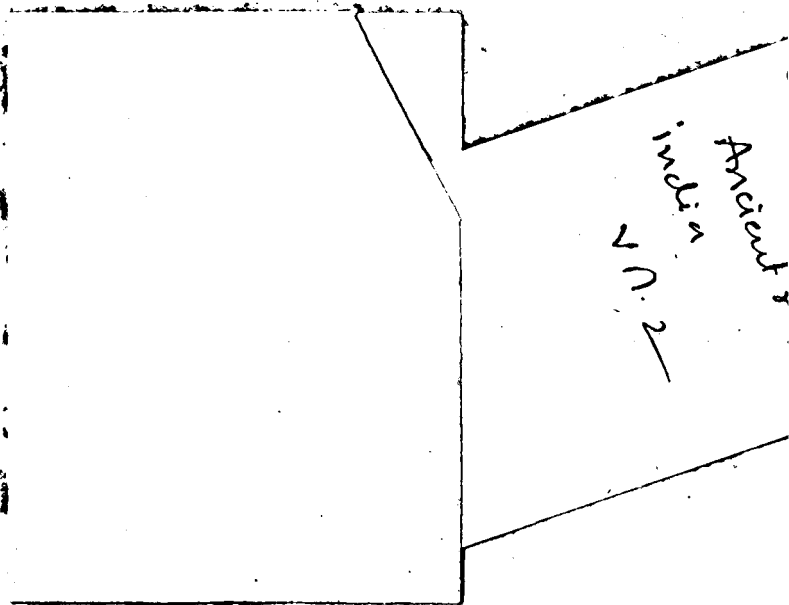


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RESEARCHES
CONCERNING THE
LAWS, THEOLOGY, LEARNING,
COMMERCE, ETC.
OF
Ancient and Modern India.

BY Q. CRAUFURD, ESQ.

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*** In reading the Names of Persons and Places, the Vowels are understood to be pronounced as in the Italian Language.*

APPENDIX,
CONTAINING
NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

APPENDIX

OF

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.



NOTE A.

(Referred to, vol. i. p. 9.)

*Hindū Accounts of Sandrocotus, King of the Prasii,
and the celebrated Capital of Palibothra.*



SANDROCOTUS, sovereign of the ancient Prasii, is in the Sanscrit language termed Chandra-Gupta, which, according to Mr. Wilford, means *him who was saved by the Moon*. “By Athenæus he is called Sandracoptos, by other writers Saudracottos, and by some Androcottos. He was called Chandra simply; and, accordingly, Diodorus Siculus calls him Xandrames, from Chandra, or Chandram in the accusative case; for, in the western parts of India, the spoken dialects from the Sanscrit do always affect that case.”*

Sir William Jones, from a poem written by Somadeva, and a tragedy called the Coronation of Chandra, or Chandra-Gupta, “discovered, that he really was the Indian king

* Wilford, *As. Researches*, vol. v. p. 284.

mentioned by the historians of Alexander, under the name of Sandracottos. These two poems I have not been able to procure; but I have found another dramatic piece, intitled *Mudra-Racshasa*, or *the Seal of Racshasa*, which is divided into two parts: the first may be called the Coronation of Chandra-Gupta; and the second, the Reconciliation of Chandra-Gupta with Mantri-Racshasa, the prime minister of his father.*

By Hindū writers it is said, that Maha Nandi, king of Prachi or Prasii, had by a woman of the Sudra cast, a son named Nanda, who succeeded him. Nanda is described as victorious in war, and though fond of amassing wealth, just and wise in government. By his first wife, named Ratnavati, he had nine sons, and by a second, named Mura, Chandra-Gupta and others; who, to distinguish them from those of the first bed, were called, from their mother, Muryas. After the death of Nanda, Chandra-Gupta found means to exclude the race of Ratnavati, and usurp the crown.

“ Diodorus Siculus and Curtius relate, that Chandram was of a low tribe, his father being a barber. That he, and his father Nanda too, were of a low tribe, is declared in the Vishnu-purana, and in the Bhagavat Chandram; and that he, as well as his brothers, were called Maurya, from his mother Mura; and as that word, † in Sanscrit, signifies a barber, it furnished occasion to his enemies to asperse him as the spurious offspring of one. Diodorus and Curtius are mistaken in saying, that Chan-

* Wilford, *As. Researches*, vol. v. p. 262.

† “ See the *Jutiviveca*, where it is said, the offspring of a barber, begot by stealth, of a female of the Sudra tribe, is called Maurya; the offspring of a barber and a slave-woman is called Maurya.”

dram reigned over the Prasii at the time of Alexander's invasion; he was contemporary with Seleucus Nicator.*

Megasithenes was a native of Persia, and appears to have enjoyed the confidence of Sybertius, governor for Seleucus of Arachosia, † the present Candahar and Ghezni. He had been sent at different times into India by Sybertius, and afterwards by Seleucus, as ambassador to the king of the Prasii.

The country of the Prasii and the site of Palibothra, have occasioned so much discussion, that we are induced to state some of the opinions in regard to them, which appear the best entitled to regard.

Major Rennell says, that *the empire of the Prasii seems to have included most of the tract through which the Ganges flows, after it enters the plains of Hindūstān.* ‡ But Mr. Wilford, using more positive language, observes:

“ By Prachi, (in Sanscrit,) or the East, is understood all the country from Allahabad to the easternmost limits of Hindūstān: it is called also Purvā, an appellation of the same import, and Purob in the spoken dialects. From Prachi is obviously derived the name of Prasii, which the Greeks gave to the inhabitants of this country. It is divided into two parts: the first comprehends all the country from Allahabad to Raj-mehal, and the western branch of the Gauges; the second includes Bengal, the greatest

* Wilford, As. Res. vol. v. p. 285.

