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Author of "Buddhist Records of the Western World," "The Romantic Legend of Sakya Buddha," &c.

When the Pilgrim Hiuén Tsiang returned from his travels in India, he took up his abode in the Temple of "Great Benevolence;" this convent had been constructed by the Emperor in honour of the Empress, Wen-te-hau. After Hiuén Tsiang's death, his disciple, Hwui Li, composed a work which gave an account of his illustrious Master's travels; this work when he completed he buried, and refused to discover its place of concealment. But previous to his death he revealed its whereabouts to Yen-tsung, by whom it was finally revised and published. This is "The Life of Hiuén Tsiang." It is a valuable sequel to the Si-yu-ki, correcting and illustrating it in many particulars.

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By R. N. CUST, LL.D.

Author of "Modern Languages of the East," "Modern Languages of Africa," &c.

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216
An English Edition, with Notes and Indices.

BY

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Oriental Languages; Member of the Royal Academy of Berlin, and
Corresponding Member of the Imperial Academy of Vienna;
Honorary Member of the Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, London,
and of the American Oriental Society, Cambridge, U.S.A.

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TO

CHARLES SCHEFER,

MEMBRE DE L'INSTITUT, PARIS,

AS

A HOMAGE BOTH TO

THE MAN AND THE SCHOLAR.



CSL

PREFACE.

I.

THE literary history of the East represents the court of King Maḥmūd at Ghazna, the leading monarch of Asiatic history between A.D. 997-1030, as having been a centre of literature, and of poetry in particular. There were four hundred poets chanting in his halls and gardens, at their head famous Unsuri, invested with the recently created dignity of a poet-laureate, who by his verdict opened the way to royal favour for rising talents; there was grand Firdausi, composing his heroic epos by the special orders of the king, with many more kindred spirits. Unfortunately history knows very little of all this, save the fact that Persian poets flocked together in Ghazna, trying their kasidas on the king, his ministers and generals. History paints Maḥmūd as a successful warrior, but ignores him as a Mæcenas. With the sole exception of the lucubrations of bombastic Utbi, all contemporary records, the *Makâmât* of Abû-Naṣr Mishkânî, the *Tabakât* of his secretary Baihaḳî, the chronicles of Mullâ Muḥammad Ghaznavî, Maḥmūd Warrâk, and others, have perished, or not yet come to light, and the attempts at a literary history dating from a time 300-400 years later, the so-called *Tadhkiras*, weigh very light in the scale of matter-of-fact examination, failing almost invariably whenever they are applied to for information on some detail of ancient Persian literature. However this may be, Unsuri, the pane-
Mahmūd and Firdausi.



gyrist, does not seem to have missed the sun of royal favour, whilst Firdausi, immortal Firdausi, had to fly in disguise to evade the doom of being trampled to death by elephants. Attracted by the rising fortune of the young emperor, he seems to have repaired to his court only a year after his enthronisation, i.e. A.D. 998. But when he had finished his *Shāhnāma*, and found himself disappointed in his hopes for reward, he flung at him his famous satire, and fled into peaceless exile (A.D. 1010).¹ In the case of the king *versus* the poet the king has lost. As long as Firdausi retains the place of honour accorded to him in the history of the world's mental achievements, the stigma will cling to the name of Mahmūd, that he who hoarded up perhaps more worldly treasures than were ever hoarded up, did not know how to honour a poet destined for immortality.

And how did the author of this work, as remarkable among the prose compositions of the East as the *Shāhnāma* in poetry, fare with the royal Mæcenas of Ghazna?

Mahmūd
and Alberuni.

Alberuni, or, as his compatriots called him, Abū Raihān, was born A.D. 973, in the territory of modern Khiva, then called Khwārizm, or Chorasmia in antiquity.² Early distinguishing himself in science and literature, he played a political part as councillor of the ruling prince of his native country of the Ma'mūni family. The counsels he gave do not seem always to have suited the plans of King Mahmūd at Ghazna, who was looking out for a pretext for interfering in the affairs of independent Khiva, although its rulers were his own near relatives. This pretext was furnished by a military *éménte*.

¹ Cf. J. Mohl, *Le Livre des Rois*, traduit, &c. Publié par Mme. Mohl, 1876, préface, pp. xl. *seq.*

² There is a reminiscence of his native country. I. 166, where he speaks of a kind of measure used in Khwārizm.



CSL

PREFACE.

ix

Mahmūd marched into the country, not without some fighting, established there one of his generals as provincial governor, and soon returned to Ghazna with much booty and a great part of the Khiva troops, together with the princes of the deposed family of Ma'mūn and the leading men of the country as prisoners of war or as hostages. Among the last was Abū-Raiḥān Muḥammad Ibn Ahmad Alberuni.

This happened in the spring and summer of A.D. 1017. The Chorasmian princes were sent to distant fortresses as prisoners of state, the Chorasmian soldiers were incorporated in Mahmūd's Indian army; and Alberuni—what treatment did *he* experience at Ghazna? From the very outset it is not likely that both the king and his chancellor, Ahmad Ibn Hasan Maimandi, should have accorded special favours to a man whom they knew to have been their political antagonist for years. The latter, the same man who had been the cause of the tragic catastrophe in the life of Firdausi, was in office under Mahmūd from A.D. 1007–1025, and a second time under his son and successor, Mas'ūd, from 1030–1033. There is nothing to tell us that Alberuni was ever in the service of the state or court in Ghazna. A friend of his and companion of his exile, the Christian philosopher and physician from Bagdad, Abulkhair Alkhammār, seems to have practised in Ghazna his medical profession. Alberuni probably enjoyed the reputation of a great *munajjim*, i.e. astrologer-astronomer, and perhaps it was in this quality that he had relations to the court and its head, as Tycho de Brahe to the Emperor Rudolf. When writing the *Indiā*, thirteen years after his involuntary immigration to Afghanistan, he was a master of astrology, both according to the Greek and the Hindu system, and indeed Eastern writers of later centuries seem to consider him as having been the court astrologer of King Mahmūd. In a book written five hundred years later (v. *Chresto-*



PREFACE.

mathic Persane, &c., par Ch. Schefer, Paris, 1883, i. p. 107 of the Persian text), there is a story of a practical joke which Mahmūd played on Alberuni as an astrologer. Whether this be historic truth or a late invention, anyhow the story does not throw much light on the author's situation in a period of his life which is the most interesting to us, that one, namely, when he commenced to study India, Sanskrit and Sanskrit literature.

Historic tradition failing us, we are reduced to a single source of information—the author's work—and must examine to what degree his personal relations are indicated by his own words. When he wrote, King Mahmūd had been dead only a few weeks. *Le roi est mort*—but to whom was *Vive le roi* to be addressed?

Two heirs claimed the throne, Muḥammad and Maṣ'ūd, and were marching against each other to settle their claims by the sword. Under these circumstances it comes out as a characteristic fact that the book has no dedication whatever, either to the memory of Mahmūd, or to one of the rival princes, or to any of the indifferent or non-political princes of the royal house. As a cautious politician, he awaited the issue of the contest; but when the dice had been thrown, and Maṣ'ūd was firmly established on the throne of his father, he at once hastened to dedicate to him the greatest work of his life, the *Canon Masudicus*. If he had been affected by any feeling of sincere gratitude, he might have erected in the *Ṭyḍiká* a monument to the memory of the dead king, under whose rule he had made the necessary preparatory studies, and might have praised him as the great propagator of Islam, without probably incurring any risk. He has not done so, and the terms in which he speaks of Mahmūd throughout his book are not such as a man would use when speaking of a deceased person who had been his benefactor.

He is called simply *The Amīr Mahmūd*, ii. 13 (Arabic



text, p. 208, 9), *The Amīr Mahmūd, may God's mercy be with him*, i. 116 (text, p. 56, 8), *The Amīr Mahmūd, may the grace of God be with him*, ii. 103 (text, p. 252, 11). The title *Amīr* was nothing very complimentary. It had been borne by his ancestors when they were simply generals and provincial governors in the service of the Sāmāni king of Transoxiana and Khurasan. Speaking of Mahmūd and his father Sabuktāgin, the author says, *Yamīn-aldaula Mahmūd, may God's mercy be with them*, i. 22 (text, p. 11, 9). He had received the title *Yamīn-aldaula*, i.e. *The right hand of the dynasty* (of the Khalif), from the Khalif, as a recognition of the legitimacy of his rule, resembling the investiture of the German Emperor by the Pope in the Middle Ages. Lastly, we find at ii. 2 (text, p. 203, 20) the following terms: "*The strongest of the pillars (of Islam), the pattern of a Sultan, Mahmūd, the lion of the world and the rarity of the age, may God's mercy be with him.*"

Whoever knows the style of Oriental authors when speaking of crowned heads, the style of their prefaces, which attains the height of absurdity at the court of the Moghul emperors at Delhi, will agree with me that the manner in which the author mentions the dead king is cold, cold in the extreme; that the words of praise bestowed upon him are meagre and stiff, a poor sort of praise for a man who had been the first man in Islam, and the founder of Islam in India; lastly, that the phrases of benediction which are appended to his name, according to a general custom of Islam, are the same as the author would have employed when speaking of any acquaintance of his in common life who had died. He says of Mahmūd (i. 22): "He utterly ruined the prosperity of the country (of India), and performed those wonderful exploits by which the Hindus became like atoms of dust scattered in all directions, and like a tale of old in the mouth of the people." To criticise these words from a Muslim point of view, the passage of



the ruining of the prosperity of the country was perfectly out of place in the glorification of a Ghâzi like Mahmûd.

That it was not at all against the moral principles of Alberuni to write such dedications to princes is shown by two other publications of his, with dedications which exhibit the customary Byzantinism of the time. In the preface of the "Chronology of Ancient Nations" (translated, &c., by Edward Sachau, London, 1879), he extols with abundant praise the prince of Hyrcania or Jurjân, Shams-alma'âlî, who was a dwarf by the side of giant Mahmûd. The studied character of the neglect of Mahmûd in the *Ἰνδικά* comes out more strongly if we compare the unmerited praise which Alberuni lavishes upon his son and successor. The preface of his *Canon Masudicus* is a farrago of high-sounding words in honour of King Mas'ûd, who was a drunkard, and lost in less than a decennium most of what his father's sword and policy had gained in thirty-three years. The tenor of this preface, taken from the manuscript of the Royal Library in Berlin, is as follows:—

To those who lead the community of the believers in the place of the Prophet and by the help of the Word of God belongs "the king, the lord majestic and venerated, the helper of the representative of God, the furtherer of the law of God, the protector of the slaves of God, who punishes the enemies of God, Abû-Sa'îd Mas'ûd Ibn Yamîn-aldaula and 'Amin-almilla Mahmûd--may God give him a long life, and let him perpetually rise to glorious and memorable deeds. For a confirmation of what we here say of him lies in the fact that God, on considering the matter, restored the right (*i.e.* the right of being ruled by Mas'ûd) to his people, after it had been concealed. God brought it to light. After he had been in distress, God helped him. After he had been rejected, God raised him, and brought him the empire and the rule, after people from all sides had tried to get posses-



sion of it, speaking: 'How should he come to rule over us, as we have a better right to the rule than he?' But then they received (from God) an answer in the event (lit. sign) which followed. God carried out His promise relating to him (Mas'ûd), giving him the inheritance without his asking for it, as He gave the inheritance of David to Solomon without reserve. (That is, the dead King Mahmûd had proclaimed as his successor his son Muhammad, not Mas'ûd, but the latter contested the will of his father, and in the following contest with his brother he was the winner.) If God had not chosen him, the hearts of men would not have been gained (?) for him, and the intrigues of his enemies would not have missed their aim. In short, the souls of men hastened to meet him in order to live under his shadow. The order of God was an act of predestination, and his becoming king was written in the Book of Books in heaven (from all eternity).

"He—may God make his rule everlasting!—has conferred upon me a favour which was a high distinction to me, and has placed me under the obligation of everlasting gratitude. For although a benefactor may dispense with the thank-offerings for his deeds, &c., a sound heart inspires those who receive them with the fear that they might be lost (to general notice), and lays upon them the obligation of spreading them and making them known in the world. But already, before I received this favour, I shared with the inhabitants of all his countries the blessings of his rule, of peace and justice. However, then the *special service* (towards his Majesty) became incumbent upon me, after (until that time) obeying in general (his Majesty) had been incumbent on me. (This means, probably, that Mas'ûd conferred a special benefit (a pension?) on the author, not immediately after he had come to the throne, but some time later.) Is it not he who has enabled me for the rest of my life (Alberuni was then sixty-one years



old) to devote myself entirely to the service of science, as he let me dwell under the shadow of his power and let the cloud of his favour rain on me, always personally distinguishing and befriending me, &c.? And with regard to this (the favour conferred upon me), he has deigned to send his orders to the treasury and the ministry, which certainly is the utmost that kings can do for their subjects. May God Almighty reward him both in this and in yonder world," &c.

Thereupon, finding that his Majesty did not require his actual service, and besides, finding that science stood in the highest favour with him, he composes a book on astronomy, to which he had been addicted all his life, and adorns it with the name of his Majesty, calling it *Canon Masudicus (Alkânân Almasûdî)*, &c.

To put the phrases of this preface into plain language, the author was in favour with King Mas'ûd; he had access to the court—living, probably, near it—and received an income which enabled him to devote himself entirely to his scientific work. Besides, all this appears as a new state of things, the reverse of which had been the case under the king's predecessor, his father, Mahmûd. We do not know the year in which this change in the life of Alberuni was brought about. Perhaps it was in some way connected with the fact that the chancellor, Maimandî, died A.D. 1033, and that after him one Abû-Nasr Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn 'Abduşşamad became chancellor, who before, *i.e.* from 1017 to 1033, had administered Khwarizm, the native country of Alberuni. He and Maimandî had been political antagonists—not so he and 'Abduşşamad.

The difference of the author's condition, as it appears to have been under Mas'ûd, from what it was under Mahmûd when he prepared the *Indica*, is further illustrated by certain passages in the book itself. When speaking of the difficulties with which he had to grapple in his efforts to learn everything about India, he con-



tinues: "What scholar, however, has the same favourable opportunities of studying this subject as I have? That would be only the case with one to whom the grace of God accords, what it did not accord to me, a perfectly free disposal of his own doings and goings; for it has never fallen to my lot in my own doings and goings to be perfectly independent, nor to be invested with sufficient power to dispose and to order as I thought best. However, I thank God for that which He has bestowed upon me, and which must be considered as sufficient for the purpose" (i. 24). These lines seem to say that the author, both at Ghazna and in India, at Multân, Peshâvar, &c., had the opportunity of conversing with pandits, of procuring their help, and of buying books; that, however, in other directions he was not his own master, but had to obey a higher will; and lastly, that he was not a man in authority.

In another place (i. 152) he explains that art and science require the protection of kings. "For they alone could free the minds of scholars from the daily anxieties for the necessities of life, and stimulate their energies to earn more fame and favour, the yearning for which is the pith and marrow of human nature. The present times, however, are not of this kind. They are the very opposite, and therefore it is quite impossible that a new science or any new kind of research should arise in our days. What we have of sciences is nothing but the scanty remains of bygone better times." Compare with this a dictum quoted (i. 183): "The scholars are well aware of the use of money, but the rich are ignorant of the nobility of science."

These are not the words of an author who basks in the sunshine of royal protection. The time he speaks of is the time of Mahmûd, and it is Mahmûd whom he accuses of having failed in the duties of a protector of art and science imposed upon him by his royal office. Firdausî, in his satire (Mohl, i. préf. p. xlv.), calls



him "*un roi qui n'a ni foi ni loi ni manières*" (*royales*); and he says: "*Si le roi avait été un homme digne de renom, il aurait honoré le savoir,*" &c. It is most remarkable to what degree Firdausi and Alberuni agree in their judgment of the king. To neither of them had he been a Mæcenas.

In the absence of positive information, we have tried to form a chain of combinations from which we may infer, with a tolerable degree of certainty, that our author, during the thirteen years of his life from 1017 to 1030, after he had been carried from his native country to the centre of Mahmûd's realm, did not enjoy the favours of the king and his leading men; that he stayed in different parts of India (as a companion of the princes of his native country?), probably in the character of a hostage or political prisoner kept on honourable terms; that he spent his leisure in the study of India; and that he had no official inducement or encouragement for this study, nor any hope of royal reward.

A radical change in all this takes place with the accession of Mas'ûd. There is no more complaint of the time and its ruler. Alberuni is all glee and exultation about the royal favours and support accorded to him and to his studies. He now wrote the greatest work of his life,¹ and with a swelling heart and overflowing words he proclaims in the preface the praise of his benefactor. Living in Ghazna, he seems to have forgotten India to a great extent. For in the *Canon Masudicus* he rarely refers to India; its chapter on Hindu eras does not prove any progress of his studies beyond that which he exhibits in the *Indikâ*, and at the end of it he is even capable of confounding the era

¹ The *Canon Masudicus*, extant in four good copies in European libraries, waits for the patronage of some Academy of Sciences or some Government, and for the combination of two scholars, an astronomer and an Arabic philologist, for the purpose of an edition and translation.



of the astronomers, as used in the *Khaṇḍakhādya* of Brahmagupta, with the Gupta-kāla.

If the author and his countrymen had suffered and were still suffering from the oppression of King Mahmūd, the Hindus were in the same position, and perhaps it was this community of mishap which inspired him with sympathy for them. And certainly the Hindus and their world of thought have a paramount, fascinating interest for him, and he inquires with the greatest predilection into every Indian subject, howsoever heathenish it may be, as though he were treating of the most important questions for the souls of Muhammadans,—of free-will and predestination, of future reward and punishment, of the creation or eternity of the Word of God, &c. To Mahmūd the Hindus were infidels, to be dispatched to hell as soon as they refused to be plundered. To go on expeditions and to fill the treasury with gold, not to make lasting conquests of territories, was the real object of his famous expeditions; and it was with this view that he cut his way through enormous distances to the richest temples of India at Tanêshar, Mathurâ, Kanoj, and Somanâth.

The author's
interest in
India.

To Alberuni the Hindus were excellent philosophers, good mathematicians and astronomers, though he naively believes himself to be superior to them, and disdains to be put on a level with them (i. 23).¹ He does not conceal whatever he considers wrong and unpractical with them, but he duly appreciates their mental achievements, takes the greatest pains to appropriate them to himself, even such as could not be of any use to him or to his readers, *e.g.* Sanskrit metrics; and whenever he hits upon something that is noble and grand both in science and in practical life, he never fails to lay it before his readers with warm-hearted words of approbation. Speaking of the construction of the ponds at holy bathing-places, he says: "In this

¹ For a similar trait of self-confidence cf. i. 277, last lines.



they have attained a very high degree of art, so that our people (the Muslims), when they see them, wonder at them, and are unable to describe them, much less to construct anything like them" (ii. 144).

Apparently Alberuni felt a strong inclination towards Indian philosophy. He seems to have thought that the philosophers both in ancient Greece and India, whom he most carefully and repeatedly distinguishes from the ignorant, image-loving crowd, held in reality the very same ideas, the same as seem to have been his own, *i.e.* those of a pure monotheism; that, in fact, originally all men were alike pure and virtuous, worshipping one sole Almighty God, but that the dark passions of the crowd in the course of time had given rise to the difference of religion, of philosophical and political persuasions, and of idolatry. "The first cause of idolatry was the desire of commemorating the dead and of consoling the living; but on this basis it has developed, and has finally become a foul and pernicious abuse" (i. 124).

He seems to have revelled in the pure theories of the *Bhagavadgītā*, and it deserves to be noticed that he twice mentions the saying of Vyâsa, "Learn twenty-five (*i.e.*, the elements of existence) by distinctions, &c. Afterwards adhere to whatever religion you like; your end will be salvation" (i. 44, and also i. 104). In one case he even goes so far as to speak of Hindu scholars as "*enjoying the help of God*," which to a Muslim means as much as *inspired by God, guided by divine inspiration* (ii. 108). These words are an addition of the author's in his paraphrase of the *Bṛihatsamhitā* of Varāhamihira, v. 8. There can be scarcely any doubt that Muslims of later times would have found fault with him for going to such length in his interest for those heathenish doctrines, and it is a singular fact that Alberuni wrote under a prince who burned and impaled the Karmatians (*cf.* note to i. 31).

Still he was a Muslim; whether Sunni or Shi'a



cannot be gathered from the *Ἰνδικά*. He sometimes takes an occasion for pointing out to the reader the superiority of Islam over Brahmanic India. He contrasts the democratic equality of men with the castes of India, the matrimonial law of Islam with degraded forms of it in India, the cleanliness and decency of Muslims with filthy customs of the Hindus. With all this, his recognition of Islam is not without a tacit reserve. He dares not attack Islam, but he attacks the Arabs. In his work on chronology he reproaches the ancient Muslims with having destroyed the civilisation of Eran, and gives us to understand that the ancient Arabs were certainly nothing better than the Zoroastrian Eranians. So too in the *Ἰνδικά*, whenever he speaks of a dark side in Hindu life, he at once turns round sharply to compare the manners of the ancient Arabs, and to declare that they were quite as bad, if not worse. This could only be meant as a hint to the Muslim reader not to be too haughty towards the poor bewildered Hindu, trodden down by the savage hordes of King Mahmūd, and not to forget that the founders of Islam, too, were certainly no angels.

Independent in his thoughts about religion and philosophy, he is a friend of clear, determined, and manly words. He abhors half-truths, veiled words, and wavering action. Everywhere he comes forward as a champion of his conviction with the courage of a man. As in religion and philosophy, so too in politics. There are some remarkable sentences of political philosophy in the introductions to chapters ix. and lxxi. As a politician of a highly conservative stamp, he stands up for throne and altar, and declares that "their union represents the highest development of human society, all that men can possibly desire" (i. 99). He is capable of admiring the mildness of the law of the Gospel: "To offer to him who has beaten your cheek the other cheek also, to bless your enemy and to pray for him. Upon

The author's character.



my life, this is a noble philosophy; but the people of this world are not all philosophers. Most of them are ignorant and erring, who cannot be kept on the straight road save by the sword and the whip. And, indeed, ever since Constantine the Victorious became a Christian, both sword and whip have ever been employed, for without them it would be impossible to rule" (ii. 161). Although a scholar by profession, he is capable of taking the practical side of a case, and he applauds the Khalif Mu'aviya for having sold the golden gods of Sicily to the princes of Sindh for money's worth, instead of destroying them as heathen abominations, as bigoted Muslims would probably have liked him to do. His preaching the union of throne and altar does not prevent him from speaking with undisguised contempt of the "preconcerted tricks of the priests" having the purpose of enthralling the ignorant crowd (i. 123).

He is a stern judge both of himself and of others. Himself perfectly sincere, it is sincerity which he demands from others. Whenever he does not fully understand a subject, or only knows part of it, he will at once tell the reader so, either asking the reader's pardon for his ignorance, or promising, though a man of fifty-eight years, to continue his labours and to publish their results in time, as though he were acting under a moral responsibility to the public. He always sharply draws the limits of his knowledge; and although he has only a smattering of the metrical system of the Hindus, he communicates whatever little he knows, guided by the principle that the best must not be the enemy of the better (i. 200, 6-9), as though he were afraid that he should not live long enough to finish the study in question. He is not a friend of those who "hate to avow their ignorance by a frank *I do not know*" (i. 177), and he is roused to strong indignation whenever he meets with want of sincerity. If Brahma-gupta teaches two theories of the eclipses, the popular



one of the dragon Rāhu's devouring the luminous body, and the scientific one, he certainly committed the sin against conscience from undue concessions to the priests of the nation, and from fear of a fate like that which befell Socrates when he came into collision with the persuasions of the majority of his countrymen. Cf. chapter lix. In another place he accuses Brahmagupta of injustice and rudeness to his predecessor, Āryabhata (i. 376). He finds in the works of Varāhamihira by the side of honest scientific work sentences which sound to him "*like the ravings of a madman*" (ii. 117), but he is kind enough to suggest that behind those passages there is perhaps an esoteric meaning, unknown to him, but more to the credit of the author. When, however, Varāhamihira seems to exceed all limits of common sense, Alberuni thinks that "*to such things silence is the only proper answer*" (ii. 114).

His professional zeal, and the principle that *learning is the fruit of repetition* (ii. 198), sometimes induce him to indulge in repetitions, and his thorough honesty sometimes misleads him to use harsh and even rude words. He cordially hates the verbosity of Indian authors or versifiers,¹ who use lots of words where a single one would be sufficient. He calls it "mere nonsense—a means of keeping people in the dark and throwing an air of mystery about the subject. And in any case this copiousness (of words denoting the same thing) offers painful difficulties to those who want to learn the whole language, and only results in a sheer waste of time" (i. 229, 299, 19). He twice explains the origin of the Dīvajāt, i.e. Maledives and Laccadives (i. 233; ii. 106); twice the configuration of the borders of the Indian Ocean (i. 197, 270).

