shall be taken from the Society at large, and the third shall be a Member of the Council. The Auditors shall report to the Society, at its Anniversary Meeting, on the state in which they have found the Society's funds.

ARTICLE XXXII.—The functions of the SECRETARY are the following:—

He shall attend the Meetings of the Society, and of the Council, and record their proceedings. At the General Meetings he will read the Papers that have been selected by the Council; unless any Member obtain permission from the Chairman to read a Paper that he has communicated to the Society.

He shall conduct the correspondence of the Society, and of the Council.

He shall superintend the persons employed by the Society; subject, however, to the control and superintendence of the Council.

He shall, under the direction and control of the Council, superintend the Expenditure of the Society. He shall be competent, on his own responsibility, to discharge small bills; but any account exceeding the sum of Five Pounds shall previously be submitted to the Council, and, if approved, be paid by an order of the Council, entered on the Minutes.

He shall have the charge, under the direction of the Council, of printing and publishing the Transactions of the Society.

ARTICLE XXXIII.—If the Secretary shall, at any time, by illness, or any other cause, be prevented from attending to the duties of his office, the Council shall authorize the Assistant-Secretary, or request one of its Members to discharge his functions, till he shall himself be able to resume them.

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ARTICLE XXXIV.—The LIBRARIAN shall have the charge and custody of all books, manuscripts, and other objects of learning or curiosity, of which the Society may become possessed, whether by donation, bequest, or purchase; and apartments shall be appropriated, in which those objects may be safely deposited and preserved.

ON THE CONTRIBUTIONS AND PAYMENTS WHICH ARE TO BE MADE TO THE SOCIETY BY THE MEMBERS.

ARTICLE—XXXV.—Every *Resident* Member is required to pay at his election the sum of THREE GUINEAS as his first Annual Subscription; unless his election shall take place in November or December, in which case the first annual payment shall not be due till the succeeding January: —and in every succeeding year he shall pay an Annual Subscription of Three Guineas.

The following compositions are allowed, in lieu of Annual Subscriptions:—

Upon election	Thirty Guineas.
After two Annual Payments	Twenty-five Guineas.
After four or more Annual Payments	Twenty Guineas.

ARTICLE XXXVI.—Any person elected as a *Resident* Member of the Society, who shall proceed to reside in any place out of Great Britain, shall not be required to continue his Annual Subscription of Three Guineas while so absent. But he shall contribute an Annual Subscription of One Guinea, and shall be entitled to receive the Society's Journal.

ARTICLE XXXVII.—Any person elected a *Non-resident* Member of the Society, shall pay an Annual Subscription of One Guinea. If he subsequently become permanently resident in Great Britain or Ireland, he shall be required to pay the Annual Subscription of Three Guineas, or the regulated composition in lieu thereof, as a *Resident* Member.

ARTICLE XXXVIII.—*Honorary* Members shall not be liable to any contribution.

ARTICLE XXXIX.—Every person elected a *Resident* Member of the Society shall make the payment due from him within two calendar months after the date of his election; or, if elected a *Non-resident* Member, within twelve calendar months after his election; otherwise his election shall be void; unless the Council, in any particular case, shall decide on extending the period within which such payments are to be made.

ARTICLE XL.—Annual subscriptions shall be paid to the Treasurer on the first day of January in each year; and in case the same should not be paid by the end of that month, the Treasurer is authorized to demand the same. If any subscriptions remain unpaid at the Anniversary Meeting of the Society, the Secretary shall apply, by letter, to those Members who are

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in arrears. If the arrears be not discharged by the first of January following such application, the Subscriber's name, as a defaulter, shall be suspended in the Meeting-room, and due notice be given him of the same. The name shall remain suspended, unless in the interval the arrears be discharged, until the Anniversary Meeting next ensuing; when, if the Subscription be not paid, it shall be publicly announced that the defaulter is no longer a Member of the Society, and the reason shall be assigned.

ARTICLE XLI.—The Publications of the Society shall not be forwarded to any Member, whose Subscription for the current year remains unpaid.

ARTICLE XLII.—The Resignation of no Member shall be received until he has sent in a written declaration, and has paid up all his arrears of Subscription.

OF THE MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY.

ARTICLE XLIII.—The Meetings of the Society, to which all the Members have admission, and at which the general business of the Society is transacted, are termed General Meetings.

ARTICLE XLIV.—At these Meetings, the Chair shall be taken by the President, or, in his absence, either by the Director or one of the Vice-Presidents; or, should these Officers also be absent, by a Member of the Council.

ARTICLE XLV.—*Ten Members* being present, the Meeting shall be considered as constituted.

ARTICLE XLVI.—The General Meetings of the Society shall be held on the *first* and *third Saturday* in every month, from the third Saturday of November to the first Saturday of July, both inclusive; excepting the Saturdays preceding Easter and Whit Sundays and Christmas-day.

ARTICLE XLVII.—The business of the General Meetings shall be, the proposing of candidates, the election and admission of Members, the acceptance and acknowledgment of Donations, and the reading of Papers communicated to the Society on subjects of science, literature, and the arts, in connexion with Asia.

ARTICLE XLVIII.—Nothing relative to the regulations, management, or pecuniary affairs of the Society shall be introduced and discussed at General Meetings, unless the Meeting shall have been declared *special* in the manner hereinafter provided.

ARTICLE XLIX.—Every Member of the Society has the privilege of introducing, either personally or by a card, one or two visitors at a General Meeting, whose names shall be notified to the Chairman or Secretary.

ARTICLE L.—The admission of a new Member may take place at any General Meeting. When he has subscribed the Obligation-Book, the President, or whoever fills the Chair, standing up, shall take him by the hand, and say:—"*In the name and by the authority of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, I admit you a Member thereof.*"

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ARTICLE LI.—The Obligation-Book is intended to form a record, on the part of the Members (by means of the signature of their names in their own hand-writing), of their having entered into the Society, with an engagement that they will promote the interests and welfare of the Society, and submit to its Regulations and Statutes.

ARTICLE LII.—The Council may at any time call a *Special Meeting* of the Society, on giving fourteen days' notice, to consider and determine any matter of interest that may arise, to pass, abrogate, or amend regulations, and to fill up the vacancy of any office occasioned by death or resignation. No other business shall be brought forward besides that which has been notified.

ARTICLE LIII.—Such Special Meetings shall also be convened by the Council on the written requisition of *Five Members* of the Society, setting forth the proposal to be made, or the subject to be discussed.

ARTICLE LIV.—Notice of Special Meetings shall be given to every Member residing within the limits of the London District of the Post-office; apprising him of the time of the Meeting, and of the business which is to be submitted to its consideration.

ARTICLE LV.—The course of business, at *General Meetings*, shall be as follows:—

1. Any specific and particular business which the Council may have appointed for the consideration of the Meeting, and of which notice has been given according to Article LIV., shall be discussed.
2. The names of strangers introduced shall be read from the Chair.
3. The Minutes of the preceding Meeting shall be read by the Secretary, and signed by the Chairman.
4. Donations presented to the Society shall be announced or laid before the Meeting.
5. Certificates of recommendation of Candidates shall be read.
6. New Members shall be admitted.
7. Ballots for new Members shall take place.
8. Papers and communications shall be read.

ARTICLE LVI.—The Anniversary Meeting of the Society shall be held on the third *Saturday* in *May*, to receive and consider a Report of the Council on the state of the Society; to receive the Report of the Auditors on the Treasurer's Accounts; to elect the Council and Officers for the ensuing year; to enact or repeal Regulations; and to deliberate on such other questions as may be proposed relative to the affairs of the Society.

OF THE PUBLICATIONS OF THE SOCIETY.

ARTICLE LVII.—Communications and Papers read to the Society shall, from time to time, be published under the title of *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*.

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ARTICLE LVIII.—All *Resident* and *Non-resident* Members of the Society are entitled to receive the parts or volumes of the *Journal* published subsequently to their election; and to purchase, at an established reduced price, such volumes or parts as may have been previously published.

ARTICLE LIX.—The Council is authorised to present copies of the *Journal* to learned Societies and distinguished individuals.

ARTICLE LX.—Every original communication presented to the Society becomes its property; but the author, or contributor, may republish it twelve months after its publication by the Society. The Council may publish any original communication presented to the Society, in any way and at any time judged proper; but if printed in the Society's *Journal*, twenty-five copies of it shall be presented to the author or contributor, when the Volume or Part in which it is inserted is published. Any Paper which the Council may not see fit to publish, may, with its permission, be returned to the Author, upon the condition that, if it be published by him a printed copy of it shall be presented to the Society.

MISCELLANEOUS ARTICLES.

ARTICLE LXI.—Every person who shall contribute to the Library or Museum, or to the General Fund of the Society, shall be recorded as a Benefactor, and the gift shall be acknowledged in a letter from the Secretary, and recorded in the Society's *Journal*.

ARTICLE LXII.—Every Member of the Society shall be at liberty to borrow the books of the Society, whether printed or manuscript, on giving a receipt for the same, and under such rules as shall be settled by the Council. But no books belonging to the Society shall be taken out of the Society's house, without a receipt from the Member borrowing. No models, plans, or papers shall be taken out of the Library, without a written authority from the Librarian or Secretary. No stranger shall be allowed the use of the Library without the permission of the Council.

ARTICLE LXIII.—The Museum shall be open daily for the admission of the public (except on Saturdays and the usual holidays), between the hours of eleven and four, either by the personal or written introduction of Members, or by tickets, which may be obtained by Members at the Society's House.

ARTICLE LXIV.—Whereas the Royal Asiatic Society has been established exclusively for the purpose of science and literature, and its funds have been devoted entirely to such purpose, it is hereby declared that it is wholly inconsistent with the objects, laws, constitution, and practice of the Society, that any division or bonus in money should be made unto or between any of its Members; and it is hereby ordered that the Royal Asiatic Society shall not, and may not make any dividend, gift, or bonus in money, unto or between any of its Members.

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ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

THIRTY-FIRST ANNIVERSARY MEETING OF THE SOCIETY,

Held on the 20th May, 1854,

SIR GEORGE THOMAS STAUNTON, BART.,

VICE-PRESIDENT,

IN THE CHAIR.

The CHAIRMAN stated to the Meeting that he was very sorry to inform them that they would be deprived of the attendance of the Noble President of the Society, who was unhappily confined to his room by severe indisposition. His Lordship has expressed his great regret at losing the gratification of taking the Chair on the present occasion,—a regret in which they would all, with himself, sincerely participate.

THE FOLLOWING REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

WAS READ BY R. CLARKE, ESQ., HONORARY SECRETARY :—

THE Council of the Royal Asiatic Society have to report, that the accession of Members to the Society in the year just closed, though it has fallen short of the increase during the preceding twelve months, is larger than the average of several years preceding the abolition of the entrance fees. The number of New Members is 17;* that of retire-

* Elections:—1. Lieut.-Col. F. Abbott, C.B.; 2. The Rev. William Arthur; 3. N. B. E. Baillie, Esq.; 4. Captain I. J. Chapman; 5. S. S. Dickenson, Esq.; 6. Thomas Geo. Hough, Esq.; 7. Benjamin Hutt, Esq.; 8. T. F. Hughes, Esq.; 9. The Rev. D. J. Heath; 10. Charles MacFarlane, Esq.; 11. James T. Mackenzie, Esq.; 12. Joseph Mayer, Esq., F.S.A.; 13. John E. Marks, Esq; 14. Lieut.-Col. P. M. Melville; 15. The Rev. R. P. Smith; 16. John White, Esq.; 17. The Rev. Dr. Trumpp.

