

# Durham E-Theses

---

## *The life and works of Sir William Jones*

Riaz Hassan

### How to cite:

---

Hassan, Riaz (1966) The life and works of Sir William Jones. Masters thesis, Durham University.

### Use policy

---

The full-text may be used and/or reproduced, and given to third parties in any format or medium, without prior permission or charge, for personal research or study, educational, or not-for-profit purposes provided that:

- a full bibliographic reference is made to the original source
- a <https://etheses.durham.ac.uk/id/eprint/9763/> is made to the metadata record in Durham E-Theses
- the full-text is not changed in any way

The full-text must not be sold in any format or medium without the formal permission of the copyright holders.

Please consult the [full Durham E-Theses policy](#) for further details.

The Life and Works of Sir William Jones

Thesis submitted for the Degree of  
Master of Letters  
of the University of Durham

by

Riaz Hassan

January, 1966

St. Cuthbert's Society

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author.  
No quotation from it should be published without  
his prior written consent and information derived  
from it should be acknowledged.

## Errata

- Page 154, footnote 2, line 4: 'wihn' = within.
- Page 162, line 17: 'Amriokais' = Amriolkais.
- Page 181, line 13: 'Thrulow' = Thurlow.
- Page 191, line 17: 'contemptutuous' = contemptuous.
- Page 199, footnote 3: 'Kiernauder' = Kiernander.
- Page 209, line 17: 'spole' = spoke.
- Page 246, line 20: 'relectant' = reluctant.
- Page 266, line 19: 'Platoism' = Platonism.
- Page 270, line 2: 'fro' = for.
- Page 281, line 17: 'H' = He.
- Page 283, line 18: 'pwoer' = power.
- Page 308, line 26: 'manates' = emanates.
- Page 310, line 12: 'carries' = carried.
- Page 330, footnote 1: 'Ibid' = Poems by Two Brothers (1893)
- Page 331, line 9: 'phoneomenal' = phenomenal.
- Page 332, line 8: 'Hypothesis' = hypothesis.
- Page 354, two articles by A.D.Waley to be listed after  
A.S.Tritton, before The Letters of Horace Walpole.

(Also)

Page 233. line 6: 'philogy' = philology.

Page 352, W.Robertson to be placed after H.Richter.

## Contents

Abbreviations.....	1
Abstract.....	ii
Introduction.....	iv
Chapter One.....	1
Chapter Two.....	42
Chapter Three.....	98
Chapter Four.....	142
Chapter Five.....	179
Chapter Six.....	221
Chapter Seven.....	267
Chapter Eight.....	292
Conclusion.....	334
Appendix A.....	337
Appendix B.....	338
Appendix C.....	340
Bibliography.....	341

## Abbreviations

- BPW....The Works of Lord Byron, ed. E.H. Coleridge (1904)
- Bull., SOAS....Bulletin of the London School of Oriental and African Studies
- CPW....The Poetical Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1925)
- Griggs, Letters....The Collected Letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, ed. E.L. Griggs (Oxford, 1956)
- KPW....The Poetical Works of John Keats (Oxford, 1958)
- SPW....The Complete Poetical Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley (Oxford, 1952)
- SouthPW....The Poetical Works of Robert Southey (1884)
- TPW....The Complete Works of Alfred, Lord Tennyson (1926)
- Memoirs....Lord Teignmouth, Memoirs of the Life, Writings and Correspondence of Sir William Jones (1804)
- New Light....A.J. Arberry, 'New Light on Sir William Jones', Bulletin of the London School of Oriental and African Studies (1946), iv, 673-685
- O.J.....G.H. Cannon, Oriental Jones (1964)
- Works.... The Works of Sir William Jones, ed. A.M. Jones (1799) in Six Volumes, and (1801) Two Supplemental Volumes.

Chapter One: The Early Years

Jones's childhood, his schooling and character; to the age of twenty two.

Chapter Two: Early Works

His developing interest in eastern literature; his first publications and early critical theory; taken to 1774.

Chapter Three: Politics and the Law

His career as a politician and lawyer; taken to 1783.

Chapter Four: Jurisprudence, Translation and Poetry

His juridical writings; some aspects of his abilities as a translator and poet; from 1768 to 1783.

Chapter Five: The First Years in India

His first years in India; outlook on the cultures, religions and peoples of India; attitude towards missions; discussion of his Hymns.

Chapter Six: Sanskrit Studies

The beginnings of Sanskrit study; the hypothesis of a link between Indian and European languages; the translations from ancient Hindu writings; his works on anthropology and attempts to create a Hindu chronology.

Chapter Seven: The Later years in India

Other important works undertaken during his stay in India; taken to 1794 and his death.

Chapter Eight: His Literary Influence

Some aspects of his influence on the writers who followed,

especially on Shelley, Coleridge, Southey and  
Tennyson.

## Introduction

The object of this study is to present and discuss some of Sir William Jones's writings, and to show their influence on the more important writers who followed him. In a limited study it was found necessary to be selective, and the guiding principles in making the selection have been historical importance and intrinsic merit.

An attempt has been made to relate his writings to various periods in his life and to the culture of his time. However the biographical aspects of the study have been kept at a minimum: a detailed account of his activities would require a separate study fully as long as this, and in any case the need was reduced by the appearance in 1964 of a full scale biography (Garland H. Cannon, Oriental Jones) in which the subject has received ample treatment, particularly with regard to his relationship with men like Burke, Shelburne and Thurlow.

A general acknowledgement is hereby made to the following books to which I am indebted for biographical information, most of which has been checked against the original sources whenever available. Specific references are in the footnotes:

1) Lord Teignmouth, Memoirs of the Life, Writings and Correspondence of Sir William Jones(1804), and the 1835

edition edited by the Reverend Samuel Wilks.

ii) Arthur J. Arberry, Asiatic Jones (1946).

iii) Garland H. Cannon, Oriental Jones (1964).

The edition of Jones's Works chosen for this study is the first, six-volume edition published in 1799, with two supplemental volumes published in 1801. Any deviations from this edition have been accounted for in footnotes.

Chapter One  
The Early Years

William Jones was born at Beaufort Buildings, Westminster, on September 28, 1764. His father, also William (1675-1749), was a well-known mathematician who became a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1712. He was born in the parish of Llanfihangel, Anglesey, but left Wales as a young man and eventually established himself as a tutor of mathematics in London (1702) after he had made a journey to the West Indies and had seen some action aboard a Man-o-war. (His children were to have few links with Wales; Sir William usually referred to himself as an Englishman). In 1702 he published A New Compendium on the Whole Art of Navigation. This was followed by his famous Synopsis Palmariorum Matheseos, or a New Introduction to the Mathematics (1706), which attracted the attention of Edmund Halley and Newton. He was to remain on excellent terms with both of these men for the rest of his life. Newton helped him to secure the post of private tutor to Philip Yorke (afterwards Lord Hardwicke) with whom he developed very friendly relations. Yorke later became Justice of the Peace, and through him Jones was appointed

Secretary of the Peace, which office lasted some four years. After this he undertook the tutorship of Thomas Parker, first Earl Macclesfield, and continued in the same capacity with his son George. He moved into Shirburn Castle, Tetsworth, Oxfordshire, as a member of the Parker household. In 1711, with Newton's assent, he edited the latter's Analysis per Quantitatum Series, Fluxiones ac Differentias cum enumeratione Linearum Tertii Ordinis, thereby probably saving it from extinction. Sometime later he was appointed by the Royal Society to a committee to study the rival claims of Newton and Leibniz in the development of the Infinitesimal Calculus. His principal papers in the Philosophical Transactions were On the Disposition of Equations for Exhibiting the relations of Goniometrical Series(xliv,560), Logarithms (lxi,455) and Properties of the Conic Sections deduced by a Compendius Method(lxiii,340).

He held a sinecure of two hundred pounds a year with the Parkers for some time, until Lord Macclesfield, who was teller to the Exchequer, secured for him a post as his deputy. His last years were lived out at Shirburn. A heart attack brought about his death on July 3, 1749, when he had nearly finished writing what was meant to be

an introduction to the Newtonian philosophy. It was hoped that Macclesfield would complete the project, so that Jones's widow would have another source of income. With this in mind Jones had bequeathed his famous library to Macclesfield, but the hope remained unrealised, and Maria Jones was left to look after her two surviving children, <sup>1</sup> Mary, aged thirteen, and William, aged three, with somewhat meagre means.

William inherited many of his father's characteristics, and in some respects the pattern of his own life was similar. Also significant is the influence which his mother brought to bear on him during childhood. It is doubtful if he would have achieved as much as he did without her complete dedication. Her husband once described her as 'virtuous without blemish, generous without extravagance, frugal but not niggard, cheerful but not giddy, close but not sullen, ingenious but not <sup>2</sup> conceited, of spirit but not passionate', a description which might have served as well for Jones. The qualities which he was to exhibit later, and which earned for him the

---

1. The eldest child, George, died in infancy.

2. Memoirs, 9-12.

epithet 'harmonious' from Johnson's friend Courtenay, were in large measure exemplified by Maria Jones. The daughter of George Nix, a well known cabinet-maker, with an ancestry traceable to the ancient princes of North Wales, she brought the unmistakable stamp of high quality to her outlook and conduct. Jones was to speak frequently of his great debt to her, of her encouraging him to read for himself to satisfy his childhood curiosity.

By the age of four he was able to read correctly. This in itself is not remarkable, considering the stringent methods of the time. Similar claims could probably be made for many of the brighter children of the age. What is remarkable is the early and genuine regard which he developed for the best in literature. His mother brought him up on Shakespeare, and he soon moved spontaneously to Milton and the Classics.

Two serious accidents occurred while he was very young. His clothes caught fire as he was trying to scrape some soot away from a chimney and he was badly burnt. Some

---

1. Quoted in J. Boswell, Life of Johnson (1787), i, 223:

Here early parts accomplish'd Jones sublimes,  
And science blends with Asia's lofty rhymes;  
Harmonious Jones! who in his splendid strains  
Sings Camdeo's sports, on Agra's flowery plains;

time later while he was romping with servants as they prepared him for bed, a hook on one of the clothes pierced his eye; despite Dr. Richard Mead's efforts the eye was permanently damaged.

His schooling commenced during the Michaelmas term of 1753. He was no infant prodigy, though men like Newton were quick to recognise his potential, and did their best to encourage him. Lord Teignmouth writes:

"During the first two years of his residence at Harrow, he was rather remarked for diligence and application, than for the superiority of his talents or the extent of his acquisitions."(1);

and the first part of this observation might still be true when the extent of his acquisitions became phenomenal. Jones was always conscious that his chief ability was of steady and sustained work, as against facile brilliance. Statements made by him later, the embarrassment he sometimes displayed when he was applauded for his successes, however, indicate that he tended to be too modest about his own capabilities. He undoubtedly possessed an extraordinary degree of taste and discernment and a particularly tenacious memory from the start. And from an early age it is possible to observe something of the

liberty of thought and determination to test matters for himself which was to lead him to the exploration of several new fields of knowledge.

When he was nine, a third accident took place. A pear dropped from a tree, and during the scramble for its possession which ensued, Jones broke a thigh-bone, which kept him away from school for a year. When he returned, he was placed in a lower class than his erstwhile fellows, and was generally thought to be lagging behind them in scholarship. He soon made up the leeway, however, and by the age of twelve was already being looked upon as a student with special abilities. The most interesting of his early tendencies is that he was not subdued by academic authority. Learning was, to him, no mere docile accumulation of facts; it was coupled with the exercise of his judgment. The spirit of criticism, the stubbornly held right to question anything he read and disagree when he had valid grounds, was with him from his schooldays. Jones the adult was recognisably the same, if more mature and efficient, as Jones the child. There were no dramatic swings of temperament, no late developing of qualities which did not show themselves in his childhood:

"....in general, the same pursuits which gave employment to his mature understanding were the first objects of his youthful attention."(1).

This determination to think for himself did not lead him into the error of condemning all traditional values. His was the genuine desire to separate what was meritorious and useful from that which was extravagant and puerile. An important bye-product of this pursuit was the realisation that no values were intrinsically permanent or infallible, so he did not restrict himself to narrow loyalties, especially in matters of literary taste. In a letter to Charles Reviczki dated 1768, of which only a fragment remains, he writes:

"....from my earliest years, I was charmed with the poetry of the Greeks; nothing, I then thought, could be more sublime than the odes of Pindar, nothing sweeter than Anacreon, nothing more polished or elegant than the golden remains of Sappho, Archilochus, Alcaeus and Simonides: but when I had tasted the poetry of the Arabs and Persians...."(2).

The rest of the letter, as Teignmouth surmises,<sup>3</sup> would no doubt have been a panegyric on eastern poetry. This ability to widen his horizons when he saw merit in works not usually applauded or even recognised in academic circles,

- 
1. Memorandum by Sir John Parnell given to Lady Jones: quoted in Memoirs, 28.
  2. Memoirs, 44.
  3. Ibid.

stands in sharp contrast with the attitude taken by men with the scholastic renown of Samuel Parr, his classfellow, who is supposed to have said in 1802 that when Jones dabbled in metaphysics, he forgot his logic, and when he dabbled in oriental literature, he forgot his taste.

He was clearly more interested in books than in games, but this did not isolate him from his fellows. The ordinary humanity in his nature was never subordinated to the sole purpose of high performance:

"His time being employed in study, prevented his joining in those plays and amusements which occupied the time of his other school fellows: but it induced no other singularity in his manners; they were mild, conciliatory and cheerful...."(2).

Constitutionally he was delicate from the start, and this, coupled with his poor eyesight, probably prevented him from a full participation in games of skill and stamina. Games which invited the use of brains and knowledge were more suited to his temperament; chess was one such, as was another which he devised himself in collaboration with Parr and William Bennett (afterwards Bishop of Cloyne), in the form of a political play. The school neighbourhood

1. See H. Morley-Smith, DNB.

2. Memorandum by Sir John Parnell given to Lady Jones: quoted in Memoirs, 28.

was marked off into provinces with a map of Greece, some of the friends accepting the role of defending these provinces against the others, called 'barbarians'. Attack and defence were conducted with great guile and vigour, amidst speeches and war councils.

At about the age of twelve, the first evidence of his interest and ability in languages appears. All the pastorals of Virgil and some of the epistles of Ovid were translated into English verse. He then wrote a tragedy based on the story of Meleager, in which he took the role of the hero when the play was acted during a school vacation. Most of his juvenilia have been lost, so it is not possible to estimate the quality of these early efforts. He was warned against prematurely rushing into print by his close friends, especially by John (afterwards Sir John) Parnell.

Jones was not always the shy, introverted scholar. In some activities he was quite ready to take the lead. Oratory was high on his list of necessary qualities, and he was known to take part in declamations, recitations and plays without the self-consciousness which inhibits the performance of many school children, and with considerable

success. He was, at the age of twelve, already acquiring the reputation among his fellows and teachers which his talents deserved. His advice in matters of taste and interpretation was often solicited in the preparation and presentation of school plays. It is said that he once wrote out from memory all of The Tempest when it was discovered that the manuscript had been mislaid just before the commencement of rehearsals.

It is not strange that with a nature like this, Milton's compound of disciplined passion and power should appeal to him more than the sterile perfection of the Augustans. The romantic cross-current in the dominant classicism of the day was gaining strength from the works of poets like Gray and Collins, and the expression of passion was coming into its own once again. His earliest model was undoubtedly Milton; Teignmouth and Durgaprassana Rayachaudhuri go as far as to say that Milton's plan of education was followed closely by Jones. This is probably saying too much in one direction and not enough in the other. With an hydroptic thirst for knowledge quite as

---

1. Memoirs, 34.

2. D. Rayachaudhuri, Sir William Jones and his translation of Kalidasa's Sacuntala (Calcutta, 1928), 11

immoderate as Donne's he was to take all knowledge for his province with a grandeur of design almost surpassing that of Bacon. He moved into channels different from those taken by his models, throwing his boundaries much wider to embrace the cultures of foreign lands. Inevitably his detailed knowledge in narrow fields suffered. In none of the twenty odd languages that he studied could it be asserted that he achieved quite the easy mastery which Milton had over Latin: but like Milton, he believed in a wholeness of education in preference to mere specialism.

He spent much of his time consolidating his grasp and comprehension of Greek and Latin by translations and original compositions in verse. This was supplemented by a steady output in English verse. One of these pieces, the ode Saul and David, was preserved when Hester Piozzi transcribed it into her diary:

"Mr. Seward has just brought me a very great Curiosity, a Copy of English verse written by Jones the Orientalist when only 13 Years old. Both the Author and his Friend swear to their authenticity or I would not take the trouble to transcribe them here-- it is an Ode in honour of St. Caecilia's day descriptive of the effects of Musick."(2).

- 
1. K.C. Balderston, Thraliana (Oxford, 1942), 237-240.
  2. Ibid, 237.

The versification is easy and extraordinarily deft for one so young:

"....meanwhile

Fair Evening, harbinger of rest  
Impearls the lilly's closing bloom,  
And Night birds the dun air infest....

Saul starting, rolls his ghastly Eyes around  
And drinks with Ear suspense the Silver sound....

Adam on her shoulder leaning  
Gently decks her golden tresses,  
While soft glances intervening  
Soothe their souls to soft caresses;  
Thus in sweet symphony while David sung  
On each persuasive note the Monarch hung  
Till sleep--submissive to the opiate lay  
Steals on his sense, and melts his soul away....

From Golden Gressets, spires of incense rise  
And Zephyrs waft the fragrance to the skies."(1).

In fact, if a comparison is made between his early verse and some of his mature poetry, excluding the thought-content, not much can be seen which can be called an improvement in the way he uses words in the latter; a greater sureness of touch, perhaps; a wider vocabulary certainly and a better assimilated one: but in some ways, portions of the poems he wrote at school are as well constructed as his better known ones, the political poems of his early thirties and the Hymns he wrote in India. A negative

---

1. Op Cit., 237-240, passim.

quality shows in his early verse, the product of conscious versifying as against poetic imagination. It is not difficult to see why Jones never succeeded in becoming a major poet. He did not lack in delicacy or descriptive power. Competent as he was, he was not gifted with the illumination and flair which can lift even bad verse above the level of that of the expert craftsman. For all judgment and balance, his intelligence and skill with words, his phrasing and apt metaphor, he fell short of greatness. Too much learning, the precisian's approach, the lawyer's caution and analytical eye, might have sapped some of the poet's power to construct and create. Spontaneity and intensity, the qualities which drew him to the poetry of the east, eluded him from the start. The emotion which rings through some of his original verse is often of the forced, strenuous kind which appears in the secondary verse of any age, the boosting of feelings not sufficiently powerful to overflow into poetry, the over-dramatisation of personal response to inadequate or insignificant objects. Jones may have had hopes of making a name for himself in poetry as a youth, but a stocktaking of his attainments at the age of thirty show that there were few illusions left by that time. Lord Teignmouth gives a chart of Jones's Andrometer, from

the first to the seventieth year of his life, which lists poetry for his sixteenth year only. For him it was to become more of an exercise than a serious vocation.

Not long after Saul and David, he was to experiment with new forms and novel themes which were in keeping with the changing literary climate of the time, but at school he was still the apprentice, not willing to move away from the patterns of his models. The heroic couplet was used extensively, and with considerable success in two long poems undertaken at school, Caissa, or the Indian Game of Chess of three hundred and sixty verses in imitation of Vida's Scacchia Ludus, and Prolusions (the title was later changed to Arcadia) in imitation of an allegory by Addison in the thirty-second paper of the Guardian.<sup>2</sup> These pieces were completed when Jones was sixteen or seventeen, and were 'saved from the fire' because Jones thought they were more correctly versified than most of his other early efforts.<sup>3</sup> Chess always fascinated Jones, and might have been one of the factors which led to his interest in India. One of his favourite analogies was to compare it with the constitution of Britain.

---

1. See Memoirs, 137.

2. Works, iv, 477.

3. Ibid., 404.

Teignmouth has on record a letter written when Jones was fourteen to his twenty four year old sister, which shows the direction his personality had taken in early adolescence. Full of stilted phraseology and sound advice, it aroused both the approval and the sense of humour of his first biographer. His sister married a prosperous merchant called Rainsford, and was burnt to death in 1803 when her clothes caught fire. She does not appear to have exerted much influence on Jones's outlook or personality, and was happy to assist her mother in helping him towards great things. She was somewhat shy and self-effacing, possessing much of her brother's and mother's stability of character, but not anything near comparable ambition.

The puritanism which runs through some of the correspondence of his late schooldays was the product more of youthful uncertainties than of a penchant for Anglican piety, as suggested by Teignmouth. It is unlikely that a mind as given to independent thinking would make an unthinking acceptance of orthodox faith. The whole matter of his attitude towards religion, early or late, cannot be

---

1. Memoirs, 22-25.

2. Ibid., 25.

3. See L.M.Hawkins, Memoirs, Anecdotes, Facts and Opinions (1824), i, 247-253.

easily decided. Whereas Teignmouth points to his almost blameless life as incontrovertible proof of his devotion to the Church of England, Arberry points to a letter to Lord Althorp dated September 4, 1787 in which Jones expresses some lack of conviction. He had the thinking man's need to establish a basis for belief through reason, with the thinking man's inevitable moments of doubt and dissatisfaction. In the letter mentioned, he prefers the Hindu idea of a moral cycle to the Christian idea of hell. The grim simplicity of the Mosaic tradition, the dependence on a single God and the unquestioning belief in the pronouncements of a single law-giver, could never satisfy the intellect in the same way as the philosophies of the Upanishads which had scaled the heavens and combed all experience for a guide to wisdom several centuries before Christ. But Jones, impressed as he was with some aspects of Hinduism, also saw some aspects which he disliked. There was no question of his converting, either in form or spirit, to any other faith.

When he was in his early twenties, he confessed to friends that his belief in Christianity had become very

---

1. A.J.Arberry, Asiatic Jones(1946),22

shaky. A remark in Bishop Beveridge's Private Thoughts on Religion, that religion should have a foundation more tenable than the accident of birth or social pressure, prompted him to analyse the matter for himself. Little pleased with discussions he had with friends and clergymen, he decided to approach the matter ab initio, to read the Scriptures in the original and form his own opinions. Teignmouth came across a series of propositions in Jones's handwriting in a Hebrew copy of the book of Hosea, which may have helped him to a conviction of the divine origin of the Bible. The burden of the argument is that as there is no reason to disbelieve the claim that the writings of Isaiah are more ancient than Jesus, as even the Jews accept the authenticity of these writings, and as no other figure than Jesus satisfies the conditions of those prophecies, Jesus must therefore be the subject of those prophecies. Therefore, also, Jesus was extraordinary; and his laws final. There are weak points in the argument as Jones was aware; the Jews would also say that the prophecies are not demonstrably fulfilled, that Jesus is not of the line of Boaz unless Joseph is accepted as his father, in which case the miraculous birth must be discounted; but

---

1. Memoirs, 65-66.

Jones glossed these over as the product of oriental extravagance. It was sufficient to justify and support him in what he was already half persuaded; he was to use the same argument years later, in 1784/1786:

"Either the first eleven chapters of Genesis, all due allowances made for a figurative Eastern style, are true, or the whole fabric of our national religion is false; a conclusion which none of us, I trust, would wish to be drawn. I, who cannot help believing in the Messiah, from the undisputed antiquity and manifest completion of many prophecies, especially those of Isaiah, in the only person recorded in history to whom they are applicable, am obliged of course to believe the sanctity of the venerable books to which the sacred person refers as genuine."(1).

His attitude towards religion has a bearing on his  
 2  
 attitude towards art, and the last word in the matter belongs to Arberry, who points out that being a Christian did not mean that all other religions had to be rejected or derided:

"Jones was a deeply religious man, but his religion was universal in its theology, personal and practical in its application."(3).

1. Works, i, 233.

2. Narrow dogmatism in one seems to reflect in the other; Pope relates the two:

Some foreign Writers, some our own despise;  
 The Ancients only, or the Moderns prize:  
 (Thus Wit, like Faith, by each Man is apply'd  
 To one small sect, and All are damm'd beside.)

'An Essay on Criticism' (1711): The Poems of Alexander Pope (1961)  
 i, 285.

3. A.J. Arberry, Asiatic Jones (1946), 37.

Teignmouth had some reason to try and impress the public that Jones was a man of his own evangelical persuasion. He was undoubtedly using the tremendous weight of Jones's reputation to further the cause of the religious activities which occupied his own last years.<sup>1</sup> However, none of these attitudes would have relevance to Jones's religious predilections while he was at school; there is little evidence to show that he thought on the matter with any degree of profundity during his term at Harrow.

When Jones was fifteen, Thomas Thackeray, the Headmaster of Harrow, retired. His reputation as a classical scholar had progressed so far that Thackeray was heard to remark that if he were left naked and helpless on Salisbury plain, he would nevertheless find his way to fame and fortune.<sup>2</sup> It was a good summing up of his capabilities, especially of his chief capability, which was of sustained and determined work. The drive to move forward and make a name for himself was strong. He was beginning to feel that he depended too much on his mother's backing, and was desirous of showing some attainment in

---

1. Teignmouth became a Clapham evangelical in 1802, and president of the Bible Society in 1803. He contributed regularly to the Christian Observer from 1803 to 1804.

2. Memoirs, 21

return (one of his tributes to his mother was his statement that with the means of a peasant he had been given the education of a prince). He was also getting into the habit of budgeting his time strictly, to make allowance for each branch of study on which he was engaged. As each was mastered, and demanded less of his time for its maintenance, so he widened his field to include more. Robert Sumner, the new Headmaster, was as pleased with Jones's scholarship as his predecessor. He once admitted that Jones knew more Greek than himself. Intent upon maintaining a satisfactory interaction between absorbing knowledge and contributing to it, Jones continued to produce verses and articles. The most interesting of these is a critical poem, called Arcadia in the Works.<sup>1</sup> Some hint of his dissatisfaction with the state of English poetry can be seen when he says that after Pope and Gay no ruling shepherd had appeared in Arcadia; of one aspirant he wrote:

"So wildly, so affectedly he play'd  
 His tune so various and uncouth he made,  
 That not a dancer could in cadence move,  
 And not a nymph the quaver'd notes approve."(2);

---

1. See Works, iv, 478-495.

2. Ibid., 485.

and of another:

"The maids, unus'd to flowers of eloquence  
Smil'd at the words, but could not guess their sense."(1);

forerunner to his more complete statements on what he thought to be the true nature and function of poetry. A feeling that European art had become too formal and barren continued to develop through his early years, to flower into one of the earliest and most persuasive appeals for tenderness, simplicity and sincerity in art, his Essay on the Arts Commonly Called Imitative(1772).

Teignmouth mentions the manuscript of a play written in Greek in Jones's handwriting, too mutilated to be intelligible, entitled Mormo. This was apparently in the style and metres of Aristophanes, and was intended to be a satirical comedy.

- 
1. Works,iv,487. Looking at these lines, one must regret Jones's harsh judgments about his own juvenilia. It is clear that he had something more than the average schoolboy's ability to count syllables, maintain regular stress patterns and insert rhymes.
  2. Memoirs,31-32. J.A.Stewart, 'Sir William Jones and the Revision of Two Poems of Anacreon', Bull., SOAS(1946),672, thinks that Mormo might have been in imitation of Menander, and that it might still be lying in India.

Before leaving Harrow in 1763, Jones made a collection of such of his verse as he deemed worthy of preservation and gave it to Parnell for safe-keeping. The latter returned these pieces to Lady Jones after Jones's death; Teignmouth gives one example on pages 30-31 of the Memoirs. The miniature epic Caissa is probably the best of his early works and ran into several editions, although it never achieved the same popularity as another work modelled partly on the same source, Pope's Rape of the Lock. Some passages would throw doubt on the advisability of using this kind of subject for a poem, unless it were purely mock-heroic like Pope's:

"He rose, and on the cedar table plac'd  
 A polish'd board with differing colours grac'd;  
 Squares eight times eight in equal order lie;  
 These bright as snow, those dark with sable dye;"(2);

but few would deny that Jones was successful in the undertaking.

To Greek and Latin, he had added a working knowledge of Hebrew, and had also begun some explorations into French and Spanish. If genius can be explained by the perspiration definition, Jones had it in plenty. Asked how he managed to master so many languages, he always

1. An anonymous critic in the Asiatic Annual Register(1799),59, wrote that Caissa was among the best of Jones's works.
2. Works,iv,501.The last two lines are adapted from Vida's  
 Sexaginta insut et quator ordine sedes  
 Octons; parte ex omni, via liniate quadrat, etc(Ibid.,50ln.)

discounted any special aptitude for them, and claimed that anyone could do as well by a patient and sustained endeavour towards each, paying attention to the grammar and reading the acknowledged best in its literature. As usual he tended to play down his own achievements, and one of his ways of doing this was to claim that languages were no more than doors to knowledge, and not knowledge in themselves.

With this equipment and with the pattern of his life already laid out, Jones entered University College, Oxford, in the Michaelmas term of 1764. He was still uncertain as to what career to adopt, and it was felt by his mother and those who were in a position to advise him, that a university education would be most suitable while he was making up his mind. Parnell summed up his reputation at school thus:

"....a decision of mind, a strict attachment to virtue, an enthusiastic love of liberty, an uniform spirit of philanthropy, were the characteristics of his youth....he did no act, he used no expression, which did not justify these assertions...."(1):

Teignmouth's assessment of his character, made after his death, is not dissimilar:

"The faculties of his mind, by nature vigorous, were improved by constant exercise; and his

---

1. Quoted in Memoirs, 28-29.

memory, by habitual practice had acquired the capacity for retaining whatever had been once impressed on it. To an unextinguished ardour for universal knowledge, he joined a perseverance in the pursuit of it, which subdued all obstacles ....it was a fixed principle from which he never voluntarily deviated, not to be deterred by any difficulties that were surmountable, from prosecuting to a successful termination, what he had once deliberately undertaken."(1).

His attitude towards pleasures other than those derived from the exercise of the intellect changed somewhat during his college years. Believing that bodily grace and health were fully as important as mental attainment, he attended dancing and fencing classes when he went to London during his vacations. He also attended evening classes in Spanish, Portuguese and Italian.

His interest in Arabic and Persian was thoroughly aroused by his eighteenth year. He invited an Arab from Aleppo to live with him at Oxford, who was to teach him Arabic in return for his board and lodging. Mirza read out and then translated portions from Antoine Galland's Les Mille et Une Nuits for an hour every morning. Jones then compared this translation with the

---

1. Works, i, preface xiv.

rules given in Thomas Erpenius' Arabic Grammar and Jacobus Golius' Arabic-Latin Grammar. Mirza's Arabic was not of the best quality, as Jones was to discover, and the habit of being mistrustful of the information given by native helpers was established early:

".....thereby he thoroughly confused speech and writing. But a more significant negative tendency was involved, for he was thus correcting a native informant on the basis of prescriptive grammars which naturally did not reflect well the forms and structures of the informant's speech."(1).