Whenever he suspects humbug, he is not backward in calling it by the right name. Thinking of the horrid practices of Rasāyana, i.e. the art of making gold, of

¹ Cf. his sarcasms on the versifying bias of Hindu authors, i. 137.



making old people young, &c., he bursts out into sarcastic words which are more coarse in the original than in my translation (i. 189). In eloquent words he utters his indignation on the same subject (i. 193): "The greediness of the ignorant Hindu princes for gold-making does not know any limit," &c. There is a spark of grim humour in his words on i. 237, where he criticises the cosmographic ravings of a Hindu author: "We, on our part, found it already troublesome enough to enumerate all the seven seas, together with the seven earths, and now this author thinks he can make the subject more easy and pleasant to us by inventing some more earths below those already enumerated by ourselves!" And when jugglers from Kanoj lectured to him on chronology, the stern scholar seems to have been moved to something like a grin. "I used great care in examining every single one of them, in repeating the same questions at different times in a different order and context. But lo! what different answers did I get! God is all-wise" (ii. 129).

The tendency of his work.

In the opening of his book Alberuni gives an account of the circumstances which suggested to him the idea of writing the *Indica*. Once the conversation with a friend of his, else unknown, ran on the then existing literature on the history of religion and philosophy, its merits and demerits. When, in particular, the literature on the belief of the Hindus came to be criticised, Alberuni maintained that all of it was second-hand and thoroughly uncritical. To verify the matter, his friend once more examines the books in question, which results in his agreeing with our author, and his asking him to fill up this gap in the Arabic literature of the time. The book he has produced is not a polemical one. He will not convert the Hindus, nor lend a direct help to missionary zealots. He will simply describe Hinduism, without identifying himself with it. He takes care to inform the reader that *he* is not respon-



sible for whatsoever repugnant detail he has to relate, but the Hindus themselves. He gives a repertory of information on Indian subjects, destined for the use of those who lived in peaceable intercourse with them, and wished to have an insight into their mode and world of thought (i. 7; ii. 246).

The author has nothing in common with the Muhammadan Ghâzi who wanted to convert the Hindus or to kill them, and his book scarcely reminds the reader of the incessant war between Islam and India, during which it had been prepared, and by which the possibility of writing such a book had first been given. It is like a magic island of quiet, impartial research in the midst of a world of clashing swords, burning towns, and plundered temples. The object which the author had in view, and never for a moment lost sight of, was to afford the necessary information and training to "*any one (in Islam) who wants to converse with the Hindus, and to discuss with them questions of religion, science, or literature, on the very basis of their own civilisation*" (ii. 246).

It is difficult to say what kind of readers Alberuni had, or expected to have, not only for the *Indica*, but for all his other publications on Indian subjects. Probably educated, and not bigoted or fanatical Muslims in Sindh, or parts of the Panjab, where they were living by the side of Hindus and in daily intercourse with them; perhaps, also, or such in Kabul, the suburb of which had still a Hindu population in the second half of the tenth century, Ghazna, and other parts of Afghanistan. When speaking of the *Pulisa-siddhanta*, a standard work on astronomy, he says: "A translation of his (Pulisa's) whole work into Arabic has not hitherto yet been undertaken, because in his mathematical problems there is an evident religious and theological tendency"¹ (i. 375). He

The author
and his
readers.

¹ Alberuni does not seem to have shared these scruples, for he translated it into Arabic (cf. i. 154).



does not tell us what this particular tendency was to which the readers objected, but we learn so much from this note that in his time, and probably also in his neighbourhood, there were circles of educated men who had an interest in getting the scientific works of India translated into Arabic, who at the same time were sufficiently familiar with the subject-matter to criticise the various representations of the same subject, and to give the preference to one, to the exclusion of another. That our author had a certain public among Hindus seems to be indicated by the fact that he composed some publications for people in Kashmir; cf. preface to the edition of the text, p. xx. These relations to Kashmir are very difficult to understand, as Muslims had not yet conquered the country, nor entered it to any extent, and as the author himself (i. 206) relates that it was closed to intercourse with all strangers save a few Jews. Whatever the interest of Muslims for the literature of and on India may have been, we are under the impression that this kind of literature has never taken deep root; for after Alberuni's death, in A.D. 1048, there is no more original work in this field; and even Alberuni, when he wrote, was quite alone in the field. Enumerating the difficulties which beset his study of India, he says: "I found it very hard to work into the subject, although I have a great liking for it, *in which respect I stand alone in my time*," &c. (i. 24). And certainly we know of any Indianist like him, before his time or after.

The author's
method.

In general it is the method of our author not to speak himself, but to let the Hindus speak, giving extensive quotations from their classical authors. He presents a picture of Indian civilisation as painted by the Hindus themselves. Many chapters, not all, open with a short characteristic introduction of a general nature. The body of most chapters consists of three parts. The first is a *précis* of the question, as the author understands it.



PREFACE.

[1908]

The second part brings forward the doctrine of Alberuni Hindus, quotations from Sanskrit books in the material on religion, philosophy, astronomy, and astrology, and other kinds of information which had been communicated to him by word of mouth, or things which he had himself observed in the chapters on literature, historic chronology, geography, law, manners, and customs. In the third part he does the same as Megasthenes had already done; he tries to bring the sometimes very exotic subject nearer to the understanding of his readers by comparing it with the theories of ancient Greece, and by other comparisons. As an example of this kind of arrangement, *cf.* Chapter v. In the disposition of every single chapter, as well as in the sequence of the chapters, a perspicuous, well-considered plan is apparent. There is no patchwork nor anything superfluous, and the words fit to the subject as close as possible. We seem to recognise the professional mathematician in the perspicuity and classical order throughout the whole composition, and there was scarcely an occasion for him to excuse himself, as he does at the end of Chapter i. (i. 26), for not being able everywhere strictly to adhere to the geometrical method, as he was sometimes compelled to introduce an unknown factor, because the explanation could only be given in a later part of the book.

He does not blindly accept the traditions of former ages; he wants to understand and to criticise them. He wants to sift the wheat from the chaff, and he will discard everything that militates against the laws of nature and of reason. The reader will remember that Alberuni was also a physical scholar, and had published works on most departments of natural science, optics, mechanics, mineralogy, and chemistry; *cf.* his geological speculation on the indications of India once having been a sea (i. 198), and a characteristic specimen of his natural philosophy (i. 400). That he believed in the

The author's
critical
mind.



PREFACE.

the planets on the sublunary world I take for granted, though he nowhere says so. It would hardly be intelligible why he should have spent so much time and labour on the study of Greek and Indian astrology if he had not believed in the truth of the thing. He gives a sketch of Indian astrology in Chapter lxxx., because Muslim readers "are not acquainted with the Hindu methods of astrology, and have never had an opportunity of studying an Indian book" (ii. 211). Bardesanes, a Syrian philosopher and poet in the second half of the second Christian century, condemned astrology in plain and weighty words. Alberuni did not rise to this height, remaining entangled in the notions of Greek astrology.

He did not believe in alchemy, for he distinguishes between such of its practices as are of a chemical or mineralogical character, and such as are intentional deceit, which he condemns in the strongest possible terms (i. 187).

He criticises manuscript tradition like a modern philologist. He sometimes supposes the text to be corrupt, and inquires into the cause of the corruption; he discusses various readings, and proposes emendations. He guesses at *lacunæ*, criticises different translations, and complains of the carelessness and ignorance of the copyists (ii. 76; i. 162-163). He is aware that Indian works, badly translated and carelessly copied by the successive copyists, very soon degenerate to such a degree that an Indian author would hardly recognise his own work, if it were presented to him in such a garb. All these complaints are perfectly true, particularly as regards the proper names. That in his essays at emendation he sometimes went astray, that, *e.g.* he was not prepared fully to do justice to Brahmagupta, will readily be excused by the fact that at his time it was next to impossible to learn Sanskrit with a sufficient degree of accuracy and completeness.



CSL

PREFACE.

xxvii

When I drew the first sketch of the life of Alberuni ten years ago, I cherished the hope that more materials for his biography would come to light in the libraries of both the East and West. This has not been the case, so far as I am aware. To gain an estimate of his character we must try to read between the lines of his books, and to glean whatever minute indications may there be found. A picture of his character cannot therefore at the present be anything but very imperfect, and a detailed appreciation of his services in the advancement of science cannot be undertaken until all the numerous works of his pen have been studied and rendered accessible to the learned world. The principal domain of his work included astronomy, mathematics, chronology, mathematical geography, physics, chemistry, and mineralogy. By the side of this professional work he composed about twenty books on India, both translations and original compositions, and a number of tales and legends, mostly derived from the ancient lore of Eran and India. As probably most valuable contributions to the historic literature of the time, we must mention his history of his native country Khwârizm, and the history of the famous sect of the Karmatians, the loss of both of which is much to be deplored.

II.

The court of the Khalifs of the house of Omayya at Damascus does not seem to have been a home for literature. Except for the practical necessities of administration, they had no desire for the civilisation of Greece, Egypt, or Persia, their thoughts being engrossed by war and politics and the amassing of wealth. Probably they had a certain predilection for poetry common to all Arabs, but they did not think of encouraging historiography, much to their own disadvantage. In many ways these Arab princes, only recently emerged

On the ori-
gines of
Arabic
literature.



from the rocky wilderness of the Hijâz, and suddenly raised to imperial power, retained much of the great Bedouin Shaikh of the desert. Several of them, shunning Damascus, preferred to stay in the desert or on its border, and we may surmise that in their households at Rusâfa and Khunâsara there was scarcely more thought of literature than at present in the halls of Ibn Arrashid, the wily head of the Shammar at Hâil. The cradle of Arabic literature is not Damascus, but Bagdad, and the protection necessary for its rise and growth was afforded by the Khalifs of the house of Abbâs, whose Arab nature had been modified by the influence of Eranian civilisation during a long stay in Khurâsân.

The foundation of Arabic literature was laid between A.D. 750 and 850. It is only the tradition relating to their religion and prophet and poetry that is peculiar to the Arabs; everything else is of foreign descent. The development of a large literature, with numerous ramifications, is chiefly the work of foreigners, carried out with foreign materials, as in Rome the *origines* of the national literature mostly point to Greek sources. Greece, Persia, and India were taxed to help the sterility of the Arab mind.

What Greece has contributed by lending its Aristotle, Ptolemy, and Harpocrates is known in general. A detailed description of the influx and spread of Greek literature would mark a memorable progress in Oriental philology. Such a work may be undertaken with some chance of success by one who is familiar with the state of Greek literature at the centres of learning during the last centuries of Greek heathendom, although he would have to struggle against the lamentable fact that most Arabic books of this most ancient period are lost, and probably lost for ever.

Persian element in Arabic literature.

What did Persia, or rather the Sasanian empire, overrun by the Arab hordes, offer to its victors in literature?



25
CSL

PREFACE.

xxix

It left to the east of the Khalifate the language of administration, the use of which during the following centuries, till recent times, was probably never much discontinued. It was this Perso-Sasanian language of administration which passed into the use of the smaller Eastern dynasties, reared under the Abbaside Khalifs, and became the language of literature at the court of one of those dynasties, that of the Sāmāni kings of Transoxiana and Khurāsān. Thus it has come to pass that the dialect of one of the most western parts of Eran first emerged as the language of literature in its farthest east. In a similar way modern German is an offspring of the language used in the chanceries of the Luxembourg emperors of Germany.

The bulk of the narrative literature, tales, legends, novels, came to the Arabs in translations from the Persian, e.g. the "Thousand and One Nights," the stories told by the mouth of animals, like *Kalila and Dimna*, probably all of Buddhistic origin, portions of the national lore of Eran, taken from the *Khudāindama*, or Lord's Book, and afterwards immortalised by Firdausi; but more than anything else love-stories. All this was the fashion under the Abbaside Khalifs, and is said to have attained the height of popularity during the rule of Almuqtadir, A.D. 908-932. Besides, much favour was apparently bestowed upon didactic, parænetic compositions, mostly clothed in the garb of a testament of this or that Sasanian king or sage, e.g. Anushirvān and his minister Buzurjumihr, likewise upon collections of moralistic apothegms. All this was translated from Persian, or pretended to be so. Books on the science of war, the knowledge of weapons, the veterinary art, falconry, and the various methods of divination, and some books on medicine and *de rebus venereis*, were likewise borrowed from the Persians. It is noteworthy that, on the other hand, there are very few traces of the exact sciences, such as mathematics and astronomy, among the Sasanian Per-



sians. Either they had only little of this kind, or the Arabs did not choose to get it translated.

An author by the name of 'Alî Ibn Ziyâd Altamîni is said to have translated from Persian a book, *Zij-alshahriyâr*, which, to judge by the title, must have been a system of astronomy. It seems to have been extant when Alberuni wrote his work on chronology; *vide* "Chronology of Ancient Nations," translated, &c., by Edward Sachau, London, 1876, p. 6, and note p. 368. Perhaps it was from this source that the famous Alkhwârizmî drew his knowledge of Persian astronomy, which he is said to have exhibited in his extract from the *Brahmasiddhânta*, composed by order of the Khalif Ma'mûn. For we are expressly told (*vide* Gildemeister, *Scriptorum Arabum de rebus Indicis loci*, &c., p. 101) that he used the *media*, *i.e.* the mean places of the planets as fixed by Brahmagupta, whilst in other things he deviated from him, giving the equations of the planetary revolutions according to the theory of the *Persians*, and the declination of the sun according to Ptolemy. Of what kind this Persian astronomy was we do not know, but we must assume that it was of a scientific character, based on observation and computation, else Alkhwârizmî would not have introduced its results into his own work. Of the terminology of Arabian astronomy, the word *jauzahar* = Caput draconis, is probably of Sasanian origin (*gaocithra*), as well as the word *zîj* (= canon), *i.e.* a collection of astronomical tables with the necessary explanations, perhaps also *kardaj*, *kardaja*, a measure in geometry equal to $\frac{1}{16}$ th of the circumference of a circle, if it be identical with the Persian *karda*, *i.e.* cut.

Indian elements in Arabic literature.

What India has contributed reached Bagdad by two different roads. Part has come directly in translations from the Sanskrit, part has travelled through Eran, having originally been translated from Sanskrit (Pali? Prâkrit?) into Persian, and farther from Persian into



Arabic. In this way, *e.g.* the fables of *Kutla* and *Dimna* have been communicated to the Arabs, and a book on medicine, probably the famous *Caraka*. Cf. Fihrist, p. 303.

In this communication between India and Bagdad we must not only distinguish between two different roads, but also between two different periods.

As Sindh was under the actual rule of the Khalif Mansûr (A.D. 753-774), there came embassies from that part of India to Bagdad, and among them scholars, who brought along with them two books, the *Brahmasiddhânta* of Brahmagupta (Sindhind), and his *Khandakhadyaka* (Arkand). With the help of these pandits, Alfazâri, perhaps also Yakûb Ibn Târik, translated them. Both works have been largely used, and have exercised a great influence. It was on this occasion that the Arabs first became acquainted with a scientific system of astronomy. They learned from Brahmagupta earlier than from Ptolemy.

Another influx of Hindu learning took place under Harun, A.D. 786-808. The ministerial family Barmak, then at the zenith of their power, had come with the ruling dynasty from Balkh, where an ancestor of theirs had been an official in the Buddhist temple *Nanbehâr*, i.e. *nava vihâra* = the new temple (or monastery). The name Barmak is said to be of Indian descent, meaning *paramaka*, i.e. the superior (abbot of the *vihâra*?). Cf. Kern, *Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien*, ii. 445, 543. Of course, the Barmak family had been converted, but their contemporaries never thought much of their profession of Islam, nor regarded it as genuine. Induced probably by family traditions, they sent scholars to India, there to study medicine and pharmacology. Besides, they engaged Hindu scholars to come to Bagdad, made them the chief physicians of their hospitals, and ordered them to translate from Sanskrit into Arabic books on medicine, pharmacology, toxicology, philo-



sophy, astrology, and other subjects. Still in later centuries Muslim scholars sometimes travelled for the same purposes as the emissaries of the Barmak, e.g. Almuwaffak not long before Alberuni's time (*Codex Vindobonensis, sive medici Abu Mansur liber fundamentorum pharmacologicæ*, ed. Seligmann, Vienna, 1859, pp. 6, 10, and 15, 9).

Soon afterwards, when Sindh was no longer politically dependent upon Bagdad, all this intercourse ceased entirely. Arabic literature turned off into other channels. There is no more mention of the presence of Hindu scholars at Bagdad nor of translations of the Sanskrit. Greek learning had already won an omnipotent sway over the mind of the Arabs, being communicated to them by the labours of Nestorian physicians, the philosophers of Harrân, and Christian scholars in Syria and other parts of the Khalifate. Of the more ancient or Indo-Arabian stratum of scientific literature nothing has reached our time save a number of titles of books, many of them in such a corrupt form as to baffle all attempts at decipherment.

Among the Hindu physicians of this time one ابن دهن is mentioned, i.e. the son of DHN, director of the hospital of the Barmaks in Bagdad. This name may be *Dhanya* or *Dhanin*, chosen probably on account of its etymological relationship with the name *Dhanvantari*, the name of the mythical physician of the gods in Manu's law-book and the epos (cf. A. Weber, *Indische Literaturgeschichte*, pp. 284, 287). A similar relation seems to exist between the names *Kanka*, that of a physician of the same period, and *Kāṅkādyaṇa*, an authority in Indian medicine (cf. Weber, *l. c.*, pp. 287 note, and 284 note, 302).

The name اتری, that of an author of a book on drinkables, may be identical with *Atri*, mentioned as a medical author by Weber, *l. c.*, p. 288.

There was a book by one بیدیا (also written بیدیا) on



wisdom or philosophy (cf. Fihrist, p. 305). According to Middle-Indian phonetics this name is = *vedaryāsa*.¹ A man of this name, also called *Vyāsa* or *Bādarāyana*, is, according to the literary tradition of India, the originator of the Vedānta school of philosophy (cf. Colebrooke, Essays, i. 352), and this will remind the reader that in the Arabian Sufism the Indian Vedānta philosophy reappears.

Further, an author *سادبرم*, *Sadbrm*,² is mentioned, unfortunately without an indication of the contents of his book. Alberuni (i. 157) mentions one *Satya* as the author of a *jātaka* (cf. Weber, l. c., p. 278), and this name is perhaps an abbreviation of that one here mentioned, i.e. *Satyavarman*.

A work on astrology is attributed to one *سنجل*, *SNJHL* (vide Fihrist, p. 271), likewise enumerated by Alberuni in a list of names (i. 158). The Indian equivalent of this name is not certain (cf. note to i. 158).

There is also mentioned a book on the signs of swords by one *يادغرا*, probably identical with *Vyāghra*, which occurs as a name of Indian authors (cf. Fihrist, p. 315).

The famous Buddha legend in Christian garb, most commonly called *Joasaph and Barlaam*, bears in Fihrist, p. 300, the title *جواسف و بارلاام*. The former word is generally explained as *Bodhisattva*, although there is no law in Indian phonetics which admits the change of *sattva* to *saf*. The second name is that of Buddha's spiritual teacher and guide, in fact, his *purohita*, and with this word I am inclined to identify the signs in question, i.e. *بلوهد*.

What Ibn Wāḍih in his chronicle (ed. by Houtsma) relates of India, on pp. 92-106, is not of much value. His words on p. 105, "the king *كوش* = *Ghosha*, who

¹ Benfey in *Katilag und Damag, Einleitung*, p. xliii, note 3. The word has received currency in the form *Bidpai*.

² Cf. Benfey, l. c., *Einleitung*, p. xl.



lived in the time of Sindbâd the sage, and this *Ghosha* composed the book on the cunning of the women," are perhaps an indication of some fables of Buddhaghosha having been translated into Arabic.

Besides books on astronomy, mathematics (الحساب الهندى), astrology, chiefly *jâtakas*, on medicine and pharmacology, the Arabs translated Indian works on snakes (*sarpavidyâ*), on poison (*vishavidyâ*), on all kinds of auguring, on talismans, on the veterinary art, *de arte amandi*, numerous tales, a life of Buddha, books on logic and philosophy in general, on ethics, politics, and on the science of war. Many Arab authors took up the subjects communicated to them by the Hindus and worked them out in original compositions, commentaries, and extracts. A favourite subject of theirs was Indian mathematics, the knowledge of which became far spread by the publications of Alkindî and many others.

The smaller dynasties which in later times tore the sovereignty over certain eastern countries of the Khalfate out of the hands of the successors of Mansûr and Harun, did not continue their literary commerce with India. The Banû-Laith (A.D. 872-903), owning great part of Afghanistan together with Ghazna, were the neighbours of Hindus, but their name is in no way connected with the history of literature. For the Buyide princes who ruled over Western Persia and Babylonia between A.D. 932 and 1055, the fables of Kalila and Dimna were translated. Of all these princely houses, no doubt, the Samanides, who held almost the whole east of the Khalfate under their sway during 892-999, had most relations with the Hindus, those in Kabul, the Panjab, and Sindh; and their minister, Aljaihânî, probably had collected much information about India. Originally the slave of the Samanides, then their general and provincial governor, Alptagîn made himself practically independent in Ghazna a few



years before Alberuni was born, and his successor, Sabuktagin, Mahmûd's father, paved the road for the war with India (i. 22), and for the lasting establishment of Islam in India.

Some of the books that had been translated under the first Abbaside Khalifs were extant in the library of Alberuni when he wrote the *'Iṣṭiṣā*, the *Brahma-siddhānta* or *Sindhind*, and the *Khaṇḍakhādya* or *Arkand* in the editions of Alfazārī and of Yakûb Ibn Târik, the *Caraka* in the edition of 'Alī Ibn Zain, and the *Pañcatantra* or *Kakila and Dimna*. He also used an Arabic translation of the *Karandasra* by Vittiśvara (ii. 55), but we do not learn from him whether this was an old translation or a modern one made in Alberuni's time. These books offered to Alberuni—he complains of it repeatedly—the same difficulties as to us, viz., besides the faults of the translators, a considerable corruption of the text by the negligence of the copyists, more particularly as regards the proper names.

The author study of India before he wrote the present book.

When Alberuni entered India, he probably had a good general knowledge of Indian mathematics, astronomy, and chronology, acquired by the study of Brahmagupta and his Arabian editors. What Hindu author was his teacher and that of the Arabs in pure mathematics (المساب الهندى) is not known. Besides Alfazārī and Yakûb Ibn Târik, he learned from Alkhwârizmī, something from Abulhasan of Ahwâz, things of little value from Alkindī and Abû-Ma'shar of Balkh, and single details from the famous book of Aljaihânī. Of other sources which he has used in the *'Iṣṭiṣā*, he quotes: (1.) A Muhammadan canon called *Alharkan*, i.e. *ahargana*. I cannot trace the history of the book, but suppose that it was a practical handbook of chronology for the purpose of converting Arabian and Persian dates into Indian ones and *vice versa*, which had perhaps been necessitated by the wants of the administration under Sabuktagin and Mahmûd. The name of the author is



not mentioned. (2.) Abû Ahmad Ibn Catlaghtagîn, quoted i. 317 as having computed the latitudes of Karîf and Tâneshar.

Two other authorities on astronomical subjects are quoted, but not in relation to Indian astronomy, Muhammad Ibn Ishâk, from *Sarakhs*, ii. 15, and a book called *Ghurrah-alsijdt*, perhaps derived from an Indian source, as the name is identical with *Karanatilaka*. The author is perhaps Abû-Muhammad Alnâib from Âmul (*cf.* note to ii. 90.)

In India Alberuni recommenced his study of Indian astronomy, this time not from translations, but from Sanskrit originals, and we here meet with the remarkable fact that the works which about A.D. 770 had been the standard in India still held the same high position A.D. 1020, viz., the works of Brahmagupta. Assisted by learned pandits, he tried to translate them, as also the *Pulisasiddhânta* (*vide* preface to the edition of the text, § 5), and when he composed the *Indica*, he had already come forward with several books devoted to special points of Indian astronomy. As such he quotes:—

(1.) A treatise on the determination of the lunar stations or *nakshatras*, ii. 83.

(2.) The *Khayâl-alkusâfaini*, which contained, probably beside other things, a description of the *Yoga* theory, ii. 208.

(3.) A book called *The Arabic Khandakhâdyaka*, on the same subject as the preceding one, ii. 208.

(4.) A book containing a description of the *Karanas*, the title of which is not mentioned, ii. 194.

(5.) A treatise on the various systems of numeration, as used by different nations, i. 174, which probably described also the related Indian subjects.

(6.) A book called "Key of Astronomy," on the question whether the sun rotates round the earth or the earth round the sun, i. 277. We may suppose that in



this book he had also made use of the notions of Indian astronomers.

(7.) Lastly, several publications on the different methods for the computation of geographical longitude, i. 315. He does not mention their titles, nor whether they had any relation to Hindu methods of calculation.

Perfectly at home in all departments of Indian astronomy and chronology, he began to write the *Ἰνδικά*. In the chapters on these subjects he continues a literary movement which at his time had already gone on for centuries; but he surpassed his predecessors by going back upon the original Sanskrit sources, trying to check his pandits by whatever Sanskrit he had contrived to learn, by making new and more accurate translations, and by his conscientious method of testing the data of the Indian astronomers by calculation. His work represents a scientific *renaissance* in comparison with the aspirations of the scholars working in Bagdad under the first Abbaside Khalifs.