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ments, 11;* and the deaths of Members, resident and non-resident, has amounted to 14;† and of Foreign Members, one.‡ Among the deceased members the Society has to lament the loss of three distinguished names:—

The Rev. William Hodge Mill was born, it is believed, about the year 1792, and entered the University of Cambridge in 1809. His previous education was pursued chiefly under Dr. Belsham, a celebrated Unitarian preacher; and, although it had but partially prepared him for his University career, had furnished him with an extent of general knowledge, and a degree of proficiency in metaphysical and theological studies, very unusual among young men of his age, and influencing the whole subsequent tenor of his intellectual life. Whatever the defects of his academic preparation, they were soon repaired by his unwearied application and vigorous mind; and, before long, he became equally distinguished for mathematical and classical attainments, making himself at the same time conversant with various branches of Oriental study, particularly Hebrew and Arabic. He took the degree of sixth wrangler in 1813—a year in which the first and second on the list were Sir John Herschel and Dr. Peacock; and, in 1814, he was elected a Fellow of Trinity College in preference to numerous and able competitors, amongst whom were the two classical medallists of the year. During the next five years he resided in the University, and directed his attention especially to the Oriental languages, the writings of the Fathers, and other departments of profane and sacred learning. In 1820, he was nominated Principal of Bishop's College, Calcutta, then recently established by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, under the superintendence of Bishop Middleton. That learned prelate's opinion of his new principal is emphatically expressed in an extract from a letter written by him in October 1821:—"His (Dr. Mill's) attainments are indeed pre-eminent. It would be an honour to any learned establishment to have such a man at the head of it." The Bishop's successors invariably expressed the same high estimate of the merits of the Principal of Bishop's College.

* Retirements of Resident and Non-resident Members:—1. Major W. De Winton; 2. Dr. Hugh Falconer (struck off); 3. Major F. S. Sotheby (struck off); 4. Rev. Dr. J. Angus; 5. Lieut.-Col. W. Borthwick; 6. Thomas Henry, Esq.; 7. Major H. Huddleston; 8. Sir James Law Lushington; 9. Joseph Mussabini, Esq.; 10. Sir Henry Roper; 11. Sir Robert Campbell.

† Deaths, Resident and Non-Resident: — 1. Sir William Betham; 2. The Earl Brownlow; 3. A. H. Hamilton, Esq.; 4. Lieut.-Gen. T. P. Smith; 5. George Stratton, Esq.; 6. Lieut.-Gen. F. W. Wilson; 7. The Hon. Robert H. Clive; 8. Forbes Falconer, Esq.; 9. George J. Gordon, Esq.; 10. Sir Richard Jenkins; 11. The Rev. William Linwood; 12. The Rev. Dr. W. H. Mill; 13. Charles Stokes, Esq.; 14. Lord Colborne.

‡ Deaths, Foreign and Corresponding Members:—1. Professor G. F. Grotefend.

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Immediately after assuming charge of his office, Dr. Mill engaged in the studies which he considered essential to a free communication with the native mind, whether Mohammedan or Hindu—the acquirement both of the vernacular and learned languages. Obtaining a sufficient conversancy with Hindustani for ordinary intercourse, he set diligently to work on maintaining and improving his previous acquaintance with Arabic and Persian, and on mastering the Sanscrit language. These studies he prosecuted with unremitting assiduity during the whole of his stay in India, and with proportionate success, keeping them, however, subordinate to the main objects of his appointment—the dissemination of sound knowledge, and of Christian truth. With this view, he prepared a series of Notes on the choice of Sanscrit equivalents for Scripture terms; he supervised a corrected translation of "Bridge's Algebra" into Arabic; and contributed to complete and publish an Arabic version of the Book of Common Prayer, with the Psalms of David, under the designation of "Liturgia Anglicana." His great work, however, was his "Christa Sangita," the Life of our Saviour, rendered into Sanscrit from his own original compilation, the principles of which are explained in an interesting dissertation in English, prefixed to the volume. The work consists of four parts; the first relates the genealogy and birth of Christ; the second, the occurrences of his early ministry; the third contains the account of his ministration; and the fourth narrates his death and resurrection. The narrative is translated from the Evangelists, but embodies many passages of the historical and prophetic books of the Old Testament. The whole is in metre, in the usual measure of the Puranas, with occasional passages in a more elevated strain. It comprises rather more than five thousand stanzas, in correct and not unfrequently elegant Sanscrit. Its merits were fully acknowledged by the Pundits, who assigned to its author the title of one of their most celebrated poets—the modern Kalidasa. The work is eminently calculated to present the history and character of the Divine Author of Christianity to the learned classes of the Hindu community in an attractive and instructive form.

Although devoted to the duties of the college, and the literary labours connected with his position, Dr. Mill was not indifferent to the educational advance of the natives, nor to the literary labours of his countrymen. He always gave ready and most efficient assistance at the periodical examinations of the Sanscrit and Arabic, and Hindu Colleges, taking, in especial, the department of mathematics. Soon after his arrival, also, he joined the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and was one of its most zealous supporters. For some years before leaving India, he was one of its Vice-Presidents; and was an occasional and valuable contri-

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butor to the Journal conducted by its zealous and able Secretary, Mr. James Prinsep. The second volume contains a portion of the Kumára Sambhava, a poem by Kálidás on the Birth of Kumara, translated from Sanscrit into English verse, by Dr. Mill, and illustrated by notes, which are remarkable for their classical, as well as Oriental erudition, particularly on the subject of Greek metres, which the learned author was in the habit of comparing with those of Sanscrit prosody. In the third volume, Dr. Mill appears foremost amongst the discoverers of the remains of antiquity, hitherto locked up in illegible characters, but which were now, for the first time, deciphered through the ingenuity and ability of James Prinsep and his colleagues. Notice having been drawn to the inscriptions on the column at Allahabad, and some attempts having been made to read them, Dr. Mill gave to the Journal, in March 1834, his restoration and translation of one of the two inscriptions on the column, determining the value of the characters, and placing the purport of the record beyond doubt. Other essays of a similar and successful nature followed. In the Journal of July 1835, is the restoration and translation of an inscription found in a ruined temple in the Shekawati country, and till then undeciphered; and in the Journal of July 1837, we have the restoration and translation of an inscription on the Bhitari lát, with critical and historical remarks. There are other communications by Dr. Mill, of less extent in the Journal, all contributing to throw valuable light on the ancient history of India. We have also a valuable piece of Arabic criticism in remarks upon a manuscript of the "Thousand and one Nights." The observations on the Bhitari inscription closed his literary labours in India, as at the end of 1837, he returned to his native country. The Bengal Society expressed their sense of his extraordinary merit by a suitable address, and by placing a bust of him, executed by Sir Francis Chantrey, in their hall in Calcutta. Their address, and his reply—documents of great interest,—are recorded in the Journal of October 1837.

At the time that the Sanscrit Professorship was founded at Oxford, Dr. Mill was a candidate for the appointment. He was very nearly being successful; and was, no doubt, eminently qualified for the office. Whatever disappointment he might have experienced from the circumstance was more than compensated by the justice which was rendered to his merits when he finally returned. He was shortly afterwards chosen as his chaplain by the late Archbishop of Canterbury; and was, after some time, presented to a valuable living, but he was also nominated Christian Advocate at Cambridge; and in 1848 was elected Regius Professor of Hebrew in the same university, with a canonry in Ely Cathedral. He was now in a position well suited to his tastes and habits, and with every prospect of adding to his usefulness and reputation, when an

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accidental indisposition shortened his valuable career, and frustrated the reasonable hopes of himself and his friends. He died in December last, leaving behind him the reputation of a profound Oriental scholar, an eminent divine, and an amiable man.

Professor Forbes Falconer was born in the city of Aberdeen, on the 10th of September, 1805, and was the second and only surviving son of Gilbert Falconer, Esq., of Braeside, Fifeshire. Having completed his early studies at the Grammar School, he became First Competition Bursar at Marischal College, gained the silver pen in the Greek class, and disputed, with much credit, for the honours of a Mathematical Bursarship. Specimens of his taste and progress in his classical studies appeared in some metrical translations from the Greek Anthology, which were published, though without his name, in the local periodicals of that time.

Mr. Falconer had already evinced a strong predilection for the study of the languages of the East. Before he had attained his twentieth year, he attended the Hebrew lectures of Professor Bentley, in Aberdeen, and acquired an extensive and accurate knowledge of the sacred language and of its cognate dialects. He also, though at that time untaught, made considerable progress in the study of Arabic and Persian. His enthusiasm in these studies increasing with his advancement in them, he resolved to avail himself of the assistance of the most able continental Orientalists. With this view he proceeded to Paris, where, for nearly five years, he attended the lectures of Baron de Sacy in Arabic, M. de Chezy in Persian, and M. Garcin de Tassy in Hindustani; by his acquirement of this last language, he made a valuable addition to those he already possessed, and his acquaintance with the learned and amiable Professor of that Cours, was the commencement of a friendship which formed one of the most agreeable associations of his literary life. Subsequently Mr. Falconer attended also the classes of some of the most celebrated German Orientalists, especially at the University of Göttingen. After returning for a short time to his native city, he finally settled in London, where he established himself as a teacher of Oriental languages, principally for the preparation of youth intended for the two establishments of the Honourable East India Company, or qualifying themselves by private study for civil or military service in the East.

A vacancy occurring in the Professorship of Oriental languages in the London University, Mr. Falconer was unanimously elected to that Chair; but the inconvenience of attending pupils at a distance from his own residence, and the difficulty of giving popularity to a public class in a branch of study little patronized in this country, caused him afterwards to retire from an appointment which conferred little or no public

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fame, and which, being entirely without endowment, offered but small recompense for the valuable time devoted to its duties. In the year 1839, having then just completed his thirty-fourth year, Mr. Falconer was again a candidate for a Professorship of Oriental Languages in the University of Glasgow. On this occasion the omission of personal canvassing, to which the natural timidity and bashfulness of his character presented an insurmountable obstacle, proved the only cause of his failure in an appointment for which he was pre-eminently qualified by his previous studies, and strongly recommended by the high testimonials he received from all the most distinguished Oriental scholars and professors, both in Great Britain and on the Continent.