† See Arrian, Exp. Alex. lib. v. p. 323, edit. Amst. 1668.

‡ Speaking of this river, he says, that, after quitting the mountainous tract in which it must have wandered above eight hundred miles, it receives in its course through the plains, eleven rivers, some of them as large as the Rhine, and none smaller than the Thames, besides as many more of lesser note.

part of which is known in Sanscrit under the name of *Gancara-desa*,* or country of Gancara, from which the Greeks made *Gangaridas*, or *Gangaridai*, in the first case. Gancara is still the name of a small district near the summit of the Delta."

"The capital city of Prachi Proper, or the western part of it, is declared to be *Raj-griha*, or the royal mansion. According to the Puranas, it was built by a son of king *Prithu*, called *Haryacsha*. It was afterwards taken by *Bala-Rama*, the brother of *Crishna*, who rebuilt it, and assigned it as a residence for one of his sons, who are called in general *Baliputras*, or the children of *Bala*. From this circumstance it was called *Balipura*, or the town of the son of *Bala*; but in the spoken dialects it was called *Bali-putra*, because a *putra*, or son of *Bali*, resided in it. From *Bali-putra*, the Greeks made *Palipatra* and *Palibothra*, and the inhabitants of the country, of which it was the capital, they denominated *Palibothri*."

"*Diodorus Siculus*, speaking of *Palibothra*, says, that it had been built by the Indian *Hercules*; who, according to *Megasthenes*, as quoted by *Arrian*, was worshipped by the *Suraseni*. Their chief cities were *Methora* and *Clisobora*: the first is now called *Mathura*, the other, *Mugunagur*, by the *Musulmans*, and *Calisapura*, by the *Hindūs*. The whole country about *Mathura* is called *Surasena*, to this day, by learned *Brahmins*."

"The Indian *Hercules*, according to *Cicero*, was called *Belus*. He is the same with *Bala*, the brother of *Crishna*, and both are conjointly worshipped at *Mathura*; indeed, they are considered as one *Avatara*, or incarnation of

* This word I am assured by persons intimately acquainted with the Sanscrit, has never been met with by them in that language.

Vishnu. Bala is represented as a stout man, with a club in his hand. He is called also Bala-Roma. To decline the word Bala, you must begin with Balas, which I conceive to be an obsolete form, preserved only for the purpose of declension, and etymological derivation. The first *a* in Bala is pronounced like the first *a* in America, in the eastern parts of India: but in the western parts, and in Benares, it is pronounced exactly like the French *e*; thus the difference between Balas and Belus is not very great. As Bala sprung from Vishnu, or Heri, he is certainly Hericula, Heri-culas, and Hercules. Diodorus Siculus says, that the posterity of Hercules reigned for many centuries in Palibothra, but that they did nothing worthy of being recorded; and, indeed, their names are not even mentioned in the Puranas."

"In the Ganga-mahatmya, in which all places of worship, and others of note, on the banks of the Ganges, are mentioned, the present town of Raj-mehal is positively declared to be the ancient city of Raj-griha of the Puranas, the capital of Prachi, which afterwards was called Bali-putra."

"Raj-griha in Bengalee and Raj-mehal in Persian, signifies the same thing. It is also called by the natives Raj-mandalam; and by Ptolemy, Palibothra-mandalon, for Bali-putra-mandalam: the first signifies the royal mansion, and the second the mansion of the Bala-putras. In a more extensive sense, Mandalam signifies the Circle, or country belonging to the Bali-putras. In this sense we say Coro-mandel, for Cholo, or rather Iala-mandal."

"Here I must observe, the present Raj-mehal is not precisely on the spot where the ancient Raj-griha, or Bali-putra, stood, owing to the strange devastation of the Ganges in that part of the country for several centuries.

past. These devastations are attested by universal tradition, as well as by historical records, and the concurring testimony of Ralph, Fitch, Tavernier, and other European travellers of the last century. When I was at Raj-mehal in January last, I was desirous of making particular inquiries on the spot, but I could only meet with a few Brahmins, and those very ignorant; all they could tell me was, that in former ages, Raj-mehal, or Raj-mandal, was an immense city; that it extended as far as the eastern limits of Boghipoore towards Terriagully; but that the Ganges, which formerly ran a great way towards the N. E. and E. had swallowed it up; and that the present Raj-mehal, formerly a suburb of the ancient city, was all that remained of that famous place. For further particulars they referred me to learned Pundits, who unfortunately lived in the interior parts of the country."

"In the *Mudra-racshasa* it is declared, that the city in which Chandra-Gupta, or Sandrocotus, resided, was to the north of the hills; and, from some particular circumstances that will be noticed hereafter, it appears that they could not be above five or six miles distant from it. Megasthenes informs us also, that this famous city was situated near the confluence of the Erannoboas with the Ganges. The Erannoboas has been supposed to be the Sone, which has the epithet of Hiran-ya-baha, or *gold-wasting*, given to it in some poems. The Sone, however, is mentioned as a distinct river from the Erannoboas, both by Pliny and Arrian, on the authority of Megasthenes: and the word Hiran-ya-baha, from which the Greeks made Erannoboas, is not a *proper* name, but an *appellative*, (as the Greek Chrysorhoas) applicable, and which is applied, to any river that rolls down particles of gold with its sands. Most rivers in India, as well as in Europe,

and more particularly the Ganges, with all the rivers that come down from the northern hills, are famous in ancient history for their golden sands. The Cossoanus of Arrian, or Cossoagus of Pliny, is not the river Coosy, but the Cossanor Cattan, called also Cossay, Cossar, and Cassay, which runs through the province of Midnapoor, and joins the remains of the western branch of the Ganges, below Nanga-Cussan."