His Arabic studies led him to undertake Persian also. He was encouraged to do so when he saw that both languages employed the same script, and that many Arabic words and phrases had been absorbed into Persian. He read the Gulistan of Sadi, assisted by George Gentius' translation and Fransiscus Meninski's Thesaurus Linguarum Orientalum Turcicae, Arabicae, Persicae. He thought he found, in the poetry of the east, that spontaneity and direct expression of strong feeling which he felt had been obscured by too long a reliance on conventional forms and figures in the poetry of Europe. He also began to realise that there was a world beyond Greece, vast and rich in

---

1. O.J.,10.

history and literature, and he was fired with an ambition to tap its resources.

His election to one of the four Sir Simon Bennet scholarships at University College on October 31, 1764, partly relieved his financial needs, but he was still undecided as to what profession he should adopt. He expressed a dislike for law, alleging that English law books were written in bad Latin, and that what was so loosely and inexpertly written could make no claim to precision in thought and content. It was perhaps a rather sweeping generalisation to make for something he had not really seen or tested yet. Quite similar in character is the reason he gave for returning to the profession later; that he had happened to read Fortescue's Laws of England and was struck by the superiority of those laws to any in ancient or modern states. The passion for rationality was strong upon him, the need to give reasons for whatever he did, and Jones had the happy habit of being able to convince himself that whatever he undertook was worthwhile, when measured alongside some ideal in literature or education, humanity or morality.

In December 1764 he developed a severe inflammation of his eyes which prevented him from doing any reading for several months. This was brought on by excessive reading and late-night study. Instead of giving up his work, he persuaded friends to act as his secretaries by reading out lectures and taking down notes.

In September 1765, through the recommendations of Dr. Sumner and Dr. Jonathan Shipley, he was appointed private tutor to seven year old George John Spencer, Viscount Althorp, later second Earl Spencer, First Lord of the Admiralty and Chancellor of the Exchequer, who is now best remembered for his action in appointing Nelson to the command of the British fleet which opposed Napoleon in Egypt.

His association with the Spencer family was long and fruitful. At first it seemed the ideal solution to his problems, because it eases some of his burden on his mother. He accompanied the Spencers to the continent twice, and was much pleased with the intelligence and behaviour of his young charge, and of his eight year old sister. She was Georgiana, afterwards Duchess of Devonshire. Althorp was probably not greatly his inferior in native

talent, although he was never as productive, and his ability was expressed in politics and administration rather than in literature. Even though he was eleven years younger than Jones, he was his close friend and confidant throughout life; Jones's letters to him were usually free and unreserved, especially on matters of politics and religion. Earl Spencer was not always in agreement with Jones's insistence that Lord Althorp should maintain strict hours of study, and five years later Jones was to give up his tutorship partly because of this. There is no hint of trouble with the Spencers, despite this, and his relationship with them was always very cordial.

The same year he was offered the post of interpreter of eastern languages by the third Duke of Grafton, then Head of the Treasury. It is clear that Jones would have liked to accept, but he declined in favour of his Syrian friend. The Duke, however, gave the job to someone else, much to Jones's disappointment, because he realised subsequently

---

1. Jones to Althorp, October 27, 1782: New Light, 677:

"....How far it was from my thoughts, when you were a little boy and I a great one (for we were boys together) that I should soon be your pupil in moderation, temper and prudent circumspection."

that duties as light as those expected in this post could easily have been fitted in, and the pay could have gone to his friend.

His first visit abroad with the Spencers was in 1767. Three weeks were spent at Spa, during which he made some progress in German. His reputation as a linguist was growing rapidly, and it seemed that every new language added to his repertoire, which now included Spanish, Italian and Portuguese, made the acquisition of yet another easier. He was growing aware of the many similarities which existed in the languages he had studied, and it is likely that he began to feel that all the languages of Europe and probably several eastern ones, had come from a common source. Asia was the likely seat of this language.

The winter of 1767 was spent at Althorp, where he began to tackle the elements of Chinese. His election to a Bennet Fellowship worth from sixty to a hundred pounds a year (it was assessed on dividends) at University College the previous summer (August 7, 1766), had lightened his duties considerably, and he was now largely free to prosecute his studies where and when he pleased.

His twentieth year was marked by several important events and new friendships. He met Dr. Jonathan Shipley, then Dean

of Winchester, and three years later Bishop of St. Asaph, and through him was introduced to Anna Maria, his eldest daughter, who was to become his wife in 1783. The Dean was aggressively liberal in outlook, given to strong denunciations of the Government's policy on the American (and Indian) colonies. Benjamin Franklin, then Diplomatic Agent to the colonies, was a frequent guest at Shipley's house, and Jones learnt much about the new world from him. In the intense political atmosphere of Shipley's house Jones developed great interest in politics. He sided whole-heartedly with the ideals of the separationists, openly and quite without fear at first, fully believing that reason and humanity would prevail over cupidity and considerations of prestige. Jones was to display surprising naivete throughout his political aspirations, and some of his friends were disappointed to see the turn his interests had taken. Albert Schultens, afterwards Professor of Oriental languages at Letden, wrote to dissuade him from this tendency, knowing as he did that the Muse had few men of talent to support her. Jones's reply is a typical example of his penchant for rationalisation. He said that even if he had lived at Rome or Athens he

would have preferred the risky life of the politician to the grove of the poet or the garden of the philosopher. Polite literature had its charms, but its scope was limited; life was short, art long, time fleeting:

"To tell you my mind, I am not of a disposition to bear the arrogance of men of rank, to which poets and men of letters are so often forced to submit."(1).

He was to discover later that men of law were obliged to submit to arrogance as much as anyone else, but for the time being he satisfied himself that this was his true vocation. A feeling that art was a recreation rather than an occupation is expressed in a letter to Althorp dated January 5, 1782:

"....do you not think that I have discovered the true use of the fine arts, namely in relaxing the mind after toil? Man was born for labour; but labour would wear him out, if he had not intervals of pleasure; and unless that pleasure be innocent, both he and society must suffer. Now what pleasures are more harmless, if they be nothing else, than those afforded by polite arts and polite literature? ....a just mixture, or interchange of labour and pleasures, appears alone conducive to such happiness as this life affords."(2).

1. Memoirs, 124

2. Ibid., 207. Teignmouth's comment on this is interesting: 'I deem it a duty to observe, that though a just mixture of labours and pleasures (such pleasures as Mr. Jones describes, and such only as he ever enjoyed) is greatly conducive to the happiness of this life, the foundation of real happiness must be sought in a higher source.'  
(Ibid.)

This statement, made when he was thirty-six, merely echoes what he wrote at about the age of twenty-one;<sup>1</sup> during the intervening years he must have thought about the matter several times, especially when he attended The Club and met men like Johnson and Reynolds, but apparently he found no reason to accept the idea that art must have a moral or instructional purpose. It is important because all evaluations of his art must be conditioned by his own outlook on art. The nature and use of art grow from one another:<sup>2</sup> if it is thought to be a form of relaxation by the poet himself, as something light, enjoyable and innocuous, then to look for too much weighty meaning would be unprofitable and unfair. At the same time, since writing has the habit of becoming something other than the author strictly intended, some of his poems may be treated as having a life of their own, able to supply something more than lyrical interludes between rounds of hard work.

A rejection of the axiom that art was 'pleasant' philosophy, or that it edified while it pleased, is later

1. See page 39 of this thesis.

2. See R.Wellek & A.Warren, Theory of Literature(1954),19.

followed by assertions of the pleasure principle alone, without overt or even well disguised instructional purposes.<sup>1</sup> It is possible to trace the working of Jones's canon through much of his later poetry (though not through his political poetry) which seems to make an effort to be as light and easy of articulation as possible, to be a tasty morsel without causing mental indigestion.

The example of what could happen to men who actively voiced anti-Government sentiments was in front of him in the person of Dean Shipley, whose activities had certainly held him back from the Bishopric of St. Asaph and probably cost him the primacy.<sup>2</sup> But Jones, backed by a youthful zeal to reform the world, plunged heedlessly into the fray. The damage to his career came later, when he had to wait nearly four years before his appointment to a Judgeship of the Supreme Court of Calcutta came through in 1783.

His growing name as an orientalist brought him into contact with Count Charles Reviczki, himself ardently interested

1. See page 90 of this thesis.

2. A.J. Arberry, Asiatic Jones (1946), 12.

in Arabic and Persian poetry, and a linguist of renown. Another lifelong friendship was established with this highly talented Pole, who became Imperial Minister at Warsaw, and then Ambassador for Poland to the Court of England. Jones had begun work on the most important of his early works, his Poeseos Asiaticae Commentarii, which was not completed until 1774. When Reviczki heard that he was engaged in this work he congratulated him on his taste, and added that he anticipated with pleasure the discomfort of European poets when they saw how poor were their own works when compared to the poetry of the east. His friendship with Reviczki grew out of a half hour discussion on Persian poetry, and it is difficult, when one reads the correspondence, to determine who was the more versatile. Their exchange of letters covered a wide range of oriental literature, and in their enthusiasm for the east they both tended to deprecate the west, at least in the beginning. Jones was often guided by Reviczki, who was the older, and there is remarkable agreement and respect discernible between them. On one matter, however, Jones had occasion to disagree with his friend. Reviczki visited London in the summer of 1767, and

---

1. See pages 94-97 of this thesis,

after his return he wrote to Jones deriding the British method of elections. Jones immediately wrote to assure him that the original form of the British constitution was almost divine, and that neither Rome nor Greece had one superior, nor could Plato or Aristotle conceive of a better one:

"When I reflect on our constitution I seem to contemplate a game of chess, a recreation in which we both delight. For we have a king, whose dignity we strenuously defend, but whose power is very limited: the knights and rooks, and other pieces have some kind of resemblance to the orders of nobility, who are employed in war and in the management of public affairs: but the principal strength is in the pawns or people; if they are firmly united, they are sure of victory; but if divided and separated the battle is lost. The motion of all, as in a game of chess, are regulated by fixed laws."(1).

Reviczki had the highest opinion of Jones's abilities, and was one of the first to recognise them. However, he felt that Jones was rather too serious in his approach to life, and realised that he was taking some of his values from Milton, of the 'upright heart and pure'. He wrote from Vienna on October 16, 1770:

"....as for my part, I only wish to find you again precisely as when I knew and admired you in England, faultless and irreproachable. I confess indeed, that what I particularly valued in you, was the happy talent of blending pleasure and recreation with the

---

1. Memoirs, 59-60.

most intense study and thirst for literature.

Take care however, that you do not suffer the ardour of application to deprive you of the gratifications of life, sufficiently brief in their own nature.... take care also, that you have not hereafter reason to complain, in the words of Horace:

Ah why, while slighted joys I vainly mourn,....

Why will not youth, with youthful thoughts, return? The chastity of the Muses, and their enmity to Venus, is a mere fable adapted to fiction; for poetry delights to repose on downy pillows."(1).

Jones replied in March 1771 that he was not insensible to the amusements of youth:

"...no one can take more delight in singing and dancing than I do, nor in the moderate use of wine, nor in the exquisite beauty of the ladies, of whom London offers such an enchanting variety; but I prefer glory, my supreme delight, to all other gratifications, and I will pursue it through fire and water, by day and by night."(2).

From these statements it is possible to form some idea of Jones as a young man, determined to get everything right, rather serious in outlook, perhaps excessively ambitious. It is the last characteristic which was both his strong and his weak point; it gave him the strength to achieve what he did, one of the most astonishing ranges of scholarship in history, but it was also the chief cause of his remaining a minor, comparatively unknown poet, because in a rigidly pragmatic drive

---

1. Memoirs, 85.

2. Ibid., 93-94.

to do well in life, poetry could have but little place. There is no incident to show that Jones ever followed Reviczki's advice. Once he had achieved some of the public glory he pursued so diligently, he was lionised by society women. Years later, when as a lawyer he went on his Welsh circuit, he was caught up in the free-drinking habit of his colleagues, with its attendant sportiveness. But dalliance was meaningless to him unless it was related to marriage, and his inner monitor was too strong to permit any action of which his well developed sense of morality would disapprove.

He visited Forest Hill in the late summer of 1767. A chance concatenation of events such as had been described by Milton, a whistling ploughman, a mower whetting his scythe, a milkmaid singing and a passing flock of sheep, convinced him that Milton had chosen his words well in L'Allegro. His respect for Milton and his powers as a poet received fresh impetus. He wished to hire the house occupied by Milton at Forest Hill, and to make a festival in honour of 'the most perfect scholar and sublimest poet' of England, which would be 'more sincere, if less splendid than all the pomp and ceremony on the banks of the Avon'.

---

1. Memoirs, 69. (cf. An Oration Intended to be Delivered in the Theatre at Oxford, 1773; 73: 'What a glorious character was Milton! how sublime a Poet! how copious an Orator! how profound a Scholar!')

To his early years also, belongs a draft for a treatise on education. Very little of it has been preserved in the 1 Memoirs. It is interesting because it follows what Jones had done and was proposing to do himself, and could even be taken as a justification for his own outlook on education, and partly because it gives some of his early opinions on language and art:

"A celebrated Eastern philosopher begins his first dissertation with the following period. The perfect education of a great man, consists in three points: in cultivating and improving his understanding, in assisting and improving his countrymen, and in procuring to himself the chief good, or a fixed and unalterable habit of virtue."(2).

Who this philosopher is he does not say. The Arabs and Persians were not greatly given to succinct aphorisms, so the source could be Chinese. A suspicion (perhaps unfair) arises that the saying was his own. He was already actively engaged in plans for the reformation of his countrymen in matters politic, and in accordance with the habit he had acquired, he found it necessary to explain himself to others.

In this essay he puts the study of languages into its proper perspective. He argues that life is short, and knowledge cannot be fully obtained nor the mind properly developed unless one can add the result of other people's experience

---

1. Memoirs, 87-89.

2. Ibid., 87.

to one's own. So the languages of great nations must be studied and this is the first object of education. The channels thus opened up would enable people to make an interchange of knowledge. It is well that he qualified his statement with the word 'great': by his standards, the mere process of acquiring the tools of knowledge would exhaust the average man's life-span.

The idea that art should be limited to the purpose of recreation is first stated in this plan:

"For as the human mind....requires many intervals of relaxation, it is necessary that some state be found between labour and rest. Hence proceeds the use of polite literature...."(1).

Conflicting images of Jones have come down through those who knew him personally and those who wrote about him afterwards. Lord Teignmouth paints him almost unbelievably perfect; the Memoirs is a formal, eighteenth-century biography, written too soon after Jones's death to avoid the interests of Jones's relatives and friends. Of it Arberry has this to say:

"....the book is marred by the author's too patent anxiety to make of his hero a prophet of Clapham evangelicalism, and to mitigate the harshness of his uncompromising politics...."(2).

However, it may be safely assumed that Teignmouth knew him better than anyone who has since written on him. The opinion

1. Memoirs, 88.

2. New Light, 637.

now has changed to one somewhere in between the adulation accorded him by most of his contemporaries, and the indifferent cynicism shown by some people in the nineteenth century. Perhaps now that he is more human he is more understandable. Three negative traits were to show in him as a young man. One was a kind of determinedly liberal dogmatism which was not always harmless, the second was a conceited belief that his own veracity and principles were superior to anyone else's, the third was an enthusiasm for fame which was not always tempered by sincere effort. He was perhaps sometimes impatient for the reputation of an accomplishment without the accomplishment itself, and this led him, though very rarely, to make statements and assertions which were to detract from his name as soon as they were disproved.

Also he was probably not as easy in companionship as his friends loyally suggested. A man who took almost every opportunity to reiterate the excellence of his own principles never could be. The first Earl Spencer was not sorry to release him from his job, Horace Walpole was later to be

- 
1. Arthur D. Waley, 'Sir William Jones as Sinologue', Bull. SOAS (1946), 842, thinks that Reviczki was being ironical in a letter (1770) which asks Jones when he had learnt Chinese, in response to some Chinese odes which Jones had sent him in Latin, and which (Jones omitted to say) had probably been adapted from Couplet's translations of the same odes, done a century earlier. However, see page 281 of this thesis.

irritated by his manner, Burke was to break up their friendship, John Paradise was to repudiate him completely during his American aspirations, and his fellow judges in India were to oppose him in open court. It is usual to explain this by saying that these men were short-sighted, arrogant, weak or corrupt, and that Jones was blameless each time: but there were some who viewed Jones as a limelight-seeking upstart, and their view cannot be entirely ignored. However, for a man who lived such a public life, his denigrators were surprisingly few; even those who disagreed with him vehemently rarely challenged his integrity. This one can assert about Jones with confidence, that no matter what he did or who he met, his intentions were always of the best.

In his twenty-second year events were to occur which set him on the first rung of his career as a writer, translator and orientalist. His talents were still largely untested, but he was conscious of his own special attainments, and was anxious to be given a chance to display them to the world.

---

## Chapter Two

### Early Works

King Christian VII of Denmark visited England in 1768, bringing with him a Persian manuscript, of which he desired a translation into French. This was the Tarikh-e-Nadiri, the first of two accounts of the life and activities of the shepherd conqueror, written by his scribe, secretary and admirer, Mirza Mohammed Mahdi. Jones was approached through the Secretary of State, but he showed some hesitation over the task and suggested that Alexander Dow, who had already won a name for himself with his translations from Ferishta's History of Hindostan and some popular Persian tales, was better equipped for it. There were several reasons for this hesitation. Jones was not entirely happy with his French, and would have preferred to translate into Latin. Mahdi's heavily ornamented style and extravagant figures were repellent to his sense of decorum. Above all he disliked the subject of the manuscript:

"No characters are more conspicuous in history, or excite greater admiration in the generality of readers, than those of celebrated warriors and conquerors: we suppose them to partake of a nature more than human;

- 
1. The second was the Durrya-e-Nadiri, described by L. Lockhart, Nadir Shah (1938), 296, as 'a monument to his (Mahdi's) erudition and also a manifestation of his bad taste.'

we deck their statues and pictures with laurels, and we dignify them with the title of great; though, perhaps, if they were stripped of their bright arms, and divested of their pompous titles, we should find most of them to be the meanest and basest of mankind. This infatuation arises from the deplorable servility of our minds, and our eagerness to kiss the foot which tramples on us, partly ascribing to the superior force and abilities of one man that success, in which chance or treachery have often a considerable share, and which could never be obtained without the united effort of a multitude; and partly from our mistaking the nature of true virtue, which consists, not in destroying our fellow creatures, but in defending their rights and liberties even to the hazard of our own safety."(1).

The preface is strongly worded and it is possible to conjecture, from the tone of defiance which rings through it, that Jones was anticipating or had already incurred some criticism in his campaigning for American liberty. Some of his current distaste for power politics and the suppression of human rights by force can be seen in other statements in the same piece:

"Power is always odious, always to be suspected, when it resides in the hands of an individual; ....no kind of power is more licentiously insolent than that, which is supported by force of arms....how much more splendid would their glory have been, if, instead of raising their fame on the subversion of kingdoms, they had applied their whole thoughts to the patronage of arts, science, letters, agriculture, trade; had made their nations illustrious in wisdom, extensive in commerce, eminent in riches, firm in virtue, happy in freedom, and had chosen to be the

---

1. Works, v, 533.

benefactors, rather than the destroyers of the human species! ...these sentiments, which, as nothing can prevent my entertaining them, so nothing shall prevent my expressing them as forcibly as I am able...."(1).

One wonders why Jones stresses the matter so belligerently, especially to a foreign king. Actually, the Tarikh-e-Nadiri afforded him an opportunity, not only of writing about a king, but of addressing one also, and of indirectly instructing yet another, George III. King Christian is praised because of his 'patronage of the arts': some of the preface appears to be an oblique diatribe against the court of King George.<sup>2</sup>

Dow declined the honour on the grounds of insufficient time; when it was pointed out to Jones that the translation would greatly enhance his reputation, and that if King Christian was disappointed in England, he would undoubtedly find someone more compliant in France, Jones accepted:

"Incited by these motives, and principally the last of them, unwilling to be thought churlish or morose, and eager for the bubble Reputation, I undertook the work...."(3).

1. Works, v, 534.

2. Most accounts of George III show him as a good, humane man, as unhappy with the prospect of war and bloodshed as anyone else. Christian VII is not usually thought to have been a credit to the Danish throne.

3. Ibid.

A specimen of the work was sent to Denmark, which was approved by Christian, who however desired that the translation be accurate. The work was arduous and proceeded slowly, because Jones had to send each chapter to a native of France for correction, as his own grasp of French idiom was imperfect. Considerable impatience was shown by the Danish court, but it was two years before the undertaking was completed. Jones had it printed at his own expense, after he was forced to delay the matter by another six months consumed in another trip to the continent with the Spencers in 1769.<sup>1</sup> Forty copies were despatched to Denmark as presents to the King's courtiers; one was specially printed on expensive paper for the king himself. The Danish monarch was so pleased with it that he sent a public testimonial to London and a letter of thanks to Jones. He also made him a life-member of the Royal Society of Copenhagen, and strongly recommended him to the favour of his own sovereign.

At the age of twenty-three, Jones was among the very

- 
1. During this visit, Jones attempted to meet Voltaire, then in retirement in Geneva. His approach was badly calculated and Voltaire declined the interview, pleading ill-health. Jones came away annoyed, sure that the aging philosopher now avoided the interview because his wit and sprightliness had gone. (See Memoirs, 78).

few men in Britain who could have risked making a translation from one foreign language into another, or successfully attempt a critical assesment of the literature of one in another, as he did in two essays appended to the History, Traité sur la Poésie Orientale and Dissertation sur la Littérature Orientale. The History itself is faulty, largely because of Jones's inaccurate conversion of dates. Lockhart points out the mitigating circumstances, the fact that there were not, at the time, any accurate maps and books of reference, and that even with the facilities available today to make a reasonably accurate translation from the Tarikh-e-Nadiri would be difficult. Added to this was the undoubted reluctance which Jones felt towards the <sup>2</sup> task.

A number of histories and commentaries on Nadir Shah existed in Europe before Jones began his translation, so his exoneration is not complete. Jonas Hanway, who lived in Persia during Nadir Shah's reign could not have been very far wrong with his dates. His Travels was first published

---

1. Gibbon was fluent in French and could probably have translated from the classical languages into French; Gray could have done the same into Old Norse. But, excluding the classical languages, in which most of the educated people of the time could have expressed themselves, one would be hard put to find many who could have translated from an eastern tongue into a foreign western one.

2. L. Lockhart, Nadir Shah (1938), 295-296.

in London in 1753 and by present standards his chronology is far superior to that of Jones. Apart from this available English authority, a man with Jones's polyglot talents could have had Du Cerceau's History(1740), Fraser's Histori van Schah Nadir(1742) and Spilman's Some Account of the Rise and Successes of Thamas Kouli Kan, King of Persia(1742), as books of reference. There are marks of haste in the work, and some mistranslations,<sup>1</sup> while the names have been badly mutilated. All this, however, cannot detract from the general excellence of the effort, which undoubtedly did much for his reputation. In 1773, Jones brought out an abridged version of his translation (strictly a paraphrase rather than a literal translation-) in English. In the same year T.S.Gadebusch published his German translation of Jones's French text at Grieswald, and at a later date appeared a Georgian translation, made by the Tsarevitch David, the son of Georgio XII, the last Georgian Tsar.<sup>2</sup>

More interesting than the History, which some critics<sup>3</sup> thought was no more creative than an exercise in punctuation, are the essays on oriental poetry and literature which

---

1.L.Lockhart, Nadir Shah(1938),105n,5.

2. Ibid.,296.

3. See G.H.Cannon, Sir William Jones, Orientalist(Hawaii,1952), 16.

Jones included in the first edition. He was beginning to feel the need for justifying his enthusiasm for eastern literature, which was undoubtedly misunderstood or dismissed as nonsense in most literary quarters in Europe. Jones broke quite clear of this attitude himself. If, sometimes, he appeared to accept that eastern poetry was essentially barbaric, this was done with a view to recommend it for this very reason; the primitive element was what gave it its strength, and he applied himself to defend it against the charges of extravagance, banality and decoration. Some of his arguments seem questionable, and the argument shades off too easily into racial or climatic hypotheses. Arabic poetry might have shown some of the rugged effusiveness which Jones admired and encouraged Europe to emulate, especially pre-Islamic Arabic poetry: but Persian poetry was a highly formal, stylised thing, having reached a very advanced stage of evolution, even of decay, by the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and was already suffering from the repetition of images and concepts which, Jones felt, had killed much of the spontaneity of 'polite letters' in Europe. The age of Reason had more in common with the medieval Persian free-thinkers and cynics than the subsequent age of Feeling.

Eastern 'mysticism', once the known maxims of the human soul seeking for its beloved creator are exhausted,

could easily be viewed as a plausible hankering for wine, food and physical pleasure, or a desire to escape reality, charioted by Bacchus or Morpheus. Garbed in a poetry as rich and musical as any, what was ordinary could often sound mystical, enigmatic or profound. Persian, says Jones, is certainly the poet's language, lending itself in the hands of an expert, to a kind of expression which is both musical and succinct: "La langue Persane est remplie de douceur et d'harmonie"; the same is true of Arabic, though here the

- 
1. Works, v, 434. A modern opinion on languages might not allow of this 'inherent suitability' of tongues for poetry, science or anything else. By no standard of taste or judgment may the comparative aesthetic qualities of different series of human sounds be determined. All that might be ventured is that some people seem to use the poetic potential of their tongues more than others; Arabic and Persian are both very much richer in vocabularies containing rhyming words than European languages--rhyming verse would undoubtedly be easier and more natural in either. Whether this is the cause or the effect of the poetical predilections of the Persians and Arabs cannot be decided.

Jones was in an era which spoke of languages as less or more evolved, primitive or advanced, strong or weak. All this was measured by the 'degree' of civilisation; Europe was advanced, Asia was backward--this inevitably predicated the notion that the languages of the Europeans were more advanced than those of the barbarians. This is, of course, untenable; some of the early, primitive languages of man were extremely complicated in syntax, inflexions and structure. Jones seems usually to have followed the common ideas of his time in this matter.

glottal stops and gutturals would tend to emphasise the vigour rather than the sweetness: "La langue Arabe est expressive, forte, et sonore."<sup>1</sup>

The Traité sur la Poésie Orientale is in seven sections, devoted to oriental poetry in general, heroic poetry, love poetry and odes, satire, elegies, moral poetry and panegyrics. As such it is probably the first European attempt to survey eastern poetry. Jones begins with an appeal to Europeans to open their minds to Asiatic poetry:

"La poésie Orientale est fertile en expressions forte, en métaphores hardies, en sentimens pleins de feu, et en descriptions animées des plus vives couleurs. Malgré ces vérités si généralement reconnues cette poésie douce et sublime a trouvé des critiques aussi injustes que severes.... puisque les connoisseurs conviennent que les ouvrages des auteurs Asiaticques sont souvent admirables, le soin rechercher d'ou leur viennent ces beautes reelles, ou ces fautes imaginaires, est peu necessaire dans ce traite. Quand un pote joint a l'élocution et l'élégance les ornemens et les graces, on ne peut lui refuser le titre d'excellent poete...."(2).

The Dissertation is more in the same vein, aimed largely at reducing the prevalent European apathy towards Asia. The problem was a real one; much of the pseudo-objectivity of scholars engaged in foreign research had as its prime motive the discovery of weaknesses in ideology or method, which could then be exposed to ridicule, for the greater glory of local literature and thought. Jones understood how much literatures were entwined with nationality and religion.

---

1. Works, v, 434.

2. Ibid.

Anglo-Saxon national pride was at a high level of self-satisfaction, inevitable because of British successes in various parts of the world. But these were military successes, and at this period in his life at least, Jones was willing to see no good in conquest. The habit of making general statements about people, usually qualified with a phrase permitting the odd exception, was more than ordinarily in vogue at the time. Virtue never existed beyond one's national frontiers, it seems; the Germans were stolid and morose, the French frivolous, the Italians effeminate, and of course the Asiatics, all conveniently thrown into one gigantic compartment, were barbarous. Ingenious explanations for the 'general characteristics' of nations were common, usually based on climate or some kind of rudimentary anthropology. Jones used similar premises to explain the Asiatic predilection for poetry, but he found it difficult to persuade people that cultures inferior in techniques were not necessarily inferior in wisdom.

Jones was somewhat disappointed with the Persians, much as he admired their skill and subtlety, and their tremendous national enthusiasm for poetry (there were more Persian poets than all the poets of Europe put together). He felt that the Sassanian period, before the Muslim conquest, was the purest and most productive, and that since then degeneration had set in. What he was looking for, and

what he found most admirable, was the bare directness of early Arabic poetry: in a letter to John Shore (later Lord Teignmouth), 1789, he remarks:

"....yet the beautiful simplicity of the old Arabs, in their short elegies, appears unrivalled by anything in Persian. I transcribe one of them, which I have just read in the Hamasa:  
 Cease, fruitless tears! afflicted bosom, rest!  
 My tears obey, but not my wounded breast.  
 Ah no! this heart, despairing and forlorn,  
 Till time itself shall end, must bleed and mourn."(1).

Even Southey, normally rather antipathetic towards both the orientals and their western interpreters, was willing to find an odd flash of genius among the old Arabs. But Jones ventured to compare Firdausi with Homer in some of his early writings:

"I am far from pretending(that) the poet of Persia is equal to that of Greece; but there is certainly a very great resemblance between the works of those extraordinary men: both drew their images from nature herself, without catching them by reflection, and painting, in the manner of the modern poets, the likeness of a likeness; and both possessed, in an

- 
1. Memoirs, 161.
  2. Southey to Charles Wynn, July 23, 1800 (C.G. Southey, The Life and Correspondence of Robert Southey, 1850, ii, 96-97): he thinks it disgraceful that the only worthwhile acquisition of oriental learning should have come through a Frenchman, Anquetil du Perron, who was 'certainly a far more useful and meritorious orientalist than Sir Wm. Jones, who disgraced himself by enviously abusing him.'

eminent degree, that rich and creative invention, which is the very soul of poetry."(1):

some of his other comparisons are not worded so moderately; Southey was moved to indignation:

"Our barbarian scholars have called Ferdusi the Oriental Homer. Mr. Chapman has published a specimen of this poem....to make this Iliad of the East, as they have sacrilegiously styled it, a good poem, would be realising the dreams of alchemy, and transmuting lead into gold...the Arabian Tales certainly abound with genius; they have lost their metaphorical rubbish in passing through the filter of French translation."(2).