Alberuni seems to think that Indian astrology had not been transferred into the more ancient Arabic literature, as we may conclude from his introduction to Chapter lxxx.: "Our fellow-believers in these (Muslim) countries are not acquainted with the Hindu methods of astrology, and have never had an opportunity of studying an Indian book on the subject," ii. 211. We cannot prove that the works of Varāhamihira, e.g. his *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* and *Laghu-jātaka*, which Alberuni was translating, had already been accessible to the Arabs at the time of Mansūr, but we are inclined to think that Alberuni's judgment on this head is too sweeping, for books on astrology, and particularly on *jātaka*, had already been translated in the early days of the Abbaside rule. Cf. Fihrist, pp. 270, 271.

As regards Indian medicine, we can only say that Alberuni does not seem to have made a special study of it, for he simply uses the then current translation of



Caraka, although complaining of its incorrectness, i. 159, 162, 382. He has translated a Sanskrit treatise on loathsome diseases into Arabic (*cf.* preface to the edition of the original, p. xxi. No. 18), but we do not know whether before the *’Ivḍikā* or after it.

What first induced Alberuni to write the *’Ivḍikā* was not the wish to enlighten his countrymen on Indian astronomy in particular, but to present them with an impartial description of the Indian theological and philosophical doctrines on a broad basis, with every detail pertaining to them. So he himself says both at the beginning and end of the book. Perhaps on this subject he could give his readers more perfectly new information than on any other, for, according to his own statement, he had in this only one predecessor, Aleranshahri. Not knowing him or that authority which *he* follows, *i.e.* Zurkân, we cannot form an estimate as to how far Alberuni’s strictures on them (i. 7) are founded. Though there can hardly be any doubt that Indian philosophy in one or other of its principal forms had been communicated to the Arabs already in the first period, it seems to have been something entirely new when Alberuni produced before his compatriots or fellow-believers the *Sāṃkhya* by Kapila, and the *Book of Patañjali* in good Arabic translations. It was this particular work which admirably qualified him to write the corresponding chapters of the *’Ivḍikā*. The philosophy of India seems to have fascinated his mind, and the noble ideas of the *Bhagavadgītā* probably came near to the standard of his own persuasions. Perhaps it was he who first introduced this gem of Sanskrit literature into the world of Muslim readers.

As regards the Purāṇas, Alberuni was perhaps the first Muslim who took up the study of them. At all events, we cannot trace any acquaintance with them on the part of the Arabs before his time. Of the litera-



ture of fables, he knew the *Pañcatantra* in the Arabic edition of Ibn Al-mukaffa.

Judging Alberuni in relation to his predecessors, we come to the conclusion that his work formed a most marked progress. His description of Hindu philosophy was probably unparalleled. His system of chronology and astronomy was more complete and accurate than had ever before been given. His communications from the Purāṇas were probably entirely new to his readers, as also the important chapters on literature, manners, festivals, actual geography, and the much-quoted chapter on historic chronology. He once quotes Rāzī, with whose works he was intimately acquainted, and some Sūfi philosophers, but from neither of them could he learn much about India.

In the following pages we give a list of the Sanskrit books quoted in the *Indukā*:—

His Sanskrit sources.

Sources of the chapters on theology and philosophy: *Sāṃkhya*, by Kapila; *Book of Patañjali*; *Gītā*, i.e. some edition of the *Bhagavadgītā*.

He seems to have used more sources of a similar nature, but he does not quote from them.

Sources of a Paurāṇic kind: *Vishṇu-Dharma*, *Vishṇu-Purāṇa*, *Matsya-Purāṇa*, *Vāyu-Purāṇa*, *Āditya-Purāṇa*.

Sources of the chapters on astronomy, chronology, geography, and astrology: *Pulīśasiddhānta*; *Brahma-siddhānta*, *Khaṇḍakhādya*, *Uttarakhaṇḍakhādya*, by Brahmagupta; Commentary of the *Khaṇḍakhādya*, by Balabhadra, perhaps also some other work of his; *Bṛīhatsaṃhitā*, *Pañcasiddhāntikā*, *Bṛīhat-jātakam*, *Laghu-jātakam*, by Varāhamihira; Commentary of the *Bṛīhatsaṃhitā*, a book called *Srūdhava* (perhaps *Sarva-dhara*), by Utpala, from Kashmir; a book by Āryabhata, junior; *Karaṇasāra*, by Vittiśvara; *Karaṇatīlaka*, by Vijayanandin; *Sṛīpāla*; *Book of the Rishi* (sic) *Bhūtanakośa*; *Book of the Brāhman Bhaṭṭila*; *Book of Durlabha*,



from Multan; *Book of Jivaśarman*; *Book of Samaya*; *Book of Auliatta* (?), the son of Sahâwî (?); *The Minor Mânasa*, by Puñcala; *Srûdhava* (*Sarvadhara* ?), by Mahâdeva Candrabîja; Calendar from Kashmir.

As regards some of these authors, Śrîpâla, Jivaśarman, Samaya (?), and Auliatta (?), the nature of the quotations leaves it uncertain whether Alberuni quoted from books of theirs or from oral communications which he had received from them.

Source on medicine : *Caraka*, in the Arabic edition of 'Alî Ibn Zain, from Tabaristan.

In the chapter on metrics, a lexicographic work by one Haribhata (?), and regarding elephants a "Book on the Medicine of Elephants," are quoted.

His communications from the *Mahâbhârata* and *Râmâyana*, and the way in which he speaks of them, do not give us the impression that he had these books before him. He had some information of Jaina origin, but does not mention his source (Âryabhata, jun. ?) Once he quotes Manu's *Dharmaśâstra*, but in a manner which makes me doubt whether he took the words directly from the book itself.¹

The quotations which he has made from these sources are, some of them, very extensive, e.g. those from the *Bhagavadgîtâ*. In the chapter on literature he mentions many more books than those here enumerated, but does not tell us whether he made use of them for the *Indikâ*. Sometimes he mentions Hindu individuals as his informants, e.g. those from Somanâth, i. 161, 165, and from Kanoj, i. 165; ii. 129.

In Chapter i. the author speaks at large of the radical difference between Muslims and Hindus in everything, and tries to account for it both by the history of India and by the peculiarities of the national character of its inhabitants (i. 17 *seq.*). Everything in India is just

¹ The places where mention of these books occurs are given in Index I. Cf. also the annotations on single cases.



the reverse of what it is in Islam, "and if ever a custom of theirs resembles one of ours, it has certainly just the opposite meaning" (i. 179). Much more certainly than to Alberuni, India would seem a land of wonders and monstrosities to most of his readers. Therefore, in order to show that there were other nations who held and hold similar notions, he compares Greek philosophy, chiefly that of Plato, and tries to illustrate Hindu notions by those of the Greeks, and thereby to bring them nearer to the understanding of his readers.

The rôle which Greek literature plays in Alberuni's work in the distant country of the Paktyes and Gandhari is a singular fact in the history of civilisation. Plato before the doors of India, perhaps in India itself! A considerable portion of the then extant Greek literature had found its way into the library of Alberuni, who uses it in the most conscientious and appreciative way, and takes from it choice passages to confront Greek thought with Indian. And more than this: on the part of his readers he seems to presuppose not only that they were acquainted with them, but also gave them the credit of first-rate authorities. Not knowing Greek or Syriac, he read them in Arabic translations, some of which reflect much credit upon their authors. The books he quotes are these:—

Greek and
other parallels.

Plato, *Phædo*.

Timæus, an edition with a commentary.

Leges. In the copy of it there was an appendix relating to the pedigree of Hippokrates.

Proclus, Commentary on *Timæus* (different from the extant one).

Aristotle, only short references to his *Physica* and *Metaphysica*.
Letter to Alexander.

Johannes Grammaticus, *Contra Proclum*.

Alexander of Aphrodisias, Commentary on Aristotle's *φυσικὴ ἀκρόασις*.

Apollonius of Tyana.

Porphry, *Liber historiarum philosophorum* (?).

Ammonius.



Aratus, *Phænomena*, with a commentary.

Galenus, *Protrepticus*.

περί συνθέσεως φαρμάκων τῶν κατὰ τόπους.

περί συνθέσεως φαρμάκων κατὰ γένη.

Commentary on the Apophthegms of Hippokrates.

De indole animæ.

Book of the Proof.

Ptolemy, *Almagest*.

Geography.

Kitâb-almanshûrât.

Pseudo-Kallisthenes, Alexander romance.

Scholia to the *Ars grammatica* of Dionysius Thrax.

A synchronistic history, resembling in part that of Johannes Malalas, in part the *Chronicon* of Eusebius. Cf. notes to i. 112, 105.

The other analogies which he draws, not taken from Greek, but from Zoroastrian, Christian, Jewish, Manichæan, and Sûfi sources, are not very numerous. He refers only rarely to Eranian traditions; cf. Index II. (Persian traditions and Zoroastrian). Most of the notes on Christian, Jewish, and Manichæan subjects may have been taken from the book of Erânsahri (cf. his own words, i. 6, 7), although he knew Christianity from personal experience, and probably also from the communications of his learned friends Abulkhair Alkhammâr and Abû-Sahî Almasihî, both Christians from the farther west (cf. *Chronologie Orientalischer Völker, Einleitung*, p. xxxii.). The interest he has in Mânî's doctrines and books seems rather strange. We are not acquainted with the history of the remnants of Manichæism in those days and countries, but cannot help thinking that the quotations from Mânî's "Book of Mysteries" and *Thesaurus Vivificationis* do not justify Alberuni's judgment in this direction. He seems to have seen in them venerable documents of a high antiquity, instead of the syncretistic ravings of a would-be prophet.

That he was perfectly right in comparing the Sûfi philosophy—he derives the word from *σοφία*, i. 33—



CSL

PREFACE.

xliii

with certain doctrines of the Hindus is apparent to any one who is aware of the essential identity of the systems of the Greek Neo-Pythagoreans, the Hindu Vedânta philosophers, and the Sûfis of the Muslim world. The authors whom he quotes, Abû Yazid Albistâmi and Abû Bakr Alshiblî, are well-known representatives of Sufism. Cf. note to i. 87, 88.

As far as the present state of research allows one to judge, the work of Alberuni has not been continued. In astronomy he seems by his *Canon Masudicus* to represent the height, and at the same time the end, of the independent development of this science among the Arabs. But numerous scholars toiled on in his wake, whilst in the study of India, and for the translation of the standard works of Sanskrit literature, he never had a successor before the days of the Emperor Akbar. There followed some authors who copied from his *'Ivduká*, but there was none who could carry on the work in *his* spirit and method after he had died, eighteen years after the composition of the *'Ivduká*. We must here mention two authors who lived not long after him, under the same dynasty, and probably in the same place, Ghazna, viz., Gardêzi (cf. note to ii. 6), who wrote between A.D. 1049 and 1052, and Muhammad Ibn 'Ukail, who wrote between A.D. 1089 and 1099 (cf. note to i. 5). Of the later authors who studied Alberuni's *'Ivduká* and copied from it, the most notorious is Rashid-aldin, who transferred, e.g. the whole geographical Chapter xviii. into his huge chronicle.

When Alberuni entered India, times were not favourable for opening friendly relations with native scholars. India recoiled from the touch of the impure barbarians. The Pâla dynasty, once ruling over Kabulistan and the Panjab, had disappeared from the theatre of history, and their former dominions were in the firm grasp of King Mahmûd and under the administration of his slaves, of Turkish descent. The princes of North-Western

India at the
author's
time.



India had been too narrow-minded, too blind in their self-conceit, duly to appreciate the danger threatening from Ghazna, and too little politic in due time to unite for a common defence and repulse of the enemy. Single-handed Ānandapāla had had to fight it out, and had succumbed; but the others were to follow, each one in his turn. All those who would not bear the yoke of the *mlecchas* fled and took up their abode in the neighbouring Hindu empires.

Kashmīr was still independent, and was hermetically sealed to all strangers (i. 206). Ānandapāla had fled there. Mahmūd had tried the conquest of the country, but failed. About the time when Alberuni wrote, the rule passed from the hands of Saṅgrāmadeva, A.D. 1007-1030, into those of Anantadeva, A.D. 1030-1082.

Central and Lower Sindh were rarely meddled with by Mahmūd. The country seems to have been split into minor principalities, ruled by petty Muslim dynasties, like the Karmatian dynasty of Multan, deposed by Mahmūd.

In the conditions of the Gurjara empire, the capital of which was Anhilvāra or Pattan, the famous expedition of Mahmūd to Somanāth, A.D. 1025, in some ways resembling that of Napoleon to Moscow, does not seem to have produced any lasting changes. The country was under the sway of the Solanki dynasty, who in A.D. 980 had taken the place of the Cālukyās. King Cāmuṇḍa fled before Mahmūd, who raised another prince of the same house, Devaśarman, to the throne; but soon after we find a son of Cāmuṇḍa, Durlabha, as king of Gurjara till A.D. 1037.

Mālava was ruled by the Prāmāra dynasty, who, like the kings of Kashmīr, had afforded a refuge to a fugitive prince of the Pāla dynasty of Kābulistan. Bhojadeva of Mālava, ruling between A.D. 997 and 1053, is mentioned by Alberuni. His court at Dhār,



where he had gone from Ujjain, was a rendezvous of the scholars of the time.

Kanoj formed at that time part of the realm of the Pāla princes of Gauda or Bengal, who resided in Mongir. During the reign of Rājyapāla, Kanoj had been plundered and destroyed by Mahmūd, A.D. 1017, in consequence of which a new city farther away from the *mlecchas*, Bāri, had been founded, but does not seem to have grown to any importance. Residing in this place, the King Mahipāla tried about A.D. 1026 to consolidate and to extend his empire. Both these rulers are said to have been Buddhists. Cf. Kern, *Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien*, ii. 544.

The centres of Indian learning were Benares and Kashmir, both inaccessible to a barbarian like Alberūni (i. 22), but in the parts of India under Muslim administration he seems to have found the pandīts he wanted, perhaps also at Ghazna among the prisoners of war.

India, as far as known to Alberūni, was Brahmanic, not Buddhist. In the first half of the eleventh century all traces of Buddhism in Central Asia, Khurāsān, Afghanistan, and North-Western India seem to have disappeared; and it is a remarkable fact that a man of the inquisitive mind of Alberūni knew scarcely anything at all about Buddhism, nor had any means for procuring information on the subject. His notes on Buddhism are very scanty, all derived from the book of Eranshahri, who, in his turn, had copied the book of one Zirkān, and this book he seems to indicate to have been a bad one. Cf. i. 7, 249, 326.

The ant.
and Bud-
dhism.

Buddha is said to be the author of a book called *Gādāmāṇi* (not *Gādhāmāna*, as I have written, i. 158), i.e. Jewel, on the knowledge of the supranaturalistic world.

The Buddhists or Shamanians, i.e. *śramana*, are called *Muḥammira*, which I translate the *red-robe wearers*, taking it for identical with *raktapaṭa*. Cf. note to i. 21.



Mentioning the trinity of the Buddhistic system, *buddha, dharma, saṅgha*, he calls Buddha *Buddhodana*, which is a mistake for something like *the son of Siddhodana*. Cf. note to i. 40 and i. 380, which latter passage is probably derived from the *Vishnu-Dharma* (on which vide note to i. 54).

Of Buddhistic authors there are mentioned Candra, the grammarian, i. 135 (cf. Kern, *Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien*, ii. 520), Sugrīva, the author of an astronomical work, and a pupil of his, i. 156.

Of the manners and customs of the Buddhists, only their practice of disposing of their dead by throwing them into flowing water is mentioned, ii. 169.

Alberuni speaks (ii. 11) of a building erected by King Kanishka in Peshavar, and called *Kanishkacariya*, as existing in his time, most likely identical with that *stūpa* which he is reported to have built in consequence of a prophecy of no less a person than Buddha himself. Cf. Kern, *l. c.*, ii. 187. The word *biḥār*, i.e. *viḥāra*, which Alberuni sometimes uses in the meaning of temple and the like, is of Buddhistic origin. Cf. Kern, *l. c.*, ii. 57.

Among the various kinds of writing used in India, he enumerates as the last one the "*Bhaskashukī*, used in *Udunpār in Pārvadesā*. This last is the writing of *Buddha*," i. 173. Was this *Udunpār* (we may also read *Udannapār*) the Buddhistic monastery in Magadha, *Udannapurī*, that was destroyed by the Muslims, A.D. 1200? Cf. Kern, *l. c.*, ii. 545.

The kosmographic views of the Buddhists, as given by Alberuni, i. 249, 326, ought to be examined as to their origin. Perhaps it will be possible to point out the particular Buddhistic book whence they were taken.

He speaks twice of an antagonism between Buddha and Zoroaster.

If Alberuni had had the same opportunity for travelling in India as Hiouen-Tsang had, he would easily have collected plenty of information on Buddhism.



Considering the meagreness of his notes on this subject, we readily believe that he never found a Buddhistic book, and never knew a Buddhist "from whom I might have learned their theories," i. 249. His Brahman pandits probably knew enough of Buddhism, but did not choose to tell him.

Lastly, India, as known to Alberuni, was in matters of religion Vishnuitic (*vaishnava*), not Sivaitic (*śaiva*). Vishnu, or Nārāyaṇa, is the first god in the pantheon of his Hindu informants and literary authorities, whilst Śiva is only incidentally mentioned, and that not always in a favourable manner. This indicates a remarkable change in the religious history of those countries. For the predecessors of Mahmūd in the rule over Kabulistan and the Panjāb, the Pāla dynasty, were worshippers of Śiva (*cf.* Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, 3, 895), as we may judge from their coins, adorned with the image of Nanda, the ox of Śiva, and from the etymology of their names. *Cf.* note to ii. 13, and Lassen, *l.c.*, 3, 915. The image of Nanda reappears a second time on the coins of the last of the descendants of King Mahmūd on the throne of Ghazna.

CONCLUSION.

It was in the summer of 1883 that I began to work at the edition and translation of the *'Ivduka'*, after having fulfilled the literary duties resulting from my journey in Syria and Mesopotamia in 1879 and 1880. A copy of the Arabic manuscript had been prepared in 1872, and collated in Stambul in the hot summer months of 1873.

In order to test my comprehension of the book, I translated it into German from beginning to end between February 1883 and February 1884. In the summer of the latter year the last hand was laid to the constitution of the Arabic text as it was to be printed.



In 1885-86 the edition of the Arabic original was printed. At the same time I translated the whole book a second time, into English, finishing the translation of every single sheet as the original was carried through the press.

In 1887 and the first half of 1888 the English translation, with annotations and indices, was printed.

My work during all these years was not interrupted.

Translating an Arabic book, written in the style of Alberuni, into English, is, for a person to whom English is not his mother-tongue, an act of temerity, which, when I was called upon to commit it, gravely affected my conscience to such a degree that I began to falter, and seriously thought of giving up the whole thing altogether. But then there rose up before "my mind's eye" the venerable figure of old MacGuckin de Slane, and as he had been gathered to his fathers, I could not get back the word I had given him. *Cf.* preface to the edition of the Arabic text, p. viii. Assuredly, to do justice to the words of Alberuni would require a command over English like that of Sir Theodore Martin, the translator of "Faust," or Chenery, the translator of *Hariri*.

As regards my own translation, I can only say I have tried to find common sense in the author's language, and to render it as clearly as I could. In this I was greatly assisted by my friend the Rev. Robert Gwynne, Vicar of St. Mary's, Soho, London, whose training in Eastern languages and literature qualified him to co-operate in revising the entire manuscript and correcting the proof sheets.

Perhaps it will not be superfluous to point out to the reader who does not know Arabic that this language sometimes exhibits sentences perfectly clear as to the meaning of every single word and the syntactic construction, and nevertheless admitting of entirely different



interpretations. Besides, a first translator who steers out on such a sea, like him who first tries to explain a difficult, hardly legible inscription, exposes himself to many dangers which he would easily have avoided had kind fortune permitted him to follow in the wake of other explorers. Under these circumstances, I do not flatter myself that I have caught the sense of the author everywhere, and I warn the reader not to take a translation, in particular a first translation, from Arabic for more than it is. It is nothing absolute, but only relative in many respects; and if an Indianist does not find good Indian thought in my translation, I would advise him to consult the next Arabic philologist he meets. If the two can obtain a better insight into the subject-matter, they are very likely to produce a better rendering of the words.

My annotations do not pretend to be a running commentary on the book, for that cannot be written except by a professed Indianist. They contain some information as to the sources used by Alberuni, and as to those materials which guided me in translating. On the phonetic peculiarities of the Indian words as transcribed by Alberuni, the reader may compare a treatise of mine called *Indo-Arabische Studien*, and presented to the Royal Academy of Berlin on 21st June of this year.

My friend Dr. Robert Schram, of the University of Vienna, has examined all the mathematical details of chronology and astronomy. The results of his studies are presented to the reader in the annotations signed with his name. All this is Dr. Schram's special domain, in which he has no equal. My thanks are due to him for lending me his help in parts of the work where my own attempts at verification, after prolonged exertions in the same direction, proved to be insufficient.

Of the two indices, the former contains all words of Indian origin occurring in the book, some pure Sanskrit, some vernacular, others in the form exhibited by the



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ALBĒRŪNĪ'S INDIA

AN

ACCURATE DESCRIPTION OF ALL CATEGORIES
OF HINDU THOUGHT,

*AS WELL THOSE WHICH ARE ADMISSIBLE AS
THOSE WHICH MUST BE REJECTED.*

COMPOSED BY

'ABŪ-ALRAIḤĀN MUḤAMMAD IBN 'AḤMAD

ALBĒRŪNĪ.

—wroten—



Arabic manuscript, howsoever faulty it may be. The reader will perhaps here and there derive some advantage from comparing the index of the edition of the Arabic original. The second index contains names of persons and places, &c., mostly of non-Indian origin.

It was the Committee of the Oriental Translation Fund, consisting at the time of Osmond de Beauvoir Priaulx, Edward Thomas, James Fergusson, Reinhold Rost, and Theodore Goldstücker, who first proposed to me to translate the *Ṭurkīyā*. Thomas, Goldstücker, and Fergusson are beyond the reach of human words, but to O. de Beauvoir Priaulx, Esq., and to Dr. Rost, I desire to express my sincerest gratitude for the generous help and the untiring interest which they have always accorded to me, though so many years have rolled on since I first pledged to them my word. Lastly, Her Majesty's India Office has extended its patronage from the edition of the Arabic original also to this edition of the work in an English garb.

Of the works of my predecessors, the famous publication of Reinaud, the *Mémoire géographique, historique et scientifique sur l'Inde*, Paris, 1849, has been most useful to me. Cf. on this and the labours of my other predecessors § 2 of the preface to the edition of the Arabic original.

The Sanskrit alphabet has been transliterated in the following way:—*a*, *ā*, *i*, *ī*, *u*, *ū*—*ri*, *ai*, *au*—*k*, *kh*, *g*, *gh*, *ñ*—*c*, *ch*, *ḥ*, *j*, *jh*, *ñ*—*t*, *th*, *ḍ*, *ḍh*, *n*—*t*, *th*, *ḍ*, *dh*, *n*—*p*, *ph*, *b*, *bh*, *m*—*y*, *r*, *l*, *v*—*ś*, *sh*, *s*, *h*.

EDWARD SACHAU.

BERLIN, August 4, 1888.



PREFACE

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE COMPASSIONATE, THE
MERCIFUL. Page 2.

No one will deny that in questions of historic authenticity *hearsay* does not equal *eye-witness*; for in the latter the eye of the observer apprehends the substance of that which is observed, both in the time when and in the place where it exists, whilst *hearsay* has its peculiar drawbacks. But for these, it would even be preferable to *eye-witness*; for the object of *eye-witness* can only be *actual* momentary existence, whilst *hearsay* comprehends alike the present, the past, and the future, so as to apply in a certain sense both to that which *is* and to that which is *not* (i.e. which either has ceased to exist or has not yet come into existence). Written tradition is one of the species of *hearsay*—we might almost say, the most preferable. How could we know the history of nations but for the everlasting monuments of the pen?

1. On tradition, hearsay and eye-witness.
2. The different kinds of reporters.
3. Praise of truthfulness.

The tradition regarding an event which in itself does not contradict either logical or physical laws will invariably depend for its character as true or false upon the character of the reporters, who are influenced by the divergency of interests and all kinds of animosities and antipathies between the various nations. We must distinguish different classes of reporters.

One of them tells a lie, as intending to franken an



interest of his own, either *by lauding* his family or nation, because he is one of them, or *by attacking* the family or nation on the opposite side, thinking that thereby he can gain his ends. In both cases he acts from motives of *greed, cupidity and animosity*.

Another of objectionable reporters is one who tells a lie regarding a class of people whom he likes, or tells a lie regarding obligations to them, or whom he hates because of something disagreeable that has happened between them. Such a reporter is near akin to the first-mentioned one, as he too acts from motives of personal predilection and enmity.

Another tells a lie because he is of such a base nature as to aim thereby at some profit, or because he is such a coward as to be afraid of telling the truth.

Another tells a lie because it is his nature to lie, and he cannot do otherwise, which proceeds from the essential meanness of his character and the depravity of his innermost being.