"The Erannoboas, now the Coosy, has greatly altered its course for several centuries past; it now joins the Ganges, about five-and-twenty miles above the place where it united with that river, in the days of Megasthenes; but the old bed, with a small stream, is still visible, and is called to this day, Puranah-bahah, the old Coosy, or *the old channel*. It is well delineated in Major Rennell's Atlas; and it joins an arm of the Ganges, formerly the bed of that river, near a place called Nabob-gunge. From Nabob-gunge, the Ganges formerly took an extensive sweep to the eastward, towards Hyatpoor; and the old banks of the river are still visible in that direction. From these facts, supported by a close inspection of the country, I am of opinion, that Baliputra was situated near the confluence of the old Coosy with the Ganges, and on the spot where the villages of Mynyaree and Bissunt-poor-gola, now stand; the Ganges proceeding at that time in an easterly direction from Nabob-gunge, and to the north of these villages. The fortified part of Palibothra, according to Megasthenes, extended about ten miles in length, while the breadth was only two; but the suburbs, which extended along the banks of the Ganges, were, I doubt not, ten or fifteen miles in length. Thus Dehli, whilst in a flourishing state, extended above thirty miles along the banks of the Jumna;

but, except about the centre of the town, consisted properly of only a single street, parallel to the river."

"The ancient geographers, Strabo, Ptolemy, and Pliny, have described the situation of Palibothra in such a manner that it is hardly possible to mistake it.

"Strabo, who cites Artemidorus, says, that the Ganges, on its entering the plains of India, runs in a south direction as far as a town called Ganges, (Ganga-puri) now Allahabad, and from thence, with an easterly course, as far as Palibothra; thence to the sea, (according to the Chrestomathia from Strabo) in a southerly direction. No other place but that which we have assigned for the site of Baliputra, answers to this description of Artemidorus."

"Pliny, from Megasthenes, who, according to Strabo, had repeatedly visited the court of Chandra-Gupta, says, that Palibothra was 425 Roman miles from the confluence of the Jumna with the Ganges. Here it is necessary to premise, that Megasthenes says, the highways in India were measured, and that at the end of a certain Indian measure (which is not named, but it is said to be equal to ten stadia) there was a *cippus*, or sort of column, erected. No Indian measure answers to this, but the Brahmeni, or astronomical coss of *four* to a *yojana*. This is the Hindū *statute coss*. It is used to this day by astronomers, and by the inhabitants of the Panjab; hence it is very often called the Panjabi-coss: thus the distance from Lahor to Multan is reckoned, to this day, to be 145 Panjabi, or 90 common coss."

"In order to ascertain the number of Brahmeni coss, reckoned formerly between Allahabad and Palibothra, multiply the 425 Roman miles by eight, (for Pliny reckoned so many stadia to a mile) and divide the whole by ten, (the number of stadia to a coss according to Megasthenes)

thenes) and we shall have 340 Brahmeni-coss, or 417-18 British miles; and this will bring us to within two miles of the confluence of the old Coosy with the Ganges."*

Mr. Wilford, in support of his opinion, that Palibothra stood "near the confluence of the old Coosy with the Ganges," on a site near the spot where Rajamahal now stands, gives the distance, mentioned by Strabo, from Palibothra to the sea; and the distances, given by Ptolemy, from Palibothra to several towns situated on the banks of the Ganges, above and below it. It is not necessary to follow him through this part of his observations: they contain, however, many things deserving the attention of the curious.

Robertson supposes Palibothra, or Patali-putra, to have stood at or near to the present Allahabad; but, at the time he wrote, he did not possess the great body of information concerning India that has been since obtained.†

The question then, where Palibothra stood, seems now to be brought to this issue, either to adopt the opinions of Jones and Rennell, that it was at Patna, or the opinion of Wilford, that it was at Rajamahal; but it is proved beyond all doubt, that, besides Palibothra, there were anciently other immense cities in those parts of India.

* On the Chronology of the Hindüs, As. Res. vol. v. p. 269, et seq.
† See Disq. on Ancient India, Note xiv. p. 307. (8vo. edit.)

NOTE B.

(Referred to, vol. i. pp. 270, 272, and p. 320, of this volume.)

On the Origin of Casts in India; together with an Account of the different Classes of Brahmins, and their respective Pursuits.

THE division into four distinct casts or tribes, of a people so numerous as the Hindūs, and diffused over so large a portion of the globe, together with the invariable duration of that institution through a series of so many ages, is perhaps one of the most extraordinary circumstances to be found in the history of social order; especially when the humble state of the fourth class, or great body of the people, is considered.

The Hindū tradition concerning the origin of casts is, that, on the creation of human beings, the Brahmins proceeded from the mouth of Brahma; the Cshatryas from his arms; the Vaisyas from his thighs; and the Sudras from his feet. To the first was committed the instruction of mankind; to the second, their protection; to the third, the cares of traffic and agriculture; and to the fourth, servitude.

With respect to the privileged cast of Brahmins, when the Hindū institutions existed in their purity, there were four religious orders (Asrama) to one of which every Brah-

min belonged; the two first were obligatory, the other two optional.

I. The Brachmāchari, or those who studied, and occupied themselves with the study of theology. The second book of the Institutes of Menu contains the rules of this order. The principal of these are, residence in the house where they study and are instructed, strict celibacy, and subsisting on alms.

II. The Griharta, or housekeeper. The third, fourth, and fifth books of Menu comprise rules for his observance, and the means by which he may lawfully gain a subsistence.

III. The Vanaprastha, or hermit, having no house or fixed habitation, but living in woods, and generally retired from the usual haunts of man.