The use of emotive and question-begging words characterises Southey's approach to eastern literature. His opinions on the Arabian Tales do not agree with continental ones, in which it is usually felt that Galland took too many liberties with the Thousand and One Nights in trying to make it acceptable to western readers. Southey's qualifications as a critic of eastern literature might well be doubted; he had read much, but perhaps with just those prejudices which Jones wished to counter. As laureate, his pronouncements may have hindered the progress of Britain's oriental studies, or at least made an influential contribution to the attitude of contempt which caused Britain to lag behind France and Germany, as perhaps she still does. Jones had already

---

1. Works, iv, 544-545.

2 South PW, 215a.

contributed indirectly to the process with his letter to Anquetil du Perron, a Frenchman who had worked his way to India and spent six years there, to translate the Zend Avesta, the sacred writings of the Parsees. He returned to Europe with a hundred and eighty ancient manuscripts, and before proceeding to France, spent some time at Oxford to collate the manuscripts of the Vendidad Sade. When his work appeared some time later, the preface was found to contain some lively remarks about the pomposity of the Oxford dons. Jones was approached by some of them to make a reply, which he did in an anonymous letter (Lettre a Monsieur A....du P...., 1771). It was received in Paris, where no one suspected at first that it had come from England, so pure and crisp was its language. But, witty and incisive as it was, it was really a calamity for English oriental studies. The attack followed the argument that a prophet or religious law-giver like Zoroaster could not have written such nonsense, that if he had, it was not worth translating, and that the language of the manuscript contained Arabic words which meant that post-Islamic influences had begun to work, so the manuscript must be of more recent origin:

"Nous observons que dans vos citations des prétendus livres Zendes, vous faites usage du mot Din pour

signifier la loi et la religion. Or ce mot est purement Arabe...."(1).

Critics have been harsh to Jones since the middle of the nineteenth century, but during his lifetime and till many decades after his death, the habit of sneering at Perron's Zend Avesta was not uncommon in England. Jones thought he had done well in taking a presumptuous Frenchman down a peg or two: he wrote to Reviczki in December 1771 and enclosed a copy of the tract:

I beg your acceptance of a little Philippic, which I wrote against an obscure coxcomb, who had the audacity to abuse our University, not with impunity, I trust, if the edge of my discourse have any effect on the senseless knave. 'I have disquieted', (as Cicero says of his Commentaries) 'the French nation'.(2).

Perron maintained a dignified silence throughout the attack and its aftermath. The result of the letter was to throw doubt on his veracity, so that even in France he was held in suspicion for a short time. In England, Thomas Hunt,

1. Works, iv, 604. In Jones's time probably no one could have positively countered this argument; 'Din' is used in all Islamic countries to mean faith or religion, and the source is Arabic. However, a similar root appears in Hebrew-Aramaic, and there is also 'den' in Pahlavi, with closely allied meanings. (See The Encyclopaedia of Islam, ed. B. Lewis, C. Pellat & J. Schacht (1962), ii, 293-296.

2. Memoirs, 101.

Laudian Professor of Arabic, who was one of those portrayed by Perron, sent two letters to Jones commending him for his spirited and authoritative rejoinder. He was, however, more cautious than Jones (letter, November 28, 1771):

"....But there is one thing....to doubt of, which is whether there has been such a general destruction of the writings of the ancient Persians as you imagine there has been....I think you would do well to consult (Mr. Swinton) before you publish your English translation."(1).

The verdict of time has swung irrevocably in Perron's favour. Rasmus Rask described the Lettre as 'Eine Weidschrift voll Gift und Gall, und verfassers Namens <sup>2</sup> durchaus unwurdig". Britain's formal recognition of Perron's achievements came no earlier than 1856, when Sir Erskine Perry wrote:

"A debt of justice is due to Anquetil du Perron from an English pen. There are few instances in the annals of literature in which greater devotion to the cause of letters has been shown, greater difficulties overcome, or greater philobiblical results achieved, than in the case of the translator of the Zend-Avesta."(3).

- 
1. Memoirs, 107.
  2. Quoted in Sir Erskine Perry, 'Notice of Anquetil du Perron', Miscellanies of the Philobiblon Society (1856-57), iii, n5.
  3. Ibid., 3.

The Lettre is one of Jones's weakest points: as could be expected it has come in for heavy treatment. Edward Browne writes:

"....and he who had strained at the gnat of the Zend-Avesta was destined to swallow the camel of the Desafir--one of the most impudent forgeries ever perpetrated."(1);

and points out that no serious scholar had the right to leap in with wild assertions and ferocious invective, much less to deny the great services rendered to knowledge by Perron. Jones practically extinguished 'a new born light destined to illuminate in so unexpected a manner so many problems of history.'

Jones might rightly be accused of some rash assertions and deeds at this stage. If Perron's conceit was a matter to be deplored, something quite like it, though veiled in a hundred terms of deference and humility, ran through his own writings. This was undoubtedly a transient phase. He would always remain something of a paradox, trying to be universal in his outlook, yet remaining limited and confined to childhood loyalties, and trying to reconcile the two. As he grew older, a genuine recognition of his own

---

1.E.G.Browne,A Literary History of Persia(1919),i,49-51,passim.

2. Ibid.,51.

fallibility toned him down. His own reputation, the 'bubble' he desired so strongly, became less crucially important to him and was subordinated to the satisfaction and mental stimulation to be obtained by the acquisition of more and more knowledge. By 1770 he had more or less decided that the claims of 'polite literature' would have to be secondary to his other interests. At the end of the Persian Grammar he announced his intention of relinquishing his oriental pursuits. Four years later he published another valediction, in his Poeseos Asiaticae Commentarii:

" Long enough, methinks, I have practised in the shade; now I am summoned to the dust and the battlefront...."(1);

which is followed by a promise to return in retirement to his favourite retreats, and to the cultivation of the arts. The epilogue of the Commentaries was in the form of a poem, entitled Ad Musam, which was translated anonymously at Calcutta in 1800:

"Farewell O Muse! sweet former of the mind!  
 Parent of Eloquence and thought refin'd!  
 Your pupil now deserts his lov'd pursuit,  
 Now wears the laurels more, nor strikes the lute!  
 Supreme of the sweet denizens of Heaven!  
 Whether it be to your fond votary given  
 To gain applause by fair Persuasion's speech,  
 Or should strong Eloquence his words enrich,  
 Receiv'd in youth by you, he lives in you,

---

1. Translation in A.J.Arberry, Asiatic Jones(1946),10.

Beneath whose auspices the stripling grew.  
 Hence aiming at professional renown,  
 Let him with decency assume the Gown,  
 Appropriate language give him to command,  
 And spirit firm without a venal hand."<sup>(1)</sup>.

Neither farewell was to prove final: however, these utterances were tantamount to a renunciation of his pretensions as a professional litterateur.

In 1769, Lord Althorp entered Harrow. Jones continued in Earl Spencer's employment for some time more, though he was not satisfied with his prospects. The office of tutor narrowed his chances considerably, and he was anxious to serve his country in an independent and honourable manner. The frequent and long journeys to the continent kept him away from matters he considered important, and, all in all, he felt he would do well to ask for his release. This was secured in 1770, shortly before he was admitted to the Temple on September 9.

2

As Teignmouth points out, it was not possible for him to renounce all his previous interests for the sake of his profession. He continued to bring out works on oriental literature until 1774, and thereafter with decreasing frequency until his departure for India, where his literary activity increased again.

In 1771, he published his A Grammar of the Persian

1. Quoted in Op.Cit., 10-11.

2. Memoirs, 90-91.

Language, by 'Yunus Oxfordi' (يونس اوكسفوردي<sup>1</sup>). His model was, in part, Meninski's Thesaurus, which had helped him to his knowledge of Arabic and Persian. The preface is noteworthy for the way in which he pleads for more activity and understanding in oriental studies:

"Some men never heard of the Asiatic writings, and others will not be convinced that there is anything valuable in them; some pretend to be busy and others are really idle....We all love to excuse, or conceal, our ignorance and are seldom willing to allow any excellence beyond our own attainments; like the savages who thought that the sun rose and set for them alone, and could not imagine that the waves, which surrounded their island-- left coral and pearl upon any other shore."(2);

and also for the way in which he comes out boldly with the suggestion that Persian literature is as worthy of study as that of Greece or Rome:

"Thus, while the excellent writings of Greece and Rome are studied by every man of liberal education, and diffuse a general refinement through our part of the world, the works of the Persians, a nation equally distinguished in ancient history, are either wholly unknown to us, or considered as entirely destitute of taste and invention."(3).

---

1. Works, ii, 119.

2. Ibid., 121-122. Arberry (Asiatic Jones, 1946, 34) describes this as the 'most eloquent and informed apologia pro litteris orientalibus ever penned.'

3. Ibid., 122.

Arberry thinks that the following passage should be committed to memory by every student of oriental literature:

"But if this branch of literature has met with so many obstructions from the ignorant, it has, certainly, been checked in its progress by the learned themselves; most of whom have confined themselves to the minute researches of verbal criticism; like men who discover a precious mine, but instead of searching for rich ore, or for gems, amuse themselves with collecting smooth pebbles and pieces of crystal...."(1).

One wonders if the situation was quite as bad as Jones repeatedly hints. Perhaps he was overstating his case in the hope of creating a literary climate favourable for the reception of his ideas. There is evidence that hostility was as prevalent as apathy; there was the kind of prejudice which would like to make a Prester John out of a Chengez Khan or a Thomas O'Kelly out of a Tahmasup Quli, because it was felt that successful conquerors should all be European; there were men like James Bruce, who had travelled through Ethiopia in search of the source of the Nile, well meaning enough, but who saw only what they wished to see, and were ready to fight duels in defence of their somewhat coloured accounts of Asiatic or African savagery. But the chief drawback was apathy; the average man of letters found the demands of a classical education sufficiently taxing, and he could hardly be expected to undertake a whole new,

---

1. Works,ii,122.

apparently prolific field of enquiry in another language. Despite this, one result of Jones's advocacy was a generally more sympathetic attitude towards Persian poetry. The Lyric poet Shamsudin Muhammad Hafiz was to become very popular after Jones had introduced him to England.<sup>1</sup>

Some of the prevalent compartmentalising of characteristics was indulged in by Jones also:

"....the man of taste will undoubtedly be pleased to unlock the stores of native genius, and to gather the flowers of unrestrained and luxuriant fancy."<sup>(2)</sup>;

and, fourteen years later:

"....reason and taste are the grand prerogatives of European minds, while the Asiaticks have soared to loftier heights in the sphere of imagination."<sup>(3)</sup>.

This would hardly be supported by history; one has only to look at the metaphysics of the early Hindus, or the writings of those Arabs who gave back to Europe her classical learning, to disprove it; nor is the 'loftiness' of imagination in comparison with that of Europe very evident: but it is one of the basic premises in Jones's arguments in favour of Asiatic literature. In the introduction to the History of Nadir Shah he writes:

" It must nevertheless be remembered....that the

1. See pages 293-295 of this thesis.

2. Works, ii, 133.

3. Ibid., i, 11.

people of Asia had among them a number of fine writers, sublime poets, eminent artists, at a time when our part of the world had neither learning, poetry nor arts; when the inestimable remains of Menander, Alcaeus, Sappho and the rest, were publicly burned at Constantinople by order of a Greek emperor; and when the inhabitants of all Europe besides had never heard of Menander, or Alcaeus or Sappho."

Jones's Grammar contains many faults, as did most of the grammars of this time. As a means of providing a novice with systematic instruction in something which should be made easy, most of them were utter failures. Some seemed to be vehicles for the display of scholarship, and perhaps Jones has been guilty of a little showmanship in this direction also; one feels he should have realised that anyone who had not had 'the education of a prince' would be perplexed by the paradigms in Greek, Latin, French, Italian, Spanish and German, and would wonder why English, in which it is written, has provided no parallels.

If a grammar gives what is false, obscures what is true, misleads in instruction, contains what is inessential, wanders in what is essential, it may be called a bad grammar. The case against Jones's primer is argued well by a knowledgeable critic writing for a Scottish literary magazine. The attack was directed chiefly against the

---

1. Critical Researches in Philology and Geography (James Brash & Co: Glasgow, 1824), 1-102 passim.

eight edition edited by the Reverend Samuel Lee (nine editions exist in the British Museum, where an autographed copy of the seventh edition belonging to George Borrow may also be seen). In the series of lively volleys between the editor and the critic, the editor was the clear loser; but perhaps the critic had overlooked an intangible quality, Jones's enthusiasm, with which the Grammar is instinct, and which must have been the main reason for its continued success so far into the nineteenth century.

Of the technical faults, a serious one is the invention of a word compounded with itself, intended to be the pluperfect of the verb 'to be', which Jones gives

<sup>1</sup>بوده شن. There are important omissions and hasty assertions elsewhere. The treatment of conjunctive pronouns has been omitted, and the account of the interrogative pronoun is inadequate.<sup>2</sup> At one place Jones says that the negative verbs are formed by prefixing <sup>3</sup>ن or نه to the affirmative in all the tenses, and a few pages later that the negatives ن and نه are changed in the imperative to <sup>4</sup>ن or نه; the second statement denies

1. Works, 11, 165.

2. Ibid., 214.

3. Ibid., 163: this 'error' is repeated in a modern primer, John Mace, Modern Persian (1962), 50.

4. Ibid., 172.

the totality of the first. At another place Jones writes:

"The reader who has been used to the inflections of European languages will perhaps be pleased to see an example of Persian nouns, as they answer to the cases of Latin."<sup>(1)</sup>;

in this he includes an example of the genitive case, forgetting that he has denied the existence of such a case in Persian one page earlier.<sup>2</sup>

Anyone familiar with the sounds and rhythms of Persian would recognise the uncertainties in the rules of pronunciation and prosody. The diacritical mark /, which is rarely written, but without which no line of Persian poetry could be scanned or read properly, has been given as an Italian 'i' rather than an Italian 'e' throughout.<sup>3</sup> As for his considerable enthusiasm for Persian poetry, it seems that he was misreading, or mistaking the scansion of that poetry himself. The first example:

بیوس نافه کاخ جازان دره بشاید

is correctly scanned thus,<sup>4</sup>

و --- | و --- | و --- | و ---

but the next two seem faulty:

1. Works, ii, 148.

2. Ibid., 147.

3. This seems to have become standard practice in English transliteration since. It is, of course, not wrong, but the 'ezafe' seems to be closer to the 'e' than the 'i', and is certainly an 'e' in Afghan and Pakistani dialects of Persian.

4. Ibid., 230 (cf. A. J. Arberry, Hafiz, Fifty Poems (Cambridge, 1953), 139).

and

تاغنی خدانت دولت بد خواهداد  
 اء شاخ گل رعا از بهر که میروی

which Jones gives as variants of the first<sup>1</sup>, but for which the ramal would seem more appropriate, as follows:

— ۵ | ۵ — ۵ | ۵ — ۵ | ۵ —

Jones obviously knew much about Arabic metres, of which he gives a detailed account in the Commentaries<sup>2</sup>. Perhaps his Persian pronunciation was influenced by his earlier Arabic<sup>3</sup>. What he gives in the way of metrical rules in the Grammar cannot be called wrong, but all of it is not quite right<sup>4</sup> either. Three years later the matter had not really

---

1. Works, ii, 231.

2. Ibid., 362-389.

3. Jones's weaknesses in spoken languages were exposed in 1784, soon after his arrival in India. Considered to be a world authority in Persian, he addressed a group of Indians learned in Persian in that language. They thought he was talking in English. (See O.J., 119).

4. A.S. Tritton, 'The Student of Arabic', Bull., SOAS (1946), 697, thinks that Jones had not assimilated his material well.

improved:

خوشا شیراز و وضع به مثالش

which Jones gives  $\cup - \cup - | \cup - \cup - | \cup - -$  <sup>1</sup> : this does  
not read as well as Arberry's  $\cup - - - | \cup - - - | \cup - -$  <sup>2</sup> .

These criticisms do not weigh against the great service which Jones was doing to both the east and west. The Grammar is a primer, written with commendable simplicity and great enthusiasm for its subject's special glory, its poetry. As a pioneer in the field it is not surprising that he made mistakes. What is surprising is that he did not make a great many more. Jones was not merely putting forth a case for eastern poetry, he was also providing people with a means to make a beginning on its study. To make the study more palatable, he chose his illustrations from poetry rather than prose. He also translated into verse a poem by Hafiz, which he called A Persian Song <sup>3</sup>. The original had suffered rejection by Reviczki for his own Specimen Poeseos Persicae (1770) and he had written to Jones complaining that the piece was incoherent. <sup>4</sup> The first English translation was made by Jones,

---

1. Works, ii, 371.

2. A.J. Arberry, Hafiz, Fifty Poems (Cambridge, 1953), 165.

3. Works, ii, 244-246.

4. See A.J. Arberry, Classical Persian Literature (1958), 333.

and the Song was to become the best known of all of Hafiz in England. It was immediately admired by the general public,<sup>1</sup> and set an example which Fitzgerald and others were to emulate, of making translations which were free in style and form so that eastern themes could be more readily appreciated in the west.

Part of the European prejudice against oriental art was encouraged by the image of excess, of frills, decorations and absurd variety and a deficient sense of simple purity and harmony. Southey wrote, in 1800:

"A waste of ornament and labour characterises all the works of the Orientalists. I have seen illuminated Persian manuscripts that must each have been the toil of many years, every page painted, not with representations of life and manners, but usually like the curves and lines of a Turkey carpet, conveying no idea whatever, as absurd to the eye as nonsense verses to the ear. The little of their literature that has reached us is equally worthless...."(2).

This, indeed, is an accusation not easy for an orientalist to circumvent. The eastern outlook is, often, that if an object pleases, that object multiplied a thousand times must please in proportion. Southey's strictures are fair when applied to some forms of eastern art. At the same

---

1. See A.J.Arberry, Classical Persian Literature(1958),333.

2. South PW,215n.

time it cannot be said that the curves and lines are as absurd to the eye as he states, though they may have appeared so to his eye. If music can convey aesthetic satisfaction without words, it is possible for a harmonious pattern of lines to do the same. Not all Asiatic writing is covered with 'metaphorical rubbish', and some ability at metaphor is essential to poetry. Again, Islam has banned the graphic arts, so representations of human life will not often be found in Islamic countries--there are stylised, traditional pictures, but only occasionally can one find accurate imitations. Even so, excess and ornamentation are the weak points in the eastern outlook, from a western point of view.<sup>1</sup> Jones was aware of this, and set about to explain and deny it:

"The Persian style is said to be ridiculously bombast, and the fault is imputed to the slavish spirit of the nation, which is ever apt to magnify the objects that are placed above it; there are bad writers, to be sure, in every country, and as many in Asia as elsewhere: but if we take pains to learn the Persian language, we shall find those authors, who are generally esteemed in Persia, are neither slavish in their sentiments, nor ridiculous in their expressions...."(2).

- 
1. Though not from an eastern point of view, generally. By eastern standards, western 'boreness' is sometimes derided as evidence of a paucity of imagination.
  2. Works, iv, 543.

The illustration is made with an extract from Sadi's Bostan:

" 'I have heard that King Nushirvan, just before his death, spoke thus to his son Hormuz: be a guardian, my son, to the poor and helpless; and be not confined in the chains of thy own indolence. No one can be at ease in thy kingdom, while thou seekest only thy private rest, and sayest, it is enough. A wise man will not approve the shepherd who sleeps, while the wolf is in the fold....The people are the root, and the king is the tree which grows from it; and the tree, O my son, derives its strength from the root' "(1).

The example given, and the comments he makes on it, that such thoughts would have been suppressed as seditious in Europe a century earlier, might have had a secondary purpose connected with his current politics. No doubt he would have liked this message to be conveyed to King George and his courtiers.

The eighteenth century saw a number of efforts to establish first principles in poetry. Jones was not an innovator in this respect. Speculation on the beginnings of the poetical impulse involving, largely, mythical analyses of pre-history, had already been indulged in by some Scotsmen like William Duff, Adam Ferguson, Hugh Blair

---

1. Works, iv, 543.

and Lord Monboddo. Blair's Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres had been heard at the University of Edinburgh since 1759, and the lecture on the nature of poetry proposed much which Jones concluded. Among the precursors of the romantics, Jones was the most articulate in England, and went beyond any other writer in placing the lyric at the centre of poetry. The influences which permitted Jones to anticipate an important trend so early must have come as a direct result of his many languages. It is difficult to place his direct sources, but one might have been Johann Hamann in Germany, who taught Herder English; Hamann is usually considered to be Herder's 'spiritual father', and Herder's theories, which were taken farther than Jones's,

- 
1. Southey made an oblique jibe at this kind of thinking. He said that because the cry of the sea-bird is 'qua-a-qua', and the Latin word for water is 'aqua', therefore Latin is the original and most natural tongue. (C.C. Southey, The Life and Correspondence of Robert Southey, 1850, iii, 16).
  2. See M.H. Abrams, The Mirror and the Lamp (New York, 1953), 95.
  3. See R. Wellek, A History of Modern Criticism: 1750-1950. The Later Eighteenth Century (1955), 123.
  4. Wellek, *Ibid.*, 178. (Abrams, *Loc Cit.*, 88, thinks that there is a close parallel with Johann George Sulzer's Allgemeine Theorie der Schönen Künste, 1771-1774).

have something that parallels his. The religious element<sup>1</sup> in Hamman,<sup>2</sup> the idea that the first poem was a spontaneous paean to God, has some echo in Jones, as will be seen later.

It is possible to observe in Jones's writings an unwillingness to ascribe to any theory of evolution which contradicted the account of man given in the Bible. The writings of the Scottish minor critics sometimes came in for mild ridicule in England; Johnson's remark that they loved to talk about things of which they knew nothing,<sup>3</sup> of pre-history, is typical of one type of response. With regard to the Rousseau/Locke/Hobbes triad, Jones probably thought that all theories on a 'state of nature' were unsupportable, that both the 'nasty, brutish' idea of man, making grunts of delight or anger, and the 'idyllic' paradise in which man lived unspoilt, were suspect. The only worthwhile accounts of history were religious; these had received the sanction of great men; in particular, there

---

1. See Wellek, Op Cit.,178. An important difference is that Jones talks of literature as a universal language and advocates a comparative study. Herder was to recommend that Germans speak like Germans, and not like early Greeks.

2. Wellek, Op Cit.

3. Abrams, Op Cit,81.

4.

was the Bible.

Reinforcement for the claims of the lyric must also have come from his Arabic and Persian studies. Whatever might be the source of the word ghazal<sup>1</sup>, it is a highly honoured form of poetical writing in Persia, and Hafiz is its accredited master. Jones and Reviczki were willing to concede the superiority of Persian poetry at the time,<sup>2</sup> and Hafiz was the special favourite of both.

In support of his advocacy of the lyric he endeavours to use the poetic proclivities of the old Arabs. Assuming that early man already had a language (in which he differs from the chronological primitivists)<sup>3</sup>, he argues that metre

1. In India and Pakistan it is taught that ghazal means 'talking to women'. Arberry shows other possibilities in Hafiz, Fifty Poems (1953), 22.
2. See Memoirs, 46-52.
3. The Wordsworthian idea that the most poetic language is simple, as used by simple men who draw their images directly from nature (see Wordsworth's Preface to Lyrical Ballads, ed., W.J.B. Owen, Anglistica, 9, (Copenhagen, 1957), 63 and passim), is implicit in Jones's selection of the desert Arabs as his example. However, Arabic has always been one of the most copious and complicated of all languages, and the early poets undoubtedly made good use of its potential.

took its beginnings from the rhythmic actions of passion or anger, and each type of poetry can be traced to a basic instinct. Also, certain races and climates were better disposed for poetry than others, a notion he had probably derived from Joseph Warton, who, in his Essay on Pope had written that climate and place must be considered in any attempt to make an adequate understanding of an author. To this Jones was to add geographical factors, the effect of the environment on the artistic sensibilities. In this he owes a debt to Bishop Robert Lowth's Praelections on the Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews(1753) in which Lowth has tried to relate the imagery of the Bible to the scenery of Palestine(the Praelections was the model for Jones's Commentaries which he had been writing for some time and which were to be published two years later, in 1774).

Jones's arguments contain the elements of historicism, language, climate and landscape:

"....now it is certain that the genius of every nation is not a little affected by their climate; for, whether it be the immoderate heat which disposes the Eastern people to a life of indolence, which gives them full leisure to cultivate their talents, or whether the sun has a real influence on the imagination (as one would suppose the ancients believed; in making Apollo the god of poetry); whatever be the

---

1. R.Wellek, A History of Modern Criticism:1750-1950. The Later Eighteenth Century(1955),124.

cause, it has always been remarked that the Asiatics excel the inhabitants of colder regions in the liveliness of their fancy, and the richness of their invention....to carry this subject one step further; as the Arabians are such lovers of beauty, and as they enjoy such ease and leisure they must naturally be susceptible to that passion which is the true spring and source of agreeable poetry; and we find, indeed, that love has a greater share in their poems than any other passion....If this way of arguing a priori be admitted....we must conclude that the Arabians, being perpetually conversant with the most beautiful objects, spending a calm and agreeable life in a fine climate, being extremely addicted to the softer passions, and having the advantage of a language singularly adapted to poetry, must be naturally excellent poets."(1).

The lack of certainty is in the clause 'if this way of arguing a priori be admitted'. Jones must have been aware of the difficulties for the 'sun and poetry' theory caused by the appearance of Macpherson's Ossian(1765), the alleged collection and translation of ancient Scottish verses attributed to the warrior-poet Ossian. Though men like Johnson and Hume pronounced this a fraud, no one could deny that a Scotsman living in the misty mountains had perpetrated a highly imaginative fraud; the Gaelic origin of some of the fragments was accepted, but for the rest, the 'forgery' was itself a refutation of Jones's stand.

- 
1. 'Essay on the Poetry of the Eastern Nations'(1772), Works, iv, 533-534.
  2. See E.C.Mossner, The Life of David Hume(1954), 415-418.

So we find, according to Jones, that the Arabs are inclined to beauty, live under a hot sun which stimulates the imagination, are surrounded by scenic excellence, and are the possessors of a 'poetic' language. It can be seen that in the last factor Jones diverges from some of his Scottish and German predecessors. The evolutionary theory of language proposed by the primitivists has been rejected in favour of the religious postulate that Adam came on to the earth with his speech faculties fully developed.<sup>1</sup> There is here no question that poetic speech was the first result of the gradual refinement of the impassioned grunts of early man. It was the result of man spontaneously responding to the marvel of his being and to the promptings of his deepest instincts. And the most powerful would be the song, the lyrical outburst of gratitude to God; of such was the essence of poetry.

There is much which can be challenged in the foregoing. Firstly, one might legitimately wonder if all Arabs living under the general conditions of indolence, heat, love and scenic splendour became 'naturally excellent poets'; this

---

1. See page 84 of this thesis.

being wrong, one might well ask if it were not individual rather than collective talent which mattered, the gifted man among men of Wordsworth. The premises are also suspect; few Arabs would agree that the climate they enjoy is 'fine'; one might conjecture that Jones wrote this when England was at its coldest and wettest and sunshine seemed a rare, <sup>1</sup> immensely desirable thing. Few also, would agree that extracting a living from the desert allowed them to be indolent: great effort was required, and the rewards were disappointingly low, so that luxury was the monopoly of a tiny minority, a minority not renowned for its poetry. Also, to state that the Arabs were lovers of beauty at the outset of the argument begs the question somewhat. <sup>2</sup>

The difficulties of this way of arguing must soon have <sup>3</sup> begun to make their presence felt. It could be answered that if true poetry was the monopoly of unspoilt primitives, then there was no hope for it in a sophisticated civilisation. (Perhaps this was one reason why Jones relegated it to its recreational role in life). If the poetic impulse

1. The book appeared in the spring of 1772(O.J.,29)
2. One wonders why it was taken as an axiom that people who live with beauty must necessarily respond to it so heartily. If anything, the idea that they would probably become insensitive and indifferent to it seems more tenable.

depends on heat and indolence then the only worthwhile poetry could be tropical, a conclusion very few would be willing to adopt. Also many could have pointed out that these arguments, questionable as they were, were really relevant to an early period in Arabian history, but that contemporary Arabia had shown a slump in imaginative writing, even though race, climate, language and landscape had not changed.

Later writers were to propose different reasons. The answer might be in social conditions, the gradual encroachment of literacy and civilisations on the raw simplicities of the desert tribes. If loquacity and a predilection for the subtleties of language were common to the Asiatics, it could partly be attributed to widespread illiteracy, when more reliance would be placed on the memory and verbal skills would be at a high premium. Peacock saw the origin of rhyme and metre in the need for a system of mnemonics,<sup>1</sup> and in the whole range of 'reasons' given for what are really inexplicable phenomena, this rings most true.

---

1. T.L.Peacock, The Four Ages of Poetry, ed.H.F.B.Brett-Smith (Oxford, 1953), 4.

The corollary to all this is that civilisation is that civilisation is the enemy of the poetic impulse, a corollary that would suit the romantic purpose. Macaulay thought exactly this when he wrote about the inverse relationship<sup>1</sup> of civilisation and poetry. The conclusion is implied in another of Jones's statements in the same essay:

"If we allow the natural objects, with which the Arabs are perpetually conversant, to be sublime, and beautiful, our next step must be to confess that the comparisons, metaphors and allegories are so likewise; for an allegory is a string of metaphors, a metaphor is a short simile, and the finest similes are drawn from natural objects.... It is true that many of the Eastern figures are common to other nations, but some of them receive a propriety from the manners of the Arabians, who dwell in the plains and woods, which would be lost if they came from the inhabitants of cities...."(2).

Thus it is direct and perpetual contact with God's nature which is the true source of fine similes and vigorous expression:

"....it is very usual in all countries, to make frequent allusions to the brightness of the celestial luminaries, which give their light to all; but the metaphors taken from them have an additional beauty if we consider them as made by a nation, who pass most of their nights in the open air, or in tents, and consequently see the moon and stars in their greatest splendour."(3).

- 
1. T.B.Macaulay 'Milton', Essays(Everyman's Lib.,1907),i,154-155.
  2. Works,iv,530
  3. Ibid.,

(which seems to assert that 'imitation' in some form is essential to good poetry). Jones ends this essay with a reiteration of the virtues of Greek and Latin poetry, and a request that no one should think that in bestowing so much praise on eastern writing, he was thereby detracting from the merit of Greek and Latin poetry:

"....yet....I cannot but think, that our European poetry has subsisted too long on the perpetual repetition of the same images, and incessant allusions to the same fables...."(1).

His friendship with Reviczki might have had something to do with this moderation. Reviczki fully shared his bias towards oriental literature, and his early letters contain much that is derogatory towards that of the west. But, as his classical education probably fell short of Jones's, he could still find much in it to stimulate his attention, whereas for Jones perhaps some of its novelty had gone. Reviczki wrote to Jones on January 28, 1768:

" I will not, however, take your expressions literally; and notwithstanding your declarations, the taste and judgment which you have displayed in the passages quoted by you, evidently prove that you have advanced far in Oriental literature. I must however beg quarter for the Greek and Latin; for, admitting, which I am not disposed to deny, the perfection, and even the superiority of the Orientals, particularly the Persians in some forms of Poetry, I would

---

1. Works, iv, 547.

without hesitation renounce all knowledge of the three Eastern languages for that of Greece alone...."(1).

Perhaps the age, which was so ready to suspect non-conformists of infidelity, demanded such statements. The preface of the book which contains this essay has this statement in it:

"It must not be supposed, from my zeal for the literature of Asia, that I mean to place it in competition with the beautiful productions of the Greeks and Romans; for I am convinced that, whatever changes we make in our opinions, we always return to the writings of the ancients, as to the standards of true taste...."(2).

