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A NEW
HISTORY
OF THE
EAST-INDIES,
ANCIENT and MODERN.
IN TWO VOLUMES.

V O L. I.

Containing the CHOROGRAPHY, NATURAL HISTORY, RELIGION, GOVERNMENT, MANNERS and CUSTOMS, REVOLUTIONS, &c. of those COUNTRIES.

V O L. II.

Containing an ESSAY towards a HISTORY of the COMMERCE of the several NATIONS of EUROPE to the EAST-INDIES.

S H E W I N G

The RISE, PROGRESS, and PRESENT STATE of that TRAFFIC; as carried on by the ENGLISH, DUTCH, FRENCH, PORTUGUEZE, SWEDES, and DANES, from the first Discovery of a new Route to the INDIES, round the CAPE of Good-HOPE, to the present Time.

V O L U M E THE FIRST.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

IT may not be improper just to acquaint the reader, that the first volume of this work is translated from the Abbé DE GUYON, an ingenious French writer: and that the second volume, which contains an account of the commerce of the Europeans to these countries, is written originally in English, except the account of the French India company, which is taken from the above-mentioned author.

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people had heard of them from the Phenicians and the Tyrians (*a*), who, it is pretended, had sailed a long time before the fleets of Solomon, even to the remotest coasts of the East; or lastly, whether the Egyptian merchants had an established trade there (*b*), it is believed that the name of the Indies was not unknown among the Greeks, the Syrians, and the Egyptians, above a thousand years before the Christian æra. The most ancient monuments of history give testimony to the conquests of Semiramis and Sesostris in the Indies; and the learned are not agreed among themselves, whether or not Homer has not made mention of them.

But nothing could be more perplexed and chimerical than the notion which they formed of them, although it was founded on the nature of a country, whose riches and rarities had rendered it remarkable above all others. Common report turned every thing into the marvellous. The land bore nothing but giants, and the Indus and Ganges were replenished with monsters. This was believed even in the most enlightened ages. The Romans having changed the course of the Orontes, in order to carry their fleet to Antioch (*c*), found in the old channel a coffin of white clay eleven cubits long, in which were enclosed the bones of a man that took up it's whole length. Such a sight astonished all the world. The Syrians consulted Apollo of Claros in Ionia, and

(*a*) Mr. Huet's History of trade and navigation, c. 51.

(*b*) Idem, c. 9.

(*c*) Pausanias, L viii. c. 29.

the oracle made answer, that it was the body of Orontes a native of the Indies. Herodotus, Ctesias, Agatarchides, Dionysius Periegetes, Megasthenes, Onesicritus, and Nearchus himself, the admiral of Alexander, have given out things of this country, which were only fit to be related in the fabulous ages of Greece.

After such palpable instances of ignorance about the nature of the Indies, is it to be wondered at, that they should know so little of it's situation and geography? They have carried their errors so far (*d*) as to confound the river Indus with the Nile (*e*) to mistake the latter for a branch of the former, to look upon the Indies as the third part of the habitable world, to believe that the Ganges was the extremity of the world, beyond which there were no more people, as the soldiers of the Macedonian hero represented to him with tears in their eyes. Strabo, on the faith of Eratosthenes, was of the same opinion, when he set down the ocean as the limit of the Indies towards the East; whether he therein comprehended China and Japan, or which is more probable, knew nothing of them. Ptolomy, a famous geographer in the eleventh century, has fallen into an error of another kind, in pretending to give as circumstantial a detail of the cities and villages of the Indies (*f*),

(*d*) Strabo, l. xv. p. 1010. and the following pages, last edition.

(*e*) Nothing can be more absurd than the manner in which Q. Curtius talks, making the Ganges arise from the south. l. viii. c. 9.

(*f*) Ptolomy, l. 7. c. 1, 2. from p. 197, to 211. edit. Berti, Elzev.

as we can now do of the best known and most frequented province in France. The maps which have been exactly formed upon the positions of that author (*g*) have given a representation of this part of the world very different from it's real state; and have at the same time shewn how imaginary that geography is, which he has given us.

From this confusion of ideas has arisen that equivocal acceptation of the Indies; a great source of puzzling and difficulties in the reading of historians. Xenophon (*b*) has fancied a province of that name between the Euxine and the Caspian seas. It is from thence that he seems to bring those pretended Indian ambassadors, whom Cyrus took for his arbiters in the war he had with the kings of Assyria, or rather of Babylon and Lydia. Others, and these in a great number, have given the name of the Indies to Ethiopia, whereof we see instances, even in writers of the sixth century. The resemblance between these nations (*i*), and the nature of the countries in which they dwelt, gave occasion to this mistake. The Greeks having heard that the southern Indians were black and swarthy, easily confounded them with the people of Ethiopia and of Colchis, and imagined that the first were a colony that had straggled from the East, as the Colchians were originally Ethiopian sol-

(*g*) Le Martiniere's geographical dictionary, at the article Indies.

(*b*) Xenophon. Cyrop. l. i.

(*i*) This point is learnedly handled in a dissertation by M. Ferret, T. viii. of the memoirs of the Academy of Inscript.

diers, whom Sesostris had left in that province to defend his conquests against the northern nations. Secondly, the Indies have ever been reckoned a country abounding in all sorts of riches; and we know that Colchis had it's mines of gold, and that Ethiopia produced the same animals which are to be seen in the Indies. There needed no more than this conformity to give occasion to authors little versed in geography, to confound together such remote countries, as Colchis, Ethiopia, and the Indies.

We have no real knowledge of the last but of those provinces and cities through which the army of Alexander passed, and which Arrian (*k*) has described with all possible exactness. Here follows an abridgement of his Description. Cappisena, a country so named from Capissa, a city which Cyrus had destroyed, adjoined to the confines of the Paropamisades, the frontier of the higher Indies towards the west. Bubacena, which Alexander subdued by the arms of Polypercon, was not far from hence. That monarch after his departure from Bactria, went first to Nicea, a little farther towards the south, where he built a city to which he gave his own name. The Greeks who accompanied him thought fit to give the name of Caucasus, to a chain of mountains which lay round about. The army having passed the Cophenus, entered the Indies. Between that river and the Choaspes, or Choës, were situated the Arasocians and the Tyræans; and beyond these the cities of Au-

(*k*) Arrianus de exped. Alex. lib. iv, v, & vi.

dacena, Acadera, Dedalus, and Nyfa. The inhabitants pretended to derive their origin from Bacchus the conqueror, who, they said, built the city of Nyfa, and planted in the country round it, the ivy, the vine, and the laurel. This was no more than a fable, the invention of a few Greek authors (*1*), but rejected by the greatest number. Near this place stood the pretended mountain *Meros*, that is to say, *the thigh*, alluding to what the poets relate of Jupiter, who, as they say, concealed this offspring of his amours in his thigh, till he was perfectly formed. The Asprians and the Aspagonians possessed the middle part of those famous regions. The river Evaspala terminated that long extent of country. Between that and the Indus was contained a much more considerable space of ground. It was inhabited by the Dardes, a very populous nation, by the Pucelaotes and the Assaceras, whose capital was called Massaca. At the taking of this city Alexander received a dangerous wound. Going towards the south he took the town of Ora, and the fortress or rock of Aornus, which his flatterers said had formerly been besieged by Hercules to no purpose. Ecbolima was the last place of that country which terminated at the Indus.

Between that river and the Hydaspes lay the Taxiles, the Ariaspes, the Sobians, the Aseni-ans, the Sibes, and the Malians. Alexander caused a town to be built there which he called Nicea, to perpetuate the memory and rapidity

(1) Strabo, p. 687.

of his victories. Beyond the Hydaspes he built another in honour of Bucephalus. The brave Porus was king of all this country. It extended to Acesina. A barren and almost uninhabited country lay between this river and the Hydroates. The Brachmans were its chief inhabitants, altho' they possessed a famous city beyond the Hydroates. Between this river and the Hyphasis, lay the country of the Sopites, the Catheans, the Gangarides, the Pharasians, the Phegeleans, and the Oxidraques, amongst whom Alexander ran an extreme hazard of his life, by having rashly leaped the rampart of their city. The Hyphasis became the boundary of his conquests, on account of the opposition the Macedonians made to his farther progress. He only passed it, in order to erect those superb altars, in imitation of the columns of Hercules. As we are indebted to the expedition of that hero, for what knowledge we have of this country, such as it then was, so we are entirely ignorant of all that existed beyond it to the Ganges. Arrian makes mention of two cities, Minnagora and Barygaxa, both which he celebrates for their commerce. That vast extent of country, now so famous, which stretches from the junction of all those rivers to the Indus, even to the bottom of the peninsula, was as little known to the ancients. They mention only the kingdoms of the Sabraques, of the Sogdes, of Musican, of the Preotes, of the Sabians, and that of Patala. Some of the inhabitants they called Indo-Scythians.

All that country which we have been describing, has the name of *India within the Ganges*, *India intra Gangem*. It contained one hundred and eighteen nations (*m*) or provinces, in some of which were three hundred cities (*n*), as in the kingdom of Porus (*o*); in others much fewer, and there were princes who reigned only over two. Above forty rivers are said to run through this country, most of them navigable, and all of them throw themselves into the Indus. After swallowing up so many others, we may form a judgement of it's bigness, by that of the Hydaspes, whose channel is never less than twenty stadia, or a great league (*p*). What then must a river be in which so many others lose themselves?

This first part of the Indies is bounded by the Ganges; on the north by a long chain of mountains which separate it from Scythia. They have gone under different names. Some geographers have called them Mount Paropamisada (*q*), because they bordered on the Paropamisians, who dwelt towards the south of Bactria. Others (*r*) assure us that it is a continuation of Mount Taurus, which beginning at Mycale in Ionia, runs through all Asia, and gives rise to the greatest part of the rivers. But the Mace-

(*m*) Megasthenes apud Arrianum in Indicis, cap. 7.

(*n*) Strabo, p. 698.

(*o*) Plin. lib. vi. c. 20.

(*p*) Arrianus de exped. Alexand. lib. vi. cap. 4.

(*q*) Plin. l. v. c. 20.

(*r*) Arrianus de exped. Alexand. lib. v. cap. 5. Strabo variis locis. Cellarius, lib. iii. cap. 3.

donians to flatter Alexander, said it was Mount Caucasus, from whence Hercules had delivered Prometheus, because they found the inhabitants covered with the skins of beasts, frequently of lions, and because they imprinted with a hot iron the figure of a club on the foreheads of their oxen. This mountain, however, has nothing in common with the Caucasus, which lies between the Pontus Euxinus and the Caspian sea. It is not so easy to determine the boundaries of India towards the west. Some (*s*), in fixing them for the ages of antiquity, have carried them as far back as Arabia, that they might give some show of probability to the conquests of Bacchus, Hercules, Osiris, and Sesostris. Others place them at the river Indus (*t*). There are some who begin them at the river Arbis (*u*), below the springs of the Cophena, and to this latter opinion we must adhere. On the south, the Indies are bounded by the ocean, into which the Indus and the Ganges discharge themselves.

The long detail which Ptolomy has left us on *India without the Ganges*, makes it evident it was little known in his time, by the names which he gives to the countries and the inhabitants. He places beyond the gulph of the Ganges the land of Silver; after that the Anthropophagi, the Padeans, and the Lestes, or the robbers. Some bad treatment which the Europeans re-

(*s*) Le Clerc, Bib. Univers.

(*t*) Strabo, lib. xv. p. 688, & 720. Arrianus in Indicis, c. 2. Q. Curt. lib. ix. c. 10.

(*u*) Ptolomy & Cellarius, lib. iii. c. 23, Arrianus, Ind. c. 21, & 22.

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ceived on those coasts, might have given occasion to such vague titles; from which we can learn nothing either of the country or the people. After these he places the golden Chersonese, which can be nothing but the kingdom of Siam, a river called Chrysaona, and a trading city called Tacola. Some geographers have sought there for the land of Ophir. The same author bounds India beyond the Ganges in this manner. To the west he places the Ganges; to the north Scythia and Serigua; the country of the Sinæ or Chinese to the east; and to the south, the ocean.

The various riches of the famous island of Taprobana have rendered it the most celebrated place of the Indies. It is now past dispute the same with Ceylon. The gold, precious stones, and spiceries with which it abounds, drew thither a great concourse of foreign traders. When the Romans carried their merchandize thither(x), the islanders seized on their vessels; they took from them what they wanted, and gave in exchange gold, jewels, cloves, pepper, and cinnamon, a custom to this day practised in Japan. That people, who were dispersed into seven hundred villages, seemed to value themselves upon the singularity of their manners. They worshipped Hercules, and Bacchus, and rendered divine honours to their king. The throne was elective, and the qualifications necessary for attaining that dignity were, an advanced age, and

(x) Plin. lib. vi. cap. 22. Strabo, p. 699. Ambrosia Ære de moribus Brachmanum.

an established character for a remarkable sweetness of temper. The prince must have had no children at the time of his election. If he had any afterwards, he was obliged to resign the crown into the hands of the people, lest it might become hereditary. Thirty wise men were appointed to form his council, and by their advice to maintain the rights of the nation. Although criminals could not be condemned to death but by a majority of voices, they had yet the liberty of appealing to the people. In that case seventy commissioners were appointed to review the trial; and if the first sentence was repealed, those who had given their votes for passing it were dismissed with ignominy. No body was allowed to keep slaves or domestics. Every body was obliged to serve himself; and to retrench effeminacies and idleness, sleep was prohibited from sun-rising to sun-setting. The price of eatables was never raised, whatever scarcity might happen. No law-suit was suffered between private persons. If any difference arose, they were obliged immediately to lay it before the prince; there was no other tribunal in the island. The king was subject to the law as well as his vassals. If he committed any considerable fault, they condemned him to death without inflicting any corporal punishment. He saw himself abandoned and shunned by all the world as a proscribed person, to whom all the comforts, and even the necessaries of life were denied. It was even a crime to speak of him. Entire strangers to that dissolution and profligacy so customary at all pagan

pagan festivals, these islanders passed their time in hunting the tiger and elephant, and fishing for tortoises, with shells whereof they covered their houses. Agriculture employed the rest of their time, and the temperance which they observed, lengthened out their lives to a century.

A traveller (xx) of the ninth century, relates, that when the king of that island, which he calls Serindib, dies, they lay his corpse upon a chariot, in such a situation, that, being turned upon his back, his head hangs so near the ground, that his hairs trail in the dust. The chariot is followed by a woman who has a broom in her hand, and throws dust upon the head of the deceased. At the same time a public officer cries with a loud voice: " O man, behold thy
 " king; he was yesterday thy master: now his
 " empire is no more: he is reduced into the
 " state wherein thou see him, having quitted
 " this world. The arbiter of death has recalled
 " his soul. After this trust not to the uncertain
 " hopes of this life." They make this proclamation, and some others of the same kind for three days. After which they embalm the body with sandal-wood, camphire, and saffron; burn it, and throw the ashes in the air. It is customary all over the Indies to burn the dead. Commonly the kings wives throw themselves into the pile, whereon the body of their husband is

(xx) The abbè Renaudot has published two Arabian travellers of the ninth century, interspersed the one with the other, and which are of some value. It is from them I have this fact. I cite them as he does, under the title of ancient relations of the Indies and China.

consuming; but they are under no obligation to do it, and some of them altogether dispense with this ceremony.

C H A P. II.

The religion of the ancient Indians.

ALTHO' the Indians are descended from Shem, whose posterity preserved the memory of the true God for a longer time than those of Ham and Japhet, yet the darkness which spread itself over every human mind effaced the idea which the Creator had imprinted there; and they transferred their homage to the sun (*y*), the moon, to trees, and other sensible objects. The day-star had one of the most magnificent temples that ever was built (*z*). The walls were of porphyry, covered within with plates of gold, on which were carved rays which shone diverging every way from whatever side they were beheld. In the bottom of the temple was a figure of the sun composed of an infinite number of different sorts of precious stones, disposed in a very artificial manner; and which one might have said came near the original, if it was possible to imitate that wonder of nature. They paid their adoration to that star by dancing in a circle, in imi-

(*y*) Photius ex Ctesia. Q. Curt. l. viii. c. 9. Philost. l. iii. c. 35.

(*z*) It is Philostratus who writes this in the life of Apollonius Tyaneus. I shall make great use of it in the sequel. Philost. in vit. Apol. Tyan. l. i. c. 24. Edid. Olearii

tation of it's course (*a*). This was the only idol which the Indians had amongst them, till being instructed by the Greeks in the worship of the heroes of fabulous antiquity, they consecrated an elephant, which they called Ajax, with two golden statues of Alexander, and two brazen ones representing Porus.

Their sacrifices seemed to be deduced from the Egyptian and Pythagorean doctrine (*b*) of the Metempsychosis. From the persuasion that the same spirit is sometimes in a man, sometimes in a beast, or in a plant, some of them used no other sacrifices than libations. Others offered up animals, but without cutting their throats (*c*), lest, as they said, the effusion of blood should render the victim imperfect. The priest only strangled him; and it was remarked as a great singularity, that during the whole ceremony, he never made use of a crown, contrary to the custom of almost all other nations.

In their grand solemnities, they made processions, wherein they display'd in honour of the god whose festival they celebrated, every thing their country produced which was curious and valuable (*d*). A great number of elephants marched in the front, loaded with ornaments of gold and silver; a great many chariots adorned with plates of gold; and oxen coupled together by the yoke. The soldiers came afterwards, cloathed

(*a*) Lucianus de Saltatione.

(*b*) Herod. l. iii. c. 100. Philost. *ibid.* l. viii. c. 7. sec. 127

P. 347.

(*c*) Strabo, l. xv. p. 710.

(*d*) *Ibid.* p. 718.

in a most magnificent and extraordinary manner, carrying large gilded kettles, basons, cups, tables, and couches, for their repasts; these implements were adorned with beryls, diamonds, rubies, carbuncles or pearls. Some led along leopards and tame lions, and others carried birds of many different kinds, whose song together with the sife and drum compose all the music used by those nations at their festivals.

The great quantity of rains which fall in the summer time on the mountains (*e*) lying to the north of India and in the low countries, swell the rivers to such a degree that the country is frequently laid under water. These inundations are necessary from time to time to destroy an infinite number of insects in the southern parts; but sometimes they rise so high that they become hurtful to the harvest, and do great damage to the houses. When (*f*) the king perceives that the overflowing of a river is like to become prejudicial, he goes thither to appease the wrath of the gods by supplications. He begins by sacrificing bulls and black horses, as more rare and valuable than others. After the sacrifice he throws into the river a bushel made of gold, of the same bigness with that in which they measure the grain, to implore the preservation of the fruits of the earth, and moderate rains. The Greeks afterwards altered that ceremony by introducing the worship of Jupiter Pluvialis.

(*e*) Arrian. in Ind. c. 6. Strabo. l. xv. p. 706.

(*f*) Philost. in vita Apollonii, l. ii. c. 19.

C H A P. III,

Of the Kings.

THE royal blood gave an equal title both to the priesthood and the crown. In the Indies (*g*) there was only the country of Gangaris and the Catheans, lying between the Hydrotates and the Hyphasis, where the throne was not hereditary. There, by a strange sort of caprice, beauty of person decided the choice. Two months after a son was born to the prince, or any other person, his body, and the figure and proportion of all his parts were examined. If the judges perceived no defect, they pronounced him worthy to live, and had him brought up with care. If they observed any thing irregular or disproportioned, the child was condemned to death. As the eyes were alone consulted for marriage, as well as the scepter, a queen who had become a widow, was not ashamed to marry a barber (*b*): and the people were obliged to acknowledge him for their king, in prejudice of the rights of all the princes and grandees of the realm. Having brought nothing to the throne but the basest and most degenerate dispositions, he soon fell under universal contempt, and shewed the meanness of his spirit by the submissions which he hastened to make to Alexander.

(*g*) Onesicritus apud Strabonem, p. 699. Diod. l. xvii. p. 561.

(*b*) Q. Curt. l. ix. p. 561.

Every where else, birth gave a title to the crown; and the eldest of the royal family was always preferred. According to a national tradition, Bacchus, the first conqueror of the Indies (*l*) had made this regulation. After having taught the manner of sowing the ground, cultivating the vine, and celebrating his own festivals, he appointed Spastembras one of his friends for king, who reigned two and fifty years: Budyus his son succeeded him, and held the government for twenty years: the next was Cradevas; and when Megasthenes travelled into India, Sandrocotus was the hundred and fifty-third, who possessed the throne in a direct line. But there never was one sole monarch of the country. Of the hundred and eighteen nations which they reckoned, there were few who had not a king to themselves; sometimes independent, but more frequently the tributary of another. Porus, a successor of him who had been vanquished by Alexander, and afterwards honoured as his valour deserved, wrote to Cesar, who was then at Antioch, to testify his esteem of him (*m*), and to assure him, that though he commanded over six hundred kings of his nation (*n*), he was nevertheless ready to obey him, and

(*l*) Arrian. de exped. Alexand. l. v. c. 6. & de Indiciis. c. 8. & 9.

(*m*) Strabo, p. 719. Florus, lib. iv. cap. ult. Sueton. in Octav. c. 2. Eutrop. l. vii.

(*n*) From this it appears, that most of them could only have had one single city or small canton in their dominions, like to these seventy kings whom Adonibefec had made his slaves, Judges, c. i. ver. 7.

to follow him with all his subjects wherever he pleased to lead him. The ambassadors were accompanied by eight slaves almost naked, who carried perfumes, and a present of tigers, which Porus had sent to the Roman hero. These were the first animals of that kind which had been seen in the West (*o*).

However great the number of those princes might be, no historian has given us a succession of them, and we know but a small part of their laws and customs. They were obliged to make their appearance every day, in order to hear the complaints of their subjects, to judge of all differences arising among them, and to regulate the affairs of the state; and they were not permitted to rise from the audience, even to take refreshment, before every thing was ended (*p*). They could do nothing without the advice of their council. When more important affairs, or what related to religion, were under agitation, they were to consult (*q*) the Brachmans, that is, the Sages, who again consulted the Augurs. The fidelity which they observed in their negotiations (*r*) was inviolable. To express the sacredness of them, they gave their heralds the sign of an anchor, the symbol of firmness and constancy.

We cannot better give a notion of their manners and character, than by laying before the

(*o*) Dio Cassius, lib. liv. p. 527.

(*p*) Strabo, p. 710.

(*q*) Philost. l. iii. c. 10.

(*r*) Ibid. l. iii. c. 11.

reader the account which Philostratus has given of one of those princes. The first palace which Apollonius Tyaneus met with after he had passed the river Indus (s), was in the kingdom of the Taxiles; he was surpris'd at the noble simplicity which shewed itself in all it's parts. Perceiving nothing extraordinary in the sculpture; no guards nor armed men about it, he imagin'd it was only the house of some noble citizen. Approaching nearer he saw a few slaves at the gate, and three or four persons who demanded audience of the king. He entered with them; and the modesty which he observed every where, whether in the entrance, or in the apartments, impress'd him with more respect and veneration than all the luxury, pomp and numerous trains of the Babylonian monarchs.

The noble and majestic air with which the king Phraotes made his appearance, accompanied with a very slender retinue, recalled into his memory, what he had heard of the wisdom of the Brachmans and their disciples; from these circumstances he made no doubt, that those princes compos'd a second order of Sages. He took the liberty to speak to him by an interpreter, in this manner: "It appears to me, my Lord, that you place your delight in philosophy, and take it for the rule of your life: allow me to congratulate you upon it." It is true, replied the prince, and I am glad to find you in the same sentiments. Is it the law, said Apol-

(s) Ibid. in vita Apollonii, lib. ii. c. 25. & seq.

lonius, or your own particular taste, that banishes from your palace all that magnificence and expence, which are the ordinary appendages of the throne and the purple? The law, returned the prince, and my own taste, keep at a distance from me all that vain apparatus, which has only the glare of false glory, and is no sign of real desert. I use with moderation the little which our ancestors have permitted us to have; and though perhaps one of the most puissant of monarchs, I know how to content myself with a little; I leave what is superfluous to my friends. Happy oeconomy! exclaimed Apollonius, which knows by the contempt of money to purchase a treasure! But, returned the prince, it is not only to my friends that I leave part of my riches; I abandon part to my enemies, that they may suffer my subjects to live in repose and tranquillity. It is in this that I place all my glory. Apollonius enquired into his manner of living. I drink no wine, answered the prince, but when I pour it out on the earth in honour of the sun. I give to others what I purchase in the chace, contenting myself with the exercise it affords me. A few vegetables, the pith and fruit of the palm, what grows in my garden, and on the trees which I cultivate, are my ordinary food.

After this conversation, which passed in public, the king dismissed the rest of the company, and kept Apollonius with him. Then he spoke to him in Greek, and asked him to entertain him at supper. The philosopher, extremely surprised at that new language, complained that he
had

had not used it from the first; and added, that it did not become a stranger to entertain a prince at supper. "It becomes the most worthy, answered the king, and it is an honour which I yield to you. My crown ought to shew an example of justice." However Apollonius would not consent. Phraotes then took him into his garden, which was a stadium in length, in the middle whereof was a large basin, whose waters were continually renewed by a spring, and at the two sides were two large walks for the exercise of running and shooting with the bow. After they had bathed they sat down to eat.

The king placed himself on a couch after the manner of the Orientals; at his side were five persons only. In the middle of the hall was a great table in the form of an altar, a foot and a half high. On this was served up fish, fowl, lions entire, kids, the thighs of tigers, herbs, fruit and bread. Every one went and took what he liked best, then returned to eat it on his couch. During the repast, thirty musicians formed a concert round the table with drums and pipes; and they strewed every where branches of laurel and myrtle, and other sweet-smelling plants, to perfume the hall. Opposite to the king, some young Indians endeavoured to divert him with feats of strength and activity. When every one had done eating, large cups were brought, one of which was sufficient to satisfy ten people, where every one drank, with the head bent down. When the repast was over (*t*), a fresh band of

(*t*) Philost. cap. 34.

musicians came to attend the king to his chamber to lay him asleep with the sound of their flutes.

The modesty of Phraotes's court, was in part owing to the doctrine of the Brachmans, to which that prince, by being descended from the Taxiles, conformed (*u*). Peace, justice, and moderation, were hereditary on the throne; and near four hundred years before Apollonius travelled into the Indies, a king of the same family had appeared before Alexander, and got the better of his pride and haughtiness (*x*) merely by the wisdom and prudence of his discourse. But the manners were far from being every where so severe. And is it to be wondered at, that in such a great extent of country, and amidst such a number of princes, the discipline should have suffered some alteration, since in the same city, or in the same family, we see contrasts of life, which we should hardly think probable (*y*)?

In the kingdom of Musican, near the delta of the river Indus, luxury and effeminacy were carried to as great a height as ever they had been among the Persians in the dregs of the last ages of their empire. The king was continually surrounded by a train of women, whose manners, actions, songs and conversation, inspired nothing but the most shameful pleasures. When the

(*u*) Strabo, p. 714.

(*x*) Plut. in Alex. Diod. l. xvii. p. 557.

(*y*) Philostratus himself makes the contrast of one of these luxurious princes with Phraotes, l. iii. c. 26.

prince appeared in public (z), his officers carried before him censers of silver to perfume the road. He lay upon a litter of gold, adorned with pearls, which hung down from it on all sides. His dress was a long robe of linen, embroidered with gold and purple. His concubines accompanied him in his march with a pageantry worthy of them; and his guards carried round about him branches filled with birds of all kinds, whose different songs composed the favourite concert of the Indians. The train of the queen followed, and its magnificence yielded in nothing to that of the king. The prince's greatest exercise was the chace. When he hunted in an enclosure, he did not alight from his chariot, in which he sat with his concubines, who shot with the bow as well as himself; when he hunted in the open fields, he rode upon an elephant.

The entry of his palace was adorned with several vermilion columns, on which crept a vine of gold, with the figures of birds made of silver, and painted of divers colours (a). It was open to every body, especially at the hours of audience. While the king was hearing the ambassadors and judging causes, he had his women about him, whereof some were combing him, and others perfumed his feet, and others his

(z) Q. Curt. l. viii. c. 9. Onesicritus apud Strabonem, p. 710. This Onesicritus was in Alexander's expedition.

(a) Ælian speaks of the palace of the great king of the Indies; that might very well be a descendant of Porus, which he places far before those of Susa and Ecbatana. De animalibus, l. xiii. c. 18.

hands. They shaved his whole face except the chin, and never cut his beard. The women likewise made ready his victuals, and served him at table. His jealousy was carried to such a pitch, that, if any one looked at them earnestly, or approached too near them, he was put to death.

C H A P. IV.

Of the different Orders in the State.

ONE must be at a loss to understand, how under princes so effeminate, so much order and discipline were nevertheless preserved in the state, that they were admired on that account by the most civilized foreign nations. But it must be remembered, that luxury was not predominant in all the courts. A wise senate presided over all the affairs of government: the members of it were chosen by the people; the king had only a voice in it; and, if that council was accused of error or injustice, the parties appealed to the people, who tried the cause afresh, and amended the sentence if necessary; in fine, the whole country was divided into seven classes, of which every one had it's chiefs, and superintendants, who restrained particulars within the bounds of their duty. The first of these classes was, that of the Brachmans, or Sages; the second, of the husbandmen; the third, of the shepherds; the fourth contained the merchants and tradesmen; the fifth, the soldiers; the sixth, the superintendants;

tendants; and the seventh, the counsellors of the king and people.

The prince was distinguished above the Brachmans by nothing but his scepter, and the pomp of his purple. Their continual application in the search of truth, the purity of their manners, the retirement and austerity in which they lived, had acquired them all the honours and immunities which the priests enjoyed among the Egyptians, or the Magi among the Persians. These Sages (*b*) were of two sorts; the *Brachmans* properly so called, and the *Germani* or *Samaneans*. The first were of a particular family, and the last might be of any of the other orders.

When the wife of a Brachman became with child, they presumed it was a son; the chief of the sect came to congratulate her upon it, to offer up vows at her feet for the prosperity of the birth, and to prescribe to her rules of wisdom and temperance during the time of her pregnancy. They formed a judgement of the future merit of the child, from the manner in which she received these precepts. As soon as a son was born, they placed him under the management of men expressly set apart to watch over the tenderness of mothers and nurses, and prevent them from enervating his temper and constitution by too delicate an education. From time to time they made them pass under the care of different masters, who began to cul-

(*b*) Porphyr. de Abstin. l. iv. Indorum Apoc. Strabo. l. xv. p. 712.

tivate the mind, and examine into their character. These in whom they perceived neither disposition nor inclination, to undergo the severity of the regimen of the Brachmans were not obliged to embrace it; but those who came voluntarily into it were carefully instructed in the mysteries and dogmas of the sect.

Their school was kept in a little wood without the city; the most ancient Brachman was seated upon a throne of ebony; and the gravity with which he delivered his lectures, imprinted such an awe upon the minds of his hearers, that not one of them would have ventured to spit or speak during the whole time they lasted. If any one took the liberty, he was turned out of the assembly for the rest of the day, as a disorderly person. The subjects which were there treated of required no less recollection and attention. They were there taught the necessity of continual prayer, and the manner of going through with it, and all that belonged to religion, sacrifices, and the auguries. They taught philosophy, the immortality of the soul, the motions of the heavenly bodies, the construction of the human body, and the secrets of nature. They discoursed of every thing relating to government, the laws, the authority of the prince, and the rights of the people. In a word, they gave rules for the conduct of manners, that they might learn to lead a hard and austere life, which neither famine, solitude, the inclemency of the air, nor the rigour of the seasons should disturb or incommode.

It is not commonly understanding that is wanting to man, but man himself that is wanting to his understanding, as he refuses to follow it's direction and guidance. But among the Brachmans to be possessed of a principle, and to practise it, were one and the same thing. The frequent repetitions which they made of them in their assemblies, the mutual example which they shewed one another, the reproach to which they were exposed for the smallest deviations, and above all, the ambition they had to maintain the dignity and reputation of a society which was reckoned the most honourable in the state, made them exact even to a fault.

They were seen to pass the greatest part of the night and day in prayer, in singing songs and hymns in honour of the deity, and raising their hands to heaven when they offered up their vows for the prince, the people, and the goods of the earth. During the rest of the day they kept themselves retired in their cells, where they were employed in meditation on particular truths, in the study of philosophy, and in making experiments useful to the public. If in that interval they happened to spend too much time in conversation with their friends, they imposed on themselves the penalty of keeping silence for several days. Fasting and mortification was another exercise to which they thought themselves obliged.

A life thus entirely taken up in prayer and contemplation, attracted the confidence of the people. The offering up of sacrifices required
pure

pure hands, and a priest acquainted with it's rites and ceremonies; two advantages which belonged to the Brachmans. On the recollection of the least fault, they purified their face, their hands, their feet, nay sometimes their whole body; and their cloaths. The study of religion included that of the sacrifices, and they were well instructed in all it's circumstances according to the law and customs of the country. Being religious observers of the Metempichosis, though we know not who first taught them it's principles, they never defiled their altars with blood: they offered up nothing but what they called pure victims (*c*), that is to say, incense, or some other thing of the same kind. They alone had the right to make the suitable prayers; and if they were not invited to preside at the oblation, it was believed not to be agreeable to the gods. It was the same with respect to the auguries and divination (*d*). They alone were permitted to administer at them; and that was only done on public and important occasions; for they did not reckon the affairs of private persons worthy their attention. If they were deceived thrice successively, they were condemned to a perpetual silence, and it was accounted criminal to force them to break it.

They dedicated to philosophy those hours, which were not taken up in prayer and the exercises of religion. Whether from the remains

(*c*) See Philostratus in vita Apollonii, lib. viii. c. 7. sec. 11.
p. 347.

(*d*) Arrian, de Indicis, c. 11.

of tradition, or the light of nature alone, they acknowledged (e) one God creator of the universe, who presided over all it's motions, and filled it with his immensity. They attributed to the world a spherical figure, and placed the earth in it's center. This world, according to their doctrine, was a particular kind of animal which engendered all others. They imagined that water was it's principle of composition, and that the heavens and stars did not partake of the nature of the four elements. They acknowledged the immortality of the soul, and a future judgement which determined their eternal state. From the discourse which one of them, named Calanus, held with Onesicritus, who had been sent to him by Alexander, it would appear they had some vestiges among them of the tradition of the innocence in which our first parents were created. He talked to him of a happy age, in which the earth spontaneously opened it's bosom, and produced all things in abundance, in which rivers of milk, honey, water, and wine, were seen to flow. But he added, that Jupiter enraged at man for abusing his gifts, had smote the earth with a curse, and changed it's original fertility into ingrateful barrenness, the source of all the evils that human nature laboured under.

There were Brachmans who confined themselves to the study of the laws and customs of the nation. As these laws were not committed to writing (f), there were but few persons in-

(e) Strabo, p. 713. Philost. ubi supra, c. 7. sect. 7. & lib. iii. c. 34. & 35. Clem. Alexandrin. Strom. lib. iii.

(f) Strabo, p. 716.

structed in them, excepting a certain number of the Brachmans. The prince applied himself to them in difficult and extraordinary cases, to learn from them in what manner he should give judgment. He went (g) to the place of their abode; he eat with them herbs, fruits, and lentils, but nothing which had had life; and the stateliness of those philosophers was such, that they drew lots for their places, that they might not yield to him the pre-eminence. He thought himself too happy if they gave him a gracious reception. They suffered him to stay with them no longer than a day, and it was only during the night that they gave him audience.

The last object of their philosophy respected the regulation of manners. They began their studies, as they said, by the knowledge of themselves, whether of the mind and dispositions, or of the body. But as their whole conduct manifested nothing but an inexhaustible fund of pride; their lights upon this point were turned into darkness. The result of their reflections upon themselves was to be persuaded, that out of their own sect, there was nothing but ignorance, effeminacy, and corruption; to believe (b) that nothing was concealed from them, not even the thoughts and name of a stranger; to pretend to inspiration from the deity (i), and familiar conversation with him; to place themselves above the rest of mankind, and to look upon them-

(g) Philost. lib. iii. c. 26, 27, & 33.

(b) Philost. c. 18.

(i) Palladius & S. Ambrosius de moribus Brachmanum.

selves as gods. The Brachman Iarchus made an express declaration of this kind to Apollonius. To such a pass did the wisdom of the pagans conduct them, and the greater it was, it led thither the more directly. Those who did not venture to make these professions openly, were as much persuaded of them in their hearts, and made no doubt of their future apotheosis.

True it is, that the life of the Brachmans had every thing that was necessary to dazzle the eyes of the people. Removed from the noise and commerce of men, they dwelt without the cities, in groves or caves, conversing very little with one another; entirely employed in prayer, in sacrifices, or in study. They went almost always naked (*l*), even in the most rigorous seasons of the year, and hence they got the name of Gymnosophists. When they offered up victims they wore a sort of turban, and a small covering of linen, which they called the habit of ceremony, or the sacred, together with a staff and a ring, to which they attributed all manner of virtues. They lay upon the bare ground (*m*), or upon skins, and lived only on the fruits of the earth, or on milk. They preserved no more of their harvest than what was necessary for the year, that they might not relax from their labour.

After they had passed seven and thirty years in this rigid and severe manner, they were permitted to dwell in the cities, to make use of the

(*l*) Philost. *ibid.* c. 15.

(*m*) Strabo. p. 712.

common pleasures and comforts of life, to dress like the other Indians, to wear ear-rings of gold, or other ornaments, to eat flesh, provided it was not of an useful animal, and to marry several wives in order to increase the number of the Brachmans. But in whatever state they were, they were forbidden to reveal the doctrine and mysteries of the sect to their wives. For, said they, if they are not discreet, they will divulge that which ought not to be known; and if they keep the secret, it is to be feared that learning will make them proud, and that they may separate themselves from their husbands.

Although they had quitted their former regiments, they were held in equal veneration and esteem by the people. They were as before exempt from all tribute and taxes, which every other subject paid to his sovereign. They were entitled (*n*) every where to appropriate to themselves as much of the fruits of the ground as was requisite, and to have as much oil given them as was necessary to anoint their bodies. The great were obliged to receive them at their houses, and entertain them at their tables, where what they did was a law. It was from amongst them that the people chose the greatest part of the counsellors whom they appointed for the prince.

That pretended strength of mind to which philosophy carried them, rendered life and death equally indifferent to them. They looked upon the good or the evil, the pleasure or the pain which might happen to them, as dreams, since

(*n*) Strabo, p. 716.

they passed so rapidly from one to the other. But they were ashamed of those distempers which brought a decay upon the body, and disturbed the operations of the mind, regarding this life as the first moment of our conception, and death as the day of our real birth. When they found themselves attacked by a severe indisposition, or worn out with old age, without hesitation they put an end to their days by a voluntary death. They fitted up with their own hands the pile which was to serve them as an altar; they ascended it decked out with their richest ornaments; and after having sung a few hymns, they lay down upon their faces, and suffered themselves to be reduced to ashes without betraying the least sign of pain or sensibility. What a strange philosophy was that which led men to their own destruction!

The second species of Brachmans (o) was composed of several individuals of different families, who desired to make profession of that sect. These were called *Germani* or *Samaneans*: he who wanted to embrace that kind of life, went and made such a declaration to the chief men of the city; he gave in an account of all his effects, and yielded them up to them; on this they charged themselves with the maintenance of his wife; and the king took care of his children. After this first step, he presented himself before the chief of the Samaneans to supplicate his admission. There they questioned

(o) Strabo p. 713. Porphyr. l. iv. de abstinentia. Philost. l. ii. 30. Apuleius in Florid.

him on the sincerity of his resolution, and the desire which he had to give himself up to the study and practice of philosophy. They examined as far back as the third generation of his family, whether there had been any person in it to whom arrogance, intemperance, or usury might be imputed. If no blemish was found in their reputation, they enquired into the manners and conduct of the candidate; they tried whether he was endued with a good memory; whether his modesty was real or pretended; whether he were addicted to wine or good cheer; whether he was of a buffoonish, confident, haughty, or malevolent disposition; and whether he had always behaved in a docile and tractable manner towards his old masters.

They differed from the first Brachmans in this, that almost all of them dwelt beyond the Hyphasis towards the Ganges, that they had houses and temples very well ornamented, and that they were entertained at the expence of the prince. They gave notice of public prayer by the sound of a bell, at which they were very punctual, either in the temple, or in private houses; and from whence they were not permitted to stir till the bell gave notice of it's being over. Then the officers presented to every one of them, at the expence of the king, a mess of rice or other vegetables, which they eat before they separated. Their cloaths were made of the barks of trees, or a kind of cotton which grew thereabouts. They lived in strict continency, and never drank wine. Being as well
versed

versed as the Brachmans in the laws and the sacrifices, the prince consulted them, and they presided likewise at the oblations of the people. They led as rigid a life as they did, and applied themselves more to magic enchantment and necromancy. Some of them professed to serve the public by practising medicine, which they reduced almost entirely to diet-drinks and fomentations. These made no scruple of communicating to the women their most valuable discoveries.

These extraordinary men astonished Alexander more than any thing he met with in his expedition to the Indies. From what he heard of their doctrines and manner of living, he conceived a desire to see some of them. The conversation he had with them only increased his admiration and his curiosity. He gave orders that the most celebrated of that society, named Dindimus, should come before him (*p*); but he was told the Brachman would not come, there being an express law prohibiting him to visit any person of what rank or quality soever. Alexander took the method of writing, and told him he had heard such extraordinary things of their doctrine and manner of life, that he earnestly wished to be informed of them by himself, promising that if he found all that wisdom in them he had been made to believe, he would enroll himself in the number of their disciples.

Dindimus answered him by letter. "Alexander, the desire which you shew to be made

(*p*) Anonymus in *Collectione Londinensi* 1668.

acquainted with wisdom, makes me believe that you might already be ranked among the sages. Nothing prevents my regarding you as such, but your immoderate ambition to subject under your feet all the human race, and command over the universe. The true philosophy teaches us to submit and receive the law without repining. But your character and your ambitious heart place invincible obstacles in your way. You desire I should instruct you in our manners and in our usages; I hardly dare undertake it, because I am sensible eloquence is not my talent, and that the continual hurry and exercise of arms will not give you leisure to hear me. I cannot in the mean time disengage myself from the task; since you demand it of me. But expect not that I shall flatter you: truth is our guide, and we know not what it is to wear a disguise.

The life of the Brachmans is as pure as it is simple. Pleasure, the great seducer of the rest of mankind, has no charms for us; our desires are under the direction of reason; constantly resigned to whatever befalls; no murmurs persevere through our lips, even under the severest misfortunes. Indifferent as to food, delicacy is only known among us by its name; nothing is seen upon our tables but herbs and vegetables, which the earth produces of itself without any care or labour; thus we know nothing of diseases but what we learn from the complaints and experience of others. The pure pleasure
which

which we enjoy is only interrupted by their groans.

Equality places us all in independence; it banishes from amongst us envy, jealousy, ambition and hatred: We have no tribunals, because we do nothing which deserves reprehension; and the justice in which we live has not yet given rise to the establishment of the severe laws by which vice is punished among the rest of mankind. We are even afraid that by introducing them, they should give birth to the thoughts of that evil which they prohibit. Our only law is, not to violate that of nature. Thus shunning all manner of reproach, we are not under any necessity to pardon others, in the hope we may be entitled to a mutual indulgence. Much less do we purchase pardon or impunity by the force of money; such an act of grace, granted through avarice, renders the judge more culpable than the criminal.

Amongst us, idleness is severely punished; we dread voluptuousness as the source of all frailty. We love labour as it exercises our bodies, and we detest the man who is a slave to his lusts. Our business has no other object but to procure us necessaries; we abhor every other view, and we look upon it as the original of all evil. No land-marks or boundaries are to be seen in our fields for the distinction of property; we are convinced that is an usurpation, contrary to nature; every one takes what he pleases of the products of the earth. We suffer the birds to fly unmolested, the beasts to range

the fields (*g*), and the fish to swim in the bosom of the waters. We possess all that we can desire, because we desire nothing beyond that which is necessary. We dread nothing so much as that insatiable desire to acquire property, which gives rise to a thousand cravings in the heart of man, and makes him poorer from day to day in proportion to the increase of his riches.

The sun warms us; the rain and dew cool us; the rivers quench our thirst; the herbs and the roots nourish us; the earth affords us a bed; anxious cares interrupt not our repose; independence delivers us from fear, and all kinds of subjection; and we look upon one another as brothers whom nature has rendered equal, and as the children of one supreme God, our common Father, who ought to make us partakers of the same inheritance.

We know not what it is to hew down forests, or to cut rocks in pieces, in order to build houses; nature has formed caves for that purpose. There we fear neither the wind nor the rain, heat nor cold, nor the inclemency of the weather. These natural abodes serve us for retreats during life, and for sepulchres after death. We banish from our dress every thing that has the least appearance of luxury and effeminacy; the leaves or the bark of trees serve to conceal that which decency forbids us to discover. Our women are not suffered to deck themselves out

(*g*) It is certain that in the ages immediately after the deluge, people did not feed upon the flesh of animals. See Casaubon's remarks on *Atheneus*, l. i. c. 2. *Huet. Demonstr. prop. iv. c. 6,*

As others are; and even should we grant them that liberty, they have other principles, being persuaded that a vain and pompous attire is more cumbersome than becoming, and that all the art in the world gives no new value to beauty, as it takes nothing from deformity. So many cares then become either superfluous, because they correct no defects; or criminal, because they aim at mending the work of the Creator. Such as our women are, they have all our love; and such crimes as incest, adultery, and other impurities, which dishonour nature, and violate the conjugal union, are never so much as named amongst us.

Our society is the kingdom of gentleness and peace. The thought of homicide alone fills us with horror; we never irritate foreigners; we know not how manage arms; it is gentleness and not force which preserves an union between us and our neighbours. Fortune is our only enemy; we have only her to combat against; but for the most part she sees the blows which she aims against us fall harmless to the ground. Careful to do nothing against the destinies, they seldom give us subject of complaint. Death alone chagrines us when he comes before the natural decay of old age; in that case the father accompanies not the funerals of his son. At whatever time we may be carried off, we erect no superb monuments which seem to insult the humble condition of the Manes. What can be more moving or more shocking to human nature than the unhappy wrecks of a disfigured body,

the destruction of which we compleat by the flames, that it may not defile the earth !

Be not offended if I compare these out-lines of our picture with those which compose yours. With what devastations have you not already laid waste the universe ? Eager in the pursuit of riches and ambition, what oceans of blood have you not shed by your own hands, or those of others ? You ravish the children from their fathers ; you deprive them of the rites of sepulture ; you violate the tombs ; you run with impetuosity towards that quarter where the sun rises, as if you could stop it's course with your hand. You overturn thrones ; you drag captive kings in chains to adorn your triumphs. Of free citizens you make slaves, and, by the same caprice, set slaves at liberty. You fancy that you conquer cities when you bribe their governors. No doubt, you flatter yourself that you shall corrupt in the same manner the guardian, and then the god of the infernal regions.

I set your picture no longer before your eyes, that I may continue my task of instructing you in our manners. We are entirely unacquainted with those tumultuous assemblies, those games and shews which are your delight. To what purpose would your comedians serve, in the midst of a people who entertain a sovereign contempt for their profession, and who do nothing which can be turned into ridicule ? No scenes of cruelty pass amongst us proper to furnish matter for your tragedies. The Brachmans would be moved to indignation if they saw the youth ex-
posed

posed to wild beasts; or strong and robust men attack, beat, and knock one another in the head in cold blood. The heavens supply us with our favourite spectacle; we admire with joy their order, their oeconomy, regularity, and motion; we are transported when we behold the sun flying in his purple car, spreading through every region his beaming rays of light, and returning every year to the place from whence he departed. From the heavens we pass to the view of nature, whose works appear to us equally beautiful, admirable, and incomprehensible. The singing of the birds, the fountains, a flower, the stalk of an herb, ravish us, and afford an inexhaustible fund of reflection.

Contented with the natural growth of our own country, we wander not elsewhere in search of the different rarities which an unknown sky and climate produce. Nothing affects us but that which is convenient for us. We despise the flowers of your eloquence, and we condemn it as a pernicious art, only made use of to give falsehood the appearance of truth, to screen villainy, to accuse innocence, and sometimes to justify parricide. All our eloquence consists in being sincere, and adhering strictly to the truth.

This is an abridgment of our manners, and here follow the articles of our belief. The Brachmans hold it as a maxim, never to defile their sacrifices with blood, by slaughtering innocent victims; they adorn not their temples with gold or silver, or the splendor of precious stones. They think it would be insulting the
Deity

Deity should they attempt to give him that which he does not want; or to shew themselves as powerful as he, in ostentatiously displaying all the riches which he could have. God requires that we should honour him with a pure, and not a bloody, worship; and to be rendered propitious by the prayers and humiliations of men. He is that Word itself (*r*) by which he has created the visible world, by which he preserves it, governs it, and keeps it in being. He is a pure Spirit, and consequently requires nothing but the offering of our good works, of our virtues and virtuous actions.

After this declaration of our religion, compare it with your own, or, at least, suffer me to do it. I cannot endure that blindness you are involved in, which prevents you from acknowledging that your origin proceeds from heaven, and unites you intimately with the Supreme Being. You can see no greatness but in being descended from an illustrious race; you degrade the nobleness of your first birth, and refer every thing to the flesh; in that you fix your whole delight. You cherish it with the utmost care; you pamper it, and love nothing but it; and what is a still greater crime, you think it worthy of being offered up in sacrifice to the immortal Mind. You know not that God who Is, and you adore an infinite number of others who

(*r*) Nam Verbum Deus est, hoc mundum creavit, hoc regit & alit omnia. Hoc nos veneramus, hoc diligimus, ex hoc spiritum trahimus; si quidem ipse Deus, Spiritus est atque Mens. Origen attributes to them the same sentiments. In philosophicis apud Gronov. antiq. Græc. tom. x.

are not. You place some in heaven, to whom you ascribe the care of presiding over different parts of the body. Minerva resides in the brain, as in the seat of wisdom; Juno restrains the impetuous motions of the heart; Mercury, your god of eloquence, resides upon your lips; Hercules communicates strength to your limbs; Cupid inspires you with sentiments of tenderness; Bacchus gives you taste; Ceres digests your aliments; Venus procures fertility; Jupiter opens the organs of respiration; and Apollo, so renowned for his address, guides your fingers upon instruments of music, and in performing curious pieces of workmanship.

What divinities are these, whose power is confined within such narrow bounds, and who either cannot, or will not, undertake their mutual functions! Their opposition displays itself even in the worship which you render them. A bull must be offered to Jupiter, a peacock to Juno, a wild boar to Mars, a he-goat to Bacchus, a swan to Apollo, a dove to Venus, an owl to Minerva, cakes to Ceres, and honey to Mercury. Hercules requires branches of poplar upon his statues and altars, and Cupid loves nothing but roses. You cannot alter that order without incurring their displeasure. Behold again the opposition of their characters; they seem to be leagued together to torment you. One calls you to war, another to pleasure; this to the cares of traffick, and that to good cheer. All of them enjoin you that which they love themselves; they invite you to it, they press you, they solicit you,
and

and leave you no rest till you have obeyed them. Are these the gods who ought to procure happiness to human nature? Confess the truth; they are only your passions which you have deified.

You will be sensible of this yourselves in those divinities with which you have filled the infernal regions. It is easy to point out your own crimes under these dignified symbols. The furies are only your own impure thoughts; Tisiphonè the stings of a guilty conscience; Tantalus your insatiable cupidity. Cerberus expresses the punishments of gluttony; the Hydra, your vices which spring up fresh every instant; the head of the viper, your enormous crimes; Pluto himself, in falling from heaven, teaches you, that like him you have degenerated in forgetting the only Being from whom you derive your existence. Unhappy people! whose religion constitutes your crime in life, and your punishment after death." Alexander made no answer to the Brachman, but by accusing him of pride and impiety.

Those who held the second rank after those societies of sages (s), were the husbandmen. They composed the most numerous body of the state; and the great services they rendered to the public, together with their extreme probity, made them be very much respected. Whatever wars happened in the kingdom, whether foreign or domestic, they were never obliged to carry arms; and the enemies could not disturb

(s) Megasthenes, apud Strab. p. 704. & seq. & Arrian. de Indicis, c. 11. & seq.

them in their labour; without violating the right of nations in a capital point. It was no uncommon sight to behold on one side of the same field a most bloody-battle; and on the other, men tilling the ground without being exposed to the least insult. The regard that was paid them, exempted them from all charges and offices in the public service; a privilege only granted to that order. As the property of all the lands belonged to the king, they were in reality only his farmers, and they reserved for him the fourth part of the harvest.

The third class was that of the shepherds, who were entrusted with the great and small cattle, and who alone were allowed to breed, to sell, or to hire horses. They had likewise another charge no less considerable; that was the chase. The Indies were filled with lions, tigers, elephants, birds of prey, and other noxious animals. The necessity there was to clear the country of them, that men might live in safety, gave rise to the permission and exclusive right which the shepherds had to hunt. Besides the revenue which they drew from thence, the king granted them every year a certain quantity of corn, by way of recompence for their destroying the birds; which otherwise would have carried off the greatest part of the seed, and laid waste the harvest. The greatest part of the elephants was the product of their hunting; but as that wandering life hindered them from dwelling in the cities and villages; their ordinary habitation was in the woods and mountains,

tains, where their flocks did no harm to the culture of the lands.

In the fourth class were the mechanics and the merchants. They paid the prince a certain tax for leave to exercise their employment, and to trade, except those who wrought in making of arms, and building ships of war; these were paid for their labour. The general of the army and the admiral of the fleet were the only ministers who managed that department.

The fifth class comprehended the officers and soldiers. They were entirely employed in the preservation of the state, and of the public tranquillity; they had no other care or business, and they were obliged to take arms at the first signal. The king furnished them with lodging; but as to what regarded their living, the maintenance of their families, or the war, was the province of the people. Every one contributed in kind according to his condition: some gave elephants, others horses; those furnished provisions, and those arms. The Megallians (*t*), a people beyond the Hyphasis, maintained five hundred elephants, and a considerable number of troops; the Chryseans, the Asangi, and the Parafangi, subjects of the same prince, kept constantly on foot an army of thirty thousand men, eight hundred horse, and three hundred elephants. After the war, they returned to their towns, where they busied themselves entirely in military exercises, altho' they had already given up their arms and their horses.

(*t*) Plin. hist. nat. l. vi. c. 20.

The sixth class was that of the inspectors. These had the superintendance of all the rest, both in the city and the country; they had the care of arts and commerce, every one in his proper district; they kept an eye over the perfection and good management of the one and the other; they gave an account of their commission to the king, if the government was monarchical; and to the chief magistrates of the cities, if it was republican. We should never enough admire the wisdom of the Indians, could we believe what historians relate of these officers: That they were never known to prevaricate in their administration, to deceive the prince by false reports, to calumniate the good, or protect the guilty. India then must have been possessed by men who had no passions, and such as the first man came out of the hands of his Creator. To ease these inspectors, there were women employed to have an eye over their own sex, to restrain their luxury, and regulate their morals, and to make report to the sovereign.

We may know from the distribution of those officers, what was the police of the realm. Some (u) had the inspection of the country, others of the city, and others again of the soldiery.

This country was liable to the same inundations with Egypt, and perhaps they were here more considerable. Whether from the snows (x) of Paropamisus, Caucasus, mount Imaus, and the Emodes, or from the great quantity of rains that

(u) Strabo, p. 707.

(x) Arrian. de exped. Alex. l. v. c. 9.

fell in the months of April, May, and June (y), it is certain, that in that season the country was covered with water; and that after they had gone off, it was difficult to distinguish the limits which divided the lands of each individual. To prevent disputes which might thence arise, there were men in all the cantons, perfectly well acquainted with those matters; who marked over again those limits of the fields that had been effaced. As they preserve in Egypt a part of these waters in great lakes (z), to spread them afterwards over the land during those months in which there were no rains; it was the office of these inspectors to open these repositories when necessary, and distribute the waters in sufficient quantity. They had moreover an eye over the hunting of the shepherds, over those who wrought in the mines and in the forests; they levied the taxes; took care of the great roads, and planted guides at every half league, to shew travellers the way, to tell them the distances from place to place, and to inform them where they might put up to rest.

Those who lived in the cities were divided into six classes. Some had the inspection of trades and handicrafts; and every profession had it's particular superintendants. Others had the care of the public inns; they conducted all strangers thither; took cognizance of the cause of their journey, and suffered them not to stay

(y) That is the winter of this country; and the summer begins about the end of September. I shall speak of this more at length in the second part.

(z) This is still practised. Taver. tom. iii p. 127. & aliis.

abovè three days (a) in the same city. They took care that nothing should be done contrary to good manners; they visited the sick, and examined if there was any reason to apprehend a contagious distemper; they were charged with the care of burying the dead, and the execution of wills. Others kept a register of the births and deaths of all the citizens; they set down the places, the time, and the circumstances. These examined the measures, the weights, and nature of commerce. They suffered no merchants to sell two different commodities, unless he paid a double duty. Those again looked into the wages of workmen, and into every thing that was hired, marking every article with a particular seal, to prevent disputes, or it's being changed. Lastly, there were those who had no other business than to gather in the revenues of the prince; but, what appears very reasonable, they never taxed a merchant, or a tradesman, but for what he sold, having no regard to the total valuation of his effects. If any one was convicted of fraud or dissimulation in declaring that he had sold less than he had really done, he was punished with death.

The order which was observed among those who presided over the affairs of war, was not less to be admired. Some had the care of the vessels necessary for the passage of rivers, others that of a certain number of beasts of burden for the transportation of provisions and baggage;

(a) Philost. l. ii. c. 20.

these had the charge of the arms and warlike machines; those of the soldiers; some of the chariots; and others of the elephants.

It is surprising that those who composed the council of the prince should be thrown back into the seventh and last class. Placed nearest the throne, they partook of its cares and honours; they entered into every deliberation; their authority sometimes overtopped that of the scepter; they pronounced upon life and death; and possessed the first dignities of the state.

These senators appeared so much the more illustrious and respectable, that their families had been in possession of these titles from time immemorial. For such was the constitution of the realm, that none were permitted to pass from one class to another, not even by marriage; a husbandman could not become an artizan, nor he again enter into trade, or become a soldier. A wise regulation, by which the sons profited of the improvements of their parents, added new ones to them, were born that which they ought to be, endeavoured to distinguish their families, and could not fail to carry the art to perfection.

These divisions of the states subsist to this day; and it is that which the Indians call *Castes*.

C H A P. V.

Character and Manners of the Indians.

ANCIENT tradition (*b*) represents the first Indians as a savage and barbarous nation, like to the Scythians, who paid no regular worship to the Deity; who had no temples; were unacquainted with the laws and benefits of society; neglected to cultivate the ground, or were ignorant of the manner of doing it; and lived only by their bow and javelin, and rather devoured than eat raw flesh. That was, according to the Greeks, the life of the Indians till Bacchus entered their country, and brought about an entire change in it. His conquest gave birth to their happiness. He made them sensible of the wretchedness and shame of a life which disgraced human nature, and of the pleasures of social commerce; and after he had persuaded them of these truths, he gave them laws, princes, and gods (*c*).

Whatever may be in this account, and at whatever time the thing happened, it is certain, that when Alexander entered India, he found the people in general very well civilized, acquainted with all the arts useful or necessary to life, formed to the profession of arms, dwell-

(*b*) Arrian, in Indicus, c. 7.

(*c*) It is needless to take notice to the learned, that all this is in the style of the Greeks.

ing in cities completely fortified, and governed by wise laws. The small number of historians of that age now extant, afford us sufficient matter for a description of them.

Even those (*d*) who profess to reject those fables which disfigure their history, assure us that the Indians were of an extraordinary stature, and that the most of them were five cubits, or seven feet and a half in height; none of them give less to Porus (*e*). In the lower provinces along the river Indus (*f*), the men were black as in Ethiopia, with this difference only, that the Indians had long and streight hair, and the Ethiopians very short and curled. They suffered their beards to grow, and reckoned them amongst their finest ornaments. Some painted them white (*g*); others blood red, these scarlet, and those purple, green, or other colours. Their habits were different. In some places they retained the use of lions and tigers skins; in other places they were covered with a large piece of stuff, which reached from the head down to the knees; and the soldiers wore a turban and a very light coat. Their cloaths, of whatever form they were, most commonly were white, made of wool, of bark, or of that cotton which grew around certain trees,

(*d*) Arrian. l. v. c. 4.

(*e*) Ibid. c. 5. Plut. in Alex. Q. Curt. l. viii. Philost. l. ii.

c. 4.

(*f*) Arrian. l. v. c. 4. in Indicia, c. 6. Ctesias apud Laurentium Rhodomannum, n. 23. Herod. l. iii. c. 101. Strabo, p. 690.

(*g*) Nearchus apud Arrian. Indicia, cap. 16. Pompon. Mel. l. iii. de India.

and

and which has sometimes been called flax, altho' that plant, such as we now have it, does not grow in the Indies. The rich were distinguished by the ivory pendants at their ears, by their purple robes, by white or parti-coloured shoes, and by an umbrella which they carried over their heads, the country so near the tropic being much hotter than our's. But when the Greeks, the remains of Alexander's army, introduced not only their own luxury, but what they had learned among the Persians, they became greater lovers of magnificence, and ornaments, than all the other Orientals (*b*). Henceforth the Indians began to load their garments with gold and precious stones, and to make use of every thing the most showy that their country afforded.

It would seem notwithstanding, that the introduction of that kind of pomp corrupted only the eyes, without altering at the bottom that love of virtue, sincerity, order, peace and temperance, which constituted the character of the Indians.

By the name of virtue, they understood nothing but a certain greatness of soul which despises dangers and death, and has glory only for it's object; which tramples under foot ease and the pleasures of life; which seeks after the esteem and admiration of mankind; which testifies horror for gross vices, and devotes itself to the good of the state, or to some particular laws which it has prescribed to itself. These external appearances are dazzling; and when we are

(*b*) Strabo, p. 709. Q. Curt. lib. viii. cap. 9.

ignorant, that it is the heart alone which can stamp a value upon it, we fail not to be deceived, and to render to the phantom of virtue, that homage which belongs to virtue itself. This is not less the effect of misfortune than of error. From hence proceeded that respect of the Indians for their Brachmans, whom they regarded as their oracles, from whom they expected all the fruit of their sacrifices; that they consulted them in their doubts, and honoured them as gods: from hence the honours which they paid to Alexander when they became acquainted with his valour, his conquests, and the clemency with which he treated the vanquished. Porus opposed him with a generosity worthy of the greatest mind; and his defeat, so far from diminishing, increased their esteem for him. The Indians seized with admiration of these two heroes, erected one common trophy (*i*), which equally proclaimed the glory of the one and the other. Seduced by the impostures and address of Apollonius Tyaneus, the kings took him for a divine person, and thought themselves honoured when they received him at their tables; the sages heard him with veneration, and looked upon him as their teacher and example.

The same regard for virtue gave being to that law, which ordained that superintendants, appointed for that purpose, should enter into every citizen's house after his death (*l*), in order to

(i) Philostratus in vita Apollonii, l. ii. cap. 42.

(l) Ibid. c. 30.

write an account of his principal actions, and of his character, that the reputation of the good and the bad might not be confounded together. The judgment they made must be formed with the strictest rigour; and if the officers who made the decision, were convicted of a failure in sincerity, they were declared infamous, and incapable of bearing office ever after. But we owe them this testimony after all the ancients; that it was extremely rare, to find them guilty of a false report. They erected no monuments to the dead (*m*), out of a persuasion, that their character ought to stand in place of a tomb. They loved order, and were naturally led to every thing that could maintain it. It was not from foreign nations that the Indians had learned that which subsisted among them. Shut up, as it were, in a world by itself, they knew not what was doing elsewhere; and no where were people governed by wiser laws. It was well imagined in Egypt, Rome, and Sparta, to range the people in different classes; but they had not entered into that detail which provided for every thing, and suffered the prince to be ignorant of nothing: much less were the different estates regulated as in the Indies. They knew the price, and the quality of the cloaths for every condition (*n*); and no body could enter a city, or go upon a journey with an equipage above his rank. The great lords travelled like the

(*m*) Arrian, de Indiciis, c. 10.

(*n*) Ctesias, in Indiciis, c. 23.

prince upon an elephant (a); those of the second order might have an equipage with four horses; those of the third were mounted upon camels; and the common people might go a horseback or upon asses.

In thus repressing ambition how many evils were prevented! It is in it's bosom that discord has it's birth, and is nourished. No law-suits were suffered among the Indians. When any difference happened between private persons, they were obliged to lay it before the prince, who determined it in a public audience with his council. There were no advocates, judges, or courts among them: and by consequence, none of these animosities which the tediousness and malignity of the law perpetuates in families. The kings in this gave an example to their subjects. Altho' they had always troops on foot, they seldom brought them into the field; and except in the battle with Porus, who had the character of loving war, there was no dexterity or experience in the military art perceived among the Indians; it was their numbers, their love of liberty, and their courage, which made the resistance, and procured them the title of a war-like people.

In so happy a climate, it was easy to live with delicacy, and to have tables as plentiful, and as well covered, as among the Persians. But the love of temperance, and the received religion,

(a) Arrian. de Indica, c. 17.

regulated these things. Instead of wine (*p*) which is not to be found in the Indies, they used a kind of beer made of rice, or the liquor of the cocoa-tree; but as either are very intoxicating, they were not in common use, but in sacrifices, and at the king's table, and that in very small quantity. For if the prince drank to excess, it was lawful for the women who served him to kill him in his drunkenness (*q*); and she who struck the blow, by way of recompence was married to the successor to the throne. Their ordinary drink was milk and water (*r*). The system of the metempsychosis generally received, reduced them to the simple fruits of the earth, by retrenching the use of all animals; but those who qualified it, allowed themselves the lion, the tiger, some other animals, and fish, without being yet acquainted with the delicacies of seasoning (*s*). In conformity to the simplicity of their repasts, they had no other beds than mats, or skins, which they spread on the bare ground (*t*). Their houses were very low (*u*), made of planks or bulrushes, and covered with the shells of the tortoise.

Among all these customs, there are few which do not redound to the praise of the Indians; but

(*p*) Strabo, p. 799. Athen. Deippn. lib. xii. Plin. l. vi. c. 28. & l. xiv. c. 16. Philost. l. ii. c. 7.

(*q*) Onesic. apud Strab. p. 710.

(*r*) Ctesias, Indicia.

(*s*) Mela, l. iii. Arrian. l. v. c. 4. Phil. l. iii. c. 27, & l. ii. c. 6.

(*t*) Ctesias, Indicia, c. 23.

(*u*) Arrian. Indicia, p. 10. Plin. lib. vi. c. 22.

the sentiments some of them entertained of death cannot be excused. They looked upon it with such indifference as must be a shock to nature, if reason and religion teach not to hope a better state. We are already acquainted with the barbarous custom of the Brachmans to shorten their days by fire. That pretended strength of mind seduced a great many others, who placed their glory in following their example; and as the custom of the country was to burn and not to bury the dead, the women threw themselves into the same pile which consumed their husband, to testify the grief they felt at his death, and to give him the last proof of their fidelity. When he left several wives behind him, she who would be thought to have loved him best, ran and threw herself the first into the flames. If there were any who refused to follow the ordinary custom, they lived in disgrace, and after death were abandoned to the beasts of the field. If we believe the ancients (*), they themselves had given occasion to this cruel alternative. It had been found, that many were so cruel as to poison their husbands in the hope of espousing others. The necessity there was to put a stop to an abuse, which began to grow as common as it was enormous, occasioned the magistrates to make an order, that every woman who survived her husband should be obliged to follow him to the pile. Thus what in it's original was only a testi-

(*) Strabo, p. 699. Diod. l. xvii. p. 561, & 678. Q. Curt. l. viii. c. 9. Mela, l. iii. de India.

mony of friendship or greatness of soul, became afterwards an inviolable law; and is at this day, (y) an article of religion. We shall speak of this in the second part.

Some other laws which remain of this people, shew what was their notion of justice, and at the same time, the severity of their ancient discipline. He who was known to have deposed in justice contrary to truth (z), was condemned to have the extremities of his hands and feet cut off. He who had deprived a citizen of the use of any member, suffered first the punishment of a reprisal, and lost afterwards the hand which committed the injury. He who had cut off the arm, or put out the eye of a tradesman, was punished with death. And he who discovered a poison, without finding out it's antidote, was treated in the same manner.

C H A P. VI.

The Animals of the Indies.

IT is not in men alone that the difference of talents and dispositions is remarkable; all nature is full of similar examples. Every climate is not proper for every fruit; happy is that which produces the best. It is true, that the country of the Indies is deficient in some of the conveniencies of life; but this loss is amply made up by

(y) History of the voyage of John Hughes, c. 36.

(z) Strabo, p. 710.

the great abundance of all that is necessary, and of several things that are peculiar to it, which draw thither all the other nations of the world, either to admire it's curiosities, or to make a profit of it's riches and fertility. For there is none of them, but whom either necessity or luxury lead to the Indies; but the Indians are not like them, obliged to go any where else to give proofs of their indigence. They can even boast with justice, that they have more rarities than all other nations together. Of this every one will be convinced, when he is acquainted with the nature of some animals which are familiar to them, and of the fruits which they gather in their fields.

No other countries in the world but the Indies, and some southern provinces in Africa, produce elephants (*a*); but the Indian are much better than the African in quality (*). This animal, the largest, and the most extraordinary in it's nature, which the earth produces, deserves to be considered in the first place. As savage of itself as the tiger or the lion, it must be hunted like other wild beasts, and there were none among the Indians but the shepherds who had that permission. They enclosed by a large and a deep ditch, a plain about a quarter of a league in circumference (*b*), where they built a bridge

(*a*) Bochart has treated this subject at large, Hiero. part I. l. ii.

(*) Tit. Liv. l. xxxvii. c. 39.

(*b*) Strabo, l. xv. c. 704. Arrian. Indicis, c. 13. Plin. l. viii. c. 8. Philoſt. l. ii. c. 6. Memoirs of the Academy, t. iii. part 3. Ryſch. Theut. Animal. Although this work is properly Johnson's, yet I shall quote it under the name of Ryſch it's editor.

of wood, and hovels into which they might retire. Into this enclosure they carried some tame female elephants, who drew the wild ones thither in the night time (c). As soon as they had entered, the hunters retired out of the enclosure, drew off the bridge, and went into the neighbouring villages to seek for aid. Several days after, when they saw them weakened with hunger and thirst, they returned upon tame elephants, with which they pursued and harassed them, until they had exhausted their force. Then they bridled them, and made incisions about their mouth, and round their neck, to render them more sensible, and to stop them when they made too violent a motion: afterwards they mounted and drove them into stables by the force of blows.