IV. The Yati, or Yoghi, who devotes himself to penances and the performance of extraordinary vows.

The Griharta, or Brahmin-householder, is directed to derive a subsistence from sacrificing and teaching; and to employ his time in study. Hence there is a great variety of appellations for the various sub-divisions of such employments; as, 1st, Guru, a spiritual preceptor;—2d, Acharya, a teacher of the Vedas;—3d, Upadhyaya, a teacher of a particular part of it;—4th, Ritvij, an officiating priest;—5th, Purochita, a family priest to a king, or man of rank;—6th, Yajya, one who gains a subsistence by performing sacrifices for individuals;—7th, Grama Yajyaca, a priest hired by the inhabitants of a village to perform religious rites;—8th, Devalaca, a priest who has the charge of a temple. The three last offices are considered to be mean, and are never held by men of learning or family. Besides the above appellations, there are innumerable others, derived from the particular studies to which individuals

have devoted themselves; as, Srotriya, one skilled in the Veda;—Smarta, learned in the law;—Jyautisha, an astrologer, &c. &c.

Brahmins exercising these functions, and distinguished by these appellations, are found over every part of India at this day. But, exclusive of the occupations assigned by Menu to the sacerdotal class, multitudes of Brahmins are now found in the army and engaged in commerce. This deviation is not the consequence of distinctions among them, but the result of the general license granted by Menu, *in times of distress*, to seek a subsistence by the duties of inferior classes, when it cannot be procured by their own. The permission and its restrictions are contained in the tenth book of the Institutes of Menu. The whole period that has elapsed since the conquest of India, by the Mohammedans, is considered by Hindū casuists as a time of distress; and individuals have sought a subsistence, or fortune, by professions from which they were originally excluded. In a country where every man pursues the profession of his father, this naturally led to certain families of Brahmins becoming, in their occupations and pursuits, entirely secular, though this circumstance does not at all detract from the respect they personally require from the inferior classes, or exempt them from restrictions in regard to diet, from mixing with other tribes, or from the observance of other rules originally prescribed to their class.

NOTE C.

(Referred to, vol. i. p. 301.)

Historical Sketch of the Mahrattas.

THE first person upon record, who distinguished himself as chief of the Mahratta nation, and who may be considered as the founder of their empire, was Seeva, or Seeva-jee, who began to flourish so lately as about the middle of the 17th century. His great grandfather, Bhaugah Booslah, is said to have been an illegitimate son of Rana Bheem, sovereign of the Rajahpoot State of Oudiapoor, and of the most ancient race of Hindū princes. Booslah finding himself, on account of the illegitimacy of his birth and the obscure origin of his mother, of no consideration at Oudiapoor, went into Candeish, where, after having acquired considerable wealth and reputation in the service of a Rajah of that province, he quitted it, and purchased a tract of land near to the city of Poonah. Booslah left a son, named Maulo-jee, who, after the death of his father, entered into the service of a chief, named Jaddoo Roy. His son, named Shah-jee, married the only daughter of Jaddoo. From that marriage was born Seeva-jee, in the year 1628. In consequence of a dispute between Jaddoo Roy and his son-in-law Shah-jee, the latter, quitting him, entered into the service of the King of Beejapoor, who gave him the command of 10,000 horse, and, as is frequently practised in India, a Jagheer for the

charge of maintaining them. Shah-gee married a second wife, named Toka Bee, by whom he had a son, named Eko-gee, who was afterwards Rajah of Tanjore. Shah-gee was killed, in 1667, by a fall from his horse in hunting, and was succeeded by his son, Seeva-gee. The King of Beejapour dying, Seeva-gee, taking advantage of feuds that then prevailed, resolved to make himself independent; he accordingly took arms, and, having made himself master of several important places, they were afterwards, together with their territories, ceded to him by his late master's widow, who exercised the office of Regent.* Seeva-gee established his chief residence at Sattarah, about fifty miles from Poonah. Having declared hostility to the Mohammedans, numerous Hindūs resorted to his standard. Aurengzebe, unable to subdue him, and finding some of his finest provinces constantly exposed to his incursions, entered into an accommodation with him, by which the Mahrattas pretend, that he consented to their having a certain part of the clear revenue of the Deckhan, which has been denominated *Choute*. This real or pretended arrangement, furnished them with a pretext for invading the territories of the different princes and viceroys of the southern provinces of the empire, in order to levy what was claimed by them.

Seeva-gee, who had taken the title of Rajah of Satarah, dying in the year 1680, left the extensive territories he had acquired to his son Samba-gee. In 1689, Samba-gee was assassinated, and, it is alleged, at the instigation of Aurengzebe, with whom war had been renewed. He was succeeded by his son Saho-gee, or, as named by some, Rajah

* Tavernier mentions his having seen this Queen-Regent.

Sahou, who, as he advanced in life becoming infirm and indolent, delegated to his minister, Balla-jeé Bishwanaut, a Brahmin, born at Gokum, the cares of government and the entire exercise of his power, with the title of Mookhperd-haun, or chief civil magistrate.*

Rajah Sahou, or Saho-jeé, died without issue in 1740, after a reign of fifty years, leaving nephews by his brother. The wisdom of the administration of Balla-jeé Bishwanaut, during the time he had enjoyed the office of Mookh, or Peishwah, had gained him the love and confidence of the people and army; but the sentiments of gratitude and loyalty were absorbed by ambition to rule.—He made use of the influence he had acquired under his benefactor, so firmly to establish his power, that he not only retained the high office of Peishwah during his life, but transmitted it to his posterity, and this form of government has subsisted ever since. On the death of a Peishwah, his son, or in failure of a son, his next male relation, succeeds to his title and authority.