Not wholly abandoning his desire to return to his native country, and to exchange the laborious but unthankful duties of private teaching for the literary ease and retirement of a professorship, Mr. Falconer continued to devote his time to the numerous pupils his increasing reputation had gained for him, and employed himself also, occasionally, as a translator of official documents for the East India Company, as well as of those derived from other sources. During his intervals of leisure he amused himself with various literary researches, chiefly in connexion with the poetry and philosophy of the East. His favourite walk in these studies was the poetic literature of the Persians, and, especially, of the poets of the Sufi class, who have given utterance to their mystic enthusiasm in the most impassioned and admired compositions in that language Of this species of literature, Professor Falconer contributed from time to time, short extracts and translations to the "Asiatic Journal," a periodical which offered to Orientalists the advantage of an easier and more speedy mode of publication, as well as of the reception of essays and fragments of a more miscellaneous character than those to which are devoted the graver transactions of our own and other Asiatic Societies. Some of these contributions of Mr. Falconer were also of a more extended nature, comprising analyses of native works from unpublished MSS. or inedited portions of poetry. The latter were chiefly from the "Bustán," a poem which seems to have possessed a peculiar charm for its accomplished editor, who probably found in the calm, moral, and elegant philosophy of its author, a spirit congenial to his own. Of the "Bustán" he published also a considerable portion, separately, in text, lithographed from his own transcript in a minute, but clear, and singularly Oriental style of penmanship, in which art he had obtained great perfection and elegance. The translations contributed to the "Asiatic Journal" were either literal, in English prose, executed with scrupulous fidelity and correctness; or, in some instances, in rhymed verse; and these, even in specimens of such limited extent, display a taste and genius, which, independent of their merits as trans-

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lations, entitle their author to distinguished credit as a poet. Those only who are acquainted with the originals can appreciate the difficulty of a versified translation of Persian poetry,—a difficulty which occurs in a similar process in all languages, but which is greatly enhanced by the peculiar turn of thought of the poets of the East; and it may with great justice be asserted, that, from the earliest specimens presented to the European public in the versification of Sir William Jones, the poetical efforts of Professor Falconer in this species of translation are perfectly unrivalled and unapproached.

As a specimen of critical research we should notice another contribution of his to the "Asiatic Journal"—an analytical account of the "Sindibád Námeh," of which a MS., unpublished and hitherto undescribed, in the library of the East India House, afforded a subject of much interest in the investigation of the history of romance. The "Sindibád Námeh" is one of the numerous forms under which has appeared, in nearly all the languages of Europe, the "Historia Septem Sapientium;" a work to which we are indebted for the original of most of our tales of fiction, and which, in literary interest, is only inferior perhaps to that of the varied and widely diffused versions of the "Pancha Tantra," and its successors. The notes with which Professor Falconer has enriched his "analytical account" exhibit, though on a small scale, the extensive character of his critical and philological acquirements, in the illustration of a subject which had already engaged the attention of Dacier, De Sacy, and of M. Loiseleur de Longchamps.

Within the last few years Professor Falconer received a diploma as LL.D. of the University of Aberdeen, an honour unsolicited by himself, but conferred on him solely as a mark of respect from his college, and in acknowledgment of the credit he had reflected on the place of his early education by his accomplishments and learning. He was at an early age a member of the Asiatic Society of Paris, to which he was elected at the recommendation of Baron Silvestre De Sacy; and very recently was made an honorary member of the American Oriental Society. He was also a member of the Society for the Publication of Oriental Texts, to which he was induced to lend his valuable services as editor of the "Heft Aureng, or Seven Poems of Jámí," the publication of which had been recommended to the Committee by Mr. Bardoe Elliott of Calcutta, who contributed a handsome donation in furtherance of the undertaking. Yielding to the solicitations of those friends who were anxious that his talents, though fully appreciated in his own circle, should be more fully made known to the Oriental world by some publication of importance and extent, Professor Falconer accepted the gratuitous labour, and in the year 1848 edited the "Tuhfat

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ul Ahrár," the first poem of that series, followed by the text of "Salámán and Absál" in 1850. His merits as an editor, as displayed in the critical care and fidelity with which he prepared these texts, are acknowledged by Professor Johnson in the preface to his "Arabic and Persian Dictionary," who considered himself indebted to them for some valuable suggestions for his new edition. Professor Falconer's labours in the publication of these texts were interrupted by his premature death. His illness was as unexpected as dangerous. In the spring of the last year, 1853, a sudden and general derangement of the system so completely prostrated his strength, that his friends hardly dared to hope even for his temporary recovery. Judicious care, however, and skilful medical assistance so far restored him as to permit him later to try the effect of change of air and scene in a visit to Scotland; but, on his return to London, a violent attack on the lungs, consequent on a severe cold, exhausted his constitution, already impaired by illness, and terminated in his death on the 7th of November of the same year.

The personal character of Dr. Falconer was most exemplary in every relation of life. Mild, unassuming, kindly, and eminently single-hearted, it was indeed impossible to know him without loving and esteeming him. From those members of our Society, to whom, from his extreme diffidence of character and the retired nature of his habits, he was but little known as a visitor at our meetings, he may have passed away almost without notice; but his merits as a scholar, and his virtues as a friend, cannot but be appreciated by those few who enjoy the sad privilege of lamenting his loss.

May it be permitted to conclude this hasty and imperfect tribute to his memory, with the sentiment of the Roman poet, though not expressed in one of the languages specially connected with the objects of this Society:

> "His saltem accumulem donis, et
> fungar inani munere."

Dr. Grotefend was born on the 9th of June, 1775. He received the rudiments of education in the school of his native place, and afterwards at Ilfeld. In the year 1795, he was admitted to the University of Göttingen; and, within a couple of years, through the interest of Heyne, with whom he contracted an intimate friendship, he was named to a tutorship in the Gymnasium. Two years after this he printed an erudite essay, "De Pasigraphia sive scriptura universali," the writing of which had probably led to his appointment. After several further steps in the educational career, he was promoted, in 1821, to the Directorship of the Lyceum at Hanover, an office which he held until his retirement from active duties in 1849.

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Dr. Grotefend contributed to classical literature several grammatical and educational works which enjoy a considerable reputation in Germany. But he is best known, both at home and abroad, by his earnest and successful efforts in the decipherment of ancient inscriptions. In this path, the most striking instance of success, begun by the happiest conjectures and followed up with great industry and acumen, was his discovery of a considerable number of the characters of the Persian Cuneiform alphabet,—a commencement which he would probably have carried out to the splendid results since derived from the united efforts of Burnouf, Lassen, Rawlinson, and Hincks, if he had been acquainted with the Zend and Sanscrit, in a cognate dialect of which the principal portion of the monument of Behistun was engraved, but which, at the early period when Dr. Grotefend studied and wrote, was wholly unknown to continental scholars. The key furnished was not unused by its discoverer, and the several essays which he subsequently published at Hanover and Göttingen until the year in which he died, are all valuable for the material which they furnished, and the ingenious dissections they contained, and more especially for the sagacious collation of similar passages found in different monuments, under the most singular caligraphic disguises, which appear to have been contrived rather to conceal the meaning of the inscriptions than to contribute a record of their contents. In the same spirit, Dr. Grotefend wrote his Rudiments of the Umbrian and Oscan languages, in eight successive numbers, a copy of which is upon our shelves; in this work he carefully pointed out the connexion of those forgotten old-Italian languages with their more fortunate sister-tongue, which the arms and policy of the Latin conquerors diffused over so large a portion of Europe.

This work was followed by another "On the Geography and History of Old Italy," which appeared at Hanover in five successive fasciculi from 1840 to 1842. Dr. Grotefend's paper on the Lycian and Phrygian Inscriptions appeared in the Transactions of our Society in 1833. The results of his labours on this subject were not considerable; and this we may fairly ascribe to the small amount of data at his disposal, and the inherent difficulty of the subject, because the subsequent discovery of a much larger mass of materials, and the efforts of several learned and ingenious men, have not added much to our knowledge of the structure and affinities of the language of Lycia.

We learn from a gentleman who was many years a pupil of Dr. Grotefend that, although he was considered by persons not in his intimacy, to be of a cold and reserved character, wholly occupied with his recondite studies, and uninterested in anything beyond them, this learned man was really full of feeling, and endowed with an almost

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child-like simplicity, which endeared him to all those who were of the circle of his friends.

When teaching, he became eloquent. Every part of a lesson furnished matter for bringing forward his great stores of information, which he poured out to his delighted pupils,—rather exciting them to efforts for the discovery of what was still to be found, than detailing the things already known; these he was inclined to leave to the industry of his scholars; a mode of teaching calculated to stir up the best efforts of young men of genius, though perhaps not so fitted for the dulness of an average pupil.

Dr. Grotefend was one of those men who from childhood to old age follow up one unvaried plan of study with unflinching tenacity. He was possessed of an extraordinary memory and excellent health, which allowed him to study from the earliest morning until late at night, without stint or relaxation. His greatest pleasure was in the exercise of his professorial duties; and he has left in the minds of his pupils the most affectionate recollections of his kind and unremitting endeavours to promote their progress in their studies, and to ensure their well-being while under his care.

After the publication of his inaugural essay, mentioned before, Dr. Grotefend, in addition to several elementary writings, produced the following works, so far as have come to our knowledge:

Elements of German Prosody. Giessen, 1815.

An improved Edition of the great Latin Grammar of Wenck. 2 vols. Frankfort, 1823.

Smaller Latin Grammar. Frankfort, 1825.

First Essay on the decipherment of the Cuneiform character, published as an Appendix to Heeren's Researches. In the English translation of Heeren, Oxford, 1833, it is in the 2nd vol. p. 313.

Various Contributions to the decipherment of Persian, Babylonian, and Assyrian Inscriptions were published successively in 1837, 1840, and 1853, at Hanover; and in 1846, 1850, at Göttingen.

He also published, at Göttingen, in 1851, his "Anlage and Zerstörung der Gebäude zu Nimrud." (Erection and Destruction of the Buildings at Nimrud.)

Of his other writings, we have seen his "History of the Lyceum of Hanover," printed at Hanover, in 1833; and his treatise on the "Rise and Progress (Aufblühen) of the City of Hanover from the earliest periods to the middle of the 14th century," Hanover, 1848; and an essay "On the Literary career of Horace," Hanover, 1849.

The Council had hoped to have seen in this room and on the present

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occasion their valued friend Colonel Rawlinson, and they had intended in that case to propose him as a member of their body, but they hear with regret that political events will not permit him to return to England for some time; this he himself laments, as he had hoped to be enabled to dedicate himself for some long period to the work of arranging and bringing out the results of his labours. For this purpose he had already dispatched to England, under care of Mr. Hodder, all the tablets, cylinders, vocabularies, syllabaria, &c., for the British Museum, which will probably be soon in this country. He consoles himself, however, with the prospect of the important work which he may still achieve, for he observes, in a late communication, "the vast mass of Chaldæan legends, which come pouring in from all quarters, will find me in ample occupation during the few hours which political business, and the withering climate of Baghdad, will leave at my disposal during the summer."

Disappointed as we thus are of the presence of Colonel Rawlinson, it will be interesting to the meeting to receive a brief account of the progress of his discoveries during the last twelve months. The Council have therefore great pleasure in submitting the following *resumé* by Mr. Norris of the chief points in the Colonel's communications to himself, which are frequent and full of details.

The most recent, as well as the most important discovery, in an historical and geographical point of view, is that of another obelisk, in the south-east corner of the great mound of Nimrud, and erected by Shamasphul, the son of Shalmanubara or Shalambara, who raised the similar and well-known obelisk in the British Museum, and of which a cast is now in this house. This obelisk is described as being six feet nine inches in height, and nine feet square, meaning, of course, nine feet in periphery: It is of very fine limestone, and is rounded at the top. On one side, a king is boldly represented "within an arched frame," like the one given at p. 351 of Layard's Nineveh and Babylon, having the same Assyrian symbols over his head, and the cross like that of Malta on his breast. The obelisk is of more irregular and uncouth shape than the one we have; it stands on a pedestal, which is sunk very deep in the ground; and as the obelisk and pedestal are all in one piece, it is feared that it will be necessary to break off a large portion for the convenience of carriage. There is an inscription on the other three sides of this obelisk, casts of which have been sent to Colonel Rawlinson at Baghdad. They are in the hieratic Assyrian character, of which a specimen exists in London upon Lord Aberdeen's black Stone; but the alphabet varies in some points from the ordinary Assyrian character, and it required some study before it could be read with fluency. The difference, however, is not greater, perhaps, than that which exists

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between some of the more ornate forms of what we call old English or black letter, and the ordinary type of our printed books.