In other places, after having driven them out of the woods, they pursued them during the whole day (d), and at evening drove them back to their retreats. In the mean time, the hunters who staid behind had set the forest on fire. The elephants, who are extremely terrified at fire, struck with the sight of the flames, remained in such an astonishment, that they suffered themselves to be easily taken; and then they beat them till they were tamed. Nevertheless, they were not entirely overcome. They found it necessary to fasten them to pillars, and break them anew by blows and hunger (e).

(c) See Mandello's voyage to the Indies, p. 319.

(d) Ælian. de animal. natura, lib. vii. c. 6.

(e) Arrian. Strabo, ubi supra, & Ælian, l. x. c. 10.

Some of them fell into a languor, and they were obliged to dissipate their melancholy by singing, and the sound of some instrument.

The lovers of natural philosophy will not be displeas'd to read an account of two hunting-matches, to which the king of Siam invited the Abbè de Choisy and Father Tachard; it will confirm the truth of what the ancients have related. We have been this morning, says the Abbè (*f*), at the hunting of elephants; a diversion truly royal. The great enclosure was above twenty leagues in circumference. There were two rows of fires burning the whole night; and at every fire, at ten paces distance, two men with pikes. From time to time great elephants of war, and small pieces of cannon made their appearance. Armed men entered into the enclosure, by little and little they gained ground, and the space was streightened. The fires, the cannon, and the elephants advance, till they are so near the wild elephants as to throw nooses upon them, in which their legs are entangled. As soon as one is taken, the elephants of war, who are bred to that, place themselves at his sides, and if he is unruly, give him smart strokes with their tusks; and yet without wounding them; others push them from behind. The men fasten ropes about them on all sides, then mount upon them, and lead them to a post; to which they remain bound till they become as tame as sheep. We saw twenty

(*f*) Journal of a voyage to Siam, p. 479.

taken in this manner. The king was mounted upon an elephant of war, and gave the orders. It was he who revived this manner of hunting, which had fallen into disuse. M. Constance (the king's minister) told me, that the prince has at present two thousand elephants of war, and fifty-five thousand men on foot.

About a quarter of a league from Louve, Father Tachard writes (*g*); there is a kind of amphitheatre, of a square figure, surrounded with high terraced walls, upon which the spectators place themselves. Along the inside of these walls is a palisade of large pillars, fixed in the ground at the distance of two feet from one another, behind which the hunters retire when they are pursued by the enraged elephants; They have made a very large opening towards the country; and opposite to it, on the same side with the town, a smaller one, which leads to a narrow alley, thro' which an elephant can pass with difficulty, which ends in a kind of large thicket, where their breaking is completed.

On the day appointed for the chase, the hunters enter into the woods, mounted on female elephants bred to that exercise, and covered over with leaves that they may not be seen by the wild elephants. When they are advanced into the forest, and judge they may be near their haunts, they cause the females to make a certain cry proper to attract the males, who immedi-

(*g*) Voyage to Siam, l. v. p. 298.

ately answer by frightful howlings. Then the hunters perceiving themselves at a proper distance, return back the same way, and lead the she-elephants softly to the side of the amphitheatre, to which the wild ones never fail to follow them. That one whom we saw tamed entered with them, and as soon as he was in, they shut the barriers. The females continued their way across the amphitheatre, and one after another passed thro' the small alley at the other end. The elephant who had followed them so far, stopt at the entrance, and they put every thing in practice to engage him farther. They caused the females who were beyond the alley to cry to him, some Siamese provoking him by clapping their hands, and crying several times *Pat, Pat*, while others teased him with long pointed staves, and when they were pursued they retired behind the palisade; at last, he fixed upon one who staid out on purpose, and threw himself into the alley. The elephant runs in after him, but as soon as he was entered, they let fall two portcullices, one before, and another behind him. The animal finding that he could go neither backwards nor forwards, nor turn himself about, made surprising efforts, and sent forth dreadful cries. They endeavoured to soften him by throwing buckets of water on his body, rubbing him with leaves, and pouring oil upon his ears, and they brought some male and female elephants about him, who caressed him with their trunks. In the mean time, they fixed ropes below his belly and to his hind feet, in order

order to draw him from thence: and brought one of those tame elephants which are accustomed to teach the new-comers. An officer was mounted upon him, who made him advance and retire, to shew the wild elephant that he had nothing to fear, and that he might with safety come out. They opened the port, and he followed the other to the end of the alley. When he was got there, they placed at his side two elephants, which they bound fast to him. Another marched before, and drew him with a rope in the way which they wanted him to take, while a fourth made him advance with a great stroke of his head which he gave him behind, into a kind of thicket, where they bound him to a great pillar made on purpose, which turns round like the capstain of a ship. They left him there till next day, that his fury might pass off. But while he was tormenting himself around this pillar, a Brachman dressed in white came to him, mounted on an elephant, and turning gently round about him; sprinkled him with a certain water consecrated after their manner, which he carried in a golden vessel. They believe that this ceremony makes the elephant lose his natural ferocity, and renders him fit for the king's service. After the second day he began to go with the rest, and at the end of fifteen he was entirely tamed.

Notwithstanding the enormous bulk of this animal, being twenty feet in circumference, he is of a docility and ingenuity approaching to the human intelligence. He is susceptible of love, affection, and gratitude, to such a degree, as to

pine away with grief when he has lost his keeper. He is observed to be transported with grief, and ready to kill himself, when in a furious moment, he has killed or treated him ill.

This tenderness is observable on different occasions. The absence of their mate contributes more than any thing else to tame them, and to make them forget their natural strength; for it is alledged that they never place their affections on a second. There are places where they are taken in deep ditches, the surface whereof they cover slightly over. When the mother perceives her young one is fallen in (*b*), the anxiety which she feels, and the love which she bears him, makes her throw herself into the same snare, altho' instinct informs her, that there she must lose her liberty, and perhaps her life. She never abandons him in danger, and suffers herself to be killed first. When she is obliged to pass a river (*i*), she takes him on her trunk, and quits him not till she has got to the other side. If he is able to swim, he takes the water first, lest the huge bulk of the rest should make it swell, and render the passage more difficult. If they meet with one in the fields who is sick or wounded, they do him all imaginable good offices, seeking herbs and other remedies to comfort him. If he dies, they do not leave his body exposed; they inter it, and cover the grave with branches of trees.

(*b*) *Ælian.* l. ix. c. 8.

(*i*) *Idem.* l. vii. c. 15. *Plin.* l. viii. c. 5. *Philos.* l. ii. c. 14 & 15.

They

They were trained to have a veneration for the prince worthy of his majesty. As soon as they saw him (*l*), they bent their knees to worship him after the manner of the Orientals, and raised themselves up immediately after. Some kings of the Indies kept twenty of them who in time of war guarded their tent by turns; and in battle they had not more zealous defenders. That which is related of the elephant of Porus, is almost incredible. That animal perceiving his master exhausted by the wounds with which he was covered (*m*), lowered himself that he might let him down without hurting him, and pulled out with his trunk the arrows with which he was all stuck over. But seeing that he was losing all his blood, he took him again upon his back, and carried him to his camp.

Ælian (*n*) relates a parallel instance of an Indian lord. He had found a young white elephant which he bred up with great care. That animal served him for his ordinary riding, and gave him all the marks of the most tender friendship. The king being informed of his mildness and ingenuity, asked him for himself; but the lord to whom he belonged could not think of parting with him, and to shun the consequences of his refusal, fled to the mountains. He was pursued thither by order of the prince; and getting on the top of a rock he sustained a long assault,

(*l*) Philost. l. xiii. c. 22. Plin. J. viii. c. 4. f

(*m*) Plin. l. xiii. c. 22. & Q. Curt. l. viii. c. ult.

(*n*) Lib. iii. c. 46.

parrying the arrows and defending himself by throwing of stones, in which he was perfectly well seconded by his elephant, who also threw them with all imaginable dexterity. Yet the soldiers mounted in spite of that generous resistance. Then the animal full of fury threw himself amongst them, overturned many with his trunk, dashed them in pieces, put the rest to flight, took up his wounded master, and carried him off. What a reproach is this, adds the same naturalist, to those ingrateful men, who having received their education, and perhaps their subsistence, from those who had taken them into their friendship, notwithstanding abandon them whenever they behold them languishing under the frowns of fortune! Such men are at best the friends of our prosperity and favours, who value us, only as we are useful to them.

When Pyrrhus entered the city of Argos by force, one of his soldiers mounted upon an elephant receiving a dangerous wound, was thrown upon the ground. The elephant having lost his master in the croud, ranged about in a strange manner till he had found him. He then took him up in his trunk, put him upon his teeth, and returned in fury to the port of the town, overthrowing and trampling under his feet all that came in his way (o).

To this instinct of humanity, the elephant joins an extraordinary force proportioned to his stature, which renders him the strongest of all animals. They trained them to war, and made

(o) Plat. in Pyrrho.

them the terror of the enemy, by the slaughter which they occasioned when they gave them the signal to advance. This happened by the sound of drums and trumpets, by the sight of blood already spilt, at which they have a horror, or by the view of certain liquors which resemble it, as the juice of mulberries or grapes (*p*). In an instant they make a furious assault, throw themselves across the battalions, and carry everywhere terror, disorder and death. The smell and dreadful bellowing of these animals, occasion still more disorder among the horses than the men. At the first attack, they are struck with terror, they cannot be made to advance, they fall back upon one another, and overthrow their riders. Cæsar had but one elephant (*q*) when he gave battle to Cassonellan, king of the Britons, and he alone put the whole army to flight. This was the principal use which the Persians, the Syrians, and the Romans who imitated them, made of them (*r*).

Sometimes they built upon the backs of those monstrous creatures great wooden towers of several stories, upon which the archers mounted, and shot in safety, having almost their whole body under covert. In the battle which Antiochus Eupator gave to Judas Machabeus (*s*), that king of Syria had more than thirty elephants of this kind, on each whereof were thirty-

(*p*) Machab. c. vi. v. 34.

(*q*) Polyæn. Strat. l. viii. in Cæfare, n. 5.

(*r*) Plin. l. viii. c. 5.

(*s*) Machab. c. vi. v. 27.

two archers, who shot arrows from all sides, and an Indian who guided them. In the Indies they were ranged in the front of the army (*t*), at a hundred paces distance the one from the other, where they served as a rampart against the enemy, till the moment when they were to be roused and untied. Porus placed two hundred in the same line when Alexander came to attack him (*u*).

The Romans made use of them afterwards in the lists and the combats of the gladiators. This spectacle was exhibited for the first time, in the 655th year of Rome (*x*). At first they only made them engage with bulls, but afterwards with men. Pompey, at the dedication of the temple of Venus, let twenty of them loose in the circus against the captives of Getulia, an African people; and the circumstances of that combat have rendered it memorable to posterity. An elephant who had his feet cut off crawled to a troop of the Getulians whom he shut up in a corner. He snatched from them their bucklers, and threw them into the air with such force and dexterity, that none of them fell upon the spectators. One would have said, that he disarmed them rather to divert the people than out of anger and revenge. One of them died by a stroke of a javelin which pierced his eye and his temples, and this appeared a prodigy. At last, the Getulians disarmed, wounded or exhausted, by the length of such a furious

(*t*) *Ælian. de anim. l. xvii. c. 29.*

(*u*) *Arrian. de exped. Alex. l. v. c. 15.*

c. (*z*) *Plin. l. viii. c. 7.*

combat, found themselves incapable of defence. The people took compassion of them, and demanded of Pompey to suffer them to leave the circus; but he would not permit it, and caused them all to perish, in spite of the cries and lamentations of the assembly, who loaded him with all manner of imprecations. Cesar exhibited a spectacle of twenty elephants against five hundred men. The emperors Nero and Claudius repeated it in the same proportion with elephants armed with towers.

That animal must have been irritated and provoked a long time before he could be put into a fury. Cruelty was quite opposite to his natural instinct. A prince intending to have thirty men who had incurred his displeasure pulled in pieces (y), caused them to be fixed to stakes, and let loose against them as many elephants, appointing certain persons to attack them to put them into fury. They became furious at last; but it was against those who provoked them, and the prince could not make them the ministers of his vengeance. This animal has compassion for the defenceless, and pities an enemy who is not equal to him in force. When he passes thro' a flock of sheep, he sets them aside with his trunk, for fear he should destroy them by trampling on them. When they fight with one another, they do not make use of their tusks, lest they should disarm themselves of weapons necessary against other enemies.

It is hardly credible that these unwieldy and

(y) Plin. L. viii. c. 7.

bulky creatures should be capable of memory; and that address and ingenuity which have astonished many. Mutianus, who had been thrice consul of Rome (z), affirmed that he had seen one who knew the Greek letters, and wrote down the words which were spoken to him by arranging the characters. Another having been severely punished by his master, because he could not retain his lessons, passed the whole night in a contemplative attitude, and did that perfectly well in the morning which he had failed to do the day before.

Almost all of them understood as much of the Indian language as regarded themselves. Some of them were so tame that a child of twelve or thirteen years of age mounted them (a), guided them easily, and made them do whatsoever he pleased. It would seem we might believe every thing of them after what Arrian relates, the sincerest, the most judicious, and least fabulous author of all the ancients. He says (b) that he saw one that had two cymbals at his legs, on which he play'd a regular air with his trunk, while several others danced round about him to exact time.

It is a matter of reproach to man, that this animal should give him a lesson in modesty (c).

He

(z) *Idem* c. 3.

(a) *Philost.* in *vita Apollonii*, l. ii. c. 11.

(b) In *Indicis*, c. 14. *Item Philost.* l. ii. c. 13. *fine.*

(c) *Ælian*, l. viii. c. 17. *Quemadmodum moderate elephantum suas libidines continent explicare convenit. Ii igitur ab omni immoderata libidine castissimi sunt. Nunquam enim peque vi aut protervius, neque nimis lascive, societatem veneris cum femina faciunt:*

He is never seen to touch the female. Instinct inspires him with a particular horror for adultery; and several facts are related which sufficiently manifest it. An Indian disgusted at his wife, from whom years had taken the power of pleasing, resolved to put her to death that he might marry another, of whom he was passionately enamoured. He cut her throat, and buried her privately in the stable of his elephant. A few days afterwards the creature seeing a new wife, took her up in his trunk, and carried her to the grave of her predecessor. He opened it himself, and shewed his new mistress the carcase of his former one. He made her look upon it with attention, and shewed her by that act of cruelty and barbarity, what was the character of him whom she had chosen for her husband.

Another in the same kingdom, having (d) caught his master's wife in adultery, went and struck her and her accomplice thro' with his tusks, to shew the husband his zeal and his fidelity. The same thing happened at Rome in the reign of the emperor Titus, with this difference, that the elephant threw a covering on

faciunt: sed tamquam generis successione carentes, liberis procreandis dant operam: sic hi, sua stirps ut ne deficiat, complexu venereo junguntur. Neque id sane plusquam semel in vita, et eo dumtaxat tempore quum se iniri faminae patiuntur. Ut autem quisque eorum uxorem impleverit, non eum amplius attingit. Aperte porro ac palam in aliorum oculis non coeunt, sed succedentes, aut sese in arbores densas et frequentes occultant, aut in concavum locum et profundum, ad occultandos eos idoneum abduunt. Hæc de elephantorum temperantia.

(d) *Ælian. l. xi. c. 15.*

the two adulterers, that he might conceal, if possible, the knowledge of their crime.

This animal (*e*) is sixteen or eighteen months in the belly of his mother; after which he comes forth about the bigness of a calf. He does not arrive at his full strength until the age of fifty or sixty years; it is only then that they can build a tower upon his back. From his nose there hangs a mass of long and hollow flesh, which they call his trunk, and sometimes his hand (*f*), because it is of infinite service to him, whether for seats of address, or of strength. He makes use of it to carry things to his mouth. From that arise two teeth, or prodigious tusks, which grow to six feet in length, from whence we have our ivory. As if this animal was acquainted with their value, or apprehended being killed on their account (*g*), he hides them in the earth whenever they fall from him thro' old age, or any other accident. The ancients have taken them for his horns (*h*). The skin upon his back is like a thick buckram (*i*), or rather a suit of armour which can scarce be cut thro'; but under his belly it is much thinner: it was this that gave Eleazar the thought (*l*) to place himself under that one which he believed carried Antiochus,

(*e*) Idem. l. iv. c. 31.

(*f*) Manus data elephanti, quia propter magnitudinem corporis difficiles aditus habebant ad passum. Cicero de natura Deor. l. ii. n. 123.

(*g*) Plin. l. viii. c. 3.

(*h*) Vid. Philost. l. ii. c. 13. Bochart is of the same opinion, because, as he pretends, they came from the brain. Hieroz. part. I. l. ii. c. 24.

(*i*) Ibid. c. 10.

(*l*) Mach. c. vi. v. 43.

and bury his sword in it's body, altho' he well foresaw that he must be crushed to pieces by it's fall. Every body knows they do not lie down to sleep (*).

Their ordinary food is grass or corn, but they are very fond of sweets, such as barley sugar (*m*), and this they give them to tame them. They make those whom they design for war, drink the wine of the country (*n*), that is to say, beer. But others who are weaker, and only used for labour (*o*), drink nothing but water, which they love best when it is muddy. They are subject to different distempers of which the Indians know the remedies, and this makes that animal live two or three hundred years (*p*). Apollonius Tyaneus, or Damis (*q*), related that they had seen in the city of Taxila, the elephant of the famous Porus with two circles of gold round his tusks, in which it was written in Greek characters, that Alexander in esteem of him had consecrated him to the sun. At that time he must have been above four hundred years old. But their too great love for the marvellous renders this suspected.

The rhinoceros, called by the modern Indians *Abadu* (*r*), comes very near this animal in bulk and figure. This creature is found in the island of Java, and is common enough in the

(*) They say this happens because he has no joints in his legs. See upon that the treatise of vulgar errors, p. 241, et seq.

(*m*) Plin. l. viii. c. 7.

(*n*) Ælian. l. xiii. c. 8.

(*o*) Plin. l. viii. c. 1.

(*p*) Plin. c. 10. Ælin. l. iv. c. 31. Strab. l. xv. p. 705.

(*q*) Apud Philost. l. ii. c. 21.

(*r*) Mandello's voyage to the Indies, l. ii. p. 376.

kingdoms of Bengal and Patana. The ancients have frequently mentioned it, but without giving an exact description of it. Holy scripture uses it as an example of the strength of God himself (s). *Whose strength is like that of the rhinoceros.* Pliny (t) contents himself with saying, that he has a horn upon his nose, as his name bears; that he sharpens it upon a stone before he engages with the elephant, for whom he has a natural antipathy; that he is very near of the same bigness; but that he has shorter legs, and that his skin is of the colour of the box-tree. Ælian, who has entered into so minute a detail on other animals very common, has not thought it necessary to describe the rhinoceros, because all the world had seen it at Rome in the shews which the emperors exhibited for the amusement of the people. Strabo says (u) that he had seen this creature at Alexandria, and is as superficial in his description as Pliny, though he cites Artemidorus. Dio Cassius (x) only tells us, that they had never appeared at Rome before the triumph of Augustus.

We must then have recourse to the moderns for a knowledge of this extraordinary animal. Bontius (y) and father Le Compte (z) who had examined it several times, speak of it pretty much in the same manner. Here follow the

(s) Numb. c. xxiii. v. 22.

(t) Hist. nat. l. viii. c. 20.

(u) L. xvii. p. 774.

(x) Hist. l. li. p. 460.

(y) Medicam. Indor. l. xvi.

(z) Memoirs of China.

words of the missionary. The rhinoceros is one of the most extraordinary animals in the world. He is somewhat, it appears to me, like the wild-boar, if it was not that he is much larger, that his feet are thicker and his body more unwieldy. His skin is all over covered with large and thick scales of a blackish colour, and an uncommon hardness. They are divided into small squares or buttons, raised about a line above the skin, and nearly like those of the crocodile. His legs appear to be set in boots, and his head wrapt up behind in a smooth capuchin: which has given occasion to the Portuguese to call him the *Indian Monk*. His head is large, his mouth little, and his snout drawn to a great length, and armed with a long thick horn, which makes him terrible to the tigers, the buffaloes, and the elephants. But that which appears most wonderful in this animal is his tongue, which nature has covered with so rough a membrane that it is not at all different from a file, and flays every thing which he licks. As we have animals here who make a grateful repast on thistles, whose small points agreeably stimulate the fibres or the nerves in their tongue, so the rhinoceros eats with pleasure the branches of trees bristled all over with the largest thorns. I have frequently given him of these whose points were very rough and long, and it was wonderful to see with what greediness and dexterity he immediately lick'd them up, and chewed them in his mouth without the least inconvenience. It is true it was some-
times

times a little bloody; but that even rendered the taste more agreeable, and these little wounds to appearance made no other impression on his tongue than salt and pepper make on ours. The author might have added, that this animal has two kinds of wings of a skin extremely ugly, which cover his belly like a housing, and in shape resemble the wings of a bat.

Though the rest of his body is in a manner wrapt up in armour, as may be seen in Ruysch (*a*), and those who attack him are exposed to great danger, yet the Indians hunt him as they do other animals, because he is of great use to them after his death. The Moors eat his flesh, however hard it may be. His horn is not less curious than useful. When it is cut through the middle (*b*), on each side is seen the figure of a man whose out-lines are marked by little white strokes, with those of different birds and other things, as in the Egyptian flints. The greatest part of the Indian kings drink out of cups made of this horn, because it sweats at the approach of any poison whatsoever. The people of Java likewise (*c*) set a great value on this animal, because there is no part of it but is found in some degree useful in medicine. They make use of it's flesh, it's horn, blood, teeth, skin, and even it's excrements. They are persuaded there cannot be a better antidote against all kinds of poison; and they attribute to it the same qualities which the

(*a*) Ruysch, *Theat. animal.* t. 2. p. 66, tab. xxxviii.

(*b*) Herbelot, *Bibliot. Orient.* p. 959.

(*c*) Mandel, p. 177.

ancients did to the unicorn. Frequently they make bucklers of it's skin with it's scales.

The camel and the dromedary perform to the Indians (d), and the greatest part of the eastern nations, the same services which we receive from beasts of burden, with this difference, that they will carry a thousand weight and above, and go fifty leagues in a day without being fatigued; but they are not so fit to draw carriages. As it would be very difficult to load them in their natural situation on account of the height of their legs, they are accustomed betimes to lower themselves to render it the easier. As soon as they are brought forth, they bend their four feet under their belly, and put a covering on their back, whose corners are loaded with stones, that they may not rise up during twenty days. 'Tis thus they form them to that exercise until they can lie down easily with their burden. He who drives them sings and whistles all the way as he goes along, and the more he elevates his voice the faster is their pace. They pass four or five days with ease without being incommoded by thirst, even in the longest journeys; this has made some naturalists believe, that they have a reservoir in their stomach. But the falsehood, of this opinion has been discovered, first by dissections; and secondly, because there are of them in Africa which never drink, and have no other refreshment but the green grass which they eat. The camel is

(d) Aristot. hist. anim. lib. v. c. 1. & seq. Philoſ. l. ii. s. 6; Plin. l. viii. c. 18. Polyæn. l. vii. n. 6. Buyſch, t. iii. p. 67. Travels of Tavernier.

naturally

naturally fearful, insupportable to the horse on account of his bad smell, and suffers himself to be devoured by the lion and the tiger without the least resistance. We are assured he lives a century if no accident happens to him. He has no teeth except in his lower jaw; and he differs from the dromedary in this, that he has only one bunch on his back, and the dromedary two disposed length-ways.

I shall here make use of an addition which has been made to the Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences (e) for the history of animals. It contains the answers which the Persian ambassador made to the questions M. Constance proposed to him on the part of the missionaries. 1st, That there were camels in Persia which had two bunches on their back, but that they came originally from Turkestan, and were of the race of those which the king of the Moors had brought into that country, the only place known in Asia, where any of that species were to be found; and that these camels were much valued in Persia, because their double bunch rendered them fitter for carriages. 2dly, That these bunches were not formed by a curvature of the spine of the back, which is not more elevated there than in other places; but that they were only excrescences of a glandular substance, raised half a foot in height. 3dly, That the notion there was water in the stomach of that creature, to which travellers had recourse in extreme necessity, was an error. These anec-

(e) Tom. iii. part i. p. 80.

dotes were published by father Gouye the jesuit in 1688.

The camelopard is not so well known. It does not resemble the camel, whose name the ancients had given it (*f*), but in the head and the manner of carrying it, bearing it in a bolder and more upright manner. His skin is reddish spotted with white, or white with spots of red, and his size bigger or less, pretty near that of a fine horse; but he is very slender about the loins, somewhat like the ape. The famous Pachymerus, who was at Constantinople when one of them was brought thither, under the reign of Michael Paleologus, towards the end of the thirteenth century, describes it somewhat differently and more minutely. He is, says that historian (*g*), of the bigness of an ass, white, and marked with red like a panther. His shape resembles that of a camel, having a bunch which rises from his tail to his shoulders; his fore-legs longer than those behind, his neck very long, his head small like a camel's, his belly white, and a black streak along his back. His feet are slender, and cloven like a hart's. He is so gentle that he suffers himself to be handled and led by a child. When he is attacked he has no other defence but his teeth, and as they are very even, he uses them rather to repulse, than to wound those who trouble him.

There are two kinds of norries in the Indies;

(*f*) Plin. l. viii. c. 18. Agatharch. apud Phocium, cod. 250;
Vide Ruysch, t. ii. p. 69.

(*g*) Pachymer. hist. l. iii. c. 4.

one sort familiar or domestic, and the other wild. This last is properly the unicorn. Notwithstanding he is perhaps the most dangerous and mischievous animal in nature (*b*), yet the Indians hunt him down (*i*), and have the art of taming him, either for riding, or harness him to a sort of *coursing* machines which they cause to wheel perpetually in riding houses or places expressly designed for this exercise. But he cannot be tamed if he is taken above two years old; and to whatever submission he is brought, his bridle must be armed with spikes of iron. His horn is black, sometimes three feet long; drinking cup are made of it; and it is asserted, that liquor kept any time in it, becomes a certain antidote against poison.

That of the wild ass is said to have the same virtue. If we believe Ctesias (*l*), this creature is as large as the horse. He has a white mark upon his forehead, his horn is a cubit in length, the upper part red, the under black, his head approaching to a purple, his eyes blue, and his body white, marked with rays and spots of different colours, which make his skin most beautiful. When he flies from the hunters, he does not run at first with great rapidity, but his speed increases insensibly by the motion, and he darts forth with so much swiftness, that no horses whatever can overtake him. The time to surprize him is when he leads forth his young feed, whom his

(b) Pl. xxi. v. 22.

(i) Ælian. l. xiii. c. 9, & l. xvi. c. 9, & 20. Plin. l. viii. c. 21.

(l) In Indiciis, c. 25. Ælian. l. iv. c. 52. Ruysch, tom. ii.

tendernefs does not suffer him to abandon. He exposes himself to all dangers on their account; he fights the hunters with incredible fury, striking with his horn and hind-feet both men and horses; he yields not till he is all stuck over with darts, and has lost both his blood and life. Immediately the Indians cut off the horn of his head, and his hoofs, which they say are of a perfect vermilion colour; and carry off his young which they tame by degrees.

It is no wonder they should succeed in this, since they have even the art of taming the lion, and making him hunt (*m*) like a dog, or to draw like a horse (*n*). His strength, his courage, and his majesty have procured him to be the king of beasts, And indeed he uses them as a demefne appertaining to him, having no other food. All of them respect him; all tremble before him; but I know not by what instinct he himself trembles before the cock and the elephant (*o*). He never attacks man but when old age prevents his overtaking other prey (*p*). It is then he draws near to cities, devouring those he finds in the fields. Sometimes the sense of his weakness incites him to join with others, to afford one another mutual aid; and this union becomes so much the more dangerous, that one cannot be attacked, without engaging the rest which are in their full strength,

(*m*) Aristot. Hist. anim. l. vi. c. 31. Ælian. l. xvii. c. 25; Ruysch. p. 78.

(*n*) Plin. l. x. c. 45.

(*o*) Ælian. l. iii. c. 31. & l. vii. c. 35.

(*p*) Plin. l. viii. c. 16. vide Bochart. Hiero. part I. l. iii. c. 2.

and are seen immediately to fly to their succour. An ancient author (*q*) relates, that he has seen lions in Africa fixed to the cross in order to intimidate the rest.

At other times he is not daunted at the most formidable hunter. He views him with confidence and fierceness, he receives his first attack, he beats the ground with his tail, lashing his sides, and thus by degrees kindles that fury which has no example, and to which the most violent transports of passion may be compared. As there are always many engaged against him, he examines with attention from what hand those arrows are sent which wound him, whom he distinguishes from those who only flourish their weapons, or miss him. He fixes chiefly on those who have struck him; and if he can lay hold on them, tears them in pieces; but his vengeance is satisfied with overturning the others, and tossing them about. The lioness is not so distinguishing in her fury. As sensible to the loss of her young as to her own wounds, she, with her head to the ground, her eyes fixed upon those who would ravish them from her, never fails to save them or to perish in their defence. That which naturalists relate (*r*) of the fertility of this animal is peculiar to itself. They say she brings forth but five times; the first time, she has five young ones; the second, four; the third time, three; the fourth, no more than two; and the last time, one only. Sometimes she couples

(*q*) Polyb. apud eundem.

(*r*) *Ælian.* l. iv. c. 34.

with the leopard, and they distinguish the lions that proceed from thence, by their not having so fine a mane as those of the genuine species. Both the one and the other are much afraid of fire. Some of them are white and some tawny.

How much ought men to blush at this contrast of humanity and natural tenderness which is found between them and that animal! Although the fiercest of any, he is nevertheless the only one who forgets not those from whom he has received life. When he sees them disabled by old age to provide for themselves, he quits them no more (s), he hunts for them, and lets them know by his voice when they have wherewithal to eat. Many mothers would esteem themselves happy, if their children had not deprived them by the most crying injustice of that support which old age renders more necessary.

The leopard and panther are the male and female (t) of the same species. Although this creature is not so large as the lion, he is not less cruel and dangerous when attacked; but seldom invades man first. Yet the Indians despise his fury, and know how to profit by it. They hunt him among the other wild beasts; they eat his flesh, and preserve his young ones. When they have tamed and familiarised them, they present them to the king, or keep them to make use of them in hunting. The leopard is

(s) Plin. l. ix. c. 1.

(t) Plin. l. viii. c. 17. Ælian. l. iv. c. 40. l. v. c. 40. & l. xv. c. 14. Philost. in vita Apol. l. ii. c. 14. Ruyfch, t. ii. p. 82.

naturally adapted to it, and carries that about with him which attracts his prey. So sweet an odour exhales from his body, that the roe-bucks and does are charmed with it, and approach him without knowing their danger (*u*). But as the sight of his head terrifies them, and as they betake themselves to flight the instant they perceive it, he has the cunning to conceal it under the leaves of trees, and makes not the least motion till they are so near that he can unexpectedly spring upon them. This kind of hunting is still in use among the Indians, but it is permitted to none but the king.

It is pretended that while the panther has young, the leopard dares not defend himself against her, altho' much the stronger, and that she makes him suffer every kind of abuse. Because this animal loves wine, the ancients have looked upon it as a symbol and attendant of Bacchus (*x*).

All those animals are as frequent in Arabia and Lybia as in the Indies; but it is here chiefly that the tiger is found, whose very name recalls the idea of fierceness. In order to take them (*y*), the shepherds or hunters watch the moment when the mother is gone to seek food for her young, and carry them off. But when she re-

(*u*) Theven. voyage to the Indies, l. i. c. 5. p. 32. edit. in 4to. 1684.

(*x*) Vid. Philost. iconum, l. i. n. 19. and the note of Olearius. Pierius Hierog. l. xi. fol. 84.

(*y*) Plin. l. vi. c. 20. & l. viii. c. 18. Vid. Bochart. Hiero. part I. l. iii. c. 7, & 8. Oppian, on hunting, l. i. Ruysch, t. 2. p. 84. Memoirs of the academy, t. iii. part 3.

turns and finds them not, she becomes furious, she traces them by the smell, and runs with incredible swiftness till she has overtaken the Indians, who fly before her on the fleetest horses. When she comes near, they drop one of her young, which she takes between her teeth, and carries back to her den. The hope of recovering the rest in the same manner, inspires her with ardor, and causes her to return with greater alacrity. But the hunters have boats prepared on the banks of a river, and thus escape her fury. They tame the young ones, and make the same use of them as of those of the panther.

This animal has a particular fancy for the bitch, and engenders with her a third species very useful in the chase. The Indians carry several bitches into a forest, and tie them to trees. When the tigers come they devour some, and couple with others, from whence proceeds a kind of dog naturally fierce and a hunter, which fears not even the panther and the lion, and will sooner suffer himself to be torn and cut in pieces than abandon his prey. Sopithes king of the Indies gave Alexander the pleasure of that spectacle (z), and the hero was very much surprised at it.

It is only on the faith of Ctesias (a) that the ancients have spoken of the manticote (b), and if it really exists, it is the most extraordinary of all creatures. It is described as having the face

(z) Diod. l. xvii. p. 661. & Q. Curt. l. ix. c. 1.

(a) Ctesias in Indicis.

(b) Aristot. de anim. l. ii. c. 1. Plin. l. viii. c. 21. Ælian: l. iv. c. 21. Pausanias, Boeticis.

and ears of a man, blue eyes, and the rest of the body red, and nearly of the bigness, shape, and strength of a lion. Armed with a triple row of teeth, he devours men as well as wild beasts, and this has procured him the name he bears. These murderous arms were the weakest part of the dreadful weapons with which he was provided. His tail a cubit in circumference, was stuck all over with darts a foot in length and hard as iron, which he shot forth behind and before to a hundred paces distance, and against whose poison there was no remedy.

There was only the elephant whose skin they could not pierce; therefore the hunters attacked him only when mounted on that animal. Whether Philostratus speaks on his own authority (*c*), or relates faithfully what he had read in the journal of Damis, he says (*d*) that Apollonius enquired of Iarchas, if what was reported of the manticore was true; and he adds, the Indian made answer, that he had never heard of it. Ruysch believes it is confounded with the tiger (*e*).

If monstrous animals do not constitute the beauty of a country, they make it at least remarkable; this may be said of the Indian dragons. However plentifully Egypt and Ethiopia were furnished with this species, they produced nothing like that which is yet found in the Indies. Some Egyptians, who knew the curiosity

(*c*) For it is certain that the life of Apollonius was composed from different memoirs. See the prefaces of Olearius.

(*d*) Lib. iii, c. 45.

(*e*) Theat. anim. tom. ii. p. 85.

of Ptolemy Philadelphus in the rare productions of nature, brought him from Ethiopia two dragons (*f*), the largest of which was fourteen cubits or one and twenty feet long; this was the most monstrous of all that had hitherto been seen. But this is nothing when compared with what is found in the Indies. There have been seen there dragons of thirty cubits length, and even double, if we believe different accounts (*g*). Alexander, according to one naturalist (*b*), discovered one of seventy cubits which they kept in a cave out of veneration or curiosity, whose eyes and hissing terrified the Macedonians.

The dragon by it's figure is only a serpent of extraordinary largeness; and there are three kinds of them. Some (*i*) live on the tops of the mountains, others in caverns and in the fields, and others in marshes. The first are the largest of all; these have gilded scales, hair, or a sort of long beard on their forehead and jaws, their eye-lids very open, their look frightful and cruel, their cry very sharp and shrill, and a red crest upon their head resembling a burning coal. Those of the low country differ from these only in the colour of their scales, which are white like silver, and in their frequenting rivers. Those who live in the marshes are almost quite black, slower in their motion, and like all the females, have no

(*f*) Ælian. l. xvi. c. 39.

(*g*) S. Ambros. de moribus Brach. p. 63. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 75. Bochart. Hiero. part II. l. iii. c. 13.

(*b*) Ælian l. xv c. 21. Ruysch, tom. ii. de serpentibus, p. 34.

(*i*) Philost. l. iii. c. 6, & seq.

crests. Strabo says (*l*), that the painting them with wings is contrary to truth ; but naturalists and travellers are now agreed that there are many of that species.

Both the one and the other are very common without being absolutely dangerous ; for it is pretended their bite is not venomous (*m*). But Ruysch proves the contrary by divers examples.

A precious stone is found in the head of this animal (*n*) which throws as much light as the diamond, and is naturally cut into different facets, through which it shews all manner of colours. But to preserve it's quality and brilliancy it must be taken out that moment the dragon's head is cut off, otherwise it loses all it's value ; and if the workman does not cut it soon after, he can never get the better of it's hardness afterwards. Ficinus says, that when it is left some time in vinegar, it moves of itself, first in a direct line, and then describes several circles.

Superstition has imagined different virtues in the body of this monster : that it's head put (*o*) under the gates of houses rendered them lucky ; that it's eyes kneaded with honey cured nocturnal frights ; that the fat of it's heart wrapt up in the skin of a doe, and tied to the arm with the sinew of a horse, rendered the judgment of a law-suit favourable ; that it's teeth inclosed in the skin of a goat and bound with the sinew of a stag, appeased

(*l*) Strabó, l. xvi. p. 775.

(*m*) Plin. l. xxix. c. 14. loc. cit. p. 32.

(*n*) Idem, l. xxvii. c. 10. Solinus, c. 30. Philost. l. iii. c. 8. Isidor. Orig. l. xvi. c. 13. Marfil. Ficinus de triplici vita.

(*o*) Plin. l. xxix. c. 4.

the wrath of an enraged master; and that its flesh pounded, destroyed the force of all enchantments, cured many distempers, and became a sovereign antidote or counter-poison.

From hence arose that keenness with which the Indians hunted him. They stretched over the mouth of the caverns a great piece of stuff embroidered with gold, which served to charm the eyes of that monster; and when they had laid him asleep by the sound of musical instruments, they cut off his head. They ran a greater risk and had more trouble with those of the mountains, whom it was necessary to pursue a long time, and attack with arrows and javelins. This animal is by instinct a mortal enemy to the elephant (*p*); he takes notice of the places thro which he commonly passes, gets on the top of a tree, darts himself upon him, and twists himself round his whole body; after he has torn out his belly, he thrusts his head into his nostrils, makes him lose all his blood, and choaks him. But his hatred here becomes a symbol of that of men, almost always equally pernicious and destructive to both these enemies. The elephant dies, he falls, and by his fall crushes the monster to pieces which occasioned his death.

Were it not for the inundations which happen every summer in this country, it would be infested by other serpents and insects of different kinds (*q*), which the heat produces and nourishes

(*p*) Plin. l. viii. c. 11, & 12. Ælian. l. vi. c. 21. Pömpou. Mela, l. iii. de Indiciis.

(*q*) Nearch. & Aristob. apud Strab. l. xv. p. 706. & Arrian. de Indiciis, cap. xv. Rob. Knox's account of Ceylon, vol. i. p. 73.

in vast numbers. Amongst those is a sort of viper, very noxious, and several other reptiles, whose bite is mortal without the application of those simples which cure it, and which nature has happily rendered very common. There are of these vipers from nine to ten cubits in length, others only half a foot, and these last are much more terrible, as well as the scorpion, and a vast quantity of others, whose minuteness protects them from being pursued and destroyed. But the earth is purged of them every year by the overflowing of the waters; without which the houses would not be habitable. The Macedonians suffered much by them before they knew the remedy. Many died, and the rest were obliged for a long time to hang their beds to the branches of trees to defend themselves from them (*r*).

The ants who discover the golden mines, are as singular in their species as the service is which they perform, and are only found in the province of the Derdes, towards the source of the Indus, and sometimes in Ethiopia (*s*). This animal (*t*) resembling the common ants in shape, is of the bigness of a fox. Its hair is of the colour of a cat, and he runs with all imaginable swiftness. Nature points out to him those places in the earth where the gold is purest; he there digs himself a burrow, and throws up the ore

(*r*) Diod. l. xvii. p. 560.

(*s*) Philost. in vita Apoll. l. vi. c. 1.

(*t*) Herod. l. iii. c. 102. Megasth. apud Strab. l. xv. p. 705. Plin. l. xi. c. 31. Arrian de Indica, c. 15. Clem. Alex. Paedag. l. ii. p. 207. Pomp. Mela, l. iii. de India. Vide Bochart. Hiero. part II. l. vi. c. 4.

which

which he finds in it. But, a natural image of a covetous heart, he make no use of it, and will not suffer men to profit by it, guarding his treasure night and day, and driving away whoever approaches to it, even without any design of taking it from him. Nothing but the greatest heats of the sun can oblige him to retire into his den to shun it's rays. When the ant greedy of his prey, is forced to intermit his guard, the Indians take advantage of that moment, lie several hours in wait, seize the time when they are not perceived, carry off the ore, and escape on their camels with vast dispatch, for fear of being devoured.

Notwithstanding the great number of ancient testimonies which mention this extraordinary animal, we find no vestige of it among modern travellers. But they agree (*u*) that thro' all the Indies and the Islands, there is so great a number of common ants, and which do so much mischief, that one must have seen it to give it any manner of credit. No sooner is any thing laid on the ground but it is immediately covered with these vermin. They eat out the heart of a whole loaf of bread in an instant. To shun these inconveniencies as much as possible, the beds, chests and beaufets of the Indians, are raised upon four feet, set in vessels full of water, and which they take care to keep at a distance from the wall. Those who keep birds, and would prevent their being eaten up by the ants, are obliged to set them on a stick fixed in a ves-

(*u*) Collection of Dutch voyages, vol. i. p. 376.

fel full of water. If they were suspended in the air, they would get at them by the rope; for they walk as easily on the cieling as on the ground. There are of them a finger long.

The griffin, according to the ancients, came near the first species of the ant. Those who speak of it (*x*), represent it to be a creature partaking both of the terrestrial and aerial kind. They say it had four feet, of the bigness of a lion; but was covered with feathers; and had the head and beak of an eagle; it was black all over the body, except the breast, which was reddish, and had commonly wings, or a fine slender membrane which performed the same office as feathers. The ancients consecrated it to Apollo, and harnessed it to the chariot of the sun, because they believed it could fix it's eyes stedfastly on that star (*y*). Like the ant of the Indies, he inhabited the desarts and mountains, dug out the gold ore and guarded it with the same assiduity. But more fierce and terrible, he feared neither the lion, the tiger, nor the elephant; and the Indians never ventured to attack him but when assembled in great numbers. They went by the light of the moon to carry off his rich booty, when they believed him asleep; but he seldom fail'd to awake, and then they were forced to purchase by a bloody combat, which cost many their lives, that which enriched the

(*x*) Ctesias in Indicis, c. 13. Herod. l. iii. c. 116. & l. iv. c. 13. Plin. l. vi. c. 2. Philost. l. iii. c. 48. Æliab. l. iv. c. 17. Photius, codice 72. Servius in eclog. viii. Ruyseh, tom. ii. Mem. Acad. tom. iii. part 3.

(*y*) Pierius, Hierogl. l. xxiii. fol. 167.

rest. It cannot in the mean time be denied that this creature was looked upon as imaginary (*x*), even by some of the ancients (*a*), at least as far as related to the shape they gave it; altho' we have at this day a whitish grey bird very ravenous, which is called a gryffon (*b*).

It were almost needless to speak of the ape, unless it were to take notice that he has his origin chiefly from the Indies. They are seen in that country of all colours and of all kinds (*c*), grey, red, white, and black; and some have been brought into France larger than an ordinary dog, whose faces were of a perfect celestial blue. This animal is so common in some towns (*d*), that the houses are frequently covered with them, and they never fail to do mischief to passengers in the streets if they can find any thing to throw at them. In some places they get upon rocks, and overwhelm the travellers below with stones. Their whole merit consists in their instinct of imitation. In those places (*e*) where pepper and cocoa grow, the Indians make use of their dexterity to gather what they cannot come at themselves. They get upon the lowest branches, break off the extremities where the fruit is, lay them in order on the ground as if in

(*x*) Dudum ea quæ finxit de gryphe etiam explofit antiquitas, says Bochart. Hiero. part II. l. vi. c. 2. Vide Ruyfch, tom. i. ad calcem.

(*a*) Arrian. Indicis, c. 15. Plin. l. x. c. 49.

(*b*) There was one of that kind in the menagerie of M. the duke, some years ago.

(*c*) Ælian. l. xy. c. 14. Plin. l. viii. c. 21.

(*d*) Thevenot's voyage to the Indies, chap. vi.

(*e*) Philost. l. iii. c. 4.

play, and then retire. The apes who observe them narrowly, go immediately after to the same trees, strip them to the top, and dispose the branches in the same manner they had seen the Indians do, who return in the night time, and carry off their harvest.

It is by this passion for imitation or mimicking every thing, that the apes teach men the manner of catching themselves (*f*). Some carry cups full of water or honey, rub their faces with it before them, and in their stead dextrously substitute glue, and then retire. The apes who see them from the top of a tree or rock, come down to the cups to do the same, but they blind themselves, and thus put it out of their power to escape. Others bring boots, which they put on and take off several times, and leave behind them smaller ones rubbed over with glue. When they are gone the apes come and put them on, but cannot take them off, or get out of the hunters way. Sometimes they bring mirrors in which they view themselves in different attitudes, and leave others with traps which open and shut when they are touched. The ape lays hold of the glasses to look at himself, and immediately he finds his two fore feet entangled, and himself unable to walk a step. But the lion makes a more destructive war upon him. He loves his flesh, and knows it is good for different distempers; for which cause he greedily hunts after him, and feeds upon him.

(*f*) Strabo, l. xv. p. 699. Diod. l. xvii. p. 566.

The adventure of Alexander's troops with these creatures, is very singular. They marched always in order, and arriving among mountains where were a great many apes (*g*), encamped there the following night. The next day when the army began to move, they perceived at some distance a prodigious number of apes assembled together, and drawn up in battalia. The Macedonians who could suspect nothing of that kind, believed it was the enemy. The alarm was sounded, every man ran to arms, and made ready to engage. Taxiles, prince of the country, who had already surrendered to Alexander, informed him what sort of an army this was, and that he had only to advance to put them to flight.

Their attachment to one another is perhaps without example among other animals. We may judge of it by a singular instance which Tavernier relates (*b*). "Returning from Agra with the English president who was going to Surat, about four or five leagues from Amena- bad, we passed thro' a little forest of the trees called *Mangoes*. We saw a good number of large apes, male and female, many of the last holding their young ones between their arms. We were each of us in our chariot, and the English president stopt his to tell me, that he had a fine and curious fowling piece; and knowing that I was a good marksman, begged of me to try it on one of those animals. One of my ser-

(*g*) Strabo, ubi supra.

(*b*) Tavernier's travels to the Indies, l. i. c. 3.

vants who was of the country, having made me a sign not to hazard it, I endeavoured to dissuade the president from his design. But in spite of all I could say, he shot and killed a female ape, which hung among the branches, letting her young ones fall to the ground. What my servant had foreseen came to pass immediately. All the apes who were on the trees to the number of more than sixty, descended immediately in a fury, and fell upon the president's coach, whom they would have strangled, had it not been for the ready assistance afforded him by shutting the doors and setting all our domestics to drive them away. Altho' they came not near me, yet I was afraid of the fury of these animals, who were strong and large; they pursued the president's coach near a league, so much were they enraged."

The poëphagus is mentioned no where but in Ælian (*i*). This creature twice as large as an ordinary horse, is much sought after by the Indian women for the beauty of it's hair. That of it's tail is three feet long; it is finer than human hair, and they use it in their best head-dresses. But it is an ornament not easily come at. Besides that the poëphagus is very scarce, his bulk does not prevent his swiftness. He is not taken but by the assistance of horses and dogs. When he finds himself pressed, he sits down, hides his tail under brambles or leaves, and defends himself with courage. Frequently the dogs are not

(i) De animalibus, l. xvi. c. 11.

able to get the better of him; then the hunters shoot him with poisoned arrows, whose venom is so speedy that he dies immediately. It's hide is as valuable as the tail, but the flesh is good for nothing.

That which they call the Indian mouse is a sort of beast as large as a cat, with the shape and skin of a monkey.

All that the ancients have said of the Indian camelion, is so uncertain, false and superstitious, that we are obliged to neglect their accounts, and follow those of the moderns; among whom nothing better can be read than the dissertation of M. Perrault (*1*), supported equally on literary knowledge, and the dissection of an animal of that species. The greatest part of what I shall say, shall be an extract from him. And the more so as his observations agree with those of mademoiselle de Scudery, in an account which she published of two cameleons that had been brought her from Africa.

This animal resembles in bulk a large lizard, except that he has two very large ears, which lie down upon his neck. His ordinary abode is among the rocks. He has four feet, and five toes to each, which he uses in jumping among the branches of trees and bushes, to which he fixes himself also with his tail which he twists round them. His motion is as slow as that of the tortoise: except upon trees, where he takes more delight than on the ground. The longest

(1) Mem. de l'Acad. tom. iii. part I. p. 53.

of them are from eleven to twelve inches from the head to the extremity of the tail, but sometimes it contracts it's whole body one half it's natural dimensions. We have seen ours, says M. Perrault, continue in it's contracted state for a considerable time, and even longer than ever when in it's natural dimensions. In this condition it appeared so meagre, that the spine of it's back was as sharp as if the skin had been pasted over the bones; this made several risings appear in it. The ribs might be counted, and the tendons of it's limbs might be seen very distinctly. This leanness was likewise perceived when he turned his body, for he seemed to be nothing but a dry bag twisted round. Tertullian observed this when he says, that this animal is nothing but a living skin. This manner of dilating and contracting himself in the cameleon is such, that it seems difficult to attribute it to any thing but the air which he breathes; altho' it is yet more difficult to conceive by what means the air can pass from the lungs into the rest of the body, as it thus seems to be communicated to it. Yet, notwithstanding that great contraction, the beating of his heart could not be perceived, which was yet more faint and obscure than the motion of respiration.

His skin was very cold to the touch; it's surface unequal and raised into little knobs like shagreen, but not so rough, because every knob was very smooth. The colour of these little eminences, when the cameleon was at rest in the shade, and had been some time without
being

being handled, was of a blueish grey, except below the paws, which were white inclining to yellow, and at some intervals where the skin might be discerned, which was of a pale and yellowish red. It is likely that the natural colour of the cameleon's skin, which according to Aristotle is black, was in ours that grey in which he appeared when at rest, and which remained on the inside of his skin after he was slay'd. The outside preserved for some time those spots and different colours which were on it when he died; but they were almost all effaced when the skin was dried. That grey with which the whole cameleon was coloured when exposed to day-light, changed when he was placed in the sun; and all the enlightened parts of his body, instead of their natural blueish grey, changed into a grey of a tint somewhat brownish or inclining to a tawny. The rest of the skin which was not exposed to the sun, changed it's grey into a great many shining colours, which formed streaks of the breadth of half an inch. They were all of the *Isabella* colour by the mixture the pale yellow with which the grains were coloured, and of the clear red, which was the colour of the ground of the skin which appeared between the grains. When the sun ceased to shine upon him, the former grey colour returned by little and little, and spread itself all over his body. Having been handled by one of the company who wanted to examine him nearly, there immediately appeared on his shoulders and fore legs, several spots very black and of the

bigness of one's nail; but this did not happen when he was handled by his keepers. Sometimes he became marked all over with brown spots, inclining to a green. Afterwards he was wrapt up in a linen cloth, where having been two or three minutes, he was taken out of a whitish colour; but not so white as that which Aldrovandus speaks of, which seemed to disappear, having become, according to that naturalist, entirely like the linen in which he was wrapt. Ours, which had only changed his ordinary grey into a very pale grey, grew brown again by degrees a few moments after. These experiments convinced us that it is not true that the cameleon takes all colours, excepting white, as Plutarch and Solinus would have it. For ours appeared to have such a disposition to receive that colour, that he became pale every night; and when he was dead, there was more white upon him than of all other colours. We likewise observed that he never assumes the same colour over his whole body, but that he always changes into streaks and spots, contrary to what Aristotle has said. In fine, to compleat our experiments on the colours which the cameleon could assume, we wrapt him up in different things of various colours; but he took none of them, as he had taken the white; and even not that afterwards as he had done the first time, tho' we repeated the experiment several days.

After examining the swelling and the variations of that animal, there remained a third thing, no less important, which was to determine

mine what he fed upon. All the ancients, and even some moderns, have asserted it as a thing not to be controverted, that he lives on the air and the sun-beams; and this has given rise to the proverb, 'that those who have no visible means of subsisting live on the wind like the camelion.' But this error has been discovered and demonstrated by different proofs. Naturalists did not observe the agility with which he employs his tongue to catch those animals on which he feeds. There is a kind of natural glue continually growing upon it which attracts flies and other insects, and which he swallows with such rapidity that scarce can one perceive the motion he makes in withdrawing it. When examined with a microscope, for it is extremely minute, a number of small wrinkles were observed across it, which demonstrated the facility with which the camelion moves it. Upon dissecting him, flies and worms, he had been seen to swallow, were found in his stomach and intestines. He voided even stones the bigness of a pea which he had not swallowed; and this gave occasion to new observations. After having examined them accurately, they were found to be so light, that when thrown into distill'd vinegar they rose from the bottom of the vessel when shook; they dissolved in it; and in the middle of one that burst was found the head of a fly, around which the stony matter had been amassed. It is said say the camelion fears not the bite of the serpent (*1*).

(1) *Ælian. de animal. l. iv. c. 33.*

Of all the advantages which the ancients drew from the Indies or other eastern countries, we have only lost the tincture of purple; but that loss has been compensated by a great number of other discoveries neither less valuable nor less useful. Musk is one of the chief; and we do not find they had any knowledge of it. Pliny, who forgot nothing of all that was interesting in nature, has not so much as mentioned it's name, which we find for the first time in Arnobius and Apuleius. The ancients were then ignorant of that exquisite perfume, which when tempered by a happy mixture constitutes the life, essence, and excellency of all others.

It comes from an animal of the bigness of a doe or faun, very common in the Indies and in China, and is called *Mosch* or *Musc*. The musc, (*m*) say our travellers, is so very lazy, that the hunters raise it with difficulty, and it suffers itself to be killed without resistance. They immediately cut off a small bladder covered with down, which he has on his navel, from whence they draw a kind of juice, or odoriferous coagulated blood; then they slay him, and cut him in pieces. Besides this liquor, which is the elixir of musk, it is made three different ways. They take the hind quarters of this animal from the kidneys backwards, pound them with a little blood in a stone mortar, until

(*m*) Le Brun. p. 121. Phil. Martin. Atlas of China, Mandello, p. 81.

the whole is reduced to a pap, which they dry, and put in small bags made of the skin of the same animal. When they want to make it of an inferior quality, which is nevertheless very good, they pound and bruise without distinction all the parts of the creature together, and reduce it also to a pap, by mixing a little blood with it, and then put it into bags of the same skin. The last kind of musk, which is likewise much esteemed, tho' not so good, is made of the fore-parts from the kidneys to the head, so that none of it is lost.

Some authors have alledged, that the musc is the same with the antelope. But the gentlemen of the academy who have dissected many of this last, have not even insinuated the least resemblance between them in their memoirs *n*).

A modern traveller whom we have just now quoted (*o*), mentions an animal whose singularity will not permit us to pass it over in silence. He describes it in this manner: Being at the country house of the general of Batavia, I saw a certain animal called a *Filander*, which has something about it very singular. There were several of them which ran among the rabbits, and had their burrows in a little hill surrounded with a palisade. The hind legs of this creature are much thicker than his fore ones, and he has nearly the size and skin of a large hare; his head resembles somewhat that of a fox, and his tail is

(*n*) T. iii. part I. p. 95.

(*o*) Le Brun. p. 347.

sharp-pointed. But what is most remarkable about him is an opening under the belly, shaped like a bag, in which the young ones hide themselves when any one comes near them. Their head and neck are frequently seen out of this bag. But when the mother runs they retire to the bottom, because she makes a long spring in running.

These are the most remarkable terrestrial animals found in the Indies. There are still a great many others singular and very uncommon in their species; but I do not think it necessary to spend any time upon them, either because they are of little importance, or because we know them so imperfectly that nothing satisfactory can be said about them. The sea which bounds this country, the Indus, the Ganges, and other rivers, produce as extraordinary aquatic animals. Here follow the most remarkable.

The nature and genius of the dolphin have rendered him the most famous of all fishes. The ancients have spoke of him in terms of admiration. (g):

There is not, according to them, a fish that swims with greater swiftness or agility; he exceeds the flight of a bird, and comes near the rapidity of an arrow; he is the only one who

(g) *Arist.* l. ix. c. 48. *Plin.* l. ix. c. 8. *Strab.* l. xv. p. 719. *Ælian.* l. xii. c. 12. *Athen. Deip.* l. xiii. *Philost. Icon.* l. i. c. 19. *Ruyfch.* t. i. p. 154. *Vossius* has collected at great length all that antiquity has said of the dolphin. *De Idol.* l. iv. from ch. 3d, to 37th. *Pierius* relates very curious things of him in his *hieroglyphics*, l. xxvi. fol. 194, & seq.

cannot live with his head under water. When he plunges down to seize the fish on which he preys, he ascends with such agility, that he has been seen to raise himself above the sails of a ship. He loves to be near man, and takes delight in playing among ships, and sends forth a kind of cry like to a groan of tenderness. They all say this animal was common in the Indian sea, the Archipelago, and the Atlantic ocean. They attribute to him an instinct of benevolence and gratitude, which might be compared with the finest sentiments of humanity. Thus far have the mythologists carried their fictions about this animal (*r*), whereof they have made a constellation.

But modern naturalists pretend that the dolphin is an imaginary animal, which never existed in nature, such as he is described. They would have it, that he must be either the sea-hog, the tunny, the lamia, or the lamantin (*s*); and in fact there is no fish now to be found which resembles the dolphin such as he is painted in the arms, and on the crown of the eldest son of France. The best authors who have given it's figure, represent it as much the same with the tunny or the porpoise. I have observed at sea, something in those animals which approaches that familiarity which they attribute to the dolphin. After all it is difficult to conceive that all that has been said of this animal, should be founded on any

(*r*) Hygin. fab. exciv. Arat. phæn. in delphine & Orione. Ovid. l. iii. fab. xi.

(*s*) See the voyages of the Hollanders, t. i. p. 259.

thing but fable and imposture, especially, as in 1552, there were dolphins taken at Queenborough and Blackwall, which surpassed in swiftness the fleetest horse' (*t*).

Here follows a quotation from Cornelius le Brun (*u*), one of the best, exactest, and most faithful travellers we have ever had. "Near to Mangeloor, the 30th of November 1705, we caught some dolphins; as well with harpoons as with hooks. 'We fixed to these last a bunch of small feathers, and threw them into the sea at the end of a line. The dolphins, mistaking these little feathers for flying fish on which they feed, swam continually round the vessel till they were taken. This is the less extraordinary, because these little fish, who are afraid of the dolphin, fly as much as they can above the surface of the water, and continue their flight for a considerable distance. But as they often plunge again into the sea, the dolphins catch them, as I have frequently seen. I have preserved three of them in spirits of wine, which had fallen as they were flying on the deck of our vessel, a thing common enough. We caught one of these dolphins which was four feet in length, and his head ten inches thick. Their belly is yellow; spotted with blue up to the eyes; the rest is of a clear blue, with deeper spots of the same colour, especially around the head. The fins are violet, green and white,

(*t*) Dictionary of Trevoux at the word Dolphin.

(*u*) Voyage to the Levant, p. 324, et seq.

with some yellow at the extremities. They change colour when they are dying, and resemble porcelain or china ware. They have a fin on the back reaching from the neck to the tail, two others on the belly near the neck, and another at each side of the head. The tail is forked, the pupil of the eye surrounded with a white circle, with a little mouth and small teeth. The head of the male is much larger than that of the female, and he has besides a greater number of intestines. They eat them dress'd like a cod, and they have a very good relish." According to the figure which is given of it in the same place, and designed by the hand of the author, the dolphin has a flat head like the sole, but round and proportioned to a fish four feet in length, the body almost like a sturgeon, the exterior ridge of the back the same with that of a perch, and the tail forked like a mackrel's.

The dolphin is easily drawn to the sea-side by singing, the sound of a musical instrument, or the allurements of food. He knows again those who are kind to him, and is concerned when he sees them go away. That accident which happened in Campania under the reign of Augustus, and was attested by Metenas and many great men of that age, has been frequently painted, and much admired. A child of Baiæ (x), who was frequently obliged to go to Puteoli to the public schools, had made an acquaintance with

(x) Plin. l. ix. c. 8.

a dolphin as he passed the gulph which separated the two cities, The fish took notice of the time when the young man came to take water, and waited for him at the sea-side. He played for a long time about him to gain his friendship and confidence, and engaged him by the motions he made to mount upon his back, and carried him to the other side. After the school was over, the dolphin returned to take him up, and carried him back to the port of Baia. That exercise continued without interruption for several years, and the whole city ran in crowds to be witnesses of it. But the boy having been attacked by a distemper which proved mortal, the fish wandered continually about the shore; and seeing no more the youth whom he loved, languished and died.

The same thing having happened at different places, renders this more probable. It was observed at Alexandria in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, attended with very particular circumstances. A dolphin mixed himself with some young men who were bathing in the sea (7), and after having examined them all, he attached himself to him that was most beautiful. He swam about him, and at first the young man was afraid; but observing that the fish endeavoured to please him, he took courage, mounted upon his back, and swam about with him a long time in the sea, guiding and conducting him wherever he pleased. He returned thither at

(7) *Ælian*. l. vi. c. 15.

different times; and this exercise became a public spectacle. But unhappily he occasioned as much pain as he had given pleasure. One day the dolphin neglected to lay flat the pikes which are upon his back; one of them ran into the body of the young man, and pierced an artery, by which he lost all his blood. The fish finding him senseless, because he no longer directed his motion, carried him back to the shore; and seeing him ready to expire, he resolved to punish himself, and remained upon the sand till he died.

If the following instance of gratitude is true, it does as much honour to these animals as dishonour to human nature. Cæranus a merchant of Paros (z), met at Byzantium with fishermen, who having taken some dolphins, were preparing to put them to death. He bought them, and threw them again into the sea. Instinct inspired them with every thing that reason could have dictated to them. They followed the vessel in which Cæranus returned to Greece, and saved him in the shipwreck which he suffered, and carried him to Paros. Cæranus ever after kept up a kind of correspondence with them. When he died his relations buried him at the sea side. Some how or other the dolphins had information of it. They came as near the pile as was possible, and staid there till he was consumed, as if to assist at his funeral. One might esteem himself happy, if those to whom he renders

(z) Ælian. l. viii. c. 3.

good offices, took not occasion to repay him with ingratitude before his death.

It is true, all of them are not so tractable. There are of them near the island Trapobane (a) which may be called real sea monsters, whose bite is very dangerous, and which devour passengers. But there are others who have their share of good nature. They assist the mariners in fishing (b); they love and defend one another to the hazard of their lives (c); and for that reason are never seen alone. The surest method to catch them is, to engage them to the sea side (d) by the sound of an organ, or the melody of some other musical instrument. They have no enmity except with the crocodile, whom they chase and frequently wound with the pikes on their back. We know not for what reason the ancients (e) would not eat of them; unless it was on account of the regard they bore to this animal; as for example, the Cyreneans who dedicated an oracle to it (f). The same notion made Alexander, when he returned to Babylon, appoint a child to be the priest of Neptune (g), because the dolphin loves youth.

There are no such monsters found in any other part of the world, as the seas and rivers

(a) Ælian. l. xvi. c. 18. Arrian. Indicis, c. 39. Strabo, l. xv, p. 719.

(b) Plin. l. ix. c. 8.

(c) Ælian l. v. c. 6.

(d) Plin. l. xi. c. 37.

(e) Vide Casaub. in Athen. l. vii. c. 7.

(f) Strabo, l. i. p. 56.

(g) Plin. l. ix. c. 2.

of India produce. We know this from the testimony of writers themselves who had seen them. Nearchus (*b*), admiral of those Macedonians whom Alexander had embarked for Babylon, perceived in a great calm mountains of water which rose in the sea with a hideous noise. Neither he nor the Greeks knew the reason of it. After being informed by the Indians that this was occasioned by whales, they were so terrified that the oars dropt out of their hands, and they believed every moment they should be swallowed up. Nearchus with difficulty raised their drooping spirits: he ranged his ships in line of battle, as if he had been to engage an enemy; he commanded his men to give loud shouts, and to sound the trumpets in order to terrify those monsters. This expedient was successful; immediately they disappeared, and plunged into the bosom of the waves.

The Greeks were no longer astonished at these extraordinary motions, after they became acquainted with the enormous bulk of those animals. The waves of the sea frequently throw them upon the shores of the Ichthiophagi, and sometimes it ebbs so speedily, that they are not able to follow the torrent. Thus they die upon the sand, and the people of that country make use of them in building their houses. They make rafters of the fins on their belly, their jaw-bones serve instead of doors and tables, and every joint in their back-bone makes

(*b*) Arrian. Indicus, c. 30. Plin. l. ix. c. 3. Philost. in vita Apol. l. iii. c. 7.

a mortar, in which they grind their corn for want of a mill-stone. Some of these whales are a hundred cubits in length, and their skin two feet in thickness.

Among these monsters there are sea elephants (*i*), five times larger than the land ones, one of their ribs being twenty cubits in length. To some of these fishes they give the names of those terrestrial animals which they most resemble: calling them sea-lions, panthers, rams, dogs, and so forth. But there were many to whom they were at a loss what names to give. Some had a head like a woman's, stuck all over with pikes. Others were so extraordinary that neither words nor pencil could describe them. There were of them which had long tails covered with scales or a sort of hair, with fins like feet, or claws resembling those of a lobster. Some came out of the water in the night-time to feed in the fields, destroying the trees, and the harvest. And there were some so venomous, that their touch alone was mortal.

The Indus and the Ganges produced a sort of worm (*l*) which had not it's parallel in all nature besides. He grew to the length of seven cubits (*m*), and was two feet in circumference. He had at each jaw only one tooth of four inches; but these so strong, that whatever creature came to drink in the river, whether an

(i) Plin. l. ix. Ælian. l. xvi. c. 12, & 13. Confule Ruysch...

(l) Ctes. Indicis, n. 27. Plin. l. ix. c. 15. Ælian. l. v. c. 3. Philost. in vita Apol. l. iii. c. 1.

(m) Pliny says sixty.

horse, an ox, a camel, or an elephant, he dragged him in, and tore his whole belly in pieces, except his entrails. They were caught with a hook, baited with a sheep or a goat. The fishers drew them out on the bank, and hung them up by the tail for three weeks. In this condition they perspired an oil, which took fire of itself when exposed to the air. While the kings of Persia had the empire of the Indies, they were obliged to send them all that was made; and they used it in sieges, throwing it upon the gates of cities, which took fire immediately. There was another kind of fish, likewise called a worm, whose nature was so much the more singular, as the different states thro' which it passed, seemed to render it less proper for the water. At first it formed itself into a pipe or tube (*n*), from whence it shewed only it's horns; it came out of this some time after in the form of a small earth-worm; it then shut itself up in a case like a silk-worm, and appeared again with the wings of a butterfly. The finest stuffs of the country were made of what it spun in order to form it's case.

Altho' the tortoise is not peculiar to the Indies, yet those found there are remarkable above all others on account of their prodigious bigness. There are three several kinds of them (*o*); some live upon the land, others in the sea, and some in fresh water. The figure of

(*n*) S. Ambros. Hexameron, l. v. c. 23.

(*o*) Plin. l. vi. c. 22. l. ix. c. 10, & 11. l. xxxii. c. 4. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 773. Ælian. l. xvi. c. 14, & 17. Mem. de l'Acad. tom. iii. part 2.

this animal is very extraordinary. His head is very small, and no way proportioned to his body. Altho' he has neither teeth nor tongue, he nevertheless grinds shells, and even stones, to pieces, by the hardness of his lips. His feet are very short, and the slowness of their motion is sufficiently known. There is a piece of flesh upon his back which joins to the shell with which he is entirely covered, which extends itself beyond his body, and defends him from the strokes and attacks that may be made upon him. It is chiefly on account of this shell that the tortoise is sought after. There are of them five or six feet long; and if we believe some of the ancients, fifteen cubits, and consequently large enough to cover a chamber which might contain a number of people. These are found chiefly about the island of Taprobane, and in the Ganges. Others were used instead of boats by the fishermen. The tortoise is caught several ways. When he makes excursions in the night-time to feed in the fields, he frequently fills himself so full as to become unable to get back. Sometimes he is surpris'd by the too sudden reflux of the sea, and remains upon the sand. The female is taken upon her eggs, which are like those of birds, and of which she lays a hundred. Carbilius Pollio, a Roman, who degenerating from the ancient simplicity, was famous for his taste in articles of luxury, was the first who invented the method of cutting the shell into plates, in order to use it in different sorts of utensils. Since that time, the
method

method of casting it and molding it into different forms has been found out.

To this unwieldiness of the tortoise, nature has opposed in the Indies the agility of the flying fish. Thus certain water animals are called; (*p*) which from time to time, come from the sea and rivers, and disperse themselves over the meadows, jumping about like frogs.

They are called *Hoangciogu*, according to father Martini, who says (*q*) it is a yellow fish, or rather a bird; for in summer it flies upon the mountains; and after autumn betakes itself to the sea, and becomes very delicate. He talks of another kind of animal seen about the sea of Canton, which has the head of a bird and the tail of a fish. These flying fish are likewise found in America (*), they come out of the water in great flocks, and fly about the height of two yards, the distance of a hundred paces, but no farther, because their wings dry in the sun. They very much resemble herrings, and their wings are like those of the bat.

Nothing was more famous than the purple. The Phenicians were acquainted with it; and it became the source of their riches and luxury. But the word purple (*r*) is very equivocal of itself, whether it be taken for the colour, or the

(*p*) Theophr. apud Athenæum, l. viii. p. 332. Vide Casaub. animadversiones, l. viii. c. 2. Arabian voyages published by the Abbè Vertot, p. 35.

(*q*) Mart. Atlas Sin. p. 171, & 173.

(*) History of the Antilles, c. i. art. 1.