This statement is full of interest; firstly because one wonders why it was made when the subject of his very next essay in the book is an attack on classical standards;<sup>3</sup> secondly because it indicates that some change of opinion was actually coming about; thirdly because it shows that whatever ideas were germinating in the age usually rather vaguely described as pre-romantic, the hard core of western classicism was, and would remain, the foundation of European taste. Eliot speaks of the continuity of the

1. Memoirs, 46.

2. Works, iv, 404.

3. 'An Essay on the Arts Commonly called Imitative' Works, iv, 549-562.

1

'western' tradition, by which he seems to mean ' a  
 conscious return to a similar view held less vocally during  
 the age of neoclassical dominance'<sup>2</sup>; and in criticism,  
 a return to analysis rather than subjective response. The  
 broad divisions are less popular now than formerly, but  
 if classicism and analytical criticism are seen specifically  
 as western phenomena, then one kind of romanticism may  
 be seen as an eastern one, in which expressionism and  
 impressionism in art, and highly personal response and  
 subjective 'appreciation' in criticism, have been the  
 ordering characteristics for a very long time. There is  
 no doubt that Jones's first interest is in western  
 poetry, and his excursions into eastern forms are partly  
 prompted by a desire to enrich its resources, but without  
 changing its essential character.

The Essay on the Arts Commonly called Imitative(1772)  
 is a serious study of the true nature of poetry; it also  
 contains comments on music and painting. It starts with  
 a bold denial of the 'imitative' principle in art, and

---

1. See R.Wellek, A History of Modern Criticism:1750-1950.The  
 Later Eighteenth Century(1955),2.

2. Ibid.

suggests, rightly, that the unthinking acceptance of a maxim was wrong, even though it had existed for a long time and had dropped from the pen of a superior genius. Painting and the graphic arts, which do not suit his purpose so well, are relegated to a less noble origin than music and poetry. Speculation about the 'non-representative' nature of music was gaining ground in England and the continent<sup>1</sup>(Jones could well believe these ideas because of his special response to music. The power of music had already had some treatment from him in his ode Saul and David). Jones agrees with this view when he writes that the 'finest parts' of poetry, music and painting express the passions, while the 'inferior parts' describe objects. The best poetry was that of early man; but it is not of man conceived of as grunting and wailing under the stress of passion and thus evolving speech, first rhythmical and then analytical, as others had surmised. Jones's primitive man is a fully developed being:

---

1. See M.H.Abrams, The Mirror and the Lamp(New York,1953), 88-94.

"....it seems probable then that poetry was originally no more than a strong and animated expression of the human passions, of joy and grief, admiration and anger, sometimes pure and unmixed, sometimes variously modified and combined....If this idea be just, one would suppose that the most ancient sort of poetry consisted in praising the Deity; for if we conceive of a being created with all his faculties and senses, endued with speech and reason, to open his eyes in a most delightful plain, to view for the first time the serenity of the sky, the verdure of the fields and woods, the glowing colours of the flowers, we can hardly believe it possible that he should refrain from bursting into an extasy of joy, and of pouring his praises to the creator of these wonders, and the author of his happiness...."(1).

The argument is strengthened by referring to Islamic nations, where any kind of imitation in art is frowned upon. Painting and sculpture have been prohibited; so, really, have poetry and music: but poetry of a certain type is very highly developed, as is music. The point is a very good one; if imitation can be proscribed, yet poetry of a high order can still be produced, the principle is clearly dubious.

However, it would be quite easy to demonstrate that imitation is as deeply imbedded in the art of the Muslim nations as it is in that of the west. It is pre-Islamic Arabic poetry which excites the greatest admiration, while the later writers who ascribed to Sufi and other

---

1. Works,iv,550-551.

mystical persuasions could hardly be called Muslims. There are imitations, not only of 'life' but of the works of other artists. Even what Jones thought were the simple, forceful effusions of the old Arabs were hardly that. Writing was more common than is usually thought, and of the poetry itself, a modern writer has said:

"Ancient Arabic poetry as preserved to us was not the free effusion of the soul, it was practically without exception an artificial utterance of the mind, expressed more or less skilfully in accordance with the talent of the poet."(1).

The impulse to write poetry, and write it well, may have stemmed from an overwhelming need to express violent passion. If so, Jones might have done better by giving the example of some nation other than the Arabs, who operated on another principle, a mundane one. The desert tribes were not composed of simple childlike people, nor were their reactions of nature effusive and direct: poetry was a social grace, and clever versification an honoured art, even in the desert tents. If passion was there, a lot of it was traditional and formalised; ingenuity in conceit and metaphor was no less admired.

---

1. F.Krenkow, 'Writing for the Preservation of Ancient Arabic Poetry', كتاب, ed.T.W.Arnold & R.A.Nicholson, (Cambridge,1922),268.

The two essays together make up the bulk of his early critical canon. They are not entirely consistent. The first essay really accepts the imitative principle when it says that it is not easy to write disagreeably about agreeable subjects, the second rejects it outright, at least as the fundamental characteristic of art. But the idea as a whole is understandable; that without losing its own personality, western poetry would do well to let new influences in; that art had ruled over nature so long as to obscure it; that its revitalisation lay in its ability to express strong feeling in a direct, simple manner; that the lyric was the most poetic form of poetry.

This is clearly in accordance with one stream of thought in his day, and also clearly in the direct stream of writing which led to Wordsworth's preface to Lyrical Ballads(1800). Jones anticipates some of Wordsworth's arguments about natural imagery and the way in which it expected that people who regularly commune with nature would have more fundamental poetry in them than those who live in cities, because they would have a greater sense of

---

1. Works, iv, 529: '...beautiful expressions rise naturally with beautiful images.'

immediacy and oneness with beauty of the type created  
<sup>1</sup>  
 by God. Jones also anticipates Wordsworth when the latter  
 says that poetry of a certain type degenerates, because  
 form is copied slavishly while original matter is lost,  
 so that what is left is a bombast of words with inadequate  
 substance. This is Jones's version of it:

" A great profusion of learning has been thrown  
 away by some critics, in comparing Homer with  
 the heroick poets, who have succeeded him; but it  
 requires very little judgment to see, that no  
 succeeding poet can with propriety be compared  
 to Homer: that great father of the Grecian  
 poetry had a genius too fruitful and comprehensive  
 to let any of the striking parts of nature escape  
 his observation; and the poets who have followed  
 him have done little more than transcribe his  
 images, and give new dress to his thoughts...."(2).

1. Some of Jones's arguments about the primitive people of  
 the world appear in The Prelude(1850), Bk., VII, 'London'  
 (740-749):

And comprehensiveness and memory flows  
 From early converse with the works of God  
 Among all regions; chiefly where appear  
 Most obviously simplicity and power.  
 Think, how the everlasting streams and woods  
 Stretched and still stretching far and wide, exalt  
 The roving Indian, on his desert sands:  
 What grandeur not unfelt, what pregnant show  
 Of beauty, meets the sun-burnt Arab's eye:  
 (The Prelude, ed. E. de Selincourt(1950), 257 & 259.)

2. Works, iv, 544-545.

As a romantic manifesto, his essays fall quite short of Wordsworth's preface. Jones is a 'religious' primitivist, in that he accepts the account of the Bible, who can draw his examples from the literatures of other lands, and can thus argue with more authority than his contemporaries. But the idea that art might be an individual rather than a universal expression seems not to have occurred to him, which places him chronologically before Herder. His writings were not as influential as they might have been, because the time was not right; the new impetus from Germany and France, the writings of Kant, Fichte, Herder, Rousseau, Goethe, the brothers Schlegel and others, had not yet gathered momentum.

However, because of the similarity between these essays and Wordsworth's ideas it is probable that Wordsworth knew of them and used them to develop his own theories. The idea of a spontaneous upsurge of feeling occurs in both: Jones had not thought of it being recollected in tranquillity. The account of the origin of metre differs slightly, Wordsworth believing that it was natural to the expression of passion, Jones that it was derived from the rhythmic actions of passion, a very small difference. Jones is at variance with Wordsworth on the question of the origin

of language; Wordsworth seems here to have accepted the commonplaces of the eighteenth century primitivists.<sup>1</sup> Both agree that its diction should be natural and genuine, not simulated. As far as the function is concerned, we have seen that Jones does not magnify the importance of poetry beyond its power to relax the mind, while Wordsworth thinks that its purpose is to refine the sensibility of the reader. Lastly, there is a wide gulf in their respective ideas on the nature of the poet: for Jones, poetry is a social, racial, climatic, geographical thing which flourished best at an early period in history, and not the outpourings of a man among men, gifted with more than ordinary sensibility and humanity.

Actually Jones had been working towards a rejection of the imitative theory as early as 1769. A few years before Jones brought out this volume, he had commenced writing a tragedy called Soliman, based on the life of a Turkish king. The attempt was abandoned and nothing remains but a fragment of the advertisement.<sup>2</sup> The attack in this seems to be directed against the propaganda making propensities

---

1. See M.H.Abrams, The Mirror and the Lamp (New York, 1953), 101-103. (cf. Wordsworth's Preface to Lyrical Ballads, ed. W.J.B.Owen, Anglistica 9 (Copenhagen, 1957), 62-64 and *passim*).

2. Memoirs, 89-90.

of Dryden and Corneille who each thought it necessary to prepare the public for his ideas on the nature, language and method of writing tragedies. Jones thinks as absurd the notion that there should be a 'just and lively representation' of human action on the stage. "The object of theatrical representation", he writes, "is to convey pleasure, and the hope of receiving it is the inducement<sup>1</sup> which carries people to the theatre."

The foregoing essays were included in his 1772<sup>2</sup> publication of poems, described as 'translations' in the title, but in fact containing only one new translation (the Persian Song was also included here), a Turkish Ode taken from Mesihî. The other works are really adaptations from eastern themes and none have been done very effectively. Perhaps Jones was conscious of this himself, for he seems to have gone to unnecessary lengths to prove that his sources were, indeed, oriental:

"....I should give some account of the pieces contained in it; and should prove the authenticity of those Eastern originals from which I profess to have translated them; indeed, so many productions invented in France, have been offered to the public as genuine translations from the languages of Asia, that I could have wished, for my own sake, to clear my publication from the slightest suspicion of imposture...."(3).

- 
1. Memoirs, 90.
  2. These poems were translated into Portuguese by Francisco Manoel de Oliveira in 1793 at Lisbon.
  3. Works, iv, 404.

His interpretation of the word 'translation' is interesting; for him it was the expression of the thoughts and themes contained in one language in another, rather than a literal translation. The three main poems in the book, therefore, hardly possess anything evocative of the east. The Palace of Fortune, which undoubtedly gave Shelley some of his ideas for Queen Mab<sup>1</sup>, is an allegory purposing to show the transience of material benefits and their hidden dangers: the heroine of the piece returns gratefully to her mother after she has been exposed to the dangers of the world. The Seven Fountains is a kind of eastern Pilgrim's Progress; a young man is ensnared by seven beautiful nymphs who show him ever increasing pleasures for seventy days, but suddenly he is dragged away in chains and after a pleasant journey he reaches another, far more pleasant place. Rather unnecessarily, it has been pointed out that the seventy days represent the life of man, the nymphs are the material pleasures of life, the journey is death, and the final resting place is heaven.

- 
1. See pages(296-299) of this thesis. Carlos Baker, Shelley's Major Poems (Minnesota, 1948), 25n, thinks that this poem itself owes a debt to Pope's The Temple of Fame, 1711. Jones was not in favour of Pope's outlook either as a man or as a poet. However, there is much in Jones's verse which has been influenced by Pope, directly or indirectly. Some examples may be seen on pages(266n & 298n) of this thesis.

As examples of eastern literature, one wonders why Jones chose themes as uncharacteristic as these. The reason appears to be his anxiety to show how much correspondence there could be in the ideas of east and west. With this purpose in mind he has included some imitations from Petrarch in this volume; he suggests that the form of the Petrarchan ode was introduced to Europe through the Arabs.

These publications helped to bring him a name as a man of letters. The culmination of his recognition as a man of extraordinary talents came on April 2, 1773, when he was unanimously voted to the membership of The Club, four weeks before Boswell was accorded the same honour. Here he enjoyed the company of the literary élite of his day, Gibbon, Sheridan, Garrick, Reynolds and Johnson. He became president in 1780.

It is possible that Jones had a hand in improving the language of Reynolds' well-known Discourses,<sup>1</sup> delivered as president of the Royal Academy over a number of years. Reynolds' awkwardness with words seems to be enough to disqualify him from the sole authorship of the carefully

---

1. See C.R. Leslie and T. Taylor, The Life and Times of Sir Joshua Reynolds (1862), i, 319. (cf. Donald C. Bryant, Burke and his Literary Friends (Washington Univ Studies, 1939, 52).

constructed Discourses, with their balanced clauses and rolling phraseology:

"It sets out with a language to the highest degree artificial, a construction of measured words, such as never is, nor ever was used by man...."(1);

"We find ourselves, perhaps, too much overshadowed; and the character of our pursuits is distinguished rather by the tameness of the follower, than animated by the spirit of emulation....It is sometimes of service that our examples should be near us; and such as raise a reverence, sufficient to induce us carefully to observe them, yet not so great as to prevent us from engaging with them in something like a generous contention...."(2).

These are examples from Discourses which were delivered after Jones had departed for India, and in which, therefore, he could have had no hand. The style of an earlier Discourse, delivered in 1782, is more in the manner of Jones, whose own prose writings show little of the self-conscious artistry of the preceding examples:

" It is by this, and this alone, that the mechanical power is ennobled and raised much above its natural rank. And it appears to me, that with propriety it acquires this character, as an instance of that superiority with which mind dominates over matter, by concentrating into one whole what nature has made many."  
(3)

Leslie and Taylor definitely number Jones among those who<sup>4</sup> could have helped Sir Joshua with his drafts. If so, he went

1. 'Discourse, December 11, 1786' Reynolds' Discourses (Everyman's Library, 1906), 214.
2. 'Discourse, December 10, 1788', *Ibid.*, 226.
3. 'Discourse, December 10, 1782', 183.
4. *Loc Cit.* The others might have been Burke, Johnson and Thomas Franklin.

rather beyond the bounds of his own normal style.

Not much account is available of his progress in the study of law. From passages in letters to friends, however, it appears to have been satisfactory. He was quite sure that this was his true vocation, and did not see why some people called the study of law dry and unpleasant. In the years to come Jones was to establish a tradition in juridical writing which would run parallel with another established by Jeremy Bentham. Speculation on state and society were to him fully as interesting as speculation on art. Law would also give him a chance to practice public speaking, and help him to what he really desired above all else, a foothold in politics.

Jones's most comprehensive work on eastern poetry is the Poeseos Asiaticae Commentarii. It took him five years to write (1767-1771) and another three years to publish (1774). It was planned after Robert Lowth's De Sacra Poesi Hebraeorum Praelectiones Academicae (1753), styled in imitation of Cicero, and influenced by Burke's A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful (1758). The Commentaries is in six book divisions covering all the poetry of Asia, with special emphasis on Arabic, Persian and Turkish poetry. The discussion is in Latin, and comparative samples are taken from Greek and Latin poetry with detailed remarks about form and metre; a linguistic virtuoso's performance.

It was written in Latin for the educated of Europe, but this very seeking for a wider audience was to put it in the background as a general treatise on oriental poetry. Arguments which he had used before are repeated in this work. He asserts once again that Asia's climate has something to do with her poetic aptitude. His detailed discussions on metre are made in a wide-ranging effort to reduce the metres of the east to the classical feet of the ancients. The effort is a laudable one, although the difference between the syllable count of the ancients and the speech stress of the Arabs and Persians would probably preclude exact comparisons.

Jones can lay claim to the credit of being the first to indulge with some degree of comprehension in 'comparative literature', a term which has now come to mean:

"....the study of international intellectual relations, of the transfer of tendencies of thought and taste, and of literary fashions, from one country to another, with especial attention to the modifications or metamorphoses which these undergo when transplanted into a new milieu."(1).

Jones's interest is not so much in showing the differences as in showing the similarities between people, which is more in accord with Wellek when he says:

---

1. Arthur O. Lovejoy, Essays on the History of Ideas (New York, 1960),

"Ideally, we should simply study literature without linguistic restrictions: consider all literature our province...."(1);

Wellek limits this to the European-American traditions: Jones is willing to treat literature as a universal language rather than as the articulation of a particular culture. The effort, in the Commentaries, is slightly marred by over-statement and the lawyer's anxiety to prove his point. He finds European parallels for eastern writers; Hafiz is the Petrarch, Firdausi the Homer, of Persia; Confucius is the Plato of China, and so on. He had already established his point in the Grammar and other writings, and from the reception he had received it could be surmised that European hostility towards oriental writing was not as severe as he imagined.

Modern critics, though they agree that the Commentaries are a landmark in oriental studies, find the attempt superficial and hasty, useful now more as a source book for extracts of Asiatic poetry than as a critical work. It contributed immensely to Jones's reputation, but it does not appear to have been widely read.

The primary purpose of Jones's early writings was to encourage the study of oriental literature, and to provide the

1. Quoted in Times Literary Supplement (Thursday, November 25, 1965), 1078.

2. See G.H.Cannon, Sir William Jones, Orientalist (Hawaii, 1952), 7.

public with the means to do so. It was not to be expected that the transformation in everyone's attitude would come about immediately, but the results were encouraging; in Persian, particularly, England was to show a great deal of interest over the following five decades.

- 
1. See J.D.Yohannan, 'The Persian Fad in England;1770-1825', Comparative Literature(1952),iv,passim.

### Chapter Three

#### Politics and the Law.

Jones was called to the bar in 1774, but did not commence practice until the spring of 1775, because he wished to observe how cases were conducted in court, and to consolidate his knowledge of the law. Success came soon, although he was never considered to be outstanding for his abilities as a lawyer, and was probably less successful than Thomas Erskine, who commenced at about the same time.<sup>1</sup> The lawyer-poet Thomas Day shared his chambers at Lamb's Building, Middle Temple.

As in most things, Jones looked for those aspects of his profession which he thought needed reform. He was straightaway resolved that his talents as a linguist should be brought to the service of law. Lord littleton's French translation of a 1482 treatise on tenures(1766), a copy of which belonging to Jones can be seen in the British Museum, received detailed attention from him; it can be assumed, from the different titles which he was thinking of giving to the work, that he intended to have his own English translation

---

1. His first speech as a lawyer was a failure. It was so artificial and laboured, in gesture and voice, that people thought he imagined himself to be Cicero or Hortensius. (see O.J., 47)

published. He went back to older sources also, to tracts like the speeches of Isaeus and early Muslim documents on law.

Gradually his reputation as a lawyer grew, and in 1776, Earl Bathurst, then Lord Chancellor, nominated him as a commissioner of bankruptcy, a post worth one hundred pounds a year. His practice expanded steadily and he could be assured of a reasonably prosperous future. It was not enough for him: as a lawyer he was a person who could advise, but not decide, a specialist without authority. He had his eye on the world of politics, and he had no reason to believe that his beginnings were any less auspicious than those of Fox, or Sheridan, or even Burke.

In 1778, he brought out his Speeches of Isaeus Concerning the Law of Succession to Property at Athens, which had been completed in 1776. It was his first effort towards bringing into the open Britain's long over-due need to reform her land laws. In it are ten speeches by the fourth century B.C. Greek lawyer Isaeus, five incomplete speeches, and notes and a commentary by the author. The prefatory discourse is

notable for the way in which he expresses the importance of comparative and historical law:

"There is no branch of learning from which a student of law may receive a more rational pleasure....than the history of the rules and ordinances by which nations, eminent in wisdom, and illustrious in arts, have regulated their civil polity."(1).

From such a study, a scholar would not only gain pleasure by observing the customs of others, he would be gratified to see that in most cases the laws of modern England were superior to those elsewhere. Also, the knowledge would be invaluable to anyone who had hopes of becoming a legislator.

2

The work is dedicated in part to Earl Bathurst,

- 
1. Works, iv, 9. (Cannon, O.J., 49, describes this preface as 'one of the most eloquent pleas of all time for the founding and importance of comparative law studies and for the raising of law to the status of a science'.
  2. It is also dedicated to Sir James Porter, ex-Ambassador to Turkey. Before 1774, Jones had entertained hopes of becoming minister at Constantinople. In preparation for this he had written a 300 page history of the Turks, which was never published, and which has since been lost. The 'prefatory discourse' of this history may be seen in Memoirs, 491-515.

in a somewhat verbose, fulsome manner. Bathurst had resigned before the appearance of the book, and Jones could easily have directed his dedication to his successor, Edward Thurlow ( previously Advocate General), or to someone else in power. The fact that he did not suggests that he was determined that no one should think he would ever subordinate principle to profit; and so it was to be, in many ways to his own detriment.

A copy of the book was sent to Burke, who thanked him conventionally and promised to read it in his 'first leisure'<sup>1</sup>. The friendship between the two was strengthened at this stage by a conformity of political opinion. Jones sometimes acted as Burke's legal adviser.

On June 18, 1773, when Jones received his M.A. degree, he was dissuaded from delivering his carefully prepared oration by friends who thought it was too radical in outlook, and implied too much criticism of Lord North's government to be well received in a Tory stronghold like Oxford. In it he had written:

"I have been long persuaded, that a dangerous freedom is preferable to a secure servility."(2).

- 
1. Burke to Jones, March 12, 1779: *Memoirs*, 157 (cf. *The Correspondence of Edmund Burke*, ed. T. Copeland (Chicago, 1963), iv, 48-49.
  2. *An Oration intended to be delivered in the Theatre at Oxford* (1781), 64.

This, in essence, sums up the challenging tone and basic principle of his early politics.

The inability of some to understand that his definition of freedom did not entail total anarchy led to some of the criticism he was to receive. Perhaps, in the beginning, Jones did believe that society would develop best with a minimum of regulation, but as early as 1768 he would talk of fixed laws in society. His definition of liberty was a lawyer's one; it was an obedience to law which had been framed with the assent of those whose property, freedom and lives it affected. Thus the law of Britain, the constitution which had evolved through centuries of trial and error, was above the rights of both monarch and subject, and its administration could be best achieved when there was a harmonious and equitable relationship between the king, the nobility and the populace. His dissatisfaction with the country's complacency towards the King's efforts to re-establish an authoritative monarchy, led him to state his case with sometimes immoderate severity. The result was that

---

1. (Jones) A Letter to a Patriot Senator(1783), 4 and passim.

some people like William Paley, who knew him personally, thought he was advocating the overthrow of the monarchy and the establishment of a true republic.<sup>1</sup> This view was supported by anonymous contributors to the Gentleman's Magazine (lxxiv, pt. ii, 1214, 1804) and the Annual Biography (i, 1817), the second of whom accused Lord Teignmouth of deliberate expurgations and omissions in documents which would have established Jones as a republican.<sup>2</sup> Modern critics argue against this; Jones's guide in all these matters was the constitution, which made provision for a king, so there was no question of displacing the monarchy. Even so, in principle he preferred a republic, a form of government in which every responsible man in the country could have a say, directly or indirectly. Locke's arguments about the 'natural' and the 'rational' were used here. In a letter to Althorp dated October 2, 1781, he writes:

"....yet they look upon me as a republican; very unjustly, if they mean one who wishes to see a republick in England; but very justly if they mean one who thinks a republick in the abstract the only rational, manly, intelligible form of government...." (3).

---

1. New Light, 677.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

In 1777 news came through that a vacancy among the puisne judges at Calcutta had been created by the death of Justice Lemaistre. As soon as he heard of this Jones let it be known that he was interested; he was clearly qualified, once the five year stipulation as a barrister had been met. Others thought so too; from letters to friends it seems that Jones was fairly confident of securing the post in early 1779, although in one letter to Althorp dated October 13, 1778, he voices his doubts that North might not appoint him because of his outspoken politics:

" Be assured, my dear Lord, that if the minister be offended at the style in which I have spoken, do speak, and will speak, of publick affairs, and on that account should refuse me the judgeship, I shall not be at all mortified, having already a very decent competence, without a debt, or a care of any kind."(1).

Jones's doubts were justified. More than North, however, it was Thurlow who opposed him. The Lord Chancellor was very much in favour of crushing the American uprising by force: it was not to be expected that he would view Jones's candidature to a powerful judicial post with sympathy. Thurlow's own preference went to

---

1. Memoirs, 163.

Francis Hargrave, who sometimes assisted him in legal matters. Nothing came of this either, probably because Thurlow was given to long inaction over big decisions, and also because American affairs were taking precedence over Indian ones.<sup>1</sup>

Jones waited with growing impatience. He had taken up the profession of law as a means to an end, but it was threatening to become an end in itself. The demands on his time were very heavy. His publications had so far earned him little money. Prudent and temperate as he was, he found that his reserves were rising very slowly. He entertained hopes of marrying into the wealthy Shipley family, but was determined to make the first move only when he could be assured of an honourable independence. The money he could earn honestly from the India judgeship was a very big consideration; it was worth six thousand pounds a year.

With the hope of the judgeship receding, Jones began his only attempt to enter politics in April, 1780. One of the two seats for Oxford had been vacated by

---

1. At about this time, Thurlow was generally uncooperative on East Indian matters. North complained that papers would lie with him for long periods before being returned 'without opinion or assistance'. See L.S. Sutherland, The East India Company in Eighteenth Century Politics (Oxford, 1952), 342.

Sir Rodger Newdigate. Jones knew about Oxford's Tory affiliations, so before he made his formal application he wrote to Dr. William Adams, Master of Pembroke College, to explore the possibilities of securing reasonable support for a man who had written an ode to liberty.<sup>1</sup> When his friends heard of the feelers he was putting out they assured him that he had a chance. He entered the field late, on May 2. His rival from University College, Dr. William Scott, had already done much to consolidate his position. Both men were in competition with Sir William Dolben. Scott's outlook was guardedly Tory, Dolben's outspokenly so; this led Tory Johnson to predict (rightly, as it transpired)<sup>2</sup> that neither Scott nor Jones would succeed, because Dolben could be sure of government support.

Initially the University College authorities were forced to explain to Jones that, although they were pleased to accept him as a candidate, at such a late stage it would not be possible for them to retract their public support for Scott. This was interpreted by

1. O.J., 65

2. In two letters to Hester Piozzi, Letters of Johnson, ed. G.B. Hill, (Oxford, 1892), 155, 164.

some as a rebuff to Jones, an interpretation which Scott understandably did not contradict.

Jones felt that he could, as well as any other man, 'protect in the legislature the republick of letters', and his plan for securing votes was based more on his reputation as a scholar than on this or that party persuasion. The result was perhaps too amorphous and ill-defined for most people fully to understand. Some friends felt that his position in respect of his standing with University College required detailed clarification. A pamphlet entitled To the University of Oxford was written on May 5, 1780, and distributed immediately. In this once again too much emphasis was placed on his political principles and not enough on promises of action.

Cannon thinks that this pamphlet prejudiced Jones's chances even further. Its tone was too defensive, its purpose more to explain why his college had apparently denied him than specifically to meet the malicious rumours which had begun. Few thought that he

- 
1. Jones to Althorp, April 29, 1780: New Light, 675.
  2. Reproduced in 'An Account of the Life and Writings of Sir William Jones, Knt', European Magazine (September 1787), xii, 184-185.
  3. O.J., 67

had much chance of toppling a major Tory constituency.

The London Chronicle of May 4 wrote:

"....three candidates have begun to canvass for the vacancy, viz, Professor Scott, and Mr. Jones, both of University College, and Sir William Dolben; but it is thought that the contest will lie between Dr. Scott and Sir William Dolben". (2).

With all the initial disadvantages, however, Jones was able to muster a respectable role of supporters. As an independent, a renowned scholar and a man of inflexible principles, he was able to direct his campaign against both of the dominant parties. Influential people like Nathan Wetherell, Master of University College, Dr. Richard Price, Francis Milman, the Reverend Edmund Cartwright, Mrs. Elizabeth Montagu and the Duchess of Devonshire united to help him.

With this support, Jones might yet have made a good showing. He approached Horace Walpole, whom he had just met, with a request for his assistance. Walpole was indignant, and wrote to the Reverend William Mason:

"On Tuesday was se'ennight Mrs. Vesey presented him to me. The next day he sent me an absurd and pedantic letter desiring I would make interest for him". (1)

- 
1. O.J., 67
  2. Quoted in O.J., 68

Before he replied to Jones that he had absolutely no interest in the affairs of Oxford, Walpole made enquiries. He discovered that the 'absurd and pedantic' letter was a circular which Jones was distributing to many, so he did not bother to reply at all. Walpole's letter does, however, indicate that some people were willing to look at Jones in a light other than that given by Teignmouth:

"I am glad I did not, for the man it seems is a staunch Whig, but very wrong headed. He was tutor to Lord Althorp, and quarreled with Lord Spencer, who he insisted should not interfere at all in the education of his own son". (2)

Jones's mother died during the campaign. His grief was overwhelming, and he tried to forget it by plunging into the political whirl with greater enthusiasm than before. He wrote to Althorp:

"My Country is the only parent, that the Eternal Wisdom has pleased to leave me.... My grief, about which it is idle to argue, must have its course; and nothing, but active business can divert my thoughts". (3).

Cannon writes that Jones's errors in strategy (due to inexperience), his insistence on treating his

- 
1. The letters of Horace Walpole, Fourth Earl of Oxford, ed. P. Toyubee, (Oxford 1903-1905), xi, 170.
  2. Ibid.
  3. New Light, 682

opponents as honourable men instead of exposing their weaknesses, his notion that theorising would win the day over practical planning and his determination not to change his approach even when it showed itself to be unprofitable, lost him many of the votes which could have been his.<sup>1</sup> By mid-summer, the position was clearly shaky.

The pamphlet he wrote soon after the Gordon anti-Catholic riots which took place in June, 1780, weakened his position even further. For five days the riots raged with impunity; even the Temple was attacked by the mob, which had long forgotten its original purpose, and which now threatened all known establishments. On June 7, Jones and others spent a tense night in defensive vigil, and only the arrival of the army, which had been hastily called in, averted the threat. This prompted him to write An Enquiry into the Legal Mode of Suppressing Riots with a Constitutional Plan which came out in July. Calling in the army was repugnant to the dignity of civil law, and gave too much direct power to the King. Moreover, it was unnecessary. The constitution allowed civil authorities to quell serious disturbances without the

---

1. O.J., 70.

assistance of the national forces. His plan was to ensure that every county sheriff be supplied with adequate arms and powers to deputise any citizen into a posse to work for the law. Also, powers to wound or kill, if he deemed it necessary, were to be given to him. The nobility would not be excluded from service in the posse.

One result of the riot was a modification in Jones's views on freedom. The man who had once written:

"....Behold me now no longer a free man; me who ever considered perfect liberty superior to everything." (1).

now spoke cautiously of checks and balances. But this did not argue that he thereby thought the king could be above the law of the land.