Saho-jeé, during the latter years of his life, having shut himself up in the fortress of Sattarah, was never seen by the public; and the Mahrattas, forgetting his rights with his person, looked up to and obeyed his vicegerent only. The mean capacity of his successor, Ram Rajah, was another favourable circumstance for consolidating the power of Bishwanaut, who, on his decease, was succeeded in the full enjoyment of the authority he had exercised by his son, Bajee-Rao. At that time Rago-jeé

* The Persian word *Peishwah*, responding to *Mookh*, is generally employed in speaking of this office, but *Mookh* only is engraved on the seal of the person who holds this office.—Marquis of Wellesley's History of the Mahratta War, Appendix, p. 5.

Booslah, of the family of Seeva-jee, was Buckshi, or chief commander of the Satarah troops, and held the province of Berar as a Jagheer. Discontented at the usurpations of the Peishwah, he retired to Berar, which he retained under his own dominion, acknowledging, however, the Satarah Rajah as his liege lord and chief.

The descendants of Seeva-jee still exist, and reside in the fortress of Satarah; where, though in fact prisoners, the eldest in succession is nominally considered as sovereign of the Mahratta nation. The Peishwah, on succeeding to that office, receives a dress of honour from him; before he takes the field in person he goes to Satarah, to have an audience of leave from him, and the country, to a certain extent round Satarah, is secure against all military actions, and held in respect.

All negotiations, on the part of the Mahratta nation, generally considered, are carried on, and the treaties that may result from them concluded, by the Peishwah only; they are held to be obligatory upon all Mahratta chieftains and feudatories, even though not consulted in regard to them, as being made in the name of the supreme head of the state, the Peishwah apparently acting by his authority. But several of those chiefs, in consequence of the weakness of the Peishwah's government, for some time past, and of the frequent contentions, which have arisen among the members of the family itself, are in fact become independent, although they still continue to acknowledge the Peishwah as the executive minister of state.

“ They possess no acknowledged right, however, to conclude separate engagements with foreign states, unless the tacit permission to make conquests* should be thought

* “ When the province of Malwa was assigned to Holkar and Scindiah, for the payment of their troops, it was stipulated, that of the

to confer that right; but even in this case it must also be inferred, that they have not the right to conclude engagements affecting the Peishwah's supremacy. They are bound to pay allegiance to the Peishwah, and are to every intent officers and subjects of the Mahratta state, of which the Peishwah is the supreme executive authority.*

The principal chiefs of the Mahratta nation, are,

1. The Peishwah, whose capital and place of residence is the city of Poonah.

2. The Holkar family, whose capital is Indore, a city of Malwa.

3. The Scindiah family, whose capital, we believe, is now Oujein. The late Madha-jee Scindiah, who died at the beginning of 1794, extended his territories over a great part of the northern provinces of Hindūstān, got possession of Dehly and the person of the Mogul Emperor, in whose name he affected to act as first minister. He was succeeded by his nephew, Dowlat Row Scindiah, whom he had adopted as his son.

4. The Rajah of Berar, who does not indeed possess so great a military force as Scindiah had, though his government is more solidly established, and his person more respected. The province of Berar, as has been observed; formed part of the dominions of the Rajah of Satarah. Rago-jee Boosolah, the first Rajah of Berar, and from whom the present Rajah is descended, was of the Satarah family; and, though he has acted with the Peishwah

conquests which they might atchieve, one portion should belong to the Peishwah, and another portion to Holkar and Scindiah respectively."—*Note of the Marquis of Wellesley—History of the Mahratta War, Appendix, p. 9.*

* Marquis of Wellesley, *ibid.*

on many occasions, yet we do not believe that he ever acknowledged himself to be subordinate to him, or obliged to enter into his plans.

Besides these four principal chiefs, there are several other Rajahs of inferior note.*

Before the Mahrattas, like some of the other Indian powers, began to entertain Europeans in their service, and adopt and imitate the European discipline and tactics, the strength of a Mahratta army consisted almost entirely of cavalry. Both horse and rider were inured to fatigue. Great bodies of cavalry have been known to march at the rate of fifty and sixty miles a day for some days successively. Some parts of the Mahratta countries abound with horses, and produce a breed, much esteemed, called the Bheemerteddy horse; but the common Mahratta war-horse is a large-boned ill-looking animal. The only weapon used by horsemen is a sabre, in the choice of which they are very curious and intelligent. They learn the use of it, and dexterity in the management of the horse, from their infancy. Their dress, in war, consists of a quilted jacket of cotton cloth, which is perhaps a better defence against cuts of the sword than any other light military dress; under it is a vest of linen, made to fit close to the body, and cross over the breast. The jacket is taken off, when its warmth proves inconvenient. A pair of pantaloons, fastened round the middle, over the end of the vest, descends to the ankles. On the head a broad turban is worn, which descending behind, and on each side of the head, nearly as low as the top of the shoulder, defends the head and neck both from the heat of the sun and from the

* For an account of them see the Marquis of Wellesley's History of the Mahratta War, Appendix, p. 27, et seq.

sword of the enemy. Food for the rider and his horse, to be had recourse to in case of emergency, is contained in a small bag tied tight upon the saddle. That for the rider consists in a few cakes, a small quantity of rice or flour, and some salt and spices: that of the horse, of a kind of black peas called *gram*, and balls made of the meal of those peas mixed with *ghee** and some hot herbs or spices. Those balls are given by way of cordial, to restore the vigour of the horse after extraordinary fatigue, and it is said that a small quantity of *bang* is sometimes added, a drug which, if taken moderately, exhilarates the spirits; but, if taken in large quantities, it produces a sort of furious intoxication. Tents, except a few for some of the principal officers, were rarely used. Their irruptions were frequently so sudden, and so rapidly executed, that the first intelligence of their hostile intentions was their appearance in the territories they designed to invade. In consequence of their frequent wars, there are few countries in Hindūstān which are not perfectly known to them. Detached parties precede the main army; others scour the country on either flank, and the provisions they can collect are driven towards the spot where the main army is to halt. As hay is scarcely ever made in the southern parts of India, the horses are accustomed to eat grass dug up by the roots, which afford a considerable degree of nourishment, and correct the purgative quality of the blade. The rider having first provided for his horse, goes to his own temperate meal, which having finished, he lies down perfectly contented by his side, and on the first stroke of the *nagar*, or great drum, instantly mounts him again.