(*r*) Plin. l. ix. c. 36, & seq. Ælian l. vii. Idem, l. viii. c. 34. & l. xvi. c. 1. Vide Boch. part I. l. v. c. 11. Athen. Deipn. l. iiii. p. 86. Pier. hieroglyph. l. xxviii. fol. 204, & seq.

fish from whence it was drawn. We want proper terms to express the different sorts of shell-fish from whence this famous and precious tincture came; and the greatest part of authors, especially the poets, have confounded the true purple with the *conchylium*, the *murex*, and the *buccinus*. It is however certain, that these were so many different fishes which agreed only in kind, as being shell-fish; but produced each their proper colour, or at least their particular shades; such as the celestial blue, the deep blue, the simple violet, the crimson violet, or the flame colour. Besides, as there were several kinds of purple, some more esteemed than others, it cannot be doubted that it was the tincture which occasioned the difference. The *buccinus* resembled the trumpet of the ancients; hence has come the word *buccina*, which signifies trumpets at present. The purple fish on the contrary was streight; the shell ended in a point, it was twisted like a screw, and every year increased one round till they reached to seven. They fished for them in the spring, with a net made of cords or osiers, in which they put a fish whose blood they used to suck. This it did so greedily, that the tongue swelled so that it could not draw it back. Then the fisherman took up the net, and crushed at one blow the shell and fish, for if it languished but one moment it lost all it's virtue; he immediately opened the principal vein of the tongue, and the liquor which came thence was that dye so much sought after. Sometimes they dyed entire pieces of stuff,

stuff, at other times only the silk thread; and in working it, placed a stripe of purple and of white alternately. But in whatever manner it was employed, it bore such a price, that none but princes or the opulent could wear it. It was of this stuff, either plain or striped, that the robes of the Persian kings were made. That which Alexander found in the palace of Persepolis, was reckoned the most precious part of the booty, and was valued at an immense sum. It is not known how this dye came afterwards to be so much neglected, that the secret was entirely lost, and none are now acquainted with the manner of dying the ancient purple.

This was not the only riches which the Indians drew from the sea; the luxury and fancy of mankind, converted into treasures, that which chance had thrown into the way of the fishermen, and which they had despised for a long time, Vanity stamped a value upon it, and when once men had got a taste that way, they set no bounds to their expence, nor to the dangers which they made those run who wanted to draw profit from their extravagant passion. This may be justly applied to the pearl in every point. The fish which produces it (s) is a sort of oyster much larger than our's, and very common on the coasts of Ormus, Comorin, and Ceylon or Taprobane; it is called *the mother of pearl*.

(s) Plin. l. ix. c. 35. Ælian. l. x. c. 13. l. xv. c. 8. Athen. l. iii. p. 93. suse. Nat. hist. of the Indies by Joseph Acoſta, l. iv. c. 15. Gener. hist. of the Indies by López Gomara, l. vi. Voyages to the Indies, t. v. p. 265. Amm. Marcel. l. xxviii. c. 12.

In order to take it, there are no dangers to which the fishers do not expose themselves. They must plunge twenty or thirty fathoms into a sea filled with monsters that thirst for human blood. Instead of an anchor to fasten their boat, they throw into the water, a stone fixed to a rope, and then dive in search of the shells; having a bag hung about their neck, and two stones at their sides to support them against the waves (*t*). The larger the oysters are; they are found the farther out at sea; and if at any time they are found near the shore, they must have been driven thither by storms. When the fish finds that the divers are going to lay hold of him, he fixes himself so firmly to the rocks, that he is not torn away but with great difficulty; frequently they are obliged to leave him, and even sometimes mistake him for a stone. It is in this shell-fish that the pearls are found, like little drops of water, which harden in the air, and are afterwards cleansed by art. There are some oysters which have twenty pearls and more (*u*), but then they are very small. When there is but one, it's largeness and quality render it more valuable than the great number of the others. Even the shell of this fish bears a price; this is what is called *mother of pearl*. We may judge by the pieces

(*t*) Mandello says, that in Persia, the head of the fisher is enclosed in a case of dressed leather, which has no other opening but by a pipe reaching above the water, p. 72. But this appears to be impossible, for how can it be tied so close around the neck as to hinder the water from entering, without strangling the fisher?

(*u*) Consult upon this affair Tavernier's travels to the Indies, tom. IV. l. ii. c. 20; & 21.

we have of it, of what bigness they commonly are.

Philostratus (*x*) relates a particular method of some Indian fishers. They carry a vessel filled with an odoriferous balsam; and lay it before the mother-pearls, who suck it greedily. As they are filling themselves, they open the joint of the shells with a punch, from whence issues a white liquor, drop by drop, which becomes hard immediately afterwards, and forms the pearl. If this is true, that oyster must have been of a different species from the rest, altho' Pliny and Atheneus seem to say, that the pearl proceeds from the flowing of a liquor.

At this day, in some islands subject to the Indian kings, there is no tax on the sale of pearls (*y*), but the prince raises a very considerable sum by hiring out the stones necessary for the fishery. They are most plentiful at the island Manar, near Ceylon (*z*), which the Dutch took from the Portuguese. Those who fish there pay a tribute to the Dutch, who employ a Brachman to buy up almost all the pearls they get, and they have them commonly at a very easy rate; by these means the fishers have but little for their trouble; and the Dutch make great profits. The same thing is done at Tutucorim, opposite to the island Manar. The pearls of these fisheries are much finer than those found in the Persian sea near Bahrein,

(*x*) Philost. in vita Apollonii, l. iii. c. 57.

(*y*) Travels of Le Brun, 332.

(*z*) Travels of Thevenot, tom. III, part I. l. ii. c. 11.

but

but they are not so large. These two fisheries of the Indies have been sometimes spoiled, by throwing to the bottom of the sea, a certain drug which drives away the mother of pearl, and prevents them from returning thither for several years. Those who did this, went immediately to the coasts whither they knew they had retired, and became rich before it was known that the fishery there was worth the labour. Some centuries since they have been found in the north-sea (*a*). Ammianus Marcellinus says, that in his time they were likewise found in the British sea; but these were far inferior to the Indian pearls.

Although we have already spoken of the crocodile of Egypt, yet we cannot omit saying something in this place of those found in the Indies and the neighbouring islands. The most monstrous which nature produces (*b*), are seen in the marshes on the banks of the Ganges; and those so large that a man may stand upright between the two jaws when their throat is open. This animal, according to naturalists, grows all his life-time; and lives a long time. The latest accounts relate, that some have been taken in the island Madagascar, ten toises in length, that is to say, sixty feet, comprehending the tail, which is commonly as long as the rest of the body. As he can only live in hot countries, and grows in proportion to the degree of heat,

(*a*) Nat. hist. of the Indies, l. iv. c. 15.

(*b*) Herod. l. ii. Ctesias, n. 27. Aristot. l. ii. c. 10. *Ælian.* variis in locis. Plin. l. viii. c. 29. Strabo, l. xv. p. 69. Q. Curt. l. viii. c. 9. Voss. de idolol. l. iii. c. 47, & seq. Ruyfch, tom. ii. p. 141. Pler. hierogl. l. xxix. fol. 205, & seq.

it is not surprising that none of them have been seen in France before 1681 (c); and even those who carried him by land from Rochelle, were obliged to set him frequently before the fire to keep him alive. He eat no more after he came out of the vessel, and died after he had been kept near a month at Versailles. When he was dissected, nothing was found in his stomach but small sand and snails in the shell. Herodotus, Aristotle, and Pliny say, that he eats nothing during the four winter months. The experiment has been made upon lizards, which have been found to live two months without taking any nourishment; and the crocodile is a species of the lizard. The Indians take him (d) by extending three or four rows of large nets across the river, in which he entangles himself. Afterwards they draw him out of the water, where he struggles till all his strength is exhausted; they wound him in several places to weaken him by the loss of blood; they shut his mouth fast, and with the same rope tie his tail to his head, and his claws above his back, in order to deprive him of all motion, without however putting him to death.

It would be easy to enter into a more minute detail of the extraordinary sorts of fishes found in the Indian seas and rivers. Nothing would be required for that purpose but to follow Gesnerus, Aldrovandus, and Ruysch. This last gives the description and figures of three hundred

(c) Mem. de l'Acad. t. III. part iii. p. 161.

(d) Idem, tom. III. part ii. p. 255.

aquatic animals of different kinds, which travellers have discovered since the establishment of trade and navigation. But we have not undertaken a compleat natural history. Our intention is only to furnish some particular hints of animals which have excited the admiration and curiosity of all ages. We shall observe the same method in treating of birds.

The eagle has been always reckoned the king of this species (*e*), whether on account of the superiority of his strength, the terror which he inspires into so many other animals on whom he preys, his natural fierceness, or the rapidity and elevation of his flight. These properties determined C. Marius, consul for the second time, in the year of Rome 650, and before Jesus Christ 103, to suppress (*f*) the figures of the wolf, the minotaur, the horse, and the wild boar, which were carried at the head of the Roman legions, and to substitute in their stead an eagle half displayed, as an emblem which included the meaning of all the rest; and which was more proper (*g*) to excite ardor, courage, and emulation among the soldiers. Aristomenes caused one to be engraved on his shield with the same design (*b*).

(*e*) See the third ode of the fourth book of Horace,

Qualem ministrum fulminis alitem.

(*f*) Plin. x. c. 4. Noel le Compte gives a more ancient origin according to the fable. Mythol. l. i. p. 85.

(*g*) The effect of this may be seen in Valer. Maximus, l. i. c. 6. n. 11.

(*b*) Pausan. l. iv. p. 319.

Of the six kinds of eagles which Pliny (*i*) distinguishes, the best known and most remarkable are these two, the melanaëtos and the haliaëtos, to which Ruysch adds the chrysaëtos, whose nature is nearly the same. It is not easy to determine the ordinary size of this bird. The Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences (*l*) giving a description of an eagle dissected at Paris, say, she was two feet nine inches in length from the extremity of the bill to that of the tail, and seven feet and a half from the end of one wing to the other, when extended to their full length, and that the entire animal weighed ten pounds. But this certainly was not of the large kind. There was a nest of them found in Europe, between Misena and Dresden, in which there were three young ones (*m*), and tho' they were not yet in a condition to fly, their wings taken together were seven yards in length. If it is true that this bird lives a century (*n*), and increases in bulk till his death, what Atheneus (*o*) says may be believed, that eagles were carried by way of ornament at the triumph of Ptolemy, whose wings were twenty cubits long. Those of the Indies having been always reckoned of a superior quality to the rest, they ought likewise to exceed them in bigness.

(*i*) Pausan. c. 3. Aristot. l. ix. c. 32. Ruysch, tom. i. de avibus, c. 1, & seq.

(*l*) Tom. III. part ii. p. 89.

(*m*) Ruysch, tom. i. de avibus, c. 1.

(*n*) Bochart. Hiero. part I. l. 1. c. 3.

(*o*) Deipn. l. v.

Naturalists (*p*) have remarked, that the eagle has a quick threatening eye, a little sunk in the head, and protected by the prominency of the bone of the forehead which resembles an eye-brow, underneath which is a very hard and bony ledge, composed of several stones, joined and placed above one another like scales; the colour of the eye is a very lively yellow, and has the splendor of a topaz. The tongue does not terminate in a point like that of other birds, but is cartilaginous, and almost square at the end; and has at it's root two hard points like unto those which are at the bottom of the iron point of an arrow. The gullet shews the voracity of this animal. When it is blown up in order to be dilated, it swells to two inches of diameter. The bones are very hard, and have little marrow in them. It is said, the brain is so hot, that when taken in powder, it is liable to occasion madness. The blood is thick and fibrous; the gall sharp and biting, and immediately makes every thing which it touches rusty; even the feathers are corrosive, and consume other feathers when mixed with them.

The voracity of this animal is so great, that he ravages all the neighbouring places, which are scarce sufficient to furnish him with prey necessary for his support. Hence it is remarked, that two eagles are not to be found in the same quarter. Aristotle and Pliny say, that the eagles chase their young ones, not only out of their airies or nests, but even out of the country

(*p*) Mem del'Acad. Raych & Aldrovand. ornithologia, l. ii. c. 2. Pier. hierogl. l. xix.

where

where they inhabit, when they begin to be able to fly. They are not contented with the large birds they take, such as hens, geese, and cranes, but likewise pursue rabbits, hares, sheep, and kids, which they lift from the ground and carry off. Ælian (q) relates something still more extraordinary, which happened in the island of Crete. An eagle of a prodigious size attacked the bulls with as much boldness as the weakest and most fearful animals; and his fury supplied him with address to overcome them. After having placed himself between their horns, he tore their head with the strokes of his bill; frequently he beat out their eyes, or covered them with his wings, until the furious bull running about every where, threw himself into a marsh or over a precipice; the eagle then completed his death by tearing out his belly; and made him his prey. Thus living only on the flesh of animals which he kills, he quenches his thirst with their blood, and never drinks water but when he is sick. It is said (r) that the swan is the only bird which can resist him, and that frequently he does it with success. An ancient author has left us a curious description of the fighting of these two birds, but it appears to be founded rather on his own imagination than on the truth. All the other animals are afraid of the eagle to a sovereign degree (s) & they quake and tremble at his cry, and even

(q) Ælianus, de animal. l. ii. c. 39.

(r) Statius Thebaid. l. iii.

(s) Aristot. l. ix. c. 1. Ælian. l. ii. c. 26: Ovid. Met. l. viii. Fab. ii. Isidor. Origin. l. xii. c. 7.

the dragon when he hears him takes refuge in his den. Fishes are not safe from his voracity. He perceives them even in the bottom of the water as he is skimming over the sea or the lakes; he plunges immediately down with the rapidity of an arrow, and drags them to the bank where he devours them. On this account the Indians carry on a mortal war against him (*t*), and shoot at him with burning arrows. He is said to hate the wren, and be afraid of it.

Sharpness of sight is another quality of the eagle, which sets him above all other animals. He seems even to be sensible of that advantage, and solicitous to preserve it in his species. As soon as his young (*u*) begin to have strength, he turns them towards the sun, and makes them fix their eyes upon it. If he finds one of the three who cannot bear the heat and force of his rays, he chases him from the nest, as if he judged him unworthy to live and belong to him. He attaches himself to the rest with a remarkable affection, even to the exposing his life to preserve them, and fighting obstinately against all those who would take them from him. He is seen fluttering in various ways round his nest to teach them to fly. He takes them upwards upon his back; he carries them up higher at different times; he quits them in the middle of his course in order to prove them;

(*t*) Philostrat. vita Apollon. l. ii. c. 3.

(*u*) Plin. l. x. c. 4. Ælian. l. ii. c. 40. Lucan. civ. bel. l. ix. v. 902. Claudian. præfat. in consulat. Honorii Augusti.

and if he perceives that they cannot as yet support themselves alone, and that they are in danger of falling, he darts himself below them with the greatest rapidity, and receives them between his wings. He is the only bird into whom nature has instilled this kind of institution, which the Scripture (x) has chosen as an expressive symbol of the tenderness with which God protected his people in the wilderness.

By these first instructions the eagle learns to carry his flight to the highest regions of the air, where he vanishes from our eyes, notwithstanding his bulk, and always tends towards the sun. Hence proceeded the fable of Gany-mede carried off by an eagle to serve the gods with nectar. Superstition has added that he carried the souls of heroes to heaven (y). It is said (z), that the reason why eagles, who have not the fibres of their eyes stronger than other animals, can look so stedfastly on the sun, and support its rays so easily, is, because they have two eye-lids; one, with which they shut the eyes entirely; and another, which is thinner, with which they cover them when they look upon a luminous object, to render in that manner the light more supportable. But that interior eye-lid is not mentioned in the anatomy of the eagles in the Memoirs of the Academy; altho' the eye is there very minutely described. However it be,

(x) Sicut aquila provocans ad volandum pullos, & super eos volitans. Expandit alas suas & assumpsit eum, atque portavit in humeris suis. Deuteron. c. xxxii. v. 11. -

(y) Vide Kippingum. Antiquit. Rom. p. 509, & seq.

(z) P. Ange jesuite, traité d'Optique.

it is agreed that the eagle rises towards the sun to a prodigious height. To this instinct he owes the renewing of his strength and youth, in which the learned, and even the critics themselves, are agreed. Every ten years (a) his feathers become heavy and less proper for flight. He then makes an effort, he approaches nearer the sun than usual; and after being excessively heated, he plunges immediately in the sea; his feathers fall off, and others grow again which restore him to his primitive strength. It is perhaps this that David meant to express by these words, *Thy youth shall be renewed like that of the eagle* (b).

Ælian (c) attributes to him a peculiar instinct of gratitude. He says, that one which Pyrrhus had brought up, and which followed him every where, was so sensible of the death of that illustrious warrior, that he would not quit his body, or thenceforth take any nourishment. Another threw himself into the pile where he saw them burning the corps of him who had kept him till that moment. In the nest or airy of this bird is found a stone called *aëtites*, said to be of sovereign use in promoting the delivery of women (d).

The ostrich is to other birds, with respect to it's bulk, what the eagle is with respect to the superiority of his properties. The eight which

(a) Bochart. Hiero. part II. l. ii. c. 2, & seq.

(b) Psalm, cii.

(c) De animalibus, l. ii. c. 40.

(d) Plin. & alii.

were dissected at Paris, and of which M. Per-
sault gives the description, were pretty near of
the same size (e). They were seven feet from
the top of the head to the ground; viz. about
four feet from the highest part of the back to
the sole of the feet, and three from the begin-
ning of the neck to the top of the head. From
thence to the rump, the neck being extended
in a right line with the back, they were six feet
in length. The tail was one; the wings without
the feathers one and a half; and three with the
feathers.

Every thing appears singular in that animal.
His head, which he carries as straight and erect
as the camel, whose name the ancients have
given him, somewhat resembles that of the
goose, with this difference; that the bill is not
so long, that he has a great opening in his nos-
trils, according to some; his eyes very round
and threatening, the neck, the head and the
thighs without feathers, and two toes only to
each foot.

They make tippets of this creature's feathers,
and tho' all the world is acquainted with them,
it will not be amiss to take notice of their singu-
lar nature. They are commonly black and white
alternately, and some of them grey; those
we see of other colours are dyed. All other
birds have feathers of two kinds; some soft and
lanuginous, to serve them by way of furs, and to

(e) Mem. de l'Acad. tom. III. part iii. p. 113. See also Pie-
rius hierogl. l. xxv.

preserve them from the cold and water; the rest hard and fit for flight. Those of the ostrich on the contrary, are all almost as soft and tender as down; and are neither serviceable for flight nor cover them sufficiently to defend them from external injuries. It is likewise remarked that those of the wings have another property which is peculiar to them; these of other birds have always one side larger than the other, and terminate in a point; but those of the ostrich have the quill exactly in the middle of the feather. There is reason to believe that this equality gave occasion to the Egyptian hieroglyphic (*f*), which represents justice by the feather of an ostrich.

The better to understand the difference between these feathers and those of other birds, it must be remarked that nature has formed the last in such a manner as to be proper for flight, and this depends on two causes. The first, that the air should give great resistance to the depression of the wing, that the bird may support itself the better; the second, that the air should give the least resistance possible to the elevation of the wing, so that in raising itself the bird may not lose the advantage he has already gained by the first depression; and that the effort he makes in raising the wing, shall be less than that which he makes in lowering it. It is for these reasons that the quill of their feathers, especially of their wings, has a stiffness in it throughout it's whole length; that the fibres

(*f*) See Pierius hierogl. l. xxv. p. 178.

of the plume which adhere to it, tho' very tender, are bound to it all along; and lastly, that they are rounded and pliant from above, and form a kind of cavity and resistance from below, the arrangement whereof augments their force, by supporting one another, as is seen in the wing, of which we principally speak.

But all this mechanism, so worthy of admiration, is wanting in the feathers and wings of the ostrich. For the fibres which are at each side of the quill, are never linked with one another, but are loose and flexible. Not being crooked, but streight and equal, they have none of the dispositions necessary to facilitate that interlacing which we see in those of other birds. This observation gave Aristotle (*g*) occasion to say, that the feathers of the ostrich are like the skins of terrestrial animals, that is to say, fitter to cover their body than for flight. Thus he never raises himself from the earth: but runs with such swiftness that he is only hunted him with greyhounds, or very light horses (*b*), trained for that purpose. The barbs of Africa which are the fittest for it, are sold for a hundred ducats. All naturalists have believed, that the motion of the ostrich's wings contribute no less to the swiftness of his pace, than the height and firmness of his legs. But M. Perrault makes it appear, in the Memoirs of the Academy (*i*), that

(*g*) De animalibus, l. iv. c. 4.

(*b*) Ælian. l. ii. c. 27. Plin. l. x. c. 1. Job, c. xxxix. v. 18. deridet equum et ascensorem ejus.

(*i*) Tom. cit. p. 120, & seq.

the singular nature of that animal's feathers, could be of no service to him for that purpose; and that they are of no farther use to him, than streamers are to a ship, and not like the sails, as had before been the universal opinion. The motion of the ostrich's wings, says he, can be of use to him in no other manner than as the tail is to fishes, which has a motion proper to advance them in their course: but it is certain that his feathers cannot produce that effect, being so disordered and so loose as they are; for it would be necessary for this, that the organ were an even plain, equal and firm, such as a rudder, an oar, or the sail of a windmill; which it is not. It is probable that the author of the book of Job had reflected on all these particulars, when he describes (*k*) the ostrich as an animal to whom God had denied the dexterity he had given to other birds, and that he has not provided him with organs fit for exercising the wonderful action of flight, making no other use of his wings, than to raise them to receive the impulse of the wind, when it is favourable to his course. It has likewise been lately remarked, that in hunting the ostrich, he has frequently so little address in managing the wind which blows upon his wings, that the hunters draw an advantage from it, by pursuing him on that side whence the wind comes, which commonly makes him stumble when it is high. It is said that he has address to take stones in his paws,

(*k*) Job, c. xxxix. v. 13.

and throws them with great dexterity at the hunters who shoot at him (1).

The inward part of this animal is not less remarkable than his outward. We shall only speak of his stomach, in which the hardest substances are dissolved; and we shall still follow what M. Perrault relates of one of these ostriches which were dissected. The gizzard of that creature was an oval space, fifteen inches in length, and eight in breadth. It was divided within into two cavities by an eminence formed by the muscular flesh, which towards the middle was thicker than any where else by about two inches. These two cavities were found full of grass, hay, barley, beans, bones and pebbles, some whereof were as large as a pullet's egg; and about seventy small pieces of copper coin. These were worn away and consumed about three fourths, being scratched by their rubbing upon one another and upon the pebbles; and not by any erosion which an acid humour or spirit had occasioned; for some of the pieces which were bent and hollow'd on one side, were so smooth on the opposite side, that no traces of the impression could be observed; whereas the hollow side was not in the least damaged, its cavity having preserved it from the effects of the friction. All the other substances contained in the gizzard, whether stones, legumes, hay or bones, were become green.

Ancient naturalists have not then attended to

(1) *Ælian. de animal. l. iv. c. 37.*

that greenness and attrition of the pieces of brass, when they said that the stones and iron which the ostriches swallowed, dissolved in their stomachs by a particular virtue which nature had given to the stomachs of different animals, whereby some digested fish, others stones and raw flesh, and that the ostrich had been provided with the power of digesting metals and stones. For if the stomach of that creature had a particular faculty of digesting metals, it would digest them in the same manner as other things, by melting and dissolving them; but this is contrary to experience, which shews that the dissolution of metals was brought about in the stomach in the same manner it would have been, out of it, if the brass had been moved about and pounded with the herbs, or any salt or acid liquor, of what nature soever it be. It is therefore probable that the ostrich being a voracious animal, which has occasion to swallow something hard to assist him in digesting his food, abuses the instinct nature has given him for that purpose, when he swallows iron, and especially brass, which changes into a poison in his stomach, instead of being turned into a nourishment. In fact, we learn from those who keep these animals in the menagery at Versailles, that the ostriches who swallow a great deal of iron and brass, die soon after, and that they have orders to prevent any being thrown to them.

The extreme heat of this creature's temperament contributes not a little to it's fertility. She lays commonly four and twenty eggs, every one
of

of which weighs twelve or fifteen pounds, and might serve for a meal to six or seven persons. Their shell is almost as hard as a stone. And thus it is not out of fear of breaking her eggs, that the ostrich abandons them, leaving to the sun the care of hatching her young; it is more likely that it is either thro' neglectfulness, for she lays them in different places and covers them with sand; or by a natural insensibility which the scripture (*m*) makes a symbol of cruelty. The young fare not the less happily; for the ostriches are seen in flocks in many islands of the Indies, in Arabia, Syria, Africa, and South America. The Arabs have been so credulous as to say, that the ostrich hatches his eggs by looking at them only. In this manner a traveller expresses himself (*n*): "I have read in an old Arabian manuscript, that when that bird is about to hatch his eggs, he does not seat himself upon them like others, but the male and female hatch them with their looks alone; and when one of them is obliged to go in search of food, he gives notice of it to his companion by his cry, who remains, continuing to look upon the eggs, till the other returns; and likewise, when this last in his turn is obliged to go in search of food, he gives notice to his companion in the same manner, that he may remain, and that thus one of them may be continually looking upon the eggs, till the chicks are hatched; for if they should inter-

(*m*) Job, c. xxxix. v. 14, & seq. Item Jerem. Târen. c. iv. v. 3.
Vide Bochart. Hieroz. part I. l. i. c. 3.

(*n*) Le P. Vanleeb, relat. d' Egypte, p. 103.

mit one moment, they would corrupt, and produce no chick." But this pretended observation is a fable deserving no credit. The Ethiopians eat these eggs (o), and reckon them an exquisite dish. They make vessels of their shells, and even caps, which they hold in great esteem. Altho' the flesh of this bird has both a bad taste and smell, the people of Numidia scruple not to eat it. On the other hand, the brain must have a peculiarly excellent relish, since the emperor Heliogabalus caused those of six hundred ostriches to be served up at a great feast which he gave to all his court (p). Ælian says, that the Indian kings hold them likewise in great request (q).

Before the year 1597 (r), there never had been a casoar seen in Europe, and neither ancient nor modern author had spoke of it. The Dutch brought one at their return from their first voyage to the East-Indies. It had been given them as a rarity by a prince of the island of Java. In 1671, the governor of Madagascar sent one to the king, which he had bought of the merchants who were returning from the Indies, and which lived four years at Versailles. This was the first that had been seen in France, and since that, several have been carried thither, which have been examined and dissected by the gentlemen of the Academy of Sciences.

This bird is, next to the ostrich, the largest of all those we are acquainted with. One of these

(o) Marmol. descript. de l' Afrique.

(p) Lampridius in Heliogabalo,

(q) Plin. l. xiv. c. 13.

(r) Mem. de l'Acad. tom. III. part. iii. p. 155, & seq.

which

which was dissected at Paris, was five feet and a half long from the extremity of his bill to that of his claws; his legs were two feet and a half long from the belly to the end of his claws; the head and the neck a foot and a half; the great toe, taking in the claw, was five inches in length; and the claw only of the little toe three inches and a half. But the wing, which consists only of five bare quills, was so small, that it did not appear, being concealed under the feathers of the back. From the figure in the Memoirs, we see; that the head, neck, and prominence of the stomach, in this animal, are without feathers; that the rest of the body seems rather to be covered with a skin than with feathers; that the appendices of flesh with which the bill of pullets is commonly furnished, are at the bottom of the neck in this bird; that the head is covered with a very large crest, like that of a helmet; that the bill is cut in two at the extremity; that instead of feathers, the wings have but five quills without any plume, and that the rump and feet are very large and thick.

The covering of the body of the caoar resembles more a hide than feathers, their plumes are so pointed, so hard, and thin sown. The most part of these feathers are double, having two long stems, coming out of the same quill, which is very short; those on the rump are somewhat more than a foot in length, resembling the hair of a horse, or the bristles of a boar, without sending out any fibres. The stem is flat, black and shining, knotty in the

the lower part; and from every knot proceeds a plume. The neck of the casoar is entirely without hide or feathers, like the head of the Indian cock, and is interspersed with blue, violet, and red spots.

Fable has been superadded to history to make the pelican a perfect symbol of paternal tenderness, and of all that is most august in religion. It is not yet known upon what authority the fathers of the church have advanced (*s*), that the female pelican kill'd her young, by caressing and rubbing them with her bill; that she stayed about them three days, shewing marks of the extreme grief; that the male, yet more sensible than her, wounded his breast with his bill, and that the blood which issued thence restored life to the young. Nothing similar to this is found in any of the ancient naturalists that are known to us. It is, says Vossius (*t*), a fable invented by a spirit fond of figures and hieroglyphics, to make an allusion for Jesus Christ, who has restored us to life by shedding of his blood.

It is true, there is something in the pelican which might have given rise to that notion, tho' in a very remote manner. That bird had two names among the ancients. Aristotle (*u*) and Ælian (*x*) call it the *pelican*, or *pelecan*, and Pliny (*y*) the *onocrotalus*. The first of these

(*s*) Physiologus Epiphaniï, c. viii. Aug. in Ps. 101. Isidor. Origin. l. xii. c. 7. & alii. Vide Picrium hierogl. l. xx. p. 145, & seq.

(*t*) Vossius de idolol. l. iii. c. 84.

(*u*) De animal. l. ix. c. 10.

(*x*) L. iii. c. 20.

(*y*) Plin. l. x. c. 47.

names signifies a thing that cuts or pierces; and the other the noise which the afs makes by his braying. The moderns, who have been more attentive to the signification of these names, and to the relation which they have to the properties of different birds, than to the description which the ancients have left us of it, are at a loss to distinguish what bird ought to be called the pelican, and what the onocrotalus. Some believe that the bittern is the onocrotalus, because he pierces the ground with his bill, and then makes a remarkable noise (z). Others would have it (a) that the pelican of the ancients is the same with what we call *la palette*, on account of the figure of his bill, which resembles a hatchet. But we see from the Memoirs of the Academy, that nature has not formed it for that use. Vossius (b) doubts not that it is the *picus martius*; and Bochart adduces several testimonies to prove that it is the *nicticorax* of David (c). These inconsistencies have perhaps occasioned father Hardouin (d) to say, that the pelican is an unknown and a fabulous bird.

Yet, the description the ancients have left of it, agrees so perfectly with the observations of the moderns, that we cannot call in question the existence of that bird, whether we give it the name of the pelican, or the onocro-

(z) Belon, of birds, l. iii. c. 2.

(a) Mandello, p. 88.

(b) Vossius, loco citato.

(c) Hieroz. part II. l. ii. c. 20. p. 276.

(d) Plin. l. x. c. 40.

talus, according to it's two different properties. Some of them belong to the land, others to the water, the figure of both being nearly the same. One of these described in the Mémoires of the Academy (*e*), was eleven feet from one extremity of the wings to the other; five feet from the end of the bill to that of the claws. The bill, which was an inch and eight lines in breadth, was fourteen inches long; the feet from the bottom of the belly to the extremity of the claws, were fifteen inches; the great toe four and a-half, and the neck ten.

The strength of this bird surpasses it's bulk. Aldrovandus (*f*) relates from Sanctius, that an onocrotalus let fall an Ethiopian infant which he had carried up to a great height, in the same manner as eagles sometimes carry off rabbits and lambs to give them to their young. Like these last, which have the glory to soar above all the other birds, he takes his flight even to the clouds. Culmanus, in a letter written to Gesnerus a celebrated naturalist (*g*); talks of a tame onocrotalus, which rose so high, as to appear no bigger than a swallow. After having followed for a long time the emperor Maximilian, flying above the army whenever it marched, it was afterwards maintained by order of that prince at the appointment of four crowns a day, and it is affirmed; lived four and twenty years in Germany. These

(*e*) Tom. iii. part 3.

(*f*) Ornithol. l. xix. c. 2.

(*g*) Ornithol. l. iii.

observations agree perfectly with those made on several pelicans kept in the menagerie of Versailles in the reign of Lewis XIV. It was remarked that they were the only animals of which none had died during twelve years.

Of the two which were dissected at Paris, the first had all white feathers, excepting in the wings, which in some places were brown and black; the white of the other feathers was mixed with a little red of a flesh colour. The second had no pure white, but was all over of a flesh colour, without any black feathers. Some have been seen, grey over all the body, except at the extremity of the wings, which was white. Some have a tuft of feathers behind the head, others not; which shews there are some small varieties in the plumage of that bird.

But it is easily distinguished by a mark peculiar to it. It has under the bill, which as we have said is fourteen inches long, a large bag reaching to the middle of the neck, which is without feathers, in which it keeps its food, till it is prepared for digestion. When there is nothing there, which incommodes him, he swallows it entirely; but if he perceives any thing indigested, he throws it all up, and picks out what is good. The ancients have particularly taken notice of this as well as the moderns. The water pelicans, says Aristotle (*b*), swallow a great many shell-fish, which they keep till the heat or the dissolving liquor has opened them;

(*b*) De anim. l. ix. c. 10. & lib. memorabilium.

then

then throwing them up, take only that which is fit for eating. Ælian says the same thing in more express terms (*i*). What he says elsewhere (*l*) of an Indian bird he calls *cela*, in every thing resembles so entirely the onocrotalus, that Casaubon has remarked it was the same bird under two different names. According to Pliny (*m*), the onocrotalus differs only from the goose in this, that he has under his throat a very large stomach, whence he draws out his food to chuse what is proper for him.

John-George Volkamer in his Ephemerides of nature, says (*n*) that he saw at the fair of Leyden a pelican, which it's master had kept for fifty years. He was larger and stronger than an eagle, but very like that bird in shape and colour, except that from his head to his wings he had turned grey thro' age. He affirms that of all birds this is the longest liver, that he renews his age like the eagle, and often passes a century. He adds, that the false gullet under his neck, forms a capacity so large, that a man can put his hand into it, which he did; that he handled the food contained there; that he found it half digested, and so hot as to burn his hands; and that this animal draws it from thence to give to his young.

Since the ancients have observed as well as

(i) De anim. l. iii. c. 20.

(l) L. xvi. c. 4.

(m) Hist. nat. l. x. c. 47.

(n) Decad. iii. an. iv. p. 247, & seq.

Volkamer, this singularity of the pelican, it is not to be doubted but that this is the only foundation of that allusion of the fathers of the church, when they say this bird tears his entrails with his bill, in order to nourish or revive his young with the blood issuing from thence. But as much may be said of the greatest part of other birds, which every body knows can swallow a great quantity of food, with which they fill their gullet in order to carry it to their mate when she is brooding, or to their young.

What the Latin fathers have attributed to the pelican, is nothing in comparison of the puerile fables which the ancient Greeks have advanced about the phoenix, a bird as fabulous as their famous chimera. They represent it (*o*) of the bigness of the eagle, the head crested with an exquisite plumage, the feathers of the neck like gold, the rest purple, the tail white, mixed with feathers of a carnation colour, and the eyes sparkling like stars. Manilius the senator was the first who gave an account of it to the Latins at his return from an expedition to the east. What he related, seemed so marvellous, that the report spread about every where. He was believed the more readily, because he cited the uniform testimony of the Greeks and Orientals, and because people could not hope to enquire into the fact themselves.

Error was thus as well authorized as the most

(*o*) Herod. l. ii. Plin. l. x. c. 2. Solin Polyhistor. c. 33. Pier. hierogl. l. xx. fol. 144.

undoubted fact; and they spoke of it as a thing confessed for certain by all the world. Saint Clement the pope (*p*), writing to the Corinthians, in the name of the church of Rome, uses the example of the phoenix to prove to them the resurrection; he relates every thing that had been said extraordinary of that bird. He expresses himself in this manner. "Let us consider that prodigy which happens in the east, where we see a bird called the phoenix, the only one of it's species. This animal lives for the space of five hundred years; and when he finds himself near death, he builds a nest, of myrrh, incense, and other spices; he lays himself down in it, and after a certain time, ends his days. Out of his putrified flesh there arises a sort of worm, which being nourished for some time by the substance of the animal, begins at first to be covered with feathers; and when become stronger, he takes the nest in which are contained the bones of him who had given him birth; and passing from Arabia to Egypt, advances to the city of Heliopolis. There in full day, and in the sight of all the spectators, he lays the bones on the altar of the sun; and afterwards retires. The Egyptian priests immediately consult their annals, where by exact computations they find that this bird has returned precisely at the end of five hundred years." From Italy this fable passed into Afric,

(*p*) S. Clem. epist. i. n. 25.

as we see by Tertullian (g), who cites this example to prove the same thing with saint Clement. But the ancients vary about the death of the phœnix. Most of them say (r), that when he finds his end approaching, he lays himself down on his funeral pile, to which he sets fire by the beating of his wings, and the rays of the sun; that in this situation he suffers himself to be consumed, and that, from his ashes his successor arises; this is what has occasioned him to be consecrated to the sun (s). His longevity is a second ground of dispute. A king of Ethiopia, whose letter to the pope is cited by Vossius (t), allows him but three centuries. Herodotus, Ælian, Philostratus, Orus, Ovid, Tacitus, Victor, give him four hundred and forty, or five hundred years. Pliny, on the testimony of Manilius, says six hundred and sixty. Martial and Lactantius, a thousand; and the Arabian authors, the Egyptians and Rabbins, go far beyond it, because, say they, he had not eaten the forbidden fruit (u). Notwithstanding these contradictions, and the confession of several of those writers, who candidly own what is said of the phœnix to be ambiguous, Tacitus does not call it's reality in question, and seems convinced that that bird had been seen at certain times in

(g) Tertul. de resur. carn. c. 12. p. 387.

(r) See the places cited by father Hardouin, at the beginning of the tenth book of Pliny; see also Gataker. adversar. i. p. 180.

(s) Tacit. annal. l. vi. c. 28.

(t) De idolol. l. iii. c. 99.

(u) Vide Bochart. Hieroz. part II. l. vi. c. 3.

Egypt (*w*). Others say, that it had come to Rome, and that it's presence had portended to the augurs (*x*) disastrous events; such as the death of Tiberius. Father Martinius assures us that it appeared in China at the beginning of the reign of Kahoar the fourth. Many hold that he comes from the Indies.

But to be assured that this extraordinary bird which thus appears, is the phœnix, it is necessary one should be certain that it is the same which had appeared many ages before; it is necessary he should be seen to rise from the ashes of the flesh of his predecessor, without which it is impossible to define his birth, the length of his life, his singular death, and every thing which constitutes the wonderful in this bird. But this is impossible; for the greatest part of authors bring him from the Indies, some from Arabia, others from the sources of the Nile, and all from solitary and desert places. Besides, he is a bird of passage, who does not give people time to examine him, and who returns not, say they, but after several ages. It is giving weight to such fictions to take up time in refuting them.

The error proceeds from the ambiguity (*y*) of the word phœnix, or φοῖνῖξ, which signifies equally a palm tree; or a bird of that name. Because the pith of the palm tree is very nourish-

(*w*) Ubi supra. Aurel. Victor says that it appeared in the sixth year of the emperor Claudius. In Claudio.

(*x*) Dion Cassius, l. lvii. Xiph. in Tiberio.

(*y*) Bochart. loco cit. P. Le Bran. Pratiques superstit. t. i. c. 5.

ing, agreeable to the taste and conducive to health; it has been said that it preserves life a long time, that it cures dangerous distempers, and draws people back from the gates and the arms of death. The same name of *φαινξ* has occasioned all these qualities to be transferred to the bird that bears it. It is of no consequence to know whether the Greeks, the Rabbins, the Arabians, or the Egyptians begun the allusion, and who embellished it with the fine circumstances, of the nest, the perfumes, the burning, the death, the resurrection, and the homage paid to the sun in the city where he was adored. We know it has always been allowable for poets and painters to invent fictions, which would not be received if they came from any other persons. A few worms accompanying the figure of a bird rising from the ashes, are sufficient to give rise to the mistake, among people who entertained so readily such imaginations, as those we have now mentioned. Bede had discovered that source of the allusion in writing on that part of the book of Job, where the holy man says (z), that he will die in the little nest which he has made, and multiply his days like the palm tree; that is to say, in the figurative stile, like the phoenix. Tertulian, on the contrary (*), has substituted the comparison of the bird to that of the tree, in these words of David; *Iustus ut palma florebit.*

(z) Job, c. xxix. v. 18.

(*) De resur. carn. c. 12. p. 387.

He has said: *Florabit enim velut phœnix de funere, id est de morte.*

Altho' all these reflections were not unknown to Cesar Scaliger (*a*), yet he pretends there was a real phœnix, and that it was the *semende* or *semendal*, which has been found in the southern countries of the Indies. The bill of this bird (*b*) is pierced at three different places, like the pipes of an organ, thro' which he is said to send forth wonderful sounds, when at' the point of death. He makes himself a pile of odoriferous woods, which he kindles by the beating of his wings; he burns himself in it, and from his ashes arises a particular worm, which time changes into a bird. But the fable shews itself likewise in the imaginary properties of this animal. That melodious singing inspired by the approaches of death, such as is attributed to the swan and the phœnix, is a fabulous tale, of which no proof can be given (*c*), altho' it has been advanced that certain nations, accustomed to the exercises of a country life, understand the songs of birds, and the cries of animals. It is notwithstanding true, according to the testimony of several ancients, that there is a bird in the Indies (*d*), perhaps singular in it's species, which lives in the midst of flames

(*a*) Exercit. 233.

(*b*) Cardan. de subtilit. l. x. ex navigatione Nicolai Contij a Poggio dato.

(*c*) Philost. in vita Apoll. Tyan. l. i. c. 20. & l. iii. c. 49. cum notis Olearii.

(*d*) Ex variis autoribus Arab. apud Eochart. ibid. p. 823.

without the least hurt, lays it's eggs there, and and obliges it's young also to go into them. They made cloaths of it's feathers, and in order to cleanie them threw them into the fire. Some have called that bird *semende* or *semenda*, and *salamander*. But this last is a kind of lizzard (*e* . If there was nothing extraordinary in this but the resisting the heat of an element which seems to be made for the destruction of every thing, it ought not (*f*) on that account be reckoned fabulous. Every body knows that there is in Lower Languedoc, a sort of stuff made of a particular stone, called the *Alum of feathers*, which is used at table as an ordinary cloth, and thrown into the fire when it requires cleaning, in the same manner as we put ours out to wash.

(*e*) See the Memoirs of the Academy, tom. III. part iii. p. 77. & Pier hierogl. l. xvi. fol. 119, et seq.

(*f*) Casaubon gives several examples of this In Athen. l. viii. c. 13. p. 619.

C. H. A. P. VII.

The Revolutions of the ancient Indies,

IT would not be surprising, if in a particular history of the Indies, collected from so great a number of writers ancient and modern, the reader should expect to find a succession of those princes, who have reigned in such vast and flourishing countries. It would no doubt inform us of many interesting events, both in peace and war, in arts and sciences; it would make us acquainted with the character of the nation, and the kings who have governed it: and the history would be much more instructing and more amusing. But whatever researches I have made into that affair, I have discovered nothing; and I can venture to say, there is no known writer who has given that succession I wanted to find. All those who have wrote of the Indies have only spoken, as travellers, who attached themselves more to the curiosities, to the remarkable things of the country, and to it's present state, than to that which preceded their time. We have besides, no native writers of the country, who have given us a succession of their kings. So that it is not surprising it should be entirely unknown to us.

It is however certain, that the government of the Indies was always monarchical; that the kings were more numerous, there than in any other nation of the world; and that some of them had acquired an empire over many of the rest.

rest. Pliny (g), who had before him different relations, informs us that the Indians reckoned one hundred and fifty-three kings from the conquests of Bacchus to those of Alexander the great, which were to them two memorable æras. It is true, that this number of sovereigns becomes suspicious by the exaggeration of the interval which it places between the two conquerors, in reckoning 6402 years and three months; unless their years, at least in the ancient ages, were much shorter than our's, as they were among the ancient Egyptians. What he adds, has nothing contrary to the rules of probability. He says, that the subjects of the king of the Gangarides maintained for him seventy thousand foot, a thousand horse, and seven hundred elephants; that the Galmodresians and their allies furnished to their prince, fifty thousand foot, three thousand horse, and four hundred elephants; that the province of Andares, richer and larger than all the rest, had for the defence of it's confines, one hundred thousand foot, two thousand horse, and a thousand elephants; that the country of the Prasians, of which Palimbrotā was the capital, could raise six hundred thousand infantry, thirty thousand cavalry, and nine thousand elephants. By the help' of this feeble ray of light, we see, 1st; How well the Indies, were peopled, since the military class alone furnished so many fighting men in every province; the reason of which is conceived to be; that the air

(g) Hist. nat. l. vi. c. 18; & 19.

was very pure, the aliments healthy and plentiful, and that the Indians never left their country to make settlements elsewhere. 2dly, It appears to have been an ancient custom among them not to pay annual imposts or subsidies to the prince; but to defray the expence of his household and the troops, as was the practice among the Persians their neighbours, under the reigns of Cyrus and Cambyfes. 3dly, We see how common elephants were in that country, and of what utility they were in war. 4thly, It appears on the contrary, that horses were very scarce, since in their armies the cavalry bore no proportion to the infantry. Those bred in that country are but indifferent; such as are good, come from Persia.

For want of better lights, we must have recourse to some remarkable revolutions which occasioned changes in the government of the western part of the Indies. These countries have been at all times the object of emulation to the heroes of Asia, Egypt and Greece. Ancient tradition informs us that Bacchus and Hercules carried their arms thither. But as there were several conquerors of that name, authors (*b*) differ about those who penetrated first into the Indies; and after long disquisitions, they leave us entirely in uncertainties and difficulties upon that point. It appears nevertheless, that

(*b*) See on that question Lucian in Baccho. Arrian. de exped. Alex. p. 318, 319, & 321. Diod. l. ii. p. 123. Strabo. l. xv. p. 711. Q. Curt. l. viii. c. 10. Philostrat. vita Apol. l. ii. c. 8, & 9. Plin. l. vi. c. 16, & 17.

this Bacchus was the son of Semele, but we can decide nothing about Hercules.

Megasthenes says in Arrian (*i*), that Semiramis, who had formed the project to conquer all Asia, was surpris'd by death, when she was preparing to march into the Indies.

Altho' Arrian calls in question the expedition of Sesostris into these remote provinces, it is so formally attested (*l*) by others, that we cannot refuse assent to their testimony. But it was attended with no consequences with respect to government, that prince not having rendered those nations tributary whom he had subdued by the terror of his arms, but resting contented with having brought them under his power. His successors did not even attempt to preserve his conquests.

But the expedition of Darius the son of Hytaspes, was attended with consequences more real. Confounded at his bad success in the desarts of Scythia, he turned his arms against the Indians. He entered into their country by surprize (*m*), he reduced them to his obedience, and impos'd upon them a tribute of sixty talents of gold, which amounts to eleven millions of livres a year; he made this conquest the twentieth satrapy of his empire, and rendered the people his vassals. They served thenceforth in that quality under the ensigns of Persia. We find them in the musters of the armies of

(i) In Indicis, c. 5.

(l) Vid. l'hist. d'Egypte, p. 237, & seq.

(m) Vid. l'hist. des Perles, p. 218.

Xerxes, Ochus, and Darius Codomannus, the last of that monarchy.

It is probable the son of Hystaspes carried his conquests no farther than the river Indus; but Alexander extended his much farther (*n*). That prince, who was never successfully opposed but by his own soldiers, had resolved to push his fortune to the utmost, and penetrate to the extremity of the continent, and was preparing to pass the Hyphasis when the Macedonians refused to follow him. Thus the ancients could have no exact knowledge of the Indies beyond that river. Already had the conqueror reduced under his power the greatest part of that vast realm. The report of his valour and of his victories over the Persians and the Bactrians, had re-founded there a long time before his arrival. No sooner was he entered upon the frontiers, than Taxila, one of the most illustrious princes of the nation, went to do homage to him for his crown. But the hero, contented with his submission, left him the throne of his ancestors, and shewed him, that generosity and greatness of soul, were no less prevalent in him, than those warlike virtues which had spread his fame from so great a distance. Almost all the kings of the country followed the example of Taxila, and returned equally satisfied with their reception. Porus, who had made so much resistance till it was out of his power to resist any longer, was overcome less by the arms, than by the humanity

(*n*) Vid. *l'hist. des Macédoniens*, part 7. l. 7.

of Alexander. That prince treated him like a king, as he had required; he aggrandized the power of his sceptre; he set him over the greatest number of the kings who had become the vassals and tributaries of the Macedonian hero, and ordered that after his departure, Porus should represent Alexander. We have taken notice above, that one of the successors of that illustrious Indian king, sent ambassadors to Cesar, to let him know, that tho' he commanded over six hundred kings of his own nation, he was nevertheless ready to obey him, and follow him, with all his subjects, wherever he should be pleased to lead him.

The expedition of Antiochus the great into the Indies, does not appear to have been very considerable. He only made an alliance with Sophagazonius (*o*), who gave him several elephants, and furnished him with provisions. Not inclining to penetrate any farther, for reasons with which historians do not acquaint us, he returned towards Arachosia, leaving Androsthenes of Cyzicum to take care of the money, which Sophazagonius had stipulated to give him.

(*o*) Polyb. hist. l. xi. c. 8.

C H A P. VIII.

Of the Commerce of the Ancients to the Indies.

THAT knowledge which the Indians had of the valour and merit of the Roman conqueror, supposed an habitual and frequent commerce (*p*) with the western nations from the time of the Macedonian war. The governors and the colonies which Alexander had left there, introduced into that country, not only the language (*q*), but the religion of the Greeks; and this occasioned continual and reciprocal voyages from Greece, Syria, and Egypt to the Indies. The tempting recital which was made of these newly discovered kingdoms; engaged Ptolomy Philadelphus to send thither Megasthenes and Dionysius (*r*), in order to bring him an exact account of the nature of these countries, the genius of the people, and the power of their kings. But both the one and the other imposed upon the public ridiculous fables, with which they thought to embellish their relations. Credulity must have been carried to the greatest height, to believe the childish tales which they advanced, perhaps in order to improve on those of Ctesias, Nearchus and Onesicritus. Daïmachus

(*p*) Strabo, p. 118. Plin. l. vi. c. 23. Philost. in vita Apoll. l. iii. c. 35.

(*q*) Philost. in vita Apoll. l. iii. c. 14.

(*r*) Plin. l. vi. c. 17. Strabo, l. ii. p. 70. & l. xv. per totum.

and Eratosthenes trod pretty nearly in the same tract. They sought rather after what was wonderful, than what was true.

The more they enlarged upon the curiosities and the riches of that country, the greater desire they inspired into the merchants to attempt a trade thither. Philadelphus, who had it no less at heart to enrich Egypt, than to make the sciences flourish, rendered the means easy to them. He built the city of Berenicè (s) on the western coast of the Red-sea. But that harbour not having been found convenient as had been believed, they made use of that of Myos-Hormos, which was near it, and much better. It was there that all the mercantile goods were landed which they brought from the Indies, from Persia, Arabia, and Ethiopia. From thence to Coptos, a town built upon the Nile a little above Thebes, and twelve days journey from Berenicè, he caused to be cut a great canal, by which they transported their effects, when they did not chuse to make use of camels; and ordered a great number of inns to be built on the road, where travellers might find every thing that was necessary for them. From Coptos, the merchants carried their effects, by way of the Nile, to Alexandria, and from thence they were dispersed over all the west; and from the exchange which was made there, they daily increased the cargoes which were designed for the Indies.

(s) Strabo, l. xvii. p. 815. Prid. ad an. 259. p. 16. Maffey, hist. Jud. part I. l. l. c. 18.

Pliny (*t*) gives an exact description of the route held by the merchants who made that voyage. From Alexandria, they ascended the Nile to Coptos; from thence they passed to Berenicè, and embarked at Myos - Hormos. Going out of the Red - Sea, they touched at Ocellis, a port of Arabia at the extremity of the gulph, or at Cana, a little farther eastward in the same country, or at the cape of Syagrus, now called Fartak. From thence, without stopping, they made sail to Patulè, situated upon one of the mouths of the Indus; or for Musiris, or Baracè, which was at no great distance; or for the island Taprobane, now Ceylon. The ships sailed about the beginning of summer, and returned to Egypt before the winter solstice in the same year.

This trade was one great object of the Roman ambition, and one engaging motive for them to take possession of Egypt. After they had made themselves masters of it, they raised it to a much greater height than ever it had been before. Every year they carried thither above five millions worth of merchandize, and gained a hundred fold on what they brought back. That traffick was so much the more advantageous to them, that it did not drain the empire of it's specie, and that they made great returns, by the sale of those rare and precious commodities which came from the Levant. It was then the custom of the Indians, and chiefly of those in

(*t*) Hist. nat. l. vi. c. 23.

Taprobane, to make no use of money in trade (u). They had even little in the kingdom, since instead of silver they paid every year a thousand talents of amber to the prince (x). The tribute of sixty talents of gold which they paid to the Persians, was raised most probably by the sale of these mercantile goods which they received from them. The remote situation, and that maxim among the Indians never to go out of their own country, kept them in ignorance of the prices of those things which were brought among them; and having ivory, purple, metals, precious stones, pearls, silks and spices amongst them in great abundance, they bartered them for commodities very common in Europe, iron being the only thing which the Roman law prohibited being carried thither (y). This is the article whereof the companies established within these two centuries make their chief profit.

The immense profits attending this trade, engaged several princes and rich private persons to undertake it as well as the Romans. Mr. Huet (z) shews that it might, and frequently was carried on by the north through various channels; and that taking advantage of the Mediterranean, the Euxine, and Caspian seas, and a great many navigable rivers which are found by the way, there remained an inconsiderable pas-

(u) Panf. lib. iii. c. 12. p. 235.

(x) Ctes. p. 670.

(y) Procop. de bella Persico, l. i. c. 19.

(z) See his history of the trade and navigation of the ancients, from the 51st to the 56th chapter.

sage by land. All the northern nations were obliged to follow that way, which was much more troublesome than by the ocean, on account of a law which the Romans made, to suffer no foreigner to enter the Red-sea. Tho' historians have neglected to inform us of the state of that trade under the emperors, since the reign of Tiberius, it is however certain, that these princes continued it with great diligence (*a*). From whence arose that multiplicity of duties and taxes on spices, drugs, stuffs, tinctures, animals, and other rarities, the greatest part of which are now little known, as may be seen by a catalogue of them extant in the collection of the Roman laws (*b*).

But it was entirely abandoned after the fifth or the sixth century, on account of the wars they were obliged to maintain against the barbarous nations, and the losses the empire had suffered by them; or through the neglect of the emperors. Silk among other things had become extremely dear in the west, when they learnt, as it were by accident, the method of rendering it plentiful, and of manufacturing it. About the year 550, some Indian monks having come to Constantinople (*c*), were informed that the emperor Justinian eagerly

(*a*) Vid. Pierre Gerberon. Treatise of navigation, c. 4. That work is published at the head of a new and curious collection of voyages to Asia, from the 12th to the 15th century. Printed at the Hague, 1735.

(*b*) Digest. l. xxxix. t. 4.

(*c*) Proc. hist. arcanae, c. 17.

wished to have it in his dominions. They offered to procure it for him, and that prince engaged them to undertake it by great promises. They returned to the Indies, and brought from the country of Serind silk-worms, which they hatched, and fed with the leaves of the mulberry trees; they taught the manner of working the silk which the worms produced, and began to manufacture it in the empire. I have related at large in another work (*d*), how the Turks made an alliance with the Romans nine years afterwards by means of their trade in silk, which a good deal lowered it's price in the empire.

Till this period none had been made for Europe (*e*), but at Tyre, and Beritus, two cities in Phenicia; and it was still so dear that the emperor Justinian was obliged to fix it's price at eight crowns of gold the pound *; a considerable sum, which nevertheless occasioned great disturbance in trade, for the merchants pretended to lose by it

C H A P. IX.

Revolutions of the Indies in the middle age.

THE commerce which the Romans, the Syrians, and Arabians established to the Indies, from the time that Alexander had made

(*d*) Hist. Rom. under the name of Laurence Echard t. x. p. 22.

(*e*) L. c. cit. 25.

(*) About eighty livres.

them acquainted with these rich countries, produced no revolution in the government. Contented with the riches and the treasures they drew from thence, they made no attempts to reduce either the people of the continent, or the adjacent islands; but traded with them as friends and faithful allies, whose peace and repose they had no intention to violate. Such difference is found between the ancients and the conquerors of latter ages. These, having discovered the way by sea to the Indies, have not contented themselves with the trade which they might carry on as well as other nations; but imagined they had a right to declare open war against the Indians, to take possession of their cities, their harbours, and their treasures, and to render them their slaves. Hitherto they had enjoyed a happy liberty, which they had preserved in an independence from all foreign dominion. Alexander himself was only ambitious of the title of their conqueror, without interrupting the regular succession of their princes. He left them all upon the thrones of their ancestors, and in the same state of subjection to the more potent monarchs, as is to this day the custom among them. Knowing their delicacy on that point, and afraid to render his conquests grievous, he renounced the title of king of the Indies, but conferred it on the generous Porus (*a*), as on him whose great soul

(*a*) *Ælianus*, l. v. c. 20. *Plur. in Alex. & de ejus fortuna.*
Strabo l. xvi. *Diod.* l. xviii. p. 559. *Justin.* l. xii. c. 8. *Q. Curt.*
 l. viii. c. 13.

deserved

deserved the command of all the nation; and subjected to his obedience a great many petty princes, whom the terror of the Macedonian name had brought from afar to the feet of that hero, or who had been subdued with little trouble.

The tributary princes, accustomed from the earliest times to that kind of dependence, bore it without murmuring; and their subjects, naturally tractable, peaceable, and innocent, were even ignorant of the name of rebellion. On the contrary their principal study was to please their prince. This is evident from the respectful manner in which they approached his person. It being the custom among the Indian nations never to present themselves before their prince with empty hands, the Indians commonly offered up to him flowers, or water distilled from them, as a symbol of their sentiments towards him, and repeated on their knees, at the foot of the throne, this flattering eulogium which had passed into a formula. "Be thou for ever happy (*b*), O prince worthy of our homage; brilliant star, who borrowest thy lustre from no other; ravishing beauty, who adornest the purple and the diadem; thou who art the source of our good fortune, and risest like another sun, to diffuse light and joy in the hearts of thy subjects. Salutory and beneficent as that first of stars, thou givest to the earth that virtue and fertility which nourish men: thou enlightenest them in their ways, thou inspirest them with

(*b*) Pict. Valerianus, Hierogl. lv. p. 401.

wisdom, thou leadeſt them to good. The God of heaven has deposited in thy hands the enſigns of his power; thy hands ſuſtain in his name both the poles; it is by thee he moves the firmament, guides the ſtars in their courſe, and makes them reſplendent. It is from thy face they receive their brightneſs, becauſe thou art thyſelf the living image of celeftial light. Nothing can be more precious to me, ſacred lord, than thy proſperity, thy friendſhip, thy goodneſs, and thy favour, becauſe they conſtitute the cauſe and the certainty of my felicity." After this preamble they declared the petition which they came to make. Sentiments full of ſuch profound reſpect, preſerved the throne from all hazard of rebellion, and were the moſt aſſured pledges of a ſolid and laſting peace.

Such a peace they had enjoyed in the Indies for the ſpace of fifteen centuries, reckoning from Alexander the great, when there aroſe in the north a prince as full of ambition as the Macedonian hero, and who carried deſolation almoſt thro' all Aſia. By theſe marks we cannot but call to mind the famous and formidable Zingifcan, called by others Gengis, Gehinghis, Cingis, Gangius, or Guingifcan. No hiſtory preſents us with ſo ſudden and ſurpriſing a revolution as that of the Tartars, of whom Zingis was, properly ſpeaking, the firſt kan, that is to ſay, king or monarch. In the ſpace of forty years, he and his ſons ſubdued China, the Indies, Perſia, Syria, and all thoſe vaſt countries
which

which lie above the Caspian and Euxine seas, and extend to the frozen sea, Russia, Poland, and part of Germany. Our kings themselves were seized with astonishment, admiration and terror. They seem to have dreaded that the conquerors of China might come to attack France, since they threatened the whole universe. Reserving to another opportunity these memoirs which we have collected on this subject, we shall only relate as much of the conquests of the Tartars as is necessary to understand the history of the revolutions, and the religion of the Indies.

Amongst the almost infinite multitude of people which inhabited the northern regions of Europe and Asia, there was one extremely numerous, which possessed all the country lying to the north of China and the Indies, extending even to the Caspian sea. These men, hitherto ignorant of other nations, became their scourge, after they began to make themselves known by the wars of their famous Zingis Kan (c). He was born in the province of Dongouz, in the 1154th year of Jesus Christ (d), the 549th of the Hegyra, and according to others (e), ten years later, in the month of the Hog according to the manner of reckoning among the Tartars. He was the son of Jessugi Bayadurkan, a Tartar

(c) Vid. Gerberon. hist. of the Tartars, and Petis de la Croix, hist. of Gingsis Kan.

(d) D'Herb. Biblioth. Orient. the article Gingsis.

(e) Abalgasi Bayadur Kan. hist. general. of the Tartars, part iii. c. 1. This author I shall chiefly follow as the most credible.

prince, chief of thirty or forty thousand families, who paid him the tenth of their flocks; this was the first and principal title of sovereignty amongst them. Some writers have derived his descent from a mean tradesman (*f*), either to render him contemptible, or to give the greater degree of marvellous to their history. Zingis being but thirteen years of age at the death of his father, was abandoned by two thirds of the families who were accustomed to pay tribute to him. These discontented with Jessugi Bayadur, took advantage of this circumstance to revenge themselves, and put themselves under the protection of Burganay-Kariltak. Zingis, to whom nature had given an extraordinary share of spirit and valour, did not appear disconcerted by this desertion. He made himself in good time beloved and esteemed by his subjects: he inspired them with that love of arms with which he himself was born; he policed them, he formed them insensibly to military exercises; and animated them with the hopes of rendering them one day masters of the whole world.

Before he undertook this conquest, he thought proper to pass some time at the court of the famous Prester John, who must not be confounded with him of Abyssinia. This was a Nestorian priest of Syria (*g*), or of the country near Babylon, whom zeal, curiosity, or ambition had

(*f*) Vid. Heyton. hist. Orient. c. 16. And the observations of friar Bacon, p. 18.

(*g*) Marco Paulo, l. i. c. 51, &c. Friar Bacon, p. 18.

led into Tartary. His conversation and insinuating manners gained him the esteem and admiration of that unpolished people. Many acknowledged him for their chief; and a number of families paid him those honours which distinguish a sovereign. Seduced by the charms of this fortune which presented itself to him, he had the dexterity to accommodate his private interests to those of the religion which he preached, and in a short time he saw himself at the head of a powerful monarchy. This is what is called the kingdom of Prester John. The Orientals call it Avenk, Ungh Chan; and Abulfarage, Malek Johanna, that is, king John.

Zingis having married (*b*) one of his daughters who was a christian, to procure himself the assistance of an ally so powerful and so capable to help him in his projects, returned to his province with a design to put them in execution. The first arms which he had carried with success in the service of Prester John, were a happy prelude of that multitude of victories which were afterwards to ennoble his name. He was entered into the thirty-eighth year of his age, when a man belonging to one of the tribes which had revolted from him (*c*); gave him information that some of them had a design to surprize him. Zingis, who had already considerably augmented his forces by bringing back to his allegiance many of

(*b*) D'Herbelot,

(*c*) Abulg. history of the Tartars, part lii. c. 2.

the revolted families, ordered a general rendezvous of those who had remained in their obedience to him. He assigned to every tribe the post they were to occupy; he gave battle to his enemies; and either killed or took them all prisoners. To strike terror into those who might still incline to oppose him, he caused the heads of his principal prisoners to be plunged into cauldrons of boiling water. This instance of severity intimidated the rest of the rebellious tribes. They acknowledged the conqueror for Kan, in the year 1187, according to Marc Paul, whose calculation (*A*) differs from that of prince Abulgasi.

Sovereign of a numerous people, Zingis thought himself entitled to demand in marriage the daughter of Unk-Chan, son and successor of Prester John. But the motive which he imagined ought to authorise him in that proposal, was the cause of the refusal he met with. The extent of his power and the rapidity of his conquests, raised the jealousy of the chiefs of his nation. Unk Chan, dreading that this second alliance might serve as a pretence to Zingis to deprive him of his crown, answered the envoy of that prince, that he would sooner sacrifice his daughter to Vulcan than give her to him in marriage. Zingis thought himself affronted. He declared war against the Nestorian king; he

(A) Marc Paul had passed many years at the court of Coplai son of Zingis, and Abulgasi was a Tartar prince who wrote the genealogical history of the princes of his nation.

defeated

defeated him at the head of his army; he took possession of his kingdom, and was proclaimed general Kan of the Tartars, in the year 1202, and 599 of the Hegyra.

During this ceremony, one of his fathers-in-law declared to him that he came from God, to tell him that he should call himself from henceforth *Zingis*, and that he should order all his subjects to acknowledge him under that title. Hitherto he had been known by no other name than that of *Tamuzin*. But that of *Zingis* set him above all the other Tartar princes; *Zin* in the Mogul language signifying great, and the termination *gis* adding the superlative, *very great*, or *the greatest*.

Zingis thought himself obliged by new conquests to support the high dignity he had attained. He entered with an armed force the peninsula of the Indies on this side the Ganges, which the Tartars call the kingdom of Tangut; and ever preceded by victory, advanced to the capital of the country. The prince (*m*) who then reigned as first monarch of the Indies, was of a very advanced age. He shut himself up in his palace, fortifying the place with every thing necessary for it's defence. Notwithstanding all his care and vigilance, Zingis made himself master of it by a general assault, after a siege of a few weeks. He put the Indian prince to a cruel death for having defended his crown; he levelled the walls of the city; and made himself acknowledged sovereign through all the king-

(*m*) Abulg. part iii. ch. 6.

doms;

doms; leaving governors behind him charged to keep the people in that obedience and submission to which he had reduced them.

From thence he carried his victorious arms into China. The people of that kingdom, as warlike as they were civilized, resisted him with incredible vigour. But Zingis, whom no obstacles repulsed, and who could easily recruit his forces as often as he had occasion, found his courage animated by the difficulties he met with at every step. His perseverance conducted him at last, after four years of victories and defeats, to the walls of Pekin, the capital of China, which he made himself master of as well as many other places, in the year 1210. Satisfied with this conquest he completed the subjection of the northern provinces of that kingdom, and at his return took possession of the Indies beyond the Ganges. Until his death, which happened in the year 1227, he never interrupted the course of his victories, having at the same time several armies on foot, which he commanded by himself or by his generals, who always answered his expectations. It was thus he united to his empire Bactriana, Sogdiana, and the country of Iran, that is to say, almost all Persia; for it was not entirely subdued but by Taulai and Ugdaï, two of his sons and successors.

Bending now under the weight of years; and the fatigues of a life always wandering and turbulent, he perceived his end approaching, and resolved to prevent all contests which might happen after he was gone, about the division of his estates.

estates. Altho' he had had many wives, all of them of illustrious extraction, he adopted none for his successors but the children of his first wife; and these were Zuzi, Zagataï, Ugdai and Taulai, He earnestly recommended to them not to suffer the kingdoms he had conquered to be ravished from them; but on the contrary to walk in his steps, and pursue his glory, to look upon the conquest of the whole world as the accomplishment of the duty he imposed on them, and never to lay down their arms but with their life. For this effect, he conjured them to remain inviolably united with one another.

He declared for his successor on the imperial throne (*n*) of Lamarcand, Ugdai or Octai, whose dominion extended over the Moguls country, and all others he had subdued as far as the northern part of China inclusive. Zagataï had the Tanfoxane, that is to say, the provinces beyond the Oxus, and the kingdom of the Ubecks, which is properly Turquestan. The Chorassan, which comprehended Bactriana and Sogdiana, was given to Taulai, with Persia and the Indies, great part of which he had conquered in person. His successors Mangu, Coplai, and Holagu have rendered themselves famous in history. As Zuzi the eldest son of Zingis had died six months before his father, his sons succeeded to his right, Batu, the eldest of them, was substituted to him, and had for his share that vast extant of country lying above the Caspian sea. Here he found towards the west, a large field to increase his em-

(*n*) D'Herb. Bibliot. Orient.

pire, and he failed not to take advantage of it. It was he who over-ran Russia, Moravia, Poland and Hungary, and was preparing to march against Constantinople; when death stopt the course of his victories and ambitious projects. Tochtamisch, the ninth in order of his successors, took from the Czar Demetrius Ivanowitz, the cities of Moscow and Volodimer in 1382. This in a few words is the history of Zingis Chan, who may be compared with Alexander the great.

His descendants had enjoyed in a direct line for near two centuries the vast empire of the Tartars, when there arose, in the same nation, and originally of the same family, a new scourge of mankind, the famous Timur-Lenk, better known under the name of Tamerlane. Cabull, great grandfather of Zingis (*o*), was the common source from whence they descended; but courage and fortune was not equally conspicuous in the two branches of that family. Although vassal of Adill (*p*), one of the descendants of Zagataï, Tamerlane was chief of the tribe of Burlafs, and that title made him endure with greater reluctance his dependent state. The diminution of Adill's power offered him an opportunity to throw off his yoke. For four successive reigns, the throne had been daily tottering through the weakness of those that sat upon it. They retained only the shadow of authority; entire tribes had separated themselves with

(*o*) Abulg. hist. of the Tartars, p. 152.

(*p*) Idem, part v. c. 3.

impunity;

impunity; they set up Kans of their own, and thought themselves at liberty to prescribe to themselves the boundaries of their obedience and submission. Tamerlane, too weak to form of his own subjects, a party strong enough to attack the prince, joined Amir Hussein, who had the same sentiments with himself. After having united their forces they declared open war against Adill; his army was put to flight; the conquerors took him prisoner; bound him hand and foot, and threw him headlong into a river.

Tamerlane perpetrated this murder under colour of doing service to the state; and to make it believed that he had no intention to seize the crown, he set it upon the head of Cabull, a descendant of Zagatai. A short time after it passed to Soiruc Tamisch, and then to Mahomet his son. But he who disposed in this manner of the sceptre, reserved the use and authority of it to himself. He took the advantage of the prince's name to make war against the other Kans, descendants of Zingis; he either subjected or dethroned them, and in the end made such use of his victories, that he came to be regarded as the principal Kan of the Tartars. Amir Hussein, enraged to see all the glory of the conquests in which he had a share, transferred upon Tamerlane alone, instead of being his colleague, became his rival. His discontent displayed itself in a remarkable manner; the two chiefs of all the troubles were seen armed against one another; the plain of Bulch, in the kingdom which bears that name near Chorazan, was the
the

the field of battle where Hussein lost his life at the head of his troops.

His fall brought about the elevation of Tamerlane. All the emirs (*q*), the princes, the generals of Zagatai's army, the Kans of Termed and the prince of the Cherifs assembled at Balch or Samarcande, and chose Tamerlane to fill the imperial seat of Zagatai. After the proclamation, he ascended the throne, he put on the crown of gold, and girt himself with the imperial scarf. The grandees of the nation who assisted at this ceremony, prostrated themselves at the feet of their new sovereign, addressed to him vows for his prosperity, and poured upon his head, with liberal hands, gold and precious stones, according to a custom which subsists to this day among the Tartars, not only at the coronation of their princes, but at the marriages of private persons; they gave him the pompous titles of emperor of the age, and conqueror of the world, and henceforth the whole country submitted to his dominion.