This point is stressed in the pamphlet, and it definitely put Jones in the wrong camp for most of Oxford. Jones realised the position and abruptly decided to waste no more of his own and his friends' time. Then, at about the time that he was thinking of leaving for France, the King dissolved parliament and declared a general election. Jones and Scott, whose chances in a bye-election had been few, now withdrew altogether. Dolben was to be elected unopposed,

---

1. Jones to H. A. Schultens, December, 1776, Memoirs, 140.

and the incumbent, Francis Page, was to be re-elected.

When he returned from the continent later in the year, Jones began preparing for future campaigns, despite what he considered was the failure of outspoken honesty against entrenched corruption. However, some of the enthusiasm for politics had gone out of him, not because of his failure, but because he was beginning to understand that a man like himself had no place in the tangled world of intrigue, pride and vested interests.

His friend John Wilkes was to be nominated a candidate for Middlesex in September. On the 9th, a meeting of freeholders took place, which Jones attended. He had prepared a speech for the occasion, but, as the meeting proceeded so smoothly and quickly, he found no opportunity of delivering it. He came home and set it down in substance. A Speech to the Freeholders on the Nomination of Candidates to Represent the County of Middlesex is strongly worded, with all the Catonian severity he could muster. Jones's growing disgust with British politics at home and abroad, which apparently no man of honour would be allowed to rectify, rings through the piece. He begins with congratulations to the company on the dissolution of an 'angry, vengeful, implacable.

Parliament, which in six sessions has deprived this country of greater advantages than six centuries will restore', and adds that if any country wished to learn how to alienate its colonies, its perfect model was the fourteenth Parliament. The lesson learnt in America, he warns, must be applied to British Indian territories, which 'border on those of an ambitious and numerous people, with a very warlike spirit and a very hostile disposition'. A continuance of the intransigence shown to America, in India, would endanger Britain's interests there, and then only the 'Miraculous discovery of gold mines' would help defray expenses on the costly war in which she was engaged.

He turns his attention to the slave trade:

"I pass with haste to the coast of Africa, whence my mind turns with indignation at the abominable traffick in the human species, from which part of our countrymen derive their inauspicious wealth, and which our southern colonies, while they were ours, strove in vain to abolish.... Sugar, it has been said, would be dear, if it were not worked by blacks in the western islands; as if the most laborious, the most dangerous works were not carried on in every country, but chiefly in England, by free men, in fact, they are so carried on with infinite advantage; for there is an alacrity in the consciousness of freedom, and a gloomy, sullen indolence in the consciousness of slavery;.."(2)

Jones was to receive applause for the vigorous voicing.

- 
1. Britain was overlord in most of, Madras, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa at this time. Jones must have been referring to the challenge of the Maharattas and of the south Indian princes, Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan.
  2. A Speech to the Freeholders of Middlesex (1780), 5.

of sentiments like these. Most people agreed with him in what he said - no one would like it thought of him that he condoned the slave trade. But with the applause there was also the apathy of the average man towards deeply entrenched institutions. There were ready justifications in the fact that the slaves were supplied by Arab traders and African kings, so little time could be found for Jones's enthusiasms. Jones realised this: he wrote to Althorp in 1782:

"A lover of our free constitution in substance and not in form, is in England much in the same situation with a dissenter in religion;.... those who coldly applaud his honesty, mean with the same breath to arraign his wisdom". (1).

This disgust with the affairs of Britain grew with the sense of futility which came when he saw that little was being done about it. In several letters to Althorp he mentions the possibility of migrating to America. Some idea of his attitude may be seen from the following letters to Althorp:

"All is gone, all is lost; the nation is corrupt in the heart, or as Lord Coke says, in the heart's heart.... the constitution is extinct; the whole kingdom is one gangrene and festering wound; there is hardly a sound place in it." (2);

"I should prefer the horrors of civil war (though I have much to lose) to the enormous

---

1. New Light, 676

2. Ibid.

prevalence of monarchical and Aristocratical power:" (1);

and this to Franklin:

"I would rather be a peasant with freedom than a prince in an enslaved country." (2)

His lengthy excursions into politics and his hopes that he might become a judge had diverted his attention from his profession, which suffered accordingly.

Between 1780 and 1783, everything seemed to be lost; his love for Britain was in conflict with his violent disagreement with her politics. His marriage to Anna Maria seemed unlikely, because Bishop Lowth<sup>3</sup> informed him that she was engaged to someone else.

All said, there were few incentives for his continued stay in England and many for his emigration to America. Americans like Franklin, Henry Laurens and Arthur Lee encouraged him to settle in the land he had defended, and promised him a chance to frame laws for the new country. He had already been given some land alongside the James river in consideration for services rendered to a friend, John Paradise. Still Jones hesitated; Britain was his only remaining parent, and for all her faults, he was very close to her.

---

1. New Light, 677.

2. Jones to Franklin, March 5, 1782, G. H. Cannon, 'Sir William Jones and Benjamin Franklin' University College Record, (October, 1961), iv, 34.

3. Wrongly, as the Bishop of Oxford was to admit to Jones in the summer of 1782. (O.J., 99).

Other chances in politics were to come his way. In 1780, Shelburne tried to win a borough for him without his knowledge. The attempt failed, but Jones was very grateful, realising that Shelburne was a man who could help him if ever he came to power. In April 1782, the Rockingham ministry made its second return to power, and Shelburne became joint secretary of state with Fox. He sent for Jones intending to appoint him as his own under secretary, but Jones was away on his Welsh circuit, and by the time he returned, the job had been given to Thomas Orde (afterwards Lord Bolton). Shelburne also toyed with the idea of naming Jones a commissioner of peace in the negotiations with America, a job for which he was outstandingly qualified by virtue of his American friendships and sentiments. Unaccountably, even this post was denied Jones, who must have felt that Fate has singled him out to become her plaything.

Some explanation must be hazarded for the way in which a man with Jones's integrity, ability and reputation was denied a voice in Britain's affairs. He knew, and was respected and admired by all the important people of his time. It was not merely his political prejudices, which were no more evident than those of

Burke or Fox. Nor can it be said that the politics of the day were greatly more intricate, vicious or corrupt than those of any other age. It is strange that men like Thurlow, and even Shelburne, could not find it in themselves to trust someone so evidently more trustworthy than the average time-serving politician. Apart from moments of rank bad luck, the answer lies in Jones himself. Cannon calls him 'politically naive' and such, indeed, he was. A principle in law, that no man can give what he does not have to give, was surely the first principle of all aspiring politicians. The time for his ideals was after he had got in, not before. To stand on the fringe and loudly announce his principles in an often imprudent selection of language was no way to attract the attention of men to whom the particular and concrete, summed up in the question 'whose side do you take?' was worth a hundred theories of universal ideals, no matter how unassailable. Jones could have made the break-through if he had permitted even temporary concessions. Once in nothing could have prevented him from working towards the excellent reforms he had in mind.

---

1. C. J., 66.

Jones's mannerisms might have had something to do with it also. This was the period of his Ciceronian posturings, which earned for him the title of the 'English Cato'.<sup>1</sup> These were never obnoxious or excessive, but they must have caused some people to look askance at him, and some to think that he was immature.

This is not to suggest that he was incapable of change. 1782 appears to be the critical year, when he began to take stock, not only of his acquisitions, but also of his attitudes. In a letter to Althorp, October 27, 1782, he writes:

".... but I am not one of those indocile and intractable spirits, who sail obstinately in the same course, however the wind may change or the current turn, and by such destiny arrive late, if ever at the great port of all patriotick effort, which is to make our countrymen secure and free, good and happy". (2).

He had just become engaged to Anna-Maria, and it is possible that the added sense of responsibility coupled with an awareness of the urgency of worldly matters hastened the change. Jones mellowed visibly.

Concessions were made quite soon. The first was a pledge of loyalty to Sherburne, who had succeeded to the first ministership on the death of Rockingham.

1. New Light, 679.

2. Ibid., 677.

He told him that he was doing what no other prime minister had been able to do, and that Shelburne was his <sup>1</sup> sole patron. He hoped that Shelburne would now do something about the still vacant judgeship, but once again ill-luck created delays. His friends, Burke, Fox, Althorp, Lee, Sheridan and Cavendish resigned rather than serve under Shelburne: but Thurlow, his chief opponent, continued as Chancellor. The chances looked no better than before.

The delay and indecision were taking a heavy toll. In 1782 he made his last trip to the continent for a half-hearted attempt to consolidate his intention of settling in America. He went in the company of Paradise and two servants. Before he left he asked Shelburne to give him safe passes for the whole party, so that they would not be stopped and delayed by British warships which were then intercepting American shipping. Shelburne virtually refused, pleading lack of precedent; <sup>2</sup> with what motive in mind, cannot be ascertained.

At Passy, Jones once more met Franklin, from whom

- 
1. O.S., 104 (cf. G.H. Cannon, 'Sir William Jones, Lord Shelburne and the Indian Judgeship', University College Record, iv, December 1963, 190-198.)
  2. Ibid.

he took letters of introduction for Jefferson and James Bowdoin.<sup>1</sup> Paradise had already become an American citizen. Long before this he had married a wealthy American woman, whose estate in America had been threatened with confiscation under the Act for Sequestering British Property. Like so many others, Paradise found himself in an ambiguous position, and had decided to do something about it by becoming American. Jones had been his adviser on this property, and accompanied him to France in 1779, 1780 and 1782 to enlist Franklin's help. During the second of these journeys, Jones had given Franklin a composition entitled A Fragment of Polybius taken from a treatise on the Athenian government. Jones had taken an incident parallel to the present one between Britain and America, when the Chians, Coans, Rhodians and Lesbians had united with nine other small communities to wage a war of independence against Athens. The purpose of the allegory is clear; Jones was testing Franklin's reactions to a proposal for an honourable peace which would not deny Britain to at least an equal, and possibly senior, status in a partnership:

"Let the confederates be contented with the substance of that independence which they

---

1. O.J.,103-104

have asserted, and the word will necessarily follow.... Let them not hurt the natural, and perhaps not reprehensible, pride of Athens, nor demand any concessions, that may sink in the eyes of Greece, a nation to whom they are and must be united in language, in blood, in manners, in interests, in principles. Glory is to a nation, what reputation is to an individual: it is not an empty sound; but important and essential". (1).

Franklin thanked Jones for the composition. Blad and wily as ever with friends as with foes, he did not agree with the proposal, and told him that it had come too late. Actually Franklin was not interested in anything but total separation from Britain, which might be gathered from one of his letters to Shipley, dated March 17, 1783:

"Can Englishmen be so partial to themselves, as to imagine they have a right to plunder and destroy as much as they please, and then without satisfying for the injuries they have done, to have peace on equal terms?" (2).

If Franklin had responded positively, Jones would undoubtedly have taken the proposal to the King. The chances are that the King would have rejected it in 1780.

However, in 1762 British agents were busy in America trying to arouse the large loyalist element

---

1. reproduced in W. T. Franklin, Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Benjamin Franklin (1818), 1, 344-346.

2. Ibid., 42-43.

to move for an honourable settlement with Britain, on arguments no dissimilar to those proposed by Jones, that the destinies of the two countries were linked, that the ties of blood, language and property were too strong to be broken altogether. In 1782, when Britain had clearly lost the war, the Americans were not willing to think in these terms. Jones was viewed with suspicion by one of the American plenipotentiaries, John Jay. The fact that he was close to Shelburne worked against him. Also there was at least one newspaper in England, the London Public Advertiser of June 26, which surmised much the same. Jay was almost sure that Jones was on some secret mission; he wrote to Robert Livingston warning him<sup>1</sup> about the arrival of the two friends.

American evaluations of Jones's role in politics have varied over the centuries. Franklin's grandson argues that Jay had every reason to suspect Jones's motives, and derides William Ath's assertion that Jones was going to America to help Paradise with his property; to him it seems absurd that a British lawyer<sup>2</sup> could help an American citizen. Support for his view

1. G. J., 1<sup>2</sup>

2. W. Franklin, Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Benjamin Franklin (1818), 1, 346-346.

is found in a letter to Althorp dated October 5, 1782:

"....as to America, I know not what  
-----thinks: but this I know, that  
the sturdy transatlantic yeomanry will  
neither be dragooned nor bamboozled  
out of their liberty". (1)

Donald Bryant judges Jones almost the opposite of  
what is usually thought about him, both in his  
political affiliations and in his character, when he  
says:

"Jones's political aspirations, however,  
made him less useful than Burke had hoped.  
His connections were with the Tory government;  
and at the time when Burke wanted his  
assistance, he was expecting to be appointed  
to a judgeship in India, and would do nothing  
which might prejudice his chances with those  
in power." (2).

Most recently, Cannon has made an approximate  
return to Teignmouth's position, based on considerable  
new evidence which he has brought to light.<sup>3</sup> If Jones  
had shown Jay the refusal by Shelburne to his request  
for safe-passes, the position would have been clarified  
beyond doubt that Jones's purpose was private rather  
than professional, and certainly not political. Be  
this as it may, Jay had reason to think that Jones  
would work for a cause which had been so dear to him,  
no matter what his status or authority might be, and

- 
1. Memoirs, 11C.
  2. D. C. Bryant, Burke and His Literary Friends  
(Washington University Studies 1939), 250 (my italics).
  3. A.J., 102, (G. H. Cannon, 'Sir William Jones, Lord  
Shelburne and the Indian Judgeship', University College  
Record, iv, December 1963, (190-198).

he was determined that America should be alerted. It was a time for suspicions all round, even more between friends than between declared enemies.

During these manipulations, Jones heard from Shelburne that at last something might be done on the judgeship. Jones became uncertain about the proposed voyage to America, and discussions with his friend led to a quarrel in which Paradise accused him of letting him down.<sup>1</sup> The friendship was terminated for ever; Jones returned to England with his secretary Pritchard, after visiting Holland.

Jones had not been welcomed by the Americans as he had perhaps expected. America might well have been a repetition of what he had endured at home. He was heartily tired of politics altogether; his only wish was to get away from it all, and the judgeship seemed the best way of doing so, while providing him with a chance to return to his first love, the study of the east.<sup>2</sup> Shelburne still hesitated, and in desperation Jones applied to John Dunning (Lord Ashburton) and Lloyd Kenyon, Chief Justice of Chester, to help him. In January 1783 he wrote to Kenyon:

- 
1. Walter Pollard, who knew both men intimately, describes Paradise as a hypochondriac who needed a nurse more than a companion. (Add. Ms. 35655).
  2. Shelburne's position was insecure, and he resigned on February 23, 1783.

"The Lord Advocate, who takes the lead in Indian affairs in the House of Commons, having announced a new arrangement in India, both executive and judicial, I beg leave to claim your friendly attentions to my interests in that quarter, on the success of which my speedy marriage, and of course my happiness will depend. My anxious wish is that you would take some convenient opportunity, some molle tempus fandi, to place me in a favourable light with the Chancellor.... as to my politics, which he has heard much misrepresented, his lordship may be assured that I am no more a republican than a Mahomedan or a Gentoo...." (1)

On the promptings of these men, Shelburne at last spoke to the King. He instructed Thurlow to appoint Jones. That surly, saddy man now had no alternative but to do so. On March 3, 1783, Ashburton conveyed the news to Jones with congratulations. On March 19, Jones received his knighthood, and on April 8 he married Anna Maria, four days before his frigate the Crocodile set sail for India.

While in France, Jones had a friendly argument with Vergennes,<sup>3</sup> who doubted whether the complexities of government could be satisfactorily explained to the illiterate classes. In reply, Jones came out with what

- 
1. Quoted in A. J. Arberry, Asiatic Jones (1946), 19.
  2. William M. Shaw, The Knights of England (1936), 11, 297.
  3. Comte de Charles Gravier (1717-1787), one of Franklin's influential French friends who supported the Americans in their war.

he called a Jeu d'esprit, written in the manner of Plato, a dialogue in which an ignorant boy is led to establish a proposition. Vergennes made a grudging concession to Jones. After his return to England, Jones enlarged and translated the piece into The Principles of Government in a Dialogue between a Scholar and a Peasant, which was published by the Society for Constitutional information, and circulated free in 1783. In its first edition it appeared anonymously, like Jones's other contributions to this society. It caused quite a ferment, chiefly in the counties of (Tory) Denbigh and (Republican) Flint, the one violently opposed to it the other very much in its favour. Here was an additional chance for fame too good to be missed, so Jones had another edition circulated (some additions were made, the title was changed to 'gentleman' and 'farmer' instead of 'scholar' and 'peasant') and acknowledged his authorship.

His future brother-in-law, William Skirpley, Dean of St. Asaph, attempted to have the essay translated into Welsh for free circulation among the

- 
1. This society was started in 1780 and had the support of men like Jones, John Jebb and the Duke of Richmond. The Secretary was John Cartwright. The society advocated a programme of universal suffrage, secret ballot, equality in electoral districts, the payment of members, and annual parliaments.

1  
 peasants of Wales, but before he could do so he was involved in a court action for procuring to be published 'a certain false, wicked, malicious, 2 seditious, and scandalous Libel....', with the intention of inciting the people of Wales to insurrection. Jones was not worried when he heard about this; the action was doomed to failure. Even the King and Shelburne laughed when they heard that some thought the piece to be treasonable. The pamphlet was defended almost contemptuously by Thomas Erskine, and the verdict brought in by the jury, 'guilty of publishing only, but whether a libel or not we do not find' exposed the inadequacy of current libel law, and directly contributed to Fox's Libel 3 Bill of 1792.

What the prosecution found so objectionable in the tract was the suggestion that 'every man of one

- 
1. G. H. Cannon, 'The Freedom of the Press and Sir William Jones', Journalism Quarterly, xxii, (University of Minnesota, 1956), 182, states that Jones was asked to do the translation himself. His knowledge of Welsh was sketchy. The man involved was Edward Jones, who took it to yet another called Lloyd for translation.
  2. 'Libel Case of Dean Shipley', Trials, 1715-1784, 1785.
  3. Loc Cit., 179-187.

and twenty' in Britain be given the right to vote, to send representatives to parliament. Jones used for the state the simile of a club and claimed that every member had a right to elect its office bearers, and to remove them if they were unsatisfactory. He also advised practice in the use of firearms; this was brought out at the trial as clear proof that the intention of the pamphlet was 'to raise very dangerous seditions, and tumults' within the kingdom. The first part of the charge was precisely what Jones had in mind, and he had the sanction of the constitution behind him. The rest was harmless; training in firearms did not imply revolt; it was part of his programme for the creation of regional militias.

Jones was mostly in agreement with Locké's views on government. Like him he asks for universal franchise, frequent elections and the right for each generation to renew its laws rather than be bound by the laws of the past. But Jones was generally more sympathetic to the existence of a monarchy.

Locke's theories, considered dangerously radical by some, could not be extended to 'colonial administration', even as an interim form of government. If every generation has the right to renew its laws, if men have the right to choose or refuse government, to separate from any community which they disliked, or in which they

felt themselves aggrieved, or into which they did not voluntarily enter, then colonialism obviously had nothing to commend it.

Josiah Tucker, Dean of Gloucester and author of several religious and political tracts, brought out a derisive pamphlet printed anonymously, which was aimed at Jones's Principles of Government.<sup>1</sup> Every man, it argued, was subject to the state of his birth and was bound to accept the law of that state, whether by consent or not. The simile of a club became ridiculous when applied to India:

"In these points his Zeal for Liberty seemed to me to carry him beyond the Bounds of Reason....but as Sir William Jones is now abroad in a publick character, I wish to know, whether he himself allows the consequence of his own Doctrine, when put in practice against his own interests doth he, or doth he not, permit the poor enslaved Gentoos, and plundered Indians to dispute his Authority, and disobey his Commands?-- by telling him to his Face, that they never chose him to be the Judge of their Country? and can it be made to appear that the Princes and People of India have recovered their long lost Liberty, and inalienable rights, since he sat

- 
1. J. Tucker, A Sequel to Sir William Jones's Pamphlet on the Principles of Government (1784). Dean Tucker had in 1782, asked Jones to comment on his A Treatise on Civil Government, intended as a refutation of Locke's theories. Jones did not agree with the Dean's arguments and told him so frankly. Tucker was anti-colonial, less on any principle of human rights than on economic grounds.

in their Courts of Justice?.... I am not qualified to answer these Questions: but as far as Experience will carry me, I can testify that the loudest Advocates for Liberty, are found to be the least disposed to grant that Liberty to others, which they claim for themselves...."(1).

Jones was, indeed, in a vulnerable position because he had accepted the position of ruling representative of a foreign power in a conquered state. The men who had championed American independence, who had attacked the African slave trade, who had declaimed often and loudly that freedom was the parent of virtue, who had fulminated against the insolent licentiousness of power based on force, was about to take part in administering just such a power. The position was anomalous, as Tucker had pointed out. Jones made two weak attempts to defend himself by suggesting that India would benefit from Britains advancement in science and commerce,<sup>2</sup> and that the Indians 'must and will be governed by absolute power'<sup>3</sup> for their own good.

Marsh thinks that Jones must have modified his views when he went to India,<sup>4</sup> the chances are, however,

1. Op Cit., passim.
2. Memoirs, 230 (cf. Ibid., 246)
3. Memoirs, 230
4. N. S. Marsh, 'Sir William Jones' 1746-94, University College Record (1954-1955), 94.

that the only thing Jones modified was his external behaviour. He had learnt not to defy the government at every step. His statements now were made with a view to put government's fears about him at rest.

There is something paradoxical about Jones with regard to his separate roles as human being and English citizen. It was not easy to reconcile the two in any large view of human relations, because Britain was indulging in all the things he held most hateful at the time in various parts of the world. However, great believer though he was in the biological unity and common inheritance of men, he could not help according special status to Englishmen:

"For my part, I have so habituated myself to consider all men as from nature equal, that I never give alms to a beggar without reflecting, that nothing perhaps has prevented my receiving them from him, but the accidental difference between us in birth, connexions and the culture of our minds; but when I view the yeomen and traders of England, firm, intrepid, industrious, benevolent, and bearing in their countenances a consciousness of dignity and freedom, I cannot help revering, as much as I love, a people superior to the rest of mortals." (1).

Jones did not find it necessary to justify his journey to India, as did many others. The main thing to see

---

1. A Letter to a Patriot Senator, (1783), 38.

is the attitude he adopted when he reached that country. Throughout his stay there is no evidence of unwarranted arrogance or a desire to rule with absolute power.

Conditions were not good in India. The imposition of a Supreme Court had been thought necessary to curb the unbridled rapacity of the early traders and proconsuls. However, its creation caused a great deal of trouble and heart-burning. The Company felt that it implied an unwarranted suspicion of their motives, and there were several petitions sent to Parliament protesting against it, some even threatening to do in India what the Americans had done. Detailed accounts were submitted comparing the cost of the old system (about twelve hundred pounds a year) with that of the Supreme Court (about seven thousand pounds a year excluding salaries). And in the beginning their complaints might have contained some truth, because there was no clear definition of what constituted the Court's powers; the British in India were apprehensive that they might be deprived of the ordinary rights which every Englishman enjoyed at home.

- 
1. The Several Petitions of the British Inhabitants of Bengal, of the Governor General and Council and of the Court of Directors of the East India Company to Parliament (1785?), Passim.

The natives of Bengal also do not appear to have welcomed the coming of British methods of law:

"....the controul of affairs and administration of justice....are fallen into the disposal of English Gentlemen....warrants are continually issued against the inhabitants of this country, who are by no means reconciled to the English mode of process:...."(1)

Indians were satisfied with the mode of decision made by the nobles of India, which was certainly quicker and cheaper, and perhaps not demonstrably inferior in impartiality,<sup>2</sup> though the danger existed. Now they were subjected to enormous delays and excessive costs to court and lawyer. The natives were beginning to realise that Britain's role in their part of the world was no longer predominantly commercial. Some Muslims, fondly clinging to a belief that they were still in power, or believing that their eclipse was only a temporary one, were ready to make trouble again.

- 
1. 'Translation from a Persian petition by the natives of Dacca', Op Cit., passim.
  2. Justice John Hyde was guilty of at least one instance of pre-judging a case. Before the case (Peat vs Juggernauth) came up for hearing he wrote this letter to Captain Cowe, September 23, 1777:

'I doubt not you will give him full Protection from the People of the Phousdarry, because as a British subject, I doubt not you will pay due attention to your Allegiance to the King....'.

(Narrative of the Proceeding of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Calcutta', Op Cit., 15). Peat, a self-styled Deputy Sheriff, had shot and critically wounded an Indian. The 'Phousdarry' was the native court.

Clive had managed to deceive them into thinking that the English were agents rather than rulers, by taking care to uphold the native princes. Now the image was being lost, and a supreme English focal point was being set up quite openly.

However, its coming was essential. Burke called the Company government 'one of the most destructive tyrannies that probably ever existed in the world.'

Hastings wrote:

"Will you believe that the boys of the service are the sovereigns of the country, under the unmeaning titles of supervisors, collectors of the revenue, administrators of justice, and rulers, heavy rulers of the people?" (2).

while the descriptions given in a contemporary novel show Calcutta life to have vied in frivolity and injustice with that of Paris.

Instead of merely protesting against the wrongs and evils he saw, Jones now had an opportunity to do something about them also. His actions in India were guided by a desire for the greatest good of the greatest number, regardless of race or authority. That Jones should have held these views is perhaps not

- 
1. 'Parliamentary History, xxiii, 1376, quoted in Cambridge History of the British Empire (Cambridge 1929) iv, 197, In 1781, Burke was made present of the Select Committee appointed to look over the administration of justice in Bengal.
  2. Quoted in Cambridge History of the British Empire (Cambridge, 1929) iv, 198.
  3. 'Sho'pia Goldborne', Hartly House, Calcutta, (Dublin 178).

surprising, brought up as he was in an atmosphere of intellectual and social enlightenment: but the prevalent European attitude towards backward countries was predatory, and Jones's successful practise of his principles deserves notice. He is fully deserving of the following by Cannon:

"He had wanted the East and West to live harmoniously, exchanging resources and respecting each other's rights; all his comparative researches pointed in this direction. Since harmonious relationships obviously do not exist today, perhaps Jones's ideas can suggest a key to future harmony between East and West." (1).

He took advantage of the voyage to prepare a prodigious memorandum of various studies to be pursued after his arrival in India. The laws of the Hindus and Muslims were given pride of place; the whole list covers ancient history, proofs of Scripture, the poetry, sciences music and morality of Asia, the government, trade and constitutions of India and, farther afield, the poetry of China and the history of Tibet and Kashmir. He also proposed to print the Gospel according to St. Luke in Arabic, to publish law tracts in Persian and Arabic, to print the Psalms of David in Persian verse, to compose the elements of the laws of England and a history of the American war, to write an epic on the constitution of Britain, and to prepare speeches, as well as write dialogues and letters.

---

1. G.H. Cannon, Sir William Jones Orientalist (Univ. of Hawaii, 1952), preface, vii-viii.

The list does not mention what was to give him his most enduring claim to fame, his Sanskrit studies; in 1780 he had decided not to dabble in rudiments any more, but to perfect his knowledge of twelve languages, Greek, Latin, Italian, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Hebrew, Arabic, Persian, Turkish, German and English.<sup>1</sup>

Of interest in his project of an epic, Britain Discovered, which he had first outlined in 1770. It was inspired by Spenser's unfinished poem on King Arthur, and was to be a panegyric on the British Constitution; Britain (royalty) would marry Albina (liberty). In the foregoing memorandum he repeated the plan and added the Hindu gods to the machinery. The scheme never materialised, beyond the writing of summaries for twelve books and the composition of four stanzas in blank verse. Perhaps the age of national epics had passed.

Sanskrit was not entirely unknown in Europe. In 1585, Filippo Sassetti wrote about the similarity between Sanskrit and the classical languages. In 1651 a Dutchman, Abraham Roger, published a book at Leyden entitled De Ooen-deure to het Verbogen Heydendom, with

---

1. Memoirs, 192n.

some translations from Bharathari. Considerable missionary work was being done by Portuguese and French priests, and Sanskrit was being learnt as a means of communicating with the native populace, as well as to delve into old Hindu writings so that missionaries would be armed with knowledge and ready answers in religious controversies. The French travellers Tavernier and Sernier left voluminous accounts of India. Bernier had spent eight of his thirteen years in India as court physician to Aurangzeb; his book, first published in 1670, was translated into English, German, Dutch and Italian. The French Jesuit Père Pons was perhaps the first to do something constructive in Sanskrit; in a letter dated November, 23, 1740, he touches upon grammar, dictionaries, versification, history, the Vedas, mathematics and philosophy. He also mentions the existence of natakas or plays. This letter was to stimulate and direct Jones's interests. Paulinus a Sancto Bartholomeo was another missionary who contributed to the growing list of works on Sanskrit by two grammars and several books on

- 
1. 'Lettre édifiantes et curieuses écrites des missions é'trangères', Mémoires des Indes, (Toulouse, 1810), liv, 55-56.

1  
 India. Among the English already in India, Charles Wilkins was engaged in the translation of the Bhagavad Gita, which was to appear about a year after Jones arrived. He could thus claim to be the first English Sanskritist. An old friend of Jones, Nathaniel Brassey Halhed, had made an indirect translation from a digest of Sanskrit writings (the Vivadarnavasetu), through Persian with the help of munshis, entitled A Code of Gentoo Laws (1776). But as Halhed was neither a lawyer nor an advanced Sanskrit scholar, the work was considered unsatisfactory in many ways.

Local Brahmins made it difficult for foreigners to learn the language or discover the sacred writings of the Hindus. There were several reasons for this; the Brahmins had always been the custodians of the Hindu scriptures, and had retained their position in society by securing a virtual monopoly over them. This they were anxious to maintain. Some were merely ignorant and hid their ignorance behind a set of prohibitions which were convenient enough. Others were suspicious of the enquirer's intentions, because

- 
1. See A. Master, 'The Influence of Sir William Jones upon Sanskrit Studies', Bull. SOAS (1946), 799.
  2. This is what Jones thought as early as 1770, (Works, ii, 582).

already attempts had been made at conversions, the first step in most of these attempts being the belittlement of the sacred texts.

Otherwise the state of oriental learning in India was not advanced. Only three or four members of the Company knew a little Hindustani (called Moors at the time), and very few, excluding Teignmouth and Halhed, had a working knowledge of Persian. Among the judges, Impey had taken the trouble to learn Persian: Robert Chambers was collecting old Sanskrit manuscripts. The situation is described in Teignmouth's letter to John Ford, Professor of Arabic at Oxford, dated September, 17, 1783:

"Bengal cannot boast many proficient in Eastern literature, either among the Natives or the Europeans. The former, in general are ignorant and illiterate, and want that emulation which is the spur to excellence.... with respect to Europeans, there are few, if any, who can be deemed sound scholars. Most gentlemen arrive here at the age of sixteen.... few prosecute their studies beyond what is absolutely necessary.... If Mr. Jones should, as we are taught to expect, arrive in Bengal, I may venture to pronounce that, notwithstanding the disadvantages he will labour under from the want of pronunciation, he will possess more real knowledge of the Persian and Arabic languages than any person here, either Native or European..."(1)

---

1. Shore Correspondence, i, 101-103 passim.

Jones was to make a special contribution to Hindu India, which has had its reverberations well into the present time. He took the view, which has had some support from other writers on India that Greece had appropriated the credit for some eastern learning to herself. Of all eastern nations he had so far studied, India seemed to have followed a pattern which could be appreciated most readily in the west. Prohibitions in art like those he found in Islamic countries had not crippled the genius of India before the Muslim invasions. Whatever her condition in his time (and there is no doubt that it was very bad), her past was certainly worthy of the closest and most appreciative study; India was teacher to the world in trigonometry, grammar, phonetics, fables, stories like the 'Arabian' Nights, quadratic equations and chess. Perhaps she even gave Europe the beginnings of 'Greek' philosophy, while the number of people who followed her religions far exceeded any other.