Lastly, a man may tell a lie from ignorance, blindly following others who told him.

If, now, reporters of this kind become so numerous as to represent a certain body of tradition, or if in the course of time they ever come to form a consecutive series of communities or nations, both the first reporter and his followers form the connecting links between the hearer and the inventor of the lie; and if the connecting links are eliminated, there remains the originator of the story, one of the various kinds of liars we have enumerated, as the only person with whom we have to deal.

That man only is praiseworthy who shrinks from a lie and always adheres to the truth, enjoying credit even among liars, not to mention others.

It has been said in the Koran, "*Speak the truth, even if it were against yourselves*" (Sûra, 4, 134); and the Messiah expressly exhorts him in the Gospel to this effect: "*Do not mind the fear of kings in speaking the truth before them.*"



They only possess your body, but they have no power over your soul" (cf. St. Matt. x. 18, 19, 28; St. Luke xii. 4). In these words the Messiah orders us to exercise *moral courage*. For what the crowd calls courage—bravely dashing into the fight or plunging into an abyss of destruction—is only a *species* of courage, whilst the *genus*, far above all *species*, is to *scorn death*, whether by word or deed.

Now as justice (*i.e.* being just) is a quality liked and coveted for its own self, for its intrinsic beauty, the same applies to *truthfulness*, except perhaps in the case of such people as never tasted how sweet it is, or know the truth, but deliberately shun it, like a notorious liar who once was asked if he had ever spoken the truth, and gave the answer, "If I were not afraid to speak the truth, I should say, no." A liar will avoid the path of justice; he will, as matter of preference, side with oppression and false witness, breach of confidence, fraudulent appropriation of the wealth of others, theft, and all the vices which serve to ruin the world and mankind.

When I once called upon the master 'Abû-Sahî 'Abd-Almun'im Ibn 'Alî Ibn Nûh At-tifîsî, may God strengthen him! I found that he blamed the tendency of the author of a book on the Mu'tazila sect to misrepresent their theory. For, according to them, God is omniscient of himself, and this dogma that author had expressed in such a way as to say that *God has no knowledge* (like the knowledge of man), thereby misleading uneducated people to imagine that, according to the Mu'tazilites, *God is ignorant*. Praise be to God, who is far above all such and similar unworthy descriptions! Thereupon I pointed out to the master that precisely the same method is much in fashion among those who undertake the task of giving an account of religious and philosophical systems from which they slightly differ or to which they are entirely opposed. Such misrepresentation is easily detected in a report about dogmas comprehended within

I. On the defects of Muslim works on religious and philosophical doctrines.

II. Exemplified with regard to the Hindus. Criticism of the book of Erânshahrî.

III. Bârth asked to write a book on the subject.

IV. He states his method.



the frame of one single religion, because they are closely related and blended with each other. On the other hand, you would have great difficulty in detecting it in a report about entirely foreign systems of thought totally differing both in principle and details, for such a research is rather an out-of-the-way one, and there are few means of arriving at a thorough comprehension of it. The same tendency prevails throughout our whole literature on philosophical and religious sects. If such an author is not alive to the requirements of a strictly scientific method, he will procure some superficial information which will satisfy neither the adherents of the doctrine in question nor those who really know it. In such a case, if he be an honest character, he will simply retract and feel ashamed; but if he be so base as not to give due honour to truth, he will persist in litigious wrangling for his own original standing-point. If, on the contrary, an author has the right method, he will do his utmost to deduce the tenets of a sect from their legendary lore, things which people tell him, pleasant enough to listen to, but which he would never dream of taking for true or believing.

Page 4.

In order to illustrate the point of our conversation, one of those present referred to the religions and doctrines of the Hindus by way of an example. Thereupon I drew their attention to the fact that everything which exists on this subject in our literature is second-hand information which one has copied from the other, a farrago of materials never sifted by the sieve of critical examination. Of all authors of this class, I know only one who had proposed to himself to give a simple and exact report of the subject *sine ira ac studio*, viz. 'Abû-al'abbâs Alêrânsahri. He himself did not believe in any of the then existing religions, but was the sole believer in a religion invented by himself, which he tried to propagate. He has given a very good account of the doctrines of the Jews and Christians as well as



91CSL

of the contents of both the Thora and the Gospel. Besides, he furnishes us with a most excellent account of the Manichæans, and of obsolete religions of bygone times which are mentioned in their books. But when he came in his book to speak of the Hindus and the Buddhists, his arrow missed the mark, and in the latter part he went astray through hitting upon the book of *Zarkân*, the contents of which he incorporated in his own work. That, however, which he has not taken from *Zarkân*, he himself has heard from common people among Hindus and Buddhists.

At a subsequent period the master 'Abû-Saïd studied the books in question a second time, and when he found the matter exactly as I have here described it, he incited me to write down what I know about the Hindus as a help to those who want to discuss religious questions with them, and as a repertory of information to those who want to associate with them. In order to please him I have done so, and written this book on the doctrines of the Hindus, never making any unfounded imputations against those, our religious antagonists, and at the same time not considering it inconsistent with my duties as a Muslim to quote their own words at full length when I thought they would contribute to elucidate a subject. If the contents of these quotations happen to be utterly heathenish, and *the followers of the truth*, i.e. the Muslims, find them objectionable, we can only say that such is the belief of the Hindus, and that they themselves are best qualified to defend it.

This book is not a *polemical* one. I shall not produce the arguments of our antagonists in order to refute such of them as I believe to be in the wrong. My book is nothing but a *simple historic record of facts*. I shall place before the reader the theories of the Hindus exactly as they are, and I shall mention in connection with them similar theories of the Greeks in order to show the relationship existing between them. For the



Greek philosophers, although aiming at truth in the abstract, never in all questions of popular bearing rise much above the customary exoteric expressions and tenets both of their religion and law. Besides Greek ideas we shall only now and then mention those of the Sûfis or of some one or other Christian sect, because in their notions regarding the transmigration of souls and the pantheistic doctrine of the unity of God with creation there is much in common between these systems.

I have already translated two books into Arabic, one about the *origines* and a description of all created beings, called *Sāṁkhya*, and another about the emancipation of the soul from the fetters of the body, called *Patañjali* (*Pātañjala*?). These two books contain most of the elements of the belief of the Hindus, but not all the single rules derived therefrom. I hope that the present book will enable the reader to dispense with these two earlier ones, and with other books of the same kind; that it will give a sufficient representation of the subject, and will enable him to make himself thoroughly acquainted with it—God willing!



42 CSL

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

(For Alberuni's *Synopsis of the Single Chapters of the Book*,
vide pp. 9-16.)

VOL. PAGE

- I. 3. AUTHOR'S PREFACE.
9. SYNOPSIS OF THE EIGHTY CHAPTERS.
17. CHAPTER I., AUTHOR'S SPECIAL INTRODUCTION.
27. CHAPTERS II.-XI., ON RELIGION, PHILOSOPHY, AND
RELATED SUBJECTS.
125. CHAPTERS XII.-XVII., ON LITERATURE, METROLOGY,
USAGES, AND RELATED SUBJECTS.
196. CHAPTERS XVIII.-XXXI., ON GEOGRAPHY, COSMO-
GRAPHY, AND ASTRONOMY.
319 TO VOL. II. P. 129. CHAPTERS XXXII.-LXII., ON CHRO-
NOLOGY, ASTRONOMY, AND RELATED SUBJECTS.
II. 130. CHAPTERS LXIII.-LXXIX., ON MANNERS AND CUS-
TOMS, FESTIVALS, AND RELATED SUBJECTS.
211. CHAPTER LXXX., ON ASTROLOGY.
247. ANNOTATIONS OF THE TRANSLATOR.
403-431. INDICES.



413

CSL

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

ON THE HINDUS IN GENERAL, AS AN INTRODUCTION TO OUR ACCOUNT Page 5
OF THEM.

CHAPTER II.

ON THE BELIEF OF THE HINDUS IN GOD.

CHAPTER III.

ON THE HINDU BELIEF AS TO CREATED THINGS, BOTH "INTELLIGIBILIA"
AND "SENSIBILIA."

CHAPTER IV.

FROM WHAT CAUSE ACTION ORIGINATES, AND HOW THE SOUL IS CON-
NECTED WITH MATTER.

CHAPTER V.

ON THE STATE OF THE SOULS, AND THEIR MIGRATIONS THROUGH THE
WORLD IN THE METEMPSYCHOSIS.

CHAPTER VI.

ON THE DIFFERENT WORLDS, AND ON THE PLACES OF RETRIBUTION IN
PARADISE AND HELL.

CHAPTER VII.

THE NATURE OF LIBERATION FROM THE WORLD, AND ON THE PATH
LEADING THERETO.



CONTENTS.

CSL

CHAPTER VIII.

ON THE DIFFERENT CLASSES OF CREATED BEINGS, AND ON THEIR NAMES.

CHAPTER IX.

ON THE CASTES, CALLED "COLOURS" (VARNA), AND ON THE CLASSES BELOW THEM.

CHAPTER X.

ON THE SOURCE OF THEIR RELIGIOUS AND CIVIL LAW, ON PROPHECIES, AND ON THE QUESTION WHETHER SINGLE LAWS CAN BE ABROGATED OR NOT.

CHAPTER XI.

ABOUT THE BEGINNING OF IDOL-WORSHIP, AND A DESCRIPTION OF THE INDIVIDUAL IDOLS.

CHAPTER XII.

ON THE VEDA, THE PURĀNAS, AND OTHER KINDS OF THEIR NATIONAL LITERATURE.

CHAPTER XIII.

THEIR GRAMMATICAL AND METRICAL LITERATURE.

CHAPTER XIV.

HINDU LITERATURE IN THE OTHER SCIENCES—ASTRONOMY, ASTROLOGY, ETC.

CHAPTER XV.

NOTES ON HINDU METROLOGY, INTENDED TO FACILITATE THE UNDERSTANDING OF ALL KINDS OF MEASUREMENTS WHICH OCCUR IN THIS BOOK.

CHAPTER XVI.

NOTES ON THE WRITING OF THE HINDOOS, ON THEIR ARITHMETIC AND RELATED SUBJECTS, AND ON CERTAIN STRANGE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THEIRS.

CHAPTER XVII.

ON HINDU SCIENCES WHICH PREY ON THE IGNORANCE OF PEOPLE.



44
CSL
11

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER XVIII.

VARIOUS NOTES ON THEIR COUNTRY, THEIR RIVERS, AND THEIR OCEAN
—ITINERARIES OF THE DISTANCES BETWEEN THEIR SEVERAL
KINGDOMS, AND BETWEEN THE BOUNDARIES OF THEIR COUNTRY.

CHAPTER XIX.

ON THE NAMES OF THE PLANETS, THE SIGNS OF THE ZODIAC, THE
LUNAR STATIONS, AND RELATED SUBJECTS.

CHAPTER XX.

ON THE BRAHMĀṆDA.

Page 6.

CHAPTER XXI.

DESCRIPTION OF EARTH AND HEAVEN ACCORDING TO THE RELIGIOUS
VIEWS OF THE HINDUS, BASED UPON THEIR TRADITIONAL LITERA-
TURE.

CHAPTER XXII.

TRADITIONS RELATING TO THE POLE.

CHAPTER XXIII.

ON MOUNT MERU ACCORDING TO THE BELIEF OF THE AUTHORS OF THE
PURĀṆAS AND OF OTHERS.

CHAPTER XXIV.

TRADITIONS OF THE PURĀṆAS REGARDING EACH OF THE SEVEN DVĪPAS.

CHAPTER XXV.

ON THE RIVERS OF INDIA, THEIR SOURCES AND COURSES.

CHAPTER XXVI.

ON THE SHAPE OF HEAVEN AND EARTH ACCORDING TO THE HINDU
ASTRONOMERS.

CHAPTER XXVII.

ON THE FIRST TWO MOTIONS OF THE UNIVERSE (THAT FROM EAST
WEST ACCORDING TO ANCIENT ASTRONOMERS, AND THE PRECESSION
OF THE EQUINOXES) BOTH ACCORDING TO THE HINDU ASTRONOMERS
AND THE AUTHORS OF THE PURĀṆAS



CONTENTS.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

ON THE DEFINITION OF THE TEN DIRECTIONS.

CHAPTER XXIX.

DEFINITION OF THE INHABITABLE EARTH ACCORDING TO THE HINDUS.

CHAPTER XXX.

ON LAŢKĀ, OR THE CUPOLA OF THE EARTH.

CHAPTER XXXI.

ON THAT DIFFERENCE OF VARIOUS PLACES WHICH WE CALL THE
DIFFERENCE OF LONGITUDE.

CHAPTER XXXII.

ON THE NOTIONS OF DURATION AND TIME IN GENERAL, AND ON THE
CREATION OF THE WORLD AND ITS DESTRUCTION.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

ON THE VARIOUS KINDS OF THE DAY OR NYCHTHEMERON, AND ON
DAY AND NIGHT IN PARTICULAR.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

ON THE DIVISION OF THE NYCHTHEMERON INTO MINOR PARTICLES OF
TIME.

CHAPTER XXXV.

ON THE DIFFERENT KINDS OF MONTHS AND YEARS.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

ON THE FOUR MEASURES OF TIME CALLED MĀNA.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

ON THE PARTS OF THE MONTH AND THE YEAR.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE VARIOUS MEASURES OF TIME COMPOSED OF DAYS, THE LIFE OF
BRAHMAN INCLUDED.



45 CSL

CONTENTS.

13

CHAPTER XXXIX.

MEASURES OF TIME WHICH ARE LARGER THAN THE LIFE OF
BRAHMAN.

CHAPTER XL.

THE SANDHI, THE INTERVAL BETWEEN TWO PERIODS OF TIME,
FORMING THE CONNECTING LINK BETWEEN THEM.

CHAPTER XLI.

DEFINITION OF THE TERMS "KALPA" AND "CATURYUGA," AND AN
EXPLICATION OF THE ONE BY THE OTHER. Page 7.

CHAPTER XLII.

ON THE DIVISION OF THE CATURYUGA INTO YUGAS, AND THE DIFFERENT
OPINIONS REGARDING THE LATTER.

CHAPTER XLIII.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE FOUR YUGAS, AND OF ALL THAT IS EXPECTED
TO TAKE PLACE AT THE END OF THE FOURTH YUGA.

CHAPTER XLIV.

ON THE MANVANTARAS.

CHAPTER XLV.

ON THE CONSTELLATION OF THE GREAT BEAR.

CHAPTER XLVI.

ON NÂRÂYANA, HIS APPEARANCE AT DIFFERENT TIMES, AND HIS
NAMES.

CHAPTER XLVII.

ON VÂSUDEVA AND THE WARS OF THE BHÂRATA.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

AN EXPLANATION OF THE MEASURE OF AN ARSEAHUINI.

CHAPTER XLIX.

A SUMMARY DESCRIPTION OF THE ERAS.



CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

HOW MANY STAR-CYCLES THERE ARE BOTH IN A "KALPA" AND
"CATURYUGA."

CHAPTER II.

AN EXPLANATION OF THE TERMS "ADHIMĀSA," "ÚNARĀTRA," AND
"AHARGAṆAS," AS REPRESENTING DIFFERENT SUMS OF DAYS.

CHAPTER III.

ON THE CALCULATION OF "AHARGANA" IN GENERAL, THAT IS, THE
RESOLUTION OF YEARS AND MONTHS INTO DAYS, AND, VICE VERSA,
THE COMPOSITION OF YEARS AND MONTHS OUT OF DAYS.

CHAPTER LIII.

ON THE AHARGANA, OR THE RESOLUTION OF YEARS INTO MONTHS,
ACCORDING TO SPECIAL RULES WHICH ARE ADOPTED IN THE
CALENDARS FOR CERTAIN DATES OR MOMENTS OF TIME.

CHAPTER LIV.

ON THE COMPUTATION OF THE MEAN PLACES OF THE PLANETS.

CHAPTER LV.

ON THE ORDER OF THE PLANETS, THEIR DISTANCES AND SIZES.

CHAPTER LVI.

ON THE STATIONS OF THE MOON.

CHAPTER LVII.

ON THE HELICAL RISINGS OF THE STARS, AND ON THE CEREMONIES
AND RITES WHICH THE HINDUS PRACTISE AT SUCH A MOMENT.

CHAPTER LVIII.

HOW EBB AND FLOW FOLLOW EACH OTHER IN THE OCEAN.

CHAPTER LIX.

ON THE ECLIPSES OF THE SUN AND MOON.



46

SL

CONTENTS.

15

CHAPTER LX.

ON THE PARVAN.

CHAPTER LXI.

INFLUENCE OF THE DIFFERENT MEASURES OF TIME IN BOTH
PHYSICAL AND ASTRONOMICAL RELATIONS, AND ON CONNECTED
QUESTIONS.

CHAPTER LXII.

SIXTY YEARS-SAMVATSARA, ALSO CALLED "SHASHTYABDA." Page 8

CHAPTER LXIII.

WHICH ESPECIALLY CONCERNS THE BRAHMAN, AND WHAT THEY ARE OBLIGED TO DO DURING THEIR WHOLE LIFE.

CHAPTER LXIV.

RITES AND CUSTOMS WHICH THE OTHER CASTES, BESIDES THE
 BRAHMAN, PRACTISE DURING THEIR LIFETIME.

CHAPTER LXV.

ON THE SACRIFICES.

CHAPTER LXVI.

ON PILGRIMAGE AND THE VISITING OF SACRED PLACES.

CHAPTER LXVII.

OF ALMS, AND HOW A MAN MUST SPEND WHAT HE EARNs.

CHAPTER LXVIII.

HAT IS ALL THAT IS FORBIDDEN IN EATING AND DRINKING.

CHAPTER LXIX.

JAL COURSES, EMBRYOS, AND CHILDREN.



CONTENTS.

CSL

CHAPTER LXXI.

ON PUNISHMENTS AND EXPIATIONS.

CHAPTER LXXII.

ON INHERITANCE, AND WHAT CLAIM THE DECEASED PERSON

CHAPTER LXXIII.

ABOUT WHAT IS DUE TO THE BODIES OF THE DEAD AND OF
(THAT IS, ABOUT BURYING AND SUICIDE).

CHAPTER LXXIV.

ON FASTING, AND THE VARIOUS KINDS OF IT.

CHAPTER LXXV.

ON THE DETERMINATION OF THE FAST-DAYS.

CHAPTER LXXVI.

ON THE FESTIVALS AND FESTIVE DAYS.

CHAPTER LXXVII.

ON DAYS WHICH ARE HELD IN SPECIAL VENERATION, ON LUCK
UNLUCKY TIMES, AND ON SUCH TIMES AS ARE PARTIALLY
FAVOURABLE FOR ACQUIRING IN THEM BLISS IN HEAVEN.

CHAPTER LXXVIII.

ON THE KARASAS.

CHAPTER LXXIX.

ON THE YOGAS.

CHAPTER LXXX.

ON THE INTRODUCTORY PRINCIPLES OF HINDU ASTROLOGY,
SHORT DESCRIPTION OF THEIR METHODS AND ASTROLOGICAL
CALCULATIONS.

CHAPTER LXXI.



CHAPTER I.

ON THE HINDUS IN GENERAL, AS AN INTRODUCTION Page 9.
TO OUR ACCOUNT OF THEM.

BEFORE entering on our exposition, we must form an adequate idea of that which renders it so particularly difficult to penetrate to the essential nature of any Indian subject. The knowledge of these difficulties will either facilitate the progress of our work, or serve as an apology for any shortcomings of ours. For the reader must always bear in mind that the Hindus entirely differ from us in every respect, many a subject appearing intricate and obscure which would be perfectly clear if there were more connection between us. The barriers which separate Muslims and Hindus rest on different causes.

Descrip-
tion of the
barriers
which sepa-
rate the
Hindus
from the
Muslims
and make
it so parti-
cularly dif-
ficult for a
Muslim to
study any
Indian
subject.

First, they differ from us in everything which other nations have in common. And here we first mention the language, although the difference of language also exists between other nations. If you want to conquer this difficulty (*i.e.* to learn Sanskrit), you will not find it easy, because the language is of an enormous range, both in words and inflections, something like the Arabic, calling one and the same thing by various names, both original and derived, and using one and the same word for a variety of subjects, which, in order to be properly understood, must be distinguished from each other by various qualifying epithets. For nobody could distinguish between the various meanings of a word unless he understands the context in which it

First rea-
son : Dif-
ference of
the lan-
guage and
its parti-
cular
nature.



occurs, and its relation both to the following and the preceding parts of the sentence. The Hindus, like other people, boast of this enormous range of their language, whilst in reality it is a defect.

Further, the language is divided into a neglected vernacular one, only in use among the common people, and a classical one, only in use among the upper and educated classes, which is much cultivated, and subject to the rules of grammatical inflection and etymology, and to all the niceties of grammar and rhetoric.

Besides, some of the sounds (consonants) of which the language is composed are neither identical with the sounds of Arabic and Persian, nor resemble them in any way. Our tongue and uvula could scarcely manage to correctly pronounce them, nor our ears in hearing to distinguish them from similar sounds, nor could we transliterate them with our characters. It is very difficult, therefore, to express an Indian word in our writing, for in order to fix the pronunciation we must change our orthographical points and signs, and must pronounce the case-endings either according to the common Arabic rules or according to special rules adapted for the purpose.

Add to this that the Indian scribes are careless, and do not take pains to produce correct and well-collated copies. In consequence, the highest results of the author's mental development are lost by their negligence, and his book becomes already in the first or second copy so full of faults, that the text appears as something entirely new, which neither a scholar nor one familiar with the subject, whether Hindu or Muslim, could any longer understand. It will sufficiently illustrate the matter if we tell the reader that we have sometimes written down a word from the mouth of Hindus, taking the greatest pains to fix its pronunciation, and that afterwards when we repeated it to them, they had great difficulty in recognising it.



As in other foreign tongues, so also in Sanskrit, two or three consonants may follow each other without an intervening vowel—consonants which in our Persian grammatical system are considered as having a *hidden* vowel. Since most Sanskrit words and names begin with such consonants without vowels, we find it very difficult to pronounce them.

Besides, the scientific books of the Hindus are composed in various favourite metres, by which they intend, considering that the books soon become corrupted by additions and omissions, to preserve them exactly as they are, in order to facilitate their being learned by heart, because they consider as canonical only that which is known by heart, not that which exists in writing. Now it is well known that in all metrical compositions there is much misty and constrained phraseology merely intended to fill up the metre and serving as a kind of patchwork, and this necessitates a certain amount of verbosity. This is also one of the reasons why a word has sometimes one meaning and sometimes another. Page 10.

From all this it will appear that the metrical form of literary composition is one of the causes which make the study of Sanskrit literature so particularly difficult.

Secondly, they totally differ from us in religion, as we believe in nothing in which they believe, and *vice versa*. On the whole, there is very little disputing about theological topics among themselves; at the utmost, they fight with words, but they will never stake their soul or body or their property on religious controversy. On the contrary, all their fanaticism is directed against those who do not belong to them—against all foreigners. They call them *mleccha*, i.e., impure, and forbid having any connection with them, be it by intermarriage or any other kind of relationship, or by sitting, eating, and drinking with them, because

Second reason : Their religious prejudices.



thereby, they think, they would be polluted. They consider as impure anything which touches the fire and the water of a foreigner; and no household can exist without these two elements. Besides, they never desire that a thing which once has been polluted should be purified and thus recovered, as, under ordinary circumstances, if anybody or anything has become unclean, he or it would strive to regain the state of purity. They are not allowed to receive anybody who does not belong to them, even if he wished it, or was inclined to their religion. This, too, renders any connection with them quite impossible, and constitutes the widest gulf between us and them.

Third reason: The radical difference of their manners and customs.

In the third place, in all manners and usages they differ from us to such a degree as to frighten their children with us, with our dress, and our ways and customs, and as to declare us to be devil's breed, and our doings as the very opposite of all that is good and proper. By the bye, we must confess, in order to be just, that a similar depreciation of foreigners not only prevails among us and the Hindus, but is common to all nations towards each other. I recollect a Hindu who wreaked his vengeance on us for the following reason:—

Some Hindu king had perished at the hand of an enemy of his who had marched against him from our country. After his death there was born a child to him, which succeeded him, by the name of Sagara. On coming of age, the young man asked his mother about his father, and then she told him what had happened. Now he was inflamed with hatred, marched out of his country into the country of the enemy, and plentifully satiated his thirst of vengeance upon them. After having become tired of slaughtering, he compelled the survivors to dress in our dress, which was meant as an ignominious punishment for them. When I heard of it, I felt thankful that he was gracious enough not



to compel us to Indianise ourselves and to adopt Hindu dress and manners.