At this remarkable day the eastern historians fix the epocha of Tamerlane's reign (*r*), which falls on the year of Jesus Christ 1379; of the Hegyra 781, and the thirty-fourth of that prince's age. After this elevation to the throne, he thought himself obliged to follow the example of Zingis his illustrious founder, and to

(*q*) History of Timur-Bec. translated from the Persian, l. ii. c. 1. The author Cherefed in Ali is rather the panegyrist than the historian of his hero.

(*r*) D' Herb at the article Timur, and others.

recover the provinces which had withdrawn themselves from the dominion of the Tartars, He marched against the princes of Chorassan, Segestan and Candaliar; he deprived them of their sovereignties, and appointed governors in their places. Thus he opened himself a way to Persia which he entirely subdued.

In the 800th year of the Hegyra, and 1398th of Jesus Christ, he undertook the conquest of the Indies. He found upon the way several castles occupied by rebels or by robbers. He took possession of these places, and purged the country of these usurping tyrants, and of a great number of Guebers or idolaters, worshippers of fire, who had taken refuge in Persia on the confines of Indostan. Cachemire was the first town of which he took possession, and which made but little resistance. But he met with greater opposition before the capital of the country named Uldugin, which passed for an impregnable place. As his army was too numerous to employ it wholly in the siege, he sent several detachments to the southern provinces and towards Dehli, where the sultan Mahmoud reigned. After having forced the town and citadel of Uldugin, he advanced against the sultan, who had joined to his best troops those of many other princes, all equally animated by the same cause. Tamerlane engaged them in a general battle, put them to flight, and pursued them hotly to the banks of the Ganges. That campaign rendered him master of all the country, which he divided among those officers of his army who

had distinguished themselves most by their valour. The private soldiers he rewarded by dividing the booty amongst them.

He had made his triumphant entry into Samarcand, the seat of his empire, when he learned that Ahmed had returned to Bagdad whence he had expelled him some years before. His great age did not hinder him from marching against the sultan, who out of fear evacuated Mesopotamia. A short time after Bajazet, emperor of the Turks, had the misfortune to become his enemy; and that expedition was more fatal to the haughty Ottoman, than the former had been to the sultan of Bagdad. His defeat and submission permitted the conqueror to return to Samarcand, where he immediately made formidable preparations for the conquest of China. But he was stopped in the beginning of his career. He had only got the length of Otrar, when he found himself struck by a distemper of which he died in the sixty-sixth year of his age, and the thirty-sixth from his coronation, the 807th of the Hegyra, and 1405th of Jesus Christ.

At his death began the famous empire of the Moguls, the only one which has remained in his family, and whose succession is known to us, amongst the prodigious number of other kingdoms spread thro' the islands and continent of the Indies. It will not be improper to give a succinct idea of it, drawn from the history of Father Catrou, which was extracted from the Memoirs of M. Manouchi, a Venetian, who resided

resided forty years at the mogul's court in quality of physician to the emperor.

The country called the Persian Iraque, the Cabulestun, and the Indies (s), fell to ¹⁴⁰⁵ the share of Miracha, the third son of Tamerlane. That prince kept his court at Herat the capital of Korassun. Policy would not suffer him to do otherwise. His father had indeed got possession of the best fortresses of Indostan; he had placed faithful governors in them; his garrisons prevented the people from raising commotions; and he levied considerable tributes on all the kings or governors of the country; but his authority subsisted only in the Indies by the terror of his name. Miracha, who was not so much dreaded and respected on account of his valour; met with difficulty at first in reaping the fruits of the victories which Tamerlane had gained over the Indians. He shewed himself every year amongst them at the head of a formidable army, to levy the tributes, and maintain an appearance of dominion and sovereignty.

The king of Cascar was the only one who refused to submit; he took up arms against Miracha, and made him prisoner in battle. But using his victory generously, he restored him to liberty on condition the kingdom of Cascar should be exempted from all taxes. Miracha, who in seven different rencounters, had met with bad fortune in the wars he carried on against the king of Cascar, was at last so lucky as to conquer him and take him prisoner in his

(s) Casrou, history of the Mogul. Bern. Thev. Tavern. and others.

turn. Proud of his triumph, the Tartar discovered a disposition far from the humanity and generosity of the Indian prince. So far from restoring to his prisoner that liberty which he had received from him before with so much greatness of soul, he threw him into irons and put out his eyes. This enormous ingratitude, was punished by the same person on whom it had been exercised. The raia, quite blind as he was, brought about the death of Miracha by a poisoned arrow. This is a fact which has no example in history. The captive prince, was so dexterous in shooting with the bow, that he could exactly hit the mark, provided he heard a noise from the place at which he was to aim. The recital of this dexterity, appeared fabulous to the mogul; and he desired to make an experiment of it. He placed himself within reach of the arrow, and raised his voice. The raia immediately let fly on the quarter from whence the voice came, and pierced the body of Miracha, who had reigned 46 years.

1451 Abouchaid his son and successor caused his subjects to revolt by the softness and effeminacy of his life. They drove him out of the palace, and established his brother in his stead. But instead of the serpent whom they had rejected, they placed a hydra on the throne. They soon regretted the loss of Abouchaid; they caused him to be sought among the faquirs, or those who made a voluntary vow of poverty, whose profession he had embraced; stript him of his rags, and restored him to the purple.

The

The experience he had had of adversity, made him use his good fortune with moderation. A conduct full of wisdom and valour made amends for his past indolence, and the recent crime he had committed on the person of his brother, whose head he caused to be cut off in revenge of his tyranny and usurpation. But if he appeared changed on account of the mildness of his government, he continued still the same at bottom, and oftener than once his natural character appeared.

While he was busied in the conquest of Samarcand and the neighbouring countries, they were endeavouring to deprive him of the city of Herat. Ibraïm Mirza, a young prince on whom nature seemed to have exhausted all her favours, had touched the heart of one of the princesses of the mogul race, whom Abouchaid had forced to celibacy in his seraglio. This princess, to whom the king's absence had afforded a little more liberty than usual, found means to get Ibraïm admission there; she gained the eunuchs to her side, and got him proclaimed king in Herat. The new sultan soon put himself into a condition to preserve by arms the crown he had received from the hands of love. He procured all the assistance possible; and waited for Abouchaid on the road to Samarcand, in a plain which he had time to chuse at his pleasure, and appeared impatient at the delay of victory. His presence surprised Abouchaid, who had advanced a good way before the greatest number of his troops. But he found himself too near to retreat,

retreat, and his rival, superior in numbers, had already begun to surround the king's army, when the rest of his forces arrived. Ibraïm, who only made war for the most sensible interests of the heart, began the attack with fury, and fought with courage. Unhappily he was too young to hold out against the experience of Abouchaid. At the first shock his tumultuous army was put to the rout, and he himself fled towards Damegan, less anxious for his own misfortune than the fate of the young princess who had procured him his crown. He had reason to be so. The news of this battle had no sooner reached Herat and was carried into the seraglio, than every one began to be afraid for his life. The women and the eunuchs of the palace, who had been instrumental in the rebellion, thought proper to prevent the justice of the conqueror by the sword or by poison. The princess who had been the principal cause of it, was not the last to put this horrid resolve in execution. She had the fortitude to put her son, a child still at the breast, to death, by thrusting into his throat a piece of gold which stopt the organs of respiration; this was the only fruit of her love with Ibraïm. She then swallowed the poison which she had kept concealed for a long time under the stone of a ring, and expired a few moments after. It was thus the rebels saved the conqueror the hatred which putting them to death would have drawn upon him.

This happy event attended by many others, persuaded Abouchaid, that now he might attempt

tempt any thing. On pretence that Usum-Cassan, a Tartar prince descendant of Zingis, and who possessed part of the western Persia, had dethroned one of his neighbours, one of the successors of Tamerlane, he declared war against him. Usum-Cassan, terrified to see the grandson of Tamerlane treading in the steps of his grandfather, endeavoured in vain by submissions to divert the tempest which threatened him. Reduced to the necessity of defending himself, he entrenched his little army amongst lakes and inaccessible mountains, from whence harassing the enemy without ceasing, he cut off his provisions, and destroyed by famine that formidable multitude of Tartars, Indians and Persians, with whom it would have been rashness to have hazarded an engagement. Abouchaid was sensible, tho' too late, that it is often dangerous to refuse peace to an enemy who makes advantageous offers to obtain it. The proud mogul, reduced to the necessity of making a retreat which had more the appearance of a flight, was taken by the sons of Usum-Cassan, who conducted him to their father's tent. He kept up a good countenance before a conqueror, who had not dared to appear before him sword in hand. He reproached him, and irritated by his contemptuous language the clemency of the sultan, who had at first received him with humanity. Condemned to lose his head, he underwent the punishment which his haughtiness deserved. The conqueror carrying his resentment still farther, caused a hot iron to be applied to

the eyes of Abouchaid's three eldest sons, who had likewise been taken in their flight.

1469 Before he marched on this fatal expedition, Abouchaid divided among his children the kingdoms which he had inherited, and also those which he had conquered. Samarcand and the southern Tartary fell to the share of Sec-Omor, the fifth amongst them, who established himself in the dominion of the Indies immediately after his father's death. This possession was confirmed to him by the mildness with which he governed his subjects. His reign was that of peace, and his life a continual study of the alcoran. He died of a fall twenty-four years after his elevation to the throne.

1493 The peace which he had procured to his subjects became fatal to Babar his son and successor. Schaïbec-Kan perceiving they were enervated in the bosom of peace, took advantage of it to retake Samarcand, which Abouchaid had ravished from his father rather by treachery than force of arms. His victory and the flight of Babar established two of the greatest monarchies in the world. The Ubeks the conqueror's countrymen took possession of Samarcand, which has been ever since the capital of their empire; and Babar being obliged to fly, carried into the Indies the dominion of the moguls, which subsists there to this day. After having been pursued from place to place, Cabul was his last retreat. There he found his virtue return after the loss of his kingdom. He had already gathered his scattered troops

troops with a design to recover it, when Ranguildas, governor of Cabul, made him change his intention, and inspired him with the resolution to fix himself in the possession of the Indies, and extend his dominion in that quarter.

This being resolved on, it is said that both under the disguise of faquirs traversed the whole country to get acquainted with the courts, the cities, and the fortresses, the character of the inhabitants, and their manner of fighting. After having informed themselves of every thing, they returned to Cabul, and made preparations to execute their project. Babar, at the head of a numerous army, sent to summon Amwixa king of Dely, to quit the name and quality ¹⁴⁹⁴ of sovereign, in a country which had appertained to the Tartars ever since the conquest of Tamerlane. Amwixa made answer, that a king, tho' tributary, did not cease to be a king; and that, since that title was disputed, he also refused to an unknown person, expelled from his dominions, a tribute of which he was unworthy. Babar did not stop his progress for this haughty answer. He advanced towards Dely, and met in his march Amwixa, who came against him with forces whom their multitude rendered formidable. But they were not disciplined. They were put into confusion at the first attack. This disorder disconcerted them, they abandoned their king, who perished like a brave man, to take refuge out of the kingdom in the mountains of Thibet or Turquestan. Babar, now master of the country, transported his throne to Dely,

Dely, where the moguls his successors have since kept their ordinary residence.

1500 He established what laws he thought proper in the conquered country. The principal, which is reckoned the fundamental law of the state, is that which adjudges in property to the sovereign all the lands in the empire. They do not pass among private persons from father to son; but return to the prince after the death of him to whom the usufruit had been given. Thus the people are, properly speaking, nothing but farmers to the emperor. The officers of the court themselves subsist only by the benefactions of their master; no person is rich in his own funds, no person is great but from the bounty of the prince.

The Tartars, ancient subjects of Babar, ran in great crowds to enrich themselves under the new monarchy. It was then that the Indians gave indifferently to all the Tartars the name of Moguls, which was proper to the royal family only. A great number of Persians came likewise to Dely to seek their fortune. The employments with which they were honoured at court drew thither many more. Thus the foreign Mahometans became in a short time the most powerful; they possessed all the governments and the chief posts of the empire. In short, the raïas or governors, who were at first regarded out of necessity, fell insensibly into contempt, and the mahometan superstition became the established religion of the country. Babar died in 1530, after having reigned five years

years at Samarcand, thirty at Dely, having passed three in the interval while he was dethroned. The law of descent by blood placed Amayum on the throne.

The history of the son resembled in part that of the father. Chira, lord of Pata-¹⁵³⁰na, of the race of those whom Babar had conquered, like an able politician, made use of the credit and advantages which the great employments he filled at court, and in the mogul's armies, procured him, to revenge the injuries of his countrymen. When his project was on the point of execution, he changed his name from Chira, which signifies a young lion, to Chircha, signifying the royal lion, or lion lord. Amayum endeavoured to repress that pride, but it was too late. The measures of Chircha were taken, his party entirely formed, and his troops ready to enter into action. A bloody battle ruined Amayum. He escaped from the slaughter of his troops by the protection of a few brave Persians, who defended him with their bodies, and escorted him into Persia, where he took refuge. It was in the eleventh year of his reign, that the civil wars raged without intermission. The sopher king of Persia received him with all the generosity which became a great prince towards a fugitive monarch. He gave him a palace and officers, he assigned him considerable revenues; he provided even for his pleasures; he furnished his seraglio; and exhorted him to patience till time should present a favourable opportunity to re-establish him in his kingdom.

Chircha

Chircha guarded against all the chances
 1539 of such an event by the wisdom of his
 reign, which could not fail to procure him the
 esteem and affection of his subjects. It is to him
 that the Indians are indebted for the establish-
 ment of *caravanseries*, or public inns, which he
 caused to be built at certain distances upon the
 great roads, for the convenience of merchants,
 who have there at a moderate price every thing
 that is necessary for themselves and their camels.
 Death, which carried him off in the ninth year
 of his usurpation, occasioned grief to succeed
 the joy the people felt in the possession of so
 excellent a monarch. As he had left no male
 issue behind him, all the neighbouring rājas
 aspired to the succession.

Amayum, well acquainted with these
 1549 domestic troubles, perceived the time was
 now come, when he might re-enter into his do-
 minions. He received from the sophi some in-
 fantry, and about twelve thousand cavalry; in
 hopes that his subjects would join his army as
 soon as he approached to their confines. All
 the passes were opened to him until he came to
 Lahor, of which he made himself master by a
 stratagem. A hundred young Persians full of
 zeal for his cause, having disguised themselves
 like pilgrims returning from Mecca, towards
 the evening presented themselves before the
 gates of the citadel, praying they would give
 them shelter for that night. The governor
 thinking he was doing an act of religion, gave
 them admittance. As soon as they imagined
 2 they

they had retired to rest, they attacked the garrison on a sudden; they put the governor and his soldiers to the sword without mercy; and delivered the fortress to Amayum, who entered into Lahor without resistance. From thence he advanced by long marches towards Dely. One single battle fought within three leagues of that place, overthrew all the resources of his rivals, and confirmed to the successors of Tamerlane the empire which they possess to this day. Amayum survived his re-establishment only two years, nine months and fourteen days. He died in 1552, twenty-two years after having taken possession of the kingdom for the first time.

Akebar his successor inherited the virtue and courage of Tamerlane the most ¹⁵⁵² illustrious of his ancestors. Having been born in Persia the first year of his father Amayum's retreat, he could not be above thirteen years of age when he ascended the throne. The care of his youth was entrusted to the principal men of the nation, who took care to confirm to him the possession of the crown, by retaining in the Indies the Persian troops, by the advantageous establishments which they procured them. The young prince laid up in his memory the lessons of wisdom and policy which the ministers of his minority had inculcated into him; and he put them in practice as soon as he came to age. His kingdom was more considerable on account of its extent than its riches. These were chiefly found in the southern part of the peninsula on
this

this side the Ganges, which Tamerlane had not subdued. Akebar undertook it's conquest, and accomplished it in spite of the resistance made by the kings of Guzarate, Decan, and the Portugueze, who had established themselves powerfully in the Indies about seventy years before.

The princess Candè defended with no less bravery the town of Amanadagar, of which she was sovereign. Without being in the least daunted she beheld the mogul, already conqueror of many kingdoms, surround the capital of her state; she kept him above two months encamped without her ramparts. At last, obliged to yield to the obstinate valour of the besiegers, she fell upon a strange method of revenging herself on her enemy. She caused all the gold and silver in the country to be cast in cannon bullets, on which she engraved the heaviest curses against the usurper; and then shot them into the camp of the Tartars. After this stroke of despair, she surrendered upon articles, and seemed immediately to repent of her fury. At the sight of the conqueror she ceased to be his enemy. Akebar enrolled her in the number of his wives, he treated her always as a queen, or rather he considered her for a long time as the favourite sultaness. There are to this day a great many of these cannon bullets found about Amanadagar. M. Manouchi saw one of gold weighing eight pounds, whose inscription he read with a great deal of pleasure.

The conquest of the two richest kingdoms of the country, established the authority of Akebar throughout all the Indies. With that confidence which a great power inspires, he abandoned the city of Dely, and formed a resolution to build another more magnificent, either to immortalize his name, or to fulfil a vow which he had made to erect a mosque in honour of Mahomet, that he might obtain from heaven a son to inherit his empire. Agra, then very inconsiderable, appeared to him the properest place in which he could execute his project, and the work was carried on with such rapidity, that in a short time the inhabitants were reckoned to exceed 660000. Many historians relate, that during the repose of a long and glorious peace, Akebar heard the christian missionaries, whom the Portuguese maintained in the Indies, that he invited some of them to his court; and that their discourses on religion staggered him not a little. A subtle poison which he took inadvertently carried him off all on a sudden in the fifty-third year of his reign:

1605 Some years before Jehan-Guir, the eldest of his sons, had attempted to deprive him both of his crown and his life. Altho' that crime deserved the severest punishment, yet the tenderness of the father pardoned so unnatural a son. Akebar contented himself with shewing him that he was master of his destiny, in keeping him several days humbled in the obscurity of a prison, and in letting him see the heads of a hundred conspirators whom he had ordered to be hanged on a tree. Jehan-Guir

Guir was so struck with this spectacle, that ashamed of the fault he had committed, he earnestly exerted himself to repair it, by an attachment full of zeal, and succeeded so well, according to some writers, that his father named him for his successor a short time before he expired. This declaration not having been made with the usual formalities, Cosrou, son to Jehan-Guir, pretended that the sceptre belonged to him instead of his father, by a promise which Akèbar in his anger had frequently made to him in presence of the whole court. Trusting to this title alone, he formed to himself a party of malecontents, whom the bad conduct of his father had already stirred up, and disputed the crown with him at the head of an army of rebels. But they were dispersed at the first engagement, and their chief was shut up in a castle with his wives and children. There he perished by the hands of his brother Chorrom, who hoped to assure to himself the throne by this base fratricide. The precautions which he had taken to bury his crime in that darkness, in which he had chosen to commit it, could not yet keep it concealed. The emperor discovered the author of the murder, and entertained nothing but indignation for him whom he had so tenderly loved; he banished him to his government of Guzarate. His disgrace only inflamed his ambition. He entirely employed himself in forming secret alliances with the neighbouring raias, in gaining the great men of the country, and conciliating the affections of the people. Thus he met with little difficulty

difficulty in assembling a formidable army devoted to his service. Having got intelligence that the emperor intended to transport to Lahor the treasures of the empire, he marched at the head of sixty thousand men to intercept it on the road. But a contrary order being luckily given, frustrated his hopes, and discovered his revolt. He revenged himself on the city of Agra and the neighbourhood, which he pillaged.

Irritated with this audaciousness, Jehan-Guir assembled all his forces, and marched in person against his son. Ardor and resolution were equally displayed on both sides. After an obstinate engagement the rebels were put to flight near Dely, and the young prince retired into the inaccessible mountains, from whence he endeavoured by means of negotiation to appease the anger of his father. During the battle sultan Bolaqui his son signalized his zeal and fidelity in the interests of the emperor. Not contented with having contributed to the victory, at the head of a body of troops he penetrated into the heart of the kingdom of Guzarate, and laid siege to Amadabat, capital of the government, where Chorrom his father had established a kind of sovereignty. He broke open the gates by means of elephants, made himself master of the city, carried off his father's treasures, broke to pieces his throne of gold, and distributed amongst his officers the diamonds with which it was adorned. Jehan-Guir on the other hand was busied in pursuing his rebellious son, who

had the hardiness to treat with him as his equal. He sent two of his generals to force him from his retreat, with orders to give him battle, and to bring him dead or alive. The fierce Chorrom was not discouraged. He gathered together the remains of his army, and made head against the emperor's party. The rebels had at first some advantage in slight skirmishes; but the confidence these inconsiderable advantages inspired them with, occasioned their losing a great engagement. They were totally defeated in a general action.

Altho' there only remained about five thousand men with Chorrom, he did not look upon himself as conquered. He retired beyond the Ganges, and entrenched himself behind the canal of Thonex, which is only a branch of that river in the neighbourhood of Patna. The emperor's generals pursued him in his retreat, and engaged him in one of the bloodiest battles mentioned in the history of the modern Indies; and tho' their loss was much greater than that of the rebels, yet they carried off all the honours of a triumph.

Chorrom, tho' he had only three thousand men left him, imagined he should recover all his losses by the intrigues of Nur-Jahan, first wife of Jehan-Guir, whose niece he had married. The sultaneſs conſidering that that war, carried on with ſo much animoſity, was repugnant to the intereſts of her family, found means to bring about the diſgrace of Chorrom's greateſt enemy, Mahobet Cham, the emperor's general in chief.

Enraged

Enraged to see his zeal, his services, and his blood repaid with such black ingratitude, that brave officer resolved upon revenge. He assembled several of the old captains, who for a long time had served under him; five thousand Rageputes, the most intrepid of the Indians, embraced the party of a chief whom victory had always attended. With this small body, he formed the design of carrying off the emperor, who was going with his court from Agra to Cabul. That project succeeded according to his wishes, and if he did not draw all the advantages from it he might have done, it was only thro' an excess of generosity and respect for his master. He took advantage of the moment when the prince's escort had passed the river Tzianub before sun-rising; and surrounded on a sudden the camp of Jehan-Guir, who was yet asleep in his tent; he dispersed with ease the soldiers of his guard; and with scarce any bloodshed, the emperor, the sultanes, Bolaqui, and the principal men of the empire, fell into his hands.

The first news of that seizure threw every thing into confusion; people were at a loss which of the three parties to join. Agra declared for the new conqueror, and delivered the citadel to one of his friends. Had Mahobet inclined to make a bad use of his victory, he might have made emperor whom he pleased, and chosen any of the sons or grandsons of the mogul, who might have raised him to the highest dignities of the state in gratitude. The inviolable veneration

ration which he preserved for his master, made him use him with moderation. He contented himself with giving him an escort to conduct him to Cabul, with accompanying him in person, and making his court assiduously to him. This moderation was likely to be more fatal to him than his first disgrace. The sultanness, enraged to see herself in the power of her enemy, was afraid that to compleat her misfortune he might get possession of the prince's affections by his insinuating manners. She acquainted the imperial army, that those who had carried off Jehan-Guir were only five thousand men; she engaged the chiefs of her party to deliver her from confinement; she informed them of the proper time and manner. Her wishes were happily accomplished. Above fifty thousand men, gathered together from all the neighbouring provinces, placed themselves in ambuscade on the banks of a river which the emperor was to pass in his way to Cabul. Mahobet, informed of the snare that was laid for him, thought fit to abandon his prisoners and return back. The dread of the sultanness's resentment obliged him to demand an asylum from Rana, one of the principal rajas in the empire. Far from abusing it by new enterprises, he employed himself in promoting the public repose and tranquillity, and in reconciling by his negotiations the emperor and his son the sultan Chorrorm. This was the noble revenge he took of a sovereign who persecuted him. Jehan-Guir thought of nothing henceforth but enjoying the sweets of peace.

peace. He passed in it the rest of his old age, and died at Dimber in the year 1627, after a reign of twenty-two years, which had been perpetually disturbed by civil wars.

His death divided the empire into three factions. The empress declared for 1627 Scheriar her daughter's husband. Bolaqui had on his side the imperial army, and the guard of the palace. The two ministers Afaph-Cham, and Mahobet-Cham, favoured openly the sultan Chorrom. The sultaneſs had only credit to get Scheriar acknowledged for emperor within the precincts of the seraglio. But that party, which consisted only of women and eunuchs, became in a short time the weakest. Bolaqui, being proclaimed by the troops, seized the empress and her son-in-law; he threw one into close prison, and made the other lose his eyes by the application of a hot iron. That prince, imagining he was only working for himself, opened the way to the throne by his cruelties for the sultan Chorrom his uncle. An intrigue carried on by Mahobet and Afaph put him in possession of the crown, without any bloodshed. The history deserves to be related. It lets us see, that in a country which we imagine to be inhabited only by a rude and barbarous people, there is as much policy and craft to be found amongst them, as among the most accomplished statesmen in Europe.

As soon as Bolaqui was seated on the throne of his grandfather, he sent one of the principal omrhas or lords of his court to his uncle Chor-

rom. The envoy had orders to demand from the sultan the ordinary tribute, to engage him to acknowledge the sovereignty of Bolaqui, and even to threaten him if he found in the prince the least inclination to revolt. The news of his arrival rendered his instructions useless. He found the sultan vomiting blood in great quantities. Such a spectacle soften'd him; he dispatched a courier to Bolaqui, to inform him of the situation to which his uncle was reduced. But Chorrom's distemper was only a feint. That which he vomited was the blood of a kid, with which he had filled his mouth a moment before the omrha's entrance. The report of his sickness was followed by another equally false. It was every where published that Chorrom was dead, and in effect he disappeared.

Mahobet, and some other officers the most attached to the prince, were alone entrusted with the secret of this intrigue. They appeared inconsolable, and gave the greatest demonstrations of the sincerest grief. The envoy was deceived as well as others; he made haste to go and inform his master, and they pray'd him to ask permission to have the sultan's body carried to the sepulchre of his fathers. Bolaqui granted with joy all the honours of burial to a prince of his blood, whose death, as he believed, had delivered him so opportunely. They prepared the convoy with all possible magnificence. The empty coffin was conducted by above a thousand men chosen from among the principal officers of the dead; Mahobet was at their head, and Chorrom followed

lowed his own funeral in disguise. Squadrons of the Rageputes were disposed at proper distances, who increased the funeral pomp by way of honouring it, and followed it to Agra. On the other hand the minister Asaph, being made acquainted with the secret, persuaded the young emperor that it was his duty as well as a piece of decency to go and meet the convoy, and conduct to his tomb a prince from whom he had now nothing more to fear. The artifice succeeded. Bolaqui, very slenderly attended, went out at the gates of Agra, in the habit of mourning, and with the equipage of a prince who was going to pay the last duties to a relation. Afrighted to see such a numerous retinue following a corps, he immediately understood they had a design against his crown and his life. He fled, and took refuge in Persia, that he might shun the cruelty of an ambitious rival.

Chorrom, master of the citadel and palace of Agra, took the name of Cha-Jaham, which signifies, king of the world. The first act of his authority was to make himself sure of Scheriar. He kept him confined during three months with his two sons; but fearing he might escape him notwithstanding his vigilance, he caused the gates of their prison to be walled up, and left them all three to perish of famine. It is asserted that this place has not been yet opened. The war, which some years afterwards he carried on against the Portuguese, gave occasion to other barbarities which he exercised on the conquered, chiefly out of his hatred to christianity. He had

four sons, whom he sent to different kingdoms of the empire, in the quality of viceroys. Chachuia had the principality of Bengal; that of Decan fell to the share of Aurengezebe; and the kingdom of Guzarate to Moradbax. Dara, the eldest of all, staid at court. While the emperor gave himself up to all manner of amusements and pleasures, Dara seized upon the government and authority; he alone acted as emperor, and only wanted the title and the diadem. Whoever did not cringe before him, assassination or poison were immediately his lot.

These cruelties, together with his imperious manners, could not fail to procure him universal hatred, and to deprive him of that sceptre to which he aspired. He had besides, in the person of Aurengezebe, a rival so much the more dangerous, the less he seemed to be feared. The conduct of this last, full of moderation and equity, became a shameful contrast to that of Dara; and he affected so much mildness chiefly with that design. As soon as years had rendered him susceptible of ambition, he carried his views to the throne, and formed the plan which he judged most proper for that purpose. Nature had furnished him with all the qualities necessary to one formed to deceive. He was of an advantageous stature, and his countenance naturally mild. His meagre habit gave him an air of mortification; which he knew how to accompany with discourses of religion. He was always observed to be pale, of a livid countenance, and his eyes sunk in his head. He seemed full of melancholy

ly and taciturnity, speaking of nothing but zeal for Mahomet's religion, and observation of the law. He carried the alcoran almost always under his arm ; he prayed often ; and every day he repeated a certain roll of praises to God with an attention calculated to attract respect. It was said that he had been received amongst the faquirs ; and he himself gave out, that as soon as he could get rid of the cares of this world, he would devote himself to a life of penitence at the tomb of Mahomet. These discourses of retiring were the effect of his ambitious schemes. Thus he prepared himself an asylum, if he should not be able to break thro' the barriers that stopt his progress to the throne. The great devotion to which he pretended, did not prevent his application to warlike exercises. But he took care to give a colour of piety and religious zeal to all his projects. It was under this pretext that he endeavoured to deprive the king of Golconda of his dominions, because he was attached to the sect of the Perfecs or Persians. If that enterprize did not entirely succeed, he at least drew great advantages from it.

Fortune reserved her entire favours to him on a more important occasion. A dangerous distemper with which the emperor Cha-Jaham had been attacked, gave occasion to reports of his death, which spread over all Indostan. Cha-Chuia, the most active of his three sons whom he had appointed viceroys, took the field first with forty thousand cavalry, with a resolution to ravish the sceptre from Dara his eldest brother.

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The emperor, informed of so remarkable a step, wrote to him that his distemper was abated; that he might return to his government of Bengal; and repair by a due obedience the precipitate measures into which his rashness had hurried him. The prince took no notice of the orders he received from his father; he continued his march to Dely, and was stopt on the road by the imperial army under the conduct of Dara's eldest son. The bad success of a battle discouraged him entirely, and he retired immediately after.

The same pretence which occasioned his taking up arms, served equally to determine his two brothers Aurengezebe and Moradbax. Altho' the first had made all his preparations, he did not intend to appear before his brother had put himself on his march. Taking now advantage of the seditious motions which both the one and the other had made, he wrote to Moradbax in terms full of dissimulation, and to this purpose: "You are not ignorant of the resolution I have laid down to pass the remainder of my days in retirement and devotion. The grandeur of this world has nothing capable of touching my heart. My only passion is to establish the worship of the true God, and the law of his prophet, in all their purity. I am sensible that of all the sons of Cha-Jaham, whose death is too certain, you are the only one who preserve a respect for the alcoran. Dara is an impious person, attached to the religions of Europe. Cha-Chuia is a heretic, addicted to the sect of Ali; and has connections with the schismatics of Persia. If it please

please God and his prophet, I will never suffer impiety and heresy to possess the throne. You alone, my dear brother, whom I honour as my lord, and salute as my master, deserve to wear the crown. You are a true muselman, and the sole defender of the faithful. Permit me then to join my troops to yours, and with you to defend the justest side in fighting for religion. I only ask of you, as a reward of all my services, that you will permit me after the victory to pass in peace the remainder of my days near the tomb of Mahomet in penitence and in prayer."

This artful letter was joyfully received by Moradbax. He answered it by another full of politeness, which proceeded from a sincerer heart. However, when he consented to join his forces with those of his brother, he did not imagine that the army of Aurengezebe could be superior to his own. He formed his notions of it from the narrow bounds of the kingdom of Decan, and the inconsiderableness of its revenues. But he did not know that Aurengezebe had been for a long time preparing for this expedition; that his frugality stood him in stead of great riches; and that he had engaged Mirza-Mula, the emperor's general in Visapour, to furnish him with the troops which he commanded. The two princes agreed to have an interview in the mountains of Mauddo. As soon as Aurengezebe perceived his brother, he alighted from his elephant, he ran to meet him, he prostrated himself before him, and saluted him as his sovereign. He made him take the title of emperor,
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he treated him in public and private as such; every where he gave him the preference; and in the command of the armies, he always received the orders from his brother, whom he could manage as he pleased by the force of persuasion. The troops advanced towards Dely by long marches.

At the noise of their approach, Dara was alarmed both for his own safety and that of the emperor. He wrote to them, that their father was not dead, and that it was unjust in them to disturb him in his old age. Moradbax, who had great rectitude of heart, was staggered when he found himself so near the commission of a crime. He hesitated about proceeding farther, when he knew that Cha-Jaham was yet alive, and that it was false that Dara had caused him to be poison'd. Aurengezebe perceived his uneasiness, he removed his scruples, and confirmed his resolutions by letters which his emissaries sent him from Dely on purpose. As they made daily advances, the emperor proposed in council to take the field himself, to appear at the head of his troops, and disarm his sons by his presence. A secret friend of Aurengezebe opposed this strongly, by remonstrating on the precarious health of the prince, and the bad consequences which might attend the loss of a battle, which is not always decided by valour. Cha-Jaham determined to stay in his palace, and Dara imagined that he ought not to quit it.

On the banks of the river Ugen, there was a rising ground in the form of an amphitheatre, where

where the imperial army encamped ~~to dispute~~ to dispute the passage with the confederate troops. They left Agra about the end of April, in the hottest season of the Indies. Aurengezebe, who conducted the advance guard of the rebels, appeared first in sight of the enemy. But as the rest of his army was not yet arrived, all his care was to prevent the imperialists passing the river, which was low and fordable in several places. He disposed his artillery with great expedition, and made a terrible fire upon the enemy who were posted on the opposite bank. In the mean time Moradbax came up with the rear-guard. His natural impetuosity and courage allowed him no long time to deliberate. He threw himself into the water with an intrepidity which gave courage to his followers, and passed the river at their head, while Aurengezebe's cannon supported them. Of the emperor's two generals, one had intelligence with the rebels, and disposed his wing in such a manner that they were put to flight at the first assault. The other signalized both his zeal and his courage; but overpowered by the fire and number of his enemies, was obliged to retreat, accompanied only by five hundred cavalry. Shame and chagrin determined him to retire to his country estate, and appear no more at court.

Every thing was in the utmost confusion there, when the news of that unfortunate event arrived. The desertion of the generals, the loss of the greatest part of the army, the artillery, and the booty, all which gave new advantages to Aurengezebe,

reidgezebe, the malecontents who went over in crowds to the confederates, all these misfortunes were sufficient to damp the courage of Cha-Jaham, and in effect he sunk under them. At the suggestion without doubt of a friend of Aurengezebe, he resigned all his authority to Dara; he ordered that no other should be acknowledged as sovereign, at least for a time. 1656 That fatal step occasioned the father's ruin, and deprived the son of the sceptre. Many of the grandees, whom duty as yet attached to Cha-Jaham, refused to obey Dara; and the people, discharged of the submission they had sworn to the old emperor, shewed abundance of indifference for the new one.

Notwithstanding the almost universal infidelity of the great, and lukewarmness of the people, Dara failed not to assemble an army of a hundred thousand horse and fifty thousand infantry. An hundred pieces of cannon were taken out of the arsenals of Agra, the least of which were twelve pounders; all the officers who served in the artillery were Europeans. Sixty elephants loaded with towers were provided, every one of which carried a field piece, and the prince's baggage followed upon five hundred camels. To have seen that prodigious multitude extend themselves out of sight, and cover the vast plains in the neighbourhood of Agra, one should have imagined that the prince must have forced victory to declare in his favour. The most judicious were of another opinion, and Dara was almost the only person who entertained no doubts of his
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his misfortune. But the time was now come when the great men of the empire were to take their revenge for the dishonour which Cha-Jaham had done them in debauching their wives, and the bitter railleries they had suffered from the prince. It was easy to perceive the hatred which the principal men of that great body entertained against their chief.

After a march of four days, he arrived upon the banks of the river Chambal, where he judged it most convenient to wait for the enemy. Aurengezebe perceived it would be rash to attempt a passage in the face of such a numerous army. He had recourse to the stratagem Alexander made use of against Porus; in the night time he passed the river some leagues higher. The news of this threw Dara's camp into confusion; and as bad fortune would have it, he placed at the head of these troops who were to repulse the enemy, Calil-Kan, a secret friend of Aurengezebe. The traitor acting in concert with the rebels, gave them time to post themselves to advantage, under pretext that they would perish with famine, in a place where no provisions were to be had. The ardor of Dara would suffer no longer delays, he resolved absolutely to begin the engagement. Calil, who had got the command in chief, had gained the captain of the cannoneers, and forbid him to obey any orders but what he received from himself. Before they were within cannon shot, he ordered a general discharge of all the artillery, of which not one shot reached the enemy. The
smoke

smoke and the dust prevented Dara from perceiving the general's treason. Soon after for the first time three guns were heard in Aurengezebe's camp. This was the signal agreed on with Calil, to let him know that his troops were ready. The traitor then ran to Dara who commanded the main body. "It is time, my lord, said he, to go and vanquish an enemy, almost put to the rout already by your artillery. The enemies have none; as yet they have only answered you by three shots of useless cannon. Make only your appearance, and victory follows."

Animated by this insidious discourse, Dara set the three bodies of his army all in motion at once; his own was the most expeditious. His troops, thinking they were marching to certain victory, sent forth frightful shouts as they approached the enemy. Aurengezebe heard them without being daunted; he received at the same time those showers of arrows with which the air was darkened; then he caused his cannon, his musketry, and his archers, to discharge so opportunely, that a prodigious number of the dead and dying were seen falling around Dara. But there was still a sufficient number left him to continue the battle with hopes of victory. He advanced amongst the midst of Aurengezebe's squadrons; he penetrated to the batteries by which he had been most incommoded; he put the Portuguese cannoneers to flight; and then made an attack upon that body with which Aurengezebe was surrounded.

Moradbax was pushed with no less vigour by
Ramling.

Ramling, the emperor's second general. That raia followed by his rageputes had pierced the line commanded by the Mogul prince, and had come so near him as to engage him hand to hand. The prince was mounted upon an elephant of war, on a kind of open throne, from whence he gave orders on all sides. He had been wounded slightly on the face with three arrows. The raia, whose quiver was empty, leapt from his horse that he might plunge his lance in the belly of the prince's elephant. While he advanced too rashly, Moradbax pierced him with his dart and laid him in the dust. The rageputes discouraged at this took to flight, which occasioned the loss of the battle.

The courage of Dara was not daunted at this misfortune; he had still a sufficient number of troops to obtain the victory. He had already dispersed the wing commanded by Mahamud son to Aurengezebe. When he saw Moradbax come up to the assistance of his brother, he attached himself principally to him, and charged him with so much fury, that he put him to flight. Aurengezebe left alone, defended himself with difficulty, when the perfidious Calil-Kan completed his treason by a pernicious counsel, which ruined the hopes of Dara, and rendered useless all the fruits of his valour. "You are victorious, my lord, said he, humbling himself before him, and your first campaign eclipses the glory of all the moguls. To finish the work you have begun, nothing remains but to pursue the flying brothers, and to make

them the ornament of your triumph. Alight from the elephant which carries you. You are too much exposed to the arrows to maintain any longer without danger so hot an engagement. Let us get on horseback and fly after the enemy”.

The ardour which transported Dara prevented him from reflecting on the consequences of this counsel. Mounted on one of those Persian horses so famous for their surprising swiftness, he darted forth and pierced into the midst of the enemy. His soldiers, surpris'd at seeing him no longer on his elephant, believed him dead, and immediately lost all their courage. They separated and fled with a celerity which astonished the general, and made him perceive, tho' too late, the treason of Calil-Kan. The traitor had already taken his measures. Followed by a squadron devoted to his interest, he had passed over to Aurengezebe. The unfortunate Dara seeing one of his generals killed, the other turned to the enemy, his two brothers become the strongest by the desertion of his troops, and the greatest part of his army put to flight, thought of nothing but a retreat. He performed it in the best order that could be expected from his little experience in the art of war. The battle ended on his side after having lasted ten hours, but the war was not yet terminated.

The conquerors advanced to the gates of Agra, and laid siege to the citadel. Dara having retired to Lahor to gather together the remains of his army, and to levy new troops, the emperor took upon himself the charge of defend-
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ing that place. The artful Aurengezebe sent to assure him by an eunuch, that they had no design against his person, that they preserved for him the sincerest sentiments of tenderness, respect and obedience; and that they were only irritated against a brother who reigned like a tyrant. The emperor answered, that he was ready to pardon his rebellious sons, provided they came and implored his clemency in person. Nothing was farther from their intention. They were resolved to seize the throne, whatever crime it might cost them. Aurengezebe took upon himself the execution of their project.

Pretending to be detained about two miles from Agra by sickness, he besought the emperor to allow his son Mahamud to go in his name and make the submission which he demanded; adding, that when health permitted him, he would come and throw himself at his feet. Cha-Jaham consented to it, and prepared for the young sultan presents of an inestimable value. This was a bait to draw Aurengezebe into a snare. Mahamud entered the citadel into which the emperor had retired. He gained the soldiers of the first body of the guards; followed by a great number he entered the palace, and penetrated to the emperor's apartment. They put to the sword without distinction all whom they found in their way, soldiers, women, slaves and eunuchs. Mahamud being come to Cha-Jaham pronounced his fate in the following words. "Your great age, said he, prevents you from reigning. Finish the rest of your days in tranquillity, and

shut yourself up with your women in these delicious gardens, which you have adorned at so much expence. We do not envy you the light of day; but yield to your children a place which you dishonour." At these words there arose a great cry among the Tartar women who served the prince in his apartment; and are bred to the exercise of arms as well as the men. But their menaces were in vain. They were obliged to yield to force, and retire to the apartment of the gardens without the citadel:

From that moment, the two princes disposed of all the public offices; all orders proceeded from them, and they shared between them the treasures of Cha-Jaham and the revenues of the empire. After they had spent some days in settling the government, the army began it's march in pursuit of Dara, who was making preparations for war in the neighbourhood of Dely. When they arrived before the famous temple or pagod of Matura, Aurengezebe took occasion to say, that there could not be a more convenient place for the coronation of Moradbax, to whom in appearance he had always yielded his pretensions. The day for the ceremony was fixed on the 15th of June 1656. The caresses and deference which Aurengezebe paid his brother never seemed more sincere. He took upon himself the trouble of adorning the plain with all imaginable magnificence. While they were busied in preparing the tents, the presents, the dresses, the horses and the elephants, the chiefs and soldiers of Moradbax gave themselves up to pleasure,

sure, nothing was heard in the prince's tent but concerts and comedies; their whole employment was dancing and feasting. Notwithstanding Mahomet's law, wine was not spared; they drunk even to excess. But with Aurengezebe every thing was kept on the reserve. War-like discipline was exactly observed; and prayers were said at morning, mid-day, and evening, as punctually as in the cities. Councils were frequently held. The principal officers, acquainted with their master's designs, talk'd of nothing to the soldiers, but the happiness of having so virtuous a prince as Aurengezebe for their sovereign.

On the eve of the coronation he pretended to be indisposed, and prayed Moradbax to come to his tent and consult the astrologers together, that they might know if the day would prove fortunate. Moradbax came, accompanied only by a few officers of his court. Aurengezebe received him with all possible demonstrations of tenderness and respect. He seated him in the place of honour, he himself chased away the flies which incommoded him, and wiped the sweat from his face with a linen cloth; he called him nothing but his master, his lord, and his sovereign; he caused a perfumed bath to be prepared for him, and then served up a magnificent repast. The two brothers eat alone, while the officers of Moradbax were entertained by Aurengezebe's generals in tents that lay at a distance. Cha-Abas the eunuch staid alone with his master. The feast was enlivened with music and dances. Aurengezebe, who never quitted the air of devotion,

drank nothing but water. Moradbax, less scrupulous, took wine to excess. A profound sleep was the effect of his drunkenness. Cha-Abas conducted the prince to a neighbouring tent that he might repose himself, and sat down at the foot of the bed. A short time after, Aurengezebe caused the prince's sabre and poinard to be taken away. Immediately six soldiers entered, seized on Moradbax and the eunuch, loaded them with chains, and stopt their mouths that they might not make a noise. Aurengezebe, who covered all his practices with the veil of piety, cried out, lifting up his hands to heaven: Let vengeance be taken for this intemperate prince's contempt of Mahomet's law; and let the man who has rendered himself unworthy of the throne by his impiety, be secured. The two captives were put each in a close litter, and carried under a strong guard, the one to Agra, and the other to Dely.

This blow was struck with so much secrecy, that they had no suspicion of it either in Moradbax's camp; or the tents where his officers were entertained. Aurengezebe had the precaution to cause the music to play all night, as if the two brothers had been still at the entertainment. At break of day the two armies assembled in that vast space of ground which had been decorated for the ceremony of the coronation. The order was, that they should come without arms to prevent the quarrels that might arise. While they expected every moment that Moradbax should appear and be proclaimed, some persons

persons posted at different places, cried out at the same time; *Long live the emperor Aurengezebe.* The greatest number were astonished at this at first: but insensibly the cry increased, and both parties repeated, as if by concert; *Long live the emperor Aurengezebe.* The prince immediately appeared upon the alcove which had been prepared for his brother; he seated himself for a moment on the throne, and then retired. Nothing can be a greater proof of the levity and inconstancy of the Indians than the whole course of this history.

Aurengezebe threw off the mask of hypocrisy as soon as he found it time to ascend the throne. That artful faquir, who a little before gave out that he aspired no higher than to end his days in the exercise of a devout life, without any scruple sacrificed to his ambition by the blackest perfidies, the liberty of a weak father and a too credulous brother. While he kept them both in captivity, he marched in pursuit of Dara, who was still about Lahor. Daüt-Kan was the most faithful officer he had in his service: he commanded a body of cavalry posted upon the river Bear, which it was necessary to pass in the way to Lahor. Aurengezebe, despairing to force or corrupt him by his promises, had recourse to one of those artifices which never failed him. He dispersed thro' Lahor by means of his emissaries a letter under the name of Daüt-Kan, in which that general mentioned the intelligence he held with Aurengezebe. Dara, who had been ruined in the last engagement by reposing too much

confidence in Calil-Kan, was now ruined a second time by taking umbrage wrongfully at a faithful friend. He recalled Daüt-Kan, he suffered his presence with pain, and at last disgraced him entirely.

He, whom he put in his place, had neither his zeal nor experience. Aurengezebe soon forced the pass, and threw terror into Lahor before he arrived there himself. Dara beheld his troops disconcerted by fear, and readier to surrender than to fight; he now perceived that he had no other resource left than to take refuge in Persia, to avoid falling into the hands of an enemy, who had sworn the destruction of his own family.

Aurengezebe was pursuing the fugitive prince, when an unforeseen event obliged him to return. Cha-Chuia, who had made the first attempts upon his father's throne, was advancing by great marches to Agra with a considerable army. As the pretext of his first enterprize had been to revenge the pretended death of Cha-Jaham, so that of the second was to deliver the emperor and Moradbax from the captivity in which the usurper detained them. It was equally necessary for Aurengezebe to pursue an enemy reduced to fly, and to prevent an enemy who was in a condition to attack; he hasted where the danger was the most pressing. He soon came up with Cha-Chuia, and engaged him by surprise; he fought against him man to man, and put him to flight with the rest of his army. To dissipate a report
which

which had been spread of his death, he judged it necessary to go to Dely.

His entry there was very magnificent, and the money struck in his name carried this pompous inscription: *I, King Aurengezebe, Conqueror of the world, have struck this medal as brilliant as the sun.*

The repose which the emperor now enjoyed was of no long duration. He returned back to join his general Bader-Kan, who besieged Dara in the fortress of Bakar. The violence of their assaults forced the prince to quit the place and take the way of Persia. His loss was one of those misfortunes that cannot be evited. Given-Kan, governor of the last province in the Mogul's country, was indebted to him for his life and government by the protection which he had granted him with the emperor Cha-Jaham. He received him at first with all the marks of a perfect gratitude. But reflecting afterwards that he could not declare for him without incurring the hatred of the new emperor, he resolved to deliver up the fugitive prince. He had the baseness to load him with chains, and send him to Dely. Aurengezebe threw him into prison, and some days after, condemned him to lose his head. It is said, that he caused it to be brought to him, that he viewed it with pleasure, and added insults to his cruelty.

Nothing now remained to confirm to him the empire, but to reduce Cha-Chuia, the last of his brothers, and the sultan Chacu eldest son of Dara. He accomplished both partly by artifice. Cha-

Cha-Chuïa being invested in Bengal by Aurengezebe's army, perceived the time was come wherein he must either perish by famine, by his own sword, or that of his enemies. He dreaded above all things falling into Aurengezebe's hands. The connections which he had had with the king of Arracan a neighbouring prince, determined him to take refuge in his court. His first reception was as agreeable as it could possibly be for an unhappy prince. But contempt and hatred soon succeeded; and the discontent became
 1658 evident on both sides. Cha-Chuïa no longer doubting that his life was in danger, fled to the mountains and the forests with his wife and children. The rāia caused him to be pursued, and gave orders that he should be massacred with all his family.

The sultan Chacu was no more in safety in the kingdom of Sirinahar. His merit, his valour, and his right to the crown, were in the eyes of Aurengezebe so many reasons for shortening his life. The prince with whom he had taken shelter was incapable of betraying him; but the emperor obtained from the son what he durst not so much as ask from the father. He engaged him by presents, and still greater promises, to deliver Chacu into his hands. They made a party at hunting, the two young princes rambled in the mountains in pursuit of their prey; people planted there in ambuscade seized the unfortunate sultan, and carried him to the fortress of Guallier, where Cha-Jaham and Moradbax were then confined. This last, giving occasion to ima-
 ginary

ginary suspicions and uneasiness, perished at last by the bite of a venomous serpent. This was the cruel punishment to which Aurengezebe condemned him.

In vain did he flatter himself that this crime would secure his reign in peace. An usurpation which had cost so much blood and perfidy, did not merit a life of tranquillity. His conduct was imitated by his own children. They revolted against him as he had done against his father; and the imprisonment of that old man was the specious pretext of the new rebels. Whether they wanted strength or experience in the art of war, their enterprize did not succeed, and the unfortunate Cha-Jaham was the innocent victim of it. He died of poison which Aurengezebe his son obliged him to take.

Foreign princes raised up a war which this barbarian could no longer dread from his own family. Sevagi had been formerly governor of a province in the kingdom of Visapour. Having made away with Assel-Kan, the king's general, he had gone over to the party of Aurengezebe, then viceroy of Decan, who yielded to him some places in the mogul's empire. After he came to the throne, he wanted to take them from Sevagi. - This last looking on them as a dominion he had lawfully acquired by his services, refused to restore them: Irritated at his ingratitude, he ravaged the lands of the empire, defeated one of Aurengezebe's generals, dispersed his army, took and pillaged Surat. The emperor had never had so formidable an enemy on foot against him. The
chagripe

chagrine which he felt on that account threw him into a distemper which lasted for some time. When his health and strength permitted him to march against the enemy, he took upon himself the command of his troops, and reduced Sevagi with all those who had been his adherents. Victory, which seemed fixed to his person, attended him in a war he maintained on the frontiers against Persia.

Aurengezebe tired with too long a peace, undertook, notwithstanding his great age, the conquest of the country of Golconda, and laid siege in person to the principal fortress. The evident danger which he ran, caused him to retire, and leave the command of his army to Azam-Cha. This general perfectly fulfilled the wishes of his master; he surpris'd Abdulacen king of Golconda in his capital, and sent him prisoner to Dely. In the person of this prince ended the race of the kings of Golconda, who drew their origin from the ancient kings of Narsingue.

Nothing more remained for Aurengezebe to be master of the whole peninsula, but to subdue the sovereignties of Carnate, Madura, and the country of the mountains. He entered this last at the head of a chosen army; the capital was taken by assault, the king made prisoner, and condemned to death. But vengeance followed soon after. Ram-Raia being chosen king instead of his brother, maintained the war against Aurengezebe, defeated him, and obliged him to raise the siege of Pamalaguere. Azam-Cha, son and general of the emperor, was more successful

cessfull in the kingdom of Carnate. He conquered it entirely, with that of Madura. Altho' the emperor was jealous of the success of this young prince; he appointed him viceroy of Guzarate. Kambac, the third of his sons, had the kingdoms of Visapour and Golconda; under the same title. Cha-Halam, the eldest of all, had the Mogul properly so called; and the western provinces towards the Indus.

These three princes had in their father a model, which they followed too exactly for his tranquillity. His great age let them know, that the throne would be soon empty; each of them aspired to it, and made preparations to take possession of it. Kambac, tho' the youngest, was the first in motion. Aurengezebe finding he had no longer strength to support the fatigues of a civil war, took the resolution to keep them in obedience by policy; he caused Kambac to come to court, under pretence of friendship. Azam-Cha, fearing that his brother might insinuate himself into the emperor's affections, and be declared heir to the crown, came likewise to court, where he made a considerable party for himself. At last Cha-Halam, who had a short time before triumph'd over Akebar king of Persia, declared himself openly. A great weakness, into which the emperor fell; armed the two princes, Kambac, and Azam-Cha; the one against the other. Aurengezebe being a little recovered, order'd them to retire to their governments. Kambac obey'd; Azam-Cha remained at Agra till the death of his father, which happened the 4th of March

March 1707. He was above an hundred years of age.

1707 Azam-Chà, who had closed his eyes, took possession of his throne and treasures, and put himself at the head of the imperial army. Cha-Halam being informed of his father's death, gathered together all the troops he had commanded for some years, went to Dely, where he was crowned emperor, and then marched against Azam-Cha. The two armies having joined, a hot engagement ensued. The night separated them. The next day, Azam-Cha having renewed the engagement, was vanquished, and killed himself out of despair. His death placed Cha-Halam in possession of the Mogul throne. Afterwards he attacked his brother Kambac, deprived him of his dominions, killed him in a battle, and remained sole sovereign of all the the kingdoms which his father had possessed.

C H A P. X.

The Interruption and Renewing of the Voyages to the Indies. The Establishment of the Portugueze.

THE irruption of the barbarous nations gave the Roman empire two wounds equally deep and fatal. The first was the ravishing from her, her finest provinces, and almost all she possessed in Europe, excepting High and Low Greece. The second was the interruption of the commerce to the Indies, and soon after
it's

it's entire abolition. As if there had been an universal signal in the north, the Ostrogoths, the Visigoths, the Huns, the Alans, the Gepidi, the Heruli, the Suevi, the Vandals, the Burgundians, and the Franks, poured at the same time upon Illyria, Dalmatia, Italy, Gaul, and Armorica; and some of them with fire and sword, which they carried every where, opened to themselves a free passage even into Spain and Africa. To see them take arms all at once, one would have thought that these nations, who knew not one another, and who were frequently enemies, had waited by concert for the fatal moment when the Roman virtue should be on it's decline, as it was when they made their appearance. The time was now no more when every Roman soldier deserved the command of a cohort, when every officer was worthy to lead an army, and when the army carried victory every where along with it. Every thing gave way before the barbarians, the provinces were no sooner attacked than reduced; the Romans had not even the strength or the courage to save Rome from a handful of the Heruli, who came to overthrow the celebrated and formidable throne of the Cæsars. The empire now saw herself utterly destitute of these resources of troops and finances, at the time when they were most necessary to her. The prince thought on nothing but defending his crown; the armies were not able to make head against enemies dispersed in so many different places, so fierce and so numerous; the Roman fleet was employed
in

in defending the remains of Italy, Sicily, and Greece, from the incursions of the Vandals, whom count Boniface had put in possession of Africa, contrary to his intentions.

These wars in the west did not end until every thing was swallowed up, and then the Cavades and the Cosroes opened their fatal theatre in the east. The bare recital of their cruelties freezes the blood in ones veins. They still kept on their guard against them, notwithstanding that shameful treaty of peace which rendered the empire tributary to them for the first time; when Mahomet, the false prophet of the Arabs, began to execute the design he had formed, to make himself chief of a religion, a law-giver and a monarch. Scarce had he begun to lay the foundations of his throne on the bloody principles of his doctrine, when all on a sudden he appeared as a prince as powerful as formidable. To the three Arabias and Syria which he had conquered, Omar, the second of the caliphs his successors, joined Mesopotamia, Chaldea, Persia, and Egypt. The Saracens, well knowing of what importance the conquest of this last kingdom was to them, settled a sultan there, who depended for a long time on the caliph of Bagdad and Damas, and who made of Egypt all the advantages inseparable from its situation. His first care was to exclude the Romans for ever, and to cause all their vessels which approached the mouths of the Nile to be seized on as enemies. Thus the entrance into, and all commerce with, the Indies, were for ever shut against them

them without resource. The sultans his successors continued it on the same footing that the Romans had established, and supported it until the fifth century. Sanudo, a Venetian, very zealous for the recovery of the holy land and the ruin of the Egyptian sultan, says in a work which he published on that subject, that the greatest revenue of that prince consisted (a) in the trade of the spices and other merchandizes of the east. He takes notice of two principal coasts of the Indies, Malabar and Cambaia, where the greatest trade was carried on in his time between the Musulmen and the Indians. He informs us that they brought their goods to Aden, from whence they were carried to the Red-sea on camels in nine days, from thence to Babylon in Egypt, that is to say, Cairo, and from Cairo to Alexandria; that the duties alone which were paid to the sultan were in value one third of the goods; and that he was so jealous of this trade, that he allowed no Christian passage through his country to go to India.

We should then have lost every thing but the memory of those rich countries, and we should now have looked upon as fabulous the accounts which the ancients have left us of the Indies, if from time to time curiosity, chance, or some other cause, had not carried thither private persons, who have transmitted to us large relations, chiefly of the High Indies, Thibet, Tartary, and Cathaya or China.

(a) Sanudo *Secreta Fidel. Crucis*, l. i. part i. p. 1.

Before these travellers of the middle age, we may place that collection which appeared at London for the first time in 1665. of Palladius, an anonymous writer, and Ambrosiaster. But these writers lived about the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century, and consequently before the irruption of the barbarous nations. We find there some very curious observations on the manners of the Indians, and the doctrines of the Brachmans. We have already given the principal things of this kind at the beginning of this history. The famous Cosmas, a merchant of Alexandria, made the same voyage about the year 530.

We meet with no more travellers to the Indies since their time, till the thirteenth century. The connection of the history of the Tartars with that of the Indies, gives us occasion to mention the famous embassy of two Franciscan friars, John du Plan Carpin, and Benedict Polonois, whom pope Innocent the 4th sent to Tartary in 1246, with five Dominican or preaching friars, the chief of whom was brother Ascelin. The intent of their embassy was to supplicate Gingis-Kan, king of the Tartars, to put a stop to those miseries with which his army afflicted the christians. These religious men have left us an exact account of their voyage, and this was all the advantage which accrued from it.

Seven years after this, in 1253, St. Lewis king of France being then in Syria, sent William Rubruquis of the order of minor brothers into
Tartary

Tartary and the High Indies, chiefly to inform himself of the manners and religion of those distant nations,

In 1272, the love of travelling occasioned Marc Paul the Venetian to set out, with his brother and uncle, to visit the extremities of the world. The son made himself so agreeable to Coplai, kan of the Tartars, that he kept him a long time at his court in the quality of counsellor to the emperor. Having obtained his dismissal from thence, he travelled thro' India, China, and Japan.

About the end of the same century, the famous Haiton, a relation of the king of Armenia, travelled into those vast kingdoms whence the Indus and the Ganges derive their origin. Curiosity led him back to see Europe, and chiefly France, where he took upon him the habit of the Norbertins, an order of the rule of St. Augustin.

Sir John Mandeville, physician at St. Albans in England, set out in the year 1332, to visit and examine with accuracy, as much as he could of Africa and Asia. He spent thirty-four years in satisfying his curiosity, and penetrated even into China. It cannot be sufficiently wondered at and regretted, that a man who was so well qualified for travel by his studies, should have left so short and imperfect an account of them.

These are the principal voyages to the Indies which we know of till the end of the fifteenth century. And altho' they afforded more enter-

tainment than instruction with respect to those unknown countries, yet they greatly excited the curiosity of those who were fond of long voyages. Nothing kept them at home but the distance and difficulty of the passage. But when a private person had removed and overcome all obstacles, his return was not only of no service to the public, but gave people pain on account of the impossibility they found to carry on a commerce in a country, from whence such great advantages might be drawn. The way by sea was the only one practicable on that account; and unhappily that passage was unknown to the Europeans, altho' in ancient times they had used it a good deal * even in the way of commerce.

The French challenge the glory of having made this discovery, and the Portugueze vindicate it from them with an ardor which is peculiar to their nation. It is easy to determine this difference by history, which will make the share which both had in it plainly appear. Altho' it is past doubt that the western coasts of Africa were resorted to by the ancients (b), at least as far as the Fortunate islands, which were the famous Hesperides so much celebrated by the poets, and which they placed in the Atlantic ocean, to which they say Hanno the famous Carthaginian conducted a fleet, and whither Sertorius intended to retire to pass the re-

* Pliny gives many different accounts of voyages from Cadiz to the gulph of Arabia, as well for military expeditions, as for commerce, l. ii. hist. nat. c. 67.

(b) Plin. hist. nat. l. vi. c. 32. Strabo, Solin. Mela. Ptolom.

mainder of his days in the pleasures of that boasted climate; yet the knowledge of them was lost until the fifteenth century; and those happy islands passed for a chimera, like the Elysian fields whose name they had given them. Conjecture and chance occasioned their reality to be acknowledged.

About the year 1401, Jean de Bethencour, a gentleman of the country of Caux, having heard of the king of Spain's intended project to discover and conquer the Fortunate islands, resolved to execute that design himself. He put to sea (c) with some of his friends and vassals, who were expert in maritime affairs; and after having ranged along the coasts of France, Spain, and Africa, he happily fell in, in the month of July 1402, with the Canary islands, where barbarism and paganism were then predominant. He attacked that which appeared to him of easiest access, he made himself master of it, and forced the islanders to receive him. Encouraged by this success, he took three others successively. But as he found he had not sufficient force to attempt the conquest of the rest, he went and demanded succours from Henry the third, king of Castile. On the account which he gave of his rapid progress, the prince granted him every thing he asked, and gave him besides the title of the king of the Fortunate

(c) Jean de Verriere, history of the first discovery of the Canaries. Surita, commentary on the itinerary of Antoninus. Benzoni, history of the new world. Gomara, history of the Indies. Mariana, history of Spain, l. xvi. c. 16, & alii.

islands, on condition he should hold it of the crown of Castile. Bethencour having accepted it, returned to his new kingdom, where he completed the reduction of all the seven islands, except the grand Canaria. He established the seat of his sovereignty at Lancelote, where he built a castle; and he had for his successors Menaud his nephew, Pierre Barbe, Ferdinand Penazza, and Diego de Herrera. After this last the Canaries fell into the hands of the Spaniards.

Bethencour is then the first who conquered the Canary islands, and caused the gospel to be preached there. The news of his establishment made a great noise in all the courts of Europe, and chiefly excited the emulation and jealousy of the infant don Henry, duke of Viseü (*d*), great master of the order of Christ, and fifth son of don John, king of Portugal. That prince, born with the happiest accomplishments, had appeared as a prodigy on all occasions from his earliest youth. Full of the great ideas which he had conceived to signalize his name, he took for his device these French words, which mark out a great field of action: *Talent de bien faire*. One of his first projects was to rival Bethencour, in the discovery of the islands and coasts of Africa. He equipped some vessels at different times, who discovered Cape Non, Cape Boïador, and a small island which they called Porto

(*d*) Maffey. Ant. Magia. l. i. P. Laffia. conquests of the Portuguese, l. i.

Santo, because, believing they should be lost, it became to them a port of safety. But the crew, satisfied with what had been done, would proceed no farther; the island of Madeira, which they easily discovered from Porto Santo, became the subject of another voyage. The king don Edward I, who succeeded don John, encouraged the infant in his projects. He granted to him, during life, the dominion of Porto Santo, Madeira, and all the other lands which he should discover on the western coast of Afric. This donation was afterwards confirmed by the infant don Peter, brother of the infant don Henry, and regent of the kingdom during the minority of don Alphonso the 5th, their nephew. That he might strengthen his authority farther, the infant, the chief and conductor of this enterprize, sent Ferdinand Lopez d'Azevedo, in quality of ambassador to Pope Martin the 5th, to acquaint him with his discoveries, and to demand his protection in the view of the great advantages which might result from thence for the good of religion and the honour of the holy see. The pope, flattered by the ambassador's discourse, who attributed to him the absolute dominion of all the lands of the Infidels, issued out a bull in the form and tenor that the infant desired. He generously granted to the crown of Portugal the sovereign dominion of all those lands which should be discovered to the Indies inclusively; threatening to excommunicate all those who should trouble them in that possession, as if they had been usurpers; ratifying that

which king Edward had done in favour of the infant, and adding many privileges, graces and indulgences, to the navigators. That bull bears date in 1444. We shall see these donations and privileges confirmed and augmented by the sovereign pontifs Eugene the 4th, Nicholas the 5th, and Sixtus the 4th. The infant omitted nothing to make these lands valuable, which he imagined he had acquired by a double title, and on that account were liable to no disputes. He sent colonies thither, caused sugar-canes and vines to be planted, and he had the comfort before his death to see some fruits of his trouble and expence.

John the 2d, who succeeded his father Alphonso on the throne of Portugal, entered into the same views. Having heard that there was a certain priest named John, who, they said, possessed a vast kingdom in Ethiopia, he sent out on the discovery to get accounts of that christian prince, and make an alliance with him, which he expected might favour him in the execution of his project, which was to get acquainted with the situation and extent of Africa. Alphonso de Paiva and Peter de Covillan were the chief persons to whom he committed that affair. But the first died at Alexandria, while Covillan, who had embarked in the gulph of Arabia, continued his voyage to the East-Indies in a merchant ship. The rich trade which he saw carried on at Cananor, Calicut, and Goa, in fine stuffs, pearls, and precious stones, filled him with astonishment, and he

he was impatient till he had given an account of it to the king his master.

The recital which he made of it at the court of Portugal, in 1489, was a more powerful motive than all the rest to attempt that voyage by the ocean. The king proposed great rewards to mathematicians, mariners, and astronomers, who should find the way to the Indies by sea. The emulation which he spread among persons expert in these sciences, occasioned not the invention, as the Portugueze boast contrary to all truth, but the bringing to perfection the use of the astrolabe and the tables of declination for pilots. By means of these new assistances, Diaz and the infant pushed their navigation in 1493, to the most southern part of Afric (*e*), where they were severely handled by tempests. On this account they called that place *Cape Torment*. Diaz got back to Lisbon, all the rest of the fleet having perished in a voyage of sixteen months and seventeen days. The king received him with great demonstrations of goodness and joy. But seeing in his relation the name of *Cape Torment*, he desired it should be called the *Cape of Good-Hope*, because it was a happy preface of the advantages they should draw from that discovery. This place seemed in effect to point the way to the so much desired riches of the east, and the famous ports of Asia.

It was reserved to Emanuel, successor of John the 2d, to complet that work. He equipped

(*e*) Barros, Decade i. l. iii. c. 4. Maffey. l. i. c. 17.

three large vessels, able to endure the tempestuous seas at the cape of Good-Hope; to these he added a fourth, solely for the carrying of provisions. Vasques da Gama, a man of quality, courage and resolution, was appointed the chief of this expedition. After a long series of dangers and disappointments, which put his constancy to the last proofs, he arrived at last on the coast of Malabar in the road of Calicut, in the Indies properly so called, in the year 1498, after a voyage of eleven months. All the historians whom I have read fix the landing of Gama in this year; but the modern writer of the conquests of the Portugueze (*f*), father Laffiteau, places it a year later.

Calicut was the seat and capital of a powerful empire, whose sovereigns generally took the title of *Zamorin*, which answers to that of emperor. That state was the most maritime, and extended over all Malabar. The good fortune of Gama ordered it so, that those whom he sent to land met with a man who knew them by their dress, who received them into his friendship contrary to expectation, and did them great services. He was a Moor of the kingdom of Tunis; who forgot the hatred he ought to have for the Portugueze both by birth and religion. His employment of agent of the commerce at Calicut gave him a connection with the caluat,

[*f*] I incline to believe this is a typographical error, for he ought to have said 1498, as may be seen by comparing the pages 77 and 96.

and he made use of his access with that minister of the Zamorin, to give him favourable impressions of those strangers. Their arrival was immediately reported to the Emperor, and he was made to understand that a noble, rich, and warlike nation, was come from the extremities of the world to request his friendship, and beseech him to open his ports to them, that they might carry on a trade with him. So pompous an embassy flattered the vanity of the Zamorin; without hesitation he gave them audience, and shewed himself with all that grandeur and magnificence which are usual with the monarchs of the east.

When every thing offered to Gama the fairest prospects for the glory and advantage of his nation, he was on the brink of seeing them ravished from them almost as soon as they appeared. Formidable rivals rose against him. Mahometanism had followed the Tartars to the Indies, when they took possession of these vast countries, and it was as predominant there as paganism. The declared hatred that the muselmans bore the christians animated them against them; they looked upon them as infidels, whom the law of that impostor their prophet ordered them to destroy. Policy and interest joined in concert with religion. They carried on a very considerable commerce in the countries of Mogul and Malabar, to which they came from the coasts of Afric, Arabia, and Persia; being the sole depositaries of the riches of the Indies, they brought them to Europe, whence they drew

drew immense profits. The fear of being sup-
planted made them conspire the massacre and de-
struction of the Portugueze. They represented
them to Zamorin as spies, who came to view
the country, and make themselves masters of it,
and dethrone the sovereign. Their clamors made
an impression on the prince, he repented of his
kindness to them, indifference succeeded to pro-
tection, and the Portugueze became suspected
and odious in his eyes.

Gama immediately perceived that fatal change;
he escaped from the court of Zamorin, and got
secretly aboard his fleet. From thence he
wrote to the prince, complaining of the un-
just suspicions he had conceived against him,
of the violation of hospitality, and of the snares
that had been laid for him and his friends, not-
withstanding their innocence. That he might
not seem to charge the prince with it, he threw
the blame on the jealousy of the mahometans;
he let him to understand that he had more to
expect from the king of Portugal, than all the
mahometans together. Zamorin opened his
eyes to these remonstrances. He answered the
complaints of Gama by excuses; he threw all
the blame on his ministers who had deceived
him; he promised to enquire into the calumny,
and punish the guilty severely. To this justifi-
cation he joined an obliging letter to king
Emanuel, by which (g) he accepted the alliance
which the Portugueze had demanded of him,

(g) Maffey, l. i, c. 29.

promising

promising them all liberty for commerce, provided it was carried on without troubling the peace of his kingdom, and without prejudice to his allies the mahometans, with whom he was obliged to keep terms for reasons of state. Gama, satisfied with this answer, set sail and returned to Portugal, to give an account of the success of his voyage.