The date of the obelisk is about the beginning of the eighth century, B.C. The inscription is divided into four columns, and contains 225 lines. It begins with the usual invocations to the gods of Assyria; and then goes on to record, in the following words, a domestic revolution begun by his elder brother. "Asshur-dan-pal raised a revolt against his father Shalambar; as my elder brother, he was guardian of the whole country (?), but he threw it into revolt, and prepared for battle. The men of Upper and Lower Assyria he joined with him, and he appointed leaders to command the cities, and to lead the inhabitants to battle to fight for him." Then follows a list of twenty-seven cities, most of which are obscure, but the concluding names are well known. Asshur (Shirgat), Arabhka (Arrhapachitis), Arab-il (Arbela), as far as Amida (Diarbekir), Tel-apni (about Orfa), and Khindan (Irban on the Khabour). The inscription proceeds: "These twenty-seven strong places revolted against Shalambar, my father, and adhered to Asshur-dan-pal; by the assistance of the great gods I reduced them all under my yoke." Then follow details of the King's wars. In his first year, he invades the frontiers of Nahiri (Naharaina) and fixes the limits of Assyria Proper, from Bishadira of Nahiri, on the north, to Kar-Shalambar, below Shagamista and Zaddi, the borders of Akkadim (or Babylonia) on the south; and, again, from Ingita and Haridi, on the north-west, to Sukha (שוּחַ or Sohene, north-west part of Babylonia, between the rivers) on the south-east. In his second year, he sends his general Mulil-Ashur against Nahiri, and this chief prosecutes his expedition as far as the sea of the setting sun (either the Euxine or the Mediterranean). His chief antagonist is Khartsina, son of Mikdiara, and in this campaign many cities are taken, enemies slain, and plunder carried off.

In the third year the King crosses the Zab, and passes through Tsilar to Nahiri; receives the tribute of Dadiya, of Khupuska (named on the old obelisk), of Khartsina, son of Mikdiara, of Tsumpa, of Minni (Armenia?), Bartsu, and Tahalla. On this passage the Colonel remarks: "I am now of opinion, that Bartsu cannot be Persia. It is evidently a part of Armenia, being joined both here and on the old obelisk with Minni, or Ararat." The inscription then details the tribute exacted, relates the ravages and plunder of Milida (?), and describes the campaign in this mountainous country. The triumphant king proceeds onwards to Ziruppunda; receives the tribute of several kings, whose names are doubtful. The campaign in Ziruppunda is described in detail. A king named Pirishat is carried into slavery, and the usual plunder follows. The conqueror receives the tribute of the city of Tsibara, and there erects a *stele*, on which he inscribes the laws and ordinances of Asshur,

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and the feats of arms achieved by his soldiers in the conquest of Nahiri; he marches on to Mata (Media), and describes the campaign in that quarter. The chief city is named *Nabit*. He next attacks Shirtsuarta, chief of Arazias, and details his conquest, and the submission, tribute, &c., of his opponent. Then follows a list of tributaries who made their submission, containing 26 names of chiefs, and their cities; and they are all more or less connected with Sintira (?) and Artazirari, kings of Nahiri. These names are all new, and many of them very difficult to read, but they will be useful in etymology. They are all Scytho-Arian, *arta* and *aspa* being common in the names of persons, and *kin* and *gin*, the usual Medo-Scythic prefix, in the geographical names. The royal record then gives a list of the tribute raised, and says that by the grace of the gods, the king imposed the yoke of Assyria upon all the countries which extended from the mountain district of Tsilar, as far as the sea of the setting sun, that is, over the whole of Asia Minor, and the Taurus range.

The annals then go on as follows :—"In my 4th year, in the month of Si (?) on the 15th day, I set out for the country of Babylonia. I crossed the Zab; on the skirts of the mountains I killed three wild bulls. I ravaged the country of Epikh, and captured the temple of the city, on the river Turnat (which Col. R. thinks is the Upper Nahrwan). The fear of my gods, Asshur and the Sun, fell upon the people of the country, and they submitted to my power. The men of the country I defeated, and I gave over their property and their gods to my own people. I crossed the Turnat by a bridge (or by fording). The city of Tikne, and 200 towns in the vicinity I destroyed, and overthrew, and burnt with fire. I ravaged the country of Yalman, and attacked the city of Diabina. The fear of Asshur fell on the people, and they submitted." More details follow, all in the same style, till the king fairly enters Akkadim. "Then," he adds, "the people feared from the wrath of my victorious troops, and from the power of my army, whose conquests were not to be arrested, and they betook themselves to the city of [a name not read], which was their capital city, and situated on the river Surabbi, the waters of which were impassable to an army, and around which were 447 dependent towns. This city I took by assault and I slew 18,000 of the garrison. Their blood ran like the waters of the rivers which surrounded their city; 3000 of the inhabitants I took alive. The wealth or arms of the garrison, plentiful as drops of rain, I gave over to my troops; the city I destroyed and overthrew, and burned with fire. Then Merodach . . . . . betook himself to his army: he collected the Chaldæans, the Elamites, the Nimri, and the Aramæans, forces innumerable, and came to meet me in battle. On the river Dab, below the city of [as above], I fought with his army, and their auxiliaries,

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and defeated them; 5000 of the fighting men I slew; 2000 I took alive; 1000 chariots, 2000 tents, the royal pavilion and standard, and the whole camp I captured." And so the inscription ends abruptly.

After giving the above professedly hasty sketch of the annals of Shamasphul, Colonel Rawlinson notices a few points of the geography of Assyria, at that early period; the rivers Surab and Dab, he believes to be the Sura and Zab of the Arabs, the left branch of the Euphrates, which bifurcated at Babylon. He had formerly supposed the Surab to be the Kerkha, but he believes that Shamasphul could not have gone so far without much more fighting than is narrated in the annals. He also remarks on Akkadim applying here, as on the older obelisk, to Babylonia so far north as the Assyrian frontier, whereas, in after times, the name was restricted to the lower country.

The Colonel states that he has been down the river to Bassorah, whence he has shipped off several cases for the British Museum and the Crystal Palace by the Acbar steam frigate, which was sent up from Bombay for the purpose; so that we may expect these valuable relics in a few months.

While on his visit to Bassorah, Colonel Rawlinson inspected the Chaldæan collection making in the south by Mr. Taylor, the British Consul; and he has sent home, as a result of a hurried examination, a list of 18 of the primitive kings of Babylonia, found on bricks, cylinders, barrels, vases, and other relics; and 20 names of persons in subordinate authority, in South Chaldæa, subject to the Assyrian kings of the Empire. We trust that we have here the nucleus of a real history of Western Asia, cotemporaneous with, and even preceding, the establishment of the Children of Israel in the Holy Land.

The excavations of Mr. Taylor at Umgheir have satisfactorily proved the architectural plan of the Babylonian and Chaldæan temples, shewing that they were built stage upon stage, with a single chamber at the summit as the adytum; in fact, in precise accordance with the description given of the Temple of Jupiter Belus, by Herodotus, i. 181.

Five cylinders covered with writing have also resulted from Mr. Taylor's researches, and a great number of bricks, with names of kings not found on the monuments previously discovered. From these relics Colonel Rawlinson has sent home lists of names, some of them being of monarchs who must have reigned over the plains of Mesopotamia before the establishment of the Assyrian Empire; and others, of governors of provinces of the country, under the authority of the supreme monarch.

The chronology of Assyria has received a valuable accession by the discovery of a record of one of the early kings, whose name is read

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Tiglath Pileser, like that of the later king of Assyria known to the Hebrews. Tiglath Pileser I. was shewn to have flourished 418 years before the reign of Sennacherib, by a passage in the Bavian inscription, which had been translated by Dr. Hincks, to whom Mr. Layard communicated a copy. The same learned scholar subsequently found a cylinder of Tiglath Pileser in the British Museum, recording the construction of a temple at a preceding date, which he satisfactorily proved to correspond either with 1750 or 1840 B.C. This discovery he published in the month of July; and it is gratifying to be enabled to state that Colonel Rawlinson fully confirms this discovery, having since found a duplicate cylinder in a more perfect condition, which shows that the earlier date, or 1840 B.C., is the correct one. The Colonel's letter, which communicated this, was read at the meeting of the 4th March last. From letters more recently received from that gentleman, we learn tha he has read the name of Semiramis on a statue of the god Nebo, dug up from the ruins of the palace of Nimrud. Semiramis appears, in a legend upon the statue, to have been really the wife of Pul, king of Assyria, the same as is mentioned in the Book of Kings; the cotemporary of Menahem, king of Israel. This would place Semiramis 150 years before Nebuchadnezzar, which will curiously confirm the tradition recorded by Herodotus, that this queen preceded Nitocris by five generations (lib. i. 184), equal to 150 years. It is observed by the Colonel, that the works which Herodotus attributes to Nitocris, were certainly erected by Nebuchadnezzar, as is duly attested by Berossus, and recorded in the Babylonian Cuneiform Annals: and he conjectures accordingly that Nitocris was the wife of Nebuchadnezzar.

A further very curious discovery made by Colonel Rawlinson is, that the employment of the Babylonian cuneiform writing was continued down at least so low as the time of the Macedonian dominion in Asia, the commencement of the 3rd century, B.C. This appears to be ascertained from a hasty examination of some tablets found at Warka by Mr. Loftus, which reached Colonel Rawlinson a couple of days before he sent off his last letter. These are merely notices of benefactions to the temples at Warka, but the royal names upon the tablets, which Colonel Rawlinson incloses, are unmistakeably those of Seleucus and Antiochus. There is nothing more extraordinary in this than in the well known fact, that the names of Roman emperors, Claudius, Nero, Tiberius, and others, are found expressed in genuine hieroglyphics on Egyptian monuments; but we are so accustomed to look upon the Assyrian writing as a thing of antiquity, beyond the reach of Greek history, that its appearance on the monuments of the successors of Alexander is somewhat startling. We may now, perhaps, look for Parthian monuments in the same character.

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The Council will here advert to a popular question, which has been asked by more persons than by those who have been without all means of obtaining sufficient information on the broad point which it involves. The question is, how are we to be satisfied that the readings of the cuneatic inscriptions, and consequently, the results deduced from them, can be relied on? The question, as is well known to all who have intelligently followed the steps of the discoverers, admits of a most satisfactory elucidation, but such as it would occupy too large a space in the present report to demonstrate. There is, however, a short proof which should suffice to inspire confidence in the general truth of those discoveries and results; and that is, that not only one laborious and indefatigable mind has applied itself with all the aids that extensive learning, and keen sagacity can supply, to the careful and gradual ascertainment of each separate letter and word, but that kindred spirits of energy, knowledge, and zeal, from Grotefend to Rawlinson and Hincks, have been sedulously engaged in the same task during a succession of years, and in places wide apart; and that the conclusions at which they have arrived, in the progressive stages of research, by their separate and independent operations, are generally accordant and corroborative of each other. It may be added of the more advanced realizations, that, while it is occasionally difficult to determine in which quarter a particular point has first been fixed, the discrepancies between rival authorities are only such as prove the individuality of their minds, while they bear no proportion to the great mass of the results in which those learned labourers accord; and even the points of difference often vanish as the one authority or the other is led, on further investigation, to adopt and confirm the suggestion from which he had at first differed. It may be added, that no human ingenuity could devise any system, by which consistent results should be obtained from any number of documents, however large, unless such system were true.