Another circumstance which increased the already existing antagonism between Hindus and foreigners is that the so-called Shamaniyya (Buddhists), though they cordially hate the Brahmans, still are nearer akin to them than to others. In former times, Khurâsân, Persis, 'Irâk, Mosul, the country up to the frontier of Syria, was Buddhistic, but then Zarathustra went forth from Âdharbaijân and preached Magism in Balkh (Baktra). His doctrine came into favour with King Gushtasp, and his son Isfendiyâd spread the new faith both in east and west, both by force and by treaties. He founded fire-temples through his whole empire, from the frontiers of China to those of the Greek empire. The succeeding kings made their religion (*i.e.* Zoroastrianism) the obligatory state-religion for Persis and 'Irâk. In consequence, the Buddhists were banished from those countries, and had to emigrate to the countries east of Balkh. There are some Magians up to the present time in India, where they are called *Maga*. From that time dates their aversion towards the countries of Khurâsân. But then came Islam; the Persian empire perished, and the repugnance of the Hindus against foreigners increased more and more when the Muslims began to make their inroads into their country; for Muḥammad Ibn Elḳâsim Ibn Elmunabbih entered Sindh from the side of Sijistân (Sakastene) and conquered the cities of Bahmanwâ and Mûlasthâna, the former of which he called *Al-manṣûra*, the latter *Al-ma'mûra*. He entered India proper, and penetrated even as far as Kanauj, marched through the country of Gandhâra, and on his way back, through the confines of Kashmîr, sometimes fighting sword in hand, sometimes gaining his ends by treaties, leaving to the people their ancient belief, except in the case of those who wanted to become Muslims. All these events planted a deeply rooted hatred in their hearts.

Fourth reason: Aversion of the Buddhists towards the countries of the West, whence they had been expelled. First inroads of the Muslims into India.

Page 11.



Muham-
madan con-
quest of the
country by
Mahmūd.

Now in the following times no Muslim conqueror passed beyond the frontier of Kâbul and the river Sindh until the days of the Turks, when they seized the power in Ghazna under the Sâmanî dynasty, and the supreme power fell to the lot of Nâsir-addaula Sabuktigin. This prince chose the holy war as his calling, and therefore called himself *Al-ghâzî* (i.e. *warring on the road of Allah*). In the interest of his successors he constructed, in order to weaken the Indian frontier, those roads on which afterwards his son Yamin-addaula Mahmūd marched into India during a period of thirty years and more. God be merciful to both father and son! Mahmūd utterly ruined the prosperity of the country, and performed there wonderful exploits, by which the Hindus became like atoms of dust scattered in all directions, and like a tale of old in the mouth of the people. Their scattered remains cherish, of course, the most inveterate aversion towards all Muslims. This is the reason, too, why Hindu sciences have retired far away from those parts of the country conquered by us, and have fled to places which our hand cannot yet reach, to Kashmîr, Benares, and other places. And there the antagonism between them and all foreigners receives more and more nourishment both from political and religious sources.

Fifth rea-
son: The
self-conceit
of the Hin-
dus, and
their de-
preciation of
anything
foreign.

In the fifth place, there are other causes, the mention-
ing of which sounds like a satire—peculiarities of their
national character, deeply rooted in them, but manifest
to everybody. We can only say, folly is an illness for
which there is no medicine, and the Hindus believe that
there is no country but theirs, no nation like theirs, no
kings like theirs, no religion like theirs, no science like
theirs. They are haughty, foolishly vain, self-conceited,
and stolid. They are by nature niggardly in communi-
cating that which they know, and they take the greatest
possible care to withhold it from men of another caste
among their own people, still much more, of course



from any foreigner. According to their belief, there is no other country on earth but theirs, no other race of man but theirs, and no created beings besides them have any knowledge or science whatsoever. Their haughtiness is such that, if you tell them of any science or scholar in Khurāsān and Persis, they will think you to be both an ignoramus and a liar. If they travelled and mixed with other nations, they would soon change their mind, for their ancestors were not as narrow-minded as the present generation is. One of their scholars, Varāhamihira, in a passage where he calls on the people to honour the Brahmans, says: "*The Greeks, though impure, must be honoured, since they were trained in sciences, and therein excelled others. What, then, are we to say of a Brahman, if he combines with his*" Page 12.
purity the height of science?" In former times, the Hindus used to acknowledge that the progress of science due to the Greeks is much more important than that which is due to themselves. But from this passage of Varāhamihira alone you see what a self-lauding man he is, whilst he gives himself airs as doing justice to others. At first I stood to their astronomers in the relation of a pupil to his master, being a stranger among them and not acquainted with their peculiar national and traditional methods of science. On having made some progress, I began to show them the elements on which this science rests, to point out to them some rules of logical deduction and the scientific methods of all mathematics, and then they flocked together round me from all parts, wondering, and most eager to learn from me, asking me at the same time from what Hindu master I had learnt those things, whilst in reality I showed them what they were worth, and thought myself a great deal superior to them, disdaining to be put on a level with them. They almost thought me to be a sorcerer, and when speaking of me to their leading men in their native tongue, they spoke of me as *the sea* or as



the water which is so acid that vinegar in comparison is sweet.

Personal
relations of
the author.

Now such is the state of things in India. I have found it very hard to work my way into the subject, although I have a great liking for it, in which respect I stand quite alone in my time, and although I do not spare either trouble or money in collecting Sanskrit books from places where I supposed they were likely to be found, and in procuring for myself, even from very remote places, Hindu scholars who understand them and are able to teach me. What scholar, however, has the same favourable opportunities of studying this subject as I have? That would be only the case with one to whom the grace of God accords, what it did not accord to me, a perfectly free disposal of his own doings and goings; for it has never fallen to my lot in my own doings and goings to be perfectly independent, nor to be invested with sufficient power to dispose and to order as I thought best. However, I thank God for that which he has bestowed upon me, and which must be considered as sufficient for the purpose.

The author
declares his
intention of
comparing
Greek
theories,
because of
their being
near akin,
and of their
strictly
scientific
character as
contrasted
with those of
the Hindus.

The heathen Greeks, before the rise of Christianity, held much the same opinions as the Hindus; their educated classes thought much the same as those of the Hindus; their common people held the same idolatrous views as those of the Hindus. Therefore I like to confront the theories of the one nation with those of the other simply on account of their close relationship, not in order to correct them. For that which is not *the truth* (i.e. the true belief or monotheism) does not admit of any correction, and all heathenism, whether Greek or Indian, is in its pith and marrow one and the same belief, because it is only a deviation *from the truth*. The Greeks, however, had philosophers who, living in their country, discovered and worked out for them the elements of science, not of popular superstition, for it is the object of the upper



classes to be guided by the results of science, whilst the common crowd will always be inclined to plunge into wrong-headed wrangling, as long as they are not kept down by fear of punishment. Think of Socrates when he opposed the crowd of his nation as to their idolatry and did not want to call the stars gods! At once eleven of the twelve judges of the Athenians agreed on a sentence of death, and Socrates died faithful to the truth.

The Hindus had no men of this stamp both capable and willing to bring sciences to a classical perfection. Therefore you mostly find that even the so-called scientific theorems of the Hindus are in a state of utter confusion, devoid of any logical order, and in the last instance always mixed up with the silly notions of the crowd, e.g. immense numbers, enormous spaces of time, and all kinds of religious dogmas, which the vulgar belief does not admit of being called into question. Therefore it is a prevailing practice among the Hindus *jurare in verba magistri*; and I can only compare their mathematical and astronomical literature, as far as I know it, to a mixture of pearl shells and sour dates, or of pearls and dung, or of costly crystals and common pebbles. Both kinds of things are equal in their eyes, since they cannot raise themselves to the methods of a strictly scientific deduction. Page 13.

In most parts of my work I simply relate without criticising, unless there be a special reason for doing so. I mention the necessary Sanskrit names and technical terms once where the context of our explanation demands it. If the word is an *original* one, the meaning of which can be rendered in Arabic, I only use the corresponding Arabic word; if, however, the Sanskrit word be more practical, we keep this, trying to transliterate it as accurately as possible. If the word is a secondary or *derived* one, but in general use, we also keep it, though there be a corresponding term in Arabic, but before using it we explain its signification. In The author's method.



this way we have tried to facilitate the understanding of the terminology.

Lastly, we observe that we cannot always in our discussions strictly adhere to the geometrical method, only referring to that which precedes and never to that which follows, as we must sometimes introduce in a chapter an unknown factor, the explanation of which can only be given in a later part of the book, God helping us !



CHAPTER II.

ON THE BELIEF OF THE HINDUS IN GOD.

THE belief of educated and uneducated people differs in every nation; for the former strive to conceive abstract ideas and to define general principles, whilst the latter do not pass beyond the apprehension of the senses, and are content with derived rules, without caring for details, especially in questions of religion and law, regarding which opinions and interests are divided. The nature of God.

The Hindus believe with regard to God that he is one, eternal, without beginning and end, acting by free-will, almighty, all-wise, living, giving life, ruling, preserving; one who in his sovereignty is unique, beyond all likeness and unlikeness, and that he does not resemble anything nor does anything resemble him. In order to illustrate this we shall produce some extracts from their literature, lest the reader should think that our account is nothing but hearsay.

In the book of Patanjali the pupil asks:

“Who is the worshipped one, by the worship of whom blessing is obtained?” Quotation from Patanjali.

The master says:

“It is he who, being eternal and unique, does not for his part stand in need of any human action for which he might give as a recompense either a blissful repose, which is hoped and longed for, or a troubled existence, which is feared and dreaded. He is unattainable to thought, being sublime beyond all unlikeness which is abhorrent and all likeness which is sympathetic. He



by his essence knows from all eternity. *Knowledge*, in the human sense of the term, has as its object that which was *unknown* before, whilst *not knowing* does not at any time or in any condition apply to God."

Further the pupil speaks :

"Do you attribute to him other qualities besides those you have mentioned ?"

The master says :

"He is height, absolute in the idea, not in *space*, for he is sublime beyond all existence in *any space*. He is the pure absolute good, longed for by every created being. He is the knowledge free from the defilement of forgetfulness and not-knowing."

The pupil speaks :

"Do you attribute to him speech or not ?"

The master says :

"As he knows, he no doubt also speaks."

The pupil asks :

"If he *speaks* because he *knows*, what, then, is the difference between him and the *knowing* sages who have *spoken* of their *knowing* ?"

The master says :

Page 14. "The difference between them is time, for they have learned in time and spoken in time, after having been not-knowing and not-speaking. By speech they have transferred their knowledge to others. Therefore their speaking and acquiring knowledge take place in time. And as divine matters have no connection with time, God is *knowing*, *speaking* from eternity. It was he who spoke to Brahman, and to others of the first beings in different ways. On the one he bestowed a book; for the other he opened a door, a means of communicating with him; a third one he inspired so that he obtained by cogitation what God bestowed upon him."

The pupil asks :

"Whence has he this knowing ?"

The master answers :



"His knowing is the same from all eternity, for ever and ever. As he has never been not-knowing, he is *knowing* of himself, having never acquired any knowledge which he did not possess before. He speaks in the Veda which he sent down upon Brahman :

"Praise and celebrate him who has spoken the Veda, and was before the Veda."

The pupil asks :

"How do you worship him to whom the perception of the senses cannot attain?"

The master says :

"His name proves his existence, for where there is a report there must be something to which it refers, and where there is a name there must be something which is named. He is hidden to the senses and unperceivable by them. However, the soul perceives him, and thought comprehends his qualities. This meditation is identical with worshipping him exclusively, and by practising it uninterruptedly beatitude is obtained."

In this way the Hindus express themselves in this very famous book.

The following passage is taken from the book *Gītā*, Quotation from the book *Gītā*. a part of the book *Bhārata*, from the conversation between Vāsudeva and Arjuna:—

"I am the universe, without a beginning by being born, or without an end by dying. I do not aim by whatever I do at any recompense. I do not specially belong to one class of beings to the exclusion of others, as if I were the friend of one and the enemy of others. I have given to each one in my creation what is sufficient for him in all his functions. Therefore whoever knows me in this capacity, and tries to become similar to me by keeping desire apart from his action, his fetters will be loosened, and he will easily be saved and freed."

This passage reminds one of the definition of philo-



sophy as *the striving to become as much as possible similar to God*.

Further, Vāsudeva speaks in the same book :—

“ It is desire which causes most men to take refuge with God for their wants. But if you examine their case closely, you will find that they are very far from having an accurate knowledge of him ; for God is not apparent to every one, so that he might perceive him with his senses. Therefore they do not know him. Some of them do not pass beyond what their senses perceive ; some pass beyond this, but stop at the knowledge of the *laws of nature*, without learning that above them there is one who did not give birth nor was born, the essence of whose being has not been comprehended by the knowledge of any one, while *his* knowledge comprehends everything.”

On the
notions of
the action
and the
agent.

The Hindus differ among themselves as to the definition of what is *action*. Some who make God the source of action consider him as the universal cause ; for as the existence of the *agents* derives from him, he is the cause of their action, and in consequence it is his own action coming into existence through their intermediation. Others do not derive action from God, but from other sources, considering them as the *particular causes* which in the last instance—according to external observation—produce the action in question.

Quotation
from the
book
Sāṃkhya.

In the book *Sāṃkhya* the devotee speaks : “ Has there been a difference of opinion about *action* and the *agent*, or not ? ”

Page 15.

The sage speaks : “ Some people say that the soul is not alive and the matter not living ; that God, who is self-sufficing, is he who unites them and separates them from each other ; that therefore in reality he himself is the *agent*. *Action* proceeds from him in such a way that he causes both the soul and the matter to move, like as that which is living and powerful moves that which is dead and weak.



"Others say that the union of *action* and the *agent* is effected by nature, and that such is the usual process in everything that increases and decreases.

"Others say the agent is the soul, because in the Vêda it is said, 'Every being comes from Purusha.' According to others, the agent is time, for the world is tied to time as a sheep is tied to a strong cord, so that its motion depends upon whether the cord is drawn tight or slackened. Still others say that action is nothing but a recompense for something which has been done before.

"All these opinions are wrong. The truth is, that action entirely belongs to matter, for matter binds the soul, causes it to wander about in different shapes, and then sets it free. Therefore matter is the agent, all that belongs to matter helps it to accomplish action. But the soul is not an agent, because it is devoid of the different faculties."

This is what educated people believe about God. They call him *îsvara*, i.e. self-sufficing, beneficent, who gives without receiving. They consider the unity of God as absolute, but that everything beside God which may appear as a unity is really a plurality of things. The existence of God they consider as a real existence, because everything that exists exists through him. It is not impossible to think that the existing beings are *not* and that he *is*, but it is impossible to think that he *is not* and that they *are*.

Philosophical and vulgar notions about the nature of God.

If we now pass from the ideas of the educated people among the Hindus to those of the common people, we must first state that they present a great variety. Some of them are simply abominable, but similar errors also occur in other religions. Nay, even in Islam we must decidedly disapprove, e.g. of the anthropomorphic doctrines, the teachings of the Jabriyya sect, the prohibition of the discussion of religious topics, and such like. Every religious sentence destined for the people at large must



be carefully worded, as the following example shows. Some Hindu scholar calls God *a point*, meaning to say thereby that the qualities of bodies do not apply to him. Now some uneducated man reads this and imagines, God is as small as *a point*, and he does not find out what the word *point* in this sentence was really intended to express. He will not even stop with this offensive comparison, but will describe God as much larger, and will say, "He is twelve fingers long and ten fingers broad." Praise be to God, who is far above measure and number! Further, if an uneducated man hears what we have mentioned, that God comprehends the universe so that nothing is concealed from him, he will at once imagine that this comprehending is effected by means of eyesight; that eyesight is only possible by means of an eye, and that two eyes are better than only one; and in consequence he will describe God as having a thousand eyes, meaning to describe his omniscience.

Similar hideous fictions are sometimes met with among the Hindus, especially among those castes who are not allowed to occupy themselves with science, of whom we shall speak hereafter.



CHAPTER III.

ON THE HINDU BELIEF AS TO CREATED THINGS, BOTH
“INTELLIGIBILIA” AND “SENSIBILIA.”

ON this subject the ancient Greeks held nearly the same views as the Hindus, at all events in those times before philosophy rose high among them under the care of the seven so-called *pillars of wisdom*, viz. Solon of Athens, Bias of Priene, Periander of Corinth, Thales of Miletus, Chilon of Lacedæmon, Pittacus of Lesbos, and Cleobulus of Lindos, and their successors. Some of them thought that all things are *one*, and this *one* thing is according to some τὸ λαμβάνειν, according to others ἡ δύναμις; that e.g. man has only this prerogative before a stone and the inanimate world, that he is by one degree nearer than they to the *First Cause*. But this he would not be anything better than they.

Notions of the Greeks and the Sūfī philosophers as to the *First Cause*.

Page 16.

Others think that only the *First Cause* has real existence, because it alone is self-sufficing, whilst everything else absolutely requires it; that a thing which for its existence stands in need of something else has only a dream-life, no real life, and that reality is only that *one* and *first* being (the *First Cause*).

This is also the theory of the *Sūfīs*, i.e. the *sages*, for *sūf* means in Greek *wisdom* (σοφία). Therefore a philosopher is called *philosophos* (φιλόσοφος), i.e. loving wisdom. When in Islam persons adopted something like the doctrines of these *philosophers*, they also adopted their name; but some people did not understand the meaning of the word, and erroneously combined it with

Origin of the word *Sūfī*.



the Arabic word *suffa*, as if the *Ṣūfī* (= *φιλόσοφοι*) were identical with the so-called 'Ahl-*assuffa* among the companions of Muḥammad. In later times the word was corrupted by misspelling, so that finally it was taken for a derivation from *ṣūf*, i.e. *the wool of goats*. Abū-alfath Albustī made a laudable effort to avoid this mistake when he said, "From olden times people have differed as to the meaning of the word *ṣūfī*, and have thought it a derivative from *ṣūf*, i.e. wool. I, for my part, understand by the word a youth who is *ṣūfī*, i.e. pure. This *ṣūfī* has become *sūfī*, and in this form the name of a class of thinkers, the *Ṣūfī*."

Further, the same Greeks think that the existing world is only *one* thing; that the First Cause appears in it under various shapes; that the power of the First Cause is inherent in the parts of the world under different circumstances, which cause a certain difference of the things of the world notwithstanding their original unity.

Others thought that he who turns with his whole being towards the First Cause, striving to become as much as possible similar to *it*, will become united with *it* after having passed the intermediate stages, and stripped of all appendages and impediments. Similar views are also held by the *Ṣūfī*, because of the similarity of the dogma.

As to the souls and spirits, the Greeks think that they exist by themselves before they enter bodies; that they exist in certain numbers and groups, which stand in various relations to each other, knowing each other and not knowing; that they, whilst staying in bodies, earn by the actions of their free-will that lot which awaits them after their separation from the bodies, i.e. the faculty of ruling the world in various ways. Therefore they called them gods, built temples in their names and offered them sacrifices; as Galenus says in his book called *προτρεπτικὸς εἰς τὰς τέχνας*: "Excel-



lent men have obtained the honour of being reckoned among the deified beings only for the noble spirit in which they cultivated the arts, not for their prowess in wrestling and discus-throwing. *E.g.* Asclepius and Dionysos, whether they were originally human beings in bygone times and afterwards deified, or were divine beings from the very beginning, deserved in any case the greatest of honours, because the one taught mankind the science of medicine, the other the art of the cultivation of the vine." Page 17.

Galenus says in his commentary on the aphorisms of Hippocrates: "As regards the offerings to Asclepius, we have never heard that anybody offered him a goat, because the weaving of goat's-hair is not easy, and much goat's-meat produces epilepsy, since the humours of the goats are bad. People only offer him a cock, as also Hippocrates has done. For this divine man acquired for mankind the art of medicine, which is much superior to that which Dionysos and Demeter have invented, *i.e.* the wine and the cereals whence bread is prepared. Therefore cereals are called by the name of Demeter and the vine is called by the name of Dionysos."

Plato says in his *Timæus*: "The *θεοί* whom the Plato. barbarians call *gods*, because of their not dying, are the *δαίμονες*, whilst they call the god *the first god*."

Further he says: "God spoke to the gods, 'You are not of yourselves exempt from destruction. Only you will not perish by death. You have obtained from my will at the time when I created you, the firmest covenant.'"

In another passage of the same book he says: "God is in the single number; there are no gods in the plural number."

These quotations prove that the Greeks call in general *god* everything that is glorious and noble, and the like usage exists among many nations. They go



even so far as to call *gods* the mountains, the seas, &c. Secondly, they apply the term *god* in a special sense to the *First Cause*, to the angels, and to their souls. According to a third usage, Plato calls gods the *Sekinat* (= *Μοῦσαι*). But on this subject the terms of the interpreters are not perfectly clear; in consequence of which we only know the name, but not what it means. Johannes Grammaticus says in his refutation of Proclus: "The Greeks gave the name of gods to the visible bodies in heaven, as many barbarians do. Afterwards, when they came to philosophise on the abstract ideas of the world of thought, they called these by the name of gods."

Johannes
Gramma-
ticus.

Hence we must necessarily infer that being deified means something like the state of angels, according to our notions. This Galenus says in clear words in the same book: "If it is true that Asclepius was a man in bygone times, and that then God deigned to make him one of the angels, everything else is idle talk."

Galenus.

In another passage of the same book he says: "God spoke to Lyeurgus, 'I am in doubt concerning you, whether to call you a man or an angel, but I incline to the latter.'"

Difference
of denomi-
nating God
in Arabic,
Hebrew,
and Syriac.

There are, however, certain expressions which are offensive according to the notions of one religion, whilst they are admissible according to those of another, which may pass in one language, whilst they are rejected by another. To this class belongs the word *apotheosis*, which has a bad sound in the ears of Muslims. If we consider the use of the word *god* in the Arabic language, we find that all the names by which the *pure truth*, i.e. Allāh, has been named, may somehow or other be applied to other beings besides him, except the word *Allāh*, which only applies to *God*, and which has been called his *greatest name*.

Page 13.

If we consider the use of the word in Hebrew and



Syriac, in which two languages the sacred books before the Koran were revealed, we find that in the Thora and the following books of prophets which are reckoned with the Thora as one whole, that word *Rabb* corresponds to the word *Allāh* in Arabic, in so far as it cannot in a genitive construction be applied to anybody besides God, and you cannot say the *rabb* of the house, the *rabb* of the property (which in Arabic is allowed). And, secondly, we find that the word *'Eloah* in Hebrew corresponds in its usage there to the word *Rabb* in Arabic (*i.e.* that in Hebrew the word אלהים may apply to other beings but *God*, like the word رب in Arabic). The following passages occur in those books :—

“The sons of *Elohim* came in unto the daughters of men” (Gen. vi. 4), before the deluge, and cohabited with them.

“Satan entered together with the sons of *Elohim* into their meeting” (Job i. 6).

In the Thora of Moses God speaks to him : “I have made thee a *god* to Pharaoh” (Exod. vii. 1).

In the 82d Psalm of the Psalter of David the following occurs : “God standeth in the congregation of the *gods*” (Ps. lxxxii. 1), *i.e.* of the angels.

In the Thora the idols are called *foreign gods*. If the Thora had not forbidden to worship any other being but God, if it had not forbidden people to prostrate themselves before the idols, nay, even to mention them and to think of them, one might infer from this expression (*foreign gods*) that the order of the Bible refers only to the abolition of *foreign gods*, which would mean *gods that are not Hebrew ones* (as if the Hebrews had adored *national gods*, in opposition to the *gods* of their neighbours). The nations round Palestine were idol worshippers like the heathen Greeks, and the Israelites always rebelled against God by worshipping the idol of Baal (lit. *Ba'la*) and the idol of Ashtârôth, *i.e.* Venus.

From all this it is evident that the Hebrews used to



apply the term *being god*, grammatically a term like *being king*, to the angels, to the souls invested with divine power (v. p. 34); by way of comparison, also, to the images which were made to represent the bodies of those beings; lastly, metaphorically, to kings and to other great men.

Passing from the word *God* to those of *father* and *son*, we must state that Islam is not liberal in the use of them; for in Arabic the word *son* means nearly always as much as a *child* in the natural order of things, and from the ideas involved in parentage and birth can never be derived any expression meaning the Eternal Lord of creation. Other languages, however, take much more liberty in this respect; so that if people address a man by *father*, it is nearly the same as if they addressed him by *sir*. As is well known, phrases of this kind have become so prevalent among the Christians, that anybody who does not always use the words *father* and *son* in addressing people would scarcely be considered as one of them. By *the son* they understand most especially Jesus, but apply it also to others besides him. It is Jesus who orders his disciples to say in prayer, "O our *father* which art in heaven" (St. Matt. vi. 9); and informing them of his approaching death, he says that he is going to his *father* and to their *father* (St. John xx. 17). In most of his speeches he explains the word *the son* as meaning himself, that he is *the son of man*.

Besides the Christians, the Jews too use similar expressions; for the 2d Book of Kings relates that God consoled David for the loss of his son, who had been borne to him by the wife of Uriah, and promised him another son from her, whom he would *adopt as his own son* (1 Chron. xxii. 9, 10). If the use of the Hebrew language admits that Salomo is by adoption a son of God, it is admissible that he who adopted was a *father*, viz. God.