Those who were most sanguine in their expectations, could not flatter themselves it would have been so great. But the joy of Emanuel was beyond that of all others. After having solemnly made his acknowledgments to heaven, and to Gama (*b*), whom he permitted to enjoy his glory in an honourable repose, he caused to be equipped with all care and all possible magnificence thirteen vessels, which he loaded with rich merchandizes and costly presents for Zamorin, who had thought it extraordinary that he had received none from Gama. For such is the custom among the eastern monarchs, that none present themselves before them with empty hands. Capral, who had the command of this fleet, was not so happy as Gama in his passage. All the sails were set waiting for a favourable wind at the cape of Good-Hope, when there arose all on a sudden, one of those violent tempests so frequent in that climate, by which the fleet was dreadfully tost during twenty days; and four ships were foundered, and not one person on board saved. A fifth was driven to

(*b*) Maffey, l. ii. c. 1, &c. Magin, l. i. Laffiteau and others,

the north-east, and from thence to Portugal, to which it brought the news of that disaster. The Capral having gathered together the remainder of his shattered fleet, continued his way to the Indies, passing by Mozambique and Melinda, along the eastern coast of Afric, and arrived at the Anchedive islands in a short time after a very prosperous voyage. Zamorin informed of his approach, sent the principal lords of his court to congratulate him; and to assure him of every thing which depended on him for the security of their commerce. Elated with this unexpected step, the admiral answered, that he would not set his foot on land; unless he had hostages on board for his safety; he had even the boldness to demand the caluat, and those ministers in whom Zamorin reposed the greatest confidence. The king was astonished at this proposal; he hesitated at first, but afterwards, influenced by secret motives, consented to all Capral's demands, and gave him audience, wherein he display'd all his pomp and magnificence. He made him a present of a house which might be called a palace; whereof the act of donation was written in letters of gold; he gave him the liberty to plant the standard of Portugal on it, to make it a place of azylum, and to appoint a factor for his nation, who opened public magazines, and began to trade.

This beginning was too promising; not to be liable to some fatal revolution. The Portugueze historians pretend, that the too great confidence which Correa their factor or consul reposed in

two rich Moorish merchants, was the cause of the unhappy revolution which happened, and which rendered abortive all their projects with Zamorin. Whether or not Correa had been deceived by the Saracens, who, they alledged, persuaded him that the king secretly obstruct their commerce, it is certain that he attack'd and took by force a large ship, in which amongst other things were seven elephants belonging to the Indians, and a few days after another which put in at the harbour. The inhabitants of Calicut flocked together to the number of four thousand men in arms, to revenge the insult which had been offered them. They invested the house of the Portugueze, they forced the gates, pillaged it, put every thing to fire and sword, and of sixty-six Portugueze killed sixty, amongst whom was Correa. The rest saved themselves with difficulty at the sea side, where they got aboard the boats that had been sent from the fleet on the first noise of the tumult.

The admiral, not knowing that Zamorin was concerned in this violence, waited some days for the apology which he thought was due to him. But receiving no satisfaction, he imagined he was entituled to do justice to himself. He made preparations for attacking thirteen large Moorish vessels which were in the harbour; he sunk the greatest number by the terrible fire which he made upon them, and threw into chains those who manned the rest. Equally enraged against the inhabitants of Calicut, he cannonaded the city two whole days; killed six hundred men, levelled

levelled with the ground several houses, and obliged the king to retire to one of his country houses; terrified at having seen one of his chief favourites carried off from his side by a cannon ball.

After this vigorous stroke, nothing remained for Capral but to go and seek his fortune elsewhere. He did not incline to return to Portugal with the reputation of having, as the only product of his voyage, made war upon a prince, whose alliance had given such elevated hopes to his countrymen. He made sail to Cochin, thirty leagues to the southward of Calicut. It was the capital of a small state tributary to Zamorin. The name of the reigning prince was Trimumpara. What he had heard of the Portugueze, and the war he had just been waging with Zamorin, prejudiced him luckily in their favour. At the first interview he made an alliance with them, and granted them every thing they demanded, both for the present and the time to come. As this country is the most fertile of Indostan in spiceries, Capral made such a cargo as he wished. As he was preparing to return to Europe, he was informed that the kings of Coulan and Cananor wanted to make an alliance with his master. But the season of the year pressing him, he had not time to enter into a treaty; he contented himself with paying a visit to the king of Cananor, taking aboard some mercantile goods, and receiving the embassador which that prince sent to Emanuel with those of Coulan and Cochin, who

who arrived at Lisbon the eve of St. John's day, in the year 1501.

This quadruple alliance gave uneasiness to Zamorin. He declared war against the three princes in confederacy with Portugal, and he of Cochin was the victim of his resentment, by the defeat of his troops, and the taking of his city, notwithstanding the efforts of the admiral de Novre whom Emanuel had sent out before Capral's return. But a few months afterwards the face of affairs was entirely changed in favour of the king of Cochin, by the presence of Alphonso and Francis Albuquerque, who had sailed from Portugal in 1503, with a fleet of ten ships. Francis cut to pieces, or put to flight, the garisons which Zamorin had thrown into the isle of Cochin, and brought back the king, whom a compleat defeat had forced to retire elsewhere. Not contented with this first success, the conqueror sent six hundred of his seamen, to attack two neighbouring islands which the raias or caïmales, that is to say, the noblemen of the country, had seized upon. He defeated their troops, left one of them upon the field of battle, burned their palaces, ravaged their lands, beat a fleet of fifty galleys which belonged to Zamorin, made several incursions always with the same success, and returned to Cochin covered with glory.

As expert a politician as he was a brave warrior, he failed not to take advantage of the high reputation which he had acquired, and of the signal service he had done the king of Cochin. He demanded leave to build a fortress in his city.

That prince perhaps did not penetrate into the designs of Albuquerque; or if he suspected them, thought he could refuse nothing to the man who had replaced him on his throne. He not only consented to it, but furnished him with workmen and materials besides, without reflecting that he was at the same time forging chains for himself. The general, who had great reason to be afraid so hasty a consent might soon be repented of, lost no time. He chose out an elevated situation, which commanded the city and the harbour, he traced out the plan of the fortress, and for want of stones and mortar cut down the palm trees which the king had marked out for him. Four days after they had begun the building Alphonso Albuquerque arrived, who employed all his people in the work, and hastened it in such a manner that it was completed in a very short time, as well as the church which he caused to be built immediately afterwards. The Portugueze writers imagine that on this day Albuquerque took as it were a real possession of the Indies, and that by means of this fort he enthralled all those provinces of which their nation had the dominion for about a century.

But is there any glory in having laid the foundations of that vast power by opening a frightful career of injustice, usurpation, violence and cruelty? What right, what title, what reason had the Portugueze to disturb the Indians in the possession of their lands? on what principle or pretext could they declare war against them,
and

and cause torrents of blood to run on all sides, when they disputed with them what could not belong to them? The first sentiments of national equity and humanity will for ever hold in detestation the Sesostrises, the Alexanders, Mahomets, Omars, Genghiscans, Coplais, and Tamerlanes, who were transported by the fury of conquest and ambition, and seemed to be born for the violation of laws, and the destruction of mankind. What difference is there between the war which Alexander made upon Porus, and those which the Albuquerque carried on against his successors and the other kings of the Indies? But these reproaches do not fall on the body of the nation, who have disavowed and condemned them highly.

After the Portugueze had established themselves in the citadel of Cochin, they thought themselves at liberty to procure others by all imaginable methods. Some rich men of the country, vassals of the king of Cochin, had seized on the cantons where they had lands. On the shadow of this pretext, and under colour of a just vengeance, the Albuquerque made incursions on these cantons, ravaged the country, burned the villages, destroyed an infinite number of Indians, and possessed themselves of those places which they said ought not to be in the hands of usurpers. They took thirty-four paraos or small craft of Calicut which disturbed the commerce of Cochin, and cruised along the coast. They would have made greater progress, or rather, committed greater ravages, if the hu-

manity of Trimumpara, concerned even for his enemies, had not obliged them to suspend the course of their bloody executions.

The Indians, witnesses or victims of these hostilities, began to believe that the mahometans had reason to inspire them with hatred and aversion at those strangers; they imagined that the Tartars were returned in the persons of the Portugueze. Zamorin, no less terrified than his subjects, besought peace of the Albuquerque. It was treated and concluded with so much secrecy, that the Moors of Calicut knew nothing of it till it's publication, when they were enraged to see their interests sacrificed to those of their rivals. By this treaty the prince engaged to live in good understanding with the king of Cochin, to evacuate his ports, and not to disturb his commerce. He obliged himself to pay fifteen hundred bahars of pepper (1), and some quintals of other merchandises, in recompence of what the Portugueze had suffered in the unhappy affair of Calicut. Lastly, he promised to suffer none of the Moors who depended on him to trade in the gulph of Arabia, and consequently he re-established the Portugueze factory at Calicut.

Nothing could be more flattering, and at the same time more glorious for the Portugueze. But they wanted no other enemies than themselves, to deprive them of the advantages they might have drawn from it. Their avarice was

(1) The bahar is a measure weighing four quintals.

the occasion. Ferdinand Correa, their factor at Cochin, having learned that there was a vessel in the road loaded with pepper on account of Zamorin, gave orders to his people to seize it. In vain the master alledged the peace, and the treaty of alliance lately made. In vain he remonstrated that the vessel belonged to Zamorin, and that it was designed to make payment in part of what was due to the Portugueze, to whom he had already remitted eight hundred bahars. Avarice and violence prevailed over justice; the vessel was carried off by force, six Indians perished in it's defence, and many more made their escape covered with wounds. Francis d'Albuquerque, to whom complaints were made, took so little notice of them, that he did not so much as condescend to answer or make the least shew of giving satisfaction. As all his vessels had got in their loading, he soon returned to Europe.

Zamorin more enraged than ever, resolved to do himself justice in proportion to the insult he had received. The indignation of his subjects facilitated his levying a numerous army, both by sea and land, and he was soon ready to take the field. The Albuquerque's in haste to depart, left Edward Pacheco to make head against them. Cochin, and the country about, was the theatre of a war, which lasted several months with incredible slaughter. Sometimes skirmishes, sometimes pitched battles were fought, and if the Portugueze were not absolutely conquerors, they at least wearied out

the constancy of Zamorin, notwithstanding their small numbers.

This series of prosperity gained them such a reputation in Indostan, that they gave the law, wherever they appeared. The first conditions in their treaties with princes were, that they should acknowledge themselves tributary to the king of Portugal; and allow his subjects to build magazines, or even citadels, in the heart of their capitals, or wherever else they thought fit. With respect to commerce, they fixed a price upon merchandises at their pleasure; and caused their magazines to be filled in the first place. No other merchant could begin upon his cargo, till they had finished theirs; nobody in short could navigate those seas without being subject to be visited by them, and without taking a pass-port from the governors or factors established by the general. This superiority could not but be odious to all the other nations; but fear obliged some to silence, and others submitted thro' private and domestic interests.

Such were their notions in Portugal, that Emanuel in the same persuasion put to sea (1) a fleet of thirteen ships and six caravels, under the command of don Francis Almeida, count of Abrantes. According to the instructions given that admiral, he was to reside in the Indies at first in quality of governor or captain general, afterwards to build fortresses in places marked out by the court, and then to take upon him the title of viceroy. To support that name and dig-

nity

(1) Maffey, l. iii. Magin. l. ii. Lafiteau, l. iii.

nity in a suitable manner, the king assigned him large appointments, one hundred men for his guard, and a chapel provided with his own chaplains and musicians. He set sail from Lisbon the 30th of June 1505, and arrived the 13th of September in the same year at the Anchedive islands. They give that name in the language of the country to five neighbouring islands, situated a little below Goa. The general's first care was to build a fort in the principal island, with wood which he had brought from Portugal, and which was quite ready to be put together.

This new establishment raised a jealousy, and occasioned uneasiness among the neighbouring princes. The king of Onor apprehensive for his dominions, took the resolution to seek the friendship of the Portugueze; he sent an ambassador to the general with his proposals. When the edifice was nearly compleated, Almeida went to Cananor, where he immediately took upon himself the title of viceroy. As he was the first of his nation who bore it in a country where they had not been above seven years, he forgot nothing that might increase it's splendor. He appeared in public with all the pomp that his vanity inspired; and he affected still more in the interview which he had with the king of Cananor. He behaved towards that prince as a superior to an inferior. He renewed the first alliances which had been made with him, he regulated the conditions of them, and one of the principal was, that he should build a citadel near Cananor, whereof the king should furnish the materials, and himself the workmen.

The haughtiness of the viceroy was still increased when he saw himself sought after by the king of Carnate or Bishagar. That prince, besides the large dominions which he possessed in the peninsula of the Indies on this side the Ganges, extended them farther towards the coast of Coromandel, opposite to that of Malabar. He took upon himself the title of king of kings, because he had many of them for his tributaries, and particularly the king of Onor. He sent an ambassador to the viceroy, to assure him of his esteem and friendship. That he might give him a sincere proof of it, he gave him liberty to build fortresses in all his sea-port towns, except that of Baticula, which he had assigned over to others; and to bind still closer the bonds of alliance, which he entered into with his nation, he offered his daughter in marriage to the king of Portugal, whose singular beauty even added to the splendor of her rank and birth. Almeida accepted the treaty of alliance, gave the ambassador good words, and dismissed him with magnificent presents both for himself and his master.

His orders and his intentions were, not to content himself with simple alliances; he was henceforth to domineer openly over the princes themselves. A revolution which happened at the court of Cochin, furnished him with an opportunity. Trimumpara, that constant, faithful, and generous friend to the Portugueze, was no longer upon the throne. His devotion had induced him to abdicate it, and retire, according

ing to a custom common enough with the Brachman kings, to a solitude, and there devote himself entirely to the duties of religion. When he quitted the sceptre, he placed it in the hands of his nephew Naubadora, who, he knew, had always entertained a great affection for the Portugueze, altho' he had a nearer relation, but one who was a friend to Zamorin. Almeida seeing that the new prince owed in a manner his fortune to the Portugueze, took advantage of that conjuncture to impose on him the yoke of his nation. In a public audience which was given him, he said in presence of the whole court, that king Emanuel his master, desirous to acknowledge the important services Trimumpara had rendered to the Portugueze, had charged him with the task of testifying his gratitude. But that prince not being in a condition to receive it himself, he would bestow it upon his successor. So saying, he put upon his head a crown of gold, a distinguishing mark of royal authority, which he conferred on him under the protection of Portugal, exempting him from that moment from all subordination to Zamorin, or any other whatsoever, giving him permission to coin money, and engaging to defend him against all his enemies. He made him a present of a cup of gold weighing six crusades Portugal money; and he added, that in order to free the king and city of Cochin from all dangers of insult, he had orders to build a new citadel, stronger than the former, which should be as a rampart to his dominions. Nothing disgusted the
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the Indian prince in this ceremony, so prejudicial both to his glory and interest. He condescended to every thing, even with testimonies of gratitude, and gave the viceroy a written act to that import. Thus historians remark that Naubedora acknowledged himself henceforth a vassal to the crown of Portugal, and that he was so in reality.

That degree of satisfaction which Almeida thence received, was equalled by his grief at the arrival of Alphonso d'Albuquerque who came in his place, not as viceroy, for Emanuel had suppressed that title, but as general governor of the Indies. Enraged to lose his rank which he believed his right on many accounts, he shut up his successor in the citadel of Cananor as a prisoner; he allowed him only three domestics, and seized on his house, his papers, and all his effects. His confinement did not end till three months afterwards, by the arrival of Ferdinand Coutigno, grand marshal of the kingdom of Portugal, with fifteen ships and three thousand armed men, who put him in possession of his government. Almeida set sail immediately for Europe, and was slain by the Caffres at the Cape of Good-Hope.

While the grand marshal was making an attack upon Calicut, where, by his imprudence, he lost both the victory and his life; Siqueira departed from Cochin the 19th of August 1509, to go on the discovery of the eastern islands, The third day he made that of Ceylon, of which Almeida had before taken possession in 1506,
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He crossed the gulph of Bengal, sailed along the islands of Nicobar, and went into harbour at Pedir in the kingdom of Achem at the point of the island of Sumatra. As he was the first Portugueze that had landed on that island, and it might pass for a new discovery, he obtained liberty of the kings of Pedir and Pacen, with whom he made an alliance, to erect a standard with the arms of Portugal, as other navigators had been used to do on discovering the coasts of Africa. But having no intention to stay there, he set sail a few days after for Malacca, where he arrived on the eleventh of September, at the extremity of the peninsula of that name, which had been heretofore a part of the kingdom of Siam. The danger which he run there of being assassinated by the treachery of Bendara, the king of the country, prevented him from continuing his voyage; and the quarrels which he had had with Albuquerque on account of Almeida, determined him to return directly to Europe without seeing the governor.

This last was then engaged in two grand projects, both which succeeded according to his wishes. The first was, to make himself master of Goa in the island of Ticuarin, which is about nine or ten leagues in circumference, and is agreed to be the most advantageous post on all the coast of Malabar. The king of Decan, to whom it naturally belonged, but to whom the great men of the realm had only left the shadow of authority, had entrusted it to an officer of his crown, a Moor by birth and religion, named Idalcan.

Idalcan. Notwithstanding all his care to fortify the place with every thing possible for defence, it was taken by assault by the Portugueze fleet and that of the king of Onor, which Timoia commanded. Albuquerque made a triumphant entry into it on the 17th of February 1510. He appointed Antonio de Norogna his nephew governor of the town. Gaspar de Payva had the direction of the factory which he established there for the commerce, and he gave the charge of comptroller general of the finances of the city and kingdom of Goa to Timoia, who had under him farmers, both Moors and Pagans, for the receipt of the customs and other duties, amounting annually to eighty-two thousand pieces of gold. Imagining that his presence would be necessary in a conquest which could not fail to be disputed with him, he took up his residence in Idalcan's palace, where his wives and his seraglio still were. He conjectured right; for Goa was the theatre of war the six following years. But it had not the titles of an archbishoprick and primacy of the Indies till 1559, and the famous tribunal of the inquisition was established there the year after.

The second project of Albuquerque was to get possession of the gulph and city of Ormus (*m*): He had no more right and pretence to that than to Goa; but the desire of acquiring glory; and contributing to the grandeur of his

(*m*) Maffey, part I. l. iii. c. 9. Mandello. p. 35. Laffiteau, t. l. p. 275, 508.

nation, was to him a sufficient motive to attempt any thing that had a reference to the one or the other. He had already made this attempt, but without success, some years ago; since which the kings of Ormus would not deliver up to him the citadel he had begun to build, nor grant the Portugueze a factory in their city, nor even restore to them the effects that had been taken from them. But as their city would be ruined without a commerce to the Indies, and as they could not carry it on without the permission and pass-port of the governor general, policy and necessity had obliged them to pay to the crown of Portugal an annual tribute, in order to obtain the liberty of trade.

Albuquerque, who had resolved to gain an establishment in Persia for his nation, or to stop that passage against the Saracens, aimed on that account to make himself master of Ormus. As at least some shadow of pretence was necessary to begin the war, he sent to demand that the citadel, which he had already raised to a certain height, should be delivered up to him. The denial which he expected, served him as an apparent motive to take arms. The throne of Ormus was then filled by a young prince named Toruncha, whom a cabal had placed there, in order to leave all the authority in the hands of Noradin first minister of state. This last had been dexterously supplanted by one of his nephews, called Hamed, whom he himself had brought to court. Albuquerque having anchored with his fleet before Ormus, sent and signified his intentions.

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Torun-Cha and Noradin were not displeas'd at seeing him there, hoping that his presence might occasion some revolution which should deliver them from the slavery in which they were held by Hamed. He also was embarrassed and dejected. The king preferring the dominion of the Portugueze to the imperious tyranny of his minister, shook off his timidity and slavery in order to strike a stroke of authority. He put Albuquerque in possession of the citadel, which he compleas'd with all expedition; he assign'd him some houses in the town to establish his quarters there and a factory, and he caus'd the banner of Portugal to be quartered on his palace. Hamed was enraged at this, but his fears prevented his appearing abroad. Albuquerque being inform'd that he sought an opportunity to take away his life, was beforehand with him, causing him to be assassinated by the Portugueze guard.

The king did little less than thank Albuquerque for the liberty to which he had restored him. He did not foresee the act of perfidy which the admiral, ambitious for his nation, was preparing for him. On a false report, of which he was probably the author, that the fleet of the Egyptian caliph was going to make a descent on Ormus, he caus'd his men immediately to go aboard their ships, and sent to demand of the king all the artillery of the palace and city, which he said was necessary to repulse the enemy. The council perceiving the danger and imprudence of disarming themselves in this manner, alledg'd divers pretences to excuse their denial.

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But Albúquerque answered, that he would not depart before they were delivered up to him. They were then obliged to it, and the admiral would not restore them. To this glaring piece of treachery he added another, still more atrocious. From the eastern maxims of jealousy and cruelty, fifteen princes of the blood royal had lost their eyes, that themselves and their children might for ever be rendered incapable of the throne. On pretence that troubles might arise on their account, he caused them to be delivered up to him, and sent them all to Goa, to keep them under a strong guard, that they might serve as hostages, in case any thing should be attempted against his nation. Lastly, when he departed from Ormus, he recommended to Peter d'Albuquerque, whom he left governor of the citadel, to make himself master of the two children of Zeifadin, that he might keep the king in fear of the danger he was exposed to from these two young princes, who were the lawful heirs to the crown. He engrossed all the commerce of the place, but he did not keep it many years. We shall here put a stop to our history of the discovery and conquest of the Indies.

Such were the conduct and maxims of the great Albuquerque, so much boasted of by the Portugueze. Those who had gone before him, had pretty nearly the same sentiments; and his successors exactly followed his footsteps. What would the Portugueze of that time have answered, if they had been asked what they thought of the Vandals, the Visigoths, and the Suevi,

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who over-ran Spain in the beginning of the fifth century, and the Saracens in the eighth? They would have had no other resource, than to oppose their christianity to the infidelity of the Indians, whom they intended, as they said, to convert to the faith; and the papal bulls which gave to the Portugueze all the lands of the infidels from the Canary islands to the Moluccoes, and to the Spaniards, all the new discoveries on the western coast and America, to the same place, which was to be the boundary between the two nations. But that donation was only granted them on condition they should preach the gospel there, and earnestly endeavour to propagate the faith. All the bulls of concession bear it expressly.

The chiefs of the colonies of commerce and navigation, who never should have lost sight of this essential object, thought on nothing but making discoveries and conquests, building forts, carrying away the trade from the mahometans, the Chaldeans, and even the natives of the country, and seizing on every thing for the Portugueze. Thus it may be said, they became sovereigns of the maritime Indies and the adjacent islands for near a century, from which they drew immense riches in gold, precious stones, pearls, spiceries, valuable woods, drugs and stuffs, which they sold again to the European merchants at what price they thought fit. It was by those forcible courses that they spread terror every where; and made establishments along the coast of Malabar and Comandel, in the gulph of Bengal, in the king-
doms

doms of Camboya, Decan, Malacca, Patana, Siam and Japan, in all the sea ports, and in the rich islands of Ceylon, the Moluccoes, the Maldives, Amboyna, Saint Thomas, and many others. However, in excusing the Portugueze of these excesses in the Indies, perhaps sincerity will oblige us to fasten the same reproaches on the Dutch, by whom they have been outed of their trade and commerce; on the English who followed them, and the Spaniards in America. The French have alone the satisfaction not to see their nation blackened in the accounts of travellers even foreigners. If their company is not so rich and powerful as that of the States General, it is because they prefer honour, and the preservation of the rights of nations, to the advantages of a more flourishing and gainful commerce. Our factories and establishments are societies with the natives of the country, whom we suffer to enjoy in peace the effects and lands they have received from their fathers. It is thus that entire justice ought to be done.

But it is however altogether uncertain if these conquests have been advantageous to those who pursued them with so much ardor. In this manner one of our historians (n) expresses himself, whose reflections are much esteemed. "Christopher Columbus, having attached himself to Ferdinand king of Spain, discovered the West-Indies; and John king of Portugal, father

(n) Mezeray, on Charles VIII. at the year 1496; t. ii. p. 801. the folio edition, 1685.

of Manuel, caused to be discovered all the new kingdoms of Africa and the East-Indies, of whom little or nothing had been hitherto known to the inhabitants of Europe. - Pope Alexander finding now an opportunity to pass for the sovereign of mankind, granted at the first request of Ferdinand, a donation of all the lands, islands or continents, discovered or to be discovered towards the west and south, drawing a line from the Arctic to the Antarctic pole, which should be distant from the islands called Azores or Cape Verde, one hundred leagues, towards the west, or the south. Provided however that the other islands or lands which should be conquered by other christian princes beyond this line, should remain to them. A donation which has since occasioned violent and bloody quarrels between the Castilians and the Portugueze, because this last pretended that other popes, particularly Eugene the fourth, had granted them by express bulls all the lands of the new world. I shall not pretend to say which have right on their side. But only that these navigators have carried nothing less into those countries than the gospel and christian charity; and on the contrary, have brought back into Europe the source of all discord; I mean those ingots of gold with which the house of Austria has ever since fomented the divisions of Christendom; and which have occasioned such a sluggishness and vanity in the minds of the Spaniards, that they have left their native lands almost desolate to run to those mines.

End of the First Part.



A NEW
HISTORY
OF THE
EAST-INDIES.

PART II.
Of the Modern Indies.

CHAPTER I.
Chorographical Description of the Modern Indies.

THE Indies have lost nothing among the moderns, of that esteem which they were possessed of among the ancients. The curious do not hesitate to make a voyage of above three thousand leagues, to visit the wonders of that country;

it's riches make our merchants forget the trouble, the fatigue, and danger of a long and painful navigation; the learned throughout all Europe carefully seek after it's animals and plants, to study the singularities of nature, more various and fertile in these countries than in ours; it's beauties adorn the palaces of princes, and add splendor to the diadem of sovereigns.

Since these two hundred and forty years, that the Portugueze have found the way to the Indies by the Cape of Good-Hope, the voyages thither by the Spaniards, the Hollanders, the English, and the French, have been almost infinite. Every one of these nations has made it's particular discoveries there; and at present that country is almost as well known to us, as any province bordering upon their kingdom is to Frenchmen. The Indies, according to the latest observations, extend from the 83d degree of longitude, to the 110th; and from the equator, to the 23d degree of north latitude. From China to Persia, which bound these countries on the east and west, there are reckoned about five hundred leagues; and there are almost as many from the extremity of the peninsula beyond the Ganges to Tartary, which bounds the Indies on the northern side.

The air cannot be the same throughout that vast extent of country; but in general it is good and healthy. The rains which fall continually from the beginning of June till the end of August, serve to refresh it, especially in the two peninsulas, which are almost entirely within the
torrid

torrid zone. They render the earth fruitful, which furnishes in abundance all the necessaries of life, except towards the north, where it does not answer equally the cares of those who cultivate it. From hence arises that almost infinite number of inhabitants in the Indies; and which compose even at this day fifty-two kingdoms and different principalities, whereof 'tis true the greatest part depend on the principal sovereigns of the country, according to the ancient usages of that nation. But to give a chorographical description of them in order, it is necessary to divide them into different parts. Towards the north, are the estates of the great mogul; in the middle, the two peninsulas, the one on this side, and the other beyond the Ganges; and towards the south, those celebrated islands, of equal importance with the continent.

S E C T. I.

Of the Estates of the Great Mogul.

ABout the year 1203, the famous Gingsi-Kan made that cruel irruption into the Indies, which put the Mogul Tartars in possession of that vast extent of country, which is bounded on the north and east by Great Tartary, and by the dominions of the king of Ava: on the south, by the peninsula on this side the Ganges; and on the east, by Persia and the ocean. It is this monarchy which is called Indostan, that is to say, the country of the In-

dies, or India Proper. Some authors make it 650 leagues from east to west, and more than 400 from south to north. The reigning prince in the middle of the 17th century, was called Cha-Halam, and descended (*a*) in a direct line from the famous Zingis, by Tamerlane, the conqueror of the fierce Bajazet. The riches and power of these monarchs, made them take the title of grand signior, or emperor king. Those who fix the treasure of the empire at the lowest valuation, make it to amount to three hundred, or three hundred and fifty millions. But a traveller (*b*) generally esteemed, makes it amount to a sum, which he owns himself would be incredible; were it not founded on a monument as authentic as is that which he relates. He expresses himself in the following manner,

“ At Agra, the capital of the government and kingdom of Indostan, there is in the palace where the great mogul sometimes resides, an apartment, distinguished a by high tower, the roof whereof is covered with plates of gold, a sign of the riches contained within it, in eight large vaults full of gold, silver, and precious stones, the value whereof is almost inestimable. I have been informed, that the great mogul who lived in my time (in 1638) was in possession of a treasure in value more than fifteen hundred millions of crowns; and I am so lucky as to have in my possession, an inventory of the

(*a*) See Thevenot, vol. v. p. 9. Amsterdam edit. 1727.

(*b*) Mandello, voyage to the East-Indies, p. 119, &c.

riches found in the treasury of his great grandfather after his death, as well in coined money, as in ingots, bars, plate, jewels, brocades, and other stuffs, in porcelain, manuscripts, warlike stores, arms, &c. so faithfully set down, that I have thought fit to add it here, for the satisfaction of my readers."

Achobar, for so that prince was called, caused a certain species of money to be coined, of the value of twenty-five, fifty, and a hundred *toles*, which were worth two thousand twelve and a half, four thousand and twenty-five, and eight thousand and fifty crowns, each piece, amounting to the sum of six millions nine hundred and seventy thousand *massas*, which make ninety-seven millions five hundred and eighty thousand *roupies*; or forty eight millions, seven hundred and ninety thousand crowns, money of France.

He had besides, a hundred millions of *roupies*, or fifty millions of crowns, in a certain species of money called after his name, *roupies of Achobar*. The common *roupie* is still worth thirty sols.

Two hundred and thirty millions of another species of money, which they call *peises* or *pechas*, thirty of which make a *roupie*, and sixty, a crown. Thus the value of these *pechas* amounts to seven hundred sixty-six thousand six hundred and sixty-seven *roupies*, wanting ten sols, which again make three hundred and fiftythree thousand three hundred and thirty-three crowns ten sols.

In diamonds, rubies, emeralds, sapphires, pearls,

and other jewels, to the value of sixty millions twenty thousand five hundred and twenty-one roupies, which amount to above ninety millions of livres.

In wrought gold, in figures and statues, of elephants, camels, horses, and other such like curiosities, to the value of nineteen million six thousand seven hundred and eighty-five roupies, that is to say, above twenty-eight millions.

In moveables and vessels of gold, such as plates, drinking vessels, basons, &c. the value of eleven millions seven hundred and thirty-three thousand seven hundred and ninety roupies, which amount to sixteen millions of livres, nearly.

In vessels of copper, fifty-one thousand two hundred and twenty-five roupies, or seventy-six thousand eight hundred and thirty-six livres.

In porcelain, vessels of sealed earth, &c. to the value of two millions.

In brocades, cloths of gold and silver, or stuffs of cotton and silk from Persia, Turkey, Europe, and Guzarate, fifteen millions five hundred and nine thousand nine hundred and seventy-nine roupies.

In linen of Europe, Persia and Tartary, five hundred and three thousand two hundred and fifty-two roupies.

In tents, carpets, tapestry, and other furniture, for the city or the field, nine millions nine hundred and twenty-five thousand five hundred and forty-five roupies.

Twenty-four thousand manuscript volumes, and those so richly bound, that they have been valued

valued at six millions four hundred and sixty-three thousand seven hundred and thirty-one roupies; which composes a library worth above nine millions of livres.

In artillery, ball, gun-powder, and other war-like stores, eight millions five hundred seventy-five thousand nine hundred and seventy roupies.

In arms offensive and defensive, such as swords, pikes, bows, arrows, &c. above seven millions five hundred and fifty thousand five hundred and twenty-five roupies.

In saddles, bridles, and other horse furniture of gold and silver, three millions eight hundred thousand livres.

In coverings for horses and elephants embroidered with gold, silver, and pearls, seven millions and five hundred thousand livres.

All these sums added together, amount to six hundred and twenty-two millions three hundred and thirty-nine thousand five hundred and seventy-nine livres. Yet, continues Mandello, all these riches of the Mogul Achobar, are almost nothing in comparison with those which his great grandson Schach-Chorrom was possessed of in 1638, and at this day with much greater reason. They increase every day, not so much by the ordinary revenues of the great dominions he possesses, as by the presents he receives from the lords, to whom he grants his favours. That prince does not think it below his majesty to accept acknowledgments from his subjects. Nay frequently after their death, he seizes on what they had acquired by his favour. It is principally
by

by these funds that the treasures of the great mogul are swelled; and as he is not permitted to take any thing out of them for his own use, so he lays up nothing, or very little, of his ordinary revenue amongst them. Thus it may be said to belong rather to the state, than the prince.

His power is so despotic, that he has the sovereign disposal of the lives and effects of his subjects. His will is their only law; it decides all law-suits, without any person's daring to dispute it on pain of death. At his command alone the greatest lords are executed; their fiefs, their lands, their posts and offices are changed or taken from them. The highest employments in his kingdom are, that of prime vizier, which answers to the first minister and chancellor of France; that of treasurer; that of chief of the eunuchs, which resembles the great master of the household; that of first secretary of state; that of general of the elephants; that of great master of the wardrobe, that is to say, of the furniture, the tents and precious stones, of which the prince commonly makes use.

Few days pass without his appearing at sun-rising; and the lords of his court are obliged to be then in his apartment, in order to pay him their homages. He shews himself also at mid-day, to see the wild beasts fight; and at evening he appears at a window, from whence he sees the sun set. He retires with that star, amidst the noise of a great number of drums and kettle-drums, and the acclamations of his people, wishing him a long and a happy life. None are permitted

permitted to enter the palace but the rasi or princes, and the great officers; who shew so great veneration for him; that it is impossible to approach the most sacred things with more profound respect. They accompany all their discourse with continual reverences, they prostrate themselves before him at taking leave; they put their hands on their eyes, then on their breast, and lastly on the earth, to testify that they are only dust and ashes in respect of him. They wish him all manner of prosperity as they retire, and go backwards till they are out of sight.

When he marches at the head of his army, or goes out of town a hunting, or to one of his country-houses, he is accompanied by above ten thousand men. About one hundred elephants covered with housings of scarlet, velvet, and brocade, march at the head of this little army. Each carries two men, one of whom governs the animal by touching his forehead with an iron hook, the other holding a great banner of silk embroidered with gold and silver; the first eight carry each a kettle-drum. In the middle of this troop, the prince rides, mounted on a fine Persian horse, or in a chariot drawn by two white oxen, whose large spreading horns are adorned with gold. Sometimes he is carried by men in a palanquin; thus he frequently changes his vehicle. The rasi and officers of his court compose his retinue, and have five or six hundred elephants, camels, or chariots following them, loaded with baggage.

In the royal city two solemn festivals are celebrated, of which he is the principal object. The first (*c*) is held at the beginning of the new year, and lasts about eighteen days. A theatre is erected before the palace, fourteen foot high, fifty-six long, and forty broad; it is covered with rich tapestry, and surrounded by a balustrade. Near it is a building of painted wood, embellished with mother of pearl; in this some of the principal lords of the court seat themselves, tho' at the same time their tents are erected in the first court of the palace, where they affect to display all their riches and splendor. Anciently the mogul kings were wont to go into these tents, and take whatever they liked best. This custom has been changed, and for more than a century past, the prince, accompanied by the seven first play-ministers, ascends the theatre; where he seats himself on velvet cushions embroidered with gold and pearls, waiting the presents they come to offer him. He receives them equally from the people and grandees of his empire, during the eighteen days that the ceremony lasts, and towards the end, he dispenses amongst them his bounties, which consist in places and dignities, which he confers on those who have been most liberal to him. Tavernier says, he saw him receive at one of those feasts, above thirty millions in diamonds, rubies, emeralds, pearls, gold, silver, fine stuffs, elephants, camels, and horses.

(*c*) Mandelso's voyage to the East-Indies, p. 140. Bern. hist. of the Moguls. Tavern. voyage to the Indies, l. ii. c. 8. describes this feast at great length, at which he assisted: as does Thevenot, tom. v. p. 142. &c.

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The second festival is the anniversary of his birth. He begins that day with all manner of diversions, which he breaks off to go to the palace of the queen his mother, if she is yet alive; he testifies his gratitude to her, and causes the grandees of his realm to make her magnificent presents. After he has dined, he puts on his finest robes; he covers himself with gold and jewels, and being rather loaded than adorned with inestimable riches, he goes into a vast and superb tent, where he is waited on by the principal lords of his court. He finds here the great scales and the chains which suspend them, both which are of massy gold adorned with jewels. He places himself in one of the scales, the other being filled with gold, silver, jewels, pieces of stuff, fine linen, pepper, cloves, mace, cinnamon, corn, pulse, and herbs, and an exact register is kept of the difference of his weight each year. It is matter of great joy when the king weighs more one year than another, and of as great concern, if he is found to have fallen away.

This ceremony is followed by the greatest act of generosity which the mogul exhibits during the whole year. It consists in some small pieces of money which he gives to the poor, and in throwing among the grandees, nuts, pistachios, almonds, and other fruits, made of gold; but so small, and so slightly wrought, that a thousand of them are not worth above seven or eight pistoles. After experiment made, a basin full of these trifles, was found not to exceed ten crowns.

Thus

Thus all the liberality of this powerful monarch on his birth-day, amounts to no more than one hundred crowns. The festival concludes with a magnificent supper to the lords of his court, with whom he passes the night in drinking.

Yet there is not a prince in the universe in a condition to spend with greater profusion, or to signalize his generosity more. It is found in the public registers, that of the forty kingdoms which compose the empire of the great mogul, those of Candahar, Cabul, Guzarate, Cassimer, Barampour, Dely, Bengal, Agra, Orix, and a few more, pay him every year one hundred and seventy-four millions five hundred thousand roupies, making about two hundred and sixty-one millions seven hundred and fifty thousand livres, French money; which sum is perhaps one third of his revenue.

But these immense sums are entirely dissipated in maintaining his troops, and his household, the expence of which is incredible. His ordinary guard consists of twelve thousand men, without reckoning the six hundred body-guards whereof that company is composed, and an equal number of young men who are bought on his account and trained to arms, and are to be continually about his person. The expence of his seraglio would alone consume the revenue of a powerful prince. Whatever is most rare and exquisite, whether wild game or fish, is sought out for his table. As he changes the place of his residence with the different seasons of the year, and as these places are at a great distance from one another,

another, the transporting such a number of officers, women, and guards, belonging to his household and his stables, occasions a prodigious expence. Lastly, he has places furnished and maintained in several cities, where he passes some months; and every where there is observed a sumptuousness without example. These princes have likewise a custom of encamping sometimes without being at war.

An accurate traveller (*d*), who has laid down a rule to relate nothing but what he has seen, informs us, that the palace of Agra is four leagues in circumference, and that it is fortified on all sides. After having passed several courts and streets, separated by different gates, one comes at last to the apartment of the prince, which is in the middle of the building. In the first saloon is a balustrade of silver, where are the officers of the guard, who permit none to enter but the great lords of the court. This leads into the chamber of ceremony, where there is another balustrade of gold, enclosing the throne of massy gold, and enriched with diamonds, pearls, and precious stones. None but the king's sons are allowed to enter into this balustrade, or to fan themselves in order to cool the air, and drive away the flies.

It is true, there are mines of gold and silver in the mogul's empire, but these furnish only a very small quantity of that abundance which astonishes us, and appears almost incredible. His richest funds proceed from his jewels, cottons,

(*d*) Madello, p. 118.

silks,

silks, stuffs, and cocoas; there is no country in the universe where all these commodities are in greater plenty. It is from thence that Arabia Felix, Turkey, Persia, the northern provinces, and Europe, bring all they have occasion for of this kind; and the trade with all these nations, turns entirely to the advantage of the mogul, and his subjects. All of them give silver, for what is very common there, such as rice, cotton, silks and stuffs. The Dutch carry thither gold and silver, which they get from Japan, Ceylon, China and Europe; other nations trade in the same commodities, excepting lead, which the English furnish, and scarlet with some other commodities manufactured in France. The commerce of the Moguls tends only to enrich their country; they carry the provisions which they cannot consume, and their stuffs, to Pegu, Siam, the islands of Ceylon, Sumatra, Borneo, Celebes, and the Philippines; and in return bring back gold, silver, cloves, mace, and cinnamon, commodities which are not found in the upper Indostan. The passion they have for these precious metals, have caused them to establish trade on such a footing, that foreign merchants find much greater advantage in trading by exchange, than by demanding money for those things which the Moguls have occasion for. It is thus that prince has horses from Persia. Lastly, it is forbidden under severe penalties to trade in any other manner, or to carry gold and silver coin out of the kingdom. None of it is permitted to be exported but what is worked in brocades and other

other embroidered stuffs; and this only with design to draw in a much greater quantity in return.

The prince is the only person who receives any advantage, from the exorbitant duties with which he oppresses all those who are concerned in commerce, and from the right which he has to seize on the effects, of his subjects before or after their death. And it is perhaps true, that specie is scarcer among private persons in his empire, than amongst any other civilized people. This may be seen by the coins which are in use at Indostan.

The *peïses* or *pechas* (*e*), are a small piece of copper not quite two lairds French money in value.

The *mamoudy* is their smallest piece of silver, it is valued at ten sols and a half; twenty-six *pechas* make a *mamoudy*.

A *roupie* of silver is valued at thirty French sols.

The *roupie* of gold is only known among the great lords, and is worth fourteen silver *roupies*, or twenty-one *livres*.

The *tbeil* of silver makes eleven, twelve, or thirteen *roupies* current money.

The *massas* is another piece of which eleven and a half make a *tbeil* of silver; and ten of these make a *tbeil* of gold.

Great sums in this country are reckoned by

(*e*) Tavernier, voyage to the Indies, c. ii. Du Bois, p. 631. Thevenot, tom. v. p. 571.

eks or *lacs*; by *erous* or *courous*, by *padans* or by *nils*. But these numbers are very little in use.

One hundred thousand *roupies* make a *lek*; one hundred thousand *leks* a *courou*; one hundred thousand *courous* a *padan*; and one hundred thousand *padans* a *nil*.

Specie is so scarce among the common people, that in many places, even at Surat, a city of great trade, they use bitter almonds instead of money, sixty-eight of which make a *peise*. Sometimes sea-shells which are brought from the Maldivé islands, are used instead of money; and their price increases in proportion to the distance from the sea. Altho' the money is recoined almost every year by order of the prince; yet there are a great many debasers and clippers of the coin in the Indies (*f*), who make considerable alterations either in it's weight or alloy, and frequently in both. This abuse is so general, that no large payments are made, but in presence of one of these changers or bankers called *karafes*, whose shops are at the corners of the principal streets. They have so perfect a knowledge of silver, that they immediately discover if it is adulterated, and for a very small premium will warrant it.

After these remarks on the riches of the great mogul, which make him to be justly looked upon as the most powerful prince in the universe, it may be necessary to make the reader acquainted with the extent and the principal parts of his empire. It is divided into forty provinces, all which, ex-

(*f*) *Tav. voyage to the Indies, c. 2. Mandello, p. 312. Voyages of the Dutch, tom. i. p. 445.*

cepting two, have the title of kingdoms, whose names are almost constantly derived from the capital.

In order to avoid confusion, we shall consider them, not according to their political, but their geographical order.

There are five on the eastern side, which are, the kingdoms of Canduana, Udeffa, Jesual, Patna, and Mevat.

Five on the south, which are those of Bengal, Orixia, Berar, Cândiach, and Guzarate.

Six on the west, which are those of Multan, Hajacan, Buchar, Jeselmera, Soret, and Tatta.

Nine on the north, which are those of Nau-gracut, Siba, Pitan, Gor, Kakares, Bankisich, Cachimire, Attoch, and Cabul.

Fifteen in the middle of the empire, which are those of Chitor, Mavay, Bando, Jenupar, Dely, Agra, Galeor, Narvar, Marcuca, Sambal, Bachar, Jemba, Pegab or Lahor, Rahia-Ranas, and the nation of the Hendowns, a barbarous people.

It is to be remarked, that amongst that great number of provinces, there are some which do not depend entirely on the great mogul, but whose inhabitants form small separate states, living under princes whom they call raïas, or under a sort of republican government. Both the one and the other are vassals or tributaries to the great mogul. I shall here mention the principal cities of that vast empire.

In the kingdom of Canduana, which others call Siba, lying to the westward of the Great

Thibet, there is a small province watered by the Ganges, which has a prince of it's own, but a vassal of the great mogul, and who commonly resides in the city, of Canduana. That of Sirinager is not far distant from it.

Udessa, Patna, Jesual and Mevat, have nothing remarkable but the mildness of the climate, the excellence of their fruits, and the fertility of the country.

Bengal is very well known by it's name, which it gives to the greatest gulph of Asia, which separates the two peninsulas of the Indies. This kingdom is near two hundred and fifty leagues from east to west; it is looked (g) upon as the most fertile of all the Indies in sugar, silk, fruits, salt-petre, gum-lac, wax, civet, opium, pepper, and rice, with all which commodities it furnishes the most distant provinces. This country is cut thro' by numerous canals, which serve to water it, and to facilitate the transporting of mercantile goods; their banks are covered with towns and villages extremely well peopled, and great fields of rice, sugar and wheat, much larger than that of Europe, three or four kinds of pulse, mustard, citrons, oranges, and a great quantity of small mulberry-trees for the nourishment of silk-worms. It is chiefly in this country that the rhinoceros and musk are to be found.

The finest canes which are brought into Europe, come from this kingdom. A small sort of canes grows here, much more supple than others, which the inhabitants work into vessels; those

(g) Mandelso, p. 290, & seq. Thevenot, tom. v. p. 201, & seq. they

they glaze over with lac within, which thus contain all kind of liquors as securely as glass or silver. An herb is likewise gathered in this country, which sends up first a pretty high stem of the thickness of one's finger, afterwards leaves; and on the top of all, a large bud like a tuft. The Indians spin it, and make it into tapestry, coverings, and very beautiful stuffs, upon which they represent all kinds of figures.

Ougli (*b*) upon the western bank of the Ganges, and about twenty leagues from the sea, has become very famous since the Hollanders have established themselves there. Next to Batavia, this is their greatest factory, and the place where their trade is most considerable. The French company has likewise a factory there. They bring from thence, according to one of our latest travellers (*i*), several sorts of malle-molles, of casses, which we call double muslins; of doreas, which are striped muslins; of tangebs, that is, thick muslins; and of amans, or very fine cotton-stuffs; but not so beautiful as the sanas which come from Ballasford; pieces for handkerchiefs of silk and cotton, and other stuffs of the same kind. From Dacca, on the most western mouth of the same river, come the best and finest Indian embroideries in gold, silver, or silk, and those embroidered neck-cloths, and fine muslins, which are seen in France. Chatigan in the same country, a little farther towards the south, is likewise a town of great trade. Chandernagor and Chin-

(*b*) See Lullier, p. 50.

(*i*) Lullier's voyage to the Great Indies, p. 57.

cora in the neighbourhood of Ougli, are still famous for their commerce, and most of the European nations have factories established there (*k*). Soumelpour to the north of that kingdom, is not less important on account of it's mine of diamonds (*l*) which are found in it's neighbourhood. This mine is not like most others in the bosom of the earth, but in the sand of the river Gouel, which they search carefully after the month of February, when the waters are low. They begin their search at the town of Soumelpour, and carry it up to the mountains, whence the Gouel has it's source; a space of about fifty leagues. There are commonly eight or ten thousand persons employed in that work. It is from thence those fine sparks of diamonds come, called *genuine sparks*. But stones above a certain bigness are seldom found.

The southern boundaries of the empire of the great mogul, extend from the mouths of the Ganges to those of the Indus, or Sinde, as the people of the country now call it, and run along the tropic of Cancer. The province of Oriza (*m*), which bounds it on the west, and that of Bengal it's boundary on the south, have frequently been the occasion of war between the great mogul and the king of Golconda. The first is now it's sovereign, altho' he leaves it under the government of a raia. It's capital, which bears the name

(k) Idem, ibidem, p. 47, &c.

(l) Tavernier's voyage to the Indies.

(m) Maffey, hist. Indica. Mandello, p. 289. Du Bois, p. 648. Thevenot, p. 212.

of Bengal, is a large city built upon a mountain, where they carry on a trade in diamonds and jewels. There is a church there dedicated to St. Thomas, and a fine palace built by the kings of Golconda. It's principal cities are Mântipout on the Ganges, and Jagarnat on the sea side. In the latter is a famous temple of idols, the first of which represents the god Resora, and the three others, his wife, his brother, and his sister. The statue of Resora is entirely of gold and jewels, that of his wife of gold without any ornaments, and the two others of sandal wood. This temple has revenues for the maintenance of twenty thousand men.

The kingdoms of Berar and Candisct are remarkable on account of some mines of gold, and of precious stones which are found in them.

A peninsula which lies at the bottom of the mouths of the Indus, contains the greatest part of the kingdom of Guzarate, where there are immense riches. There is not a more fertile province in all the Indies (*n*). It produces fruits and provisions in such abundance, that it furnishes the neighbouring provinces with them. Cambay, standing on the point of the eastern gulph which bears the same name, is a very fine, large, and agreeable city; it's streets are spacious, handsome, and streight. Altho' it is at least two leagues in circumference, yet it is entirely built of hewn stone, and has twelve gates which are shut in the night-time. Without it's walls there

(*n*) Mandello, p. 55, 101. Tavern. voyage to the Indies, c. 5. Theren. p. 95.

are very large suburbs, and fifteen or sixteen public gardens surrounded with walls, and which are kept in great order. But the trade of this city is inconsiderable, because it has no harbour which large vessels can enter; yet the Dutch and English have factories here.

Superstition is more prevalent among those inhabitants than in any other place of the Indies. Being strict observers of the ancient dogma of the metempsychosis, they constantly maintain three hospitals (*o*), one for birds, another for goats, and a third for black cattle. The zealots lay food for them of different kinds upon the high-ways, and in the fields. They have a reverence for all insects, however small and hideous they may be. The benjans carry in their girdles instruments with which they brush the places where they sit down, or where they walk, lest they should crush in pieces the ants, or other reptiles that may be found there. Some of these idolaters hold the christians and mahometans in abhorrence, because they see them feed on the flesh of animals; and some carry their scruples and weakness so far as to eat nothing that is red, for fear there should be blood in it. By the force of money they have obtained from the great mogul the singular privilege, that no calf, ox, or cow, shall be killed in their city; and if a christian, or mahometan, should be found transgressing this prohibition, his life would be in danger. These pagans have in this city one of the most magnificent temples in the kingdom,

(*o*) Du Bois, p. 635.

full of idols of all sizes, and for the most part of monstrous figures (*p*).

The people of Amadabat, in the same kingdom, and almost under the tropic, are no less barbarous in their worship. Their priests, called *joghis*, have nothing but a scarf round their middle, which covers what shame and decency require should be concealed. They paint their foreheads with several colours, with those of sandal saffron, and other drugs. They live with great austerity, and in a voluntary poverty, employing themselves in contemplation like the ancient brachmans, whom they have improved upon by the invention of new superstitions. The English have in this city a factory for commerce.

People of all nations, and all kinds of mercantile goods throughout Asia, are to be found at Amadabat (*q*). Brocades of gold and silver, carpets with flowers of gold, tho' not so good as the Persian, velvets, satins, and taffeties of all colours, stuffs of silk, linen and cotton, and calicoes, are all manufactured here. The other merchandizes which have the greatest sale in this place are, candied sugar, cassia, cumin, honey, lac, opium, borax, ginger, and myrobalans, a small fruit used in pharmacy of the size of a prune, sal armoniac, and indigo, in the country language called *anil*, and which grows here in great quantities. The privilege of this town, by

(*p*) Mandello, p. 77.

(*q*) Mandello, *ibid.* Dutch collection, t. vi. p. 395.

which

which they are exempted from all duties either for the entry or exportation of goods, is the chief cause of it's universal and extensive commerce. Strangers are allowed to buy and sell all sorts of commodities, excepting such as are contraband, as gun-powder, lead, and salt-petre; trading in which is prohibited; but a permission is easily obtained from the governor for a small acknowledgment.

The territory and dependencies of Amadabat comprehend twenty-five large towns, and near three thousand villages, which produce a revenue of about twenty millions. The governor pays a great part of it to the mogul: he maintains by order of that prince a numerous body of troops, as well to send to his assistance in time of war, as to keep the robbers and highwaymen in awe; but it frequently happens that he protects them secretly, and shares in their booty. The sepulchral monuments which are seen about this city, are matter of curiosity to travellers; and the admirable gardens which surround it in great numbers, are an agreeable amusement to them during their stay here; and that pleasure continues after their departure, as they travel along roads laid out in a straight line, and planted with a double row of cocoa trees, which afford a shade and covering in all seasons. Yet it must be owned, they do not come near that which goes from Agra to Brampour, and makes but one avenue of one hundred and fifty German leagues in length.

The best indigo in the world, according to Mandello, comes from a village called Chirchéés, near Amadabat. The herb of which it is made resembles the shoots of the yellow carrot, but is bitter and shorter, sending forth branches like the bramble, and growing in good years to the height of six or seven feet. Its flower resembles that of the thistle, and its seed is like that of mustard. It is sown in the month of June, and the plants are cut in the months of November or December. It is sown only once in three years, and the first year the plant is cut within a foot of the ground. The wood, or stalk of the plant which has been cut, is thrown away, and the leaves are set to dry in the sun; after that they are steeped four or five days in a stone trough, containing six or seven feet depth of water, which is stirred about from time to time, till the water has imbibed the colour, and the virtue of the herb; then the water is run out into another trough, where it is left to settle for one night; next day all the water is drawn out of the trough, and what remains at the bottom, is strained thro' a coarse linen cloth; and afterwards dried in the sun; this is the best indigo.

The herb shoots up the second year from the stalks that have been left in the field, but is not so good as the first. Notwithstanding they prefer it to *gyngéy*, which is the wild indigo, and on this account, the second year they let some of it run to seed in order to gather it. That of the third year is not good, and thus not being sought after
by

by the foreign merchants, the inhabitants use it in dying their stuffs.

The colour of the first indigo approaches to the violet, and smells like the flower of that name when it is burnt. The people of Indostan call it *anil*, and let the ground rest a year before they sow it again.

There is another kind of indigo, if the description which Tavernier gives of it may be credited. It is, says he, an herb which they sow every year after the rains are over, and which is very like the male hemp. Its flower is like that of the artichoke, and its seed somewhat like that of fennel. It grows like broom, having roots like that, long and streight; the leaf is larger, approaching to that of senna. Its stalk is three foot high, of the thickness of a man's thumb; and is cut three times in a year.

The indigo of St. Domingo in America, from whence comes almost all that is used in France, is also different from the two first. It is a shrub of three or four feet in height when suffered to grow, which throws out from its root several woody and knotty stalks. These send out little branches of the same nature; and at every one of these knots, there comes out a shoot about two or three inches long, furnished through all its length with four or five pairs of leaves, terminating in one. These leaves are oval and pointed, about nine or ten twelfths of an inch in length, and near half an inch in breadth. They are joined together, pretty thick, of a beautiful enough green, but of a disagreeable taste

taste and smell. There arises in the pits of these leafy shoots, a small branch about two inches in length, and set round in the shape of a pyramid with several small purple flowers, very like those of our broom. The pestle of each flower becomes afterwards crooked, is about an inch in length, is as it were knotty and divided into several cells, in which there is a pale and cylindrical seed. Several of these seeds are thrown together in little ditches laid out by a line, during the rainy season, and the plant is cut when it arrives to a certain height before it flowers. The manner of preparing the paste of which the colour is made, is nearly the same as in Amadabat; that is to say, by steeping the leaves in water during some days, stirring it about, then straining and drying it.

Thirty-five leagues to the south of Cambaya, and about fifty from Amadabat, stands the famous city of Surat, one of the best, the finest, and richest and greatest marts, not only of the mogul's country, but of all the Indies. It is situated about four leagues from the sea, to the south of the river Tapta, which serves it for a harbour, where vessels of a moderate bulk may come up by favour of the tide. Those that are larger unload two leagues farther in the sea, at the village of Suhali, from whence they carry the goods by land.

Surat was one of the first objects of European ambition. The Portuguese established themselves there by force of arms almost as soon as they
they

they were acquainted with it's advantages (*r*), which was before the year 1530. The English followed them in 1609; the Dutch in 1616, and the French in 1665. All of them have contributed to embellish a city, which already passed for the most splendid of all the country. They built there hotels and magnificent lodges. (It is thus that they call those buildings which serve them as dwelling houses and magazines, when the chief or intendant of the commerce does not reside there.) Part of the streets is paved with porcelain, and some houses are fronted with it, and with so much art that it is really admirable. Their houses are flat on the top, after the manner of the ancient Hebrews, the Romans, and the modern Persians. The rich vie with one another in their decorations. The furniture of their apartments is superb, and their magnificence is seen even in the umbrellas of their windows. They consist of several rows of small planks joined together obliquely over the windows, and inlaid with mother of pearl, and the shells of tortoises, crocodiles, and other fishes. Thus they keep off the heat of the sun, which is extreme in the torrid zone where they are situated; and by weakening the light they render it more agreeable by that mixture of colours which is reflected by it's rays.

The happy situation of this city has caused it

(*r*) Dellon, voyage to the Indies. Mandello, p. 59. Dictionary of commerce. Henkius ad Cluv. Du Bois, Geogr. p. 636. Lallier on commerce, p. 179, and 184. Dutch collection, t. vi, p. 397. Thev. p. 44, 78, & seq.

to flourish in trade at all times. Some believe it might be the ancient *Sarashtra* or *Barigasa*. It is here that the Indians constantly embark to go and trade on the coasts of Persia, Arabia, Egypt, and Africa, even to the cape of Good-Hope, and in the island of Madagascar. Some of them sail to the east, in order to buy nutmegs in the peninsula of Malacca beyond the Ganges, cloves in the island of Celebes, cinnamon in Ceylon, pearls at cape Comorin, and musk at Bengal and Cochinchina. The people of these different places likewise carry thither whatever they have rare and valuable amongst them, in order to exchange it for those manufactures which the ingenuity of the Indians occasions to be held in request among all nations. At Surat are to be had the finest Indian brocades, the richest silk stuffs of all kinds, calicoes and muslins without number, porcelains, cabinets, chests and other manufactures of that nature, in which are used gold, silver and mother of pearl, ebony and ivory. They have smiths who work in gold and silver; they likewise cut diamonds and set them with a skill and an address which are admirable. They have immense magazines of silk (s), spiceries, colours, and medicinal drugs. That great confluence of people and riches has made Surat at present the most flourishing city, and of the greatest wealth and trade in all the Indies.

It likewise pays a yearly tribute to the mogul. of several millions; which drains the people and

(s) Tavernier gives a list of them, I. ii. p. 373.

reduces them to the greatest misery. They have scarce enough left to live upon and procure them a habitation. The dwelling-places of these unfortunate slaves resemble rather barns (†) than houses; being built of nothing but reeds, plaistered over with the dung of black cattle steep'd. in mud, in order to prevent those who are without from seeing between the reeds what passes within. The governor of the city is even more oppressive than the prince himself. Since his office has become fixt and venal, he seems to be at full liberty to indemnify himself from the inhabitants for the price at which he has bought it. He has all the authority of the mogul, and so absolute a power over them, that he may put to death and deprive of their possessions whomsoever he pleases. The rich men in the country (u) have no travelling coaches. Their carriage is a chariot, adorned with a little balustrade a foot and an half high, which is supported on four upright bars of iron somewhat higher than the wheels, and fixed to the two extremities of the axle tree, without either springs or braces, and only laid between the wheels. Instead of harnessing horses to them, they make use of oxen which are trained for that purpose, and fed with a paste compounded of meal, sugar, and a mixture of several kinds of spices. The care they take of them renders them prodigiously fat, and almost as large as elephants. Some pairs of

(†) Tavernier, voyage to the Indies, c. i.

(u) Mandello, p. 57, and 198. Du Bois, p. 636. Tavern. c. 11.

them

them have cost a thousand crowns. ~~The carriages~~ are called *pallekis*; and those which portmen, instead of oxen, carry on their shoulders, are called *palanquins*.

The kingdoms which follow that of Guzarat, and which bound the mogul's empire towards the west, have not the same trade; neither are they so rich or fertile. They comprehend all that country which the Greeks conquered under the ensigns of Alexander the great. The Indus in it's course divides it from north to south. But it must be remarked, that since the invasion of the Tartars, every thing has changed it's face, the religion, the government, the names of the countries and rivers. Before their time, the religion of the Greeks, which their colonies had introduced, was received almost every where, except in those places which the Brachmans were possessed of; at present all are idolaters, mahometans, or pythagoreans, that is, believers in the metempsychosis. It is certain, that the Christian faith had been preached there and received by many, even with fervor; but scarce the smallest traces of the gospel are now to be found. Since the time of Porus a great number of kings have reigned in peace and glory on the thrones of their ancestors, altho' they depended in some measure on a superior monarch, who seemed rather to protect them, than to make them feel the yoke of his dominion. But the mogul has robbed them of every thing; and the higher any person is exalted, the more is he

exposed to his avarice, his jealousy, and his resentment. Finally, the kingdom of the Taxiles, of Porus and others, are utterly forgot; in their stead they have substituted the barbarous names of *Camboul*, *Hajacan*, *Moultan*, *Bouckor*, *Tata*, and *Soret*. Excepting the Indus, which they call *Sindé*, the rivers are no more to be known than the countries. The Choës is now called Cow or Behat; the Evaspla, Nilab; the Hydaspes, Chantrou; the Acesine, Ravi; the Hydraotès, Vah or Via; and the Hyphasis, Chaul or Sietmege.

Alexander not having carried his conquests farther than the Hyphasis, the Greeks, and after them the Romans, had but a very confused notion of the provinces beyond that river. Within this age they have been much frequented by those whom interest or curiosity have placed above the fatigue and dangers of so long a voyage. Some (x) have traced their route in as exact a detail as could be done from Paris to any other city in France. In the space of about two hundred and fifty leagues of north latitude, and above three hundred leagues of longitude, which comprehends the nine northern kingdoms, and the fifteen in the middle of the mogul's empire, a great many cities might be named, and particular anecdotes of them related. But we shall confine ourselves to some of the principal ones.

Cachemire, which gives it's name to the kingdom where it stands, is situated in the northern

(x) Mandello. Taverna.

part of Indostan, at the bottom of that famous chain of mountains which are commonly called Paropamisfa, from whence the Indus takes its source, This is a large city, but without any beauty (y), being built entirely of wood, open on all sides, and about three quarters of a league in length. At the south side is a large lake four or five leagues in circumference, which discharges itself by two navigable canals into a river which runs through the city, and over which there are two bridges. On some islands which nature has formed in that lake, the Cachemirians have made excellent gardens, some of which are publick. They have others about the city, and the people are so dexterous at that kind of agriculture, that the Indians have given this country the name of the *terrestrial paradise*. Their address in these affairs, has inspired the mogul emperors for above an age ago, with the desire to pass every year part of the fine season there, in order to enjoy the pleasures of Cachemire. His palace is the temple of magnificence, and his gardens are perfectly delightful. One of the mogul emperors has been heard to say, that he would rather lose all his kingdom than be deprived of Cachemire.

Some vestiges of ancient tradition shew, that some time or other the Jews have been established in this kingdom. All the inhabitants have the air of Jews, and something in their

(y) Tavern. history of the great mogul, t. iv. Thev. p. 173. & seq.

manners shews that they are descended from that people. There is still standing a mosque with a very ancient building, which they call *Tact-Soliman*, or in the language of the country, *the temple of Solomon*. The name of *Moufa*, which amongst them means Moses, is much used there; and they pretend, that the tomb of that prophet and law-giver lies about a league from the city. It is not necessary to take notice that this tradition is a pure fable in the Jewish taste, which they have invented and spread thro' the country. The people of this province have the character of being more ingenious and acute, and better qualified for poetry and the sciences, than the other Indians. They are as well made as the handsomest Europeans, and their women are very beautiful; and it is from hence that the people of the south, who go to establish themselves at the great mogul's court, take their wives, that they may have whiter children than the ordinary Indians, and that they may pass for natural moguls.

Atok, Raja, Moultan, Jengapor and some other cities situated (z) near the different rivers that run into the Sinde; are no more than a confused irregular mass of houses, most part of them as mean and ill-built as those of our villages in France, altho' the emperor has palaces in them. The inhabitants notwithstanding have every thing that is necessary for life, and carry on a very considerable trade in elephants, sheep, and other cattle. Caboul is the principal market

(z) Tavern. du Bois. Maty. Baudran.

for the Persians and Tartars in this trade; and it is reckoned, that every year above sixty thousand horses are sold there. Wine and provisions are also sold at a very low price.

There are in this country a people called Augans (*a*), very robust, and great robbers by night, who make use of a singular remedy to prolong their days. It is a custom almost among all the Indians to rub their tongues, when they rise in the morning, with a certain root, which makes them vomit plentifully. Those who inhabit the frontiers of Persia, do not vomit much in the morning; but when they sit down to meat, no sooner have they swallowed two or three morsels, than they are forced to go out and throw up, and then they return to eat with great appetite. If they did not take that precaution, they could not live thirty years, and would become hydropical.

The residence of the emperor at Dely has made it one of the principal cities of Indostan. It is situated on the river Gemenè, which divides it into two cities. The first has preserved the name of the ancient Dely (*b*), and is now nothing but a suburb. The second is called *Geban-Abad*, that is to say, the *colony of Geban*; because that emperor, grandfather of him who is at present on the throne, built it in 1625, to make it the capital of his empire, and his ordinary residence. In this last, all the houses are large enclosures, in the middle of which

(*a*) Tavern. c. 6. p. 78.

(*b*) Mandellso. Bernier. Tavern. Du Bois. Theven.

they lodge, to prevent any from approaching the places where their women are shut up. The most part of the great men do not reside in the city, but have their houses without, on account of the conveniency of the waters. The entrance into Gehan-Abad, on the side of Dely, is by a long street, on each side of which there are regular arches, and under them the merchants have their shops.

That street leads to the palace, which is a large half league in circuit. The wall is built of hewn stone, with battlements; and at every tenth battlement there is a tower; the ditches are full of water, and faced with hewn stone. The grand portal has nothing extraordinary about it, as little has the first court, into which the great lords may enter on their elephants. This leads to a large and a long passage, adorned with fine porticos, under which there are many little chambers, into which a part of the horse guards retire. On each side are the women's apartment, and the great halls where justice is administer'd. In the middle of the passage, is a canal full of water, which at equal distances, is formed into little basons. From thence a passage leads to the second court, where the omrhas, that is, the grandees of the kingdom, mount guard in person. They have their quarters there, and their horses are tied up before the gates.

Entering into the third court, the divan, where the king gives audience, appears facing it. It is a hall to which one ascends by seven
or

or eight steps, and it is open on three sides. Two and thirty marble columns sustain as many arches; and these columns are about four feet square with their base and mouldings. When the emperor Cha-Jehan caused that hall to be built, he ordered that it should be all enriched with the finest work of inlaid jewels, like the great duke's chapel in Italy. But when they had made the trial on some columns, to the height of two or three feet, they saw it would be impossible to find a number of jewels sufficient to execute such a grand design, and that the expence would amount to immense sums. They were therefore obliged to abandon that project, and to be contented with painting it with different flowers.

In the middle of this hall, opposite to the wall which looks into the court, there is a kind of alcove, upon which the throne where the king gives audience is erected. It is, after the manner of the ancient orientals, a small bed with three feet, and its magnificence could not be believed, were it not attested by the most credible witnesses. This bed is adorned with four columns, a canopy, a head-board, a bolster and a counterpane. It would seem as if Cha-Jehan, who caused it to be made, had resolved to exhaust upon it all the riches of his kingdom. It is valued at near two hundred millions of livres. It shines with gold, silver, emeralds, diamonds and rubies, which have been diffused over it with great profusion. The canopy is so loaded with them, that the

eyes of the beholders are dazzled; gold and pearls compose its fringe. The columns which support it are equally covered with them. The furniture of the bed, with the coverlet which the prince has over him, are embroidered with gold and pearls, and the feet on which the bed stands, are no less adorned than the columns. To every one of these last are fixed the king's arms, his buckler, sword, bow, quiver, arrows, and other things of that nature.

Not far from the hall of the divan are the great stables, about which there are many things very remarkable. They are always full of the finest horses (*c*), in which the mogul takes great delight, and which he buys up in Arabia, Turkey, Persia, and among the Uf-becks. It is said, that the worst of them costs three thousand crowns, and that there are not less than ten thousand of them, which does not seem credible. Before every stable door there is hung a kind of mat made of bamboos or reeds, which are divided by twigs much thinner than osier; they are bound together with twisted silk resembling flowers, the working of which requires a great deal of art and patience. Those mats are intended to prevent the flies from entering. But they are not satisfied with this precaution. Every horse has two grooms, who relieve one another and fan him continually. All the day they have carpets over them, and at night they put below them a litter made of their own dung, dried in

(*c*) Taverna. c. 6. p. 86.

the sun and well pounded together. Their food is no less extraordinary. They give them every morning two or three balls, compounded of wheat and beer, of the bigness of a penny-loaf. Foreign horses are not accustomed to this kind of food without a great deal of trouble, and frequently the groom must hold his tongue with one hand, and with the other thrust the paste down his throat. In the season of sugar-canes and millet, they have these given them at mid-day; and at evening they have a measure of pease ground between two stones and steep'd in water. They never taste hay nor oats.

Agra is the only city of Indostan which can be compared with Gehan-Abad. The prince resides in both these cities by turns; each of them have a palace within their walls: In Agra his treasure is kept; but within this century the mogul princes take up their residence oftener at Gehan-Abad. The mosques, the pagods, and the magnificent tombs which abound in this city, shew it to have been one of the most flourishing places in the Indies. In 1638 (*d*), they reckoned in it seventy great mosques, amongst which six were principal ones, where the mahometans offered up their devotions on festival days. In one of the last is the sepulchre of one of their faints, thirty feet in length and sixteen in breadth. The Indians say he was a giant, and the greatest

(*d*) Mandellso, p. 115. Thevenot has enlarged much on this city, p. 98, & seq.

warrior their nation ever produced. They make frequent and numerous pilgrimages to it, their offerings on these occasions amounting to prodigious sums, which serve to feed every day a vast number of poor. These mosques and their courts are an azylum for criminals, and even for those who are threaten'd with prison by their creditors. The great mogul, however powerful he may be, dares not so much as attempt to take a criminal from thence, for fear of violating that respect with which his religion inspires him for those who are honoured with the title of saints. The wife of the emperor Cha-Jehan thought to render her memory illustrious, and to merit the veneration of ages by the mausoleum which she caused to be erected near the walls of Agra. There is nothing that comes near it in magnificence (*e*). It was two and twenty years in building, though twenty thousand men were incessantly employed about it. There are in Agra near eight hundred baths or stoves (*f*), from whence the mogul draws every year very considerable sums; because that kind of purification being one of the principal points of the mahometan worship, there does not pass a day but those places are frequented by an infinite number of people.