Since the Society met at its last anniversary, an association has been formed promising very important results, from the prosecution of extensive works of excavation and research on the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates. Our Society has hailed with cordial satisfaction a public movement in this direction; and they have gladly afforded to the Committee the only aid in their power to offer,—the use of this house for their meetings. The Assyrian Excavation Fund have printed their first report, which the Council hope will convince many who may not yet have afforded their support to this undertaking, that its labours are directed with energy and skill; and that the fruits already reaped are important and promising. From many spots which have yet been only seen in passing, monuments of great historical value may be expected

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to come to light; some such having been found at Warka, even on the first rapid survey. Photographic representations of many objects of interest, including several inscriptions, have been received from Mr. Loftus, who conducts the operations so recently commenced. These discoveries will continually and rapidly add to the stores of inscriptions, and other monuments, which the labours of Colonel Rawlinson and other palæographers have now rendered available to the elucidation of historical facts, and to the chronological allocation of the succession of sovereigns in the Assyrian annals.

The following paragraphs from the Report of the Assyrian Excavation Fund before referred to, will best shew the great necessity for every exertion being made to carry on the work so auspiciously commenced; and the Council cannot doubt that the cause of Assyrian discovery, to which the Royal Asiatic Society have been enabled to contribute so much assistance by the publication of the laborious and important works of Colonel Rawlinson, will receive further and abundant support from the individual Members of this Society :—

"As the grant voted for the Assyrian excavations carried on by the Trustees of the British Museum is on the point of being exhausted, and as the artist in their employment is incapacitated on account of his health from making any drawings of these highly important discoveries, Colonel Rawlinson suggests that, under these circumstances, the Committee should direct Mr. Loftus and Mr. Boutcher to fix themselves at Mosul for the summer, and thus turn this new discovery to the best account.

"The Committee have not hesitated to act on this suggestion, Mr. Loftus and his companion have been directed to conform to Colonel Rawlinson's instructions, and to proceed to the ruins of Nineveh as soon as the season for excavating in Southern Babylonia shall come to a close.

"The Committee feel confident that the most important results will be afforded by the new discoveries at Kouyunjik, and that the labours of their artist in this new field will enable them to publish invaluable illustrations of the history, chronology, and art of ancient Assyria.

"The Committee take this opportunity of calling the attention of the subscribers to the progress recently made in the deciphering of the inscriptions, which comprise the identification of all the Assyrian kings mentioned in the Bible—of many of those whose names occur in profane history, extending the chronology of Assyria to a period of about two thousand years before Christ. An almost perfect series of the names of the ancient kings of Assyria has also been discovered, and numerous illustrations of the sacred Scriptures, of the highest interest.

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"Further researches and excavations are alone wanted to render complete this most extraordinary restoration of the history, arts, manners, and chronology of a nation no less important for the position it held amongst the empires of antiquity, than for its intimate connexion with the Jewish people. The Committee therefore appeal with confidence to the public for additional funds, to enable them to persevere in carrying through a work which has been so successfully commenced, which promises results of such vast importance to the illustration of sacred history, and the prosecution of which has hitherto proved so creditable to the British nation."

The researches carried on by Mr. Loftus, under the auspices of the Assyrian Excavation Committee, prove the identification of Senkereh with the Sanchara of Berosus, which was given conjecturally by Colonel Rawlinson in the beginning of his "Outlines of Assyrian History," &c., published by this Society in 1852.

Mr. Loftus has found at Warka a very plainly engraved Himyaritic inscription from a tomb, which Colonel Rawlinson interprets as follows: ("Nafas wa-qabar Hanat-asar ben Esu ben Hanat-asar faj âtaf"). The grave of Hanat-asar, son of Esu, son of Hanat-asar, &c. The rest is broken and unintelligible. Colonel Rawlinson is of opinion that Hanat-asar is a compound of the same kind with Hannibal, Hananiah, and Hananeel,—the Mercy or Gift of God. It might at first be thought that the existence of such an inscription would prove the recent date of Warka; this is possible, but the existence of a genuine Babylonian cylinder, having three royal figures upon it, which was brought home by Captain Jones, and is now in the British Museum, having upon it a legend of ten very clearly drawn Himyaritic letters, proves the antiquity of the character.

The Council advert with great satisfaction to a work of no small labour, and of considerable value, accomplished by one of their Members, Mr. W. H. Morley,—a descriptive Catalogue of the Historical MSS., in the Arabic and Persian languages, in the library of this Society. In the preparation of this valuable work of reference, the writer has brought to bear an extensive acquaintance with the literature of the countries whence the works he has described have come to us; and the Council anticipate the cordial concurrence of the Members of the Society in the expression of their obligation to the accomplished writer for the service he has rendered to Oriental literature by the task he has so ably performed, and for the gratuitous devotion to its accomplishment of valuable time, and extensive learning.

The Council have directed that Mr. Morley's Catalogue shall be given

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to any Member applying for it without charge. The price to the public has been fixed at half-a-crown.

This Society published, in 1834, a work of singular interest, both in respect of the subject of which it treats—the Architecture of the Hindus, and as being the composition of a native author, written in pure and elegant English. The circumstances which led the highly-talented and distinguished writer to undertake and accomplish the task, are so fully described in the preface to the book, that the Council will not occupy the time of the Meeting in repeating them here. The work gives a clear and succinct analysis of the best treatises on Silpi Sastra by the Hindu sages who, under that title, have treated largely of the sciences of architecture and sculpture. It is illustrated by a large number of engravings, presenting examples of the forms described by those learned, but obscure authors, and carefully followed by the builders of the magnificent temples and other structures which meet the eye in every part of our Indian territories. This valuable production has not been so well known, or so extensively circulated as it well deserves to be. Under these circumstances, and considering that the outlay for the publication was made from the Society's own funds, nearly twenty years ago, the Council have resolved that any Member applying for a copy of the work shall be allowed to have it without payment, except for the carriage, when required to be sent to a distance.

The Committee of the Oriental Translation Fund are about to publish the text and scholia of the "Divan of the Hudzailis," edited by Professor Kosegarten, of Greifswald. The proposal of Dr. Kosegarten to edit and translate this collection of ancient Arabic Poems was accepted by the Committee some years since, having been strongly recommended to them by the late Dr. Rosen. The work will be useful and interesting on account of the various historical allusions and unknown Arabic words which the poems contain, but which will now be fully illustrated and explained by the learned and accurate editor. Professor Kosegarten has obligingly agreed that his version of the Divan shall be in English, instead of Latin, as originally intended. The volume now to be issued will be accompanied by a preface in English, and also by a few specimens of translations of the poetry.

The printing of the seventh and last volume of the Lexicon of Haji Khalfa, translated and edited by Professor Flügel, is rapidly being proceeded with, and will, it is expected, be completed during the present year. This supplementary volume will contain the results of the Editor's indefatigable researches into recent Oriental bibliography, in illustrating which he has availed himself of the catalogues of various

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libraries in Constantinople, Vienna, and other cities on the Continent; and has extended his inquiries, in fact, to all quarters where Eastern manuscripts are accumulated.

The limited funds of the Society for the publication of Oriental Texts have not permitted them to present to their Subscribers any printed work within the last year, but it is hoped that their resources will now soon nable them to send to press M. Garcin De Tassy's text of the Mantic ut Tair, to be followed by Mr. Morley's edition of Baihaki's History. The Committe have, in common with all friends of Oriental literature, to lament the loss of Professor Forbes Falconer, who had lately taken an active part in their editorial labours, and by whose death the publication of Jami's Heft Aureng, of which series he had already edited the two first poems, is now interrupted. The Committee hope, however, to succeed in finding an editor who may continue and complete this work, commenced under such favourable auspices and encouraged by Mr. Bardoe Elliott's munificent patronage.

Auditors' Report.

J. W. Bosanquet, Esq., read the following Report of the Auditors:

In presenting their Report of Receipts and Expenditure for the past year, the Auditors beg leave to observe that, although the estimated surplus of £900, anticipated at the audit of 1852, has not been realized, and although the expenditure for the year 1853 has exceeded the amount received, they see no reason on the whole to be dissatisfied with the state and prospects of the finances of the Society.

The excess of expenditure beyond receipts amounts to the sum of £220 9*s.* 4*d.*, from which may be deducted £58 3*s.* 6*d.* for lithographing Scythic inscriptions and the Nakshi Rustam inscription, being an appropriation of so much of the Government grant of £1000 towards the publication of Colonel Rawlinson's discoveries, thereby reducing the deficiency on ordinary expenditure to £162 3*s.* 10*d.*

In the meanwhile the annual subscriptions show a trifling increase from £500 17*s.* received in 1852 to £510 6*s.* received in 1853, and the estimated amount of subscriptions for 1854 is £550, showing a slow but progressive improvement in the funds of the Society.

The reserved fund of stock in Three per cent. Consols, which at the end of 1852 was £1300, was at the end of 1853 £1806 19*s.* 5*d.*

The estimated expenditure for the year 1854, which also includes a sum of £107 19*s.* chargeable to the Government grant, will, after deducting that sum, leave a surplus of about £70 in favour of the Society at the end of the present year.

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The Auditors would also express a hope that, as the Rawlinson fund will in the course of the present year be nearly exhausted, additional aid may perhaps be obtained either from Government or from private subscriptions towards the publication of a mass of interesting historical information connected with ancient Assyria, which has now accumulated in the hands of Colonel Rawlinson.

T. C. ROBERTSON.
O. DE BEAUVOIR PRIAULX.
J. W. BOSANQUET.

9th May, 1854.

It was moved by L. R. Reid, Esq., seconded by Major Chase, and carried unanimously:

"That this meeting approve and adopt the Report of the Council which has now been read; and likewise the Report submitted by the Auditors, to whom the thanks of the Society are due for the able discharge of the duty intrusted to them."

Moved by Colonel Dickinson, seconded by General Delamotte, and carried unanimously:

"That this meeting desire to express their high sense of the attention bestowed on the affairs of the Society during the past year by the Director, Vice-Presidents, and the Council, to whom the best thanks of the Society are due."

Sir George Staunton acknowledged the vote.

The Honourable Holt Mackenzie moved:

"That the thanks of the Meeting be specially given to Mr. Morley, a Member of the Council, for preparing, with great labour and learning a descriptive Catalogue of an important portion of our Oriental Library, which adds very largely to its value, and, under an unpretending title, contains much important matter."

This motion was seconded by H. T. Prinsep, Esq., and carried unanimously.

It was moved by Captain Eastwick, seconded by Sam. Ware, Esq., and carried unanimously:

"That the thanks of the meeting be given to the Secretary, Treasurer, and Librarian, for their zealous services during the past year."