The Manichæans stand in a near relationship to the Christians. Mânî expresses himself in a similar way in the book called *Kanz-al'ihyâ* (*Thesaurus Vivificationis*): "The resplendent hosts will be called young women and virgins, fathers and mothers, sons, brothers, and sisters, because such is the custom in the books of the prophets. In the country of joy there is neither male nor female, nor are there organs of generation. All are invested with living bodies. Since they have divine bodies, they do not differ from each other in weakness and force, in length and shortness, in figure and looks; they are like similar lamps, which are lighted by the same lamp, and which are nourished by the same material. The cause of this kind of name-giving arises, in the last instance, from the rivalry of the two realms in mixing up with each other. When the low dark realm rose from the abyss of chaos, and was seen by the high resplendent realm as consisting of pairs of male and female beings, the latter gave similar outward forms to its own children, who started to fight that other world, so that it placed in the fight one kind of beings opposite the same kind of the other world."

Note on
the Mani
chæans.

The educated among the Hindus abhor anthropomorphisms of this kind, but the crowd and the members of the single sects use them most extensively. They go even beyond all we have hitherto mentioned, so as to speak of wife, son, daughter, of the rendering pregnant and other physical processes, all in connection with God. They are even so little pious, that, when speaking of these things, they do not even abstain from silly and unbecoming language. However, nobody minds these classes and their theories, though they be numerous. The main and most essential point of the Hindu world of thought is that which the Brahmans think and believe, for they are specially trained for preserving and maintaining their religion. And this it is which we shall explain, viz. the belief of the Brahmans.

Notions of
the edu-
cated Hin-
dus. All
created
beings are
a unity.



Regarding the whole creation ($\tau\acute{o} \delta\acute{\nu}$), they think that it is a unity, as has already been declared, because Vāsudeva speaks in the book called *Gītā*: “To speak accurately, we must say that all things are divine; for Vishnu made himself the earth that the living beings should rest thereupon; he made himself water to nourish them thereby; he made himself fire and wind in order to make them grow; and he made himself the heart of every single being. He presented them with recollection and knowledge and the two opposite qualities, as is mentioned in the Veda.”

How much does this resemble the expression of the author of the book of Apollonius, *De Causis Rerum*, as if the one had been taken from the other! He says: “There is in all men a divine power, by which all things, both material and immaterial, are apprehended.” Thus in Persian the immaterial Lord is called *Khudhā*, and in a derivative sense the word is also used to mean a man., i.e. a human lord.

Purusha.

I. Those Hindus who prefer clear and accurate definitions to vague allusions call the soul *purusha*, which means *man*, because it is the living element in the existing world. Life is the only attribute which they give to it. They describe it as alternately knowing and not knowing, as not knowing $\acute{\epsilon}\nu \pi\rho\acute{\alpha}\xi\epsilon\iota$ (actually), and as knowing $\acute{\epsilon}\nu \delta\upsilon\nu\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\iota$ (potentially), gaining knowledge by acquisition. The not-knowing of *purusha* is the cause why action comes into existence, and its knowing is the cause why action ceases.

Page 20.

Avyakta.

II. Next follows the general matter, i.e. the abstract $\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\eta$, which they call *avyakta*, i.e. a shapeless thing. It is dead, but has three powers potentially, not actually, which are called *sattva*, *rajas*, and *tamas*. I have heard that Buddhodana (*sic*), in speaking to his adherents the Shamanians, calls them *buddha*, *dharma*, *saṅgha*, as it were *intelligence*, *religion*, and *ignorance* (*sic*). The first power is rest and goodness, and hence come existing



and growing. The second is exertion and fatigue, and hence come firmness and duration. The third is languor and irresolution, and hence come ruin and perishing. Therefore the first power is attributed to the angels, the second to men, the third to the animals. The ideas *before*, *afterwards*, and *thereupon* may be predicated of all these things only in the sense of a certain sequence and on account of the inadequacy of language, but not so as to indicate any ordinary notions of time.

III. Matter proceeding from *δύναμις* into *πρᾶξις* under the various shapes and with the *three primary forces* is called *vyakta*, i.e. *having shape*, whilst the union of the *abstract ὕλη* and of the *shaped matter* is called *prakṛiti*. This term, however, is of no use to us; we do not want to speak of an *abstract matter*, the term *matter* alone being sufficient for us, since the one does not exist without the other.

Vyakta and prakṛiti.

IV. Next comes *nature*, which they call *ahaṅkāra*. The word is derived from the ideas of *overpowering*, *developing*, and *self-assertion*, because matter when assuming shape causes things to develop into new forms, and this growing consists in the changing of a foreign element and assimilating it to the growing one. Hence it is as if *Nature* were trying to overpower those *other* or foreign elements in this process of changing them, and were subduing that which is changed.

Ahaṅkāra.

V.-IX. As a matter of course, each compound pre-supposes simple elements from which it is compounded and into which it is resolved again. The universal existences in the world are the five elements, i.e. according to the Hindus: heaven, wind, fire, water, and earth. They are called *mahābhūta*, i.e. *having great natures*. They do not think, as other people do, that the fire is a hot dry body near the bottom of the ether. They understand by fire the common fire on earth which comes from an inflammation of smoke. The *Vāyu Purāṇa* says: "In the beginning were earth, water, wind,

Mahābhūta.

Annotation from Vāyu Purāṇa.



and heaven, Brahman, on seeing sparks under the earth, brought them forward and divided them into three parts: the first, *pārthiva*, is the common fire, which requires wood and is extinguished by water; the second is *divya*, i.e. the sun; the third, *vidyut*, i.e. the lightning. The sun attracts the water; the lightning shines through the water. In the animals, also, there is fire in the midst of moist substances, which serve to nourish the fire and do not extinguish it."

Pañca
mātāras.
Page 21.

X.-XIV. As these elements are compound, they presuppose simple ones which are called *pañca mātāras*, i.e. five mothers. They describe them as the functions of the senses. The simple element of heaven is *śabda*, i.e. that which is heard; that of the wind is *sparsa*, i.e. that which is touched; that of the fire is *rūpa*, i.e. that which is seen; that of the water is *rasa*, i.e. that which is tasted; and that of the earth is *gandha*, i.e. that which is smelled. With each of these *mahābhūta* elements (earth, water, &c.) they connect, firstly, *one* of the *pañca-mātāras* elements, as we have here shown; and, secondly, all those which have been attributed to the *mahābhūta* elements previously mentioned. So the earth has all five qualities; the water has them *minus* the smelling (= four qualities); the fire has them *minus* the smelling and tasting (i.e. three qualities); the wind has them *minus* smelling, tasting, and seeing (i.e. two qualities); heaven has them *minus* smelling, tasting, seeing, and touching (i.e. one quality).

I do not know what the Hindus mean by bringing *sound* into relation with heaven. Perhaps they mean something similar to what Homer, the poet of the ancient Greeks, said, "*Those invested with the seven melodies speak and give answer to each other in a pleasant tone.*" Thereby he meant the seven planets; as another poet says, "*The spheres endowed with different melodies are seven, moving eternally, praising the Creator, for it is he who holds them and embraces them unto the farthest end of the starless sphere.*"



Porphyry says in his book on the opinions of the most prominent philosophers about the nature of the sphere : "The heavenly bodies moving about in forms and shapes and with wonderful melodies, which are fixed for ever, as Pythagoras and Diogenes have explained, point to their Creator, who is without equal and without shape. People say that Diogenes had such subtle senses that he, and *he* alone, could hear the sound of the motion of the sphere."

All these expressions are rather hints than clear speech, but admitting of a correct interpretation on a scientific basis. Some successor of those philosophers, one of those who did not grasp the full truth, says : "Sight is watery, hearing airy, smelling fiery, tasting earthy, and touching is what the soul bestows upon everybody by uniting itself with it." I suppose this philosopher connects the sight with the water because he had heard of the moist substances of the eye and of their different classes (*lacuna*) ; he refers the smelling to the fire on account of frankincense and smoke ; the tasting to the earth because of his nourishment which the earth yields him. As, then, the four elements are finished, he is compelled for the fifth sense, the touching, to have recourse to the soul.

The result of all these elements which we have enumerated, *i.e.* a compound of all of them, is the animal. The Hindus consider the plants as a species of animal as Plato also thinks that the plants have a sense, because they have the faculty of distinguishing between that which suits them and that which is detrimental to them. The animal is an animal as distinguished from a stone by virtue of its possession of the senses.

XV.—XIX. The senses are five, called *indriyāni*, the Indriyāni. hearing by the ear, the seeing by the eye, the smelling by the nose, the tasting by the tongue, and the touching by the skin.

XX. Next follows the will, which directs the senses Manas.



in the exercise of their various functions, and which dwells in the heart. Therefore they call it *manas*.

Karmendri-
yāni.

Page 22.

XXI.-XXV. The animal nature is rendered perfect by five *necessary functions*, which they call *karmendri-yāni*, i.e. the senses of action. The former senses bring about learning and knowledge, the latter action and work. We shall call them the *necessaria*. They are :
1. To produce a sound for any of the different wants and wishes a man may have; 2. To throw the hands with force, in order to draw towards or to put away; 3. To walk with the feet, in order to seek something or to fly from it; 4, 5. The ejection of the superfluous elements of nourishment by means of the two openings created for the purpose.

Recapitula-
tion of the
twenty-five
elements.

The whole of these elements are twenty-five, viz. :—

1. The general soul.
2. The abstract *ūlā*.
3. The shaped matter.
4. The overpowering nature.
- 5-9. The simple mothers.
- 10-14. The primary elements.
- 15-19. The senses of apperception.
20. The directing will.
- 21-25. The instrumental *necessaria*.

The totality of these elements is called *tattva*, and all knowledge is restricted to them. Therefore Vyāsa the son of Parāśara speaks: "Learn twenty-five by distinctions, definitions, and divisions, as you learn a logical syllogism, and something which is a certainty, not merely studying with the tongue. Afterwards adhere to whatever religion you like; your end will be salvation."



CHAPTER IV.

FROM WHAT CAUSE ACTION ORIGINATES, AND HOW THE
SOUL IS CONNECTED WITH MATTER.

VOLUNTARY actions cannot originate in the body of any animal, unless the body be living and exist in close contact with that which is living of itself, *i.e.* the soul. The Hindus maintain that the soul is *ἐν πράξει*, not *ἐν δυνάμει*, ignorant of its own essential nature and of its material substratum, longing to apprehend what it does not know, and believing that it cannot exist unless by matter. As, therefore, it longs for the good which is duration, and wishes to learn that which is hidden from it, it starts off in order to be united with matter. However, substances which are dense and such as are *tenuous*, if they have these qualities in the very highest degree, can mix together only by means of intermediary elements which stand in a certain relation to each of the two. Thus the air is the medium between fire and water, which are opposed to each other by these two qualities, for the air is related to the fire in tenuity and to the water in density, and by either of these qualities it renders the one capable of mixing with the other. Now, there is no greater antithesis than that between *body* and *not-body*. Therefore the soul, being what it is, cannot obtain the fulfilment of its wish but by similar media, spirits which derive their existence from the *matres simplices* in the worlds called *Bhūrlōka*, *Bhuvārlōka*, and *Svarlōka*. The Hindus call them *tenuous bodies* over which the soul rises like the

The soul
longing to
be united
with the
body, is so
united by
intermedi-
ary spirits.



sun over the earth, in order to distinguish them from the *dense bodies* which derive their existence from the common five elements. The soul, in consequence of this union with the media, uses them as its vehicles. Thus the image of the sun, though he is only *one*, is represented in many mirrors which are placed opposite to him, as also in the water of vessels placed opposite. The sun is seen alike in each mirror and each vessel, and in each of them his warming and light-giving effect is perceived.

Page 23.

Five winds regulating the functions of the body.

When, now, the various bodies, being from their nature compounds of different things, come into existence, being composed of *male* elements, viz. bones, veins, and sperma, and of *female* elements, viz. flesh, blood, and hair, and being thus fully prepared to receive life, then those spirits unite themselves with them, and the bodies are to the spirits what castles or fortresses are to the various affairs of princes. In a farther stage of development five winds enter the bodies. By the first and second of them the inhaling and exhaling are effected, by the third the mixture of the victuals in the stomach, by the fourth the locomotion of the body from one place to the other, by the fifth the transferring of the apperception of the senses from one side of the body to the other.

The difference of the souls depending upon the difference of the bodies and their interaction.

The spirits here mentioned do not, according to the notions of the Hindus, differ from each other in substance, but have a precisely identical nature. However, their individual characters and manners differ in the same measure as the bodies with which they are united differ, on account of the three forces which are in them striving with each other for supremacy, and on account of their harmony being disturbed by the passions of envy and wrath.

Such, then, is the supreme highest cause of the soul's starting off into action.

On the other hand, the *lowest* cause, as proceeding



from matter, is this : that matter for its part seeks for perfection, and always prefers that which is better to that which is less good, viz. proceeding from *δύναμις* into *πράξις*. In consequence of the vainglory and ambition which are its pith and marrow, matter produces and shows all kinds of possibilities which it contains to its pupil, the soul, and carries it round through all classes of vegetable and animal beings. Hindus compare the soul to a dancing-girl who is clever in her art and knows well what effect each motion and pose of hers has. She is in the presence of a sybarite most eager of enjoying what she has learned. Now she begins to produce the various kinds of her art one after the other under the admiring gaze of the host, until her programme is finished and the eagerness of the spectator has been satisfied. Then she stops suddenly, since she could not produce anything but a repetition ; and as a repetition is not wished for, he dismisses her, and action ceases. The close of this kind of relation is illustrated by the following simile: A caravan has been attacked in the desert by robbers, and the members of it have fled in all directions except a blind man and a lame man, who remain on the spot in helplessness, despairing of their escape. After they meet and recognise each other, the lame speaks to the blind : " I cannot move, but I can lead the way, whilst the opposite is the case with you. Therefore put me on your shoulder and carry me, that I may show you the way and that we may escape together from this calamity." This the blind man did. They obtained their purpose by helping each other, and they left each other on coming out of the desert.

On matter seeking the union with the soul.

Illustrations of this particular kind of union.

Further, the Hindus speak in different ways of the *agent*, as we have already mentioned. So the *Vishnu Purāṇa* says : " Matter is the origin of the world. Its action in the world rises from an innate disposition, as a tree sows its own seed by an innate disposition, not

Action of matter rising from an innate disposition.



intentionally, and the wind cools the water though it only intends blowing. *Voluntary* action is only due to Vishnu." By the latter expression the author means the living being who is above matter (God). Through him matter becomes an *agent* toiling for him as a friend toils for a friend without wanting anything for himself.

On this theory Mâni has built the following sentence : "The Apostles asked Jesus about the life of inanimate nature, whereupon he said, 'If that which is inanimate is separated from the living element which is commingled with it, and appears alone by itself, it is again inanimate and is not capable of living, whilst the living element which has left it, retaining its vital energy unimpaired, never dies.'"

Page 24.

On matter as the cause of action according to the Sâmkhya school of philosophers.

The book of Sâmkhya derives action from matter, for the difference of forms under which matter appears depends upon the *three primary forces*, and upon whether one or two of them gain the supremacy over the remainder. These forces are the *angelic*, the *human*, and the *animal*. The three forces belong only to matter, not to the soul. The task of the soul is to learn the actions of matter like a spectator, resembling a traveller who sits down in a village to repose. Each villager is busy with his own particular work, but he looks at them and considers their doings, disliking some, liking others, and taking an example from them. In this way he is busy without having himself any share in the business going on, and without being the cause which has brought it about.

The book of Sâmkhya brings action into relation with the soul, though the soul has nothing to do with action, only in so far as it resembles a man who happens to get into the company of people whom he does not know. They are robbers returning from a village which they have sacked and destroyed, and he has scarcely marched with them a short distance, when they are overtaken by the avengers. The whole party



are taken prisoners, and together with them the innocent man is dragged off; and being treated precisely as they are, he receives the same punishment, without having taken part in their action.

People say the soul resembles the rain-water which comes down from heaven, always the same and of the same nature. However, if it is gathered in vessels placed for the purpose, vessels of different materials, of gold, silver, glass, earthenware, clay, or bitter-salt earth, it begins to differ in appearance, taste, and smell. Thus the soul does not influence matter in any way, except in this, that it gives matter life by being in close contact with it. When, then, matter begins to act, the result is different, in conformity with the one of the *three primary forces* which happens to preponderate, and conformably to the mutual assistance which the other two latent forces afford to the former. This assistance may be given in various ways, as the fresh oil, the dry wick, and the smoking fire help each other to produce light. The soul is in matter like the rider on a carriage, being attended by the senses, who drive the carriage according to the rider's intentions. But the soul for its part is guided by the intelligence with which it is inspired by God. This *intelligence* they describe as that by which the reality of things is apprehended, which shows the way to the knowledge of God, and to such actions as are liked and praised by everybody.



CHAPTER V.

ON THE STATE OF THE SOULS, AND THEIR MIGRATIONS
THROUGH THE WORLD IN THE METEMPSYCHOSIS.

As *the word of confession*, "There is no god but God, Muhammad is his prophet," is the shibboleth of Islam, the Trinity that of Christianity, and the institute of the Sabbath that of Judaism, so metempsychosis is the shibboleth of the Hindu religion. Therefore he who does not believe in it does not belong to them, and is not reckoned as one of them. For they hold the following belief:—

Beginning,
develop-
ment, and
ultimate
result of
metempsy-
chosis.

Page 25.

The soul, as long as it has not risen to the highest absolute intelligence, does not comprehend the totality of objects at once, or, as it were, in no time. Therefore it must explore all particular beings and examine all the possibilities of existence; and as their number is, though not unlimited, still an enormous one, the soul wants an enormous space of time in order to finish the contemplation of such a multiplicity of objects. The soul acquires knowledge only by the contemplation of the individuals and the species, and of their peculiar actions and conditions. It gains experience from each object, and gathers thereby new knowledge.

However, these actions differ in the same measure as the three primary forces differ. Besides, the world is not left without some direction, being led, as it were, by a bridle and directed towards a definite scope. Therefore the imperishable souls wander about in perishable bodies conformably to the difference of their actions, as



they prove to be good or bad. The object of the migration through the world of *reward* (i.e. heaven) is to direct the attention of the soul to the good, that it should become desirous of acquiring as much of it as possible. The object of its migration through the world of *punishment* (i.e. hell) is to direct its attention to the bad and abominable, that it should strive to keep as far as possible aloof from it.

The migration begins from low stages, and rises to higher and better ones, not the contrary, as we state on purpose, since the one is *a priori* as possible as the other. The difference of these lower and higher stages depends upon the difference of the actions, and this again results from the quantitative and qualitative diversity of the temperaments and the various degrees of combinations in which they appear.

This migration lasts until the object aimed at has been completely attained both for the soul and matter ; the *lower* aim being the disappearance of the shape of matter, except any such new formation as may appear desirable ; the *higher* aim being the ceasing of the desire of the soul to learn what it did not know before, the insight of the soul into the nobility of its own being and its independent existence, its knowing that it can dispense with matter after it has become acquainted with the mean nature of matter and the instability of its shapes, with all that which matter offers to the senses, and with the truth of the tales about its delights. Then the soul turns away from matter ; the connecting links are broken, the union is dissolved. Separation and dissolution take place, and the soul returns to its home, carrying with itself as much of the bliss of knowledge as sesame develops grains and blossoms, afterwards never separating from its oil. The intelligent being, intelligence and its object, are united and become one.

It is now our duty to produce from their literature



Quotations
from the
book *Gita*.

some clear testimonies as to this subject and cognate theories of other nations.

Vāsudeva speaks to Arjuna instigating him to the battle, whilst they stand between the two lines: "If you believe in predestination, you must know that neither they nor we are mortal, and do not go away without a return, for the souls are immortal and unchangeable. They migrate through the bodies, while man changes from childhood into youth, into manhood and infirm age, the end of which is the death of the body. Thereafter the soul proceeds on its return."

Page 26.

Further he says: "How can a man think of death and being killed who knows that the soul is eternal, not having been born and not perishing; that the soul is something stable and constant; that no sword can cut it, no fire burn it, no water extinguish it, and no wind wither it? The soul migrates from its body, after it has become old, into another, a different one, as the body, when its dress has become old, is clad in another. What then is your sorrow about a soul which does not perish? If it were perishable, it would be more becoming that you should not sorrow about a thing which may be dispensed with, which does not exist, and does not return into existence. But if you look more to your body than to your soul, and are in anxiety about its perishing, you must know that all that which is born dies, and that all that which dies returns into another existence. However, both life and death are not your concern. They are in the hands of God, from whom all things come and to whom they return."

In the further course of conversation Arjuna speaks to Vāsudeva: "How did you dare thus to fight Brahman, Brahman who was before the world was and before man was, whilst you are living among us as a being, whose birth and age are known?"

Thereupon Vāsudeva answered: "Eternity (pre-existence) is common to both of us and to him. How often



have we lived together, when I knew the times of our life and death, whilst they were concealed from you ! When I desire to appear in order to do some good, I array myself in a body, since one cannot be with man except in a human shape."

People tell a tale of a king, whose name I have forgotten, who ordered his people after his death to bury his body on a spot where never before had a dead person been buried. Now they sought for such a spot, but could not find it; finally, on finding a rock projecting out of the ocean, they thought they had found what they wanted. But then Vāsudeva spoke unto them, "This king has been burned on this identical rock already many times. But now do as you like; for the king only wanted to give you a lesson, and this aim of his has now been attained."

Vāsudeva says: "He who hopes for salvation and strives to free himself from the world, but whose heart is not obedient to his wish, will be rewarded for his action in the worlds of those who receive a good reward; but he does not attain his last object on account of his deficiency, therefore he will return to this world, and will be found worthy of entering a new shape of a kind of beings whose special occupation is devotion. Divine inspiration helps him to raise himself in this new shape by degrees to that which he already wished for in the first shape. His heart begins to comply with his wish; he is more and more purified in the different shapes, until he at last obtains salvation in an uninterrupted series of new births."

Further, Vāsudeva says: "If the soul is free from matter, it is knowing; but as long as it is clad in matter, the soul is not-knowing, on account of the turbid nature of matter. It thinks that it is an agent, and that the actions of the world are prepared for its sake. Therefore it clings to them, and it is stamped with the impressions of the senses. When, then, the soul leaves



the body, the traces of the impressions of the senses remain in it, and are not completely eradicated, as it longs for the world of sense and returns towards it. And since it in these stages undergoes changes entirely opposed to each other, it is thereby subject to the influences of the *three primary forces*. What, therefore, can the soul do, its wing being cut, if it is not sufficiently trained and prepared ? ”

Page 27.

Vāsudeva says : “ The best of men is the perfectly wise one, for he loves God and God loves him. How many times has he died and been born again ! During his whole life he perseveringly seeks for perfection till he obtains it.”

Vishnu-Dharma.

In the *Vishnu-Dharma*, Mārkaṇḍeya, speaking of the spiritual beings, says : “ Brahman, Kārttikeya, son of Mahādeva, Lakshmī, who produced the Amṛita, Daksha, who was beaten by Mahādeva, Umādevī, the wife of Mahādeva, each of them has been in the middle of this *kalpa*, and they have been the same already many times.”

Varāhamihira speaks of the influences of the comets, and of the calamities which befall men when they appear. These calamities compel them to emigrate from their homes, lean from exhaustion, moaning over their mishap, leading their children by the hand along the road, and speaking to each other in low tones, “ We are punished for the sins of our kings ; ” whereupon others answer, “ Not so. This is the retribution for what we have done in the former life, before we entered these bodies.”

Mānī.

When Mānī was banished from Êrānshahr, he went to India, learned metempsychosis from the Hindus, and transferred it into his own system. He says in the *Book of Mysteries* : “ Since the Apostles knew that the souls are immortal, and that in their migrations they array themselves in every form, that they are shaped in every animal, and are cast in the mould of every figure, they



asked Messiah what would be the end of those souls which did not receive the truth nor learn the origin of their existence. Whereupon he said, 'Any weak soul which has not received all that belongs to her of truth perishes without any rest or bliss.' By *perishing* Māni means her being punished, not her total disappearance. For in another place he says: "The partisans of Bardesanes think that the living soul rises and is purified in the carcase, not knowing that the latter is the enemy of the soul, that the carcase prevents the soul from rising, that it is a prison, and a painful punishment to the soul. If this human figure were a real existence, its creator would not let it wear out and suffer injury, and would not have compelled it to reproduce itself by the sperma in the uterus."

The following passage is taken from the book of Patañjali. Patañjali:—"The soul, being on all sides tied to ignorance, which is the cause of its being fettered, is like rice in its cover. As long as it is there, it is capable of growing and ripening in the transition stages between being born and giving birth itself. But if the cover is taken off the rice, it ceases to develop in this way, and becomes stationary. The retribution of the soul depends on the various kinds of creatures through which it wanders, upon the extent of life, whether it be long or short, and upon the particular kind of its happiness, be it scanty or ample."

The pupil asks: "What is the condition of the spirit when it has a claim to a recompense or has committed a crime, and is then entangled in a kind of new birth either in order to receive bliss or to be punished?"

The master says: "It migrates according to what it has previously done, fluctuating between happiness and misfortune, and alternately experiencing pain or pleasure." Page 28.

The pupil asks: "If a man commits something which



necessitates a retribution for him in a different shape from that in which he has committed the thing, and if between both stages there is a great interval of time and the matter is forgotten, what then?"