* A sort of clarified butter.

The Mahrattas relate strange accounts of the extraordinary sagacity of their horses ; and indeed, from their being constantly with their riders, who are fond of caressing and talking to them, they acquire the intelligence and docility of small domestic animals.

If the intention of the Mahrattas in invading a country, be to resent some injury, force its sovereign to pay the *choute*, or comply with any other demand, their devastations are then terrible : they drive off the cattle, destroy the harvest, pillage and burn the villages, and maim and cut down all who may resist their requisitions, or attempt to conceal their effects. On the report of their approach, the frightened inhabitants fly for refuge to the hills, to the woods, and under the walls of fortified towns. The rapidity of their motions leaves but little chance of bringing them to a general action ; and the mischief done by their incursions, has frequently induced the party menaced or attacked by them, to obtain peace or procure their departure by complying with their demands.

Such were their armies and mode of warfare, previous to the introduction of foreign innovations. Such were they under Seeva-jee and other leaders, and when they obliged Aurengzebe himself to enter into arrangements with them.

To conclude :—In referring to those times, and even to the epoch when the author left India, he may perhaps be authorised to repeat what he has said in another place. “ If we only view the Mahrattas as engaged in warfare, they must necessarily sometimes appear as the most cruel of barbarians ; but if we enter their country as travellers, and consider them in a state of peaceful society, we find them strictly adhering to the principles of their religion ; in harmony among themselves, and ready to receive and

assist the stranger. The excesses they commit, therefore, cannot fairly be ascribed to a natural ferocity of character, but perhaps may be dictated by policy, or inspired by revenge: they may sometimes wish to obtain that by the dread of their invasions, which otherwise would only be effected by a tedious war; or sometimes to be provoked to retaliate on the Mohammedans the cruelties they have long exercised upon their countrymen.*

Anquetil, in his preliminary discourse to the *Zenda-Avesta*, says:

“The country of the Mahrattas is generally an open country. † The people are cheerful, strong, and healthy, and reckon for their security on their courage and their arms. Their principal force is in their cavalry. Hospitality is their ruling virtue. Their country appeared to me, that of nature—I fancied myself, when speaking with the Mahrattas, to be conversing with men of the first ages of the world.”

NOTE D.

(Referred to, vol. ii. p. 83.)

Additional Remarks on the Astronomy of the Hindūs
by M. Delambre,

THE preceding observations on the astronomy of the Hindūs having been submitted in manuscript to Mr. Delambre, ‡ he was pleased to address the following letter

* Sketches of the Hindūs, vol. ii. pp. 307, 308.

† Meaning the parts of it that he had visited.

‡ Mr. Delambre has been long distinguished as an active member

and remarks to the author, which, as throwing further light on this interesting subject, the reader may not be displeas'd to peruse :—

“ Le Mémoire que M. Chevalier m'a transmis de votre part, Monsieur, étoit bien fait pour exciter ma curiosité. Je l'ai lû tout aussitôt et tout entier, et j'ai mis par écrit les réflexions qu'il m'a suggérées. Je suis presque en tout de l'avis de l'auteur. Je pense que les Indiens sont les inventeurs de leur astronomie, car s'ils ne la tiennent ni des Grecs, ni des Arabes, je ne vois pas bien de quel peuple ils pourroient l'avoir empruntée. Je leur accorde donc sans aucune difficulté toutes les connoissances exposées dans les ouvrages qui nous sont connus par les Mémoires de Calcutta. Mais je ne suis pas pleinement convaincu que l'époque de leurs tables pour l'an 3102 avant notre ère soit réellement fondée sur des observations faites à une époque aussi reculée ; je serois charmé que la chose fût vraie, mais quoique je la désire, je ne l'admettrai cependant que sur des preuves plus positives ; je ne la rejette pas non plus ; je ne demande que la permission de douter et de croire que cette époque a pu être conclue par le calcul, d'après des observations un peu moins anciennes. Mais en quel tems ces observations ont-elles été faites ; est-ce dans le 13^{me} siècle de notre ère ; est-ce dans l'intervalle ? Je n'en sais absolument rien ; mais rien n'empêche que ce ne soit dans un tems antérieur à l'école d'Alexandrie. Il est fort à désirer que vos savans compatriotes puissent découvrir et nous faire connoître quelque autre

and secretary of the class of Mathematical Sciences, of the *Institute* or Royal Academy at Paris. He was nominated by His Majesty Louis XVIII. one of the Council for superintending and directing education in France instead of the University established by Napoleon Buonaparte.

ouvrage Indien qui contienne avec un certain détail les observations sur lesquelles ont été fondées, et successivement améliorées, les théories qu'ils nous ont déjà expliquées : jusques là il me semble impossible d'assurer que tous les doutes soient levés. Ce vœu sera-t-il jamais réalisé ? J'en doute. Ce n'est que dans ces derniers qu'on a publié des recueils d'observations. Les Grecs eux-mêmes ne nous en ont transmis qu'un petit nombre, les Arabes en ont été tout aussi sobres. L'air de mystère que les Egyptiens et les Indiens ont toujours affecté dans tout ce qui regarde l'astronomie, me fait croire que nous n'avons plus rien à apprendre d'eux."

" Agréez l'assurance, &c.