(*e*) Tavern. c. 7. p. 95.

(*f*) Mandelslo p. 116.

S E C T. II.

Of the Peninsula within the Ganges.

THE peninsula within the Ganges is a vast country, and pretty nearly the figure of a cone reversed. It is washed, towards the east, south and west, by the waters of the ocean; the country of the great mogul bounds it on the north. It lies in the torrid zone, between seven degrees thirty minutes and twenty one degrees of north latitude, which makes it in length, from north to south, two hundred and seventy leagues. Its outmost point is called cape Comorin. It extends from east to west, between the 89th and the 105th degrees of longitude, which gives it 320 leagues for its greatest breadth. The excessive heats which reign in this country, renders the colour of the inhabitants much darker than that of those who live in Indostan; but with respect to fertility and riches, both countries are nearly the same. Only this last is more celebrated for its numerous harbours, and the immense commerce of the European nations.

It is divided into two parts (g), by the different regions which border on the sea. The first extends from Daman about twenty-five or thirty leagues from Surat, to cape Comorin, and is called the coast of Malabar. The second

(g) Tavern. chap. 7. Du Bois, de l' Ilc.

begins

begins at that cape, ending at the kingdom of Orixa; this is the coast of Coromandel.

The coast of Malabar contains the ancient kingdom of Decan, now Cungan or Visapour; that of Carnate or Canara, and that of Malabar.

Visapour is the capital of the kingdom which bears it's name. It is a large city surrounded with high walls, where they pretend there are above a thousand pieces of cannon, brass and iron, of all bores. Without the walls, which are two leagues in circuit, there are five spacious suburbs, which give it a circumference of five leagues, as several travellers mention. The houses are built of nothing but straw and reeds, and the doors so little that one must stoop to enter by them; they have no furniture but a mat, which serves for a bed, and a hole in the ground where the rice is kept which is used in the family. In the middle of the city stands the king's palace, surrounded with walls and ditches; but whose inside is as simple as those of the great mogul's palaces are sumptuous and magnificent. Formerly the kings of Visapour were free and independent, at least since the extirpation of those of Telenga; but the emperor Aurengezebe carried on such a violent war against the reigning prince, that he obliged him to acknowledge himself his vassal and tributary in 1690. Both profess the mahometan religion according to the sect of Omar.

The people, the first victims of their prince's misfortunes, can hardly acquire by continual labour

labour sufficient to pay the different subsidies with which they are oppressed, under pretence of the tribute which must every year be sent to the mogul. It is very difficult to find a few persons moderately rich in all the kingdom of Visapour. Of the inhabitants of the capital, some are goldsmiths, others work in brass; wood, cottons, or silks which they send abroad to foreigners, or sell to those who come thither to buy of them; others trade in diamonds, pearls, or lace; and tho' they sell their goods very dear, scarce one acquires a fortune. Pepper is the only thing whose plenty keeps it cheap. The Dutch get considerable quantities from this city and the country about (*b*). They buy it at seven or eight crowns the quintal, and pay for it in stuffs, iron-ware, and other European merchandises.

Along the sea-side from Surat to Goa, there are many maritime places which no longer belong to the Indians. The Portugueze have taken possession of Daman, a city pretty well built for that country, surrounded with walls, and defended by fortifications, whose jurisdiction extends over a great many villages round it. The jesuits, dominicans, cordeliers, and augustins, have houses there.

Bassaim, or Bombay, belongs to the English, who have fortified and beautified it, since they have established a factory there for their commerce.

(*b*) Mandello, p. 223. & 231.

Chaul, or Chitul, of which the Portugueze are masters, is as it were concealed behind the mountains, with a spacious harbour, where ships anchor in safety.-- The hill which commands the port is defended by a good citadel.

Mingrala, or Vingrela, is a large village, where the Dutch, in their expedition against Goa, furnished themselves with provisions, which they still do when they send ships to different parts of the Indies; for the water there is excellent, and the rice perfectly good. Likewise all ships that go from the east to Surat, Ormus, and the Red-sea, commonly anchor in the road of Mingrala for the same reason. Altho' the Dutch are in possession of it, yet nothing is manufactured there but a kind of coarse stuff used in the package of merchant goods.

These places of little importance serve only to raise the name, riches, and magnificence of Goa, as well known amongst us as any city in France can well be. It is situated in the middle of the coast of Malabar (*i*), almost at an equal distance from Surat and cape Comorin, in an island which is seven leagues round called Salsette, formed by the rivers Mandoa and Quari, about two or three leagues from the bank, where they lose themselves in the sea, after being united. In the time of the great heats the water is sometimes so low, that it is scarce two feet deep.

(*i*) Tavern. c. 7. Mandello, p. 246. Du Bois, p. 640. This city, and the manners of it's inhabitants, are described at length in the third volume of the Dutch voyages, p. 636, and tom. 6. p. 424. Thevenot, p. 376.

At other times the passage is so commodious, that the largest vessels sail in it with ease, and arrive even at the harbour of Goa, where they have nothing more to fear. It is reckoned, with those of Constantinople and Toulon, one of the three finest harbours in the world.

Its situation and other advantages incited the Portugueze to seize it, as they had already done by force of arms several places on the coasts of Africa, Persia, and the Indies. Alphonso duke of Albuquerque and admiral to Emanuel the great king of Portugal (1), took it by surprize and composition the 16th of February 1510. Zabalim Dalcarn, prince of the island, made generous efforts to recover the inheritance of his fathers, from which these strangers had excluded him. He implored the assistance of the princes his neighbours; he soon saw himself at the head of an army of fifty thousand infantry and six thousand cavalry, with which he drove the Portugueze out of his island, the 30th of May in the same year. Albuquerque not enduring that his conquest should be ravished from him, took advantage of a fleet which arrived from Portugal. He fell suddenly upon the king of Goa; he cut his troops in pieces, and drove himself from the city, six months and ten days after he had re-entered it: this was on the 21st of November.

Adelham Schach king of Decan or Cungan, looked upon it as an affront to his nation, to

(1) Mandello, 246. Maffey relates this conquest at great length, hist. des Indes, l. iv. cap. 7.

leave so important a city in the hands of a colony, whose resources were at such a distance. He gathered together his forces and artillery, which are said to have been very considerable; and he took the place from the Portugueze in 1586. They recovered it some time after. He retook, and they entered it again the same year. That prince seeing the ardor with which they maintained their conquest, not only renounced his design, but fearing they might take vengeance on his country, thought on buying his peace with them. He entered into a treaty, by which he ceded to them the property of the country of Salfette, which contained seventy villages, twelve more in that of Bardes, and thirty in Tisvary. The conditions were, that the inhabitants should have the liberty of commerce thro' all the Indies, excepting for their pepper, which they should be obliged to sell to the merchants of Goa, under pain of confiscation of vessels and cargo.

In process of time the Indians broke thro' this treaty. Already the two nations were mutually discontented with one another, when in 1635, the Portugueze being informed that four Indian vessels were bound to Mocha and Persia, loaded with pepper, pursued them, attacked them as guilty of contravention, fell with fury on the merchants and sailors, and carried the ships to Goa, where they killed in cold blood all that remained.

This

This act of cruelty (*m*), and many more still greater, which may be seen in different accounts (*n*), rendered the Portugueze extremely odious to all the Indians. The establishment of their famous inquisition at Goa made them dreaded by all the European nations whom trade obliged to have any communication with them in the Indies. That formidable tribunal has been erected there more than a century ago, to judge in affairs of religion; but the abuses which have been introduced into it by some officers, as well superiors as subalterns, have altered it's first intention, in which there was nothing but what was laudable.

The first or grand inquisitor is always a secular priest, who pretends to have solely the right of being carried in a palanquin; and who has much more respect paid him than the archbishop or the viceroy. His authority extends over all persons, laymen and ecclesiasticks, except the archbishop, his grand vicar, who is always a bishop, the viceroy, and the governors who represent him; but even these he may cause to be arrested and begin their processes, after he has given advice to the court of Portugal of what crimes are laid to their charge. His household consists of gentlemen, equerries, pages,

(*m*) See a glaring instance of cruelty and irreligion towards some Frenchmen, in 1601. Collection of Dutch voyages, t. ii. p. 444.

(*n*) Tavern. c. 13, 14, & 15. *Dellon, inquisition of Goa. But that protestant writer ought to be read with caution. He has given vent to too much of his gall.

and footmen, and a great number of other domesticks; his expence is almost equal to that of the viceroy. The second inquisitor is a religious of the order of St. Dominick; and the other officers, called deputies of the holy office, are taken from among the dominicans, augustins, and bareheaded carmelites. This tribunal has it's promoter or agent, procurator, and advocates for those pannels who desire them. Those who are called familiars of the holy office are a sort of bailiffs or serjeants. What happened to Mr. Tavernier in 1648 is remarkable (c).

A gentleman, says that traveller, having come to tell me from the grand inquisitor, that he expected to see me about two or three in the afternoon, I did not fail to be at the house of the inquisition; at my arrival a page led me into a great hall, whence an officer conducted me to a chamber where the inquisitor was. After having passed two grand galleries and some apartments, I entered the chamber where the inquisitor was expecting me, seated at the end of a large table in the form of a billiard-table covered with green cloth. As soon as I entered he told me I was welcome; and when I had paid my compliments to him, he demanded what religion I was of? I answered, that I made profession of the protestant religion; and when I had told him that my father and mother were of the same profession, he assured me a second time that I was welcome, crying to those who were near that they might come

(c) His voyages, c. 14.

in. Immediately a piece of the tapestry was lifted up, and discovered ten or a dozen persons, in a little chamber adjoining. The first who entered were two augustin monks; who were followed by two dominicans, two carmelites, and some other churchmen, to whom the inquisitor related what I was; that I had no prohibited books with me; and even that knowing the orders and usages of the inquisition, I had had the wisdom to leave my bible at Mingrela.' Other and more singular particulars may be seen in Dellon (*p*), tho' that author ought to be read with caution.

There are in Goa so many churches, convents and chapels, that one half of them would be sufficient for a city much larger and better peopled (*q*). Most part of these edifices are built and adorned within with an astonishing magnificence; an effect of the king of Portugal's generôuty, who has assigned revenues to all the churches, and pensions to the communities in proportion to their numbers. The jesuits, amongst others, have five houses here; all very rich and numerous, as may be seen by Mandello's relation (*r*). The body of St. Francis Xavier, who is commonly called the apostle of the Indies, is kept here. That saint arrived at Goa (*s*) in 1542, and made it the center of his mission. He died ten years after-

(*p*) Account of the inquisition of Goa, 1687.

(*q*) Pietro della Valle, t. iii. p. 176. La Mart. at the word Goa.

(*r*) His voyages, p. 239, &c.

(*s*) Maffey, l. xv. c. 5. Baillet, Topography, p. 213.

wards in the island of Sancian, 23 leagues from the coast of China; and in 1554, his corps was carried to Goa, where it is preserved, except some parts which they have distributed about, such as an arm they have sent to Rome.

Father Bouchet, a jesuit missionary, in a letter written from Pondicherry the first of April, 1719, speaks thus of Goa. We see here on all sides (*t*) very handsome houses, convenient and pleasant gardens, and woods of palm tree planted in a line, which form avenues stretching out of sight. The city was formerly comparable, and even superior in many things, to the finest cities in Europe; but it is no more what it was sixty years ago. However, there are still fine edifices here. The palace of the viceroy, and that of the inquisitor, are perfectly magnificent. We shall relate in the sequel what has been the cause of this decay.

There grows in the island of Goa a very singular tree (*u*), called the sorrowful tree, because it flourishes in the night-time only. At sun-set, no flowers are to be seen, and half an hour after it is quite full of them. They yield a sweet smell, but last no longer than the sun begins to shine on the tree; then some of them fall off, and others close up; and this continues the whole year. It is nearly as large as the prune tree, and its leaves resemble those of the orange. They are commonly planted in the

(*t*) Instructive letters, xv. p. 48.

(*u*) Du Bois. Geogr. p. 641. Dutch voyages, t. ii. p. 254. vi. p. 475. Mandellso, p. 349. and others.

courts of houses, to have the advantage of their shade and smell. They grow very fast, and the roots send forth a great many suckers, which, tho' they are but three feet in height, produce as many flowers as the longest branches of the tree. The Indians use them as saffron for their table and for dying.

Goa is the last place of importance in the kingdom of Visapour, which is bounded on the south by that of Carnate or Canara, which comprehends all the rest of the peninsula except the western coasts. The city of Narsing, which others call Chandegri or Bisnagar, has sometimes given it's name to that kingdom, because it is it's capital, and the prince makes it his place of residence. It is true, that several authors have distinguished Narsing from Bisnagar; but I am of opinion with M. de la Martiniere, that they are mistaken; which is evident from the resemblance of the descriptions they give of the two cities. Besides the advantageous situation of Bisnagar (*), being built on the summit of a high mountain, it is surrounded with a triple row of walls, the last of which is more than three leagues in circuit. The prince's palace is lofty, spacious, magnificent, and environed with large and deep ditches. None are suffered to enter the fortress without an express permission from him. He allows Europeans, and other strangers, to pass some days in the city in the quality of travellers; but he has made an express law, that

(*) Du Bois. Geograph. p. 646.

none shall be allowed to settle there on pre-
tence of trade. However, many have staid
there long enough to inform us, that there is
no place in the Indies where justice is so im-
partially administer'd.

The king of Bijnagar is sovereign of the pro-
vinces of Canara, Balabar, and Gingi, from
whence he has driven it's particular prince. He
takes the title of king of kings, and husband of
a thousand wives; and he has sometimes made
war to maintain those ridiculous titles. He has
many fortified places. But his cannon are not
cast like ours; they are made of thick plates of
iron joined together, and fixed with hoops of
iron like hogheads. Every year he visits his
kingdom, and reviews his troops, who honour
him as a god. He can raise an hundred thou-
sand infantry, thirty thousand cavalry, and se-
ven hundred elephants. For this reason Eu-
ropeans pay him great deference, to have his
favour and the liberty of trading in his domi-
nions, from whence they can have very valu-
able commodities: for this country is rich in
mines of gold, silver, and diamonds. They
fish for amethysts and sapphires in some of the
great rivers, where they are found sticking to
the rocks. The inhabitants are pagans, and
worship the sun in particular, in honour of
whom they have a grand festival every year.

In the inland part of this kingdom there are
many cities, about which several curious and
interesting things might be related. But we
cannot enter into such a detail without trans-

gressing our plan; and several volumes would be necessary to execute that which ought only to be a part of this. It will be sufficient to mention Raolconde above Bijnagar, where there is the richest mine of diamonds in all the Indies; Gandicot (*y*) and Bezouër, famous for the number, singularity, and magnificence of their pagods; and many other places whose fields produce pepper, ginger, rhubarb, sugar, cocoa nuts, palm trees, and rice in abundance. However we cannot dispense with the account of the cities which lie on the coast of Malabar, from Goa to the cape.

Onor, about eighteen leagues from Goa, is a little town belonging to the Dutch (*z*), whose harbour, formed by two rivers, is safe and spacious. It is also defended by a strong citadel, which is of much more consequence than the city. All the people of note reside there with the governor, who has permitted several Portuguese to settle in it.

Barcelor is at six leagues distance, and Mangalor fifteen. These are the two most important places in Canara (*a*), either for the goodness of their roads, or their commerce. The Portuguese had forts there, from whence they were driven by the Canarins during their long and cruel wars with the Dutch. But the peace which was made between the two nations;

(*y*) Taverna, voyage to the Indies, tom. iii. l. i. c. 18.

(*z*) Thevenot, l. ii. c. 2.

(*a*) Savary, dict. of commerce. Maffey, l. x. c. 2. l. xi. c. 2.

having given the viceroy of Goa an opportunity to be avenged of the Indians by incursions, which ruined all the coast, the king of Canara offered to restore to the Portugueze the forts of those two places. They refused them on account of the difficulty they should find to keep them; they thought it would be more for their interest to settle two factories to receive one half of the duties on export and import.

According to the famous Pierre Davity (*b*), in his great work *of the World*, there is not a poorer and more unhappy nation than that of Canara; altho' misery is the lot of the Indians in general, notwithstanding the plentifulness and riches of their country. Their worship is the height of lasciviousness. Their *joghis* or priests have improved upon the Greeks in the infamous usage of the phallus; they solemnly adore the god Priapus, and their young women are obliged to offer up their virginity to him with such indecent practices, that they cannot be named (*c*).

Mangalor is the last place of the kingdom of Canara, which is separated from that of Malabar by a wall about eight leagues in length, one end of which reaches the sea, and the other the famous mountain of Gate.

Cananor, upon the sea-side, and fifteen leagues from Mangalor, was one of the first countries known to the Portugueze. In their second voyage to the Indies, under the conduct of

(*b*) Description of Asia, p. 553.

(*c*) Collection of Dutch voyages, tom. vi. p. 436.

Pierre Alvarès Cáprales, they made the king of Cananor believe, that their master, the king of Portugal, had sent them from the extremities of the world (*d*) to seek his friendship. The prince seduced by so flattering a compliment, made an alliance with them, and sent embassadors to Emanuel king of Portugal. He loaded the navigators with presents; he allowed Francis d'Almeida to build the first fort they were in possession of, and there was a close union between the two nations to make trade flourish. But the bad conduct of a Portugueze captain changed the face of affairs entirely, by attempting to take a vessel of his allies, which foundered at sea by the resistance it made. This act of hostility equally enraged the king of Cananor and his subjects. Fifty years of a bloody war between the two nations occasioned infinite losses, and the courage and constancy of the Europeans to be much admired. New enemies deprived them of what they had purchased and preserved at the price of so much bloodshed. The Hollanders having made themselves masters of Granganor, Cochin, and Coulan in 1663, reckoned it was necessary for them not to leave the Portugueze at Cananor. They forced them to surrender by capitulation, in February the following year, and they made a new treaty with the king of Cananor for the safety and advantage of the Dutch company. Balée, the minister, who was with the conquering army,

(*d*) Maffey, part. i. l. ii. c. 5. Collection of Dutch voyages, 1621. vi. p. 439. Mandel. p. 963. Thevenot, l. ii. c. 1.

and has related that war at length (*e*), says that he preached the first sermon of thanksgiving for that conquest.

Calicut is the capital of a second kingdom on the coast of Malabar. It is three leagues in circuit (*f*), tho' not surrounded by walls; it is reckoned to contain six thousand houses, most of them placed by themselves, and at a sufficient distance from one another to have each a garden. A merchant can purchase one for twenty crowns, and those for common people cost but two. It is true that they are built only of large pieces of earth cut in squares, and dried in the sun, and are no more than seven or eight feet high. This country is one of the finest, the richest, and most populous of all the peninsula; for the king can bring one hundred thousand men into the field, tho' they do not extend above twenty-five leagues, either along the sea-side or up the country; others allow it thirty or forty leagues, to the mountains. The ancient division of estates is still preserved. The first is that of the priests, or bramins, who keep the king company during his meals, and listen with great respect to all he says. The second is that of the swordsmen, or naïres, who are ennobled by their condition, tho' simple soldiers; they are allowed to wear a sword, a shield,

(*e*) Balée, description of the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, c. 16.

(*f*) Collection of Dutch voyages, t. iii. p. 671. t. iv. p. 56. t. vi. p. 441. In all these places, Calicut and the manners of the country are described at length. Theven. p. 260.

halberd or pike when they go abroad. The third is that of the artizans; the fourth that of the huntsmen; the fifth that of the labourers, who gather the pepper, the wine, and the nuts, sow the rice and take in the harvest.

Their maxims, with respect to marriage and the use of women, are peculiar to this country. When the king marries, he gives five hundred crowns to the priest whom he pitches on to pass the first night with his wife. It is a custom among the nobility and the merchants to change with one another the women they have espoused, thinking it is a means of cementing friendship, but the children remain with the father. A woman may marry seven husbands, and converse with them all at the same time. When she becomes pregnant, she may give the child to whom she pleases, and he cannot refuse it. Altho' they go almost naked, like the men, yet they take great pains in adjusting their ornaments, which consist in decking their ears, necks, arms, legs, and breasts with gold and jewels.

The king takes the title of zamorin, which in his language signifies emperor. He does this according to an ancient regulation of Ceram Peroumal, or Pereymal, who retired to Mecca to pass the rest of his days. That prince (g), sovereign of all Malabar, divided his empire amongst his friends and relations, and thus gave rise to that multitude of petty kings with which

(g) La Crose, hist. of christianity in the Indies, l. i. p. 44. Mandello, p. 267, &c.

the coasts are filled. But he ordained, that the king of Calicut should have the title of zamorin. All the country honours him as a god; and it is perhaps out of respect to him that they observe so exactly a whimsical law, of which they believe him the author. When the zamorin of Calicut dies, his children do not succeed him, but his sister's son; for the bramins having had the first favours from the queen, and continuing always about her in order to accompany the king, it is presumed that the children which she brings into the world belong rather to them than the king; whereas the sons of the prince's sister are necessarily of the blood royal.

A judgement may be formed of this prince's power by the armies he set on foot against the Portugueze in 1503. Calicut was the first place in the Indies where those famous navigators landed. They gained at first the friendship of Zamorin by their presents and their artifices. But it was soon turned into an implacable hatred. Maffey (*b*), a Portugueze historian, and on that account to be suspected when their conduct is in question, dissembles the reason of it. The zamorin marched against them with two hundred ships of war, such as they are in that country, and sixty thousand men. Calicut and Panana, places of pleasure to that prince, were frequently the field of battle. The war rekindled with greater fury in 1529. He besieged the fortrefs the Por-

(*b*) *Hist of the Indies*, part i. l. ii. c. 4.

Portugueze had built at Calicut. A hundred thousand men which he had on foot carried it by assault and demolished it, according to the account of Pierre Van Caerdan (*i*). But Gautier Schouten (*k*) says, that the Portugueze, seeing the bad state of their affairs, demolished it themselves.

The city of Calicut acknowledges for it's founder Ceram Peroumal, the protector of the christians in the Indies. Before he retired he gave them all the rights and privileges of the noblesse of the country. By virtue of this ordonnance, they have the precedence of the naires, the only nobles in this infidel nation; and what is still of greater consequence, they depend only on their bishop, both in spiritual and temporal affairs. This favour is so much the greater, as the bramins are held in so much veneration among those idolaters. We shall treat more particularly of them in the sequel.

About eighteen leagues from Calicut stands the city of Cranganor (*l*), capital of a small kingdom which bears the same name. It's king is tributary to Zamorin, and is nothing more than hereditary governor of the country. His palace is very ordinary. While the Portugueze were masters of Cranganor, amongst other churches the jesuits, or fathers of St. Paul, as they are called in that country, had a nume-

(*i*) Dutch collection, tom. iii.

(*k*) Ibid. tom. vi. locis citatis.

(*l*) See La Martiniere, and the Dutch collection, t. vi. p. 337. & 445.

rous college, and a fine library; the franciscans had likewise a convent there. As there was a great number of christians of St. Thomas there, they had an archbishop and a cathedral. But since the Dutch took this city by assault the 15th of January 1662, their hatred to those they call roman catholicks has done great harm to these religious communities.

The city of Cochin, capital of the kingdom which bears it's name, is divided into the high and low town (*m*), one of which is situated at the mouth of a large river called Mangati, which has strong fortifications, and belongs to the king of the country. The other is a village where the Portugueze settled on their first navigation to the Indies. The Dutch took it from them in 1662, and carry on a great trade in pepper, which, with that of Calicut, is the best that grows in the Indies. The manners of the inhabitants, and the reverence they pay the bramins, are the same as in Calicut. They have a sort of black tree, of whose trunk canoes are made, in which they venture the length of Goa, and even farther into the open sea.

This kingdom, towards the south, extends to the length of cape Comorin, and is bounded on the east by the mountains of Gate, which, like the Apennines in Italy, run about thirty leagues from the sea thro' the whole extent of the coast of Malabar, and separate in a manner two worlds, differing from one another in

(*m*) Madello, p. 267. Dutch collection, t. vi. p. 363. Thevenot, t. i. p. 261.

climate.

climate. All our travellers agree in relating a circumstance of these mountains, which experience alone could have informed them of, and rendered credible. The country which they separate has two seasons, entirely different at the same time. Winter begins on the coast of Malabar (n) about the end of June (o), with a south-east wind which blows from the sea, and rages for four months along the coast, from Diu to cape Comorin. The sea is then no longer navigable, and there are few harbours where the ships can ride in safety from the storms, attended with terrible thunder and lightning which prevail all that season. It is astonishing that at the same time on the coast of Coromandel, which bounds the peninsula to the east, there is an agreeable spring and the finest season of the year. Thus when they enjoy the serenest weather at Masulipatan, at Goa and its neighbourhood in the same latitude, they feel all the rigors of the winter except frost. The same thing happens at Mengalor and Meliapour, Cananor and Pondicherry, and even at Coulan and Tutucurin, which are only thirty leagues distant from one another. Those who travel by land from one coast to the other, discover from the top of the hills of Gate, on the one side a serene and temperate air, and on the other a country covered with tempests and drowned with rains,

(n) Mandello, p. 250.

(o) This has made Q. Curtius say, that the Indians have winter while we have summer, l. viii. c. 9.

About the end of October (*p*) the winter ceases on the coast of Malabar, and almost generally throughout the Indies, even in the kingdoms of Orisa and Bengal, and begins on the coast of Coromandel, where it lasts four whole months; while in the rest of the country the heavens are in their serenity, and the earth pours forth it's beauties and riches in the greatest plenty.

Two or three places besides are mentioned, where this prodigious difference of the seasons obtains within a very inconsiderable distance. At Ceylon the winter begins in October in the northern part of the island, at the same time on the coast of Coromandel, which is not far distant from it, while the southern parts enjoy a delightful summer season. On the contrary, when Jaffanatan enjoys the sweets of summer, the towns on the south, such as Columbo, Calcuture, Bellingham, and others, are covered with a thick and gloomy atmosphere, and overwhelmed with continual rains. The same thing happens in part of the eastern islands. At Ceram, a long narrow island in the neighbourhood of Amboyna, while they have winter on the north side, on the south, only three or four leagues distant, it is summer. In fine, on one side of cape Rosalgate, in the Arabian sea, ships ride at anchor, or sail in safety; while on the other side of the same cape, even to the most distant shores of Arabia Felix, no ships can keep the sea on account of the continual storms.

(*p*) Collection of Dutch voyages, tom. vi. p. 506, &c.

It was necessary to take this notice of the variety of seasons, in order to understand and reconcile travellers, some of whom place winter in summer, and others summer during the winter months. After this digression we must resume the topography of the peninsula within the Ganges. Cape Comorin, the southernmost point of the mountains of Gate, divides the two coasts of the peninsula. The western, of which we have spoken, is called the coast of Malabar; the eastern, which we are now to describe, the coast of Coromandel. The Paravas (*r*) and Maravas, who inhabit the bottom of it, are idolaters very little known. That strait is famous for the fishery carried on at the cape, and at Tutocorin, of the finest pearls in the Indies (*s*) on that account it has obtained the name of The Fishery. Ambergrease is likewise found upon the rocks at the bottom of the sea, as perfect as that of the Maldives and Madagascar. We have treated of the pearls at length; but such is the uncertainty naturalists, are in, about the nature of ambergrease, and the manner in which it is formed, that we dare not hazard our conjectures about it (*t*).

The first place which presents itself on going out of the strait, is Négapatan. When the

(*r*) Collection of Dutch voyages, tom. iv. p. 297.

(*s*) Dutch voyages, tom. vi. p. 311, &c.

(*t*) The authors of the dictionary of Trevoux have handled this article with equal sagacity and erudition, without giving their particular sentiments on it; and in fact it is difficult to decide it.

Portugueze began their settlements in the Indies (*u*), it was only a small village, of which they made a very considerable city. They environ'd it with strong walls, round which they dug a large ditch. As they possessed the coast of the fishery, and the island of Ceylon, that city became a place of great resort among them. Many fine churches, and a college for the jesuits, were built in it. They kept it till 1658, about sixty years, when the Dutch, who had already seized on the island of Ceylon, took it from them, with the assistance of the king of Tangeor, whom they had engaged to betray the Portugueze. Immediately they threw a numerous garrison into it, furnished it with every thing necessary for defence, and made it one of their principal settlements. Since that time, Moors, Benjans, and Indians of all the provinces, resort thither, and carry on their trade in tranquillity under the protection of the Dutch. The country about is full of pagods, some richly adorned, but without any taste; others obscure, filthy, and ill-built, not unlike brick-kilns. All of them are full of horrible figures, which those idolaters worship as their gods.

Tangeor lies at the distance of twenty leagues, and is the capital of a small principality of the same name. Tho' the prince and the people have been at all times implacable enemies to the true religion, yet it is affirmed the christians (*x*) have 740 houses in that city.

(*u*) Dutch voyages, tom. vi. p. 300.

(*x*) Trevoux at the word Tanjaor.

Trangobar on the sea-side, belongs to the Danes, who purchased it in 1630. It was then only a small village; but they have made it a fine large city, and fortified it with a castle and citadel. There is one catholick, and three protestant churches in it, as also one mosque and five large pagods; so that this city has inhabitants of all religions. The king of Denmark maintains ministers here; who preach christianity according to the protestant form. Their zeal, and the learned accounts published by them, have been much commended (*y*). They have been settled here since 1707. They carried a printing press and workmen with them, a thing which had not been before seen in the Indies. After having printed several small books on religion, both in the Malabar and Portugueze, they at last printed the New Testament, translated by them into these two languages (*z*). They have likewise translated the Old Testament, and ought now to be printing it.

Eighteen leagues to the northward lies Pondicherry, the finest settlement and principal factory of the French India company. When our navigators took possession of it, it was called Boudoutscherry (*a*), and was then a place of little consequence; but it has since changed it's appearance.

(*y*) I have not seen these accounts which are in German. But Abraham Du Bois, from whom this article is taken, p. 645, commends them greatly, p. 643.

(*z*) There is a copy of the second edition in the king's library at Paris, in the Balia language.

(*a*) Du Bois, p. 646.

M. Macerat immediately established a factory here (*b*), built a fort, as also a seminary for the jesuits, a house for the gentlemen of the foreign mission, and a convent for the capuchins. The Dutch, jealous of a settlement which was forming with such success and rapidity, sent three thousand five hundred regular troops, with a formidable artillery, and all kinds of warlike stores, to deprive us of that conquest. One hundred and fifty Frenchmen, of whom the whole garrison consisted, withstood the violence and fury of their assaults for ten or twelve days. At last, overborne by numbers, they were forced to surrender on the most honourable conditions they could expect from their bad fortune. They marched out of the city the third of September 1693, with their arms and baggage; but the Dutch restored the place in 1698, after the peace of Ryswick, as had been agreed by the articles of the treaty; and since that we have had a bishop always residing here.

The changes which the company have brought about here, since they have been in peaceable possession of it, are almost incredible. There is a regular fortress (*c*), where no works necessary for a good defence are wanting; it is always furnished with warlike stores and provisions, and with two hundred pieces of cannon. The greatest part of the town has been rebuilt, and is increasing and growing finer every day. The streets are quite streight, the houses of the

(*b*) Memoirs of the times. Lullier, p. 98.

(*c*) Instructive letters, t. xv, p. 19.

Europeans are built of brick, in the Roman fashion with only one story, because wood is scarce, and they are besides afraid of the winds. Those of the Indians, tho' built only of earth mixed with a kind of lime made of calcined oyster shells, do not want their beauty, as they form streight streets. They have fine avenues of trees, in the shade of which the weavers work the cotton stuffs, so much esteemed in Europe.

Here follows the account which a modern traveller has left us, who performed that voyage in 1722 (*d*). Pondicherry is the chief factory which the company has in the Indies, and the only place where the English and Dutch have none. Some years ago his majesty established a sovereign council in this city. The company possesses large dominions here, and the city is about four leagues in circuit, wherein every estate has it's separate quarter. When I was there, they were raising a new fort, altho' there were already nine small ones, to defend the place against the inroads of the Moors. The company maintains on this account, a governor, a commandant of the infantry, a major, three companies of French infantry, and between two and three hundred Topases, who are people of the country bred up and cloathed in the French manner, whom the missionaries have instructed in the catholick faith.

The company, as sovereign of Pondicherry and it's dependencies, causes money to be coined here

(*d*) Lullier, voyage to the Indies, p. 33.

in the name of the king. Coris are not taken in payment (*e*), which however are current in the country, altho' no more than little shells, twenty of which are worth a liard. They also use caches, a small piece of copper worth a denier; the largest pieces of silver are valued at four sols; and their louis, called pagods, half a pistole. No doubt the price of the metal is in proportion to that small sum.

The country where the soil is sandy, produces nothing but rice and a few pot-herbs. Yet they gather here a sort of large turneps (*f*), sorrel, spinach, small gourds called giromons, succory, white cabbages and cucumbers; but all those kinds of pulse have a different taste from ours. There likewise grow here a good many citrons, some oranges, bananoes, pomegranates, potatoes, and water melons, so called because they dissolve almost entirely into water, and grow in the marshes, as also some other kinds of fruit unknown in Europe. All manner of wild fowl and venison are found here, also some oxen and cows, and a great number of buffaloes, which are used by the country people as beasts of burden. Lastly, here are great numbers of cocoas: a tree so extraordinary and so valuable, that it deserves a place in this history.

The cocoa, by others called the Indian palm, is a large tree of one single trunk (*g*), which is never more than a foot in diameter, but rises to

(*e*) Lullier, voyage to the Indies, p. 188.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 30.

(*g*) Maffey p. i. l. viii. c. 7. Mandel. p. 350. Dutch voyages, t. i. p. 266. t. vi. p. 472. Lullier, p. 31. and others.

the height of fifty, and naturally prunes itself. From it's top spring some slender branches with leaves, sometimes twenty feet in length, whose weight makes them hang down tho' they are very thin, and form an agreeable shade, with a head naturally cut into a round form.

While the trunk is green, it contains a white pith, like curdled milk, extremely tender and delicious, which one need not be afraid to eat to excess, as it can do no harm. The wood is then spongy, and cuts very easily; the Indians, without fear of damaging it, make notches in it at certain distances, by which they mount to the top of the tree with incredible swiftness. But some time after it is fell'd it grows very hard, as we see in those pieces which are brought to us. It becomes good firewood, and is also made into masts, planks, poles, swords and arrows which are so hard as to pierce iron cuirasses. It has three sorts of bark, the first and the second are used to pack up merchants goods; the third is so fine, that paper is made of it (*b*), and it serves for many uses besides.

At the top, and immediately under the place where the branches spring out, shoots out a number of husks, a little flatted, of the bigness and length of a man's arms. They consist of two or three coats, which break as the fruit they contain pushes out and enlarges. Then a cluster appears, to which are fixed eighty or a hundred

(*b*) Q. Curtius has already said, that some Indian trees had so fine a bark, that it was wrote upon, l. viii. c. 9.

small cocoa nuts, whereof only thirteen or fourteen come to perfect maturity. Clusters of different ages are to be seen on the same tree. Some are in flower, while others have their fruit already formed, or are ready to be gathered. The Indians do not always delay cutting the nuts till they are come to full ripeness. Experience has made them sensible, that this fruit has it's particular virtues at any time that it is gathered. When the nut is yet green, altho' of the bigness of two fists, almost a pint of liquor is drawn from it, clear and fresh as the purest spring water. Besides being the most agreeable liquor that can be drank, it perfectly quenches thirst, refreshes the blood, and cures ardent fevers: when taken hot it stops the flux of blood, and is the principal article in the composition of a great number of remedies. When a little farther advanced, that liquor thickens within, and cuts with a spoon like cream. It hardens insensibly; first it takes the consistence, colour, and nearly the taste of our nuts; then it becomes like the filberd or almond, but of a much more delicate flavour. The Indians rasp it to mix with their rice; and when they add sugar and cinnamon, it becomes a most delicate dish for all persons. The oil which is drawn from it is extremely soft; and only on account of it's plenty becomes so cheap, and is applied to the most common uses, which occasions a great consumption of it. The nut, whence it is expressed, is commonly of the bigness and figure of an oval melon; tho' sometimes larger,

larger. It has a triple bark; the outermost is very brown and close; the second, when dry, forms a sort of flax; the third is a very thin skin, which turns perfectly white, and every body, even the principal persons of the country, wear caps made of it. But before that second bark becomes dry thro' ripeness, they season it like Spanish cardoons; and the inside of the nut is used for bread. There is nothing fitter to be spun, or which is of greater use. Of it's finest part, after being carded, that sort of stuff is made called *ecorce*; and of what remains in tow, ropes and cables are made, fitter for ships than any produced from other materials. For this bark agreeing with salt water, grows green again in the sea, and keeps ships at anchor in all safety, not so much by it's strength, as by it's verdor and pliability, which make it stretch like wax, and humour the motion of the vessel when she heaves by the swell of the waves, and recover it's natural size when they are at rest. So that they are widely different from our cables, which frequently break with their own weight. Lastly, of the shell immediately enclosing the fruit, cups, drinking vessels, and other ornaments are made, which become very valuable on account of the figures designed on them by the Indians with admirable art, and the rich furniture wherewith they are mounted. They are frequently met with in France in the cabinets of the curious.

Art and experience have taught the natives of this country the manner of drawing wine from

from this tree (*i*), to which nature seems to have given the virtues of all other plants. For this purpose they cut off a flower, or an intire husk, and at that place fix a pitcher hermetically sealed to the tree, that the air may not touch the liquor which distills continually. When the vessel is full they boil it, and the fire gives it the taste and quality of wine, altho' before it was like milk. When the Indians want good vinegar, they expose that liquor to the sun, and in order to make strong spirits, distill it by the alembick. They likewise make sugar of it, which they call *jacra*; but as it is brown they do not esteem it, having plenty of the white sort. The Portugueze by mixing dried raisins and some other drugs with this liquor as it comes out of the tree, make a drink of the taste and strength of Spanish wine.

The pith which runs thro' the trunk comes out at the superior extremity, sometimes in a point, sometimes in a round ball, enclosed in a husk; this is called *palmito*. Within is a white substance divided by leaves, which shut very close upon one another. They serve for several uses. When eat raw they have an excellent taste; they are put in soup like cabbage, and sometimes used in sallads like lettuces: lastly, when left to dry they become the finest paper in the Indies. But by taking away the *palmito* the loss of the tree is endangered.

(*i*) The ancients knew this art. Vid. Philost. in vita Apol. l. ii. c. 7. Q. Curt. l. viii. c. 9. Strabo, l. xv. p. 694, & 709. Athen. l. xii. p. 652.

It only remains that we speak of the leaves of the cocoa, which are no less curious and useful than the other parts of the tree. Some Europeans have measured them, and found some twenty feet long. They are shaped like a writing pen. The Indians have a way of preparing and rendering them pliable as cotton. Some make cloaths of them, others cover their houses with them; the merchants use them in package, and seamen make sails of them.

Of all the trees that grow upon the face of the earth, none is so serviceable as the cocoa. It alone can supply all the necessities of mankind. It's pith, liquor, and fruit are sufficient to support the Indians, who are naturally sober. It's wood is used in building ships and houses, and in making arms; it's leaves supply the place of slates, tiles, and sails for ships; in short, it's different barks are the materials of the cloathing of the country, tapestries, mats, and different stuffs, equally beautiful and useful. Thus when the Indians see a thriving industrious man, they say that he is worth as much as the cocoa. That tree is so common in many countries of the Indies, that there are whole forests of them.

It's description engages us to speak of another tree, which is only known in those eastern provinces, and has always been a subject of wonder and admiration to strangers. It's trunk grows up at first (*l*) like that of other trees;

(*l*) Dutch voyages, t. vi. p. 475. Strabo gives the same description after Onofricitus, l. xv. p. 694. & Diod. p. 560.

then

then it's principal branches bend down again towards the earth, and fix themselves there by the fibres and small branches which they push out, and then become roots. The juice which the branch draws from thence makes it set up again and form a second tree. The great branches of this last fall down like those of the first, they take root, set up again; and thus successively 'till they have filled all the spot round the principal trunk, or 'till it's progress is stop't; on this account it is called the tree of roots. They spring up in such a manner that 'tis said, one alone, in a short space of time, can produce enough to cover a thousand men with it's shade. When care is taken to direct it's branches, from the place whence they propagate, they make fine avenues of trees, and most agreeable arbours, where people can walk under shelter from the heats of the sun, which are extreme and insupportable in the southern Indies. It's leaves resemble those of the wild quince, and it's fruit, olives, but are a little sharp to the taste.

Before we end this article of Pondicherry, which has thrown us into this digression of natural history, we shall relate an astronomical observation, important to geography in general, and the situation of that town in particular. After several observations made on the different eclipses of the first satellite of Jupiter (*m*), it has been found that the difference of time between the meridian of Paris and that of Pondi-

(*m*) La Martiniere.

cherry, is five hours eleven or twelve minutes, amounting to about 78 degrees; and consequently, as in the hypotheses of the observatory at Paris, the longitude of that city is twenty-two degrees thirty minutes, we must conclude, that the true longitude of Pondicherry is a hundred degrees thirty minutes. Thus we may see the grievous error in which our most celebrated geographers have hitherto been. Monsieur Sanson, otherwise so much esteemed, places that town in the hundred and nineteenth degree; which would remove it above 450 leagues farther from Paris than it is, according to the infallible rule of the stars. The conformity of M. De L'Isle's last charts with those observations, is the greatest eulogium that can be made on the knowledge and accuracy of the author.

Let us now resume the description of the coast of Coromandel. Sadraspatan (*n*) is a small maritime city pretty well peopled, which the Dutch company took from the Germans. It would seem that these latter had no other market in the Indies, for the commerce of the Ostend company. Sadraspatan is two long days journey from Pondicherry; to go from the one to the other by land, one must pass thro' deserts and forests of cocoa trees.

At the same distance stands the city of Meliapor. It was the capital of the kingdom of

(*n*) Du Bois, p. 646.

Coromandel, when the Portugueze (o) seized it, under the command of Gama. Surprised to find a considerable number of the inhabitants who professed the christian religion, and called themselves christians of St. Thomas, they changed the name of Meliapour, into that of the city of Saint Thomas. Tradition indeed (p) bears, that the apostle St. Thomas preached the gospel there, and sealed it with his blood, which the jealousy and fury of the brachmans shed on a neighbouring mountain. But those who have confounded Meliapour with St. Thomas are in an error. They are two distinct cities, altho' contiguous to one another (q); whether they always were so, or have only been so since the wars of Aurengzebe, who reduced them almost to a heap of ruins. That city has frequently changed it's fortune and sovereign. M. De la Haye (r) having been sent into the Indies with a fleet of ten French ships of war, attacked and carried it in a few hours, to the great astonishment of the Indians, and we should still have been masters of it, if succours had been sent him from Europe. The king of Golconda having recovered it, was afraid to lose it a second time, and

(o) Maffey, part i. l. ii. c. 7. & l. viii. c. 11. Theven. p. 31, & 266.

(p) See a long account of Tachard in the collection of instructive letters, tom. xii. Maffey, locis cit. Mandello, p. 287. & Du Bois, p. 646.

(q) Dutch voyages, t. iii. p. 132.

(r) Instructive letters, t. xv. Letter of father Bouchet,

dismanled

dismantled the city and fortrefs. Out of it's ruins the city of Madrafs, fituated a little below it, has been increafed. The Indians, both pagans and mahometans, remain at Meliapour; and Saint Thomas is almoft filled with chriftians, who are under the dominion of the king or emperor of Carnate.

The Dutch are mafters of the upper coaft as far as Masulipatan (1). They have had a factory at Paliacate fince the year 1606, where they have a very confiderable trade as well as at Pottapouli. To fecure the poffeffion of Paliacate, they have built a fort called The Gueldres.

Masulipatan, now fo famous in France, is fituated at the mouth of the river Crifna. It belonged (2) formerly to the king of Golconda, but is at prefent under the great mogul. The conveniency of the port has drawn merchants from all parts of Europe, to get the painted callicoes manufactured there, which are more efteemed than any others of the Indies. Yet however great it's trade may be, the city is very indifferent and ill-built, but extremely well peopled. What is related of the heats felt there, is almoft incredible. Every year, in the month of May, the weft wind blows during feven or eight hours a day, heating the country more than the fun itfelf, however fultry it may be. The heat is then as great as that which is felt when one approaches a burning houfe. In their chambers, however well

(1) Mandello, p. 288.

(2) Instructive letters, t. xv. p. 27.

shut up, the wood of the chairs and tables, and the wainscotting, are so much heated, that they are obliged to throw water upon them continually. The rains which fall about the end of summer, refresh the air a great deal, without occasioning any cold; and are so plentiful that they lay the whole country under water. The inhabitants receive the same benefit from them that the Egyptians do from the inundations of the Nile. They sow their lands, thus prepared, with rice and other grain, without expecting any more rain for eight months. In all that time the trees are green, and alternately loaded with ripe fruits. They have two harvests of rice; and there are lands which are reaped three times. This plenty, together with the superstition of the inhabitants, most of whom eat nothing that has life, renders every thing cheap. Eight fowls are sold at fourteen sols, a sheep at eleven, and every thing else in proportion. All these things are still cheaper without the city.

The kingdom of Golconda, whose principal harbour is Masulipatan, extends from the gulph of Bengal to the kingdom of Visapour; and from north to south, is contained between those of Berar and Carnate. Anciently it was part of a vast empire (*u*), the sovereign of which was called the emperor of Bisnagar, and contained almost all the peninsula, from the northern extremity of Orixia to cape Comorin.

(*u*) On the history of this kingdom, see Tavern. t. iii. l. i. c. 10. Thev. t. v. p. 190. Instructive letters, t. xv.

The Patanes, a nation of northern Tartars, deprived him of part of his dominions; another part was taken from him by the Mogul princes, who advanced farther and farther towards the south; and the generals of this unfortunate prince divided the rest among them, after having betrayed him. From them the kingdoms of Decan, Visapour, and Carnate, had their beginning about two centuries ago. The prince of Golconda has preserved the title of king; but he is dependent and tributary to the great mogul.

Golconda, which gives name to the kingdom, was only a pleasure garden on the top of a little mountain, when Cotup-Cha, one of those rebellious generals of whom we have been speaking, built a fort on it to support his rebellion. Having got rid of all his fears, and become peaceable possessor of the country he had usurped, by the death of the emperor his master, he converted it into a palace, and his successors have so much augmented it, that it is now two leagues in circuit. Its walls are built of hewn stone three feet square, and surrounded with deep ditches, divided into several basons or ponds, where the water is daily renewed. The prince does not occupy all this extent of ground himself. There are many superb mosques in it, wherein are the tombs of the kings his ancestors, and their families. The great officers of the crown, the guards, the principal eunuchs, the goldsmiths, the jewellers and engravers, have all their lodges here, according to their condition,

so that Golconda may as well be reckoned a city as a palace. Mahometanism is the religion of the prince, and consequently of a great part of his subjects. Thus the temples of this country are not filled with those monstrous figures which are seen in the other kingdoms of the peninsula. They are mosques after the manner of the Turks, where the people pay their reverence to Mahomet and the alcoran. The mines of gold, diamonds, sapphires, and other precious stones in this kingdom, have filled the palace with immense riches. But if any diamond is found above a certain bigness, the king is obliged to have it cut secretly, lest the great mogul should demand it.

The bezoar is another source of this prince's riches. This excellent antidote (x) is nothing but a stone form'd in the belly of certain animals, in several places of Asia. All naturalists and travellers agree, that the best comes from the kingdom of Golconda. The mountains where the goats, in which it is found, pasture, are about seven or eight days journey from the palace, on the confines of the kingdom of Oriza; this is sold at forty crowns the pound. Bezoars are found in some cows, but are much larger than those of the goats, and not so much valued; those that are most esteemed come from a particular species of apes which are not common. These bezoars are small and long, for some are of all figures. The colour is likewise different. Some are black, others ash-coloured, and others

(x) See the dictionary of Trevoux.

yellow.

yellow. Commonly they are of a dark grey, or a very deep green. The stone is composed of several small coats, like onions, which lie one upon another, polished and shining, but the external ones are less so than the internal. In the center there is a small cavity, wherein a little powder is found of the same nature with the stone, or straws, blades of grass, beans, bits of wood, or a small pebble which forms the soul of the bezoar, that is to say, has caused it's production, and is the basis of it. It's size is likewise uncertain; some weighing only a drachm, others ten, fifteen, or even more! Commonly they resemble a pigeon's egg, a kidney, or a chesnut.

To try these stones, they rub them with lime steeped in water; if they are good they turn yellow. Others rub over a piece of paper with white chalk, then passing the bezoar over it, if it is good, the marks it has made will become green. Sometimes a hot iron is put upon it, which ought not to dissolve it; the best should suffer nothing by it. Lastly, they weigh it and throw it into water; if, after it has been steep'd two hours, it has lost nothing of it's weight, it is a sign that it is good and genuine. The king of Golconda draws a great revenue from that which is sold in his kingdom. But the duties on cottons are infinitely more valuable, as well as those on the tari, or cocoa wine, of which the loose women of Bijnagar occasion a very great consumption (y). This

(y) See Tavernier, t. iii. l. i. c. 10.

kingdom is the last of the peninsula within the Ganges, and leads us to that which lies without that river.

S. E C T. III.

Of the Peninsula beyond the Ganges.

WE should seek in vain for any lights, with respect to this country, in the writings of the ancients. They had no idea of it in the time of Alexander, and only knew it by the reports of those whom trade or curiosity had incited to undertake so long and dangerous a voyage. All of them, astonished at the greatness and rapidity of a river which has not it's equal in Asia, imagined it was the Pison, one of the four rivers of the terrestrial paradise. Josephus is the first whom we know to have mentioned this (z), and he has been followed by many fathers of the church, commentators on scripture, and modern divines. It is difficult to determine, whether foreigners or Indians have given rise to this notion. All we know is, that those last entertain great reverence for the waters of the Ganges. From a persuasion that these waters efface all the spots of sin, they go in crowds from the remotest parts of the country to wash there; the reason of this is, because they imagine this river does not take it's source from the bosom of the earth;

(z) See M. Huet's situation of the terrestrial paradise, c. 7.

but

but that it descends from heaven into the paradise of Devendre, and from thence into Indostan. Nothing is more childish than the fables related (*a*) by the brachmans on this subject. Yet the confidence the people have in them, is what gives these fables all their authority. The mogul (*b*) and the king of Golconda, drink no other water but that of the Ganges. Foreigners, on the contrary, pretend it is very unhealthy, and that it cannot be drank unless first boiled. There are a great number of superb pagods on the banks of this river, some whereof are immensely rich; fruits of the generous superstition of the Indians, who imagine they honour their gods in proportion to the greatness of the gifts they offer up to them. We may judge of the product of these offerings, by the multitude of the caravans, which continually arrive from all parts. At certain festivals, which last several days, there has sometimes been a concourse of a hundred thousand people, who came to bathe. But the great virtue of this river, and the only one which renders it valuable, is that it washes down gold in it's sands; that it throws it on it's bank (*c*); that it is placed in the first rank of those rivers, which produce precious stones; that the gulph of Bengal, into which it discharges itself, abounds in pearls and valuable stones; and that

(*a*) See Abra. Rogers, lives and manners of the bramins, part ii. c. 19.

(*b*) Thev. voyage to the Indies, c. 40. p. 201.

(*c*) Huert, loc. cit.

the Ganges is looked upon as the origin of them.

The country which lies between that river and China is called the peninsula beyond the Ganges; because in effect it stretches it's whole length into the sea. Modern geographers give it five hundred and thirty leagues from north to south, and three hundred and sixty from east to west, it's greatest breadth. It is divided into three parts: The north, in which are the kingdoms of Azem, Ava, Pegu, Laos, and some others little known: The south, which contains that of Slam: The east, which comprehends those of Tonquin, Cochin-China, and Camboia.

The kingdom of Azem lies to the east of the great mogul's dominions, to the north of the kingdom of Ava, and to the west of the lake Chiamay. It was hardly known before Mirgimola, general of Aurengezebe (*d*), conquered it about the middle of the last century. He undertook this expedition with so much the more confidence, as that country had been without any wars for the space of six or seven hundred years, and the people had entirely neglected the use of arms. It was not difficult to conquer such a people. Yet tradition attributes to them the invention of gunpowder, which passed from Azem to Pegu, and from Pegu to China, which has given occasion to say, that the Chinese were the authors of that discovery. It is said, that in that war Mirgimola made

(*d*) Tavern. t. iv. p. 189.

prize of several pieces of cannon which were all of iron.

.. This kingdom is one of the best in Asia, and produces every thing that is necessary for the subsistence of man. Mines of gold, silver, steel, lead, and iron, are found here, the property of which the king has reserved to himself, on condition he should levy no subsidies from his people; and that he may not oppress them, he employs none but the slaves, he buys from his neighbours, to work them. Thus all the peasants of Azem are at their ease, which is not the case with the rest of the Indians, who have nothing but slavery and misery for their portion, in the midst of a country where they ought to live in riches and plenty. It is prohibited by the laws to carry gold out of the kingdom, or to coin it into money; the people use it in great and small ingots in trade, tho' it is not permitted to be used with strangers. It is not the same with silver. The king causes pieces of the bigness and weight of roupies, and of an octogon figure, to be coined, which may be transported any where.

Altho' the princes reside in the city of Kemmerouf, about twenty-five or thirty days journey from the ancient capital which bore the same name, their own tombs and those of all the royal family are in the city of Azod, on the banks of the river Laquia. Every prince builds a kind of chapel in the great pagod to serve for his burial place. Being persuaded, that after their death they go into another world, and that

those who die, sullied by any crime, suffer a great deal, chiefly by hunger and thirst, they place something rare beside the corps to serve them in their necessity. The king is interred with those idols of gold and silver which he worshipped in his life-time, a live elephant, twelve camels, six horses, and a great number of hounds, in the belief that all these things will be useful to him in another world. Barbarity is joined to superstition in this funeral solemnity. At the king's death, the woman whom he has loved best, and the principal officers of his household, poison themselves, that they may have the glory of being interred with him, and of serving him in a future state. If a private person, all his friends and relations must assist at his funeral; and every one must throw into the grave the bracelets and other ornaments he wears.

The accounts of those who have travelled the east, give us little or no information about the kingdom of Ava, which is said to be twice as large as that of France. They only tell us, that the immense riches of the prince are even displayed on his palace, which, tho' of a vast extent, is affirmed to be for the most part gilded (e).

All that historians relate of the kingdom of Pegu (f) is drawn from Gaspar Balbi, a rich

(e) Memoirs of the academy of sciences, an. 1692, p. 394. edition in 1722. Madello, p. 294.

(f) Mandello, 292, &c. Dutch voyages, t. iii. p. 24, &c. La Martiniere.

Venetian merchant, who traded thither in 1576. According to him, that kingdom had been exposed to several revolts, and had been the theatre of a bloody war during all the sixteenth century. The Peguans are the most fluttish and superstitious of all mankind. They maintain and worship crocodiles, and will drink nothing but the water of the ditches where those monstrous animals harbour, tho' they thus expose themselves to the manifest hazard of their lives, and have frequently the misfortune to be devoured. They have five principal festivals in the year, which they call sapons, and celebrate with an extraordinary magnificence. In one of them, the king and the queen make a pilgrimage about twelve leagues from the city, when they make their appearance on a triumphal car, so richly adorned with jewels, that it may be said without an hyperbole, that they carry about them the value of a kingdom. This prince is extremely rich, and has in the chapel of his palace several pagods of an inestimable price. One is of a human figure as big as the life, and of massy gold, having on it's head a triple crown, adorned with all sorts of precious stones, on the front a ruby as big as a prune, on the two sides of the head the richest pendants that ever were seen, and on the belly a scarf in the manner of a belt, covered with diamonds and stones of an inestimable price. Two other pagods of silver are by the sides of the first, but are higher by two feet. A fourth passes for being the richest of them all, both for the quantity of metal and it's

it's ornaments. The fifth is no less esteemed, altho' it is only made of pewter and brass.

The talapoins, or priests of Pegu, are cloathed with a long robe of a red brown, which descends to their heels; they do not cover their head, and walk barefooted. They have no possessions, but beg their bread from house to house, and eat only once a day; such is the respect paid them by the people, that they are never known to want. They have always a little cruise of rose water hanging at their girdle; this liquor is much used in the kingdom, even for the ceremonies of religion. They preach every Monday, and explain to the people their laws and traditions. On those days they go thro' the streets making a noise, by striking on basons of white iron, to awaken the inhabitants and call them to sermon. The heads on which they chiefly insist are, not to commit murder, to take from no person any thing belonging to him, to do no hurt, to give no offence, to avoid impurity and superstition, but above all not to worship the devil. But their discourses have no effect on that point. The people attached to manicheism believe, that all good comes from God, and that the devil is the author of all the evil that happens to men; and that therefore they ought to worship him that he may not afflict them with it. This is a common notion among the Indian idolaters.

According to father Marini (g), the talapoins of the kingdom of Laos; or Lao, are quite dif-

(g) La Martiniere, new account of the kingdom of Laos.

ferent from those of Ava. They are looked upon as the scum and dregs of the people, idle, and enemies to labour. Their convents are so many colleges and assemblies of vicious men, who are governed and blinded by pride, how soon they are assumed into a body, which in their opinion is the first in the state. Nothing can be more senseless than the reveries with which they have possessed the people, and which they give out as the foundation of their religion. This is, that a buffalo or wild ox, which nature had formed with all imaginable defects, produced a gourd full of black and white men; and that there are four gods who have governed the world eighteen thousand years before it was renewed; and that they afterwards retired into a very large and spacious column which was raised towards the north, &c.

Such visions, accompanied with corrupted manners, could only render the people as vicious as their priests, if the severity of the laws did not put a restraint on their licentiousness. The propensity which the Langians have to passion and bloodshed, has forced their kings to punish, not only those who give a blow, but even those who put themselves in an anger against another. Nay, frequently, to inspire the greater terror, the innocent is involved in the punishment of the guilty. If by misfortune the chief of a family is convicted of any great crime, all who belong to him, at whatever degree of affinity, are degraded and deprived of their offices, rights, and privileges. For the future they are
employed

employed in nothing but in the service of the elephants, in gathering grass for them, and carrying it to the king's stables, and in watching them all night. In civil affairs the judge determines, without the parties having liberty to appeal.

There are only eight principal employments and dignities in this kingdom. That of general viceroy is the first. His employment consists in taking charge of part of the publick affairs, and assisting the prince in the government. At the king's death, he calls the estates together, he disposes of every thing as a sovereign until a successor is chosen, and all are obliged to obey him. The kingdom being divided into seven provinces, seven other viceroys are appointed, each of whom have equal power in the government entrusted to him. These provinces have their particular militia, who subsist on the revenues assigned to them in time of peace as well as in war.

The kingdom of Laos produces a great quantity of benjoin, of a better kind than what is found any where else in the east. It is not known why the selling of it to strangers is prohibited. Lacque is likewise found here, which is used in making Spanish wax. It is a kind of earth met with in some forests lying about Anthills. There is no country where more ivory is to be had; elephants being so numerous, that the inhabitants have thence taken their name; for it is said, that the word Langians signifies a thousand elephants. Many kinds of
animals,

animals, such as oxen and buffaloes, which are there very common, garden fruits, vast quantities of rice, fish of an enormous bulk with which the rivers are filled, and salt spontaneously formed of a kind of foam, which the great rains leave upon the earth and is hardened by the sun, are the other advantages of the kingdom of Laos.

To the south of those countries lies the kingdom of Siam, the most famous of all the Indies. The report which our missionaries and merchants, about the end of the last century, made of the immense riches they said they had seen in that country, and the disposition the prince was in to embrace christianity, in order to make an alliance with the French, occasioned different advances on our side, with the history and success of which most people are well acquainted (*b*). The ambassadors were deceived; and all the fruit of their voyage was the informing us of some particular circumstances of that kingdom; altho' they have been since convicted of error or exaggeration. Frequently they contradict one another; sometimes themselves; and in the diversity of their account it is seldom known which to lay hold on. Some, tho' endued with eloquence, seem to be at a loss for words to describe the opulence of the country; while others talk of nothing but the misery, poverty, and indigence of the inhabitants.

(*b*) See on this head the embassy of the chevalier de Chaumont, and the accounts of La Loubere, the abbè de Choisy, and father Tachard.

The Portugueze have given the name of Siam to the capital of the kingdom (*i*), which the natives call *Crung si ayn, thaya*, that is to say, the excellent city, *Crung tcppa ppra ma là nà kon*; or the admirable, extraordinary and angelick city, because they believe it impregnable. It is indeed built on the river Menan, which means the sea of waters, and forms an island two leagues in circuit. Besides that the place is every where surrounded with a strong wall, and that it has within itself resources sufficient to support a siege of many months against an army of fifty thousand strong, it has an infallible succour which never fails: it is this, that the river overflowing every six months, there are no lines which it does not carry off, nor army which it does not oblige to retire. By means of those waters, they have made several canals, which run thro' all the streets without doing any damage; so that there are few houses to which there is not access with a boat. The convenience of transporting their effects and landing them quite from the sea at the magazines, and the other advantages of the kingdom, have drawn traders thither from all parts, of the world. At first the Portugueze were masters of the commerce; some insults offered to the Indians and Dutch merchants, gave the latter a pretence to declare themselves their enemies; they took every opportunity to thwart them in concert with the king of Siam; they ruined the

(*i*) So have Mandelstō, p. 304, & 331. Tavern, t. iv. l. iii. c. 18.

trade of those who had opened the way to them; and in 1634 they built one of the finest lodges they have in all the east. Nevertheless the Portugueze were not entirely expelled; they have still houses there as well as the French, English, Chinese, and Moors. The other nations dwell in those two vast and rich suburbs which lie to the east and west of the city; where they encamp each by themselves.

It is here that some of our modern travellers give out, they have seen immense treasures of all kinds. The riches of the country are chiefly displayed in the pagods, and the prince's palace, by the quantity of workmanship in gold, with which it is adorned; by their prodigious bulk, their admirable structure, and the incredible collections of precious stones of all kinds.

The magnificence of those pagods surpasses every thing of that kind that is to be seen in the Indies. The most celebrated of those temples is that in the king's palace. While the spectator is affrighted at finding on one side of the portal a cow, and on the other a horrible monster, the eyes and imagination all at once lose sight of those hideous objects, and are dazzled with the splendor of the walls, the ceiling and pillars, and of an infinite number of figures so perfectly gilt, that they seem all to be covered with plates of gold. After having advanced some steps, a small elevation appears in the form of an altar, on which there are four figures of massy gold, nearly as big as the life, having all of them their legs placed across in the

the Siamese manner. Beyond it is a kind of choir, where there is the richest pagod or idol of the kingdom; for they give that name indifferently to the idol, or to the temple which contains it. That statue is in a standing posture, and touches with it's head the vault of the choir; it is about 45 feet in height, and from 7 to 8 in breadth. But what is more astonishing is, that it is all of gold, and according to a cursory estimate ought to weigh above twelve thousand five hundred pounds weight, which would make a sum of twelve millions five hundred thousand livres. It is said, that this rich and prodigious colossus was cast in the same place where it is placed, and that afterwards they built the temple about it. At it's sides there are many others of less size, which are likewise of gold, and enriched with jewels.

An hundred paces from the palace, on the south side, there is another temple which is not so rich, but whose structure is beautiful and regular. This edifice is built in form of a cross, after the manner of our churches, adorned with five cupolas, of which that in the middle is larger than all the rest; the roof is covered with a kind of gilded pewter. Forty-four pyramids surround and adorn the temple; they are placed with symmetry in three rows, and in different stories. In the circuit which encloses those buildings, all along the galleries, there are above four hundred statues of gilded brick, disposed in a beautiful order. The other
front

front looks towards the south and opposite to the temple.

The chief pagod of the city contains near four thousand idols all gilded, besides the three principal ones which are of massy gold. That which passes for the second is six leagues from the city, and is only open for the king and the priests; the people remain prostrate before the gate, with their faces at the earth. The third is in the Dutch island. The idol in the middle is surrounded with above three hundred others of different dimensions, and in all manner of postures.

According to the same authors, the prince seems to be jealous of the magnificence of his gods. Both the inside and outside of his palace exceed the splendor of their temples. It is situated on a small rising, and reaches to the banks of the river. Tho' it be large enough to be compared to a city, all its towers, pyramids, and elevated places are gilded, and strike strangers at a distance at their first coming to Siam. The apartments of the king and queen contain inconceivable riches; gold and precious stones shine out on all sides; there is nothing so magnificent in all the east except at China.

Such were the notions which those who accompanied M. de Chaumont in his embassy to Siam propagated in France, in the year 1685. But they were partly contradicted by the testimony of a celebrated mariner (1), one of the commanders in the Indian Squadron. This was

(1) Memoirs of Count Forbin.

M. le comte Forbin de Janson, who staid there two years after the return of the French, in consequence of the engagements, which, contrary to his inclinations, he had entered into with M. Constance, minister of the king of Siam. We cannot conceal the manner in which he expresses himself, in different places of his memoirs, on the riches of this kingdom. These are his words: 'I must freely say, I have been oftener than once surpris'd (*m*), that the abbè de Choisi and father Tachard who made the voyage with me; and who have seen the same things as I, should agree to give the publick such a splendid representation of the kingdom of Siam, and so little conformable to truth. It is true, that having staid there only a few months, and M. Constance, minister to the king of Siam, having an interest to deceive them, they saw nothing in that kingdom but what was most likely to impose on them. But after all, they must have been strangely prejudic'd not to perceive the misery that is evident every where, to such a degree that it forces itself to the view; and it is impossible to avoid observing it.

I confess that this crafty and deceitful minister omitted nothing which could give the French a

(*m*) On this occasion I enquired into the character of count Forbin of some sea officers who had served with him, and of some other persons who happened to be acquainted with him, and they represented him to me to be a plain sincere man, who had no other fault than to enlarge, perhaps, a little too much, on the glory of his exploits. What is here said can do no prejudice to the regard we ought to entertain for the abbè de Choisi and father Tachard.

great notion of the kingdom. He took care to display to the embassadors, the abbè de Choisi and father Tachard, all the riches of the royal treasury, which are indeed worthy of a great king, and capable to impose upon one. But he forbore to tell them, that that collection of gold, silver and jewels, was the work of a long succession of kings who had contributed to augment it; it being the custom at Siam (as in the mogul's empire) only to value their kings in proportion as they have enriched the treasury, while at the same time they are not permitted to touch it, whatever necessity they may have for it. He carried them to see the finest pagods of the city and country. They saw indeed enormous statues, which they were told were of massy gold, and which they believed to be so, because they are so artfully gilded, that they may easily be mistaken for gold, especially as they cannot be touched, most of them being placed on a very elevated situation, and the rest being shut up within iron grates which are never opened, and which are not to be approached within a certain distance.

M. Constance, who eagerly sought an alliance with France, endeavoured to seduce them by that vain ostentation, and succeeded with the chiefs of the embassy. But in the long stay which count Forbin made at Siam and Louvo, he had time to discover the truth, and to be acquainted with the real misery which prevails in the country. We may judge of it by that of the mandarins, whom we imagine to be great

and powerful men, because they are the chief of the Siamese nation.

‘The situation, says he, in which I found those who were at the court of Louvo, surprized me extremely. They were seated in a circle on mats of slender osier; they had only one lamp before them; and when one of them wanted to read or write, he took the end of a yellow candle out of his pocket; he lighted it at that lamp, and then put it on a piece of wood, which turning from side to side on a pivot, served them for a candlestick. This decoration, so different from that of the French court, made me ask of M. Constance, if all the grandeur of the mandarins was displayed in what I had seen? He answered it was so, and freely own’d that the kingdom was very poor; but added, that my fortune should not suffer by it. When I returned to France, I met with the mandarin who had been sent embassador with M. de Chaumont, and I asked him what difference he found between this country and his own. He answered me in broken French, *La France, grand bon; Siam, petit bon*: France, great good; Siam, little good.’

This fortune, with which the minister flattered count Forbin, was very moderate, and answered but ill the pompous titles bestowed on him. They gave him a house as plain as it was little, whither they sent thirty-six slaves to serve him, and six elephants. The maintaining of his household cost him only five sols a day, so temperate are the men, and provisions so cheap
in

in that country. He himself had his table at the minister's. His house was furnished with a few very inconsiderable moveables. They added to it twelve plates of silver, and two cups of the same metal, but all very thin; four dozen of cotton napkins, and two yellow wax candles a day. 'This was, adds he, all the equipage of the lord high admiral, general of the king's forces.' However, he was obliged to be contented with it.

The account which M. Ceberet gives, who went no farther than Louvo, deserves likewise our attention, 'That which you have seen, says he, is all that is worth seeing. All this kingdom, which is very large, is nothing but a vast desert. In proportion as one advances into the country, nothing is seen but forests and wild beasts. The people dwell on the banks of the rivers, and prefer that situation to any other, because the lands, which are overflowed six months in the year, produce, almost without any culture, great quantities of rice, which does not thrive but in water. In this rice consist all the riches of the country. Thus in going up from Barre (this is perhaps Ban-cok) to Louvo, you have seen with respect to the people, the cities, and the duties they collect, all that can merit any attention in this kingdom.' Oudin, or Joudin, which we know by the name of Siam, is, according to him, hardly to be compared for bigness to cities of the fourth or fifth class in France. The king goes thither on certain days of ceremony only, and stays constantly at

Louvo, a house of pleasure at seven leagues distance.

But the little he says of that prince, agrees with what we read in other accounts. Haughtiness, despotism, and an absolute government, are the only marks by which he chuses to be distinguished from all other sovereigns. The respect which he demands of his people reaches almost to adoration, and the posture in which they must appear in his presence is a testimony of it. Even in the council, which lasts sometimes four hours, the ministers of state, and the mandarins, are continually prostrated before him. They never speak to him but on their knees, having their hands raised to their heads, making at every moment profound reverences, and accompanying their discourse with pompous titles, celebrating his power or his goodness. They receive his responses as oracles, and his orders are executed instantly and without the least opposition. When he goes abroad, all are obliged to keep within doors; and that law seemed so important, that even the French ambassadors were subjected to it. His subjects are slaves, who possess nothing but what belongs to him. Even nobility is not hereditary, consisting only in honours and employments which the prince bestows, and which he may withdraw whenever he pleases.