The master answers: "It is the nature of action to adhere to the spirit, for action is its product, whilst the body is only an instrument for it. Forgetting does not apply to spiritual matters, for they lie outside of time, with the nature of which the notions of long and short duration are necessarily connected. Action, by adhering to the spirit, frames its nature and character into a condition similar to that one into which the soul will enter on its next migration. The soul in its purity knows this, thinks of it, and does not forget it; but the light of the soul is covered by the turbid nature of the body as long as it is connected with the body. Then the soul is like a man who remembers a thing which he once knew, but then forgot in consequence of insanity or an illness or some intoxication which overpowered his mind. Do you not observe that little children are in high spirits when people wish them a long life, and are sorry when people imprecate upon them a speedy death? And what would the one thing or the other signify to them, if they had not tasted the sweetness of life and experienced the bitterness of death in former generations through which they had been migrating to undergo the due course of retribution?"

Quotations
from Plato
and Proclus.

The ancient Greeks agreed with the Hindus in this belief. Socrates says in the book *Phaedo*: "We are reminded in the tales of the ancients that the souls go from here to Hades, and then come from Hades to here; that the living originates from the dead, and that altogether things originate from their contraries. Therefore those who have died are among the living. Our souls lead an existence of their own in Hades. The soul of each man is glad or sorry at something, and contemplates this thing. This impressionable nature



ties the soul to the body, nails it down in the body, and gives it, as it were, a bodily figure. The soul which is not pure cannot go to Hades. It quits the body still filled with its nature, and then migrates hastily into another body, in which it is, as it were, deposited and made fast. Therefore, it has no share in the living of the company of the unique, pure, divine essence."

Further he says: "If the soul is an independent being, our learning is nothing but remembering that which we had learned previously, because our souls were in some place before they appeared in this human figure. When people see a thing to the use of which they were accustomed in childhood, they are under the influence of this impressionability, and a cymbal, for instance, reminds them of the boy who used to beat it, whom they, however, had forgotten. Forgetting is the vanishing of knowledge, and knowing is the soul's remembrance of that which it had learned before it entered the body."

Proclus says: "Remembering and forgetting are peculiar to the soul endowed with reason. It is evident that the soul has always existed. Hence it follows that it has always been both knowing and forgetting, knowing when it is separated from the body, forgetting when it is in connection with the body. For, being separated from the body, it belongs to the realm of the spirit, and therefore it is knowing; but being connected with the body, it descends from the realm of the spirit, and is exposed to forgetting because of some forcible influence prevailing over it." Page 29.

The same doctrine is professed by those Sûfi who teach that this world is a sleeping soul and yonder world a soul awake, and who at the same time admit that God is immanent in certain places—*e.g.* in heaven—in the *seat* and the *throne* of God (mentioned in the Koran). But then there are others who admit that Sûfi doctrine.



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God is immanent in the whole world, in animals, trees, and the inanimate world, which they call his *universal appearance*. To those who hold this view, the entering of the souls into various beings in the course of metempsychosis is of no consequence.



CHAPTER VI.

ON THE DIFFERENT WORLDS, AND ON THE PLACES
OF RETRIBUTION IN PARADISE AND HELL.

THE Hindus call the world *loka*. Its primary division consists of the upper, the low, and the middle. The upper one is called *svarloka*, i.e. paradise; the low, *nāgaloka*, i.e. the world of the serpents, which is hell; besides they call it *naraloka*, and sometimes also *pātāla*, i.e. the lowest world. The middle world, that one in which we live, is called *madhyaloka* and *manushyaloka*, i.e. the world of men. In the latter, man has to earn, in the upper to receive his reward; in the low, to receive punishment. A man who deserves to come to *svarloka* or *nāgaloka* receives there the full recompense of his deeds during a certain length of time corresponding to the duration of his deeds, but in either of them there is only the soul, the soul free from the body. The three lokas.

For those who do not deserve to rise to heaven and to sink as low as hell there is another world called *tiryag-loka*, the irrational world of plants and animals, through the individuals of which the soul has to wander in the metempsychosis until it reaches the human being, rising by degrees from the lowest kinds of the vegetable world to the highest classes of the sensitive world. The stay of the soul in this world has one of the following causes: either the award which is due to the soul is not sufficient to raise it into heaven or to sink it into hell, or the soul is in its wanderings on the way back from hell; for they believe that a soul returning to the human



world from heaven at once adopts a human body, whilst that one which returns there from hell has first to wander about in plants and animals before it reaches the degree of living in a human body.

Quotation
from the
*Vishnu-
Purāṇa*.

The Hindus speak in their traditions of a large number of hells, of their qualities and their names, and for each kind of sin they have a special hell. The number of hells is 88,000 according to the *Vishnu-Purāṇa*. We shall quote what this book says on the subject:—

“The man who makes a false claim and who bears false witness, he who helps these two and he who ridicules people, come into the *Raurava* hell.

“He who sheds innocent blood, who robs others of their rights and plunders them, and who kills cows, comes into *Rodha*. Those also who strangle people come here.

Page 30.

“Whoso kills a Brahman, and he who steals gold, and their companions, the princes who do not look after their subjects, he who commits adultery with the family of his teacher, or who lies down with his mother-in-law, come into *Taptakumbha*.

“Whoso connives at the shame of his wife for greediness, commits adultery with his sister or the wife of his son, sells his child, is stingy towards himself with his property in order to save it, comes into *Mahājwala*.

“Whoso is disrespectful to his teacher and is not pleased with him, despises men, commits incest with animals, contemns the Veda and Purāṇas, or tries to make a gain by means of them in the markets, comes into *Savala*.

“A man who steals and commits tricks, who opposes the straight line of conduct of men, who hates his father, who does not like God and men, who does not honour the gems which God has made glorious, and who considers them to be like other stones, comes into *Krimīśa*.

“Whoso does not honour the rights of parents and



grandparents, whoso does not do his duty towards the angels, the maker of arrows and spear-points, come to *Lālābhaksha*.

"The maker of swords and knives comes to *Viśasana*.

"He who conceals his property, being greedy for the presents of the rulers, and the Brahman who sells meat or oil or butter or sauce or wine, come to *Adhomukha*.

"He who rears cocks and cats, small cattle, pigs, and birds, comes to *Rudhirāndha*.

"Public performers and singers in the markets, those who dig wells for drawing water, a man who cohabits with his wife on holy days, who throws fire into the houses of men, who betrays his companion and then receives him, being greedy for his property, come to *Rudhira*.

"He who takes the honey out of the beehive comes to *Vaitaranā*.

"Whoso takes away by force the property and women of others in the intoxication of youth comes to *Krishṇa*.

"Whoso cuts down the trees comes to *Asipatravana*.

"The hunter, and the maker of snares and traps, come to *Vahnijvāla*.

"He who neglects the customs and rules, and he who violates the laws—and he is the worst of all—come to *Sandanīśaka*."

We have given this enumeration only in order to show what kinds of deeds the Hindus abhor as sins.

Some Hindus believe that the middle world, that one for earning, is the human world, and that a man wanders about in it, because he has received a reward which does not lead him into heaven, but at the same time saves him from hell. They consider heaven as a higher stage, where a man lives in a state of bliss which must be of a certain duration on account of the good deeds he has done. On the contrary, they consider the wandering about in plants and animals as a lower stage,

According to some Hindus, the migration through plants and animals takes the place of hell.



where a man dwells for punishment for a certain length of time, which is thought to correspond to the wretched deeds he has done. People who hold this view do not know of another hell, but this kind of degradation below the degree of living as a human being.

Page 31.
Moral principles of metempsychosis.

All these degrees of retribution are necessary for this reason, that the seeking for salvation from the fetters of matter frequently does not proceed on the straight line which leads to absolute knowledge, but on lines chosen by guessing or chosen because others had chosen them. Not one action of man shall be lost, not even the last of all; it shall be brought to his account after his good and bad actions have been balanced against each other. The retribution, however, is not according to the deed, but according to the intention which a man had in doing it; and a man will receive his reward either in the form in which he lives on earth, or in that form into which his soul will migrate, or in a kind of intermediary state after he has left his shape and has not yet entered a new one.

The *Sāṃkhya* criticises metempsychosis.

Here now the Hindus quit the path of philosophical speculation and turn aside to traditional fables as regards the two places where reward or punishment is given, *e.g.* that man exists there as an incorporeal being, and that after having received the reward of his actions he again returns to a bodily appearance and human shape, in order to be prepared for his further destiny. Therefore the author of the book *Sāṃkhya* does not consider the reward of paradise a special gain, because it has an end and is not eternal, and because this kind of life resembles the life of this our world; for it is not free from ambition and envy, having in itself various degrees and classes of existence, whilst cupidity and desire do not cease save where there is perfect equality.

Śāfi parallel.

The Śāfi, too, do not consider the stay in paradise a special gain for another reason, because there the soul delights in other things but the Truth, *i.e.* God, and its



thoughts are diverted from the Absolute Good by things which are not the Absolute Good.

We have already said that, according to the belief of the Hindus, the soul exists in these two places without a body. But this is only the view of the educated among them, who understand by the soul an independent being. However, the lower classes, and those who cannot imagine the existence of the soul without a body, hold about this subject very different views. One is this, that the cause of the agony of death is the soul's waiting for a shape which is to be prepared. It does not quit the body before there has originated a cognate being of similar functions, one of those which nature prepares either as an embryo in a mother's womb or as a seed in the bosom of the earth. Then the soul quits the body in which it has been staying.

On the soul leaving the body, according to popular views.

Others hold the more traditional view that the soul does not wait for such a thing, that it quits its shape on account of its weakness whilst another body has been prepared for it out of the elements. This body is called *ativāhika*, i.e. *that which grows in haste*, because it does not come into existence by being born. The soul stays in this body a complete year in the greatest agony, no matter whether it has deserved to be rewarded or to be punished. This is like the Barzakh of the Persians, an intermediary stage between the periods of acting and earning and that of receiving award. For this reason the heir of the deceased must, according to Hindu use, fulfil the rites of the year for the deceased, duties which end with the end of the year, for then the soul goes to that place which is prepared for it.

We shall now give some extracts from their literature to illustrate these ideas. First from the *Vishnu Purāṇa*.

Quotations from Vishnu Purāṇa and the Sāṃkhya school.

“Maitreya asked Parāśara about the purpose of hell and the punishment in it, whereupon he answered: ‘It is for distinguishing the good from the bad, knowledge



from ignorance, and for the manifestation of justice. But not every sinner enters hell. Some of them escape hell by previously doing works of repentance and expiation. The greatest expiation is uninterruptedly thinking of Vishnu in every action. Others wander about in plants, filthy insects and birds, and abominable dirty creeping things like lice and worms, for such a length of time as they desire it."

In the book *Sāṃkhya* we read: "He who deserves exaltation and reward will become like one of the angels, mixing with the hosts of spiritual beings, not being prevented from moving freely in the heavens and from living in the company of their inhabitants, or like one of the eight classes of spiritual beings. But he who deserves humiliation as recompense for sins and crimes will become an animal or a plant, and will wander about until he deserves a reward so as to be saved from punishment, or until he offers himself as expiation, flinging away the vehicle of the body, and thereby attaining salvation."

Muslim
authors on
metempsychosis.

A theosoph who inclines towards metempsychosis says: "The metempsychosis has four degrees:

"1. The *transferring*, i.e. the procreation as limited to the human species, because it *transfers* existence from one individual to another; the opposite of this is—

"2. The *transforming*, which concerns men in particular, since they are *transformed* into monkeys, pigs, and elephants.

"3. A stable condition of existence, like the condition of the plants. This is worse than *transferring*, because it is a stable condition of life, remains as it is through all time, and lasts as long as the mountains.

"4. The *dispersing*, the opposite of number 3, which applies to the plants that are plucked, and to animals immolated as sacrifice, because they vanish without leaving posterity."

Abû-Ya'kûb of Sijistân maintains in his book, called "*The disclosing of that which is veiled*," that the species



are preserved; that metempsychosis always proceeds in one and the same species, never crossing its limits and passing into another species.

This was also the opinion of the ancient Greeks; for Johannes Grammaticus relates as the view of Plato that the rational souls will be clad in the bodies of animals, and that in this regard he followed the fables of Pythagoras.

Quotations
from Johannes Gram-
maticus and
Plato.

Socrates says in the book *Phædo*: "The body is earthy, ponderous, heavy, and the soul, which loves it, wanders about and is attracted towards the place, to which it looks from fear of the shapeless and of Hades, the gathering-place of the souls. They are soiled, and circle round the graves and cemeteries, where souls have been seen appearing in shadowy forms. This phantasmagoria only occurs to such souls as have not been entirely separated, in which there is still a part of that towards which the look is directed."

Further he says: "It appears that these are not the souls of the good, but the souls of the wicked, which wander about in these things to make an expiation for the badness of their former kind of rearing. Thus they remain until they are again bound in a body on account of the desire for the bodily shape which has followed them. They will dwell in bodies the character of which is like the character which they had in the world. Whoso, *e.g.* only cares for eating and drinking will enter the various kinds of asses and wild animals; and he who preferred wrong and oppression will enter the various kinds of wolves, and falcons, and hawks."

Further he says about the gathering-places of the souls after death: "If I did not think that I am going first to gods who are wise, ruling, and good, Page 33. then afterwards to men, deceased ones, better than those here, I should be wrong not to be in sorrow about death."

Further, Plato says about the two places of reward and



of punishment : " When a man dies, a *daimon*, i.e. one of the guardians of hell, leads him to the tribunal of judgment, and a guide whose special office it is brings him, together with those assembled there, to Hades, and there he remains the necessary number of many and long cycles of time. Telephos says, 'The road of Hades is an even one.' I, however, say, 'If the road were even or only a single one, a guide could be dispensed with.' Now that soul which longs for the body, or whose deeds were evil and not just, which resembles souls that have committed murder, flies from there and encloses itself in every species of being until certain times pass by. Thereupon it is brought by necessity to that place which is suitable to it. But the pure soul finds companions and guides, gods, and dwells in the places which are suitable to it."

Further he says : "Those of the dead who led a middle sort of life travel on a vessel prepared for them over Acheron. After they have received punishment and have been purified from crime, they wash and receive honour for the good deeds which they did according to merit. Those, however, who had committed great sins, *e.g.* the stealing from the sacrifices of the gods, robberies on a great scale, unjust killing, repeatedly and consciously violating the laws, are thrown into Tartarus, whence they will never be able to escape."

Further : "Those who repented of their sins already during their lifetime, and whose crimes were of a somewhat lower degree, who, *e.g.* committed some act of violence against their parents, or committed a murder by mistake, are thrown into Tartarus, being punished there for a whole year ; but then the wave throws them out to a place whence they cry to their antagonists, asking them to abstain from further retaliation, that they may be saved from the horrors of punishment. If those now agree, they *are* saved ; if not, they are sent back into



Tartarus. And this, their punishment, goes on until their antagonists agree to their demands for being relieved. Those whose mode of life was virtuous are liberated from *these* places on *this* earth. They feel as though released from prison, and they will inhabit the pure earth."

Tartarus is a huge deep ravine or gap into which the rivers flow. All people understand by the punishment of hell the most dreadful things which are known to them, and the Western countries, like Greece, have sometimes to suffer deluges and floods. But the description of Plato indicates a place where there are glaring flames, and it seems that he means the sea or some part of the ocean, in which there is a whirlpool (*durdūr*, a pun upon *Tartarus*). No doubt these descriptions represent the belief of the men of those ages.



CHAPTER VII.

ON THE NATURE OF LIBERATION FROM THE WORLD,
AND ON THE PATH LEADING THERETO.

First part :
Moksha in
general.

Page 34.

If the soul is bound up with the world, and its being bound up has a certain cause, it cannot be liberated from this bond save by the opposite of this identical cause. Now according to the Hindus, as we have already explained (p. 55), the reason of the bond is *ignorance*, and therefore it can only be liberated by *knowledge*, by comprehending all things in such a way as to define them both in general and in particular, rendering superfluous any kind of deduction and removing all doubts. For the soul distinguishing between things (*τὰ ὄντα*) by means of definitions, recognises its own self, and recognises at the same time that it is its noble lot to last for ever, and that it is the vulgar lot of matter to change and to perish in all kinds of shapes. Then it dispenses with matter, and perceives that that which it held to be good and delightful is in reality bad and painful. In this manner it attains real knowledge and turns away from being arrayed in matter. Thereby action ceases, and both matter and soul become free by separating from each other.

Moksha according to
Patañjali.

The author of the book of *Patañjali* says: "The concentration of thought on the unity of God induces man to notice something besides that with which he is occupied. He who wants God, wants the good for the whole creation without a single exception for any reason whatever; but he who occupies himself exclusively with



his own self, will for its benefit neither inhale, breathe, nor exhale it (*śvāsa* and *praśvāsa*). When a man attains to this degree, his spiritual power prevails over his bodily power, and then he is gifted with the faculty of doing eight different things by which detachment is realised; for a man can only dispense with that which he is able to do, not with that which is outside his grasp. These eight things are:—

“1. The faculty in man of making his body so thin that it becomes invisible to the eyes.

“2. The faculty of making the body so light that it is indifferent to him whether he treads on thorns or mud or sand.

“3. The faculty of making his body so big that it appears in a terrifying miraculous shape.

“4. The faculty of realising every wish.

“5. The faculty of knowing whatever he wishes.

“6. The faculty of becoming the ruler of whatever religious community he desires.

“7. That those over whom he rules are humble and obedient to him.

“8. That all distances between a man and any far-away place vanish.”

The terms of the Śūfi as to the *knowing* being and his attaining the *stage of knowledge* come to the same effect, for they maintain that he has two souls—an eternal one, not exposed to change and alteration, by which he knows that which is hidden, the transcendental world, and performs wonders; and another, a human soul, which is liable to being changed and being born. From these and similar views the doctrines of the Christians do not much differ.

The Hindus say: “If a man has the faculty to perform these things, he can dispense with them, and will reach the goal by degrees, passing through several stages:—

The different degrees of knowledge according to *Patañjali*.

“1. The knowledge of things as to their names and



qualities and distinctions, which, however, does not yet afford the knowledge of definitions.

"2. Such a knowledge of things as proceeds as far as the definitions by which particulars are classed under the category of universals, but regarding which a man must still practise distinction.

"3. This distinction (*viveka*) disappears, and man comprehends things at once as a whole, but within *time*.

"4. This kind of knowledge is raised above *time*, and he who has it can dispense with names and epithets, which are only instruments of human imperfection. In this stage the *intellectus* and the *intelligens* unite with the *intellectum*, so as to be one and the same thing."

This is what *Patañjali* says about the knowledge which liberates the soul. In Sanskrit they call its liberation *Moksha*—i.e. *the end*. By the same term they call the last contact of the eclipsed and eclipsing bodies, or their separation in both lunar and solar eclipses, because it is *the end* of the eclipse, the moment when the two luminaries which were in contact with each other separate.

Page 35.

According to the Hindus, the organs of the senses have been made for acquiring knowledge, and the pleasure which they afford has been created to stimulate people to research and investigation, as the pleasure which eating and drinking afford to the taste has been created to preserve the individual by means of nourishment. So the pleasure of *coitus* serves to preserve the species by giving birth to new individuals. If there were not special pleasure in these two functions, man and animals would not practise them for these purposes.

In the book *Gita* we read: "Man is created for the purpose of *knowing*; and because *knowing* is always the same, man has been gifted with the same organs.



If man were created for the purpose of *acting*, his organs would be *different*, as actions are *different* in consequence of the difference of the *three primary forces*. However, bodily nature is bent upon *acting* on account of its essential opposition to *knowing*. Besides, it wishes to invest action with *pleasures* which in reality are *pains*. But knowledge is such as to leave this nature behind itself prostrated on the earth like an opponent, and removes all darkness from the soul as an eclipse or clouds are removed from the sun."

This resembles the opinion of Socrates, who thinks that the soul "being with the body, and wishing to inquire into something, then is deceived by the body. But by cogitations something of its desires becomes clear to it. Therefore, its cogitation takes place in that time when it is not disturbed by anything like hearing, seeing, or by any pain or pleasure, when it is quite by itself, and has as much as possible quitted the body and its companionship. In particular, the soul of the philosopher scorns the body, and wishes to be separate from it."

Quotation
from Plato's
Phaedo.

"If we in this our life did not make use of the body, nor had anything in common with it except in cases of necessity, if we were not inoculated with its nature, but were perfectly free from it, we should come near *knowledge* by getting rest from the ignorance of the body, and we should become pure by knowing ourselves as far as God would permit us. And it is only right to acknowledge that this is the truth."

Now we return and continue our quotation from the book *Gita*.

The process
of know-
ledge ac-
cording to
Gita and
another
source.

"Likewise the other organs of the senses serve for acquiring knowledge. The *knowing person* rejoices in turning them to and fro on the field of knowledge, so that they are his spies. The apprehension of the senses is different according to time. The *senses* which serve the heart perceive only that which is present. The



heart reflects over that which is present and remembers also the past. The *nature* takes hold of the present, claims it for itself in the past, and prepares to wrestle with it in future. The *reason* understands the nature of a thing, no regard being had of time or date, since past and future are the same for it. Its nearest helpers are *reflection* and *nature*; the most distant are the five senses. When the *senses* bring before reflection some particular object of knowledge, *reflection* cleans it from the errors of the functions of the senses, and hands it over to reason. Thereupon reason makes universal what was before particular, and communicates it to the *soul*. Thus the soul comes to know it."

Further, the Hindus think that a man becomes *knowing* in one of three ways :—

1. By being inspired, not in a certain course of time, but at once, at birth, and in the cradle, as, *e.g.* the sage Kapila, for he was born knowing and wise.
2. By being inspired after a certain time, like the children of Brahman, for they were inspired when they came of age.
3. By learning, and after a certain course of time, like all men who learn when their mind ripens.

Page 36.

Cupidity, wrath, and ignorance are the chief obstacles to Moksha.

Liberation through knowledge can only be obtained by abstaining from *evil*. The branches of evil are many, but we may classify them as *cupidity*, *wrath*, and *ignorance*. If the roots are cut the branches will wither. And here we have first to consider the rule of the two forces of *cupidity* and *wrath*, which are the greatest and most pernicious enemies of man, deluding him by the pleasure of eating and the delight of revenge, whilst in reality they are much more likely to lead him into pains and crimes. They make a man similar to the wild beasts and the cattle, nay, even to the demons and devils.

Next we have to consider that man must prefer the reasoning force of mind, by which he becomes similar



to the highest angels, to the forces of cupidity and wrath; and, lastly, that he must turn away from the actions of the world. He cannot, however, *give up* these actions unless he does away with their causes, which are his lust and ambition. Thereby the second of the *three primary forces* is cut away. However, the abstaining *from action* takes place in two different ways:—

1. By laziness, procrastination, and ignorance according to the *third force*. This mode is not desirable, for it will lead to a blamable end.

2. By judicious selection and by preferring that which is better to that which is good, which way leads to a laudable end.

The abstaining from actions is rendered perfect in this way, that a man quits anything that might occupy him and shuts himself up against it. Thereby he will be enabled to restrain his senses from extraneous objects to such a degree that he does not any more know that there exists anything besides himself, and be enabled to stop all motions, and even the breathing. It is evident that a greedy man strains to effect his object, the man who strains becomes tired, and the tired man pants; so the panting is the result of greediness. If this greediness is removed, the breathing becomes like the breathing of a being living at the bottom of the sea, that does not want breath; and then the heart quietly rests on one thing, viz. the search for liberation and for arriving at the absolute unity.

In the book *Gita* we read: "How is a man to ob-
tain liberation who disperses his heart and does not
concentrate it alone upon God, who does not exclu-
sively direct his action towards him? But if a man
turns away his cogitation from all other things and
concentrates it upon the One, the light of his heart will
be steady like the light of a lamp filled with clean oil,
standing in a corner where no wind makes it flicker,
and he will be occupied in such a degree as not to

Further
quotations
from *Gita*.



perceive anything that gives pain, like heat or cold, knowing that everything besides the One, *the Truth*, is a vain phantom."

In the same book we read: "Pain and pleasure have no effect on the real world, just as the continuous flow of the streams to the ocean does not affect its water. How could anybody ascend this mountain pass save him who has conquered *cupidity* and *wrath* and rendered them inert?"

On account of what we have explained it is necessary that cogitation should be continuous, not in any way to be defined by number; for a number always denotes *repeated times*, and repeated times presuppose a break in the cogitation occurring between two consecutive times. This would interrupt the continuity, and would prevent cogitation becoming united with the object of cogitation. And this is not the object kept in view, which is, on the contrary, *the continuity of cogitation*.

This goal is attained either in a *single shape*, i.e. a single stage of metempsychosis, or in *several shapes*, in this way, that a man perpetually practises virtuous behaviour and accustoms the soul thereto, so that this virtuous behaviour becomes to it a nature and an essential quality.

Virtuous behaviour is that which is prescribed by the religious law. Its principal laws, from which they derive many secondary ones, may be summed up in the following nine rules:—

1. A man shall not kill.
2. Nor lie.
3. Nor steal.
4. Nor whore.
5. Nor hoard up treasures.
6. He is perpetually to practise holiness and purity.
7. He is to perform the prescribed fasting without an interruption and to dress poorly.