To Jones's enthusiastic attempts to bring to light the learning and literature of old India goes the credit of what is called the 'Indian Renaissance', the revival of academic and national interests in Hindu

---

1. Works, i, 445.

India, there have been many attempts since to show that all knowledge, even advanced technological knowledge, belonged to the authors and commentators of pre-historic India. Aldous Huxley remarks:

"....in the course of the last thirty or forty years a huge pseudo-historical literature has sprung up in India, the melancholy product of a subject people's inferiority complex. Industrious and intelligent men have wasted their time and their abilities in trying to prove that the ancient Hindus were superior to every other people in every activity of life. Thus each time the West has announced a new scientific discovery, misguided scholars have ransacked Sanskrit literature to find a phrase that might be interpreted as a Hindu anticipation of it...."(1).

If Jones was to begin a stream of misguided scholarship, it must also be remembered that this is one of the first manifestations of national consciousness everywhere, the exaggeration of merits, real or fancied. Nor have 'free' countries indulged in anything dissimilar themselves. The danger of this kind of criticism is that in pointing out one truth it tends to obscure another. If the world has been somewhat wearied with iterations of Hindu spirituality and intellectuality, it does not mean that they are non-existent, only that people have become tired of the fact and suspicious of the exaggerations. Jones's was the better attitude, to err on the side of belief until proved false or absurd.

---

1. A. Huxley, Jesting Pilate (1926, reprint 1948), 122-123.

CHAPTER FOUR

A modern critic has traced all scientific thinking in law to Jones and Bentham.<sup>1</sup> The English school of analytical jurisprudence owes its beginnings to Bentham; Jones's influence, though less visible, was almost as widespread, and to him goes the credit of developing a school of comparative and historical jurisprudence, eminent exponents of which have since been Henry Colebrooke, the brothers Ian and Neil Baillie, Sir Henry Maine, Sir William Macnaghten and Sir George Knox.

Both represent divergent streams from the theories of Sir William Blackstone. Their different characters, what nineteenth century phrenologists would say were their different racial characteristics, might have had something to do with it. Jones was Welsh and loved Oxford: Bentham was English and found little in the 'mendacity and insincerity'<sup>2</sup> of Oxford which appealed to him. Bentham is known to have attended Blackstone's Oxford lectures, and so, probably, did Jones. The latter's methods were logical extensions of Blackstone's methods, the former was in revolt against them.

---

1. S. C. Vesey-Fitzgerald, 'Sir William Jones, The Jurist, Bull., SOAS (1946), 807.

2. J. Macdonell. DNB.

Bentham claimed that the 'historical method was an easy road to the reputation of scholarship, because it was certainly easier to assemble facts from history than to theorise from first principles towards a cogent, modern, utilitarian system. Analysis, based on a few axiomatic and universally accepted principles was enough to deduce a whole system of law, and the touchstone throughout an argument was utility.

Jones saw otherwise; while accepting deduction from universal principles could be determined without a wide ranging study of history and mankind. He felt that the British political system was a thing depending on long inheritance and history. The sense of continuity was strong with him; the idea that the past no longer mattered, or that a new state should be formed with a new generation based on some unverifiable principle of modernity of utility, seemed fatal. If a present generation seemed unworthy, it was proper to go back through the stream of history until some ancestral practice worthy of respect and emulation could be found;

- 
1. A composite of analysis, synthesis, history and comparison is the method of his celebrated Essay on the Law of Bailments, a system built up from discussions on one case, and supported with far-flung references and parallels.

if absolutely none was available then it was right to study the systems of other people with the same purpose in view.

Jones discovered precedents for less restricted voting and support for the ancient right of every man to defend and preserve peace against either external or internal threat, they formed the basis for some of his arguments in An Inquiry into the Legal Mode of Suppressing Riots, A Plan for National Defence,<sup>1</sup> and the Principles of Government. One of Jones's ambitions, mentioned in the memorandum written aboard ship, was to fill up gaps and omissions, and correct what he considered were faults in Blackstone's Commentaries on the Laws of England: another was to secure specific reforms in the law of the country. In accordance with this, he frequently attacked the practice of restricted and privileged voting on the argument that a self-supporting Englishman of small means could often show more self-respect and independence of mind than an owner of large estates.

This is one point of divergence between Jones and Burke. The latter insisted that property should

---

1. This was published anonymously in 1782. It proposed amendments to Shelburne's plan for a home guard. Everyone knew Jones had written it; it may have antagonised Shelburne slightly.

govern (a prevalent attitude which had probably reduced Jones's chances in politics). Ability was intangible, debatable and difficult to assess, whereas property was undeniable. Labourers, artisans, mechanics and men in lowly occupations had no place in, what he thought, the exalted field of government. Burke did not rule out an opening for ability, but felt that it should be subjected to strenuous examination at every stage, that it should prove itself. Government was like a limited company, where the number of shares determined the right of say. This 'Whig with the heart of a Tory' did not really have much in common with Jones.

Jones's Essay on the Law of Bailments (1781) probably did more for his reputation as a jurist with extraordinary talents than his translations from Isaeus. Intended to be a commentary on Lord Holt's arguments in the case 'Coggs versus Barnard', it was considered sound law, ran into several editions, and was quoted widely both in Britain and America.<sup>1</sup> John Balmanno, a lawyer who edited the 1798 edition, considered his revision and classification of the different species of bailment better than both Lord

---

1. It was published in Philadelphia in 1836.

Holt's Analysis and the Order of the Imperial

Institutes: in the advertisement he writes:

"To every class of persons in a civilised community, the subject of our author's treatise is important; and of the work itself it is no extravagant encomium to pronounce, that the learning of Lord Coke, could not have supplied sounder law, and that more apposite and elegant illustration, could not have flowed from the pen of Cicero." (1)

Law students would be indebted to him for the acute and well-supported reasoning whereby he established the true reading of a clause 'in his quidam et diligentiam', which, on account of the obscurity of its grammar, had previously given rise to a lot of fanciful conjecture. The universality of the subject, which embraced every instance of one party being in the possession of the property of another, led Jones to hope that the book could make public reading. This hope, and the hope that the method he had used would be adopted for all similar discussions in English law, remained unrealised. The essay did not bring him much in financial terms, but it was strong evidence of his talents. As Vesey-Fitzgerald expresses it:

---

1. Essay on the Law of Bailments (ed. J. Balmano, 1798), vi.

"Many English lawyers of his time no doubt could have handled the Year Books and later English material with equal learning, though hardly with such academic brilliance. But how many of them could have pressed to the service of one great argument not merely the Law of Moses, pre-Islamic, Arabic, Persian, and Turkish authorities, and a reference to Halhed's Gentoo Code, but the capitularies of Charlemagne and Lewis the Pious, the laws of Hwel Dda, the barbarian codes of the visigoths and the Lombards and even of the Goths in their Scandinavian home, and the Constitution of the Emperor Frederick II"(1)

His next effort in juridical writing was a literal translation from an obscure seventh century Muslim text on inheritance, probably the oldest in existence. This was a failure, as Jones was to admit himself ten years later. The treatise in question, called the Baghyat-ul-Bahith, was written in verse by Ibn'ul Muttakama, a follower of Zaid who is supposed to have been recommended by the Prophet himself. Because of this Jones remarks:

"...hence it is certain, that the Bigyato'l b'ahith may be cited, as a book of quthority, in all the Musleman courts." (2).

This translation was aimed at the lawyers of India, and was written hastily at the time when Jones had

- 
1. S. C. Vesey-Fitzgerald, 'Sir William Jones, The Jurist', Bull., SOAS (1946) 813.
  2. 'The Mahomedan Law of Succession to the Property of intestates', Works, iii, 471.

resumed his efforts to obtain a judgeship at Calcutta. He knew that an unsatisfactory digest of Hindu law had been prepared, but that there was no treatise on Muslim law:

"but it may naturally be asked, how the judges of the Supreme Court, the provincial councils and council general in India; or the great court of appeal in this country, can justly exercise their several powers in suits between Mahomedan parties; without being at all acquainted with the law, by which they are bound to decide. Perpetual references to native lawyers must always be inconvenient and precarious; since the solidity of their answers must depend on their integrity, as well as their learning; and at best, if they be neither influenced nor ignorant, the Court will not in truth hear and determine the cause, but merely pronounce judgement on the report of other men." (1).

Jones was clearly ignorant, at this stage, that several schools of thought in Muslim law existed; and that the law was derived not only from the Quran, or the sayings of the Prophet, but from tradition as well. In India the dominant school was of Abu Hanif ibn Dabit ul Kafi (699-767) with a much smaller following for the school of Sha'afi, which might have had some relevance to this text. The Baghyat-al-Bahith was possibly recommended to Jones by his Dutch friends; the East Indies was predominantly Sha'afi'te. For the purpose it was supposed

---

1. Works, iii, 469

to have served in India, it was therefore a bad choice, and the attempted literal translation broke down in some passages which Jones could not comprehend.

Two major literal translations were attempted in his life, L'Histoire de Nader Chah and The Mahomedan Law of Succession: neither satisfied him. Jones was up against the difficulty which faces all translators. Too much fidelity, the meticulous substitution of an English word for every foreign word, the careful adherence to form and meaning, seemed to result in an obscure, lifeless piece of work. With regard to prose works of doubtful literary value like these works, this did not matter much: but with poetry it mattered greatly. Such an exercise was not in harmony with his theory expressed in the prefatory discourse to his translation from Isaeus:

"I will not say with Cicero....that I have translated Isaeus not as an interpreter but as an orator; nor with Middleton.... that I have made it my first care to preserve the sentiment, and my next, to adhere to the words as far as I was able to express them in an easy and natural style. I am fully persuaded, that there is but one golden rule for good translation; which is to read the original so frequently and to study it so carefully, as to imprint in the mind a complete idea of the author's peculiar air and distinguishing features; and then to assume, as it were, his person, voice, countenance, gesture; and to represent the man himself speaking our language instead of his own."

Translators in this century have generally agreed that the mood and personality of the foreign author are more important than his 'dress'. Fitzgerald, himself greatly different from Khayyam in temperament, could achieve something recognisably close to Khayyam in spirit, in verses which sometimes seem not to be translations at all. A good example of Jones's ability in this direction is his Persian Song of Hafiz. Three Latin translations, by Meninski(1680), Thomas Hyde(1767) and Keviczki(1771) existed before his effort. Since Jones there have been several English translations.

1. The following by Omar Khayyam would be difficult to translate without indicating the dual meaning of سبزه (greenery, and the beginnings of a moustache over a young boy's upper lip):

سبزه که در کنار جوی رستت  
 لوی ز لب فرشته خوی رستت  
 آن بر سبزه بخواری نرنی  
 کان سبزه ز خاک لاله رستت

Yet Fitzgerald has done well in:

And this delightful Herb whose tender green  
 Pledges the River's lip on which we lean--  
 Ah, lean upon it lightly, for who knows  
 From what once lovely Lip it springs unseen.

Khayyam is much simpler than Hafiz, however, and his carpe diem theme can be expressed succinctly. Some of Edward Whinfield's quatrains are as good as Fitzgerald's.

Hewitt complains that it is half again as long as the original. This writer accepts Jones's idea that the ode by Hafiz is lacking in thought sequence, and thinks that any translation of it must retain the rhyming patterns of the original if it is to achieve any kind of organic unity; Pinto remarks that although the rendering is English, the mood is adequately oriental, and that this is achieved by a judicious use of oriental place names; Browne that is not a translation at all; and Arberry that it is much better than any which has appeared since, although Jones was wrong to suggest that the ghazal was incoherent, an idea he had probably accepted from Reviczki. The transition from Persian poetry to English prose and then to English poetry may be followed in the Persian Grammar:

اگر آن ترک شیرازی بدست آورد دل پارا  
 بخال بند ویش بخشم سر قند و بخارا را  
 which Jones gives in prose thus:

"If that lovely maid of Shiraz would accept my heart, I would give for the mole on her cheek the cities of Samarcand and Bokhara". (5);

- 
1. R.M. Hewitt, 'Harmonious Jones', Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association (1942), 52.
  2. V. de Sola Pinto, 'Sir William Jones and English Literature', Bull., SOAS (1946), 687.
  3. E. G. Browne, A Literary History of Persia (1919), iii, 304.
  4. A. J. Arberry, 'Orient Pearls at Random Strung', Bull., SOAS (1946), 699-712 passim. (the difficulty arises because Jones and Reviczki had decided between them that Hafiz was really talking about his mistress, (see Memoirs, 78, and Works, i, 995) and that the ode had mystical implications. Arberry's explanation, based on mystical symbolism and using the method of the association of ideas, is obviously a much easier way of bringing coherence to the piece).
  5. Works, ii, 242.

and in verse thus:

"Sweet maid if thou would'st charm my sight  
 And bid these arms thy neck infold;  
 That rosy cheek, that lily hand  
 Would give thy poet more delight  
 Than all Bokhara's vaunted gold,  
 Than all the gems of Samarcand."<sup>(1)</sup>

Fault could be found with the prose translation, but the poetical one is far removed indeed from the original. A fairly literal translation of the opening lines would be:

If that Turk of Sheeraz would take my  
 heart in hand I would give Samarcand and  
 Bukhara for a mole on his/her cheek.

The sense in which Hafiz uses the word 'Turk' a thief or plunderer (in this case of the heart) referring to the many Turkestani or Tartar depredations which Persia had suffered, is certainly difficult to render in a single word or phrase. The words 'Hindu khal' mean a 'black mole', and have several secondary meanings; perhaps Jones left the mole out of the verse translation for this reason (most of the later efforts mention the mole); Indians were called 'Hindu' by the Persians, signifying 'thief': however, it also came to mean black, also a lover, and eventually, among the Sufis, the symbol around which infinity revolved, the focal point of eternity upon which the aspiring

---

1. Works, ii, 244.

mystic should fix his attention, (some of the Sufi ideas were no doubt imported from India, probably another reason why this word is used). The very real difficulties of translation become apparent in watching Jones at work. The word 'sâqi' which figures so much in Islamic poetry defies translation, which is why so many translators have preferred to use the word itself. It could mean a host, a beloved, a barman, a benefactor, a servant, it could be related to the author of all pleasures, it could be Fate or some other mystical figure which draws a veil over the future and obliterates the past, or a composite of all. Often it is female. Yet Jones's translation of the second verse, which runs:

بہ ساقی سے باقی کہ در جنت نخواستی یاقوت  
کنار آب رکن باد و گل گشت مقلد را

is:

"Boy! let yon ruby liquid flow  
And bid thy pensive heart be glad  
Whate'er the frowning zealots say:  
Tell them their Eden cannot show  
A stream so clear as Kocnabad,  
A bow'r so sweet as Mosellay." (2);

- 
1. Jones was fully aware of Sufi symbolism. In his essay 'On the Mystical Poetry of the Persians and Hindus' (Works, vii, 456) he gives the Black Mole to mean 'the point of indivisible unity'.
  2. Works, ii, 244.

which hardly conveys the eastern spirit. Whereas the 'sweet Maid' should be a boy,<sup>1</sup> the 'Boy!' here should be nothing but saqi, a symbol too important to be summed up in one servile figure. Jones's translation is so far removed from the original that one might think the only reason it masquerades as one is the title and the oriental place names. This is not because Jones was ignorant of his subject or unaware of the difficulties involved:

"....when the learner is able to understand the images and illusions in the Persian poems, he will see a reason in every line why they cannot be translated into any European language."(2)

Jones's translations from Hafiz did not achieve the success which Fitzgerald's from Khayyam were to do much later. This is not because Jones was the inferior translator, but because Hafiz's poems are much more subtly wrought than Khayyam's. The rubai forms an understandable whole, the theme is easily stated, the 'eat, drink' exhortation is readily appreciated. Jones's considerable success with a translation from

- 
1. This was no doubt done to make the poem acceptable to the west.
  2. Works, ii, 240. Despite Jones's efforts, it must be now agreed that the ghazal can have no English equivalent, and the word 'lyric' is inadequate for the strange mixture of continuity without continuity, separateness within wholeness, identity within diversity which characterises the ghazal.

a Turkish ode by Mesihî, each stanza of which makes a whole in itself, the total theme being 'spring is coming, and will soon be going, so enjoy yourselves!', can be seen in the following. Jones, as with most of his other attempts, adds two lines to give himself more room:

"Hear how the nightingales, on every spray,  
Hail in wild notes the sweet return of May!  
The gale that o'er yon waving almond blows,  
The verdant bank with silver blossoms strows:  
The smiling season decks each flowery glade,  
Be gay! too soon the flowers of Spring will fade,"(1)

Arberry makes a comparison with some of the more recent efforts on the Persian Song, including his own. Some have attempted to reproduce the form, some the matter, some have endeavoured to be strict in both. Not one is as effective as Jones's, and Arberry decides:

"Let all these versions be taken in turn  
and together, and the good points from  
each be put into one, and the bad points

- 
1. Works, iv, 468. Jones had studied Turkish to a 'less perfect' level. However, even to someone who knows no Turkish yet has some knowledge of Persian and Arabic, the ode by Mesihî would probably make sense. The form is clearly adapted from Persian poetry, the many Persian words like 'bulbul, nush, yami, bahar, hengama, sim, afshan, bedam' the Arabic word 'azhar' etc., would enable one to form some idea of the piece.

excluded, they do not add up to anything approaching in excellence Jones's Persian Song." (1).

As Jones had himself decided that there was no point in attempting 'literal' translation, some of the criticisms which he has received on this score is untenable. It is the verse itself to be seen and its success in transmitting a mood, an atmosphere, an attitude. One objection which can be raised is that it seems to be written at one level. A simple interpretation of the theme is taken and dealt in a straight-forward manner in clear language with some concessions to the prevailing practices of his time. This in itself could not be called a shortcoming, but perhaps some of the opportunities for rich suggestiveness have not been properly tapped. It is never Hafiz which speaks through Jones, in any of the following languages:

- 
1. A. J. Arberry, 'Orient Pearls at Random Strung', Bull., SOAS, (1946), 711. To Arberry's list might be added the following by the 'new Fitzgerald', John Bowen:

For a mole on the cheek of my darling,  
Which the breezes of Shiraz have fanned,  
I would gladly surrender Bukhara,  
Or give back to its Khan Samargand.

(J.C.E. Bowen, Poems from the Persian, 1964, 96).  
However good Bowen's other translations might be, this is a poor attempt indeed, barely fit to be the last in the series of which Jones's was a brilliant first.

"An dulcem urbem Schirazum! &  
situm ejus eximium! O Deus, hanc  
à ruina defende!" (1);

"JE te salue, Chiraz, ville si  
délicieusement située! le ciel  
te préserve de ruine!" (2);

"HONNEUR à toi, belle contree  
CHIRAZ! séjour délicieux!  
Qua'à jamais la faveur des cieux,  
Préserve ta terre sacrée!" (3);

"Joy be to Shiraz and its charming borders!  
O heaven preserve it from decay!" (4)

All these efforts, in prose or verse, fall short of  
the original by Hafiz. This is certainly because  
to make a translation from fourteenth century Persian  
into eighteenth century English which would serve a  
similar purpose in England would be impossible.  
Rhyme, rhythm, onomatopoeia, symbols with multiple  
meaning and connotation, would all have to be  
rejected or moulded drastically to fit the conventions  
of pre-romantic England. The choice would be between  
attempting a word-for-word or phrase-for-phrase

1. Works, ii, 371.

2. Ibid, v, 465

3. Ibid., v, 490

4. Ibid., ii, 157.

5. خداوند شیراز و وضع شیراز متالش  
خداوند راز راز زوالش

substitution, a process itself liable to much lexical ambiguity, or working from a paraphrase towards a re-creation into something which would be relevant to his own time. The transmission of the intangible value of taste, the character of the piece involved, the reactions of his audience, would present problems no less. Old Persia was not squeamish about homosexuality or the frank expression of love: neo-classical England would never countenance the first and would submit the second to a hundred euphemisms. The matter thus rests, not on which piece is a good translation, but on which out of several imperfect pieces is the best, a somewhat gloomy prospect.<sup>1</sup>

Orientalists could, of course, complain that in fitting their poems to the world of Collins and Gray, Jones was misrepresenting them and doing damage to their reputation. However, since a poem's 'meaning' can only be expressed in its own words, even synonyms in the same language can never replace the originals, which should also, ideally, convey exactly what the poet meant in his own time, something liable to continual change so that in two decades a word may not

---

1. See Appendix C, page 340 of this thesis. Jones attempted literal translations from the Persian also, giving due regard to form and metre. See also Memoirs, 519-520.

be pronounced or used in precisely the same manner. Each generation, in effect, translates in accordance with its own image, and the process is much more involved when a poem belonging to a different world and century is transported to a modern world in a new language. Translation is, perhaps, impossible, but re-creation is certainly possible; this was Jones's forte, and there is nothing to be set right in his methods. Denied the elusive qualities which would have made him a major poet, he had enough of the creative impulse to become a major translator, one of the best and most copious in history.

It is best, therefore, to view these pieces as English lyrics which incidentally derive their thought from abroad, keeping in mind the foreign link only when comparing them with other attempts in the same field. One must regret, however, the frequent exclamation marks, the tone of vociferation which characterises some of them. Persian poetry, even at its most effusive, is flowing, melancholy and sweet, not given to sudden ejaculations and jerky periods. Jones was inordinately fond of the exclamation mark, which may have had as much meaning in his time as it has now. But the adverse effect it has on some of his verse can be

measured in a comparison between the following  
<sup>1</sup>  
 translations of another ode by Hafiz, in the second  
 of which (by Thomas Law) the last line is the same  
 as that in the first:

Jones: "My breast is filled with roses,  
 My cup is crown'd with wine,  
 And by my side reposes  
 The maid I hail as mine:  
 The monarch wheresoe'er he be,  
 Is but a slave compared to me!" (2);

Law: "My bosom grac'd with each gay flower,  
 I grasp the bowl, my nymph in glee;  
 The monarch of the world this hour,  
 Is but a slave compared to me." (3).

Not always is Jones the best of Persian translators.  
 Hafiz's syncopation in the first line could have been  
 dealt with better. The breaking up of it into three  
 lines and the doggerel effect of the 'roses' 'reposes'  
 rhyme puts this very much behind Law's effort. Perhaps  
 Jones's punctuation was meant to help in the creation  
 of an expressive style, something which would give the  
 impression of having emerged straight from the heart:

- 
1. گل در بروے برآف و معشوق بکااست  
 سلطان جهانم بچین روز خلاست
  2. Hafiz, the Persian Lyric Poet (Roses of Parnassus Series, 1906), 5.
  3. A. J. Arberry, Hafiz, Fifty Poems (Cambridge, 1953), 92.

perhaps it can be taken as an indication of a personality which was rather prone to over-dramatisation at times.

Jones's prose translations are usually better than his verse ones. This is partly because prose is more flexible,<sup>1</sup> partly because the poetic expression which Jones had evolved was too thin for some of the oriental pieces he tackled. In 1781, Jones came out with another series of translation, done in a kind of prose verse, of the Mo'allakat or the hanging verses, seven poems allegedly written on special cloth in gold leaf and suspended on the Qaaba just before the Muslim era.<sup>2</sup> Doubt has been thrown on this legend since Jones's time, but there is sufficient force in it for a prima facie case. The seven poems certainly exist; whether they were written in gold and hung on the temple in Mecca or not does not matter. The poems by Imrulqais, Tarafa, Zuhair, Labid, Antar, Amr, and Harith are excellent examples of early Arabian poetry,

- 
1. The French rarely tried poetic translation for this reason, and Walter Savage Landor applauded them for it (W. S. Landor, Poems from the Arabic and Persian 1800, reprint 1927, 1.)
  2. See R. A. Nicholson, A Literary History of the Arabs (Cambridge Univ., 1930) 102.

and eminently suited, in their variety, forcefulness and imagery, to Jones's purpose in introducing them to the west. There is undoubtedly a force, not entirely lost in translation, in the very candour of the pieces.

The themes are topical and trivial as might be expected from desert clansmen; descriptions of beloved women are given less importance than descriptions of beloved camels; in the poem of Taraf, five verses go to the woman, twenty nine to the camel. The pattern is traditional, and followed in each case: the poet bewails the loss of his old loves, then proceeds to a description of his beloved, then of his camel or horse, and then to the exploits of himself or his tribe. Yet each one is very difficult in mood. Jones gives a list of adjectives for each poet in the Commentaries<sup>1</sup>. The poem by Imrulqais (Amriokais) is in seventy-five verses and moves with great rapidity from one mood to another, from nostalgic sorrow to pleasure at the recollection of his past amours, from a description of his mistress to a description of his

---

1. Works, ii, 393.

horse; this one is a poet in the romantic vein, with an eye for natural beauty, which he can describe well:

"The small birds of the valley warble at daybreak, as if they had taken their early draughts of generous wine mixed with spice." (1)

"The beasts of the wood, drowned in the floods of night, float, like the roots of wild onions, at the distant edge of the lake." (2).

The other pieces are each distinctive, Zuhair's being philosophic, Harith's reasonable, Antara's traditional, Lebid's and Tarafa's rather inconsequential. The Mo'allaka of Amr (Amru) stands out from the others in sheer vitality. Once the tradition of reminiscing about the past has been somewhat impatiently completed, a sustained, boastful warning is directed at the enemies of his clan:

"With these we cleave in pieces the heads of our enemies; we mow, we cut down their necks as with sickles. (3).

That we lead our standards to battle, like camels to the pool of a white hue, and bring them back stained with blood, in which they have quenched their thirst." (4).

---

1. Works, iv, 257

2. Ibid.,

3. Ibid., 316

4. Ibid., 315.

"We are the tribe who drink from the clearest brooks; whilst other clans are forced to drink it foul and muddy." (1).

A modern authority has said that no satisfactory<sup>2</sup> version of the Mo'allakat has been done in English.

He thinks that the best edition is Sir Charles Lyall's A Commentary on Ten Ancient Arabic Poems (Calcutta, 1894).

It is difficult to see why Jones has been accorded such summary treatment, in fact, has not been acknowledged at all. Lyall's rendering of the last two verses are:

"That still our banners go down white to battle  
And home blood red return." (3)

"And if we reach a well, we drink pure water,  
Others the muddy lees." (4);

from which it can be seen that Jones had indulged his translator's licence rather freely; he has italicised similes and metaphors which Lyall has omitted. Also, Lyall's version is much more economical with words, a point in its favour.

Even so, it cannot be said that Jones has been less successful in transmitting a mood. Some of the

1. Works, iv, 322.

2. R. A. Nicholson, A Literary History of the Arabs (Cambridge Univ., 1930), 101, nl.

3. Ibid., 103.

4. Ibid.,

faults visible in his piece are common to his age, and are relative to the judgements of the present age. In the foregoing examples, Jones's translations are more florid than those of Lyall, which are undoubtedly more faithful in meaning. Nineteenth century Europe extolled the virtues of the Mo'allakat in terms quite as enthusiastic as Jones's, so the question of sympathy or antipathy does not arise. Yet, through Lyall's work, Amr appears quite matter-of-fact, through Jones's he is strident and boastful.. Neither probably does him justice. Jones adjusted him to current theories on 'noble savagery', Lyall made him speak in an age influenced by the 'sweetness and light' of Arnold. This was inevitable.

However, that poetic translation can be 'loose' and still be good leads to another doubt as to the true extent of Jones's mastery over some of the languages he professed. It is much easier to read and get the gist of a piece written in a tongue which is but partially assimilated, than to write in or speak it.

The only languages Jones wrote in were English, Latin and French. A claim might be made for Greek, based on Teignmouth's statements regarding Mormo, his juvenile exercises and recent manuscript evidence. Probably he could have written something in Arabic. Persian or Sanskrit, but it is significant that he seems to have rarely tried. Most surprising is the lack of Persian writing, because Persian was in use in the courts of India.

Jones's method of re-creating from a few central ideas seemed to be adequate when he sent Althorp a 'translation' from Japanese, but in a later list of languages he does not include Japanese among even the 'least perfectly' studied languages. It could be conjectured that Jones was really tri-lingual, in modern terms, with a large number of secondary languages in varying degrees. According to his own list he had studied critically English, Latin, French, Italian, Greek, Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit; less perfectly Spanish, Portuguese,

- 
1. A. J. Arberry (Oriental Essays, 1960, 84) states that Jones could write verse 'not only in English and French, but also in Latin, Greek, Italian, Persian and Sanskrit. I have not found examples of verse in Persian and Sanskrit.
  2. J. A. Stewart, 'Sir William Jones' Revision of the Text of Two Poems of Anacreon,' Bull., SOAS (1946), 669-672
  3. A 'Persian' letter was sent to Reviczki (Memoirs, 339) but this seems to have been a specimen of Persian type which Jones was thinking of introducing in India.
  4. Jones to Althorp, March, 5, 1782. New Light, 682-683.
  5. Memoirs, 376.

German, Runic, Hebrew, Bengali, Hini and Turkish; and least perfectly Tibetan, Pali, Pahlavi, Deri, Russian, Syriac, Ethiopic, Coptic, Welsh, Swedish, Dutch and Chinese. Cannon reduces the list; doubt is thrown on 'runic' and it is pointed out that Pahlavi, Deri and Persian on one side, and Sanskrit, Pali, Hindi and Bengali on the other are really two series representing <sup>1</sup> historical stages.