The Secretary and the Treasurer acknowledged the vote.

Charles Elliott, Esq., moved "That the thanks of the Society are due to Mr. Norris, the Assistant-Secretary, for his services during the past year," which was seconded by R. Clarke, Esq., and carried unanimously.

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Abstract of Receipts and Disbursements, from 1st January to 31st December, 1853.

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
136 Subscriptions of Resident Members, and 3*l.* 3*s.*	428	8	0			
27 ditto, Original Members, at 2*l.* 2*s.*	56	14	0			
24 ditto, Non-Resident Members, at 1*l.* 1*s.*	25	4	0			
Arrears of Subscription paid up	24	3	0			
				£534	9	0
2 Compositions of Resident Members, at 31*l.* 10*s.*				63	0	0
Annual Donation of the East India Company				210	0	0
Dividends on Consols				37	17	4
Publications sold				39	18	5
				885	4	9
Balance brought from 1852				986	4	6
				£1871	9	3

[Assets, 1806*l.* 19*s.* 5*d.* 3 per Cent. Consols.]

DISBURSEMENTS.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
House Rent, one Year	280	0	0			
Assessed Taxes	26	19	8			
Fire Insurance on House	5	12	6			
Ditto on Library and Museum (7 Years)	16	7	5			
				£328	19	7
Ordinary House Expenses and Housekeeper	60	5	3			
Coals and Gas	17	1	0			
				77	6	3
Salaries of Assistant Secretary, Clerk, Porter, and Armourer	234	2	0			
Collector's Poundage	25	0	0			
				259	2	0
Printer's Bill for Journal, Vol. 13, Parts 1 and 2	267	5	6			
Lithographer's Bill	60	6	0			
Stitching up Journal, &c.	12	8	6			
				340	0	0
Books, Periodicals, Binding, and Stationery	27	2	6			
Repairs of House, Furniture, &c.	18	11	5			
Postage and Carriage 10*l.* 0*s.* 5*d.*, Sundries 22*l.* 10*s.* 10*d.*	32	11	3			
Cost of Lease of House	22	1	1			
				100	6	3
				£1105	14	1
Purchase of 506*l.* 19*s.* 5*d.* Consols at 98¼				500	0	0
				£1605	14	1
Balance in hand, end of 1853				265	15	2
				£1871	9	3

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Colonel Bagnold and K. R. H. Mackenzie, Esq., having been appointed Scrutineers, the Meeting proceeded to ballot for the Council and Officers for the ensuing year.

The Director, Treasurer, Honorary Secretary, and Librarian were re-elected; and the following Members were declared elected to form the Council of the Society for the year:—Bagnold, Colonel M.; Bland, Nathaniel, Esq.; Bosanquet, J. W., Esq.; Bird, Dr. James; Briggs, Lieutenant-General John, F.R.S.; Fergusson, James, Esq.; Lewis, Henry, Esq., R.N.; Latham, Dr. R. G., F.R.S.; Oliphant, Major James; Perry, Sir Thomas Erskine, M.P.; Pollock, Lieut.-General Sir George, G.C.B.; Priaulx, O. De Beauvoir, Esq.; Robertson, T. C., Esq.; Sykes, Lieut.-Colonel, F.R.S.; Vyvyan, Sir Richard R., Bart., M.P. F.R.S.

J. W. Pycroft, Esq., moved thanks to the Chairman for his conduct in the Chair, which was seconded by O. De B. Priaulx, Esq., and carried unanimously.

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ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

THIRTY-THIRD ANNIVERSARY MEETING OF THE SOCIETY,

Held on the 17th May, 1856.

PROFESSOR WILSON,

PRESIDENT,

IN THE CHAIR.

THE FOLLOWING REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

WAS READ BY R. CLARKE, ESQ., HONORARY SECRETARY :—

It is with much satisfaction that the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society are this year enabled to state a large increase in the number of Members, exhibiting a strong contrast to the diminution which it was their painful duty to announce at the last Anniversary Meeting. The total number of new Resident Members elected during the last twelve months was 17;* and of Non-resident, 4.† The deaths have been eleven only,‡ including those of two foreign Members;§ and the retirements were seven.‖

* 1. John Alger, Esq.; 2. Dr. H. Barth; 3. Maj.-Gen. W. J. Browne, C.B.; 4. Alfred Curzon, Esq.; 5. Sir Frederick Currie, Bart.; 6. The Rev. Elijah Hoole; 7. Lieut.-Col. W. Hough; 8. Welby Jackson, Esq.; 9. Mrs. Alexander Kerr; 10. Sir John S. Login, M.D.; 11. Dr. J. D. Macbride; 12. John Marshman, Esq.; 13. The Rev. Wiliam Parry; 14. George Palmer, Esq.; 15. The Rev. W. Selwyn; 16. Newman Smith, Esq.; 17. Mrs. Speir.

† 1. E. C. Bayley, Esq.; 2. D. F. Carmichael, Esq.; 3. G. H. Freeling, Esq.; 4. H. G. Keene, Esq.

‡ 1. W. B. Barker, Esq.; 2. Charles Elliott, Esq.; 3. The Rt.-Hon. Henry Ellis; 4. The Rt.-Hon. Sir Henry Pottinger, Bart., G.C.B.; 5. Dr. Colin Rogers; 6. The Duke of Somerset; 7. The Hon. W. H. Leslie Melville; 8. P. Pusey, Esq., M.P.; 9. John Reeves, Esq.

§ 1. General Prince Paskevitch; 2. The Chevalier Don Lopez de Cordoba.

‖ 1. Sir F. Abbott, C.B.; 2. David Blane, Esq.; 3. Capt. I. J. Chapman; 4. G. H. T. Heatley, Esq. (struck off); 5. Charles Rieu, Esq.; 6. Andrew Wight, Esq.; 7. Lieut.-Gen. Salter.

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But while the Council contemplate with satisfaction the general increase in the number of the Members, they have to deplore the loss they have sustained by the death of their highly valued and respected colleague, Mr. CHARLES ELLIOTT, who, ever since his return to his native land, has taken an active interest in the operations of the Society, and held the office of Treasurer since the death of Mr. James Alexander, who was appointed to that office at the first institution of the Society.

Mr. Elliott proceeded to Bengal, as a Writer, at a time when no provision existed for preliminary training for the arduous duties of the Civil Service; but his natural energy led him to an early cultivation of the Persian and Hindustani, which a facility for acquiring languages enabled him speedily to master. When the College of Fort William was instituted by Lord Wellesley, at the commencement of this century, he was one of the few who, although he had already entered on public life, voluntarily returned to Calcutta for the purpose of submitting to an examination, and establishing his character as an excellent Oriental scholar.

Mr. Elliott had been in India only a few years, and had not much passed the age of thirty, when he was appointed judge of the province of Futtyghur; and, shortly afterwards, he was raised to the higher, and more responsible post of one of the judges of the Bareilly Court of Appeal and Circuit. In the year 1821, he was called upon to act as one of the judges of the Sudder Court in Calcutta; and in the following year, he was sent to Delhi as senior member of the Board of Revenue of the North Western Provinces, and agent to the Governor-General at the Court of the Great Moghul.

The political office with which Mr. Elliott was thus invested, occasioned the attendance at his durbars, or levees, of many distinguished native chieftains, who have since earned an unenviable notoriety in their struggles with the British Government. Such were the turbulent chiefs of Afghanistan, and princes and others, of distinction, in the Court of Runjeet Singh. With these personages, all communications were carried on at that time through the channel of the Governor-General's agent at Delhi.

It was in this position that Mr. Elliott exhibited the soundness of his judgment, the integrity of his character, and the firmness so essential to the discharge of his high and important duties. These qualities rendered him a fit and able successor to Sir Charles, afterwards Lord, Metcalfe.

Mr. Elliott's return to England in 1826, with the Company's retiring annuity, in addition to a handsome patrimony, precluded his advancement to a seat at the Council Board, to which his distinguished and

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meritorious services would no doubt have pointed him out as peculiarly eligible.

During the thirty years of his residence in his native land, he was happily permitted to enjoy a larger share of health and happiness than usually falls to the lot of man.

The only work he ever published was an abridged translation, from the Persian, of the life of Háfiz Rehmut Khán; but as a Fellow of the Royal Society, and as a Member of the Royal Asiatic Society, he was well known as manifesting, at a very advanced age, a lively interest in all that was passing in the world of literature and politics, and a sound and discriminating taste in the appreciation of excellence and merit. Few men, even in the vigor of life, passed so many hours in reading as did Mr. Elliott, when nearly fourscore years of age; and still fewer, at that age, have possessed the mental and physical power which enabled him to mix, almost daily, in society, where, amidst an unusually extensive circle of friends and acquaintance he was always welcome, as a man possessing a large fund of anecdote, and a rich store of information.

Mr. Elliott died, full of years and of honor, on the 4th of May, 1856, in the 80th year of his age.

Sir Henry Pottinger was a member of an ancient Berkshire family which had been settled in Ireland for nearly three centuries. Sir Henry was born at Mount Pottinger, in the county Down, in 1790. He went to India in 1804, as a cadet, and very soon brought himself to the notice of the Government of Bombay, by whom he was attached as surveyor to the missions that were sent, about 1809–10, to Sindh and Persia. In the latter year, he was sent, with Captain Christie, into Sindh and Baluchistan, countries then almost unknown to Europeans, and of which it was considered important to gain precise information, especially in respect of their geographical and political circumstances. An account of his travels was published in 1816, and first afforded the means of obtaining accurate knowledge of the countries between the lower course of the Indus and Persia,—in fact, it is still our chief authority for our acquaintance with the western districts of Baluchistan, and the adjacent Persian frontier. Upon his return to India, Lieutenant Pottinger was appointed an assistant to the Resident at the Court of the Peshwa; and after the close of the Mahratta war, was one of the officers selected by Mr. Elphinstone, for the administration of the territories which had recently fallen under British authority. He was accordingly nominated judge and collector of the Ahmednagar district, in which he remained until he was appointed Political Resident at the Court of the Row or Raja of Cutch, then under age. He was

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entrusted with the administration of the country, and so endeared himself to the young prince, whose education he superintended, that the latter, as a proof of his affection and gratitude, proposed that he should be permitted to pay for the education of the Resident's children when they were sent to England, a measure, however, which the Indian service did not admit of. While holding this position, he gave liberal aid to inquiries of a different description, and contributed essentially to the success of Mr. Masson, in investigating the antiquities, and collecting the coins of Afghanistan.

In 1838, he was appointed Resident at the Court of the Amirs of Sindh. During his tenure of that office, which lasted fifteen years, the Afghan war took place; and although not personally engaged in it, the means of promoting the success of the operations of the army, derived from his political station, and his intimate knowledge of the chiefs and resources of the country, were so judiciously and effectively made use of, and his services were justly held of so much importance, that, at the close of the campaign, they were acknowledged by his elevation to the rank of Baronet. Returning on leave to England, his services were engaged by the British Government, and he was sent, in 1841, to China as Envoy Extraordinary and Superintendent of our commercial intercourse with that country, where his intelligence and firmness soon effected a reconciliation with the Chinese Government, and established conditions of peace on a scale more advantageous than had ever before been conceded. For this service he received the Grand Cross of the Bath. He then became Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Hong Kong, where he remained till 1844, in which year he was made a member of the Privy Council. Two years after this he was appointed Governor of the Cape of Good Hope; and in 1847, of Madras, which office he retained until 1854. He died at Malta, on the 18th of March last, whither he had proceeded for the restoration of his health, broken down by an incessant and laborious public career, in several parts of Asia and in Africa, of more than half a century.