The nine
command-
ments of
the Hindu
religion.



8. He is to hold fast to the adoration of God with praise and thanks.

9. He is always to have in mind the word *Om*, the word of creation, without pronouncing it.

The injunction to abstain from killing as regards animals (No. 1) is only a special part of the general order to *abstain from doing anything hurtful*. Under this head falls also the robbing of another man's goods (No. 3), and the telling lies (No. 2), not to mention the foulness and baseness of so doing.

The abstaining from hoarding up (No. 5) means that a man is to give up toil and fatigue; that he who seeks the bounty of God feels sure that he is provided for; and that, starting from the base slavery of material life, we may, by the noble liberty of cogitation, attain eternal bliss.

Practising purity (No. 6) implies that a man knows the filth of the body, and that he feels called upon to hate it, and to love cleanness of soul. Tormenting oneself by poor dress (No. 7) means that a man should reduce the body, allay its feverish desires, and sharpen its senses. Pythagoras once said to a man who took great care to keep his body in a flourishing condition and to allow it everything it desired, "Thou art not lazy in building thy prison and making thy fetter as strong as possible."

The holding fast to meditation on God and the angels means a kind of familiar intercourse with them. The book *Sāṃkhya* says: "Man cannot go beyond anything in the wake of which he marches, it being a scope to him (i.e. thus engrossing his thoughts and detaining him from meditation on God)." The book *Gītā* says: "All that which is the object of a man's continuous meditating and bearing in mind is stamped upon him, so that he even unconsciously is guided by it. Since, now, the time of death is the time of remembering what we love, the soul on leaving the body is united with that object which we love, and is changed into it."



Quotations
from *Ġīdā*.

However, the reader must not believe that it is only the union of the soul with any forms of life that perish and return into existence that is perfect *liberation*, for the same book, *Ġīdā*, says : "He who knows when dying that God is everything, and that from him everything proceeds, *is liberated*, though his degree be lower than that of the saints."

The same book says : "Seek deliverance from this world by abstaining from any connection with its follies, by having sincere intentions in all actions and when making offerings by fire to God, without any desire for reward and recompense ; further, by keeping aloof from mankind." The real meaning of all this is that you should not prefer one because he is your friend to another because he is your enemy, and that you should beware of negligence in sleeping when others are awake, and in waking when others are asleep ; for this, too, is a kind of being *absent* from them, though outwardly you are *present* with them. Further : Seek deliverance by guarding soul from soul, for the soul is an enemy if it be addicted to lusts ; but what an excellent friend it is when it is *chaste* !"

Greek
and Sūfi
parallels.

Socrates, caring little for his impending death and being glad at the prospect of coming to his Lord, said : "My degree must not be considered by any one of you lower than that of the swan," of which people say that it is the bird of Apollo, the sun, and that it therefore knows what is hidden ; that is, when feeling that it will soon die, sings more and more melodies from joy at the prospect of coming to its Lord. "At least my joy at my prospect of coming to the object of my adoration must not be less than the joy of this bird."

For similar reasons the Sūfi define *love* as being engrossed by the creature to the exclusion of God.

In the book of *Paṭaṅjali* we read : "We divide the path of liberation into three parts :—

"I. *The practical one (kriyā-yoga)*, a process of habitu-

Second
part : The
practical
path leading
to Moksha



ating the senses in a gentle way to detach themselves from the external world, and to concentrate themselves upon the internal one, so that they exclusively occupy themselves with God. This is in general the path of him who does not desire anything save what is sufficient to sustain life.”

according to
Patañjali,
Vishnu-
Dharma, and
Ātma.

Page 38.

In the book *Vishnu-Dharma* we read: “The king Pariksha, of the family of Bhṛigu, asked Śatānika, the head of an assembly of sages, who stayed with him, for the explanation of some notion regarding the deity, and by way of answer the sage communicated what *he* had heard from Śaunaka, Śaunaka from Uśanas, and Uśanas from Brahman, as follows: ‘God is without first and without last; he has not been born from anything, and he has not borne anything save that of which it is impossible to say that it is *He*, and just as impossible to say that it is *Not-he*. How should I be able to ponder on the absolute good which is an outflow of his benevolence, and of the absolute bad which is a product of his wrath; and how could I know him so as to worship him as is his due, save by turning away from the world in general and by occupying myself exclusively with him, by perpetually cogitating on him?’

“It was objected to him: ‘Man is weak and his life is a trifling matter. He can hardly bring himself to abstain from the necessities of life, and this prevents him from walking on the path of liberation. If we were living in the *first* age of mankind, when life extended to thousands of years, and when the world was good because of the non-existence of evil, we might hope that that which is necessary on this path should be done. But since we live in the *last* age, what, according to your opinion, is there in this revolving world that might protect him against the floods of the ocean and save him from drowning?’

“Thereupon Brahman spoke: ‘Man wants nourishment, shelter, and clothing. Therefore in *them* there



is no harm to him. But happiness is only to be found in abstaining from things besides them, from superfluous and fatiguing actions. Worship God, him alone, and venerate him; approach him in the place of worship with presents like perfumes and flowers; praise him and attach your heart to him so that it never leaves him. Give alms to the Brahmans and to others, and vow to God vows—special ones, like the abstaining from meat; general ones, like fasting. Vow to him animals which you must not hold to be something different from yourselves, so as to feel entitled to kill them. Know that he is everything. Therefore, whatever you do, let it be for his sake; and if you enjoy anything of the vanities of the world, do not forget him in your intentions. If you aim at the fear of God and the faculty of worshipping him, thereby you will obtain liberation, not by anything else.”

The book *Gita* says: “He who mortifies his lust does not go beyond the necessary wants; and he who is content with that which is sufficient for the sustaining of life will not be ashamed nor be despised.”

The same book says: “If man is not without wants as regards the demands of human nature, if he wants nourishment to appease thereby the heat of hunger and exhaustion, sleep in order to meet the injurious influences of fatiguing motions and a couch to rest upon, let the latter be clean and smooth, everywhere equally high above the ground and sufficiently large that he may stretch out his body upon it. Let him have a place of temperate climate, not hurtful by cold nor by heat, and where he is safe against the approach of reptiles. All this helps him to sharpen the functions of his heart, that he may without any interruption concentrate his cogitation on the unity. For all things besides the necessities of life in the way of eating and clothing are pleasures of a kind which, in reality, are disguised pains. To acquiesce in them is impossible,



and would end in the gravest inconvenience. There is pleasure only to him who kills the two intolerable enemies, *lust* and *wrath*, already during his life and not when he dies, who derives his rest and bliss from within, not from without; and who, in the final result, is able altogether to dispense with his senses.”

Page 39.

Vāsudeva spoke to Arjuna: “If you want the absolute good, take care of the nine doors of thy body, and know what is going in and out through them. Constrain thy heart from dispersing its thoughts, and quiet thy soul by thinking of the upper membrane of the child’s brain, which is first soft, and then is closed and becomes strong, so that it would seem that there were no more need of it. Do not take perception of the senses for anything but the nature immanent in their organs, and therefore beware of following it.”

II. The second part of the path of liberation is renunciation (the *via omissionis*), based on the knowledge of the evil which exists in the changing things of creation and their vanishing shapes. In consequence the heart shuns them, the longing for them ceases, and a man is raised above the *three primary forces* which are the cause of actions and of their diversity. For he who accurately understands the affairs of the world knows that the good ones among them are evil in reality, and that the bliss which they afford changes in the course of recompense into pains. Therefore he avoids everything which might aggravate his condition of being entangled in the world, and which might result in making him stay in the world for a still longer period.

The path of renunciation as the second part of the path of liberation according to *Gītā*.

The book *Gītā* says: “Men err in what is ordered and what is forbidden. They do not know how to distinguish between good and evil in actions. Therefore, giving up acting altogether and keeping aloof from it, this is *the* action.”

The same book says: “The purity of knowledge is high above the purity of all other things, for by know-



ledge ignorance is rooted out and certainty is gained in exchange for doubt, which is a means of torture, for there is no rest for him who doubts."

It is evident from this that the first part of the path of liberation is instrumental to the second one.

Worship as
the third
part of the
path of
liberation
according to
Gita.

III. The third part of the path of liberation which is to be considered as instrumental to the preceding two is *worship*, for this purpose, that God should help a man to obtain liberation, and deign to consider him worthy of such a shape of existence in the metempsychosis in which he may effect his progress towards beatitude.

The author of the book *Gita* distributes the duties of worship among the *body*, the *voice*, and the *heart*.

What the *body* has to do is fasting, prayer, the fulfilment of the law, the service towards the angels and the sages among the Brahmans, keeping clean the body, keeping aloof from killing under all circumstances, and never looking at another man's wife and other property.

What the *voice* has to do is the reciting of the holy texts, praising God, always to speak the truth, to address people mildly, to guide them, and to order them to do good.

What the *heart* has to do is to have straight, honest intentions, to avoid haughtiness, always to be patient, to keep your senses under control, and to have a cheerful mind.

On Rasâ-
yana as a
path leading
to Moksha.

The author (Patañjali) adds to the three parts of the path of liberation a fourth one of an illusory nature, called *Rasâyana*, consisting of alchemistic tricks with various drugs, intended to realise things which by nature are impossible. We shall speak of these things afterwards (*vide* chap. xvii.) They have no other relation to the theory of *Moksha* but this, that also in the tricks of *Rasâyana* everything depends upon the intention, the well-understood determination to carry them out, this determination resting on the firm belief in them, and resulting in the endeavour to realise them.



According to the Hindus, liberation is union with God; for they describe God as a being who can dispense with hoping for a recompense or with fearing opposition, unattainable to thought, because he is sublime beyond all unlikeness which is abhorrent and all likeness which is sympathetic, knowing himself not by a knowledge which comes to him like an accident, regarding something which had not in every phase before been known to him. And this same description the Hindus apply to *the liberated one*, for he is equal to God in all these things except in the matter of beginning, since he has not existed from all eternity, and except this, that before liberation he existed in *the world of entanglement*, knowing the objects of knowledge only by a phantasmagoric kind of knowing which he had acquired by absolute exertion, whilst the object of his knowing is still covered, as it were, by a veil. On the contrary, in the world of liberation all veils are lifted, all covers taken off, and obstacles removed. There the being is absolutely knowing, not desirous of learning anything unknown, separated from the soiled perceptions of the senses, united with the everlasting ideas. Therefore in the end of the book of *Patañjali*, after the pupil has asked about the nature of liberation, the master says: "If you wish, say, Liberation is the cessation of the functions of *the three forces*, and their returning to that home whence they had come. Or if you wish, say, It is the return of the soul as a *knowing* being into its own nature."

On the nature of Moksha itself.

Page 40.

Quotations from *Patañjali*.

The two men, pupil and master, disagree regarding him who has arrived at the stage of liberation. The anchorite asks in the book of *Sāṃkhya*, "Why does not *death* take place when *action* ceases?" The sage replies, "Because the cause of the separation is a certain condition of the soul whilst the spirit is still in the body. Soul and body are separated by a natural condition which severs their union. Frequently when

From *Sāṃkhya*.



the cause of an effect has already ceased or disappeared, the effect itself still goes on for a certain time, slackening, and by and by decreasing, till in the end it ceases totally; *e.g.* the silk-weaver drives round his wheel with his mallet until it whirls round rapidly, then he leaves it; however, it does not stand still, though the mallet that drove it round has been removed; the motion of the wheel decreases by little and little, and finally it ceases. It is the same case with the body. After the action of the body has ceased, its effect is still lasting until it arrives, through the various stages of motion and of rest, at the cessation of physical force and of the effect which had originated from preceding causes. Thus liberation is finished when the body has been completely prostrated."

From *Patañjali*.

In the book of *Patañjali* there is a passage which expresses similar ideas. Speaking of a man who restrains his senses and organs of perception, as the turtle draws in its limbs when it is afraid, he says that "he is not fettered, because the fether has been loosened, and he is not liberated, because his body is still with him."

There is, however, another passage in the same book which does not agree with the theory of liberation as expounded above. He says: "The bodies are the snares of the souls for the purpose of acquiring recompense. He who arrives at the stage of liberation has acquired, in his actual form of existence, the recompense for all the doings of the past. Then he ceases to labour to acquire a title to a recompense in the future. He frees himself from the snare; he can dispense with the particular form of his existence, and moves in it quite freely without being ensnared by it. He has even the faculty of moving wherever he likes, and if he like, he might rise above the face of death. For the thick, cohesive bodies cannot oppose an obstacle to his *form* of existence (as, *e.g.* a mountain could not prevent him from



passing through). How, then, could his body oppose an obstacle to his soul?"

Similar views are also met with among the Sûfi. ^{Sûfi parallels.} Some Sûfi author relates the following story: "A company of Sûfi came down unto us, and sat down at some distance from us. Then one of them rose, prayed, and on having finished his prayer, turned towards me and spoke: 'O master, do you know here a place fit for us to die on?' Now I thought he meant *sleeping*, and so I pointed out to him a place. The man went there, threw himself on the back of his head, and remained motionless. Now I rose, went to him and shook him, but lo! he was already cold."

The Sûfi explain the Koranic verse, "We have made room for him on earth" (Sûra 18, 83), in this way: "If he wishes, the earth rolls itself up for him; if he wishes, he can walk on the water and in the air, which offer him sufficient resistance so as to enable him to walk, whilst the mountains do not offer him any resistance when he wants to pass through them." Page 41.

We next speak of those who, notwithstanding their greatest exertions, do not reach the stage of liberation. There are several classes of them. The book *Sāṃkhya* says: "He who enters upon the world with a virtuous character, who is liberal with what he possesses of the goods of the world, is recompensed in it in this way, that he obtains the fulfilment of his wishes and desires, that he moves about in the world in happiness, happy in body and soul and in all other conditions of life. For in reality good fortune is a recompense for former deeds, done either in the same shape or in some preceding shape. Whoso lives in this world piously but without knowledge will be raised and be rewarded, but not be liberated, because the means of attaining it are wanting in his case. Whoso is content and acquiesces in possessing the faculty of practising the above-men-

On those who do not reach Moksha according to *Sāṃkhya*.



tioned eight commandments (*sic, vide p. 74*), whose glories in them, is successful by means of them, and believes that *they* are liberation, will remain in the same stage."

A parable
showing
people
in the
various
degrees of
knowledge.

The following is a parable characterising those who vie with each other in the progress through the various stages of knowledge:—A man is travelling together with his pupils for some business or other towards the end of the night. Then there appears something standing erect before them on the road, the nature of which it is impossible to recognise on account of the darkness of night. The man turns towards his pupils, and asks them, one after the other, what it is? The first says: "I do not know what it is." The second says: "I do not know, and I have no means of learning what it is." The third says: "It is useless to examine what it is, for the rising of the day will reveal it. If it is something terrible, it will disappear at daybreak; if it is something else, the nature of the thing will anyhow be clear to us." Now, none of them had attained to knowledge, the first, because he was ignorant; the second, because he was incapable, and had no means of knowing; the third, because he was indolent and acquiesced in his ignorance.

The fourth pupil, however, did not give an answer. He stood still, and then he went on in the direction of the object. On coming near, he found that it was pumpkins on which there lay a tangled mass of something. Now he knew that a living man, endowed with free will, does not stand still in his place until such a tangled mass is formed on his head, and he recognised at once that it was a lifeless object standing erect. Further, he could not be sure if it was not a hidden place for some dunghill. So he went quite close to it, struck against it with his foot till it fell to the ground. Thus all doubt having been removed, he returned to his master and gave him the exact account. In such a



way the master obtained the knowledge through the intermediation of his pupils.

With regard to similar views of the ancient Greeks we can quote Ammonius, who relates the following as a sentence of Pythagoras: "Let your desire and exertion in this world be directed towards the union with *the First Cause*, which is the cause of the cause of your existence, that you may endure for ever. You will be saved from destruction and from being wiped out; you will go to the world of the true sense, of the true joy, of the true glory, in everlasting joy and pleasures."

Parallels
from Greek
authors,
Ammonius,
Plato, and
Proclus.

Further, Pythagoras says: "How can you hope for the state of detachment as long as you are clad in bodies? And how will you obtain liberation as long as you are incarcerated in them?"

Ammonius relates: "Empedocles and his successors as far as Heracles (*sic*) think that the soiled souls always remain commingled with the world until they ask the universal soul for help. The universal soul intercedes for it with the *Intelligence*, the latter with the Creator. The Creator affords something of his light to Intelligence; Intelligence affords something of it to the universal soul, which is immanent in this world. Now the soul wishes to be enlightened by Intelligence, until at last the individual soul recognises the universal soul, unites with it, and is attached to its world. But this is a process over which many ages must pass. Then the soul comes to a region where there is neither place nor time, nor anything of that which is in the world, like transient fatigue or joy."

Page 42.

Socrates says: "The soul on leaving space wanders to the holiness (*τὸ καθαρὸν*) which lives for ever and exists eternally, being related to it. It becomes like holiness in duration, because it is by means of something like contact able to receive impressions from holiness. This, its susceptibility to impressions, is called *Intelligence*."



Further, Socrates says: "The soul is very similar to the divine substance which does not die nor dissolve, and is the only *intelligibile* which lasts for ever; the body is the contrary of it. When soul and body unite, nature orders body to serve, the soul to rule; but when they separate, the soul goes to another place than that to which the body goes. There it is happy with things that are suitable to it; it reposes from being circumscribed in space, rests from folly, impatience, love, fear, and other human evils, on this condition, that it had always been pure and hated the body. If, however, it has sullied itself by connivance with the body, by serving and loving it so that the body was subservient to its lusts and desires, in this case it does not experience anything more real than the species of bodily things (*τὰ σωματοειδές*) and the contact with them."

Proclus says: "The body in which the rational soul dwells has received the figure of a globe, like the ether and its individual beings. The body in which both the rational and the irrational souls dwell has received an erect figure like man. The body in which only the irrational soul dwells has received a figure erect and curved at the same time, like that of the irrational animals. The body in which there is neither the one nor the other, in which there is nothing but the nourishing power, has received an erect figure, but it is at the same time curved and turned upside down, so that the head is planted in the earth, as is the case with the plants. The latter direction being the contrary to that of man, man is a heavenly tree, the root of which is directed towards its home, *i.e.* heaven, whilst the root of vegetables is directed towards *their* home, *i.e.* the earth."

Brahman compared to an *Asvattha* tree according to *Patanjali*.

The Hindus hold similar views about nature. Arjuna asks, "What is Brahman like in the world?" Whereupon Vāsudeva answers, "Imagine him like an *Asvattha* tree." This is a huge precious tree, well



known among them, standing upside down, the roots being above, the branches below. If it has ample nourishment, it becomes quite enormous; the branches spread far, cling to the soil, and creep into it. Roots and branches above and below resemble each other to such a degree that it is difficult to say which is which.

"Brahman is the upper roots of this tree, its trunk is the Veda, its branches are the different doctrines and schools, its leaves are the different modes of interpretation; its nourishment comes from *the three forces*; the tree becomes strong and compact through the senses. The intelligent being has no other keen desire but that of felling this tree, *i.e.* abstaining from the world and its vanities. When he has succeeded in felling it, he wishes to settle in the place where it has grown, a place in which there is no returning in a further stage of metempsychosis. When he obtains this, he leaves behind himself all the pains of heat and cold, and coming from the light of sun and moon and common fires, he attains to the divine lights." Page 43.

The doctrine of *Patañjali* is akin to that of the Sūfi regarding being occupied in meditation on *the Truth* (*i.e.* God), for they say, "As long as you point to something, you are not a *monist*; but when *the Truth* seizes upon the object of your pointing and annihilates it, then there is no longer an indicating person nor an object indicated." Sūfi parallels.

There are some passages in their system which show that they believe in the pantheistic union; *e.g.* one of them, being asked what is *the Truth* (God), gave the following answer: "How should I not know the being which is *I* in essence and *Not-I* in space? If I return once more into existence, thereby I am separated from him; and if I am neglected (*i.e.* not born anew and sent into the world), thereby I become light and become accustomed to the *union*" (*sic*).

Abū-Bekr Ash-shiblī says: "Cast off all, and you



will attain to us completely. Then you will exist; but you will not report about us to others as long as your doing is like ours."

Abû-Yazîd Albistâmî once being asked how he had attained *his* stage in Sufism, answered: "I cast off my own self as a serpent casts off its skin. Then I considered my own self, and found that *I* was *He*," i.e. God.

The Sûfi explain the Koranic passage (Sûra 2, 68), "*Then we spoke: Beat him with a part of her*," in the following manner: "The order to kill that which is dead in order to give life to it indicates that the heart does not become alive by the lights of knowledge unless the body be killed by ascetic practice to such a degree that it does not any more exist as a reality, but only in a formal way, whilst your heart is a reality on which no object of the formal world has any influence."

Further they say: "Between man and God there are a thousand stages of light and darkness. Men exert themselves to pass through darkness to light, and when they have attained to the stations of light, there is no return for them."



CHAPTER VIII.

ON THE DIFFERENT CLASSES OF CREATED BEINGS, AND
ON THEIR NAMES.

THE subject of this chapter is very difficult to study and understand accurately, since we Muslims look at it from without, and the Hindus themselves do not work it out to scientific perfection. As we, however, want it for the further progress of this treatise, we shall communicate all we have heard of it until the date of the present book. And first we give an extract from the book *Sāṃkhya*. The various classes of creatures according to *Sāṃkhya*.

"The anchorite spoke : 'How many classes and species are there of living bodies ?'

"The sage replied : 'There are three classes of them—the spiritual ones in the height, men in the middle, and animals in the depth. Their species are fourteen in number, eight of which belong to the spiritual beings : Brahman, Indra, Prajâpati, Saumya, Gandharva, Yaksha, Rākshasa, and Piśāca. Five species are those of the animals—cattle, wild beasts, birds, creeping things, and *growing things*, i.e. the trees. And, lastly, one species is represented by man.'

The author of the same book has in another part of it given the following enumeration with different names : "Brahman, Indra, Prajâpati, Gandharva, Yaksha, Rākshasa, Pitaras, Piśāca."

The Hindus are people who rarely preserve one and the same order of things, and in their enumeration of things there is much that is arbitrary. They use or



invent numbers of names, and who is to hinder or to control them?

Page 44.

In the book *Gītā*, Vāsudeva says: "When the *first* of the *three primary forces* prevails, it particularly applies itself to developing the intellect, purifying the senses, and producing *action* for the angels. Blissful rest is one of the consequences of this force, and liberation one of its results.

"When the *second* force prevails, it particularly applies itself to developing cupidity. It will lead to fatigue, and induce to actions for the Yaksha and Rākshasa. In this case the recompense will be according to the action.

"If the *third* force prevails, it particularly applies itself to developing ignorance, and making people easily beguiled by their own wishes. Finally, it produces wakefulness, carelessness, laziness, procrastination in fulfilling duties, and sleeping too long. If man acts, he acts for the classes of the Bhūta and Piśāca, the devils, for the Preta who carry the spirits in the air, not in paradise and not in hell. Lastly, this force will lead to punishment; man will be lowered from the stage of humanity, and will be changed into animals and plants."

In another place the same author says: "Belief and virtue are in the Deva among the spiritual beings. Therefore that man who resembles them believes in God, clings to him, and longs for him. Unbelief and vice are in the demons called Asura and Rākshasa. That man who resembles them does not believe in God nor attend to his commandments. He tries to make the world godless, and is occupied with things which are harmful in this world and in the world beyond, and are of no use."

The author enumerates eight classes of spiritual beings.

If we now combine these statements with each other, it will be evident that there is some confusion both in the names and in their order. According to the most



popular view of the majority of the Hindus, there are the following eight classes of *spiritual* beings:—

1. The *Deva* or angels, to whom the north belongs. They specially belong to the Hindus. People say that Zoroaster made enemies of the Shamaniyya or Buddhists by calling the devils by the name of the class of angels which *they* consider the highest, *i.e.* *Deva*. And this usage has been transmitted from Magian times down to the Persian language of our days.

2. *Daitya* 'dānava, the demons who live in the south. To them everybody belongs who opposes the religion of the Hindus and persecutes the cows. Notwithstanding the near relationship which exists between them and the *Deva*, there is, as Hindus maintain, no end of quarrelling and fighting among them.

3. *Gandharva*, the musicians and singers who make music before the *Deva*. Their harlots are called *Ap-saras*.

4. *Yaksha*, the treasurers or guardians of the *Deva*.

5. *Rākshasa*, demons of ugly and deformed shapes.

6. *Kinnara*, having human shapes but horses' heads, being the contrary of the centaurs of the Greek, of whom the lower half has the shape of a horse, the upper half that of a man. The latter figure is that of the Zodiacal sign of *Arcitenens*.

7. *Nāga*, beings in the shape of serpents.

8. *Vidyādharā*, demon-sorcerers, who exercise a certain witchcraft, but not such a one as to produce permanent results.

If we consider this series of beings, we find the angelic power at the upper end and the demoniac at the lower, and between them there is much interblending. The qualities of these beings are different, inasmuch as they have attained this stage of life in the course of metempsychosis by *action*, and actions are different on account of the *three primary forces*. They live very long, since they have entirely stripped off the bodies,

Criticisms
on this list.