" DELAMBRE."

" Le Mémoire sur* l'Astronomie des Indiens est clair et intéressant ; on y trouve un extrait impartial de tout ce qui a été écrit sur cette question, pour ou contre, dans les Mémoires de Calcutta, dans l'Astronomie Indienne de Bailly, dans l'Exposition du Système du Monde par M. le Comte La Place, et enfin par Mr. Playfair dans les Mémoires d'Edimbourg. J'ai toujours pensé, comme l'auteur, que l'astronomie est fort ancienne dans l'Inde ; qu'il est peu vraisemblable que les Indiens aient été instruits par les Arabes ou par les Grecs, et moins encore par les Européens plus modernes. J'ai écrit que c'est à eux que nous devons l'arithmétique décimale et les plus anciennes tables de sinus.

" En rendant compte de la traduction Française des deux premiers volumes des Mémoires de Calcutta, dans la Connaissance des Temps de 1808, page 442 et suivantes, je disois que dans le 2nd volume Mr. Davis combattoit

* Chap. viij. pp. 1—83, of the present volume.

victorieusement l'assertion de Ducham, Bailly, et Le Gentil, qui prétendoient que les Indiens ont, pour calculer les éclipses, des méthodes qu'ils suivent sans y rien entendre ; que j'avois revu tous les calculs avec attention, et que leur doctrine, telle qu'elle est exposée par Mr. Davis d'après le Souria-Siddanta, a toute la clarté que comporte la matière ; que quelques calculateurs peuvent opérer par routine, mais que les principes n'étoient pas perdus, et qu'ils peuvent être entendus et jugés par tous ceux qui connoissent la langue. Sur la table des sinus, je montrais comment les Indiens les avoient calculés par deux méthodes différentes que je ramenois à nos formules. L'une de ces méthodes est directe ; elle est fondée sur des théorèmes qui peuvent donner tous les sinus de $3^{\circ} 45'$ en $3^{\circ} 45'$, mais qui ne peuvent donner que ceux-là. C'est la raison pour laquelle la table Indienne ne contient que 24 sinus. Ces théorèmes étoient également connus des Grecs qui avoient trouvé pour les cordes l'équivalent de ce que nous avons pour les sinus.

“ L'autre méthode est encore plus curieuse ; elle montre que les Indiens savoient calculer les différences secondes des sinus, connoissance qu'on chercheroit inutilement chez les Grecs, et même chez les modernes jusqu'à Briggs,* qui dans la préface de ses tables trigonométriques, est arrivé au même théorème que les Indiens, et qui comme eux paroît avoir trouvé par le fait la constante de l'expression de la seconde différence. Comme les Indiens, il ignoroit que cette constante est le carré de la corde de l'intervalle suivant lequel procède la table. Pour les Indiens c'est le carré de la corde de l'arc de $3^{\circ} 45'$ ou 0,0042821, ou bien $\frac{x}{233.53}$. Avec ce facteur constant,

* Henry Briggs, Savilian professor of geometry at Oxford. He died there, January, 1630.

qu'il suffit de multiplier par le dernier sinus trouvé, on aura successivement toutes les différences secondes qui serviront à trouver les différences premières, lesquelles à leur tour donneront les sinus. Tout le problème de la construction de la table se réduit donc à trouver le premier sinus, qui est aussi la première des différences premières; pour cela j'indique un procédé rigoureux que je compare à celui de l'auteur Indien, lequel se trouve d'une exactitude suffisante. Je construis donc la table toute entière, et je montre qu'elle est parfaitement d'accord avec la table Indienne.

“ Au lieu du diviseur 233.53, il paroît que Mr. Davis a par mégarde écrit 255, qui est le premier sinus et la première des premières différences. Cette faute de copie m'avoit d'abord empêché de sentir la justesse et le mérite de la méthode.

“ Quand je trouvai cette méthode pour calculer nos tables de sinus pour la division décimale du cercle, j'ignorois qu'elle eut été mise en pratique par les Indiens plusieurs siècles auparavant; mais je l'ai présentée d'une manière plus claire et plus rigoureuse.

“ Leur théorie pour calculer les tables d'équation du centre, étoit incomplète et inexacte. Quoiqu'ils se servissent d'épicycles, ainsi que les Grecs, ce calcul étoit chez eux moins géométrique et moins juste que celui de Ptolomée. De 90° à 180° ils faisoient revenir en ordre inverse les équations des 90 premiers degrés. A cet égard les Grecs étoient plus avancés que les Hindous; leur trigonométrie étoit moins incomplète, quoique celle des Hindous ressemble plus à la nôtre. On voit que les Hindous savoient que les différences premières de l'équation sont proportionnelles au sinus de l'anomalie, ou ce qui revient à peu-près au même, que les différences premières des sinus sont comme les cosinus.

“ Quant à l'antiquité du Souria-Siddanta, je ne me permettois pas d'avoir un avis. Un savant Anglais, qui lui avoit d'abord donné 3840 ans d'antiquité, a depuis reconnu qu'il devoit être de l'an 1268 de notre ère.

“ A ne considérer que la forme des tables, leurs idées sur la précession des équinoxes, leur obliquité et leur théorie des éclipses, on croiroit les auteurs des livres Hindous plus anciens que l'école d'Alexandrie. D'un autre côté, en leur voyant des connoissances qu'on ne trouve pas chez les Grecs, on seroit tenté de les croire plus modernes. Tout ce qu'ils ont de commun, c'est le système des épicycles pour les planètes, mais moins parfait que celui des Grecs; d'où l'on pourroit conjecturer que la doctrine des Indiens a passé en Grèce, où elle s'est étendue et perfectionnée: il paroît moins naturel de penser que les Hindous aient reçu des Grecs, par l'entremise des Arabes, des théories qu'on ne trouve chez eux qu'incomplètes et défigurées.