Most of his work was in adjusting oriental poetry to late eighteenth century conventions. Not much evidence can be gathered for the opposite process, the introduction of eastern methods, as distinct from thought and themes, into English verse. Apparently <sup>2</sup> few people thought it possible or desirable; the figures were too extravagant, the language too ornamental, the devices and adornments distasteful to an English ear. John Haddon Hindley wrote that the English language <sup>3</sup> could not tolerate the 're-iterated monotonies' of the east, and most translators have since agreed. Jones

- 
1. O.J., 154. Perhaps it would be fair to allow Hindi and Bengali as separate languages; they are as far removed from Sanskrit as Rumanian from Latin.
  2. See Memoirs, 58
  3. J. H. Hindley, Persian Lyrics (1800), 9.

was perhaps not so sure on this point, nor did he describe all eastern poetry as extravagant or decorative. One of his poems, The Fountain Nymph, was discovered<sup>1</sup> recently. It belongs to a group which Jones composed<sup>2</sup> in a light vein during his Welsh rounds. Arberry and Cannon<sup>3</sup> think that it may be taken literally, that the carousing, sportive sentiment displayed in it shows Jones in allight somewhat less puritanical than Teignmouth suggests. Pinto treats one of the group, Damsels of Cardigan, as a poem rather than as a mirror of Jones's character, and thinks that there should have been more<sup>4</sup> like it. There is an ease and brightness about these poems which supports Pinto's statements that Jones has every right to a place in English poetry.<sup>5</sup>

This writer points out the influence of Prior,<sup>6</sup> Gray and Moore. Perhaps the influence goes further; Jones was in agreement with Gray that English poetic diction could be enriched by the absorption of foreign idioms and derivations. Pinto mentions that Gray and Collins were being admired because they seemed to<sup>7</sup> point to 'new regions of imaginative experience,' but

---

1. Probably written about 1780, found by A. J. Arberry in the Althorp papers in 1946, (New Light, 683)

2. Ibid.

3. O.J., 82

4. V. de Sola Pinto, 'Sir William Jones and English Literature', Bull., SOAS (1946), 692.

5. Ibid., 694.

6. Ibid., 692.

7. Ibid., 688.



This poem might have shown that a clever adaptation from the east was possible and aesthetically satisfying. It is probably fanciful to take the oriental influence too far, but it might be conjectured that Jones had imbibed something from his studies of the east; a hint of the Khafeef, the light, delicate touch, the short line lyrical metre, might be the very thing that gives some of his pieces their distinctive flavour. It is certain that he tried to incorporate some ideas from Hindu music into his Indian Hymns, which will be discussed later.<sup>1</sup>

Arberry suggests that the contents of this poem be taken seriously. An effort has been made to modify the sanctimonious image of Jones handed down by Teignmouth. However, the tippling, sensual hedonism may be no more than a straight loan from Persia. Surviving poems from this genre are Damsels of Cardigan<sup>2</sup> and On seeing Miss.... Ride by without Knowing Her and some of these were intended to be set to music.

- 
1. See pages 208 - 221 of this thesis.
  2. G. H. Cannon (O.J., 83) has included The Metamorphosis which seems not to be by Jones but by The Reverend Martin (?) Maddon (Add. MS. 39398, ff. 32-33). See, also, appendix A, page 337 of this thesis.

On the whole, literary history has been reluctant to find a place for Jones. The answer does not seem to lie in any recognisable 'inferiority' in his work. Das Gupta thinks that the possibilities of his contributions have not been fully explored, which is true. This is in harmony with more recent trends and assessments. Pinto is persuaded that Jones deserves a place as a poet in his own right, beyond that of a translator or link in a chain. Hewitt tries to explain his eclipse by Tennyson's rise, but it probably came before that; besides a greater light can weaken but cannot extinguish a lesser one--- even Chatterton lives in the memory despite the major literary figures who followed him. As the facts of his scholarship are amazing, so is the fact of his total disappearance from literary surveys. One reason for his fall from grace must be the opinion that a man who had spread his talents over such a wide field could not be capable of 'serious' poetry, which would be conceived as an exalted, full-time occupation, not something with which one dabbled between judicial rounds.

- 
1. R. K. Das Gupta 'Sir William Jones as Poet', Bi-Centenary Commemoration Volume, Calcutta, (1948) 162-166.
  2. V. de Sola Pinto, 'Sir William Jones and English Literature', Bull., SOAS, 686-694.
  3. R. M. Hewitt, 'Harmonious Jones', Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association (1942), 49.

Such is the opinion of the critic who describes his poems as 'careless effusions' and comments that he would have done better if he had concentrated on English.<sup>1</sup> Another thinks there is too much classical precision in his work,<sup>2</sup> another that he had borrowed too much and seldom improved on what he borrowed.<sup>3</sup> Alexander Chalmers took the view that Jones was a standard poet,<sup>4</sup> and that his verse was distinguished and polished. In 1880 another writer wrote that Jones was well-nigh lost to view, but admitted that he enjoyed a high reputation in his own lifetime and during the early part of the nineteenth century.<sup>5</sup>

Of interest is the way these evaluations contradict each other. The anonymous writer for the Southern Literary Messenger goes to the pole diametrically opposed to that of Jeffrey and Chalmers. His judgement

- 
1. Anon., 'The Poems of Sir William Jones', Southern Literary Messenger, (1949), 724-726.
  2. F. Jeffrey, 'Lord Teignmouth's Memoirs', Christian Observer, (1805), 331n.
  3. H. F. Cary, 'Sir William Jones', London Magazine (1821), 637.
  4. The Works of the English Poets, ed. A. Chalmers, (1810), xviii, 434.
  5. Anon., 'Beattie', Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine (1880), cxxvii, 281.

1

is like that of Shah Shuja on the poetry of Hafiz, that it was careless and incoherent. The judgement is surprisingly inaccurate: whatever else Jones's works may lack, they do not lack finish and polish. A lot of art goes into the production of the apparently artless, and this is true of Jones's poems also.

It is probably impossible to assess exactly what makes a poet major or minor. The 'verdict of time' has often had to be reversed. As well as intrinsic poetical merit, it seems that volume and range have to be considered, as well as the ability to influence other writers. Recent speculation sees it as an evolutionary stream in history, with some apparent cul-de-sacs; some have viewed Milton as one such, great as he was. He had so dominated the field of epic, pastoral and religious writing that fresh growth in these directions had become impossible.

---

1. Sultan of Persia during Hafiz's most productive period, and Hafiz's patron. The incident is well known, but may not be true.

Jones's special regard for Milton has already been observed. A writer has said that it is difficult to determine Jones's direct borrowings from Milton, because he "assembled his settings from the common stage properties of the period." Some of the stock diction of the eighteenth century had been supplied by Milton, the, "o'er flowing rills, sonorous rivers, vernal arches, sumptuous domes, spicy airs, shadowy forms, vocal forms, mantling vines, wreathy shells, fenny snakes, jocund Hours....". But the influence on the lesser poets of this century is of Milton's minor rather than major poems, and to make use of the linguistic potential of his time was no detraction from merit. At the same time it is rather surprising that Jones hardly went beyond stock diction, because of his many exhortations to draw images direct from nature. And the result is a rather tinsel brightness about his poems which gives them the stamp of impermanence.

- 
1. A. Gossman, 'Harmonious Jones and Milton's Invocations', Notes and Queries, c/c (1954) 527-529.
  2. Ibid.
  3. Ibid.
  4. See W. K. Wimsatt and C. Brooks, Literary Criticism: a short History (New York, 1957), 358: 'Language gains depth and resonance only by being used, and hence some of the most complete and poetically significant uses of words are just those which occur within a poetic tradition.'

If there is clichè in Jones, he also had the strength of mind to be within a tradition yet make movements away from it so that new channels could be opened up; for this alone Jones must be included in literary history. In an age when every man of schooling wrote verse, when correspondence was sometimes conducted in not visibly 'bad' heroic couplets, new channels had to be suggested, and Jones suggested them in plenty. No one denies Jones's service in opening the doors to the east; Pinto also argues convincingly for his original verse and for the link which he forms between the 'rather frothy' praises of liberty by the Whig poets, Thomson, Collins and Akenside, and Wordsworth's Toussaint de l'Ouverture and Byron's Bonnivard.

Jones's political poems can, in fact, claim to be the best of his early efforts. They were motivated by strong feeling and had a considerable background of political feeling to give them substance. They were bound to have a short life as all political, topical poems do. One was an epithelamium written on the occasion of Althorp's marriage to Lavinia Bingham,

---

1. V.de Sola Pinto, 'Sir William Jones and English Literature', Bull., SOAS(1946), 690

2. Ibid.

daughter of Lord Lucan, which ended on a defiant  
<sup>1</sup>  
 pro-American note. Horace Walpole like it well  
 enough to include in a volume of miscellanies  
 printed at his Strawberry Hill press in 1783. He  
 wrote to the Countess of Upper Ossory:

"If the ode is not perfect, still the eighth,  
 ninth and tenth verses have merit enough  
 to shock Dr. Johnson and such sycophant  
 old nurses, and that is enough for me..." (2)

The triple influence of Gray, Collins and Milton can  
 be seen in parts of this piece. One line, 'Beyond  
<sup>3</sup>  
 the vast Atlantick deep' uses the Miltonic device  
 of putting the substantive between two epithets, but the  
 influence has come indirectly, through James Thompson.  
<sup>4</sup>  
 Anne Gossman thinks that 'sky-tinctur'd gems emblaz'd

1. 'The Muse recalled', Works, iv, 563-570. Soon  
 after this, Althorp became Earl Spencer.
2. Quoted in A. J. Arberry, Asiatic Jones (1946), 15.
3. Works, iv, 570.
4. 'The Seasons': Summer; The Complete Poetical Works  
 of James Thompson (1951), 89, line 1008.

"Had slumbered on the vast Atlantic deep,".

1

(StanzaX) is a direct borrowing from Milton.

However, the marriage of a friend was hardly the place for sentiments such as these:

Stanza IX: "In this voluptuous, this abandon'd age,  
 When Albion's sons with frantic rage,  
 In crimes alone and recreant baseness bold,  
 Freedom and Concord, with their weeping train,  
 Repudiate....  
 Truth, Justice, Reason, Valour, with them fly  
 To seek a purer soil, a more congenial sky.(2)

His sense of timing in politics was rather poor. His other political poems are an Ode written in Imitation of Callistratus, meant to commemorate Shelburne's rise to power, which Jones saw as the triumph of good over evil, and an Ode Written in Imitation of Alcaeus (1781) about which the Bishop of St. Asaph remarked, perhaps with a touch of warning to Jones: 'I cannot help observing that Alcaeus, like other good poets and patriots, was condemned for life to be in a minority'<sup>4</sup> (Jones argues that a state is formed by high-minded men,

1. A. Gossman, 'Harmonious Jones and Milton's Invocations', Notes and Queries, (1954, cic, 525.
2. Works, iv, 570.
3. G. H. Cannon, 'The Literary Place of Sir William Jones, 1746-1794', Journal of the Asiatic Society (1960), ii, 1, 50, thinks that this is one of Jones's standard pieces, which has rightly been preserved as a literary work.
4. Memoirs, 201.

not by armies or authority). Preceding these, written in 1780, is a Latin ode entitled Ad Libertatem Carmen, which Teignmouth describes as a liberal translation from Collin's Ode to Liberty.

If a general opinion on something so variable as his early poetry is to be hazarded, it must be a negative one. The tone tends to be too rhetorical, the method of expression too sensational and inflated. Facility with words is certainly there, but even in his translations, excepting the Persian Song which is deservedly famous, the sacrifice he has made in accuracy has not really been compensated by a faithful rendering of tone or mood. He is successful with the prose version of the Mo'allakat but only partly successful with the Persian pieces.

His performance in India was to be more considerable. The reason is not hard to find; he took with him the relaxed mind of a successful man, and lost the plaintive, querulous note which mars some of his middle poetry. On the strength of his Hindu Hymns alone, his reputation as a poet should be safe.

- 
1. Arberry calls this a 'whitewash' by Teignmouth. New Light, 680. (cf. A. Gray, 'Sir William Jones', Tinsley's Magazine, (July, 1886), xxxix, 280-285, who thinks that this ode delayed Jones's appointment more than any other of his writings).

CHAPTER FIVE.The First Years in India.

Jones had come to fill the vacancy caused in November 1777 of Stephen Caesar Lemaistre. Lord North's Regulating Act of 1773 provided for a Chief Justice and three puisne judges on the Calcutta bench. Of the original judges, those still serving were Sir Elijah Impey as Chief Justice, Sir Robert Chambers and John Hyde. Of these only Chambers knew Jones before his arrival; he was away at Benaras when Sir William and Lady Jones reached Calcutta. He left a note of welcome and invited them to use his bungalow until they could find suitable accommodation for themselves, which they elected to do.

The two senior men were gifted with lively and cultered minds. Impey seems to have been somewhat cautious and rule-bound, inclined to be uncompromising<sup>1</sup> in his relations with people. Jones brought private letters for him from Shelburne and Ashburton, and a quick regognition of his merits induced considerable regard for him. However, like Hastings, Impey had received a letter of recall, ostensibly to face a charge

---

1., Eliza Fay, Original Letters from India, ed., E. M. Forster (1925), 196: of Impey it was said, 'he will never desert a friend or forgive an enemy'.

of having accepted the presidency and (more reprehensibly) the salary of the Saddar Diwani Adalat (Chief Civil Court), but really because he was suspected of having abetted Hastings in the notorious 'Nuncomar' case which was to cripple the careers of both of these men.<sup>2</sup>

At this stage Jones could have no way of knowing that his good-will towards Impey and Hastings would have unhappy repercussions. The friendship was firmly established during the brief acquaintanceship;<sup>3</sup> Lady Jones continued her visits to the Impey household after her return to England.

- 
1. See E. B. Impey, Memoirs of Sir Elijah Impey, Knt. (1846), 264-274 *passim*.
  2. The Indian, Rajah Nand Kumar (or Anand Kumar) had tried to trap Hastings on a charge of forgery. He was convicted of forgery and executed, which was considered by some to be a judicial murder. So much has been written on this case that a definitive verdict is not possible. Impey treated Bengal as an outlying province of Britain, where forgery was a capital felony. S. G. Vesey-Fitzgerald, 'Sir William Jones, Jurist', Bull., SOAS (1946), 817n, points out that from remarks in Jones's Charge to the Grand Jury (1788), it would seem that the judges concurred in rejecting forgery as a capital offence in India, Hence 'Nuncomar' was rightly convicted but illegally executed.
  3. Sir Elijah's son, Elijah Barwell Impey, makes much of this friendship in his defence of his father against the 'calumnies' of Burke and Macaulay (Loc Cit., 230 and two letters from Jones to Impey, Add. Ms., 16264, ff, 244-245 & 248). On the letters there are remarks in the handwriting of E. B. Impey, drawing attention to the familiar tone, to prove that Sir Elijah was on confidential terms with 'such men' as Jones. The latter had borrowed money from Impey to pay for goods he had purchased in Madras before reaching Calcutta.

Chambers, who before his appointment as an Indian judge, had been Vinerian Professor of the Laws of England at Oxford, was already a close friend; he had nominated Jones to the membership of The Club in 1773. His main contribution to the cause of oriental studies was in collecting over seven hundred volumes of Sanskrit manuscripts, valued at over ten thousand pounds.<sup>1</sup> The third judge, John Hyde, had caused Impey some trouble by siding with Lemaistre against the Chief Justice whenever possible. Normally mild-mannered and soft-spoken, he was given to moments of irrational and abusive behaviour, and might even have been, as Impey<sup>2</sup> complained to Thrulow, slightly insane.

Jones's idealism was to have further rude awakenings. Thankful as he was to have extricated himself from the intrigues of political life, he was fully persuaded that the dissemination of law in India could only be done on the best principles of impartiality and humanity. The Supreme Court was virtually the highest authority in the land, its powers so wide that it

- 
1. Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts Collected by Sir Robert Chambers, ed., P. Rosen (1838).
  2. E. B. Impey, Memoirs of Sir Elijah Impey, Knt. (1846), 149.

could even interpret the prerogative of the Governor General and Council and define the limits of their authority. The Council retaliated by holding up the pay of the judges, especially during the period when Philip Francis opposed Hastings in the Council. Eliza Fay observed in 1780:

"There exists, it seems, a strong jealousy between the Government and the Supreme Court, lest either should encroach on the prerogatives of the other." (1).

Jones particularly relished the fact that he and his fellow judges would have very little precedent to draw upon, and would be left to frame the constitution as they thought best. The opportunity had been somewhat wasted so far; Impey lacked the creative imagination for the work, Chambers was amiable but apathetic, Lemaistre had been ambitious for power, and Hyde was unreliable.

The only person really capable, who possessed both the knowledge and the determination to do something for India, coupled with a sympathy for all her people, Indian and British, was Jones. Burke probably realised this; from an undated letter which

---

1. Eliza Fay, Original Letters from India, ed., E. M. Forster, (1925), 176.

appears to fall into the period shortly before Jones's departure for India; it is clear that the two men discussed <sup>1</sup>Indian legal matters. In a letter dated March 17, 1782, Jones promised to help Burke, but only after he knew what Thurlow had in <sup>2</sup>mind for him. Until the formation of the Supreme Court there had been no defined principle. Hastings had produced 'laws' by the score, many of which were ingenious but which would hardly satisfy a legal mind. Between October 1774, when the judges arrived in India, and 1784, when Pitt's India Act superceded the Regulating Act, conditions scarcely improved, mainly because of the hostility between the judiciary and the executive.

Ideally, there should have been close rapport between the supreme administrative bodies. Everyone realised it but Jones was perhaps the first to make a move to bring it about.

Impey left for England on December, 3, 1784. The

- 
1. Memoirs, 201-202. (cf. The Correspondence of Edmund Burke, ed., T. Copeland, (Univ. of Chicago, 1963) iv, 352, where it is suggested that it was written after the Bengal Bill of June 13, 1781.)
  2. The Correspondence of Edmund Burke, ed., T. Copeland, (Univ., of Chicago, 1963), iv, 424-425. Burke's undated reply to this letter was perhaps not despatched to Jones. (Ibid., 425).

next day Jones delivered his Charge to the Grand Jury, the first of six. Jones's latest biographer concurs with Teignmouth in pointing out that this was not a mechanical delivery of well-worn maxims, but a closely worked out address designed to present his own solution to the complexities which faced the courts of law in Bengal.<sup>1</sup> It is clear that Jones had made some preliminary research within two months of his arrival. The Charge was well received; Jones had every reason to believe that his début was a successful one.

The complexities were indeed many; three major races were involved, the Hindus, Muslims, and the British. Hastings had always advocated as strict an adherence as possible to native practices, in disputes between natives. Halhed mentioned the political advantage of retaining Hindu and Muslim law in 1776.<sup>2</sup> Jones saw it the same way:

".... the natives of these important provinces he indulged in their own prejudices, civil and religious, and suffered to enjoy their own customs unmolested...." (3).

- 
1. O. J., 117.
  2. H. Halhed, A Code of Gentoo Law (1776), preface, ix.
  3. 'Charge to the Grand Jury', Works, iii, 3.

This was partly to safeguard the natives from possible British despotism, which is what Burke feared most, and partly to administer to them that with which they were familiar, and would therefore give them no cause for complaint.

There were two sides to the picture. Impey had already pointed out that so little conversant with justice were the English in Bengal that a cause decided against them created personal enmity for the judge.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, there was need to protect the British from the Indian litigant, whose aptitude in this direction had made its presence felt, and who was not slow to take advantage of the general mood of sympathy expressed in high circles in Britain.<sup>2</sup> The Bengalis were experts in getting up false cases of assault and murder, and could buy for a few annas witnesses willing to swear to anything.<sup>3</sup> Thus it was not only necessary for the courts, pleaders

- 
1. E. B. Impey, Memoirs of Sir Elijah Impey, Knt., (1846), 142.
  2. The 'litigiousness' of the Hindus was given prominence by writers like James Mill, History of British India, (1817), i, Bk., II, 310-311, who never went to India. This was intended to prove the rudeness of Hindu civilisation. The reasoning is difficult to follow; the hypothesis is dubious, but if it were true, a widespread preference for legal solutions rather than resort to violence would indicate an uncommon degree of ingrained 'civilisation'.
  3. See Henry Whitehead, Indian Problems, (1924), 205.

and jurors alike to be conversant with the theory and practice of several kinds of law. it was also necessary for them to maintain an unusual degree of vigilance. Court procedure was encumbered by an elaborate system of checking and cross-checking which made the whole process of law painfully slow and expensive; and Indians still sometimes got away with perjury. The result was natural; the judges were inclined to prefer the testimony of Europeans to that of the natives. Honest natives suffered for the perfidy of their fellows. Some despaired of getting justice from the foreign judges.

- 
1. Induction from this evidence was the order of the day, perhaps more so than now. Indians fallaciously condemned all Europeans as barbaric rakes and drunkards because of the early adventurers, and thereby made the work of the serious missionaries and administrators much harder. On the other hand, Jones made generalisations about the 'light oaths and pious perjury' of the Hindus (Works, iii, 62) which were enough for Teignmouth to speak thus of these people: 'If I were to describe the Hindu character generally....I should define it a compound of insincerity, servility and dishonesty. Their master passion is self-interest, which they pursue through all the mazes of cunning and duplicity. Their disregard for veracity is most striking....' (Lord Teignmouth, Considerations on the Practical Ability Policy and Obligations of Communicating to the Natives of India the Knowledge of Christianity, (1808), 81). This is quite untenable; what is striking is that Jones expected something other than duplicity in his court. His statement had important repercussions; it became an axiom for Mill Macaulay, Hayman Wilson and most civil servants, despite the considerable volume of educated protest. (cf. F. M. Muller, India, What Can it Teach Us? (1892), 2nd lecture 'The Truthfulness of the Hindus, passim. cf. anon., A Vindication of the Hindus (1808), 56, 73 and passim.)

In January, 1784, Jones made his first moves to improve relations between Court and Council. He placed before Chambers, now acting senior judge, his proposal for the formation of an Asiatic Society to be modelled on the Royal Society in Britain. The idea appealed immediately to Chambers. A meeting of some thirty influential men and orientologists was called on January 15 in the Grand Jury Room, and a few days later an offer of the presidency was made to Hastings. The latter declined it because of his many commitments and the uncertainty of his tenure.<sup>1</sup> He promised his full support, however, and Jones was unanimously elected.

In this way came into being an institution which has done more than any other to keep Jones's name alive. A statue of Jones in St. Paul's Cathedral shows him holding the plan for the Society, which therefore must have been estimated as one of his most important creations by those who constructed it. The possibilities were immense; it would help to promote harmony between the British and Indians; it would do much to unite the efforts of the various administrative offices; it was

---

1. F. Woodruff, The Men Who Ruled India (1954), 162, states in error that Hastings was first president. Hastings had already been recalled, although the order had been temporarily rescinded, and he continued as Governor General until 1785.

the prototype of a large number of oriental societies which sprang up in countries all round the world.

The field was immense. In India alone, some ten thousand Sanskrit works awaited recall from the past. There were Persia and Arabia, prolific in poetry. Farther east there was the challenge of China with her philosophies and the records of the oldest continuous civilisation of all. In February 1784, Jones enthused about:

".... the vast regions of Asia, which has ever been esteemed the nurse of the sciences, the inventress of delightful and useful arts, the scene of glorious actions, fertile in the productions of human genius, abounding in natural wonders, and infinitely diversified in the forms of religion and government, in the laws, manners, customs, and languages, as well as in the features and complexions of men." (1).

Prior to the establishment of the Asiatic Society disjunct attempts had been made by individuals towards a better understanding of the east. With its advent, the activity was stimulated greatly. All literary men aspired to its membership and were diligent to qualify because they knew that Jones would expect a high standard. The range was unlimited; anything which would increase the stock of knowledge on Asia's history, geography, science, art, Philosophy, languages, races, religions,

---

1. 'Presidential Discourse to the Asiatic Society', Works, i, 2.

flora and fauna was acceptable, so men of all levels of interest and ability were encouraged to contribute, especially as Jones proposed that in the infancy of the society the only operating rule should be that there be no rules at all. The response was good, even if it did taper off over the years. The venture was received very well in Britain also, where the first of Jones's Discourses, his first Charge to the Grand Jury and his first 'Hindu' hymn appeared in 1784. In 1814 the society started its own museum which was handed over to the Indian Government under the Indian Museum Act in 1866. In 1936 it became known as the Royal Asiatic Society.

- 
1. 'Presidential Discourse to the Asiatic Society', Works, i, 6. This occasioned surprise among some purists. G. Lyebdev, A Grammar of the Pure and Mixed Indian Dialects (1801), preface, xvi, wrote: 'As all learning arises from first principles, was it not a strange idea for Sir William Jones in the infancy of a society to lay down for a rule that want of fixed principles was the surest method of promoting rational discussion?'. Jones no doubt meant that fact should precede speculation; very little was really 'known' and without knowledge no rules were feasible.
  2. Hymn to Camdeo (Kama Dev, the Hindu God of Love).

Jones's friendship with the mildly despotic, egotistic, brilliant Hastings was foreseen by Burke. The Company finances were once more in peril; authorities in England were looking for a scapegoat. There was a basic anomaly in a Company employee remitting thousands in personal wealth while the Company itself barely floundered along. Sir Philip Francis, the probable author of the 'Junius' letters,<sup>1</sup> found willing audience in Burke, who personally undertook the ruination of Hastings and those who had befriended him. Jones received warning, probably through his father-in-law, that Burke had threatened to have him recalled if he learnt that Jones was siding with Hastings. Such a doubt of his motives and principles angered Jones. He had put politics behind him; never in England had he sided with anyone, and now as a judge it was unthinkable. He wrote an

---

1. 'Junius' carved a name for himself in history by the mystery which surrounded the question of his identity, no less than the sustained malevolence of his letters. The man who wrote them was undoubtedly spirited, scholarly and literary. Among the many theories forwarded was one by J. O'Lanfranc, Gentleman's Magazine (1817), xxxvii, II, 133-134, suggesting Jones as the author. This was derided by 'Crito' (Ibid., 295-296) and defended once more by O'Lanfranc (Ibid., 582-583) on the argument that Jones had the requisite qualities of youthful zest and a matured intellect. Recent scholarship has come out for Francis. (see A. Ellegard, A Statistical Method for Determining Authorship: the Junius Letters, 1769-1772, (Gothenburg Studies in English, Acta Universitatis Gothenburgensis, 1962). cf. A. Ellegard, Who wrote Junius? (Stockholm, 1962).

indignant letter to Burke on April 13, 1784:

"You have declared, I find, that if you hear of my siding with Hastings, you will do everything you can to get me recalled. What! if you hear it only! with examination! without evidence! ought you not rather, as a friend, who whilst you reproved me for my ardour, have often praised me for my integrity and disinterestedness, to reject any such information with distain, as improbable and defamatory? ought you not to know from your long experience of my principles, that whilst I am a judge, I would rather perish than side with any man?...." (1).

There is no written evidence from Burke's side, and it is possible that Bishop Shipley exaggerated the warning or that Jones reacted to it with unwarranted violence. From contemptuous remarks by Burke made before several people, including Boswell,<sup>2</sup> it would seem that Burke was not deserving of so sharp a reprimand. Jones's tendency to lend credence to hearsay was hinted at when Burke said that Jones had been too ready to accept the account of James Bruce, the explorer who in searching for the source of the Nile, had confused the Blue with the White Nile. A number of people thought that Bruce had been taken in, or had deliberately falsified his facts.<sup>3</sup> Richard Wharton quoted Jones in his defence.

- 
1. The Correspondence of the Rt. Hon. Edmund Burke between 1744 and 1797, ed., G. William, Earl Fitzwilliam and Sir Richard Bourke (1844, iii, 30. This letter has not been included in The Correspondence of Edmund Burke, ed., T. Copeland (University of Chicago, 1963).
  2. D. C. Bryant, Burke and His Literary Friends (Washington Univ., Studies, 1939), 190.
  3. R. Wharton, Observations on the Authenticity of Bruce's Travels in Abyssinia (1800), passim.

Subsequently Jones sent Burke his Best Practicable  
System of Judicature for India,<sup>1</sup> in fulfilment of his  
 promise to look into affairs in Bengal and keep Burke  
 informed. Broadly this proposed something similar  
 to what he had stated in the Charge, a system of  
 checks and balances to prevent absolute power and  
 to maintain an equitable balance which would satisfy  
 all the inhabitants of the country.<sup>2</sup> He hoped that  
 some action would be taken on it in Parliament, but  
 Burke put the report aside and nothing came of it.  
 Nor did it meet with better success when some time  
 later he sent it to Pitt.<sup>3</sup>

Jones was determined that nothing should pervert  
 his sense of justice, and the early sessions in court  
 went without special incident, the chief cause for  
 regret being the habitual late attendance of Chambers,  
 who sometimes kept everyone waiting till afternoon.  
 In April Lady Jones became ill. She was never able  
 to acclimatise herself to Calcutta's heat and humidity,  
 and began to suffer from a series of illnesses which  
 caused Jones great anxiety. During the summer months

- 
1. O.J., 122.
  2. Ibid., 123.
  3. Ibid.

Jones also came down with a prolonged fever which left him weak and emaciated. Weather like this he had never conceived in England--excessive noon heat, high winds all day long, torrential monsoon rains. Tremendous indeed were the powers of determination which enabled him to settle down to a taxing routine of work soon after his recovery. At no time did he permit himself to sink into the understandable torpor of so many of his countrymen and of most of the Indians around him.

The winter sessions brought him his first disillusionment with the Bengal courts. The case of Griffin vs Deatker was first heard. The actions of the constable Deatker, his high-handed treatment of an innocent man George Tyler, and his blatant perjuries in court so infuriated Jones that when, as junior judge, he was invited to speak he did so for two hours in the 'most pointed, elegant and nervous language'<sup>1</sup>. Yet, Hyde briefly preferred Deatker's testimony, and the decision was passed in his favour with triple costs against the plaintiff by Chambers.

---

1. Memoirs of William Hickey, ed., A Spencer (1913), iii, 253-254.

An irate pleader called Chambers a 'contemptible animal' in court, but this was blandly ignored. The next case was decided in a similar fashion, but not before Jones had recorded his protest and Hickey had threatened to have the proceedings published in England.<sup>2</sup> Jones was greatly disturbed by what seemed to him to be a flagrant abuse of judicial power.

On the other hand, the elder judges had probably foreseen that Jones would adopt the 'new-broom' role. Hyde certainly favoured the principle that the actions and authority of officials were to be upheld by the law unless there had been gross violations of professional conduct. Jones's speech had been a little tactless in view of the fact that Deatker had acted on Hyde's authority, but even so it is hardly likely that Chambers or Hyde would have indulged in a wilful perversion of justice to spite Tyler or mortify Jones.<sup>3</sup> The latter never learnt to subordinate

---

1. Op Cit.

2. Op Cit.

3. Chamber's notes on this case are, as might be expected, different in tone from Hickey's description (T. C. Merton, Decisions of the Supreme Court of Judicature, Calcutta, 1841, 360-362.) Hickey, by other accounts, was given to strong antagonisms and was not popular either with the court or with Calcutta society. His Memoirs, useful as they are as a mirror of the times, are often inaccurate.

his concept of justice to any rule of expediency, but he did not make the error of becoming the dissenting judge on all occasions. Some of the idealism of reform seems to have gone out of him; it is significant that he left much less in the way of notes and comments than either Chambers or Hyde.<sup>1</sup>

In December, 1784, Jones was approached by a Church building committee for a donation. Most of the members of the Council and several prominent citizens had already subscribed. None of the judges elected to contribute, probably because they felt it was the duty of the Council to find the money. Jones wrote a long letter to the secretary, desiring that his views be put before the committee. The reasons he gave were complicated, drawing fine distinctions between his duties professional and private, averring that as a judge he was bound to follow Chambers and Hyde, not lead them, yet insisted that as a individual he was free to do as he pleased. He promised to let them have five hundred rupees, not to help erect its walls, but to promote some 'end of their erection.'