His dominions stretch southward to the neighbourhood of Ligor, where the kingdom of Malacca begins (*n*): It is thus that that pen-

(*n*) See La Martiniere and Mandello, p. 534. &c.

insula or tongue of land is called, which lies between the strait of that name and the gulph of Siam. Some travellers assure us, that it is divided into seven kingdoms, every one of which may be about ten leagues in breadth, and thirty in length. But dominions so inconsiderable do not deserve to be much insisted on, in a work whose brevity obliges us to retrench more interesting narrations of kingdoms more important and better known. This country was discovered in 1509, by Seguera; and in 1511, by Alphonso Albuquerque, who made himself master of the city of Malacca. The Dutch, supported by the forces of the king of Ihor, in 1606, began to disturb the Portugueze in their possession, and after thirty-five years of continual hostilities, took it from them in 1641. It is melancholy to add, that this conquest was fatal to religion. The jesuits had a house there, respectable on account of it's founder, who is believed to have been (o) St. Francis Xavier, and of the good which they did there, even by the testimony of a Dutch protestant (p). The conquerors have thrown it down*, and only preserved the church for the exercise of their religion, with a tower where they have hoisted their flag. They have shewn as little respect for the church of Misericordia, which they use at present for a magazine. It is surprising that the States have suffered the memory of those

(o) See Maffey, l. xiv. c. 1.

(p) The relation of Matelief, collection, t. iii.

* Edifying letters, t. ii p. 76.

profanations to be revived, by permitting an account of them to be inserted in a celebrated dictionary printed at the Hague.

The inhabitants of Malacca, or the Malais, are almost all savages, and live after the manner of beasts. The heat of the climate in which they dwell, which is almost under the line, renders their colour extremely swarthy; and they are very fond of Europeans on account of their whiteness. As soon as they arrive on their coasts (*q*), they offer them their wives and their daughters that they may have children like them. Notwithstanding the barbarity of their manners, their language is reckoned the finest in all the Indies, where it is at least as common as the French in Europe (*r*). It is very easily acquired, because it has no inflections, either in the nouns or the verbs. It is this that renders the Malais very well known in the east, altho' their country is only rich on account of their commerce with the Chinese. It must then have been thro' ignorance or mistake, that the ancients gave it the name of the Golden Chersonese; or rather it is evident, they did not give it to that kingdom. Yet a modern tells us, that they reckon their riches by bars of gold, and that every bar contains four quintals (*s*).

The first kingdom in the eastern part of the peninsula beyond the Ganges is that of Cam-

(*q*) Buno, in Cluverium, p. 540.

(*r*) See the examples which Mandelslo gives, p. 344.

(*s*) P. Lafiteau, conquests of the Portugueze, l. v. p. 35.

boia (*t*), which the Holländers pronounce Camboge, and others Cambodia. It is bounded on the north by that of Laos, on the east by those of Cochin-China, and Ciampa; on the south and west by the sea, and the dominions of the king of Siam. This country, which throughout all it's extent is watered by the river Mecon, produces in abundance all that is necessary for the life of man, whether in rice or flesh, in co-coas, or fruits of all other kinds. Yet it is ill peopled, and the trade carried on here is inconsiderable. Camboia, the capital of the kingdom, is the only city which deserves notice. The prince resides in a very ordinary palace, surrounded with a palisade in the form of a partition-wall. But it is defended by a great number of Chinese cannon, and other pieces of artillery which were saved from the wreck of two Dutch vessels thrown upon the coast of this kingdom. There is a temple here of a very particular structure, whose beauty is much commended. It is supported by wooden pillars varnished with black, with gilded foliages and reliefs. Even the pavement is valuable, and is preserved by mats laid over it. The priests who serve in it hold the first rank in the state. Next to them are the ockinas, to whom the prince grants the government of provinces, cities, and villages. They are distinguished by a golden casket carried before them, in which there are two or three others filled with carda-

(*t*) Dutch voyages, tom. v. p. 252. &c. Mandelló, p. 331, &c.

mom, or other spices, with which they rub their lips; and with betel, which they prepare with lime, and are continually chewing. Other persons of distinction in the kingdom can only have silver boxes.

The use of betel is not peculiar to the people of this country; nothing is so common throughout all the Indies, and bread is not more so in other places of the world. It is a plant (*u*) which creeps along the ground like pease or hops, whose stalk is very weak, so that it must be supported by a prop, or planted near the tree areca, to which it fixes itself like ivy. It's leaf resembles that of the citron tree, tho' a little longer, it's stalks or fibres are also stronger, and it becomes reddish when dried. Betel thrives best in watery places, such as the banks of the sea or rivers. There it bears a fruit shaped like a rat's tail; but produces none in climates too hot or too cold. They must be contented with the leaf, which is prepared with the fruit of the areca, and a little lime made of oyster-shells.

It is seldom that private persons take the trouble to prepare it themselves. The great entertain domesticks for that purpose; and others buy it ready made. It is to be had in most of the shops, at all the corners of the streets, and even on the highways. The leaves, ready prepared, are sold in parcels by

(*u*) Embassies of the Dutch to China, part ii. c. 13. p. 85. Embassy to Japan, part i. p. 29. Dutch voyages, tom. i. p. 78. Mandelslo, p. 108. Corâ. Le Brun, p. 347.

the dozen at a very moderate price. Both sexes eat them all hours of the night and day; and there are none who do not use two or three dozen in the twenty-four hours. But the rich alone can afford to mix fruit with it.

You never see an Indian almost without betel in his mouth. As soon as any one goes into a house on business, or to make a visit, it is brought and presented to the company by way of compliment; it is used even before their kings. When foreign embassadors are admitted to an audience of the king, they find him commonly reposing on his couch, or seated cross-legged on the ground on a carpet, having an officer in waiting, who holds his betel, which he chews continually, throwing out the husks and the spittle it produces. The greatest honour he can do them, is to invite them to taste his betel.

It's natural effect is to occasion a plentiful spitting red as blood, and to make the teeth black. But the Indians, who are habituated to it from their infancy, and have taken such a liking to it, that they cannot keep from it, attribute to it many other properties and particular virtues. They say it fastens the gums; preserves the teeth, makes the breath sweet, is good for the stomach, promotes digestion, prevents wind and vomiting, to which they are very subject, and lastly, prevents the scurvy. Notwithstanding all those real or imaginary properties, there are few Europeans who can accustom themselves to it. To many it occasions

casions sickness, and others it perfectly intoxicates, altho' that does not last long. It is on this account, that the Indian women, who, almost every where are extremely amorous, press them much to taste it, and eat of it in their presence to excess in order to provoke them. The Portugueze women, who are still more so, sollicit them as eagerly, when they can get from the presence of their husbands, which is but seldom.

The areca, which is used with the leaves of the betel, proceeds from a tree nearly resembling the cocoa in height and shape, except that it's trunk is smaller, and it's leaves shorter. From below these last there proceeds a long mass, which forms a bunch or parcel of fruit like nuts or apricocks; the flower is likewise mixed among the fruit. Two months after that is fallen off, the husks which envelop the fruit of the areca begin to open and drop off. Then an oblong fruit appears, of the bulk of a prune, of a whitish and shining colour; it's shell becomes firm, compact, and reddish; the pulp which it contains is of a brown cast bordering on red; soft and astringent to the taste; it's nut resembles a nutmeg, and contains a white kernel. The Indians prepare the pulp or kernel of this fruit with the leaves of the betel, dividing a nut into eight or ten parts.

But we return to the topography. South-east of the kingdom of Camboia lies that of Ciampa; but so small that it has not merited the

the particular attention of travellers, and we are not so much as acquainted with it's capital.

It is bounded on the north by the deserts of Cochin-China, another kingdom of which authors have given us a notion more splendid than real. The abbè Choisi has in his journal a long and pleasing description of the militia, the marriages, the funerals, and some other customs of the Cochin-Chinese. But it would be requisite to know whence he has drawn his materials. It could not be from the inhabitants of Siam, where he staid not long enough to learn the language and writing of the country, and much less an exact account of the neighbouring kingdoms. It can as little be said, that he went into Cochin-China, since it is known that he reimark'd with the rest of the fleet; and he confesses elsewhere, that the waters of that country are so bad that no European can use them without danger of his life, which prevents the missionaries from going thither.

To convince the reader that this relation is not groundlessly suspected, it will not be amiss to lay before him some passages, that he may judge for himself. 'Nothing (x), says that elegant author, is so fine as the gallies of the Cochin-Chinese. All without is of a black varnish, and within of a red, shining like a mirror. Every one has sixty oars, and they are all gilded. The rowers, who are likewise soldiers, have at their feet a musket, a poniard, a bow and quiver. They are forbid, on pain of death,

(x) Journal of the voyage to Siam, p. 359. quart. edit. 1687.

to utter so much as a word. They must always keep their eyes on the commander, who delivers his orders by the motion of a wand. Every thing is so nicely adjusted, that a master of musick when he beats time, does not make himself better understood by all his musicians. — The sailors commonly wear nothing but drawers of white silk, and a hair cap; but when they prepare for battle, they put on their heads a small gilded head-piece, and on their body a fine close coat. They have the right arm, shoulder, and side entirely naked. (Of what shape can this close coat be?) The land army consists of thirty thousand men. The king's household of nine thousand, and the first prince's of five.—The guards of the king and prince are cloathed in velvet, and have arms of gold and silver; the officers are more or less magnificent according to their degrees; and on the day of battle, or a review, the common soldiers are cloathed in an uniform of green, red, or yellow satin, &c.' There are few romances filled with such marvellous descriptions. It gives pain to be obliged to confess, that our nation is apter than any others to be dazzled with such fine chimeras. The imagination which produces them, persuades itself that they give the last grace to a subject already curious of itself, and on the contrary they render it contemptible in the eyes of men of sense, who find truth never so beautiful as when it is entirely naked, as an ancient author says, and divested of all vain ornaments.

On

On this account we ought to prefer the simple and ingenuous account of father Alexander of Rhodes, a jesuit, and famous missionary, who preached the gospel with success in Cochinchina. This kingdom (*y*), according to him, was formerly a province of China, and it was separated from it two centuries ago by the revolt of a governor sent thither by the king of Tonquin, who caused himself to be declared king. There is no country in the torrid zone wherein the four seasons are better distinguished. Altho' the rivers are not considerable, yet they are the source of it's plenty. During the months of September, October, and November, they rise every fifteen days, overflow all the fields for three days, and render them so fertile by their slime, that they can sow and reap twice a year. The soil produces rice, several sorts of fruits and herbs, pepper, cinnamon, benjoin, eagle and calemba wood. Gold, silver, silk, cotton, and porcelain, are likewise to be found here. Amongst other rare animals are rhinoceros's and elephants of an extraordinary size and surprising docility. The sea abounds with excellent fish. There are sixty good harbours, which occasion the inhabitants to apply themselves much to trade and navigation. That of Faïso is one of the most considerable. The city is inhabited by Chinese and Japonese, who carry on a free trade under the protection of the prince. It is defended by a fortress, and situated on a navigable river a little above it's

(*y*) *Travels*, p. 60, &c.

mouth.

mouth. The seeds of christianity, which were sown here by the zeal of the dominican missionaries, were favourably received, and the people had begun in several places to lay aside their superstitions. But the prince and the grandees of the kingdom, being blindly attached to idolatry, raised a violent persecution against the new christians, and stopt the rising progress of the gospel by the dread of punishment.

Northward of Cochin-China lies the kingdom of Tonquin, the last we have to speak of on the continent of the Indies. The voyages to this place which religion and commerce have given occasion to, have procured us a very circumstantial knowledge of the government and nature of this country: Tavernier, who has given an ample account of it, affirms (z), that he has taken more pains to inform himself about this, than any other of the eastern kingdoms thro' which he travelled; the means he employed could not fail to give him an exact knowledge of it, and what he says bears all the marks of truth. Tonquin had been hitherto subject to the vast empire of China (a), when a famous robber, called Din, put himself at the head of a body of men of his own profession, into whom he inspired the resolution of taking up arms, and throwing off the yoke of servitude. He succeeded, and those whom he had engaged in the revolt, out of gratitude

(z) Travels, t. v. c. 1.

(a) Travels, c. 11.

placed the crown upon his head. The happiness which the Tonquinese flattered themselves to have acquired by their independence, became to them a source of miseries and cruel wars, still more pernicious than their ancient subjection to the Chinese emperors. For seven centuries after their revolt, they have been almost continually in arms, one against another, in support of the different factions which ambition and jealousy have raised up among them; and the families on the throne have been already changed six times.

The issue of the last civil war was a treaty, by which the competitor of the king Lé, less desirous of the title of sovereign than of real power and royal authority, left him all the external splendor of a monarch, on condition he should have the absolute command in the armies, with the greatest part of the revenues of the kingdom, and that their descendants should succeed to the same privileges. By virtue of this agreement there are two sorts of kings; he who receives the honours of royalty is called bua; and the choua has all its advantages. The bua, sensible of the diminution of his power, is seldom seen out of his palace. He is taken up almost every day in giving audience to his subjects, hearing their complaints, and determining their private differences; which is the utmost extent of his power, for he can set forth no act or edict concerning the publick government, without the consent of the choua. The princes his sons partake of his servitude.

They never go out of the palace but four times a year; and that only six days each time, and they are besides attended by officers whom the choua appoints for them. In the first of those six days of liberty, they visit the temples; in the two following, they take the diversion of hunting; and during the three last, they sail upon the river in galleys magnificently adorned. The right of primogeniture does not regulate the succession to the crown; the will of the father decides it in favour of him whom he loves or esteems most. As soon as he is declared, the choua, followed by his principal officers, the counsellors of state, and the eunuchs, do him homage, and take an oath to place him on the throne after his father's death.

It would be tedious to give an account of the pomp and magnificence of all the ceremonies at his funeral. During the sixty-five days following his decease, he is served as if still alive (*b*), and provisions are distributed amongst the bonzes and the poor. The whole nation puts on mourning, and every one wears it according to his rank: the mandarins of the army and justice, for three years, the king's household nine months, the noblesse six, and the people three. These three years are times of sadness, during which no rejoicings are allowed, except at the coronation of the succeeding prince. The custom is to carry the body of the dead king into the deserts lying beyond Bodego. It is two days journey from Keco, the capital of the

(*b*) Travels, tom. v. c. xiv.

kingdom, to that city. But because the king and all the court go thither on foot, it takes them up fifteen or sixteen days. All the road is covered with a stuff of a violet colour, and at every quarter of a league there are places for refreshment. The choua takes care that there shall be lodgings for every day. In the midst of an immense and magnificent retinue of officers, horses and elephants, is the chariot which carries the prince's coffin, which is drawn by eight harts, train'd for that purpose. After the corps comes to Bodego, it is put into a galley, and is attended only by the six principal eunuchs of the court, who inter it in a remote place, after having obliged themselves by oath never to reveal it. This secrecy is, perhaps, an article of religion, or a precaution to prevent the treasures buried with him from being carried off, which they imagine he may have occasion for in the other world. It is said, that the princes and princesses order themselves to be buried near him, out of a principle of gratitude, and that they may continue to render him their services.

After this funeral ceremony, comes on the coronation of the new king, which diffuses pleasures and diversions over the city of Keco and the country about. He is carried (c) upon an elephant into the great court of the palace, which is covered with rich tapestries in form of a tent, and there he receives the oath of fidelity from the great men of the kingdom, to whom

(c) Travels, tom. v. c. 13.

he makes a present of several cakes of gold, worth about a hundred pistoles, and small bars of silver, the only money used in this country. Afterwards a large camp is erected in the midst of a vast plain along the river Chalè. The king goes thither with all the officers of his household, and a great part of the army, and there receives the oaths of the deputies of his kingdom, and of the people. One half of the month passes away in rejoicings, every day is remarkable for the diversity of festivals, and the generosities of the prince; even the darkness of the night is not unemployed, for then they furnish new amusements by letting off continual fire-works, which are said to be infinitely finer and more curious than those we have in Europe.

*This particular species of dexterity is a consequence of the emulation which the kings of Tonquin, like those of China, have sown amongst their subjects, in order to refine and improve all the sciences. Nobility, with suitable revenues (*d*), is the reward of those who excel in the knowledge of the laws, of mathematicks, astronomy, and natural philosophy. Several days in the year are set apart for the examination of those who present themselves, and sometimes there are near three thousand candidates. The king honours this ceremony with his presence; he confers nobility on those who have given satisfaction to the questions of the mandarins; he causes a robe of violet sattin to be given them, and appoints the cities and villages

(*d*) Travels, tom. v. c. 9.

which

which are to produce the rents which he assigns them.

The physicians are another class of the learned, and much esteemed. All their study is to know the simples, and to apply them according to the different distempers (*e*). They have infallible remedies for the epilepsy, the purple, and other diseases, which are thought to be incurable in Europe. They make much use of tea in the cure of pains in the head, the stone, and colicks. This herb is brought from China, and Japan, but the latter is most in esteem.

Where the arts flourish it seldom happens that the manners of the people are rough and unpolished. The Tonquinese are affable (*f*), and naturally formed to the laws of reason. The gravity, and modesty of their garb, shews their character. Both sexes are clothed almost in the same manner: their dress is a long robe, pretty strait, with a close neck, reaching down to the heels, with a silken belt of gold and silver tissue; but the military dress comes no farther than the knees. It is the common custom of the country to walk barefooted all the year: The Tonquinese ladies are as modest and reserved as the common women are libertine in their conduct. They wear a sort of hat, the borders of which are extremely large and solid; it is made of the leaves of a tree growing in that country, which they dress

(*e*) Idem. c. 10.

(*f*) Travels, tom. v. c. 6. Father Marini the jesuit's account of Tonquin, c. 4. and the account of the French bishops.

for that purpose. This kind of umbrella is adorned within with a net work of thread curiously wrought. They wear their hair as long as it will grow, like the men, and dress it with great care; whereas the men tie it under the neck, or leave it loose behind, especially the mandarins and learned men. They are of a strong and hardy constitution; their stature is not extraordinary, but well proportioned, and they have just and agreeable features. Those who live in the cities are rather white than brown, but the country people, on the contrary, are almost all olive-coloured. All of them are indefatigable in whatever business they apply to. They have a just judgement, and are capable of long application. Nature has blest them with so happy a memory, that, perhaps, there is nation no which surpasses them. Whatever they study or write, all is done singing, in order to imprint it better on their minds. They still make use of lunar months. The lower people are slaves during one part of the year; for, except the citizens of Keco, all tradesmen whatever are obliged to work three months for the royal family, and two more for the mandarins and great lords. One of their most laborious employments is to lop the trees to feed the elephants belonging to the king and the army.

Their principal riches consist in great quantities of silk, musk, and aloes wood, which they sell to foreigners. They value themselves much on their fairness in trade; which is the more surprising, as they are neighbours to the Chi-

nese, and have frequent dealings with that cunning people, who are versed in all manner of deceit. The Tonquinese having no mines of gold or silver, coin no money. They make use of foreign money, or small plates of gold, such as they come from China, which differ in their value; or, lastly, of silver bars, which they cut in pieces, and weigh according to the prices of what they purchase. On this account they always carry a small pair of scales about with them.

These are the advantageous lights in which the Tonquinese appear. But when we cast our eyes on their worship, the scene is changed, nothing is to be seen but error, impiety, and extravagant superstition. Of the three sects into which they may be divided, that of a certain hermit, called Chacabout, would be the only reasonable one, by the observation of the precepts of the natural law, of which he has made ten express commandments, if it was not corrupted by imaginations and chimeras founded on the metempsychosis, and if it did not bring up it's followers in idolatry. The second, is that of the philosopher Confucius, who came into the world four or five centuries before Christ, and whose memory is so famous thro' all China, and the neighbouring states. The doctrine of his books, as explained by the learned men of the country, is nothing but idolatry, or, perhaps, a refined atheism, which acknowledges no other god than the heavens or virtue, and supposes, that the human soul eva-

porates into air at death. The third sect is that of Lanthu, originally a Chinese, who bent his whole study on enchantments and the impostures of magick, which he unhappily rendered respected by a false outside of zeal and charity for the poor. The most part of the bonzes, or Tonquinese priests, offer no sacrifice, and give no responses till they have consulted the devil; by magick ceremonies, or what are supposed to be such.

S E C T. IV.

The principal islands of the Indies.

THE islands which have been discovered in the Indian ocean within these two centuries are so numerous, and of such extent, that were they joined together in one continent, they would make a fifth part of the world almost equal to Europe. The great trade carried on in them, the riches and the spiceries which they produce, will not permit us to pass them over in silence. But it will be sufficient to insist only on the principal ones. We shall divide them into three classes, those on the east, those on the west, and those in the middle:

The Maldives were the first islands which the European navigators discovered on their arrival in the Indies; the most northern of which are reckoned to be fifty leagues distant from Cape Comorin. An author says (*b*) they can be seen

(*b*) Mandello p. 284.

from this promontory. They begin at the eighth degree of north, and extend to the fourth of south latitude: which gives them two hundred leagues in length; but they are not above thirty, or thirty-five, in their greatest breadth. This space contains such a prodigious multitude of islands, that their number cannot be fixed. Ptolemy says (*i*) that in his time, that is, in the second century, they were reckoned to be thirteen hundred and seventy-eight. If we believe the inhabitants, he knew only a small number of them; and the prince, who is their sovereign, takes the title of sultan, king of thirteen provinces, and twelve thousand islands. There is doubtless pride and exaggeration in this pompous title, favouring of oriental vanity; since it is certain that every day some of them are lost by currents, tempests, or high tides.

In this multitude there are a great number uninhabitable (*k*). Some are covered only with herbs and barren trees; others have no verdure, and are nothing but moving sand; these last disappear with the flux of the tide, and the first are all covered with crabs, large sea lobsters, or penguins, an amphibious sort of bird, as big as a goose, but without feathers. The desert islands, and even those which are habitable, are extremely small, since Male, the most spacious of them, and the place of the king's residence, is only a league and a half in circumference. They

(*i*) Geogr. l. viii.

(*k*) Fran. Pirard, descrip. of the Maldives.

are divided into thirteen provinces or divisions, which the inhabitants call Attolons. They are separated from one another by a strait or canal, which it's narrowness, rocks, or banks of sand, frequently render inaccessible to merchant ships. It is wonderful how nature has fortified these islands against the most impetuous torrents, by surrounding them with rocks, which serve them as a rampart, against which the waves dash themselves in vain. They have notwithstanding four openings opposite to one another, which serve them for harbours, according to the difference of the seasons.

From the situation of those islands in the middle of the torrid zone, it may be imagined that the heat is excessive. The days and nights are equal, and the nights being always extremely cool, are attended with a plentiful dew. The coolness which results from hence, is the cause that the warmth of the day is more easily supported, that vegetables thrive here as well as in temperate climates, and that the trees produce fruit, notwithstanding the heats of the sun. The winter begins in April, and lasts six months; the summer comes on in October. Winter, in these islands, is not occasioned by frost and snow, which are not known here; but by the rains which fall continually, and the impetuous winds which blow from the west. But in summer it never rains, and the wind is always at east. The soil is as fertile as can be wished for in such things as it produces; which are, millet, pulse of various kinds, and chiefly cocoa nuts; there

there is no country in the world where that fruit is so fine and plentiful. As this alone is sufficient for all the necessities of man, the expence of living in the Maldives is almost nothing. Oranges, citrons, and pomegranates, are no less common here. Black and green amber is also found, as also black coral, and small white shells, so very beautiful, that they pass for money in many parts of the Indies; and lastly, tortoise shells of such a prodigious bulk, that ten or a dozen men may easily fit in one of them; but such as are from four to six feet in diameter are blackest and most esteemed.

The small profits to be made here, has been the reason why none but the Portugueze have been desirous to establish themselves in those islands. Their admiral Soarez discovered them in 1507, he made an alliance with the king of the country (1), which was confirmed by Segueira, who asked leave to build a fortified magazine at Male, according to custom. He obtained it without difficulty from the prince, who was gained by the presents he had received, and hoped to draw great advantages from an union with a nation then so famous. Gomez built the fort on the sea-side, of wood and earth, having neither stone nor lime to make it more solid. But scarce was his work compleated, when trusting too much to the reputation of the Portugueze, and to the friendship he had contracted with the prince, he shewed a disposition to rule over the foreigners, as well as over the

(1) Maffey, l. vii. c. 7.

natives of the country, and to give the law in matters of commerce. The mahometans plotted secretly against him; they attacked the fort suddenly when he had only fifteen or twenty soldiers with him; they killed him, and made themselves masters of the place. Thus the Portuguese, by their own fault, lost that establishment as quickly as they acquired it. The same thing happened to them in many other places of the Indies.

Gomez was the more blameable, as the Maldivians are easy to be dealt with. They apply themselves to all manner of manufactures, and excel in them, as well as in letters and the sciences, at least according to their fashion. They hold astronomy in great esteem. They are moreover prudent and sedate, skilled in commerce, valiant and courageous, expert in the management of arms, and there reigns amongst them a well regulated police. They are of an olive complexion, like the rest of the southern Indians, and small of stature, but well proportioned. Most of them go quite naked, except in what modesty requires to conceal. The mahometan religion is commonly professed in this country; and when an islander has made a voyage to Mecca, he has the privilege of wearing a long beard in sign of his sanctity. The king's chief revenue consists in the fifth of the fruits which his subjects gather, and what they can save from vessels shipwrecked on their coasts. The allurements of this sort of gain has rendered them

them surprisingly dextrous in recovering merchant goods from the bottom of the sea.

The island known to the ancients under the name of Taprobane, and which they looked upon as the plentiful source of all sorts of riches and curious merchandize, is that which we now call Ceylon or Ceylan. A learned man (*m*) of the last age is of opinion, that this was the country of Ophir and Tarsis, with whose treasures Solomon's fleets were loaded. It's inhabitants formerly called it Lamca or Lamcab (*n*), which signifies a terrestrial paradise, or holy land; a name given it by it's former king Vigia Raia, who is thought to have lived 500 years before Christ. Afterwards it was called Ilanare, or Tranate, that is to say, the Insular kingdom. It is likewise called Hebenaro, or the fertile land, and Tenarifim, which signifies a place of delight. The Arabians call it Serindib (*o*).

This country, according to a traveller (*p*) who had seen a great part of the world, is the most delightful and fertile of all those he had ever seen. An infinite number of animals are found here, some whereof are useful to man, and others seem only made to adorn nature, please the eyes, and satisfy curiosity. The Cingales, or Chingulais, have cows, buffaloes (*q*), hogs, harts, does, hares,

(*m*) Bochart, Phaleg & Geograph. sacr.

(*n*) Du Bois, p. 682 La Martinere.

(*o*) Ancient Arabian accounts translated by the abbé Vertot.

(*p*) Van den Brosck. collection of dutch voyages, t. iv. p. 362.

(*q*) Robert Knox's account of Ceylon, t. i. p. 52. This work was written originally in English, but the curious things contained in it have caused it to be translated into French, in 2 vols. twelves.

dogs,

dogs, apes, tigers, boars, elephants, asses, and horses; but their soil is not proper for feeding of sheep. Their elephants are more esteemed than any other in the Indies, not only on account of their prodigious bulk, and the beauty of their ivory, but also for their remarkable docility. It is said to have been found by experience, that those of other countries acknowledge their superiority (*r*), and do them obeisance when they meet them. They use no other animals but these in the carriage of hogsheds and other such burthens. The elephant takes hold of the rope with his trunk and his teeth, he draws it, twists it about, throws the load on his back and so goes off with it. He draws with equal ease, a half galley, or caravel, on dry ground. The apes, with which the forests are filled, are as surprising as they are common (*s*). There is a particular kind of them, called in the language of the country, ouran outang, that is to say, wild men. They have nearly the shape and stature of man, and appear to have some share of his intelligence. They have hair only on the back and reins. They are nimble, strong, and bold; they put themselves in a posture of defence against armed hunters; they are passionately fond of women, who cannot in safety go thro' the woods where they are. The Cingales take them with gins, tame them, and teach them to walk on their hinder feet, employing their fore-

(*r*) Dutch voyages, t. ii. p. 256. Le Erun. ch. 63. Tavernier, t. iv. p. 225. and others.

(*s*) Du Bois, p. 682.

feet in other services, such as wiping the glasses, pouring out liquor, turning the spit, and such little offices. Nature in Ceylon shews an equal fecundity in the number of different birds she produces, for the most part unknown elsewhere, and admirable on account of their voice and plumage.

This variety of animals is no less useful in life, than agreeable in the view of the country; yet this does not constitute it's riches. These consist in the different kinds of spices and precious stones, all which, except diamonds, are found here in abundance. It is pretended there are mines of gold, which the king of Candi will not suffer to be opened, for fear of exciting the avarice of the Europeans. Besides an infinite number of trees, plants, and fruits, of which we only know the barbarous names (*t*), and which all contribute to the ornament and advantage of the country, it produces every thing found elsewhere. Rice, sugar, tobacco, pepper, ginger, and cardamum, grow here in abundance. There are whole forests of oranges, citron, clove, and cinnamon trees. The last especially are so common and so perfect in their kind, that the smell of them spreads eight leagues round; the quintal of the country, which is 128 pounds, is worth only forty sous. This is a tree of an ordinary size, the leaves whereof resemble those of the laurel, both in colour and in thickness. When they begin to bud, they are as red as scarlet; and when rubbed in the hands, they smell more of

(*t*) Vid. Knox, t. i. p. 35. & le Brun, p. 201, & seq.

the clove than of cinnamon. The tree bears a fruit like a small acorn. By boiling, they draw from it an oil which swims in water, which afterwards congeals, and forms a kind of white wax, a little softer than ours. It's smell is very agreeable, and is burnt in lamps; but I know not why the candles made of it are used only by the king. The bark of the cinnamon tree is most valuable. This is what we call cinnamon. When the Indians gather it, it is white; and becomes reddish after it has been exposed in the sun in order to harden it. It is taken only from the small trees, tho' that of the great ones is of as sweet a scent, and of 'as strong' a taste as the other. Pepper, more used among us than cinnamon, grows upon a small shrub, in clusters about half a foot long, all covered over with berries. Some of it's leaves resemble those of the orange-tree, others are longer. There are several kinds of pepper-trees, the detail of which belongs rather to the natural philosopher than to the historian (*u*).

The Portugueze, informed of the advantages which might be drawn from this island, landed here in 1506 (*x*), under the conduct of Laurence Almeida. That admiral took possession of it in the name of Emanuel king of Portugal, by erecting a column with an inscription, importing that it had no master; altho' at the same time he treated with one of the kings of

(*) See the first voyage of the Dutch, t. i, p. 272, et seq.

(x) Maffey, l. vii. c. 5. & l. viii. Mandello, p. 272, &c. Collection of Dutch voyages, t. ii. from p. 455 to 516.

Ceylon, promising him the protection of Emanuel, on condition of a yearly acknowledgment of two thousand five hundred quintals of cinnamon. The Dutch, jealous of so lucrative an establishment, began in 1602 to make attempts to take it from them. The violence they exercised rendered them as odious to the Cingales, as the Portugueze already were on the same account. But they accomplished their designs fifty-five years afterwards. They declared a cruel war against the Portuguezè; they drove them from the places they had fortified and possessed for a hundred and fifty years before; they seized on the cities of Colombo and Negombo; they placed a garrison in the fort of Punto Gallo; they made themselves absolute masters of the coasts and harbours, but did not enter into the dominions of the king of Candi, who possesses the middle of the island; and they are so anxious to engross the trade of Ceylon, that they suffer no foreign vessels to approach it (y).

Thus they divided the whole island with the king of Candi. That prince is formidable to his subjects, by the absolute empire he has over their possessions, their actions, and their lives. The Cingales (z) are prohibited to search for topazes, rubies, sapphires, granates, and crystal, which they might easily find in the greatest part of their mountains; as also to have them by them, or to trade in them; those who venture it run

(y) Lullier, p. 26.

(z) Dutch voyages, t. ii. p. 509. Mandello, p. 182. Ancient accounts, p. 103.

the risk of death if discovered. Those only whom the prince appoints are allowed to search for precious stones, or to gather them if thrown by torrents or storms upon the high-ways and streets, unless they carry them to him immediately, or put them into the hands of his officers. The motives of this policy, and why he suffers the riches of his kingdom to be buried in this manner, are not known.

Three kinds of religion regulate the worship of all the country. The king follows the mohometan, with part of his subjects; others are idolaters like the rest of the Indians, and much attached to the metempsychosis; and throughout all the Dutch dominions (*a*) those two religions, with the protestant, are alone permitted, for the catholick is prohibited under severe penalties. One of their writers (*b*) informs us that they have introduced theirs by the care of the ministers they maintain there; that they have converted many thousand souls, and have even founded a college in order to instruct the youth of the country. This is then the second time their creed has been altered. We read in Cosmas the traveller, that in the sixth century, there were flourishing churches in that island, established by the apostles and their successors. But that light was extinguished by the persecution of the mahometans, more formidable enemies to the christian name than pagans themselves. The

(*a*) Corneille Le Brun, p. 163.

(*b*) De Bois, p. 683.

missionaries the Portugueze carried there dedicated all their zeal to it's revival, and they already began to see the comfortable effects of their labours, when the Dutch seized on the island, and substituted instead of the ancient dogma's, the new errors of calvinism.

Whether Solomon sent ships into this island, or private Jews traded thither, it is held for certain that the principles of revelation were known to the Cingales many ages before Jesus Christ. Here follows what has given rise to this opinion. In the southern part of the island, about twenty leagues from the sea, on the side of Punto Gallo (c), there is a vast plain, in the middle of which is a mountain covered with a fine turf, whence proceeds a rock which rises to the height of a quarter of a league in a pyramidal form, but so rugged, that it cannot be ascended but by means of an iron chain which hangs from top to bottom. It is reckoned that it is two leagues from the plain to the topmost summit, but the way so bad, that setting out early in the morning, one cannot arrive thither till two hours after mid-day. The height is so prodigious, that the sailors begin to descry it twenty leagues out at sea. Tho' the summit of the rock appears like a point viewing it from the bottom of the plain, yet it forms a terrass two hundred paces in diameter, in the middle of which there is a large and very deep lake, containing the best water in the

(c) Ribero, hist of Ceylon, p. 172. Ancient accounts, p. 3, and 134. Robert Knox.

world. From thence proceed several rivulets, which fall in torrents along the mountain, and after being reunited, form three great rivers in the plain. Near the lake is a large stone, on which is the print of a man's foot, two palms in length, and eight inches in breadth, as perfectly engraved as if it had been in wax. The Cingales are persuaded that it is a vestige of the first man, and therefore have called that mountain Hamalel, or *Adam's mountain*, which the French have translated, by the *pike, point, or step of Adam*. The people believe that the first man was created here (*d*), that the lake arose from the tears which Eve shed at Abel's death, and that Ceylon was part of the terrestrial paradise. This tradition came from the king Vigia Raïa, who we have said lived according to the common opinion, 500 years before Christ, and gave the name of *Holy land* to the island. This notion could only have come by the channel of the Jews. But the pagans have abused those first rays of light, which might have conducted them to the truth. They frequently make pilgrimages, and carry their offerings to this mountain: and the priests interested to keep up their superstition, tell them a hundred fables and prodigies which they say happen there every day.

These priests, as well as the rest throughout the island, are otherwise very exemplary in their conduct. There are two sorts of them. Those of the first order (*e*), are look-

(*d*) Mandello, p. 281.

(*e*) Rob. Knox, t. ii. p. 82, & seq.

ed upon as the depositaries of divine knowledge, and are charged with the instruction of the people. They receive none amongst them but persons of condition, of good morals and education. The people entertain a singular respect for them. They salute them with a profound reverence wherever they meet them, but they return the salute to none. Wherever they go, a fine matt, or piece of white linen is spread over the seat presented to them, an honour common to them with the king. They eat only once a day, excepting rice, water, or fruits, which they may take evening and morning. If they incline to marry, they must renounce the priesthood; and this they do by throwing their habit into the river, and washing their head and all their body. The priests of the second order have no external distinction. They work, and are cloathed like the rest of the Cingales. All their ministry consists in presenting to the idols boiled rice, and other provisions, which the people bring; but they never offer up animals. They are all so devoted to the metempsychosis, that thro' the day they worship the first animal they meet with in the morning.

Yet it may be said that all the inhabitants of the country are priests, and exercise the priestly functions. Every one according to his ability, builds a pagod either in his house, or else in his court or garden. Some are so small that they are scarce two feet square. The idol they place in them is of a monstrous figure, wherefore they do not call them the houses of God, but

the houses of the devil. Being brought up in the principles of Manicheism, they address almost always their vows and offerings to the devil, to keep them from the evils with which they are threatened. Notwithstanding the prejudices of education, and the customs so generally established among them, they hear without being offended whatever can be said against the absurdities of their worship, and it may be seen by this natural rectitude, that able and zealous missionaries would easily convert them to the true religion. Their marriages, their manners and customs, are very extraordinary. But a detail of them cannot be undertaken without taking up too much time. It will be sufficient to refer the curious to those travellers who have treated this subject more at length (*f*). I shall only take notice of their passion for play.

Cock-fighting, and the game of draughts, are the ordinary employments of the Cingales †. The cocks of this island are bigger, and their spurs much longer, than in any other part of the world. The islanders fix to them large cutting instruments, and fight them against one another. They bett upon these engagements, gold, silver, orchards, lands, and many other things, which are gained by the masters of that cock which is victorious. They venture, not only all they have in the world, at the game of draughts but even their very limbs. When they have nothing more

(*f*) Ribero, *hist. of Ceylon*. Robert Knox, t. ii. Mandello, p. 279, &c. Dutch voyages, tom. ii. p. 472 to 516.

† Antient Arabian accounts, p. 105.

to lose, they set a vessel full of oil of nuts or sesame, for they have no olives, on the fire, and by it's side a small ax, but very sharp. He who loses the party, lays his hand upon a stone, and they cut off the joint of a finger, which is immediately dipt in the boiling oil in order to cauterize the wound. This cruel operation cannot cure them of their bad habits of gaming, and sometimes they are so obstinate, that they will not give over till all their fingers are cut off. Others take a match of cotton steep'd in oil, which they burn upon their hands, without betraying any sensation of pain. But it is time to pass to the second or middlemost class of islands.

Under that name are comprehended those which lie to the south of the peninsula beyond the Ganges; they are also called the *islands of the Sonde*, on account of the strait of that name which separates Sumatra and Java. It will be sufficient to insist on those two principal ones, together with Borneo.

The island of Sumatra is long and narrow, stretching in a straight line from north-west to south-east. One half of it's length faces the peninsula of Malacca, from which it is divided by a channel in some places no more than ten or twelve leagues over. Being cut almost in two equal parts by the equator, it stretches six degrees to the north, and as many to the south. It is two hundred and fifty leagues long, sixty broad, and about five hundred in circumference. The air here is warm, but less so than might be expected under the line. This temperature is at-

tributed to the cool breezes that blow from the sea, which ought to produce sensible effects on account of the narrowness of the island. It may be added (g), that, naturally speaking the air ought not to be so warm in countries under the line and thereabouts, as in those which lie towards the tropicks; because in the last, the sun stays longer in their zenith, and then the days are longer than the nights; whereas in the first, the days and nights are almost always equal, the difference not being sensible, and besides the sun quickly leaves their zenith. The rainy season here commences with the month of June, and ends with October. If the rains cease for a short time, the sun shines out with great warmth, and draws up exhalations which render the air very unhealthy for strangers, and occasion very dangerous distempers. These vapours proceed chiefly from the lakes and marshes, which are very frequent in this island.

The soil is fertile, and would bring forth in abundance all sorts of grain if it was cultivated; but they sow nothing but rice and millet. The best pepper in the Indies, except that of Cochin, is to be had here, as also cinnamon, ginger, sugar, benjoin, white sandal wood, citrons, oranges, honey, wax, and cotton. Cocoa trees are as common here as willows in Holland. They have mines of gold, silver, copper, tin, iron, lead, and sulphur. All are in great abundance, but those of copper and tin are most plentiful. In the high mountains which run thro' the

(g) Du Bois, p. 634.

island, all sorts of precious stones are to be found, with the value of which the inhabitants are little acquainted, and yet will not allow them to be sought after. One of these mountains throws out fire by intervals, like Vesuvius in the kingdom of Naples. The forests of this island are peopled with animals of all kinds, elephants, rhinoceros's, tigers, lions, leopards, stags, wild boars, porcupines, wild horses, civets, and apes.

The savages who inhabit the inland parts throughout all it's length, pretend to be the sole aborigenes and masters of the country. They entertain no commerce with Europeans, but eat as many of them as they can catch. Their kings or chieftains are perpetually at war with one another. He who dwells between Ticon and Manimcabo, almost under the line, is the richest of them all. He has in his possession the best part of the gold mines. His subjects carry it to the inhabitants of Manimcabo, who give them in exchange cotton stuffs, rice, and arms. The first time that the Hollanders anchored at this island in 1596 (*b*), those who inhabited the coasts, and are not so fierce as the rest, carried on board them cocoa nuts, pepper, cloves, nutmegs, cananas, poultry, and oranges. These merchandizes were exchanged for a few knives. It is true the Portugueze had insensibly joined in commerce with them, which they had carried on for near a century. But the Dutch, who have made it a law to themselves to engross all the commerce, have seized on

(*b*) Dutch voyages, t. i. p. 276.

seven of the best maritime places, from which they have excluded the Portugueze. It is with pain they see the English in possession of one single town.

Achem, or Achin, is the only kingdom of the six into which Sumatra is divided that we are well acquainted with, or that is worthy of notice. The capital is built on the north-west point of the island, on a river somewhat larger than the Sein at Paris; on which account the city is always full of Dutch, English, Danes, Portugueze, Chinese, and Guzarats, who trade in all manner of commodities, because they receive their payments in gold and precious stones. The principal commodities are cotton stuffs, rice, and spices (*i*).

The king of Achem is the most voluptuous prince in the world; his palace is filled with an incredible number of women: some remain continually about his person, either to cool and refresh the air with large fans, to amuse him with their conversation, to divert him with their songs, or to satisfy his desires. There are above thirteen hundred in the halls and courts of entry, where they mount guard by turns night and day. Others are in the kitchens and the offices, where they prepare every thing that is for the king's immediate service. It has been observed, that his palace is the theatre of jealousy, hatred, disputes, and perpetual complaints. The security

(i) Dampier, supplem. part i. c. 7. Dutch voyages, t. ii. p. 393, &c. t. iv. p. 61, &c. t. vi. p. 233. Le Brun, p. 361.

of the laws, and the rigor of the punishments, are the only barriers capable of containing them within bounds. Persons of all conditions who have fallen into a fault, are equally liable to punishment: some even of the royal family have been seen at his court without either hands or feet, and have been treated in that manner for faults which would have hardly deserved notice in any other country. He is frequently the spectator, or even the executioner of the punishments inflicted. He has elephants purposely trained to torment criminals, and who understand by the least signs what the prince requires of them. He has been seen to pass coolly from that spectacle to that of cock-fighting, in which many of the Indian kings take great pleasure. The king of Achem's subjects are cowardly, indolent, and idle; some of them are mahometans, others idolaters. Their king may attempt any thing against them without fear of resistance.

The island of Java lies to the south-east of Sumatra, from which it is separated by the famous straits of the Sonde, which in that place are from seven to eight leagues over: some learned men (*1*) pretend that this island is the Jabadin of Ptolemy. But this conjecture, and the proofs by which it is supported, do not concern us: we are only concerned with its present state, and the knowledge we have of it.

This island may be divided into the coasts or the maritime countries, the low countries, and

(1) La Mart. Dutch voyages, t. i. p. 331. fusc. et t. ii. p. 552.

the midland. The northern coast is under the dominion of the Dutch company, who have built forts, and maintain garrisons in it. The inland country is possessed by the emperor, or the mataram, who has united under his power different principalities, whose sovereigns rather chose to retire to the southern coast among the uncultivated lands, than submit to him and renounce their pretensions. He has put in their place princes, less jealous of independance, who pay him a tribute, and live under his dominion. The company itself has assisted him in that project, by giving him all the succours for which he had occasion; and that prince is the more concerned to keep well with the company, because he had on the southern coast implacable enemies, who would long ago have overturned his throne had they not dreaded the forces and vengeance of the Dutch, who have in effect made themselves masters of the best and greatest part of the island; and it is not believed any power dare attempt to drive them out, since they have forced the king of the island Madura to yield them his kingdom in 1725.

The mines of gold, silver, copper, diamonds, rubies, and emeralds, a general plenty of all that is necessary for life, the neighbourhood of the spice islands, Japan, China, and the Indies, determined the Dutch to establish their general factory at Batavia, the first part of that island at going out of the straits of the Sonde, in the kingdom of Bantam (*m*). It was formerly called

(*m*) See on the customs and manners of that country, Corneille Le Brun, c. 58, &c. Dutch voyages, i. p. 338, t. ii. p. 697.

Jacatra; or rather the ruins of that ancient city served for a foundation to that which the Dutch built in 1619; and to which they gave the Latin name of their country, calling it Batavia; but among the Javanese it still retains the name of Jacatra. It is situated (*n*) in a large and low plain, with the sea to the north, and very high mountains covered with woods behind it. Brick walls surround it on all sides, which are defended by twenty-two bastions, to which they have given the names of the provinces and principal cities in Holland. The wideness and depth of the ditch which surrounds them, and is always full of water, forms a second insurmountable barrier, chiefly at the time of high water. Lastly, it is fortified by all the artillery which could be put in a place of strength. The Dutch have established the regular exercise of the protestant religion, the only one permitted here; and according to their accounts the service is performed with great exactness. Their attention and charity to the poor of the hospitals are no less commended.

But the care of the company to improve their commerce yields in nothing to their zeal for religion. The order and regulations established among the officers, shews that their care and attention could not be carried farther. Being persuaded that a power ought to make itself respected in those to whom it's interests are entrusted, they cause all the honours of sovereignty

(*) La Martiniere at that word. Le Brun. c. 62.

to be paid the governor general whom they appoint over the dominions and factories they possess in the Indies: his house is a palace, and takes up one half the citadel. Every Wednesday and Saturday he goes to divert himself at his country house, with a retinue fit for a king. A trumpet (o), two halberdiers, and sixteen horseguards go before him. He follows in a light chariot, with his equerry in the boot of the coach, and six halberdiers on horseback. After that come the coaches of his retinue, and the procession is closed by fifty guards with a trumpet at their head. His retinue is no less pompous when he resides in the city. As he proceeds slowly, a company of foot surround his chariot, with his halberdiers and equerry by the door, on horseback.

Those ensigns of grandeur serve to soften the fatigues of an employment so laborious and oppressive as this is. It may be said that he never enjoys rest or relaxation. He is oppressed with letters and packets from day-break, and perpetually employed in the affairs of the company. At sun-rising, the two chiefs of the merchants, the commandant of the citadel, the major, the architect, the chief of the artillery, and several others, come to give him an account of what has passed the night before, and to receive his orders. At eleven o'clock, the *sabandbaer* comes to inform him of the ships, merchandizes, and persons who arrive, and the places of their de-

(o) Le Brun, c. 63.

stination, and to ask from him the necessary passports. He must besides give audience to those who carry on business in the palace. Thus is he employed till he sits down to table, where he is not above half an hour, and even part of that time he spends in talking of business, after which he resumes the same course of fatigue till supper time. Thus to judge of things properly, the general of the company is no more than their principal slave, who has not a moment to himself, and cannot pass so much as one night out of the citadel. He is besides obliged to give an exact account, to the Dutch company, of every thing that happens on the coast of Java, and in the country which depends on it. Every counsellor is obliged to do the same for the lodge or factory of which he has the direction. A course of life so remote from all repose has induced many to refuse the place of general, or to resign it to the company after enjoying it a few months. The council assembles regularly twice a week; and foreign ministers who go to Batavia are not permitted to leave it, 'till they have had an audience of the governor.

The next officer to this is the director general whose employment is no less fatiguing. He buys and ships off all the merchandize of the company of what nature soever, and to whatever place it is sent. He has the management and direction of every thing concerning trade; he appoints the cargo which every vessel is to take in; all the merchants and officers of the company wait
of

of him to inform him of every thing that passes ; and from him they receive the keys of the magazines or warehouses, the keeping of which is committed to him, The business of the inferior officers is regulated with no less precision.

A French traveller (*p*) who was in the Indies in 1723, informs us of other facts equally interesting in their kind. If the Dutch, says he, are the richest nation in the Indies, they are likewise the most powerful, and those who carry on the greatest trade. They have always forty vessels, and sometimes more, with which they traffick throughout all the Indies ; and what with the profit they draw from thence, and the revenues of their dominions, they load four or eight and twenty large ships, which they send every year to Europe. As many come from Holland, who return afterwards, for reasons of policy they take care to change their crews. As soon as an officer arrives in the Indies, they immediately put him aboard another vessel. If those who have been in the service three years want to return to Europe, they present a petition to the chamber, who fail not to pay regard to it if the persons are in a condition to return. If their number is not sufficient to man the vessels to be sent back, the governor informs himself of those who have been most successful in their voyages, and who after their

(*p*) Lallier, instructions for the commerce of the East-Indies, p. 164.

return can pass the remainder of their days comfortably, and maintain their families easily.

The Dutch company is solicitous for the advancement of all who are in their service; they despise those officers who neglect their own affairs, and reckon them incapable of managing those of others to purpose. They very seldom promote any one that is careless about his fortune. The sovereign chamber pays no regard to the petitions they present for their return; thus are they obliged to remain contrary to their inclinations. If any return without leave obtained, they are prosecuted on their arrival as deserters. This law equally obliges sailors and officers. They engage the affections of both to the service by allowing them to carry on some sort of traffick, which privilege is according to their rank or condition. We must not then be surpris'd at the riches of the Dutch, and that they are serv'd in the Indies with so much eagerness. The watchfulness of the master frequently confirms the wavering fidelity of the servant.

The island of Borneo would be alone sufficient to support a considerable branch of trade, if that of the inland part were practicable. But it is possessed by savages called Bejous (*q*), an intractable race, who cannot endure strangers; and the coasts are inhabited by Moors, nearly as fierce, who are notwithstanding under monarchical government. Altho' our travellers have made very little abode in this island, they have

(*q*) La Martiniere, who has forgot to cite his author.

been able to inform us that it produces many valuable commodities. There are mines of all sorts; but these savages absolutely neglect metals, because they know not the art of founding. They gather the gold in dust, which is found in the sand of several rivers. Rice grows here in great plenty, and better than any where else in the Indies. Their fruits are nothing like those of Europe, neither in colour, taste, or size. Cassia, wax, camphire, pepper, lac, and many excellent dyes, are very common. The number and singularity of the animals, serve to shew the wonderful diversity of the productions of nature. Nothing can be more curious than the different kinds of apes, from some of which the best bezoar stones are to be got. This is nearly what they tell us of Borneo, the inhabitants whereof have no other law than that of nature, nor any religion but a few particular superstitions.

Eastward of the islands of Borneo and Java are those which we have placed in the third class of the Indian ocean. Altho' they are almost innumerable, they may be comprehended under three heads: the Molucco or spice islands, New Guinea, and the Philippines.

The chief Moluccos are Celebes, Gilolo, Ternatè, Ceram, Amboina, and Banda (r).

Celebes is the largest of them all: in general, it has this in common with the rest, that the soil produces in plenty every thing that can be desired for the necessities or pleasures of life:

(r) Vid. Argensol's conquest of the Moluccoes.
etc.]

Fruits, aromatic and dying woods, and spices, grow here in such quantities, that the inhabitants give them away for almost nothing. They use no sort of food except rice and fish. It is not known on what occasion they became sensible, towards the beginning of the last century, of the vanity of the idols they had hitherto worshipped. They resolved by general consent to change their religion (s). But not knowing whether to embrace the christian or mahometan, they determined that chance should decide it. They sent ambassadors to the christians of Malacca, and to the king of Achem, demanding of them persons capable of instructing them in religion, and promising, to determine in favour of those who should arrive first. While they delayed the time at Malacca, the king of Achem sent away several cassifes or doctors of the Alcoran, who converted the island to the mahometan sect. The Macassars, who inhabit the greatest part of it, are a people of unheard-of fury and cruelty when obliged to take up arms in their own defence (t). We have a particular history of them (u).

The islands of Gilolo (x), Ternate, Ceram, Amboina, and Banda, and the others in the south, possess great riches in that small territory which every one contains in particular. The Dutch and Portugueze divide the trade.

It is surprizing that New Guinea, tho' so near the Moluccoes, should be so little known to us.

(s) P. Alex. de Rhodes, voyage to the Indies, p. 293, et seq.

(t) See the memoirs of M. Forbin de Janson.

(u) Gervaise, hist. of the Macassars.

(x) They are treated of at length in the Dutch voyages.

All that we know of it is reduced to a few very imperfect notions of it's coasts; those towards the south, we are told are almost always covered with snow, altho' lying in the fourth and fifth degrees of south latitude. But it is doubtful whether it adjoins to Carpentaria or New Holland, which lies to the south.

Under the name of Philippines (*y*), whether ancient or modern, are comprehended all those islands which lie to the north of the Moluccoes, between the equator and the tropick of Cancer. They are called Philippines, because the Spaniards established themselves in them under the reign of Philip II. The eastern people call them Luçon, from the name of the largest; and the Portugueze Manilles, from a city of that name, which passes for the capital of this island. Writers are not agreed as to the nature of the country. To listen to the ancients, nature furnishes every thing that can be desired, whether for the pleasures of life, or the rich articles of commerce. According to the moderns, these islands have nothing engaging in them, and the Spaniards keep them only to preserve a communication between America, China, and Japan. None of the fruits met with elsewhere, are to be found here, excepting millet, rice, and cocoa, which are in great plenty. There are, chiefly at Mindanao, some mines of gold and iron, of which no use is made. The number and diversity of these islands do not permit us to determine the character of the inhabitants. Some

(*y*) With respect to these islands, consult the voyage of Gemelli Careri round the world.

have the reputation of being cruel, others of being mild and affable. Mahometanism, idolatry, and christianity, which the Spaniards (z) have established in some places, are the three religions of those islanders. In the Instructive letters (a) it may be seen what an happy chance carried the knowledge of the gospel into the new Philippines, and in what manner the number and situation of those islands have become known.

C H A P. II.

The Religions of the Indies.

IT may be observed, from the historical description of the Indies, that an almost infinite variety of manners and customs prevail in this tract. The kingdoms are multiplied without end; and in passing from one to another, different laws, practices, manners, and maxims are every where to be found. So many and so great diversities cannot be reduced to principles or common heads. This determined us to describe the character and customs of each people in particular.

It is not the same with respect to the religions which prevail in the Indies. Altho' superstition, ignorance, imposture, and commerce have introduced into the east all those religions that are

(z) Instructive letters, t. xi. p. 139.

(a) The same, t. ii. p. 4. and what follows.

to be met with in other parts of the world, however opposite to one another; we may however bring them back to certain points, and treat of them separately. It is a chaos which has not yet been compleatly developed, and the unfolding of which will be the most interesting part of this history. The Indians are idolaters, jews, mahometans, or christians; and these last are catholicks, nestorians, or protestants.

S E C T. I.

The idolaters of the Indies,

HOW great soever the zeal of the apostle of the Indies, of the pious ecclesiasticks who went thither in the fourth century, and of the missionaries which the European princes have sent thither in these last ages, might have been, yet notwithstanding neither the one nor the other have been able entirely to extirpate the senseless superstitions of paganism. The original of idolatry is as ancient as the first peopling of the country, and has no where produced such ridiculous fruits.

It is not in the practices, in the ceremonies, sacrifices, or common conversation of the Indians, that we must seek for the system, principles, and fundamental dogmas, of the religion they profess. Their worship is only a habit, for which they can give no other reason, than the ancient usage of the country, and the example of their ancestors. Those from whom
they

they ought to expect and receive instructions on that point, have a maxim to keep them in an ignorance surpassing that of the most barbarous nations. We must then have recourse to their learned men, to get some light into the foundation and object of a species of idolatry, which is peculiar to them, and which has nothing in common with that of other nations. Amongst the great number of historians and travellers who have treated of it, none have been so well acquainted with it as Abraham Rogers, a protestant minister. During the ten years he resided at Paliacate on the coast of Coromandel, he made it his study to discover the secrets of that mysterious religion. He obtained his end by the connection and friendship which he contracted with one of the principal brachmans of the country, who explained to him the whole doctrine of the Vedam. This is the book of the law, or the bible of those pagans, of which there are few copies. The language and stile are so obsolete, that the most learned, with difficulty, understand it; but the commentaries supply the text.

According to the Vedam, (b) there is a supreme being, omnipotent and eternal, whose nature never was, and never can be known. Some call him Wistnou, others Peremael, Esvara, Isura, or otherwise, according to the diversity of countries and languages. It cannot be said whe-

(b) Abrah. Rogers, in his book entitled: The port open to come at the knowledge of concealed paganism, p. ii. c. 1. &c.

ther he is a spirit or a body, because he is environed by a variety of colours. He has no eyes, yet sees every thing that passes; without ears, he hears every thing; and, altho' varying in every place according to occasion and necessity, he exists nevertheless throughout the whole world.

When the universe * was only an immense mass of eternal waters, he resolved to make the world such as it is, without other design than his own satisfaction.

For this purpose, he took the figure of a child, and placed himself on a leaf which the waters gently carried about. Thus while he sported at his ease on the waves, holding the extremity of his foot in his mouth, a flower came out of his navel, which produced the first man, whom he named Brama, from whom proceeds the race of the Brachmans or Bramins, by Cassiopa his eldest son. The first thought of Brama was a sentiment of gratitude. He gave thanks to the author of his existence for having given him a reasonable soul, and his gratitude was recompensed with a new gift, which almost equalled him with the divinity. Wistnou gave him power to create the world, in the state wherein we now see it; that is to say, to hatch an egg which swam on the surface of the waters,

* It seems that in effect the brachmans suppose an eternal matter, of which the world was formed. According to others, they admit a pure and simple creation. This is a point difficult to decide, and on which the dissertation of Mothemius in Cadworth may be consulted.

and contained the heavens, stars, and earth, and all that covers it. He yielded to Brama all the glory of his work, abandoning to him the care and government of the universe, as a king trusts the management of his dominions to a minister, of whose fidelity, wisdom, and abilities he is well satisfied. Thus the gymnosophists or Indian sages, are persuaded that Wistnou remaining shut up in his own glory, meddles not with what passes without him, which he confides entirely to Brama, the master and arbiter of all events. But as he was not sufficient for every thing, he chose for himself assistants, upon whom he rested part of his cares. Some commentators on the Vedam make them amount to the number of thirty-three millions, whom they regard as so many divinities of an inferior order.

The Indians judging of God as of men, with respect to pleasures and passions, give to Wistnou a great number of wives, the principal and most beloved of whom are Laëtsami and Parvati. But that union, according to them, consists only in a pure commerce of friendship, which is yet sufficient for generation by a simple act of their will. It is in this manner, they add, that Wistnou has transformed himself ten times to dwell upon the earth, under figures by which he could not be known. At first he was under that of a fish, then of a tortoise, next of a hog, after that he was half man half lion, and lastly he appeared in the form of a horse. Every one of these transformations is founded on
a par-

a particular fable, which is a series of all manner of absurdities. The Vedam speaks likewise of good and bad angels, proceeding from Wistnou and Brama. But it would seem the last only became so, by the carrying off the amortan, or liquor of the gods, which however, remained but a very short time.

Brama's sovereign power over all creatures brought him to the brink of total ruin and destruction: Pride took place in his heart of those fine sentiments he had discovered at coming out of Wistnou's bosom; he wanted to equal himself with his creator. Wistnou ordered one of his servants to cut off the middlemost of his five heads, with his nail. The order was immediately executed. Brama then perceiving his weakness and dependance, humbled himself before the god, and composed an admirable poem in his praise. Wistnou was touched at his repentance; he pardoned his fault, and for his comfort told him, that the loss of one of his heads should not diminish his power and empire over the creatures in the other seven worlds since created, and all similar to that in which we inhabit. Thus they represent Brama with four faces, all on the same head.

It is not known by what imagination the Bra-
mins regulate the duration of the world. They
pretend it ought still to subsist more than a mil-
lion of centuries; since in 1639, one of them
in conversation with Abraham Rogers told him,
that only 4739 years of the fourth age had
elapsed, and that the first had lasted 17280 cen-
turies.

tures. They add, that in the first age the men were all just and good; that the devil, created since that time, had no power to do them harm; that in the following age the fourth part of mankind was corrupted; that in the third, the good and bad were equal in numbers; but that in the last times the depravation had become so great, that hardly one fourth were found to be just.

The common doctrine maintains, that after death there will be rewards for some, and punishments for others, in proportion to the crimes with which their lives have been sullied. The Indians, following the notions of the metempsychosis, believe that the souls go out of their bodies at death, either to pass into other men newly born, into some animal, or into plants. The only end which they propose by all their good works, is the hope of a happy transmigration into the body of a rich man, of a lord or monarch, or of a docible animal, such as a cow or sheep. Their extreme veneration for an ox or cow arises from the Egyptian navigators, who taught them the worship of Apis, one of their principal divinities. The murderer of one of these animals would be reckoned a profane-impious person, who hazarded the death of a father, mother, or some relation, whom heaven had favoured after death. Here are, as in Egypt, sacred oxen, which they honour with offerings and sacrifices; and whose funeral pomp (c) sur-

(c) Marc. Paulo.

passes in magnificence that of their greatest men. After they have cloathed and covered them with the richest stuffs, they lay them in a pompous manner in the ground, burning at the same time incense and perfumes. This veneration (*d*) extends more or less to all other animals; and the bramines, benjans, and talapoins have been seen scattering in some countries food for birds, insects, and reptiles.

We read a singular instance to this purpose in an Arabian traveller already quoted *. All the Indian and Chinese kings, says that author, believe the metempsychosis, and make it an article of their religion. One of those princes having been cured of the small-pox, and beholding himself in a looking-glass, saw with much uneasiness how much his countenance had been disfigured. He turned to one of his nephews, and said: I am the only one to whom it has happened to stay in his body after such a change. But this body is like a leathern bag blown up with wind, and when the soul has left it, it passes into another. Ascend the throne, for I will divide my body from my soul, that it may return into another body. At the same time he called for a cangiar, or very sharp sabre, with which he ordered his nephew to cut off his head.

The Indians believe that there are crimes so atrocious, as to put souls tainted with them in the

(*d*) See Mr. de la Loubere, t. i. c. 24.

* Ancient accounts, p. 85.

rank of devils; that they flutter about in the air till the time of their expiation; that tormented with desires and necessities, they suffer an extreme want of all things; and that to be revenged, they are continually seeking to do mischief to mankind. In consequence of this imagination, the relations and friends of the deceased place provisions in the courts and on the roofs, that he may come and eat it if he is in necessity. Others, more criminal still, are punished out of this world, in a place called *Jamma-Locon*, that is to say, hell. These are horribly tortured by famine, cold and torments, which are never to end. The abyss into which they are plunged, is called *Atam-Tappes*, or the well of obscurity.

Those, on the contrary, whose lives have had no other stains but those of human weakness, begin after death to enjoy the fruits of their fidelity. Their soul returns into a body, which honours and riches render happy; and when the term of their exile is expired, they fly with a rapid flight beyond the seven worlds which fill the heavens, and are received into the *Brama-Locon*, or the place where Brama has chosen his residence. There they enjoy all imaginable felicity; their pleasures are exquisitely purified; and every one esteems that the best place which he possesses. There is yet a place of superior beatitude, which the Indians call *Weicontam*. It is there that those chaste souls, who are exempt even from weakness, and whose lives have been spent in a course of virtue, are immediately
taken

taken up after their separation from the body. The view of Wistnou absorbs all their faculties; they swim in pleasures; sin is no longer known; all their desires are satisfied; and the certainty of their immutability compleats the happiness they feel. But they are convinced that the number of those fortunate souls is very small. Some even deny there are any, not believing such perfection possible to human nature.

The Siamese place in that order their famous *Sommonacodon*, who is in their kingdom what Confucius is in China. A fable supported by no certain facts, which has been commented on from age to age by an infinite multitude of pretended learned men, real doctors of superstition, vision, and falsehood, must necessarily carry along with it much diversity and many contradictions. This is eminently striking in what our most judicious travellers relate of *Sommonacodon*. They have simply and faithfully narrated what they have been told by the talapoins and Siamese priests. From hence arises that diversity in their accounts. That of Mr. De la Loubere, envoy extraordinary to the king of Siam in 1687, after Mr. de Chaumont, appears the simplest, and to approach nearest to the system.

Sommonacodon, says that writer (e), was born, according to the Balis books, of a father and mother who had reigned in the island of

(e) La Loubere, of the kingdom of Siam, t. 1. p. 524, &c. See also father Tachard, p. 397, &c.

Ceylon. From his youth upwards, he felt a strong desire for the highest perfection. He gave away all his riches in alms: and his charity not being yet satisfied, he pulled out his eyes, and killed his wife and children, and gave them to the talapoins to eat. Thus having disengaged himself by his own hands from all that could attach him to the world, he gave himself up to fasting, prayer, and the other practices of the perfect life. But as that was not thought attainable but by the talapoins, he embraced their profession; he put the finishing hand to his good works, and acquired all the privileges belonging to such a state.

One of the principal was an extraordinary strength, which made him conqueror in a remarkable combat with *Pra-Souane*, a personage of consummate virtue, but ignorant of Sommonacodon's, and no less than thirty or forty fathoms in height. For the Indians have their age of wonders, like the ancient Egyptians, Greeks, and Chinese: Besides strength of body, Sommonacodon had the power of working all manner of miracles. He could make himself of whatever bulk he pleased, and sometimes so little that he vanished from the sight, and perched on another's head without being felt or perceived. He perfectly knew all things in the world; he penetrated equally into the past and the future; he had an entire agility of body, and transported himself with ease from place to place, to preach virtue to all nations; and in this exercise of his zeal, he died aged eighty years; or rather, say the

the Siamese, disappeared in air, like a spark of fire, to enter into the *Nireupan*, that is, the sovereign repose. When he found the moment approach in which he must quit the world, he ordered that statues and temples should be consecrated to him. He is actually represented on his altars, sitting cross-legged after his country manner; and his two favourite disciples are always at each side. The Siamese invoke him as a god, but they believe that he attends to them only, and has power over none else.

The notion they have formed of the sovereign repose or happiness, is not entirely conformable to that of the Malabars. They imagine that it does not exclude them from the succession of the metempsychosis. Thus they believe Sommonacodon has frequently appeared on earth under the figure of different animals, amongst whom he reigned over the whole species, as he had done in Ceylon. Thus he has been king of oxen, hogs, apes, &c.

Those different transmigrations relate to the equally fabulous history of his brother *Thevatat*. He, jealous of Sommonacodon's virtue, power, and privileges, declared war against him, and had the mortification to see himself vanquished as often as he attacked him. Both of them (*f*) were born again together in the same species of animals. But as *Thevatat* was always inferior to his brother, their hatred, insults, and wars, were perpetuated without any alteration of suc-

(f) Father Tachard, p. 398, &c.

cess, Thevatat was however endowed with great abilities. He seduced kings and whole nations; he made them relish his doctrine, and engaged them to be his imitators. Hence arose that schism which divided the world into two parts, and gave a beginning to two religions, whereas formerly all men were of one. Christianity, according to the Talapoins, is the sect of Thevatat: whence they conclude, that 'tis no wonder if we it's disciples find nothing admirable in the books of Sommonacodon; if our scriptures are thick-sown with obscurity and doubts, and we ourselves profoundly ignorant of the Divinity. They allow us only some knowledge of mathematicks, geometry, and other arts, which Thevatat could have taught us.

The resemblance which they imagine is found in some points between their religion and ours, makes them believe that Jesus Christ differs not from Thevatat. They persuade themselves that being the disciples of the one, we are likewise the followers of the other; and the fear they have to fall into hell with Thevatat, prevents their listening to those who propose to them the embracing christianity. Sommonacodon affirms in his books, that he found him in the eighth abode, that is, in the place where the greatest criminals are tormented. He saw him overwhelmed with evils, groaning under the weight of his misery, expiating by the most horrible pains all the sins he had committed, fixed to a cross by large nails, which pierced his hands and feet, with his head all bleeding with a crown of thorns they had placed on it, and his body

covered over with wounds; to compleat his misery, the infernal fire burned without consuming him.

From this slight sketch, which in a few words points out to us the notion the two principal Indian nations entertain of the divinity, it is not difficult to perceive that both have been faithless plagiaries and corrupters of our holy books and the mystery of the cross (g), which to them has proved matter of scandal. In the *Vedam* of the Malabars, we evidently perceive the first chapter of Genesis, the Spirit of God carried on the waters, the Word mysteriously engendered, it's divinity, power, and incarnation, the sin of the first man, the angels, paradise, and hell. This book is then posterior to the preaching of the gospel. Some Bramin must have heard a christian speak of those different points of doctrine; he has admired without understanding them, he has adapted them to the genius of his nation, and the prevailing ideas of the metempsychosis taught them by Pythagoras; he has lost the few incomprehensible truths in the prejudices of his doctrine; he has composed a ridiculous mixture of both, and imposture has at last given divinity to the work. Such undoubtedly was the original of the *Vedam*; and such was that of the fable, mythology, and apotheoses among the Egyptians and Greeks, whose priests and poets have disfigured sacred and profane history.

What they tell us of Sommonacodon has yet

(g) See Huet. on his resemblance. demonstr. prop. iv. c. 6.

less reality. As the Indians relate nothing of him but what is fabulous (*b*), as they regard him not as the author of their law and doctrine, but rather the reformer of both, and lastly, as they have no certain tradition about his person, it may be doubted if there ever was any such man. It appears to have been invented at pleasure for the idea of a man, whom virtue, as they conceived it, had rendered happy in their fabulous ages, that is to say, before they had any historical certainty. And because they thought it necessary to give at the same time the opposite idea of a man whose crimes had reduced him to the greatest misery, they have invented their Thevatat, whom they have loaded with all the odious and humbling circumstances which the mystery of the cross presents to the eyes of flesh and blood. It may be farther observed, that the Talapoins exalt their Sommonacodon so much, in order to heighten their rank, and make it respected, by saying that he had not consummated his virtue till he made profession of their doctrine and followed their manner of living.

A religion entirely established by superstition and ignorance, cannot fail leading to gross and evident contradictions. Whatever power the Malabars attribute to their Wistnou or Brama, and the Siamese to Sommonacodon, or some other superior being, they believe themselves nevertheless obliged to pay as religious a worship to the devil, as to their principal divinities, or

(*b*) La Loubere, t. i. p. 534.

those whom they honour equally with him. Whether Manicheism came from the Persians * to the Indians ; or Manes (*i*) sent his disciples thither, as Theodoret seems to think (*l*) ; or the Tartars (*m*) carried it thither, it is certain that this impiety reigns chiefly in the continent and the islands. It is true the Bramins oppose this worship as much as they can (*n*) ; but the Benjans authorize, command, and direct it. In this manner a learned traveller talks of it (*o*). Altho' the Benjans acknowledge a God, the creator and preserver of the universe, yet they adore the devil, and say that God created him to govern the world, and to do evil to man. Their mosques are filled with his statues, made of gold, silver, ivory, ebony, marble, wood, potters clay, and common stone. He is represented under a frightful figure. The head, loaded with four horns, is adorned with a triple crown, in form of a tiara. The countenance is horribly ugly, with two large teeth like a boar's tusks jutting out from his mouth, and the chin furnished with a long and hideous beard. His breasts hang down upon his belly, where his hands are laid in a negligent posture. From his belly arises another head uglier than the first,

* This question is well handled in Cudworth. De syst. intel. Differt. de Natura Genitricæ, c. iv. sect. 13.