“ Telle est en substance mon opinion; telle que je la publiais en Mai, 1806. Ce que j'ai lu depuis sur la même question, n'a pas levé mes doutes.

“ Mr. La Place, qui avoit quelque intérêt à soutenir la grande ancienneté de l'astronomie Indienne, et qui avoit d'abord parlé des mouvemens moyens et des époques des Hindous de la manière la plus avantageuse, a fini pourtant comme le savant Anglais par croire et imprimer que leurs tables ne remontent pas au-delà du 13me siècle. Mr. Playfair, en répondant à l'objection de Mr. de La Place, ne la détruit pas. Peu importe que Bailly ait affirmé plus ou moins directement et positivement la conjonction générale des planètes, qui a déterminé l'époque; ce qu'il falloit éclaircir est un fait. Les tables indiquent-elles en effet cette conjonction, l'époque alors est fictive, et l'astronomie Indienne est beaucoup plus moderne. Les

tables n'indiquent-elles pas cette conjonction, alors l'objection de M. de La Place tombe d'elle-même. C'est ce que ne dit pas Mr. Playfair, et c'est ce que je n'ai pas le tems de vérifier. Mais quand même l'objection seroit sans force, il resteroit bien d'autres difficultés. Ce ne sont pas quelques rencontres heureuses parmi une foule de calculs erronés ou incohérens, qui suffiroient pour prouver l'antiquité de l'astronomie Indienne. La forme mystérieuse de leurs tables et de leurs méthodes, suffiroit pour donner des soupçons sur leur véracité. C'est une question qui probablement ne sera jamais décidée, et qui ne pourroit l'être que par de nouvelles découvertes dans les écrits des Hindous, et par un traité beaucoup plus gros et moins amusant que celui de Bailly. Tout ce qu'on peut dire pour le présent, a été dit ou peu s'en faut. L'auteur du mémoire l'a présenté avec beaucoup de lucidité, d'intérêt et de fidélité. La lecture de son écrit est attachante; j'en dis autant des notes, où j'ai trouvé des détails curieux sur le calendrier et sur les monumens des Hindous."

" DELAMBRE."

Paris, 21 Juillet, 1814.

NOTE E.

(Referred to, p. 132, of this volume.)

On some Practices peculiar to the Hindūs.

IN India, as in other countries, we find practices peculiar to particular places, or certain families; but which being confined to these, must not be confounded with the character, manners, and customs of the people at large, but

ought to be considered as extraneous and apart from these. Particular attention should therefore be had to distinguish what is local or partial from what is general.

In the article of the Asiatic Researches referred to above, it is allowed that some cruel practices which are mentioned, very rarely happen; and when they occur they seem to excite as great horror among the natives as Europeans. One of these is termed *Setting up the Koor*.^{*} It consists in erecting a circular pile of wood, on which a cow or an old woman is placed. The reason of chusing a cow, it being a sacred animal, may be understood; but chusing a poor old woman as its substitute, is not so easily comprehended. The intention of the measure is to procure compliance by fear, with what has been refused to entreaty; for if fire be set to the pile, and the woman or cow perish, inevitable mischief, it is supposed, will be the consequence to those, whose refusal to what was required had occasioned the measure to be resorted to. Only one instance of *setting up the Koor* had ever come to the knowledge of the author of the article. It happened in 1788. Every thing was prepared for execution: an old woman had already mounted the pile, when the European superintendent of the district, being apprized of what was doing, prevented its accomplishment. But the old lady, who had been thus rescued from death, so far from complaining of what had been done, peremptorily refused to appear to give evidence against the offender, threatening to destroy herself should any compulsion be used to make her do so.

Nothing certainly can be more monstrous than this and some other practices which are mentioned, or more absurd

* See Asiatic Researches, vol. iv. p. 357, et seq.

than their pretended effects; but in opposition to these, let us place the scandalous excesses that were produced in our own country, even not many years ago, by the belief in witchcraft, and the notion that still prevails in the Highlands of Scotland, of certain persons, and even whole families, possessing hereditarily what is termed *Second Sight*, meaning, the power of looking into futurity, and of knowing events happening at the instant, at places the most remote from them. It is a practice but too frequent among travellers, to form a judgment respecting the characters of nations from partial circumstances, or things with which they occasionally meet. Those who are better informed, may smile at their conclusions, but the majority of readers are exposed to be led into error by them. Though in the works of some of the early travellers and missionaries in India much curious information is to be found, yet we see almost all of them persuaded that the Brahmins practised magic, and that many of the jugglers' tricks were supernatural, and performed by infernal aid.

That the Brahmin should sometimes artfully make use of his inviolability for purposes of self-interest, may easily be supposed; and we agree with the author of the article in the Researches above quoted, that this may probably have given rise to what is called the *Dherna*, though it is now practised by others as well as Brahmins. The *Dherna* in respect to its intention is similar to the *Koor*. To obtain what is wanted, the claimant sits down before the door of the debtor, and, armed with a poniard, or having poison in his hand, threatens to destroy himself should any one attempt to enter or go out of the house; the fear of causing the death of the claimant, and especially of a Brahmin, effectually deters any one from passing him,

and almost always procures satisfaction to be granted. But the usual way, and especially with persons of other casts, is to sit down and declare their resolution neither to quit the spot, nor to eat or drink, until the demand be complied with.

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* * * *The Roman numerals refer to the volumes ; the Arabic figures, to the pages of each volume.*

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ERRATA.

- Vol. i. p. 174, line 21 *note*, for procession, read precession.
Vol. ii. p. 105, line 18, for spaces, read paces.
p. 256, line 6, for by another, read another by.