The Right Honourable Sir Henry Ellis was born about the year 1788; and was educated at Harrow. He proceeded to Bengal, in the Civil Service, in the year 1806; and was early distinguished at the Calcutta College for his acquirements in the Persian and Sanscrit, as also in the vernacular language of Bengal. In the early part of 1808, he became a paid attaché to the mission to Persia, under Colonel, afterwards Sir John Malcolm. In 1809, he was appointed Secretary to the Mission to Sindh, under Mr. Haukey Smith; and, in the following year, joined Brigadier-General Malcolm, on his second Mission to the Court of Tehran, as Secretary of Embassy. On his return to

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India, he was nominated Head Assistant at the Court of the Peshwa, at Poona.

In 1811, he returned to England on account of ill-health; and was appointed Private Secretary to the Earl of Buckinghamshire, then President of the Board of Control, where he failed not to acquire extensive information of the home administration and policy of our Asiatic Government. In 1814, Mr. Ellis was Minister Plenipotentiary, *ad interim*, in Persia. In 1816, he was nominated Secretary of Embassy to the Mission to China, under the Earl of Amherst, with the provisional appointment of Joint Commissioner, to which he succeeded. On his return to England, he wrote an account of the Embassy to China,—a work of great interest at the time, and of considerable merit. In 1819, he was appointed Deputy-Secretary to the Government of the Cape of Good Hope; and in 1825 he was nominated to the office of Clerk of the Pells, which he retained until it was abolished in 1834. In the year 1830, he was selected as one of the Commissioners of the Board of Control, to aid with his experience in the discussions on the renewal of the East India Company's Charter; and in July 1832, he was made a member of Her Majesty's Privy Council; and two years afterwards, he was dispatched to Persia in the capacity of Ambassador Extraordinary to congratulate Mahomed Shah on his accession to the Persian throne. In 1848, he received the additional honour of a Knight Commander of the Order of the Bath.

Sir Henry Ellis possessed considerable literary talents, added to a sound classical education, and an acquaintance with several languages, both European and Asiatic.

Under the recent modification of the Society's Rules, the two classes of Corresponding and Foreign Members have ceased to receive any accessions; while the Society retains the power of testifying its sense of distinguished services in aid of the general objects for which it is associated, whether rendered by British subjects, or by learned and diligent investigators of foreign countries, by conferring upon them diplomas of admission into the class of Honorary Members.

In the course of the present session the Council have recommended, and the members have unanimously elected, as Honorary Members of the Society, His Majesty Phra Bard Somdetch Phra Paramendr Maha Mongkut Phra Chom Klau Chau Yu Hua, the Chief King of Siam, and his brother and subordinate Prince, Phra Bard Somdetch Phra Paramendr Ramesr Maheswaresr Phra Pin Klau Chau Yu Hua. The enlightened characters and unusual attainments of these princes had been brought to the especial notice of the Council by Sir John Bowring, Her Majesty's representative in China, who had become personally ac-

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quainted with them during the mission to their capital. To a knowledge of Sanskrit the Chief King adds an acquaintance with both the Latin and English languages; and the younger brother is said to write and speak English with wonderful correctness. Both have acquired a considerable knowledge of astronomy, and the younger has also given some attention to chemistry and mechanics. Thus enlightened themselves, they give, by their example and patronage, every encouragement to literary and scientific pursuits within the sphere of their power. In proposing to enrol among our Honorary Members these Indian princes who had laboured so assiduously in furtherance of the objects for which the Society was founded, the Council were actuated by the consideration that the honour to be conferred would be gratifying to their Highnesses, and that such public acknowledgment of their merits, while reflecting credit on the Society, would act as a stimulus to further exertions on the part of these intelligent personages, in the enlightened career on which they have so auspiciously entered.

The Society has also conferred the degree of Honorary Member on the Rev. R. Spence Hardy; on Dr. Hincks; and on Professor Westergaard, as having, in the words of the 10th Article of the Society's Regulations, "contributed to the attainments of the objects of the Society in a distinguished manner."

By the publication of "Eastern Monachism," the first-named gentleman has given us, from original documents, an account of the origin, laws, sacred writings, and practices of the Buddhist Mendicant Orders; and in his "Manual of Buddhism," subsequently published, he has carefully traced the modern development of the system, beginning with Buddhist cosmogony and the history of Gautama, and closing with a compendium of the philosophy of Buddhism, as understood by the modern priesthood, and taught to the people.

Dr. Hincks has been for several years before the learned world as a successful investigator and decipherer of the languages written with cuneiform characters; and though his distance from the places where the materials exist in greatest extent has necessarily prevented him from giving full scope to the inherent sagacity which appears in all his communications, there can be no question that he has contributed very greatly to our intelligence of those records, the discovery and decipherment of which is the most interesting fact in archæology, adding, as it does, so great a portion of the history of the world to our stores of knowledge.

Professor Westergaard, by his "Radices Sanscritæ," published some years ago, contributed one of the most useful works of reference to the student. This work is composed on a scientific plan, and refers, in every instance, to classical sources in support of the acceptation which he has given to the verbal forms that are the subject of his labours.

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To his own countrymen, the small Danish Sanskrit Grammar is calculated to be peculiarly valuable. His recent edition of all the Zend Texts, noticed in a later part of the present report, will, when completed by the translation, grammar, and dictionary, fully justify the Society in conferring on this distinguished scholar the diploma of an Honorary Member.

The progress of Assyrian discovery has been very satisfactory since the last Anniversary Meeting. More monuments have been brought home to enrich our national museum; new inscriptions have been received, some of them recorded by monarchs of whom nothing had hitherto been found; and the progress of decipherment, by the continued labours of Sir Henry Rawlinson, has kept pace with the arrival of fresh materials. The discovery of the plan and purport of the Birs Nimrud has been made known to the Society by communications from Sir Henry, previously to his return to England. The memoir on that edifice has been partly read to the Society, and is now in the printer's hands, being intended to form a portion of the 17th volume of the Society's Journal. The monuments of a series of twenty-five primitive Chaldæan Kings have also been investigated. These kings had utterly passed away from history; they preceded the Assyrian dynasty, whose later monarchs are known by name from the Biblical records, and may comprise a thousand years of duration, extending from the 23rd to the 13th century B.C. The arrangement of this series of primitive Chaldæan monarchs is based upon thirty-five inscriptions, which were translated and analyzed in a paper laid before the Society in July last; and a solid foundation has thus been laid for raising an edifice of history, extending into the remotest times, of which even tradition has scarcely brought us any traces. The inscriptions themselves will appear, with an analysis, in the first delivery of the series of Monuments of Assyria and Babylonia, the publication of the original texts of which the Government has confided to Sir Henry Rawlinson. They have also declared their readiness to consider any plan which this Society may propose for the purpose of accompanying such publication with a translation. The inscriptions being in a language of a more primitive character than that hitherto called Assyrian and Babylonian, there is necessarily much obscurity about their purport, which could scarcely have been cleared up but for the discovery of the real nature of a great number of clay tablets in the British Museum, dug out from the ruins of Koyunjik. These tablets, in reality, as stated by Sir Henry Rawlinson, at a meeting in December last, "are neither more nor less than comparative alphabets, grammars, and vocabularies of the Assyrian and Babylonian [Chaldæan] languages." When all the tablets containing these bilingual inscrip-

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tions shall have been fully analyzed—a work which is now being steadily prosecuted,—we shall have ample materials for studying the ancient Chaldæan or Hamite language of Babylon.

In the early part of the present year, Sir Henry Rawlinson made another communication of interest to the biblical student, being a monument of the Assyrian King Pul, mentioned in the Second Book of Kings in conjunction with Menahem, King of Israel. The inscription on this monument, which was found in the centre palace of Nimrud by Mr. Loftus, informs us that Pul overran Syria, and received tribute from Tyre and Sidon, Samaria and Edom, and from the Philistines and the Hittites. It also records a then recent expedition to Syria, the conquest of Damascus, and the exaction of an enormous tribute, the particulars of which are given in the inscription.

About a month ago Sir Henry Rawlinson read to the Society a paper on an inscription which had been nearly fifty years in England, having been obtained by Sir John Malcolm in 1808, and presented to the library of Trinity College, Cambridge. This inscription is a record of Neriglissor, probably one of the Nergal Sharezers of Jeremiah,* who, according to Berossus, usurped the throne of Nebuchadnezzar, after the dethronement of Evil-Merodach; and consists chiefly of an account of the various works of that monarch executed at Babylon. It is valuable for the topographical information it affords, which, in conjunction with what is made known to us by the numerous legends of Nebuchadnezzar, enables us to determine the course of the Euphrates, the lines of canals by which it was fed, and the sites of all the great buildings of the city.

Dr. Hincks has successfully prosecuted his investigations; and has furnished a valuable paper on the Assyrian verb, which is published in the Journal of Biblical Criticism. This paper is a continuation of his grammatical communications, the first part of which, on the Assyrian personal pronouns, he published in 1854.

Dr. John Brandis, of the University of Bonn, a recent labourer in the field, has published, in Berlin, a valuable *resumé*† of the additions to Assyrian history, obtained from the decypherment of the cuneiform inscriptions. In this work he has first described the state of our knowledge of Assyrian history as it was previously to the discovery of any of the inscriptions; and, secondly, given an account of the recent researches, and the results which he deduces from them. As a sequel to this treatise, he has added, with much detail, a valuable paper on the principles of the Assyrio-Babylonian system of cuneiform writing, in which he has communicated to the scholars of Germany a critical review of discoveries made by our learned countrymen, together with

* Ch. xxxix. 3.

† Uber den Historichen Gewinn aus der Entzifferung der Assyrischen Inschriften. Berlin, 1856.

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some of his own readings, and a searching analysis of many of the proper names occurring in the inscription.

Dr. Julius Oppert, in the tenth volume of the German Oriental Society's Journal, has published a letter on the values of the Babylonian characters, in which he has summed up all the results that had appeared up to the date of his writing, 29th September, 1855. This letter is accompanied by a plate, purporting to be a complete Babylonian syllabarium. In this plate he inserts only the ordinary phonetic value of each character, reserving the ideographic values for another plate, "which will contain the genetic developement of the various styles of writing, and will show why any given character associates a syllabic power with its ideographic value." We may expect some good results from the learned doctor's researches in this interesting branch of the inquiry.

Another investigator has come into the field—Fox Talbot, Esq., already known by his discoveries in physics, has printed a paper on the great inscription of Nebuchadnezzar, preserved at the India House, which he has successfully and independently examined, and given readings and translations of several passages of that inscription. He has followed up this paper by another; and we may expect good results from the sagacity and industry of this new coadjutor.