(*i*) See D. Herbelot, who determines for this opinion at the word Manes.

(*l*) Theodoret, Hæretic. l. i. c. 26, p. 322.

(*m*) Rubruquis, voyage into Tartary, c. 45.

(*n*) Abraham Rogers, part ii. c. 15.

(*o*) Mandello, p. 61.

with two horns, and a tongue hanging out prodigiously large. He has paws instead of feet, and a cow's tail behind. They place this figure on a stone table, which serves for an altar, on which they put the offerings. On the right side of the altar is a large basin, in which the assistants purify themselves by different ablutions; and on the left is a trunk, into which they put their charity in silver. It is not sufficient that the Benjan sacrificer should wash himself like the people; he must likewise purify himself by the flame of the lamps dispersed in the different parts of the pagod, to illuminate it; for there are no windows. On this account they rather resemble the caves and retreats of unclean spirits, as they are in reality, than places destined for the exercise of religion. They have besides exercised their imagination in painting on the walls the most horrible figures of devils, and animals existing only in the fancy.

The horror of the worship is answerable to the deformity of the temples. After certain offerings are made, and the sacrifice of a buffalo, and a great number of goats is offered, the Indians who desire to render the deity propitious to them, suffer them to thrust two hooks under their ribs and shoulder blades, and then are hoisted up twenty foot from the ground by means of a crane. There, naked and suspended by a rope to which the two hooks are fixed, they make all imaginable contorsions, holding fuzees, swords, and burning torches in their hands. The women addict themselves to this exercise

as well as the men, and both pretend they suffer no pain thereby. We relate this from an author (*p*) who affirms he has frequently seen it.

This cruel ceremony is only practised at their solemn festivals. Throughout the year they are contented with offering up victuals to the demon. If any one falls (*q*) sick, he makes a vow for fear his malady should increase; because they are persuaded that as God is the author of all good, so the devil is the cause of all the evil that happens. The performance of this vow requires a great deal of preparation and expence. They cause a very high house to be built, on which they place a great number of lighted flambeaus, and in the middle, a table covered with several different meats, to make the devil eat and satisfy his appetite, that he may no longer have any inclination to hurt him who regales him. To augment the pleasures of the festival, they bring musicians, who play and sing during the feast. They elect one of the principal assistants at the feast, to whom they give the name of father of the devil, who orders all things, and does the honours of the ceremony. His chief business is to regulate the musick, and contrive what may be properest to charm the enemy. There are others, who in the morning take a basket full of rice or some other food, which they carry thro' the streets of the city, holding a lighted flambeau, and cry-

(*p*) Abrah. Rogers, part ii. c. 15.

(*q*) Gaspard Balbi, a Venetian, in the third volume of Dutch voyages, p. 68. Mandello, p. 298.

ing that they offer that to the devil, that he may let them live in peace thro' the day. If it happens that a dog follows them, and makes them spill any thing, they do not oppose it, but say the devil has sent him to eat what they offer him. Others have the superstition to throw behind them the last mouthful of their meal, to make a present of it to the devil.

Such are the objects of the idolatrous worship of Wistnou in the Indies, called differently in different countries, Sommonacodon and the Devil.

After I had finished this work, I was informed that there was a manuscript in the king's library which treated of all the Indian divinities. I was favoured with a perusal of it, and saw with an entire satisfaction the truth and demonstration of all I had read in our best authors. This manuscript contains * one hundred and forty-two plates of different figures, painted from the originals, with a great deal of art, propriety, and delicacy. It were to be wished the author had had as much taste for researches in erudition, as he has had for design and painting. The little he says upon each figure is entirely conformable to what we read in Abraham Rogers. We find here the history of Wistnou, his transformations into a fish, an ape, an ox, an ass, a horse, a tortoise, or other animals. We see him under

* This manuscript is numbered 7239. I was obliged to Mr. Lalier for it, who has that obliging and communicative disposition which deserves the place he possesses, and for which he is celebrated by all learned men.

the different names of *Peremaël*, *Esvara*, *Ifura*, and others, all of a singular oddness, which engages the attention; in the 38th figure, he is carried upon the waves in a leaf, in the attitude in which he engenders Brama; join to that the fifty-second, seventy-second and eighty-fifth figures. The ninetieth represents Wistnou accompanied by two other persons, and all three are reckoned to make but one person. Most of the Grecian and Egyptian divinities are designed pretty clearly, but accommodated to the genius and particular superstitions of the country. Of this kind are the *Jupiter Pluvialis* of whom Strabo speaks, Neptune, Apollo, Mercury, Esculapius, Diana, the sun, the moon, &c. The virtues and vices have likewise their symbolical figures. But there is nothing which has any relation to Sommonacodon or his brother Thevatat. In all appearance the author had never been in Siam.

Order requires that we should now treat of the temples and idols in the Indies. Both are called pagods, as well as a small coin of the country to which they give that name, because those pieces carry always the impression of an idol.

Nothing is more frequent in the Indies than temples or pagods. They have them in their cities, in their palaces, in private houses, in the open fields, in forests and caverns, on the way-sides and the banks of rivers. Among this great number there are some private ones, almost unfrequented; others are publick for all the nation, and famous for the concourse of the most
distant

distant provinces to them. The expences of the latter are very considerable, both for their decoration, and keeping up the lights which burn there perpetually, few of them having windows; for the subsistence of Bramins, Benjans and Talapoins; and for the donations which are distributed among the foreign pilgrims. To furnish all these expences the kings have granted them large revenues, which are raised by way of impost on all the merchandizes in which they trade in the neighbourhood (*r*). Baron Tavernier has left us a description of the four principal pagods of the country, those of Jagrenate, Banarou, Tripeti and Matura. It will be sufficient to give one as an example of the rest.

The pagod of Matura, on the road from Agra to Dely, is (*s*), like most of the rest, built in the form of a cross, whereof each wing is of equal extent. The stone of that edifice is remarkable. The colour is reddish; it is cut in the manner of our slate, and there are some pieces fifteen foot long and nine or ten broad, and sometimes only six inches in thickness. The temple is situated on a great platform of an octagon figure, laid all over with hewn stone. An edge of stone, which runs round it, divides it as it were into two stories, which are both filled with figures of animals in bas relief, principally of apes. The ascent to it is by two staircases of sixteen very narrow steps, one of which

(*r*) See Abraham Rogers, part ii. c. 10.

(*s*) Tavernier, t. i. c. 12. p. 157. &c.

lands in the great portal of the pagod, and the other behind the choir. The outside like the platform is adorned with figures of animals, particularly rams, apes, and elephants cut in stone, with a great number of niches containing different monsters. In the middle of the edifice there is a very lofty cupola, with two smaller ones at its side. These are pierced from top to bottom with several windows, from five to six feet in height, with a balcony before them, on which four persons may stand abreast. All round these cupolas there are an infinite number of niches full of figures representing demons. One has four arms, another four legs, or even more; there are some who have human heads on the bodies of beasts, with horns and long tails covering their thighs. The eyes are terrified at the sight of so many monsters which present themselves on all sides. The choir of the pagod is enclosed by a balustrade of small stone columns from five to six inches in diameter; and (t) none are permitted to enter there but the principal Bramins. I asked, says the author, some of them, if I could see the great *Ram-Ram*, that is, the principal idol. I obtained leave by means of two pieces of silver I put into their hands. They opened a small gate, and I saw across the balustrade something like a square altar, covered with an old brocade of gold and silver, on which the great idol was placed. Its head was only to be seen, which is of a very black marble, and the eyes are formed of two large rubies.

(t) Huet. demonstrat, prop. vi. c. 6.

All the body is covered with a robe of red velvet, adorned with some embroideries; and the arms are not seen. It has at its side two smaller idols, as we already observed, of Sommonacodon, which are about two feet in height, of a white marble, and dressed in the same manner, but more simply: they are called *Beccbor*. The author having enquired what was the use of a sort of large coffer placed upon four wheels, and covered with a painted stuff, which represented a vast number of diabolical figures, the Bramins told him it was the portable altar on which they placed their great god, on solemn days, when he went to visit the other gods, and when they carried him to the river Ganges, with all the people at their grand feast. The other idols of Wistnou, whose image several travellers have caused to be engraved in their accounts, differ from this, that their limbs are commonly seen, and they have four arms. Those which the people in the country make for themselves, and to which they fix any notion that comes in their head, are rather an object of ridicule than religion. They take some stone or piece of wood, on which they cut a nose and eyes in a coarse manner, and all the family runs to adore the god, which the least glimmering of human reason ought to render contemptible.

It is true, they do not believe they are dispensed by this private idol from performing their devotion at one of the four great pagods we have named. Whether the custom has arisen in the country, or the mahometans have occasioned it
by

by their famous caravans to Mecca, it is certain that all the idolaters (*u*) under the dominion of the great mogul, and the other princes of the country within and beyond the Ganges, perform a pilgrimage at least once in their life-time to one of the principal pagods. Commonly it is to that of Jagrenate, because it lies on the Ganges, whose waters they hold in particular veneration. The Bramins and rich men perform it every four years, and others every six or eight. They carry the idols of their pagods on litters, and the inhabitants of several villages or a whole city set out together to render the caravan more solemn. The poor, who come sometimes from three or four hundred leagues distance, and are unable to support the expences of the journey, are assisted by the rich, who contribute largely to render this chief act of their religion more meritorious. Every one travels according to his circumstances and quality; some in a palanquin or a litter carried on men's shoulders, some in chariots, many on oxen, and the poor a-foot; the mother is loaded with the children, and the father with provisions. The Bramins distribute among the most considerable persons five or six large fans about eight feet in height, and formed in a circular manner with a slight stuff resembling a sieve. Little bells and peacock feathers are fixed to it, to drive away the flies, and give air to the idol's face, who is seated on a cushion of velvet or brocade. From time to time the fans are changed, that others may partake of that honour. When

(*) Tavernier, t. iv. c. 13. Abraham Rogers, part ii. c. 13.,
they

they arrive at that pagod which is the term of their pilgrimage, the principal bramins in it's service enquire into the circumstances of every pilgrim; they tax those who are in a condition to distribute alms according to their ability, which alms they employ in the service of the pagod and maintenance of the poor. All the ceremony they practise in this place of their devotion, consists in washing or bathing if they are near a large river, and presenting themselves before the great idol, where the principal Bramin rubs their forehead and nose with a yellow stuff. By these means they hope to obtain remission of sins, and they are persuaded that if a man or beast has the happiness to die in one of the principal pagods, his soul will immediately enjoy the happiness of Wistnou or Brama.

These Bramins so much respected (x), are the descendants of the ancient Brachmans, of whom we have spoken in the first part of this history, and whose authority has increased from age to age. Their order holds to this day the first rank in the state. The Vedam, which is reckoned to have been inspired by heaven, altho' it is the work of one of them, confirms that preeminence to them (y), and gives them new privileges. They alone are allow'd to read, interpret, and even learn the Samscortam or Balis language in which it is written. This study is the principal or only business of their life; they

(x) Bernard Picard speaks of them at length in his *religions of the world*, t. 1.

(y) Abraham Rogers, part 3;

apply themselves to it as soon as the first glimmerings of reason begin to appear; they glory in their progress; and all pretend to discover new senses in it.

The elevation, the multiplicity and character of the subjects treated of, opens a vast field to exercise themselves in. In the first part, the Vedam treats of the first cause, of the matter of which the elements are formed; of angels, of the soul, of the rewards of the good, and the punishment of the wicked; of the generation of animals and their corruption; of sin, of its principle, and the means of obtaining forgiveness for it. The second prescribes laws to the superiors of the first order. The third is entirely on the rules of morality, to encourage virtue and inspire the horror of vice. The fourth directs the worship, the decoration of the temples, and the ceremonies to be observed at the festivals and sacrifices. But the Bramins say that it has been long lost, and that they suffer all the inconveniences of this misfortune, by the loss of the power, rank and credit which this part of the Vedam attributed to them.

Yet they know and make their advantage of their order's being more respected than all the rest; of princes reckoning themselves no less honoured by being members of it than wearing the crown; of their filling by means of this title the places of secretaries, ambassadors and counsellors of state; and of the state's being obliged to provide for the subsistence of those whom fortune has neglected. The deference,

ference, respect and veneration of the people are still greater. They consult them alone; they allow of no knowledge or science but amongst them; their words are regarded as sentences; and their decisions pass for oracles. Along all the coast of Malabar (z), when a Bramin enters into a house, it's master immediately withdraws, yields his place to him, and leaves him alone with his wife. They have temples and pretended monasteries to which young girls are bound (a). They cause them to come on certain solemn days; they drink, eat, sing and dance with them in honour of their gods, and send them back to their parents after the feast; but this association ends when they are married. At the nuptials they have another privilege answerable to the first abuse. The young spouse (b) carries his bride to a Bramin; he begs him to keep her with him as long as he thinks fit; and frequently he rewards him at taking her away, because they are persuaded that a marriage begun by a Bramine, cannot fail of being happy. Married men who go abroad, leave their wives with one of these impostors, and pray him to supply their place during their absence.

The Bramins owe that confidence and superiority only to the extreme ignorance of the Indians, whom they abuse by all means capable

(z) Mandello, p. 269.

(a) Marco Paulo, c. 24.

(b) Mandello, p. 166.

of imposing on them. This they do by the apparent severity of their lives, which have all the externals of a severe penitence; by fastings of three or four days, which they pass in a general abstinence; by the functions they exercise at sacrifices; by their exclusive right to study the Vedam, whose sense and mysteries the people are persuaded they alone comprehend; by their instructing the youth in reading, writing and arithmetick; and the principles of a religion which makes them all depend on them; by the false miracles they attribute to their gods; and lastly, by their interpretation of auguries and celestial appearances, and the ravings of judicial astrology which they particularly study. We refer the reader to Abraham Rogers and Bernard Picard for the difference of the sects into which they are divided. All of them are distinguished by the triple cord (*c*), which they wear about their neck from five years of age, and which hangs down on their breast. As they attribute to it all manner of honours, they sometimes grant it by a singular favour to persons of another class, as an acknowledgement for their zeal and benefactions.

The Benjans compose another body more numerous, and almost as famous. They reckon eighty-three principal sects of them (*d*), without counting the less considerable ones, which are almost infinite, because almost every family

(*c*) Abrah. Rogers, part i. c. 8.

(*d*) Mandello, p. 166.

has its particular superstitions and ceremonies. The Banjans are not so much a particular society as a species of men, who value themselves on the regularity and laboriousness of their lives. There are amongst them lock-smiths, farriers, carpenters, taylors, shoemakers, cutlers, soldiers, writers, and all other trades. Those of the sect *Ceurawath*, are most respected, and from amongst them their priests are chosen.

The publick worship which the Bramins refuse to the devil is solemnly paid him by this new species of sacrificers. In the king of Calicut's palace, there is a temple (*e*) of an ordinary size, whose inside is wholly filled with figures of the devil, as frightful as can be painted here; and no larger than a medal. It has no light but what is given by a multitude of lamps. In the midst of this kind of cavern is a copper throne, whereon a devil formed of the same metal is seated, with a tiara of several rows on his head, three large horns, and four others that spring out of his forehead. He has a large gaping mouth, out of which come four teeth like the tusks of a boar; he has a hawk's nose, large squinting eyes, a face frightfully enflamed, fingers crooked like talons, and feet like a cock's. On his tongue and in his hand there are two figures almost round, which the Indians say are souls that he is preparing to devour. The Benjan priests who serve this frightful monster, are obliged to wash him every morning with

(*d*) Peter Van-Baerdcem. Collection of voyages, t. iii, p. 680.

rose water, or some other perfumed liquor, and to spread sweets around him. They fall on their knees to perfume him; address their prayers, vows and offerings to him in that posture; and sacrifice to him once every week. The priest, after having put on buskins made of silver plates, covers the altar with flowers, perfumes and spices; he throws some on burning coals which send forth a thick smoke, thro' which the idol cannot be perceived. Then he sacrifices a cock with a silver knife set apart for that purpose, and the blood of the victim is consumed along with the perfumes. While it is evaporating, the Benjan takes a little corn in his hand, and goes backward out of the pagod, having his eyes always fixed on the idol, till he comes to a tree without the bounds of the temple, where he scatters his corn, then puts his hands on his head, returns to the altar, and divests himself of his ornaments.

The life, manners and customs of the Benjans are a series of ridiculous superstitions. In those their whole religion consists; for it cannot be said they have any fixed notion of a God. Prejudiced with a circle of metempsychoses (*f*), they acknowledge neither heaven nor hell; they maintain that the souls pass continually from one body to another, either of man or beast. An unknown destiny is, according to them, the principle of the universe, and the arbiter of all events; they believe notwithstand-

(*f*) Madello, p. 167, &c.

ing that the sun, moon and stars, the earth, animals, trees, metals, and all other visible things, have within themselves the first causes of their existence and motion; and that there are two suns and as many moons which appear alternately. The devotees have always a brush in their hands, with which they clean the places where they sit and walk, for fear of crushing some insect in which the soul of a relation, friend or good man might be lodged. On the same account they neither make fires nor light candles in their houses; and they dare not drink cold water, lest they kill some animal, but have it boiled among their less scrupulous neighbours. At all times they have their head and feet bare, and carry a white staff in their hands; All their cloathing is a piece of stuff which hangs from their middle to the knee; some add to it a piece of cloath of the bigness of a sheep skin, with which they cover their breast. Their priests alone are dressed in a long robe, with a cap of folded stuff, somewhat like a turban. Their wives are dressed in a manner which shews their shape to advantage, altho' their habit is open before from the neck to the middle. They are more expensive in their dress than any of their nation, both in the riches of their stuffs, and the pearls and precious stones which they wear on their heads and bracelets. They value themselves on having black teeth, and compare those who have white ones to apes and dogs. The law of the Benjans dispenses with their burning themselves with their husbands,

bands, and obliges them only to remain in perpetual widowhood. Those who cannot conform to this rule, must enter among the publick dancers and players; and like them bear an infamous character (g).

Besides the Benjans, there is in the kingdom of Guzarate another set of pagans, called Parsis. They were originally Persians (b), who retired thither in the seventh century, when Abubeker the first caliph attempted to establish mahometanism amongst them. The prince who reigned then over Persia and Chorasán, finding himself unable to make resistance, embarked with eighteen thousand men at Ormus, and landed in Indostan. The king of Cambala, a pagan like himself, received him, allowed him to stay in his dominions, and live there as he pleased. This liberty of worship drew a great many Persians thither from time to time, who bear an irreconcilable hatred to mahometanism, and have preserved their manners and religion. The hatred the mahometans bear to them is equal; and on that account Tamerlane (i) massacred so great a number of the Guebres, who are the same with the Parsis, when he made himself master of the Indies. Tavernier calls them *Gaures*.

(g) Olearius describes the dances and manners of these women in his voyage to Persia, p. 720. See also the ancient Arabian accounts, p. 56.

(b) Mandellso, p. 180, &c.

(i) D. Herbelot, at the word *Timour*, And Petis de la Croix, hist. of Timour, l. iii. c. 24. p. 207.

They believe in one God, creator and preserver of the universe, who acts solely and immediately in all things; who nevertheless has trusted the subordinate administration of his creatures to seven of his principal servants, and to twenty-six more of an inferior order, who are obliged to give him an account of their conduct. Being persuaded that every one of them has an absolute power over the things wherewith God has entrusted them, they adore and invoke them, and are convinced that God refuses them nothing. There is no created thing so valuable and sacred, or that represents the divinity so perfectly as fire (*1*). They preserve it religiously; they dare not put out a light, nor extinguish a fire by means of water, tho' it should threaten to consume their own houses and the neighbourhood; they are only permitted to throw earth upon it in order to stifle the flame. The greatest misfortune that can befall them, is to have the fire in their hearths so far extinguished that they are obliged to have it kindled elsewhere. They have no temples nor publick places for the exercise of their religion. They use private houses for their common assemblies, which are held the first and twentieth day of every moon. Their priests are clad like the rest, and are only distinguished by a plain belt of wool or camel's hair, which is tied to their back by two knots. This symbol of religion is so dear to them, that if it is accidentally lost, they will neither eat,

(1) See Tavernier, L. iv. c. 8.

drink, speak, nor move from the place where they are till they get another from the priest who sells them.

They hold those priests and doctors in great veneration. The Parfis furnish them liberally with subsistence for their wives and children; altho' some of them do not neglect business. But those are most esteemed who employ themselves in teaching their children to write and read, and in instructing the people in the law. Their law forbids them to eat any thing that has had life, which is a rule they never dispense with but in cases of necessity and in time of war. Then they allow themselves the use of mutton, venison, fish and fowl. The elephant, the camel, the horse, the hare, and still more the ox and the cow, are reckoned sacred animals among them; they hesitate not to say, that they would rather eat of their father and mother than of the last. An excess in wine is an abominable sin in their eyes, and they are obliged to expiate it by a severe penitence, on pain of being excluded from their communion. Adultery, and other crimes of that kind, are in their opinion so enormous, that they would punish them with death, if they had the administration of justice. But the ancient kings and the moguls have always refused them this. They are only allowed to chuse some of the most considerable of their nation to determine the private differences that may arise amongst them. When a Parfis is seized with a distemper evidently mortal, they take him from his bed and place him on a turf. As soon as he expires,

expires, they carry him to a burial place surrounded with high walls, that he may be there food to the birds of prey. Afterwards they inter his bones, and along with them that turf on which he breathed his last. They attribute to the Parsis, not without reason, the having introduced into the Indies that great festival (*m*) celebrated there in honour of the sun; for it is well known that at all times this luminary was the principal object of the Persian worship.

The bounds we have prescribed to ourselves will not permit us to enter into a greater detail of the different religious sects in the mogul's country and on the coast of Malabar. Altho' they are multiplied almost to infinity, because they all draw their origin from the ridiculous imaginations of men, yet they are connected in some essential points with the doctrine of the Bramins or of the Benjans. The Goeghy are alone advantageously distinguished from the rest, by somewhat of more purity in their tenets. As much as the contrast of their regular and austere life makes them hated by the chiefs of another sect, so much are they loved, regarded and respected by the people, who ask their blessing in an humble manner whenever they meet them. They believe (*n*), that their god *Bruin* has created all sublunary substances, and that the infinite power by which he subsists them, can likewise annihilate and destroy them. They say

(*m*) See Rogers, part ii. c. 13.

(*n*) Mandello, p. 175.

he cannot be represented under any figure of man or beast, but that he is a light superior to our eyes and understanding; and that having created the sun, it is not to be wondered at if we cannot contemplate or imagine the principle of so admirable a splendor. They neither acknowledge the metempsychosis nor its consequences. On the contrary, they say when their souls leave their bodies, they go immediately to the god *Bruin*, to live eternally with him and be united with his light. The fasts and austerities they practise are almost incredible.

Their doctrine and manner of life resembles those of the Talapoins in many articles. These Siamese priests (*o*), whose regularity exalts them above all others, strictly observe a system of moral doctrine, from which they never deviate. It contains above one hundred and twenty articles, the principal of which are, to be every morning and evening at the temple to say their prayers; to be entirely covered; never to touch a woman; not to speak with one alone; nor even to look on them when they meet them in the streets; to walk with great modesty with their eyes on the ground; to carry always a fan with them, and to cover their face with it, in order to prevent the wandring of the sight; never to consent to a wicked thought; not to prepare their food themselves, but to take that which is given them; to live on what they beg in the city, without entering into houses; and to wait at the door no longer

(*o*) Mandello, p. 323, &c. *Pere Tachard's travels in Siam*, p. 418, &c. *La Loubere*, t. i. c. 17.

than

than an ox might drink ; to teach the law to their disciples and the people ; to mortify themselves and do penance a whole year several times in their life-time ; one part whereof consists in remaining exposed to the nightly dew in the open fields during half the month of February ; to confess their sins to one another ; never to eat but once a day in the months of July, August and September ; to repeat certain words in the Balie language on a chaplet of eight hundred or a hundred and eighty beads (I have seen the Turks do the same ;) never to salute a layman ; to be mild and humane to all the world ; to ransom slaves and lodge pilgrims ; to do them all the good in their power ; to be sincere and strict observers of truth ; to shave their head, their beard and eyebrows frequently ; to go always bare headed, &c.

They frequently make discourses to the people, to exhort them to the practice of virtue, particularly liberality to men and beasts. The preacher is seated cross-legged, on a little theatre covered with a carpet. He begins his discourse with some sentence of the Sommonacodon, then he explains the fabulous mysteries of that book by metaphors, comparisons, and parables, in the Oriental taste. The people on their knees hear him with great respect, and from time to time lift up their joined hands, crying out, *The word of God, the pure truth.* There are certain days on which they preach from six in the morning till six at night, without any other interruption than relieving the Talapoin, who has spoke six hours.

hours. These long sermons do not tire the audience, who keep themselves in continual attention, without daring to spit or turn their heads. The preachers often become rich all at once by the liberal collections they receive at every sermon.

A life so solitary and addicted to contemplation augments the respect the people have for them. The real Talapoins never appear in the cities but to exercise the functions of their ministry, or to seek their subsistence. They live after the manner of monks (*p*), in convents enclosed by reeds or canes, wherein there are one or more rows of cells which form a regular circuit. In the midst is the temple of Sommonacodon, surrounded with pyramids and a wall which has only one or two openings. These cells are little distinct houses, raised upon posts some feet above the ground. The superiors have the same, but a little higher and larger than the rest. They are separated from the inclosure of the temple by a large spot of ground like the court of a convent. Sometimes that enclosure is only a simple wall surrounding the space which the temple and the pyramids take up; sometimes there are covered galleries like those called cloisters in our religious houses; and they place a great number of idols, most of which are gilded, on a counter-wall about breast-high, which runs along those galleries. Every convent is governed by a superior, called *Sanerat*, who has no authority or jurisdiction over another. They alledge that body would be too formidable, if they had only

(*p*) La Loubere, t. i. c. xvii.

one head, and acted together in concert. Although there is no subordination among them, there are yet some more distinguished than the rest. To the principal ones the king of Siam gives a title, an umbrella, a chair, and men to carry it. But they never use that equipage but when they go to visit the king; and the Talapoints never carry it. The chief business of the sancrat is to have an eye over the community, and over the schools where the Talapoints are charged with the instruction of youth, and of those who incline to embrace their order.

To consider only the austerity of their rule, it is not at first view easy to be perceived, how their number comes to be so great, and even how men are to be found ignorant of the value and true reward of virtue. But pride, a secret self-complacency, the esteem of the people, and above all, the spirit of idleness, are the motives which engage them thereto. The greatest part having no estates or business, live easily on the donations which the people reckon themselves happy to give them, in order to expiate their faults; the king of Siam has likewise a right to employ his subjects all the year in publick works, and the Talapoints alone are exempted during six months. As it is his interest that their profession should have its difficulties, for fear all the world should embrace it, he takes care that their laws should be rigorously observed. He is chiefly inexorable with respect to the article of continence, the breach whereof is always punished by fire. Besides, to diminish their number, he causes
them

them to be examined with respect to their learning, and it sometimes happens that several thousands of them are struck off, under pretence of ignorance or incapacity.

We may join to the Talapoins another species of pretended hermits, which are spread throughout all the Indies. These are Faquirs (*q*) or voluntary beggars, of whom baron Tavernier pretends they reckon above eight hundred thousand in the Indies. Although some are idolaters and others mahometans (*r*), their manner of life and maxims are pretty nearly the same. There is no sect so extravagant, or addicted to so many infamous impostures. The Faquirs cannot be confounded with the common people. Some pride themselves in an infamous wickedness contrary to nature, and a filthy sluttishness offensive to all the senses. The razor and comb never touch their persons. A large tufted beard, and hair extremely long and bristly, cover their burnt and tawny skins. Those who are cloathed affect to have only miserable tatters of all pieces, which conceal but one part of their body. Both the one and the other being solely intent on imposing on the simple people, dress themselves in an outside of poverty and the deepest penitence. They send forth without ceasing frightful cries and lamentations for their own sins, and those of the people. It is, they say, to expiate these, that

(*q*) This Arabian word properly signifies a religious person, according to Mr. d'Herbelot at the word *Sof*.

(*r*) Tavern. l. iii. c. 2. Catrou, hist. of the moguls, and Bernard Picard, who has treated of them at large in his first volume.

they renounce all the pleasures of life, and that they put themselves in the most painful postures. Some keep themselves on one foot during several hours, others keep their arms almost always straight and raised above their heads; some distort their bodies, and others beat and mortify themselves; but all have an enormous iron chain two yards in length dragging at their legs. Sometimes they gather together to the number of two hundred, and chuse a chief or superior, who is distinguished from the rest by being the most ragged. They assemble in publick places at the sound of a horn; they spread a carpet on which their chief sits down; and while they are praying after their manner, they make a frightful noise with their voices and chains. They boast of a prophetick spirit, and the virtue of making women fertile, on which account most part of the sex entertain a singular veneration for them. They consult them with confidence and respect, and offer them presents which are never refused; it would not be proper to publish to what a pitch they carry their deference, credulity, homages and weakness. Some mahometan Faquirs have many wives, and defend their polygamy by professing to produce a greater number of servants to their prophet.

We shall end the history of the Indian paganism with an account of the cruellest of their superstitions. There are none of the almost infinite number of travellers who have gone thro' that country, who do not mention the abominable custom which the women have to burn themselves

selves publickly at the death of their husbands, in spite of the representations and prohibitions of the mogul mahometans, who have endeavoured to abolish that barbarous ceremony. Mandelsto, a traveller of the greatest learning and veracity, had the curiosity to assist at one of these funeral rites, when he was at Cambaya, and he speaks of it in this manner. "A young woman (s) twenty years of age having been informed that her spouse had died two hundred leagues from Cambaya, resolved to celebrate his obsequies by burning herself alive. In vain it was represented to her that the news was uncertain; nothing was capable of making her change the resolution she had taken. We saw her arrive at the place of her suffering with so extraordinary a gaiety and confidence, that I was persuaded she had stupified her senses by means of opium, the use of which is very common in the Indies and Persia. At the head of the retinue which accompanied her, was a band of the country musick composed of hautboys and kettledrums. After that came several married women and maids, who sung and danced before the widow, who was dressed in her richest cloaths, and had her neck, fingers, arms and legs loaded with rich collars, jewels and bracelets. A troop of men, women and children followed her, and closed her retinue. She had washed herself before in the river, that she might join her husband without any defilement or stain. The funeral pile was

* See Diodorus Siculus, l. xix. p. 678, &c.

(s) Mandelsto, p. 103.

made of apricot wood, with which they had mixed branches of sandal and cinnamon. She beheld it from afar with an eye of contempt, and approached it without being disturbed; she took leave of her friends and relations, and distributed her ornaments amongst them. I kept myself near her on horseback along with two English merchants. Judging perhaps by my countenance that I was sorry for her, to comfort me she threw me one of her bracelets, which I luckily caught hold of. When she was seated on the top of the pile, they set fire to it, and she poured on her head a vessel of sweet-smelling oil, which the flames immediately seized on; thus she was stifled in a moment without being observed to alter her countenance. Some of the assistants threw in several cruises of oil to increase the fire, and filled the air with frightful cries. When she was entirely consumed, her ashes were thrown into the river."

The Indians say that this barbarous custom was introduced among them, to put a stop to the cruel jealousy of their wives, who not being able to bear that others should partake of the same marriage, had frequently poisoned their husbands out of jealousy; and that to oblige them to preserve their lives, they were obliged to end theirs with them, or to renounce their reputation by entering among the publick dancers. They always had the precaution to animate their courage, by assuring them * that those who had the noble generosity, to sacrifice themselves to

* Mandellso, p. 171.

the manes of their husbands, should live with them in the other world seven times as long, and with seven times the pleasure they had done in this.

The men themselves give them an example of this barbarous exertion of courage. An Arabian traveller relates (t), that thro' all the kingdoms of the Indies, there are people who deliberately commit themselves to the flames. This practice is founded on their notions of the metempsychosis, which passes amongst them for an undoubted truth. With respect to this some kings observe a particular ceremony on their accession to the crown. A great quantity of rice is boiled and put upon large leaves, and when it is ready, three or four hundred persons of their own accord present themselves before the king. After he has eaten of the rice, he gives a little to every one as they approach one after another, and they eat it in his presence, all swearing at the same time to commit themselves to the flames the day that he shall die or be slain; and they put faithfully in execution what they have promised, throwing themselves all to a man in the fire.

Besides this, when a man has resolved to burn himself, he goes first to the king's palace to ask his permission: having obtained it, he makes the tour of the city, and then appears at the place where the pile is prepared with a quantity of dry wood. Several persons stir up the fire till the pile is all in flames. The man who is to destroy himself arrives, preceded by several instruments

(t) Ancient accounts, p. 98, &c.

of musick, and goes round the place in the midst of his friends and relations. One of them places a crown of straw or dry herbs on his head, which is filled with burning coals. And on these they pour sandarax, which takes fire as quickly as naphtha. He still continues his progress, altho' the top of his head is on fire, and people feel the smell of his burnt flesh. But he betrays no sensation of pain, and when he comes before the pile he throws himself in, and is soon reduced to ashes.

One of those madmen carried his cruelty upon himself one day to a much higher pitch. Before he threw himself into the fire, he laid his breast open even to his lower belly; he pulled out his liver, and cut a piece of it off which he gave to one of his brothers, speaking all the time, and shewing a great contempt of death, and an inconceivable patience in his torments. They seldom come to this extremity but when they find themselves weakened by old age. Then they determine to quit life before it quits them, hoping that this act of bravery will render them happy in the body into which they shall enter after their death.

S E C T. II.

Of the Indian Jews.

THE commerce of the Indies being so advantageous, it may be conceived that the jews have as little neglected it as other nations. But it is not easy to fix the time when they first entered the Indies. This is a point which their fables have rendered obscure (*t*), and about which the learned are divided. Benjamin the famous jew, surnamed of Tudelle, from the place of his birth in the kingdom of Navarre, and who travelled thro' Europe, Asia and Africa towards the end of the twelfth century, says in his account (*u*), that the tribes of Dan, Zebulon, Asher and Naphthali dwelt at the eastern extremities of Persia, whither Salmanasar had transported them; that returning from Samarcande he embarked on the Tigris, and in ten days sailing arrived at a country where there is bezoar, a pearl-fishery, and all kinds of spices in abundance, where the heat is excessive, and the people are black and worship the sun; all which evidently points out Cape-Comorin near the island of Ceylon. He gives the name of *Katiphan* to the capital of the country, and adds that fifty thousand jews were then there. This testimony would be decisive, if the criticks (*x*) had not ob-

(*t*) See a dissertation on this article by the abbé de Renaudot, at the end of the Arabian travellers, p. 394.

(*u*) Travels of Benjamin, p. 48, & 52.

(*x*) Pierre Bergeron, treatise on the Tartars, c. 15.

served

ferred that the author renders himself too often suspected of adulterating the truth, by endeavouring to make it believed that the jews possessed entire kingdoms, in order to elude the force of those prophecies which are objected against them.

We likewise read in the fourth book of Esdras (*y*), that many jews of the ten tribes carried off by Salmanasar who were faithful to their law, resolved to separate themselves from the idolatrous nations, amongst whom they had been banished, that they wandered for a year and a half beyond the Euphrates, and arrived at last at an uninhabited country, where they established themselves, and will remain till God shall recall them at the end of ages. But the church not having given the authority of the sacred books to this work, we are allowed to doubt of the vision which the author relates in this place, and the marvellous with which it is filled renders it still less credible.

It is an ancient tradition (*z*), that part of those jews who were led captive in the time of Salmanasar passed to Cachemire, and that the Cachemirians are certainly descended from them. Altho' there is no vestige of the jewish religion to be found there, all the people being either gentiles or mahometans, yet some traces of a nation descended from the Israelites may be perceived. The air of the countenance, and the phy-

(*y*) 4 Esdras, c. xiii v 40.

(*z*) Catrou, hist. of the moguls, p. 135.

fiognomy of those people have something of that which distinguishes the jews, and makes them known among all other nations. The name of Moses is very common there, and there are still some ancient monuments which mark out the remains of a building on a high mountain, which is called to this day the throne of Solomon.

Father Carpin, who was sent by Innocent the IVth to the king of the Tartars in 1246, mentions an entire country of jews (*a*), which the prince of that nation had subdued; and it is very probable that a part of them passed to the Indies after the Tartars had conquered them.

Mark Paul is more circumstantial. He affirms that he saw a great number of jews settled in the peninsula within the Ganges (*b*), who to distinguish themselves bore the mark of an hot iron on their lips and breast.

It is certain, says Frederick Spanheim (*c*), that the jews have insensibly settled themselves in the Indies, as well as in Persia, Hyrcania, Parthia, Carmania, China, Japan, and from thence in America (*d*), where our latest travellers have imagined they perceived some vestiges of the ceremonial law.

Since the Indies have been so well known to us, the great settlements the jews have made there can no longer be called in question (*e*).

(*a*) Carpin, voyage to Tartary, c. 7.

(*b*) Mark Paul, l. iii. c. 43.

(*c*) Spanheim, introd. ad sacram geogr. c. 7. p. 67.

(*d*) Idem, ad calcem operis.

(*e*) Mandello, p. 258. Collection of Dutch voyages, t. iii. p. 650. & t. vi. p. 470.

They have establishments at Cochin, Goa, and several cities in Malabar. Their synagogues in these places are both numerous and very publick, they perform their service agreeable to their corrupted usages, which vary univerfally, and not according to the law of Moses. At Goa they enjoy unbounded liberty in spite of the rigors of the inquisition, and the hatred, of the Portuguese. Never a day passes without jews from Palestine, either to trade or to settle in one of the finest provinces of the kingdom of Cochin, whereof they have obtained the grant from the prince. But notwithstanding they are very much esteemed, and the king often makes use of them in his councils, we do not find they make a great many profelites in the country.

I do not know, says Mr. Du Pin (*f*), what to think of a long letter in the Hebrew tongue, which the jews of Cochin some years ago sent to the synagogue of Amsterdam. They say that they retired into the Indies at the time that the Romans conquered the Holy Land; that in the space of a thousand years they have had a succession of seventy-two kings; and that thro' the divisions kindled by the jealousy of two brothers who disputed the crown, the neighbouring princes had subdued them; that from this time they were subjected to the sovereigns of the country. They add, that they had given so many proofs of their fidelity to those princes, that Samuel Castoel, who died in the year 1640, had been governor of Cochin, and had left his government

(*f*) Du Pin, hist. of the jews, l. v. c. 26.

to a man of the same name and the same religion. I will not pretend to decide whether this letter is suppositious or not, says this learned historian, for I have no proofs of its being so. But however, this succession of two and seventy kings, founded on the retreat of the jews in the time of Titus, appears to me to be invented to support the glory of the nation.

S E C T. III.

Of the Indian Mahometans.

THE establishment of the religion of Mahomet (g) in the Indies, is a point in history, which would require very tedious researches into the revolutions in the middle age. This is a subject which very few know any thing about, altho' it as well deserves to be known as the ancient monarchies of the Assyrians, Babylonians, Medes and Persians. The nearness of time would render this study more agreeable and more instructive. The subject obliges us to speak of it; but all that we can say, is only to give a very slight sketch of it, which will be as it were the profile of three great histories which cannot be separated, that of the Saracens, that of the Turks, and that of the Tartars.

We very soon discern the effects of the fun-

(g) Those who would dive to the bottom of the mahometan religion may consult the fifth volume of Bernard Picard, who has handled that subject with a good deal of erudition.

damental principle which Mahomet had given his new disciples, to defend his tenets against all gainfayers by force of arms, promising the honour of martyrdom to all who should die fighting for his religion, and commanding them to put to the sword all who should dare to contradict or dispute it. By the help of this maxim, which they never forgot, the prophet of Mecca armed his followers, kindled the torch of war in Arabia under the pretext of reformation, subdued it almost universally, which no conqueror of antiquity ever could; Syria could not withstand him, and in the compass of eight years continued expeditions, which lasted to the day of his death, he reared a kingdom perfectly well established, whose dominion extended over a tract of country four hundred leagues every way. Abubeker, who had the title of Caliph, that is to say, his vicar or successor, left nothing undone to accomplish the designs of so great a master. He entered Persia at the head of an army of Arabs; over-run it with fire and sword; overthrew the temples; destroyed whole cities; shed streams of blood on all hands; subjected to his power (*), and to the doctrines of the alcoran, all that vast region stretching from the Euphrates to the frontiers of India and the Caspian sea; and overturned the throne of the Persian monarchs, which had subsisted four hundred years from its re-establishment by Artaxerxes in the

*) With respect to these advancements, see the remarkable dissertation of the abbé Renaudot on the entry of the mahometans into China, p. 274, & seq.

year two hundred and thirty-three. Thus Persia continued under the domination of the caliphs of Bagdad and Damascus, by means of the governors or sultans whom they sent thither.

They had already enjoyed it 414 years when it was wrested from them by a sudden and remarkable revolution, which they were far from expecting. The ambition and treachery of one of their sultans was the occasion of it. For near five centuries before this period of time, the Turks had begun to distinguish themselves in the southern regions of Asia; and it is remarkable that in the year 569, commonly supposed to have been that of Mahomet's birth, they sent ambassadors to the emperor Justin to propose an alliance with him, and to obtain leave to trade in silk at Constantinople, and in the empire.

It is generally thought, tho' without any proofs, that this people was originally of Turkestan which lies beyond Thibet. I am certain, on the other hand, that all the Byzantine historians say, they came from the provinces above the Caspian sea, to the eastward of the land of the Goths. This was the place of their habitation during four hundred years, in which time they made frequent incursions on the land of the Saracens, which they ravaged after the manner of the ancient Scythians from whom they descended, satisfying themselves with the booty they carried off into their own country. By degrees they established themselves between the Caspian sea and Pontus Euxinus.

They

They were settled there in 1048, when Mahomet son of Imbrael, sultan of Persia, made proposals to Tangropilix or Togrulbec, one of their chiefs, to assist him with his troops in taking vengeance for some insults he pretended to have received from an Arabian prince, promising to reward him generously for his services. Tangropilix accepted his offers, and entered Persia at the head of a formidable army, which joining with the Persians totally defeated the Arabs. After having put the sultan in possession of their territories, Tangropilix demanded the reward they had agreed on; but Mahomet was too well pleased with their valour to dismiss them so soon. He required them to accompany him to the conquest of the Indies, which he had resolved on, and ordered at the same time all his garrisons that guarded the passes of the Tigris to be reinforced, that he might detain them in Persia against their will. The Turks enraged at that stroke of perfidy, declared war against the sultan. The two armies, which had fought hitherto in concert, were now engaged against one another; many battles were fought, and in the last action Mahomet was left dead on the field of battle. Tangropilix, now master of so fine a country, proposed to the Turks to settle there, and send for their wives and children. He had no great difficulty to persuade them, but being still pagans, he remonstrated to them, that in order to gain the affection of a people who hated them only on account of the difference in religion,

gion, they must remove this last obstacle to their tranquillity.

With this view he and all his people embraced the religion, of Mahomet; and seizing these favourable moments which had just rendered them masters of so vast and renowned an empire, they carried their triumphant arms into Armenia, Syria, and even to the extremities of Asia-Minor within sight of Constantinople. Afterwards, and with the same success, they undertook what the Saracens had not ventured or been able to perform on the side of the east. Inheriting alike their valour, their dominions and doctrines, they carried victory along with them into Sogdiana, Bactria and Thibet, where many of them settled; which has given the name of Turkestan to one of those provinces; and they forced all the conquered nations to conform to that religion which they themselves had newly embraced (*b*).

This is evident from the history of the Tartars, which begins about two hundred years after the establishment of the Turks in Persia. All the princes whom Zingis dethroned in Bactriana, Thibet, and the kingdom of Tangut, bore the surname of Mahomet, and took the title of sultan, an usage which could only be derived from the Turks their conquerors, already muselmans. Zingis-Kan subdued them all, and after

(*b*) This account of the origin and establishment of the Turks, is the substance of a great quantity of materials which I collected on that subject when reading the Byzantine authors.

them

them the great sultan of Persia. But he did not renounce idolatry to embrace the worship of Mahomet. This change did not happen among the Tartars till the times of Burga Usbeck and Barak his descendants and successors, about the beginning of the fourteenth century. By means of them and Tamerlane it was introduced into the Indies, where perhaps the Persian, Arabian, and Egyptian merchants had already laid some foundation for it. If we may believe Mirkhond, and after him Khondemir, it owes its rise to Mahmoud, first sultan of the dynasty of the Gaznevides, who, according to these authors, conquered the Indies in the 392d Year of the Hegira; from whence he carried off immense or rather incredible riches (i).

From this diversity of origins proceeds that difference of sentiments and religion which is to be found among the Indian mahometans. This opposition does not happen with respect to the five principal points, which they regard as the basis and foundation of their law, and consists in believing one only God, in acknowledging Mahomet for his prophet, in being punctual at prayer and giving alms, in performing a pilgrimage to Mecca, and observing the fast of Ramadan. They only differ in some particular explanations of those commandments, in some minute practices, and above all, in the implacable hatred which subsists between the partisans of Ali and of Omar. This division pro-

(i) See D. Hébelot at the word Mahmoud.

ceeds to the most outrageous schism; and as it prevails in the Indies as well as in the rest of Asia and Africk, we cannot dispense with relating its original.

Altho' Ali, Mahomet's nephew and son-in-law (*1*), pretended to have been appointed by this new legislator his successor in the Arabian throne, a powerful faction set aside his title, and gave the scepter to Abubeker Mahomet's father-in-law. After him the same faction conferred it on Omar and Osman, because the prophet had likewise married their daughters. Ali, enraged to see his hopes and pretensions cut off by three successive nominations, formed, as is said, a conspiracy against Osman. The conspirators besieged him in his palace, and at last massacred him. Those Arabians and Egyptians, who had been the caliph's murderers, proclaimed Ali, who at first made a shew of refusing, but soon after accepted the throne. This installation together with his constant pretensions, brought him under suspicion of having been concerned in Osman's death, whose family accused him loudly of murder and usurpation. They secured a considerable party to themselves; and an engagement ensued between the two armies, and Ali's triumphed by a dreadful slaughter of their adversaries.

This victory, which secured him the crown, increased the aversion his enemies had for him;

(1) Olearius's voyage to Persia, p. 955, & seq. D. Herbelot on the words Ali and Othman. M. Simon's history of the belief and manners of the people in the Levant.

and they imagined they found a fresh reason for it in a pretended encroachment which Ali was guilty of. The alcoran, which its author had his reasons for leaving obscure and unintelligible in many places, occasioned every day doubts and disputes amongst its rigid followers. Ali, who had the title of the prophet's nephew and son-in-law, and flattered himself that he inherited a portion of that celestial light which they believed was attached to his family, took it upon him to explain those texts which troubled their consciences. He acknowledged the law in all its authority, and ventured to give a commentary of it, which was adopted and followed by all his party, but which at the same time brought about no change in religion. It nevertheless furnished his adversaries with a pretence to treat him as an innovator. His name and that of his descendants were cursed, and their persons excommunicated in all the mosques belonging to the caliphs of the house of Osman, from Moavia down to Omar the son of Abdalaziz, who ordered that solemn malediction to be suppressed. There were even some of the Abasside caliphs, that is, of the third and last race, who renewed that ancient hatred, such as Mothaded and Motavakel. On the contrary, the caliphs of Egypt, surnamed *Fatimites*, from Fatima the daughter of Mahomet and wife of Ali, added his name to the prophet's in the proclamations which they made from the top of their mosques.

Seven centuries had elapsed in this medley of
respect

respect and hatred, when about 1363, there appeared at Ardebil in Persia, a learned man called Sophi, who gave out that he was lineally descended from Houssain-the son of Ali, who was wrongfully excluded from the throne after his father's death. The austerity of his life, the external innocence of his manners, accompanied with a genius capable of distinguishing itself, acquired him a great reputation, and even the quality of *Schich*, which means the son or relation of the prophet. He was the first who had the boldness publickly to teach and write that the succession of Mahomet had been fraudulently usurped by Abubeker, Omar, and Osman; that God had raised him up to recover the glory of Ali, which had been buried for many ages; to revive a great number of miracles which he said had been suppressed by the jealousy of the Turks; and to shew to men that the explications of Ali were conformable to the spirit of the alcoran.

The doctrine of Sophi soon found followers among the Persians, a changeable people, and easily drawn away by novelty. They abandoned the sect of the Turks; they looked upon them as the corrupters of the law, and made it an article of religion to excommunicate them. The wars which were carried on a long time between these two nations increased the schism; and at last it became more conspicuous by the different colour of their turbans, the Persians chusing red, and the Turks white and green. Although both have retained the common name of *Muslimans*, which means, *those that are saved from eternal*

eternal damnation, yet they differ in the following points. 1st, The Persians interpret the alcoran in a different manner from the Turks: 2dly, They have not the same saints: 3dly, They do not believe the same miracles: 4thly, they have not the same mosques or ceremonies: 5thly, The greatest festival among the Persians (*m*) is that which they celebrate in honour of Hassan and Houssain the sons of Ali, in order to repair the injury which was done them by excluding them and their posterity from the throne, whereas the Turks hold them in abomination: 6thly, The Persians maintain several fabulous and childish traditions, which are despised elsewhere; amongst others, that Duldul the horse of Ali proceeded from a rock; that the angel Gabriel carried Ali the sword with which he triumphed over all his enemies, and slew a dragon with seven heads; that the sultan Mahomet Ghodabende discovered near Kufa in Persia a tomb with this Inscription: *Here lie Adam, Noah, and Ali*; that Ali drinks with the angels in paradise; and lastly, that the intention of God was to give him the alcoran, which fell into Mahomet's hands only by a mistake.

These absurdities have passed from Persia to the Indies, where it is no less dangerous to contradict them. The kings of Golconda (*n*), Visapour, and some others, follow the sect of Ali. The great mogul, the kings of Comorin, Java, the Maldives, Achen, Bantam and Macassar,

(*m*) See the description of that festival in Tavernier, I. iv. c. 7.

(*n*) Tavernier, I. iii. c. 1. and his account of the Setaglio, c. 20.

are pure mahometans. But their subjects are not always of the same belief, and the princes commonly take no notice of the difference. The native Indians not being very fit for government, the Persians go thither to seek their fortunes, and fill up the principal employments in the court and army of the great mogul. Although he does not oppress them in the article of religion, yet most of them profess externally that of the sovereign, and the same may be said of all the other kings in the Indies.

A learned man of our own age * has handled, with his usual erudition, the manner wherein mahometanism was introduced into those eastern regions. The Arabian colonies, says he, which on the discoveries of the Portugueze were found in the maritime cities of the Indies, have given occasion to believe that they came thither by sea, and that they had established themselves nearly in the same manner as the Portugueze, who had conquered and peopled a vast extent of country from Cape Boïador to China. But it seems to be certain, that these settlements were carried on in a different manner. The Arabians were settled at Sofala and Mozambique on the eastern coast of Africa, before the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, and traded with the merchants of Persia, who brought them all the commodities of India and China, and took in exchange those of Africa, Egypt, and Christen-

* The abbé Renaudot in his dissertation on the entrance of the mahometans into China, p 302, 308, & seq.

dom. The force of arms had already put them in possession of Arabia, Persia, and all the provinces to the river Indus; thus it was easy for them to go by land from kingdom to kingdom, even to the extremities of the east. If they had had great fleets which could have made them masters of the sea, it is very probable they would have attempted the conquest of that country as well as they seized on all those whither they could march their armies. But we do not find in their histories, or even in the Portugueze accounts, that their most considerable settlements had any other original than commerce and religion.

The Portugueze found the African negroes settled in several places from the river Indus unto Cape Comorin, but particularly at Calicut. Barros relates that Sumara Peyrimal, king of Malabar, having been converted to mahometanism, and designing from a principle of devotion to end his days at Mecca, divided his kingdom among his children and relations, and gave Calicut to one of his nephews, who was his principal heir, with the title of Zamorin or emperor of Malabar.

The negroes had come to Coulam to trade there, and the Peyrimal king gave them Calicut, where they established their principal magazines, not only of pepper and ginger which that country furnished in abundance, but likewise of all other drugs and spices which were brought thither from the islands and extremities of the east. This establishment, and the veneration which the Zamorins, successors of Peyrimal, entertained

for the mahometan negroes, rendered them very powerful at Calicut and throughout all the east, where they made alliances with the principal Indians, who reckoned it an honour to give their children to them in marriage. They made themselves as powerful with the princes settled in different parts of the east, because these petty princes being continually at war, engaged the Moors in their service who were the best soldiers in all the Indies. Most of the patans or kings of the country were idolaters, and mahometanism had not then made the progress it did after the conquests king Ecbar made in the beginning of the seventeenth century.

Passing Cape Comorin and ranging along the eastern coast and islands, the Portugueze did not meet with so great a number of mahometans. However, they were settled at Malaca, in the island Sumatra and the Moluccoes: but were scarce to be found in most of the other kingdoms.

These long voyages were neither safe nor frequent; and the merchants being on that account obliged to stay long in the principal sea-ports, married wives there, their religion permitting them to have several. Those new families engaged others, and the advantage which the princes found in drawing to their harbours the commerce of Arabia, Persia, Egypt, the rest of Africa, and Europe, which was carried on by the Red-Sea, procured the merchants all the encouragement they could hope for. Those idolatrous princes, brought up in the ancient superstitions,

stitutions, were not very anxious with respect to a diversity of religions, and looked upon them all as indifferent. Thus they easily suffered their subjects to embrace that of Mahomet, which appeared to them preferable to the rest, on account of the protection which the Arabians made them expect from the sultans, whose power was known through all Asia. The princes themselves in dangerous times made profession of mahometanism, that they might engage the Moors on their side, who multiplied at last so prodigiously, that they possessed whole cities, or a part of the most considerable ones. Thus this religion, which has nothing very disgusting in it, established itself by degrees in sundry places, and became yet more powerful when some Moors or Arabs, who were raised to the first employments in the courts of Cambaya and Guzarat, drew thither a great number of the Asian Turks called *Rumis*, some of whom made themselves masters of some posts, as Melique Az, who made a considerable settlement at Diu, where he was a long time troublesome to the Portugueze. From the continent they passed to the Molucco islands, where they converted the kings of Tidor and Ternate to their religion. They received great favours from these princes, whom the advantages of commerce and the succours of the Arabians confirmed in mahometanism. The Portugueze authors assure us that this establishment happened a little before the discovery of the Indies.

To this first method of introducing mahome-

tanism in the Indies, the Arabians joined another, which was not less effectual by the dextrous and subtle manner in which they put it in practice. This was the preaching of their dervises or faquirs. This order of religious persons did not venture openly to condemn the worship established in the country where they were strangers; on the contrary, they carefully abstained from every thing that could disgust those of whose power they were apprehensive. They had nothing to fear in most of the maritime cities of the Indies; because the idolatrous inhabitants commonly are not jealous of other religions, and never entertain the maxim to convert foreigners to their different sects. But when the prince was disposed to embrace mahometanism, then the Arabs sent for some of their faquirs to instruct him in the doctrines of the alcoran. The Portuguese found one at Tidor, who had come on purpose to extirpate the remains of idolatry in that kingdom. The Arabians must have found a present advantage in establishing their religion before they attempted it. They made themselves by this means masters of the trade; under pretence of defending the princes from their enemies, they occasioned the Moors to arrive in great numbers, and rendered themselves so formidable, that they frequently became absolute masters of the harbours, where they had at first been received as merchants. Sometimes, under the shadow of devotion, they persuaded the prince and great men to make the pilgrimage to Mecca, or to send rich presents thither in order to put themselves

themselves under the protection of their prophet. In this flourishing state of their affairs, it was not difficult for them to engage many to their religion, especially a great number of slaves, who by that means became exempt from tribute; because they enjoyed the same advantages which had been at first granted to the mahometans, in order to bring them to the principal sea-ports or trading cities.

S E C T. IV.

Of the Indian Christians.

AT the Hague in 1724, there appeared a book entitled, *The Christianity of the Indies*, the errors and partiality have disgusted all reasonable men. The author is an apostate monk, by name Vieffiere la Broze, formerly benedictine of Corbia, who has merited by his zeal and learning to be made library-keeper and antiquarian to the king of Prussia. From the title of his work, one should imagine to find therein the rise, progress, and establishment of the christian religion in the Indies: but nothing was more remote from the author's intention. His sole design, and we are persuaded he will not deny it, has been to revenge the cause of Nestorius, to canonize his followers, to justify his blasphemies, to write against the third general council of Ephesus, to undertake the defence of mahometanism; to let loose against the Roman church that fury which the protestants now blush

for in the first reformed, and which they shew no longer in their writings; to decry the synod of Diamper, and the archbishop don Mecerzes who presided in it; and lastly, to pour out all the bitterness and acrimony of his zeal against a society which he hated, for other reasons, best known to himself.

That we may not be accused of recriminating without grounds, we shall here set down some expressions of this author. "According to him, page 40, the account of the holy apostle Thomas's death is no less fabulous than his coming to the Indies; but owes its rise to the fables of the Manicheans. It may be advanced without danger of error, page 46, that the conformity of the name has occasioned the apostle St. Thomas, and an Armenian merchant called *Thomas Cana*, or *Mar Thomas*, to be confounded together. The missionaries, pages 43 and 506, have mistaken the apostle St. Thomas for one *Thamo*, an egregious cheat, who made himself head of the sect of contemplatives in China. Or perhaps another Thomas, page 41, a disciple of the arch-heretick Manes. The errors imputed to Nestorius, page 14, are only disputes about words. I have found, page 3, great marks of purity and antiquity in the Nestorian community. The title of *Mother of God* given to the Virgin, page 11, is derived from the Arians and Apollinarists. Almost all those who have spoken of the mahometan religion, page 525, tell us that it was established by force of arms, and is still maintained by violence. That accusation is unjust, especially in the mouth
of

of a man of the Roman communion. This last indeed, page 291, has the hardiness to attribute to itself all the marks of truth; and not content with that, employs the most cruel punishments to establish a tyrannical authority over consciences. It authorises and protects, page 292, all abuses; And is indebted for its preservation, page 527, to the fires and most barbarous cruelties of the inquisitors." After such excesses and open avowals, would this fugitive monk persuade us that the spirit of irreligion has not been his motive for changing his religion? This is not the place to refute all his errors. We shall confine ourselves to our subject, and make his ignorance or bad faith appear with respect to the origin and progress of christianity in the Indies.

Without adopting all that the too credulous missionaries and travellers have written of the death of St. Thomas in the Indies, and the prodigies which accompanied or followed it, it is difficult or even impossible to reject the testimony of ancient historians and tradition, which unanimously give evidence for the travels of the holy apostle into the eastern countries. The apostles before they separated (a) divided the universe amongst them in order to preach the gospel, every one in the kingdoms which fell to his share. St. Thomas had Parthia, St. Matthew Ethiopia, and St. Bartholomew the Indies adjacent thereto. Socrates, from whom we learn this article, speaks according to the geographical ideas of his age, or after ecclesiastical authors

(a) Socrates, hist. eccl. l. i. c. 29.

who followed the common notions of their time; The country of the Parthians, which had been only a simple province, frequently tributary to the Persians, became the most flourishing province of Asia nineteen years after the death of Alexander, by the establishment of the throne of the Arsacides, who made themselves masters of all that the Macedonian Seleucidæ had possessed from Mesopotamia to the Indies. The Romans could never tame their power, which subsisted to the 229th year of Christ, when Artaxerxes founded the second kingdom of the Persians. They comprehended at that time under the name of *Parthia*, all that lies beyond the Tigris and Euphrates; this fell to the lot of St. Thomas (p); and consequently the Indies made a part of his apostleship. This is the tradition of the five first ages of the church; and Eusebius in several places says (q) that our ancestors confirm it

He tells us moreover, that St. Pantene, animated by an evangelical zeal, made a voyage to the Indies, to proclaim the mysteries of the cross there; and that he found the gospel of St. Matthew written in Hebrew, in the hands of several Indians, who adored the truths therein contained, and had received it from St. Bartholomew, who instructed them in the doctrines of the new law. The voyage of St. Pantene is fixed at the year 317 (r). Altho' the mission St. Bartholomew

(p) This is confirmed by the testimony of Cosmas, *Christianorum opinio de mundo*, l. ii. p. 147 in fine. Collect. P. P. Græc. edit. Montfaucon.

(q) Euseb. Pamphil. *hist. eccl.* l. iii. c. 1, and l. v. c. 10.

(r) Vid. Pagi, ad hunc annum 317.

regarded chiefly a part of Africa, it cannot from hence be concluded that he never travelled to the East-Indies. On the contrary, there were several motives which might engage him to undertake it. A zeal and sollicitude which comprehended not only all the churches, but all the nations of the world; the great reputation of the Indies, whereof the Egyptian and Babylonian merchants continually spoke with the highest applause, gave him pain, when he reflected on a numerous rich and civilized people which continued buried in the thick darkness of paganism; the easiness of the passage, which could be performed in a very short time, and opportunities for which offered every day, pressed him to go and preach the gospel there. But as this was not the principal place which the Holy Ghost had marked out for him, and as perhaps he was besides informed that St. Thomas was there already, he returned to finish his ministry in Africa.

These testimonies of our most celebrated writers, supported by the uniform tradition of almost all ages and travellers, and these conjectures founded on the nature of things, ought, it should seem, to remove the objections of some learned criticks, founded on the equivocal acceptation of the Indies. It is true that the ancients, often very inexact in their notions of geography, have given that name to countries very far distant from one another, namely, Ethiopia, Arabia, Iberia, and Colchis. The black complexion of some of these nations, or perhaps some resemblances in the nature of the countries which produced nearly the
same

same commodities, have been the sources of this error. We ought not to be surpris'd thereat, since even in our days the vulgar language confounds amongst us America with the East-Indies, contrary to all the probabilities of good sense and etymology. But altho' St. Bartholomew first exercised the functions of his apostleship in Ethiopia, it does not follow from hence, that he never pass'd over to the proper Indies. An authority supported by facts, which are not contradicted by others, gives us solid reasons to believe the contrary.

The sequel of ecclesiastical history furnishes us with new proofs, chiefly for the preaching of St. Thomas in the Indies. It was so generally acknowledged from the third century, that the impious Manes, who gave himself out for a second Messiah, and chose his own apostles, sent one of them to the Indies, named Thomas (*t*), in hopes that he might be one day confounded with the disciple of Jesus Christ, by an effect of ignorance, blindness and perverseness, as it has been by a man delivered up to error (*t*). This is the opinion of a learned man who ought not to be suspected by la Broze, but whom the change of profession has not driven out of the bounds of moderation.

It was to confirm the faith of the Indians,

(*t*) Voluit fortasse impostor (Thomam suum in Indiam mittendo) Christum etiam in hac parte imitari, dum Thomam apostolum ad evangelium suum prædicandum, in Indiam destinaret. Cave, sæc. iii. in Mane, p. ii.

(*t*) Christianity of the Indies.

abandoned to themselves, that St. Pantene (*u*), of whom we have spoken, undertook that voyage; and that St. Athanasius appointed Trumentius bishop of the Indies (*x*), where he had the satisfaction to see the gospel practised to the utmost perfection of its dictates. St. Jerome (*y*) in effect assures us, that every day he entertained at Jerusalem monks who came from the Indies, as well as from Persia and Ethiopia, to visit the holy places. They were likewise Indians of a religious order (*z*), who gave the emperor Justinian the eggs of silk-worms, which were not then known in Europe. In reading the discourse of the brachmans to Alexander, which we have related in the beginning of this history, it has been undoubtedly observed, that those philosophers who gave it to Palladius, had taken what they say of the Word, from the christian doctrine, and that the expressions they use are nearly the same as in the gospel, which they could not possibly have learned from a manichean apostle. Cosmas of Alexandria, who travelled thro' all Persia and the Indies about the year 530, informs us that he found there (*a*) an infinite number of churches, bishops, martyrs, monks, religious persons and hermits.

After Cosmas we meet with no more travellers to the Indies, until the thirteenth century;

(*u*) Euseb. Pamphil. hist. eccl. l. v. c. 10.

(*x*) This is related at great length in Sozomene, l. ii. c. 24. and in Socrates, l. i. c. 27.

(*y*) Hieron. epist. vii.

(*z*) Procopius, miscellaneous history, c. 17.

(*a*) Cosmas Indico Pleustes, Christ. opinio de mundo, l. iii. p. 179. Consult also Montfaucon's preface, c. iii. n. 6.

and all those who have been there since, have unanimously related the tradition of the country on the preaching of St. Thomas. In this manner Haiton the American (*b*) speaks of it about the year 1300. It was there (in the Indies) that the apostle St. Thomas preached the faith of Jesus Christ, and converted many provinces and nations. But as these countries are at a great distance from those where the christian religion is generally professed, our worship is much fallen off; and there only remains one city of christians, all the rest having entirely abandoned the faith. Mark Paul had given a more circumstantial account about twenty years before him. In the province of Malabar, which is the great Indies (*c*), they preserve the body of St. Thomas the apostle, who suffered martyrdom in that province for the love of Jesus Christ. His body lies in a small city, where there are many christians, who render him the honours that are his due. The inhabitants of the country revere him as a great prophet, and call him *Anonyam*, which signifies *a holy man*. They come from afar to worship it; they carry off with them the earth of the place where they believe he shed his blood, and they give it to the sick in the spirit of faith. The inhabitants of Meliapour and Cochin gave the same account to the Portuguese; and a volume might be made of testimonies given to this purpose by all the travellers of Europe since the discovery of the passage to the Indies.

(*b*) Haito Armenus, *hist. orient.* c. 6.

(*c*) Marc. Paul, l. iii. c. 27.

The relaxation of discipline, the want of instruction, and the deserted state wherein the Indian christians had been for many ages, produced an almost total defection from the faith when the Turks and Tartars took possession of those kingdoms. Amongst them the conquest of consciences and of cities proceeded with an equal pace, or rather were one and the same object of their pursuit; since the alcoran commands them to put to the sword all who will not acknowledge one God, and Mahomet for his prophet. The dread of certain death, the ignorance or scarceness of ministers, and the effeminacy of their character, had rendered these christians averse to martyrdom, and disposed them on the contrary to embrace a new religion which preserved the unity of God, the detestation of idols, and the veneration of Jesus Christ, whom they were allowed to respect as a great prophet. This kind of analogy along with other motives, threw them into the errors into which the Persians had already fallen, and almost all of them adopted mahometanism. But since the christian princes have made the conquest of the Indies, they have sent a great number of evangelical labourers thither in order to revive the purity of worship.

S E C T. V.

Of the Indian Nestorians.

RELIGION had already received a considerable wound from the nestorians. This corruption of doctrine was introduced into the
Indies

Indies by two ways. From Constantinople, where the heresy of Nestorius with respect to the plurality of persons in Jesus Christ took its rise, it passed into Asia, where it preserved a numerous party. Seleucia on the Tigris was the center of that communion (*d*). The patriarch who resided there took the title of catholick, and arrogated to himself a pre-eminence over all the bishops and archbishops of the Roman church. The bishops of the east received their mission from him by means of two primates, one of whom was for the Indies, and the other for Cathaya. He acquired that jurisdiction in the Indies from the time that the patriarchs of Alexandria desisted naming the bishops there, as it had been settled (*e*) by St. Athanasius. The patriarch of Seleucia took advantage of that neglect. He sent them bishops and priests who spread about the poison of Nestorius, and forgot not to inspire their christians with hatred for the communion of the west. It is so universally and deeply rooted there, that, according to our best accounts, all the christians of the country were tainted with it when the Portugueze began to settle there, and their attachment to this schism is the greatest obstacle to their conversion; not, as several protestants have advanced, their aversion to the doctrine of the Roman church, since they profess all its essential articles, as a learned man of our own age has shewn (*f*). Seleucia having been destroyed

(*d*) See Montfaucon, præfat. in Cosmam. c. iii. n. 6. Doucin. hist. of nestorianism. Mambourg's schism of the Greeks. The abbé Renaudot's dissert. on ancient relations, p. 260.

(*e*) Sozomene, l. ii. c. 24.

(*f*) Abbé Renaudot in his perpetuity of the faith.

by the wars of the Saracens, the seat of the catholick patriarch was transferred to Mosul on the Tigris, not far from the place where it is thought Nineveh anciently stood.

The second means whereby the nestorian heresy insinuated itself into the Indies, was its establishment among the Tartars by the sermons and politics of the famous priest John. The deputies whom the courts of France and Rome sent (*g*) into Tartary a short time after that event, reported that they had met with great numbers of christians there, but all tainted with the errors of Nestorius, or others still more pernicious. The Tartars imported them into the Indies when they marched thither under the conduct of Tamerlane.

S E C T. VI.

Of the Indian Protestants.

IT having been then decreed that all the nations of the world should endeavour to enrich themselves by the commerce of the Indies, and that they should imprint there the traces of their passions, vices, and particular errors in religion, calvinism had not yet existed eighty years, when the Dutch began to plant it in those remote kingdoms. The States General have prohibited under very severe penalties any other religion to be taught (*b*) but the pretended reformed in the

(*g*) See the new collection of voyages to Asia.

(*b*) Corn. Le Brun's voyage to the Indies, p. 363.

islands, and that part of the continent which their company possesses. But as much as this prohibition is rigorously observed, as much do they despise (*i*) the orders and intentions of the republick, which has enjoined the company to maintain ministers to withdraw the Indians from the worship of idols. On the contrary, the most part of the directors entertain no passion but cruelty for men whom they fleece by all methods imaginable. Their zeal is supplied by the catholicks, against whom they inveigh according to custom, and sometimes go so far as to give them very unworthy treatment (*l*).

It is not easy to know what to think of the monk La Croze (*m*) when he personates the devotee, and gives thanks to heaven for the progress that lutheranism is making in the Indies, by the industry and the sermons of those pious ministers whom the king of Denmark has sent thither since the year 1705. It would seem that this fugitive monk has renounced the catholick doctrine, only that he might adopt all the rest/

(*i*) See the complaints of Tavernier a protestant on this head, t. v. p. 323; and his article in Bayle.

(*l*) We read a remarkable fact of this kind in father Tachard, p. 158.

(*m*) Christianity of the Indies, p. 536.

The END of the FIRST VOLUME.