Among the donations of the present season, the Council would especially notice a magnificent volume, the work of their talented and learned colleague, Mr. Morley, exhibiting, in a succession of anastatic plates, the most faithful and clear representations of a beautiful Persian astrolabe in the British Museum, illustrated by full and interesting descriptive and historical notices. The value of the anastatic process is powerfully exhibited by these plates, which, taken from the astrolabe itself, present, in one view, all the elaborate tracery, the mass of minute Persian writing, and the accurate divisions of the circle, extending to quarters of a degree, with an accuracy which could not have been otherwise obtained, except by an amount of labour and expense which could scarcely have been bestowed for such an object, however curious and valuable. Compendious notices of twelve other astrolabes, never before published, are also added to this book, among which is the one in the Society's Museum, which will be found described at page 49 of Mr. Morley's beautiful volume. The Society will acknowledge, with the highest satisfaction, their obligation to Mr. Morley for this his costly contribution to the history of Oriental science.

The library is indebted to the Committee of the Bible Society for a copy of the Chinese version of the entire Bible, recently printed at Shanghai. This edition is believed to surpass all others in correct

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rendering of the sacred text. The beauty and neatness of the typography must strike even the untutored eye; while its compact size, and marvellous cheapness, promise—so far as material influences may operate—to aid its extensive circulation among the natives of China.

The completion of Professor Westergaard's text of the Zendavesta, which includes the whole of what is left to us in the Zend language, will be hailed by the student with great satisfaction. This volume, valuable as it is, forms the least important portion of the work which the learned professor is printing, which will comprise a grammar and dictionary of the language, together with a translation of all the Zend texts. It may be said that no work is more wanted by the Oriental archæologist; and, perhaps, with equal confidence, that no one now living is so able to execute it. The ground had been trodden by the late E. Burnouf, who might probably, but for his lamented death, have prepared a similar work; but the result of his learned investigations and sagacious conjectures is in the hands of Professor Westergaard, who has diligently examined them, and has long been engaged on the same difficult labour.

The volume published is prefaced by an elaborate introduction in the English language, containing a history of the various MSS. in which the Zend works have come down to us, and an estimate of their comparative value. A dissertation is added on the age of Zoroaster and the religion of the Persians, on the alphabet in which the writings were probably preserved, and on the manner in which the existing texts were collected and digested by the Sassanians, to whom he attributes the gathering together of the existing relics of an anterior period.

The Oriental Translation Committee have, during the past year, delivered to their subscribers a translation (accompanied by the original text) of a work of considerable interest, entitled "*Spicilegium Syriacum*," by the Rev. William Cureton, Canon of Westminster. This volume contains the productions of some early Christian writers, of which fragments only have hitherto been known. One of the treatises is a curious metaphysical disquisition on fate and freewill, and another is the apology of Melito, Bishop of Sardis. Each of these tracts is replete with arguments of great ingenuity and acumen, and presents thoughts characterized by good sense and dignity, of which qualities writers of this class have been accused of a deficiency. They were published about the second century of the Christian era, and are said to have been addressed to the Emperor Marcus Antoninus.

The printing of the seventh and last volume of *Haji Khalfæ Lexicon Encyclopædiacum et Bibliographicum* is nearly brought to a conclusion. The sixth volume completed the original work of Haji Khalfa; and the

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seventh is occupied by supplementary matter, collected from various sources by the indefatigable editor, Professor Flügel, who is now laboriously engaged upon the necessary indices to the whole lexicon.

The translation of the *Kitab-al-Yamini*, of Ibn-al-Jabbár Al Utbí, by the Rev. James Reynolds, the Secretary to the Committee, is approaching its termination, and will probably be finished by the end of the year. This personal memoir of the celebrated Mahmud of Ghuzni, comprising notices of many of his contemporaries, is rendered from a Persian version of the Arabic original, and is interspersed with poetry. The work of Al-Utbí is probably the most ancient historical record of the events of the period.

AUDITORS' REPORT.

The following Report of the Auditors on the Financial Accounts of the Society was then read by O. De B. Priaulx, Esq.:—

"The Auditors observe, on reference to the accounts of the last three years, that the *proper and actual* receipts of each of those years have fallen short of the expenditure; and that these annual deficits have been respectively made up from the *balance* of each preceding year, which has annually diminished until it is now nearly extinguished:—

"Balance of preceding years, carried to current year's account:—

1853, carried to	1854	....	....	£265	15	2
1854 „	1855	....	....	195	18	4
1855 „	1856	....	....	84	15	3
Estimated for	1857	....	....	11	15	9

It seems to follow, that unless income can be increased, or expense diminished, the funded capital of the Society (£1806 19*s.* 5*d.* Consols) will soon be broken in upon.

"The Income of the current year, of which the Estimate is herewith submitted, will be larger than that of the past year, as the accession of new members has been greater, and the loss of contributing members less than for several preceding years; but in the current year, expenses must be incurred for painting, carpet, &c., the amount of which is not entered in the Estimate, which must, therefore, be considered as more favourable than the actual out-turn is likely to be.

"The expense of two numbers of the Journal has been entered in the Estimate, because both will be out of the press by the middle of the year; and the charge, therefore, legitimately belongs to, and ought to be defrayed, within the year. One of these numbers is chargeable to the ordinary Funds of the Society; the other, which is one of the Rawlinson Series, will be defrayed from the balance remaining on hand of the Parliamentary Grant of £1,000 made in 1851-2. That balance is at present

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£171 18*s.* 11*d.*, from which the expense of the number just published being deducted, there will remain of the Parliamentary Grant, £31 1*s.* 5*d.*

"Early in the ensuing year a further part of the Rawlinson Series will pass through the press, for which the above small balance left of the Government Grant will be wholly inadequate. The Auditors recommend a renewed application to be made to Government for a further grant.

"The only other means of relief that can be looked forward to would be the removal of the Society into rooms provided by the Government, for which urgent application has been repeatedly made, and hopes of success held out, but at no definite period, and consequently the prospect is yet distant.

"W. B. BAYLEY, } Auditors on the part
"S. GREGSON, } of the Society.

"O. De B. PRIAULX,
Auditor on the part of the Council.

"London, May 15, 1856."

It was moved by J. W. REDHOUSE, Esq., seconded by the HONOURABLE H. E. J. STANLEY, and carried unanimously:—

"That the Report of the Council of the transactions of the past year, as well as the Report of the Auditors on the accounts of the same period, be received and adopted; and that the Auditors be requested to accept the best thanks of the Meeting for the attention they have bestowed in the discharge of their important duties."

The RIGHT HONOURABLE HOLT MACKENZIE moved, and ROBERT HUNTER, Esq., seconded, the following motion, which was carried *nem. con.*:—

"That this Meeting desire to record their deep regret at the loss of their Treasurer, Charles Elliott, Esq., who always evinced a lively interest in the proceedings and objects of the Society; was ever ready to promote its interests; and whose presence among them was always hailed with cordial satisfaction, as that of an accomplished gentleman and an agreeable associate."

It was moved by A. ASHPITEL, Esq., seconded by the Rev. JAMES REYNOLDS, and carried unanimously:—

"That the thanks of the Meeting be presented to the Vice-Presidents, and the other Members of the Council, for the zealous and efficient discharge of their duties during the past year."

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The following resolution was proposed by MAJOR A. MOORE, seconded by SIR HENRY RAWLINSON, and carried unanimously:—

"That the best thanks of the Meeting be offered to Professor Wilson, for his invaluable services as the President and Director of the Society, and for his kindness in taking the chair on the present occasion."

The PRESIDENT addressed the Meeting, and acknowledged the vote.

PROFESSOR WILSON moved a vote of thanks to the Secretary and Assistant-Secretary, for their services during the past year, which was carried unanimously.

Mr. CLARKE returned thanks.

The HONOURABLE H. E. J. STANLEY, and J. W. REDHOUSE, Esq., having been appointed Scrutineers, the Meeting proceeded to ballot for Officers and Council for the ensuing year.

At the close of the ballot, COLONEL W. H. SYKES was declared unanimously elected a Vice-President, in the place of the Right Honourable Holt Mackenzie, whose term of office had expired.

RICHARD CLARKE, Esq., was unanimously elected Treasurer of the Society, *vice* CHARLES ELLIOTT, Esq., deceased.

Mr. CLARKE was also elected Honorary Secretary, *pro tem.*

The LIBRARIAN was re-elected.

The following gentlemen were unanimously elected Members of the Council for the ensuing year:—Baillie, N. B. E., Esq.; Bayley, W. B. Esq.; Bosanquet, J. W., Esq.; Cautley, Sir Proby T. K.C.B., F.R.S.; Colebrooke, Sir Thomas Edward Bart.; Gregson, Samuel, Esq., M.P.; Latham, Dr. R. G., F.R.S.; Mackenzie, The Right Honourable Holt; Muir, John, Esq.; Priaulx, O. De Beauvoir, Esq.; Rawlinson, Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Henry C., K.C.B.; Robertson, T. C., Esq.; Royle, Professor J. F., M.D., F.R.S.; Thomas, Edward, Esq.; Willoughby, J. P., Esq.

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Abstract of Receipts and Disbursements, from 1st January, to 31st December, 1855.

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
128 Subscriptions of Resident Members, at 3*l.* 3*s.*	403	4	0			
21 ditto, Original Members, at 2*l.* 2*s.*	44	2	0			
24 ditto, Non-Resident Members, at 1*l.* 1*s.*	25	4	0			
Arrears of Subscription received	18	18	0			
				£491	8	0
Composition of Subscriptions	21	0	0			
Annual Donation of East India Company	210	0	0			
Dividends on Consols	50	16	6			
				281	16	6
Publications sold				29	13	5
				£802	17	11
Balance in Banker's hands end of 1854	195	18	4			
Ditto in Secretary's hands	22	8	5			
				218	6	9
				£1,021	4	8

DISBURSEMENTS.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
House Rent, one Year	280	0	0			
Parochial Rates, 1854 and 1855	57	0	7			
Assessed Taxes and Water Rate	35	2	10			
				£372	3	5
House Expenses	57	11	5			
Coals, 19*l.* 4*s.* 0*d.* Gas, 2*l.* 0*s.* 3*d.*	21	4	3			
				78	15	8
Printer, for Journal, Vol. 15, Part 1.	113	0	2			
Sundry Printing, and stitching Journal	20	1	3			
Lithographer	31	8	0			
				164	9	5
Salaries and Collector's Poundage				255	2	0
Books and Bookbinding	23	2	3			
Book-case, Carpentry, &c.	19	18	3			
Postage and Carriage	11	18	7			
Sundries	9	7	8			
In Secretary's hands	1	12	2			
				65	18	11
				936	9	5
Balance in hand end of 1855				84	15	3
				£1,021	4	8

[Assets, 1,806*l.* 19*s.* 5*d.* Three per Cent. Consols.]

Examined and found correct, May 15th, 1856. { W. B. BAYLEY. S. GREGSON. O. DE B. PRIAULX.

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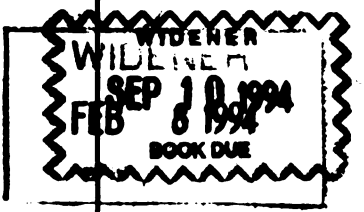
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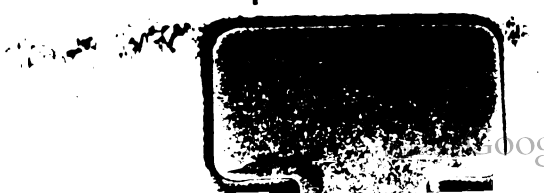
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