- 
1. See Jones's Notes of Cases argued in Bengal (Ad. Ms. 888)
  2. H. B. Hyde, The Parish of Bengal, 1678-1788 (Calcutta, 1899), opposite p. 90. See also Appendix B, pages 338-39 of this thesis.

This denial of what most people would have called a worthy cause might have more significance than is immediately apparent. He was the only judge to give reasons for his refusal. This might be because, as a man of conscience, he was generally more anxious to explain himself than most men. It might also be that he was making a public statement of the attitude he was intending to adopt towards the question of organised Christianity in India. It was inevitable that he would be required to lend his weight to one camp or the other in a controversy which had already begun, and which was to have far-reaching effects in Anglo-Indian history. Arberry has challenged Teignmouth's efforts to show that Jones was essentially on the side of the evangelicals. But as late as 1835, the Reverend Samuel Wilks was producing further evidence to show Jones fundamental piety and, more importantly, his friendship with prominent members of the Clapham sect like Granville Sharp, who is supposed to have discussed the question of religion with him as he was about to embark for India.<sup>1</sup> In some respects the

---

1. Memoirs, ed. S. C. Wilks (1835), i, 33n.

evangelicals could make out a case for Jones as a peripheral supporter; he was never anything more than this for the other side: it did not behove him as a judge to be so. He was undoubtedly in full sympathy with William Wilberforce, Zachary Macaulay, Henry Thornton and John Venn in their efforts to abolish slavery.

The difference was that Jones believed in good causes for their own sake, not as means to an end, political or proselytising. The Clapham theorists saw inequality as an act of God, and any protest against it a blasphemy,<sup>1</sup> an attitude which would have pleased Brahmanical India. Jones believed in essential equality and the right of every man to work for the betterment of his lot, an idea encouraged by Locke. The evangelicals saw Britain's success in India, not as the result of a well developed social background and the most advanced technology of the day, but as a direct sanction from God and a vindication of the Anglican church. The Catholics and other sects had had their chances and had failed. It was now the foremost duty of the British to

---

1. Michael Hennell, John Venn and the Clapham Sect (1958), 139.

spread the Word to the Indians. The most influential and authoritative of the early spokesmen for the active propagation of Anglicanism were Charles Grant,<sup>1</sup> and Teignmough,<sup>2</sup> who joined the group in 1802.

At about this time, four or five clergymen had proposed the establishment of free schools to teach English, and it was hoped to impart Christian knowledge side by side.<sup>3</sup> The target was the Hindu, especially the low caste Hindu, who, it was thought, would respond gratefully to any effort made to extricate him from the social injustice he endured. Most people realised that no matter who sat in state, Christian or Muslim, India's body, soul and true sovereignty resided in the huge Hindu majority. The Muslim was generally considered to be too conceited to change. Some looked upon him as an

- 
1. Ainslee Embree, Charles Grant and British Rule in India (1962), 141-157.
  2. Michael Hennell, John Venn and the Clapham Sect (1958), 174.
  3. John Owen, A Charge Delivered from the Chair at a General Meeting of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (1797), 13.

heretical Christian, who needed correction rather than conversion.<sup>1</sup> Jones believed that attempts to convert from religions as self-sufficient as Hinduism and Islam would certainly fail, while attempts which used Britain's position of authority would rebound and destroy that position. He was wrong about the first, especially with regard to the Hindu,<sup>2</sup> as his opponents pointed out; perhaps there was some truth in the second observation, but the effects were to come much later. Indians did probably resent the discovery that the quickest way to material advancement was to adjust to the culture and virtually accept the religion of the English: but substantive Hinduism had not changed under the more dangerous, more sustained impact of Islam, and it absorbed Christianity without special qualm or strong reaction.

Jones represented a small group of 'romantic'

- 
1. An opinion held by Jones also (Works, v, 584): 'The Mahomedans... are certainly a sect of Christians; if indeed, they deserve the name, while they follow the impious heresy of Arius'.
  2. Works, i, 279: 'We may assure ourselves, that neither Muselmans nor Hindus will ever be converted by any mission from the Church of Rome, or from any other Church.'
  3. (James Long,) The Centenary of the Old of Mission Church (Calcutta, 1870), 5n. A missionary named Kiernauder had made a few conversions from the Brahmins during Jones's time.

colonists who saw cononisation as a splendid chance to teach, learn and trade. Perhaps not all Indians would be in agreement with the following by Cannon:

"....Europe refused to listen to him for political reasons. Had it done,so, the whole world might have been different in the twentieth century. Today, when some animosity remains after the freeing of India and Pakistan and Burma from England....there is much to be learned from the spirit and philosophy of Jones." (1).

some would certainly prefer to reject the colonial postulate altogether, others would regret the postponed influence of anti-imperialists like Dean Tucker and laissez-faire economists like Adam Smith. But most would accept that within a colonial system, Jones's attitude was laudable. Unanimity in purpose, not uniformity in dress, language culture and religion was his desire. He wished to see no outrage against a people for whose ancient culture he had begun to form great respect. The fact that they could have done so much at such an early stage in history meant that a high potential was dormant, not absent. With proper encouragement they could do it again. Such

---

1. G. J., preface, viii.

encouragement he gave himself, by taking pains to learn the ancient language, by looking for the good points and praising them in front of the world. It was not all wistful idealism; the practical side of conquering India through heart should have been apparent to all but arrogant hot-heads.

Perhaps he did not realise the full implications of the scheme he opposed, but if he had had his way perhaps India would not have been divided into two states. The Muslims were generally resistant towards the new order, less inclined to accept an inferior position and more anxious to retain their own Arab-Persian links. In the interests of the plan for conversion, missionaries did their best to discredit the earlier rulers. The result in a hundred years was a large number of transformed, western-orientated Hindus, and a big population of bellicose, backward Muslims whose ideas still harked back to the days of Moghal and early Islamic glories.

Within a few years of Jones's death, the evangelicals found the support of theorists who thought it politically expedient to deny all that Jones stood for. The imperial conviction was a thing to be fostered carefully if Englishmen were to take risks for the empire. Rationalists

like James Mill and Thomas Babington Macaulay (whose father, Zachary Macaulay was an important member of the Clapham sect) wished to avoid the very conclusions which Jones had drawn with regard to the ancient civilisation and potential of the Hindus. Mill, in a work which professes to be a history, made a detailed 'refutation' of Jones's statements in an attempt to prove that the Hindus were rude and primitive and had always been so. This work dominated British thought on India for twenty five years without a challenge, and in later, enlarged editions, easily swamped Mountstuart Elphinstone's more sobre A History of Hindu and Mahomedan India when it appeared in 1840.

Jones's caution about taking up the banner for the religion he professed was partly due to his reluctance to see mass changes in established society, as the Utilitarians visualised. A lawyer would understand that custom derived its sanction from usage, not from reason. He certainly did not deny the point

- 
1. J. Mill, History of British India (1817), i, Bk., II, passim.
  2. See C. H. Philips, 'James Mill, Mountstuart Elphinstone and the History of India', Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon (1961), 217-229

that some change would be good for India--he found a lot which was absurd in the methods and thoughts of the people around him-- but such change would have to come naturally, when the time was right, nothing was to be forced. His moral superiority to Grant lay in his humbler opinions; at no time did he presume to understand the will, desires or methods of God. Nor did he feel that Britain's contributions should go beyond that in which she was demonstrably superior, her sciences, commerce and general organising ability.

However, Grant's victory was inevitable; men with his outlook were in preponderance. It was hastened by able Indians, anxious to gain government posts and positions of authority, who were willing to go more than half way to meet the Anglicisers.<sup>1</sup> Already a new kind of 'Briticised' Indian had begun to appear.<sup>2</sup> Macaulay, that Mauvais genie of Anglo-Indian politics, really only gave the final push to a process which had been gathering momentum before Jones came to India.

- 
1. Ram Mohan Roy (1774-1853) the Bengali reformer whose linguistic attainments almost rivalled those of Jones, was nineteen years old when Jones died. He was intensely aware of India's need to open her mind to new influences.
  2. W. Robertson, An Historical Disquisition Concerning the knowledge which the Ancients had of India, (Calcutta, 1904), 275. (first edition London, 1797).

Speculation on what might have happened if Jones had won would be largely artificial. Most of the generalised hypotheses on the question break down. India was no one thing but a medley of antiquity and modernity, superstition and rationality, absurdity and wisdom, as was any other country, in varying proportions.

Also, the ~~defeat~~ was by no means final. The work of the orientalist went on, with varying degrees of comprehension and sympathy, regardless of the European response.

Illness and the effort to settle down to his new, not always congenial duties, prevented him from giving time to his other interests. He was reluctant to commence the study of Sanskrit. Most of his early researches on Hinduism were done through Persian and through the translations of Wilkins and Halhed. The Hymn to Camdeo is a poetical bye-product of another study undertaken during 1784, A Dissertation on the Gods of Greece, Italy and India.<sup>1</sup> In the poem, the similarities between Kama and Eros could hardly be

---

1. This appeared in 1786, but Jones took care that it be known as having been written in 1784. F. M. Muller, Chips from a German Workshop (1894), iv, 204, surmises that Jones wanted the credit for being the first to have made an extensive study of Hindu mythology. Wilkin's translation of the Bhagavat-Geeta came out in 1785.

missed: the differences could be attributed to eastern or western accretions,<sup>1</sup> it being difficult to assign greater antiquity to either. Kama uses a bow strung with bees, and floral arrows, and is reduced to a mental essence for daring to shoot at Mahadev, a member of the divine trinity.

The Enchanted Fruit, or the Hindu Wife, An Antidiluvian Tale, also written in 1784, appears to have had a limited purpose. It is adapted from a traditional tale about one of India's heroines, Draupadi. The magical fruit, torn from its branch, will only return to its place after Draupadi and her five husbands have confessed their sins, great and small. The fruit remains suspended two cubits from the bough after Draupadi has made her confession, so it is plain that she is hiding something. Finally she has to admit that a Brahmin kissed her cheek. There is much more to the epic, what might really be called the typically Indian part, the gambling away of Draupadi by the eldest husband and her subsequent trials and misfortunes, which is not treated by Jones.

---

1. Works, i, 261: 'in most respects he (Kama) seems the twin brother of CUPID with richer and more lively appendages.'

Instead he embarks upon a comparison of English and Hindu women:

"Could you, ye fair, like this black wife  
Restore us to primeval life,  
And bid that apple, pluck'd for Eve  
By him who might all wives decieve,  
Hang from its parent bough once more  
Divine and perfect, as before,  
Would you confess your little faults?" (1)

after which a severe Britannia asks:

"What! are the fair, whose heavenly smiles  
Reign glory through my cherish'd Isles,  
Are they less virtuous or less true  
Than Indian dames of sooty hue?" (2)

and the answer is clearly going to be 'no'. Britannia slays the foul fiend Scandal, and the 'fair ones' reign at will. This part of the poem seems to be directed at a current social problem in Calcutta. There were many more British men than women, and minor flirtations appeared to be the accepted order of things. The traditional fidelity to husband and home of the Hindu woman was sometimes held up to the English woman in rather unfair contrast.

- 
1. Works, vi, 198.
  2. Ibid.
  3. See 'Sophia Goldborne' Hartly House, Calcutta (Dublin 1791) and Eliza Fay, Original Letters from India ed., E.M. Forster (1925). Some of the women defended themselves on the argument that social habit did not constitute real morality, that the Hindu woman's willingness to immolate herself on her husband's death had nothing to do with virtue.

It will be convenient to treat the nine hymns together, although the mood and method is variable, and the writing of them was spread over the period from 1784 to 1788. Gandeo was followed by Narayana, Indra, Parvati, Durga and Surya in 1785, and Bhavani, Sereswati and Ganga Between 1785 and 1788. As elsewhere, appreciation for these hymns has been unequal. Cannon finds his best response for Gandeo<sup>1</sup> and Narayana, and points out that Jones was introducing 'refreshing new imagery'<sup>2</sup> by grafting exotic mythology to European forms. Pinto describes them as Jones's most impressive and considerable achievement in poetry<sup>3</sup> but admits later that his 'bold attempt to naturalize Hindu mythology in English poetry'<sup>4</sup> failed because of the remoteness of the legends and the difficult names. Robert Sencourt thinks that they were 'inspired by scholarship, rather than pregnant with

---

1. O. J., 133.

2. Ibid., 136.

3. V. de Sola Pinto, 'Sir William Jones and English Literature', Bull., SOAS, (1946), 692.

4. Ibid., 693.

1  
 celèstial fire' that the feeling is warm but not  
 overflowing. A Hindu critic describes them as mere  
 2  
 exercises, an English critic thinks that they show  
 'a real attempt to understand and appreciate the  
 3  
 Hindu religious mentality'. Anne Gossman focusses  
 attention on the Miltonisms, some directly borrowed,  
 other in harmony with the general influence of Milton  
 4  
 on the time.

Jones called these poems 'hymns' and such they  
 might appear to be from the invocatory manner and  
 5  
 devout love. But he was also experimenting with forms  
 of lyrical writing in accordance with contemporary  
 trends. One might agree with Cannon that Camdeo and  
Narayena are the least outlandish, from a western point  
 of view; certainly the personality of Kama (or Dipuc,  
 which Jones points out, is the reverse of Cupid) was  
 no stranger to England. The imagery in these two poems  
 is unremarkably traditional, falling well into the

- 
1. R. Sencourt, India in English Literature (1925), 232.
  2. S. K. Chatterji, 'Sir William Jones: 1746-1794'  
Bicentenary Commemoration Volume (Calcutta 1948), 85.
  3. G. T. Garratt, 'Indo-British Civilisation',  
The Legacy of India, (1937), 411.
  4. A. Gossman, 'Harmonious Jones and Milton's Invocations'  
Notes and Queries (1954), c/c, 527-529.
  5. Jones appears to have agreed that Asiatic poetry  
 derived its excellence from the fact of its being  
 closely related to religion.

'lucid', 'floral', 'fresh', 'natural' category and influenced, probably, by Thomson:

"What potent God from Agra's orient bow'rs  
 Floats thro' the lucid air, whilst living flow'rs  
 With sunny twine the vocal arbours wreath,  
 And gales enamour'd heavenly fragrance breathe?  
 Hail, pow'r unknown! for at thy beck  
 Vales and groves their bosoms deck,  
 And ev'ry laughing blossom dresses  
 With gems of dew his musky tresses.  
 I feel, I feel thy genial flame divine,  
 And hallow thee and kiss thy shrine." (1).

Passages like these are somewhat spoilt for the twentieth century reader by the Miltonic conventions which offered their ready-made diction. Jones was the poet of an age of transition, as far as the language of poetry is concerned. For a man who spoke so strongly against 'unnatural' diction, his own submission to the well-tried phrases of others is somewhat surprising. We find, also, a frequent use of the method of making epithets by suffixing a 'y' to a substantive, common to many of the minor poets of his time. In Camdeo we have 'cany', 'wreathy', in Narayena 'beamy', and others. But once the first flush of invocations and ornament has passed, Jones speaks more naturally:

---

1. Works, vi, 314.

2. See J. Arthos, The Language of Natural Description in Eighteenth Century Poetry (Michigan, 1949).

"He bends the luscious cane, and twists the string  
With bees, how sweet! but ah, how keen their  
sting!"(1)

"Can men resist thy pow'r when Krishen yields  
Krishen who still in Matra's holy fields  
Tunes harps immortal, and to strains divine  
Dances by moonlight with the Gopia nine?"(2);

passages which do not seem to have been infected with  
the need to qualify every noun with an adjective  
beyond what is required, except, perhaps, for 'luscious'.

The Hymn to Narayena is much more important,  
perhaps Jones's most important poem in terms of influence.  
In it he attempts to give some idea of Vedantic  
philosophy, of the illusive character of the world,  
intended to show how similar it was to Platonism:

"A complete introduction to the following Ode  
would be no less than a full comment on the  
VAYDS and PURANS of the HINDUS, the remains of  
Egyptian and Persian Theology, and the tenets of  
the Ionick and Italick schools;...." (3).

From a description of the attributes of God in the  
first stanza, Jones proceeds to an account of the  
4  
'Platonic doctrine of Archetypal Ideas' in Stanza 2:

"Swift as his look, a shape supremely fair  
Leap'd into being with a boundless blaze  
That fifty suns might daze.

- 
1. Works, vi, 314.
  2. Ibid., 315.,
  3. Ibid., 366.,
  4. Ibid., 369, margin.

Primeval MAYA was the Goddess nam'd  
 Who to her sirek with Love divine inflam'd,  
 A casket gave with rich ideas fill'd  
 From which the gorgeous Universe he fram'd;  
 For, when th' Almighty will'd  
 Unnumbered worlds to build,  
 From unity diversified he sprang,  
 While gay Creation laugh'd and procreant  
 Nature rang." (1);

which is a good example of Jones's ability when he is not self-conscious. The picture of Maya, herself delusion, giving the god a casket of ideas from which to make the world is unaffected and engaging.

The third and fourth stanzas are adapted from the Institutes of Manu and the eighteenth Purana, an account of the creation of the world and the coming of Brahma. The last few lines of the third stanza have<sup>2</sup> special relevance to Jones's influence on Shelley:

"Then, in his parent stalk again retir'd  
 With restless pain for ages he inquir'd  
 What were his pow'rs, by whom, and why conferred:  
 With doubts perplex'd with keen impatience fir'd  
 He rose, and rising heard  
 Th'unknown all-knowing Word,  
 "BREHMA! no more in vain research persist:  
 My veil thou canst not move--Go; bid all worlds  
 exist" (3);

The Creator helpless before the mysteries of existence, and idea novel even for the eighteenth century.

- 
1. Works, vi, 370.
  2. See pages 299-301 of this thesis.
  3. Works, vi, 371.

The last stanza has everything to commend it in the way it moves easily from one image to another in a well-timed statement from 'Blue' to 'bright':

"Blue crystal vault, and elemental fires  
That in th'etereal fluid blaze and breathe;  
Thou, tossing main, whose snaky brancaes wreathe  
This pensile orb with intertwisted gyres;  
Mountains, whose radiant spires  
Presumptuous rear their summits to the skies,  
And blend their em'rald hue with sapphire light;  
Smooth meads and lawns, that glow with varying dyes  
Of dew-bespangled leaves and blossoms bright;" (1);

which slides perfectly into the final statement, the rejection of the world of matter as an illusive pageant:

"Hence! vanish from my sight!  
Delusive pictures! unsubstantial shows!  
My Soul absorb'd One only Being knows,  
Of all perceptions One abundant source,  
Whence ev'ry object ev'ry moment flows;  
Suns hence derive their force.  
Hence planets learn their course;  
But Suns and fading worlds I view no more:  
GOD only I perceive, GOD only I adore." (2).

Narayana far exceeds the other hymns in points of merit, and hence must be treated as one of Jones's very best poems.

The other hymns are not without interest, although Durga, Ganga, Sereswaty, Bhavani and Parvati are inclined to be inconsequential, while Indra is a rather studied, self-conscious piece which falls well short of its

1. Works, vi, 372-373.

2. Ibid, 373

purpose:

"In this poem the same form of stanza is repeated with variations on a principle entirely new in modern lyric writing, which on some future occasion may be fully explained." (1).

The explanation was not forthcoming, but from some of Jones's other statements, it can be conjectured that he was trying to apply some of the principles he had discovered in Hindu music to lyric writing, to obtain the effect of modulation:

"....why any one series of sounds, the ratios of which are sustained by observation and expressible by figures, should have a peculiar effect on the organ of hearing, and, by the auditory nerves, on the mind, will be known by mortals when they shall know why each of the seven colours in the rainbow, where a proportion analogous to that of musical sounds, most wonderfully prevails, has a certain specific effect on our eyes...." (2);

the effect of music, of major and minor forms, of certain rhythms and framework notes, what Jones calls 'modes' is asserted:

"....but without striving to account for the phenomenon, let us be satisfied with knowing, that some of the modes have distinct, perceptible properties, and may be applied to the expression of various mental emotions;...."(3)

- 
1. Works, vi, 338.
  2. 'On the Musical Modes of the Hindus' (Ibid., i, 418)
  3. Ibid., 419.

When these statements are taken with an idea he held as a young man:

"True musick (is) no more than poetry, delivered in a succession of harmonious sounds, so disposed as to please the ear." (1);

It is clear that Jones was working towards a more conscious fusion of the two arts. The lyric was rapidly being accepted as the most truly poetic kind of poetry. Plot, theme and imitation were the subordinate aspects; so much, in essence, Jones had himself stated years before. In Germany the theorising had been taken a step further; the arts had been given overlapping functions with music placed at the top of the scale.<sup>2</sup>

Now it was not a question of relating metre to mood or matter, but of adjusting mood and matter to an overall pattern of music. The energy of the spirit expressed itself most spontaneously in music; words which emerged from the same fountain would be poetically significant. The lyric would be conceived as a piece of music to which words were to be set.

As an example of the effects of modality, Indra

1. Works, iv, 555-556
2. See M. H. Abrams, The Mirror and the Lamp, (New York, 1953), 88-94.

is only a partial success. Not much is apparent from the form of the poem. The stanzas are of varying length, the lines are mostly decasyllabic, sometimes octosyllabic, sometimes hexasyllabic, mostly iambic, sometimes trochaic; nothing which would present difficulties to any competent versifier. Perhaps the most remarkable effect in the piece is created by a sudden transition from a regular iambic pentameter in Stanza 8, which begins:

"Now while each ardent Cinnará persuades  
The soft-eyed Aspará to break the dance,  
And leads her loth, yet with love-beaming glance..(1);

to trochaic octosyllabics and feminine endings in Stanza 9:

"Hush'd was ev'ry breezy pinion,  
Ev'ry stream his fall suspended:  
Silence reigned: whose sole dominion,  
Soon was raised, but soon was ended." (2)

The contrast between the movement of the earlier stanza and the sudden stillness of the later one is well brought out.

Jones might have found support for this idea in Sanskrit literature. Sound effects had become

---

1. Works, i, 341.

2. Ibid.

supremely important in some kinds of Sanskrit writing. The overlapping of the arts had been practised in India, sometimes to an exaggerated degree; great ingenuity had been used in writing lines which sounded the same when read forwards or backwards, vowels were given special treatment so that they would not clash with each other, lines were patterned on paper so that the visual effect would be related to the subject of the piece. The result was that a word's meaning tended to be submerged in its secondary qualities, its sound-values or appearance. Some of the pieces became so vague that detailed commentaries were needed to explain them.

Some shift in emphasis is visible in Indra and the other hymns. The picture-making, explanatory of descriptive powers of words have been absorbed into the music-making power, although they have not been entirely obliterated. It is as though expression has become synonymous with music, but not exclusively so.

His hymns suffer because of this tendency. A number of the easy, flowing, melodious lines break down to blurred effects because of mutually incompatible sense-impressions. While he is excellent on active, vigorous subjects, he is a failure on mysterious, devotional or transcendental subjects.

He acknowledges his sources in Gray. In the advertisement to the Hymn to Ganga he writes:

"It will soon be perceived, that the form of the stanza....is partly borrowed from Gray." (1)

Gray's twelve line stanza with a closing alexandrine is augmented with an additional line of fourteen syllables intended to show the slow, continuous roll of the waters of the Ganges. In a footnote in the Hymn to Surya he says 'See Gray's Letters, p.382, 4to and the note'. <sup>2</sup> Surya is the Indian Apollo, and this poem is weighted with the deity's names and attributes. The best effect in the piece is, in fact, the one he has borrowed from Gray:

"Ere long he shall imblaze th'unbounded sky:  
The fiends of darkness yelling fly;  
While birds of liveliest note and lightest  
wing

1. Works, vi, 386.
2. Ibid, 350. Gray's description is in a postscript to a letter to Nicholls dated November 19, 1764: 'I saw the clouds and dark vapours open gradually to right and left, rolling over one another in great smoky wreathes, and the tide....first whitening then slightly tinged with gold and blue; and all at once a little line of insufferable brightness that (before I can write these five words) was grown to half an orb, and now to a whole one, too glorious to be distinctly seen.' The note is a description by Jeremy Taylor: 'As when the sun approaches towards the gates of morning, he first opens a little eye of heaven and sends away the spirits of darkness....' (See Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Mr. Gray, ed, W. Mason (1775), 382 and n.

The rising daystar sing,  
 Who skirts th'horizon with a blazing line  
 Of Topazes divine;  
 E'en, in their prelude, brighter and more bright  
 Flames the red east, and pours insufferable  
 light."(1).

This is inferior to the original, partly because of the attitude adopted to the subject of sunrise, partly due to the unhappy effect of a single line, 'The fiends of darkness yelling fly' which is forced and unnecessary. It destroys the atmosphere of brooding sublimity which is associated with the contemplation of a scene which has always arrested the attention of man. There is a certain lack of decorum about those aspects of these hymns which should be really devotional, but somehow manage only to be robust.

The introduction of a single word 'tossing' has destroyed the overall image of another passage in the Hymn to Bhavani, which has obvious borrowings from Milton:

"When Time was drown'd in sacred sleep  
 And raven darkness brooded o'er the deep,  
 Reposing on primeval pillows  
 Of tossing billows,  
 The forms of animated nature lay;" (2).

- 
1. Works, vi, 350.
  2. Ibid., 333. Jones would have called this a dull piece of criticism; 'for poetry delights in general images, and is so far from being a perfect imitation, that a scrupulous exactness of descriptions and similes, by leaving nothing for the imagination to supply, never fails to diminish or destroy the pleasure of every reader, who has an imagination to be gratified.' (Ibid, 320).

Milton's magnificent image of the brooding dove about to quicken the world to life is achieved with the simplest and most direct use of language. Most religious descriptions of the beginning of creation are tightly simple and brief, and all the more telling because of this. The opening lines of the book of Genesis is worth more than this whole stanza, as is the opening of the Sri Bhagavat:

"I alone existed alone in the beginning...."

No other language is possible when immensely grave, cosmic statements are to be made; no other language can convey the power of belief and devotion, and the helplessness of man before the gods. This is Jones's failing in these hymns; devotion is seen as fervour, fervour is expressed in exclamation marks. Narayana is the exception, a happy piece which ends on the right note.

That Jones is much better when he stays clear of solemnity, high-seriousness and magniloquence can be seen in the following stanza from the Hymn to Durga:

- 
1. अहमेवासमवेग्रे  
(Taken from Works, i, 206).

"Rock upon rock they ride sublime,  
And lose their summits in blue fields of day,  
Fashion'd first, when rolling time,  
Vast infant, in his golden cradle lay." (1)

If the modern reader's attention would balk at what seem to be unnecessary epithets for the fields, time and time's cradle, it would still be seen that Jones's verse is best attuned to lyrical writing, and for this reason Camdeo is an enjoyable piece. His verse is musical and easy, but somewhat lacking in impact. This is probably because Jones did not have a truly metaphysical or mystical mind, nor was the sweep of his imagination and feeling as great as that of some of the poets he emulated, eastern or European.

---

1. Works, vi, 332.

CHAPTER SIX

Sanskrit Studies.

During the last few months of 1785, Jones began the study of Sanskrit. As he was not able to find a Brahmin willing to teach him, he was forced to enrol with Ram Lochan, a Vaidya, or member of the 'doctor' caste. The fact that a non-Brahmin knew Sanskrit so well encouraged him to think that the prohibitions on the sacred text were not as final as suggested. His teacher was a stickler for propriety and form in the approach to Sanskrit, and Jones was obliged to comply. Progress was very slow, proceeding from first principles through the minute analysis of a revised version of Panini's grammar, to which Jones at first took a dislike. This was one of the few systematic grammars on a language anywhere at the time. It probably helped in the formulation of Jones's hypothesis

- 
1. In fact all castes except the Shudra were invited to study the text up to certain levels. Even non-Hindus were not totally excluded once their bona-fides were established; certain Muslims like Ali-Bairuni, the eleventh century historian, and Dara Shikoh, Aurangzeb's elder brother, appear to have had access to the texts. The Brahmin near monopoly had also come about partly because of the indifference of the other castes, engaged as they were in other activities.
  2. J. Nehru, The Discovery of India (New York, 1946), 317.
  3. This was probably written about the 4th century B.C. and is considered to be the best of the old Sanskrit grammars.

about the affinity between Greek, Latin and Sanskrit, expressed in the 1786 Discourse to the Asiatic Society:

"The Sanskrit language whatever be its antiquity, is of a wonderful structure; more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either, yet bearing to both of them a stronger affinity, both in the roots of verbs and in the forms of grammar, than could possibly have been produced by accident; so strong indeed, that no philologist could examine all three without believing them to have sprung from some common source...." (1)

By the adjective 'perfect' it may be assumed that Jones meant 'evolved' or 'complete'. By 'copious' he could only have meant that more Sanskrit than Greek or Italian literature existed, which would again imply that more had been recovered, not necessarily that more had been written, and not that some quality in the language induced a greater output in philosophy or literature. Both adjectives seem questionable when applied to languages.

Two suppositions were current. The first, as voiced by Halhed, saw evolution in language as proof of its antiquity, as it must have taken time to develop

1. Works, i, 26.

2. N. B. Halhed, quoted in Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon, ed. C. H. Philips (1964), 285:  
 "The grand source of Indian literature, the parent of almost every dialect from the Persian gulf to the China Seas, is the Sanskreet, a language of the most venerable and unfathomable antiquity."

1

itself. The second, as expressed by Jones, saw language as a mirror of contemporaneous culture, a thing itself liable to fluctuation, and not always progressing steadily, but with other things equal, more likely to be less or more evolved in accordance with the time it had had to develop, in comparison with other human societies. In the foregoing about Sanskrit he appears to avoid the question of antiquity, probably because among his audience at the Society he had orientalist who might have differed. Sanskrit written at the peak of the Brahmanical period was more 'perfect' than Classical Greek, from which he deduces a more advanced culture, but not a more ancient one. It could be overlapping or more recent: but whatever its antiquity might be, the implication is that here was a civilisation not merely as worthy of study as that of Greece, but more so.

2

- 
1. Jones argues that the naked simplicity of the Hebrew dialect of the Scriptures of Moses would prove its greater antiquity than the polished Sanskrit of the Vedas: (Works, i, 246.).
  2. Southey did not like the implication; in a letter to Charles Wynn, July 23, 1800 (C. C. Southey, The Life and Correspondence of Robert Southey, 1850, ii, 96-97), most of which is derogatory of Jones, he describes Sanskrit as a 'baboon jargon'.

Jones moved into other fields to try to establish a chronology for the Hindus. The history of India before the Muslim period was a vague, and in some parts, an absurd thing. Four major ages were given to the historical cycle, the Satya Yug, or perfect age, the Treta Yug or less perfect age, the Dwapar Yug in which vice had begun to displace virtue and the Kali Yug or evil age. According to Hindu annals the world is now in the Kali Yug, an age of strife, injustice, pettiness and mistrust. Adding up the claimed lengths of the earlier Yugs would take history back to hundreds of thousands of years. The concept of four ages in history has parallels in Greek and Roman mythology, so Jones assigns a common origin for all. He cautions his audience against making hasty judgements of this nature, but this seems to be something said so that his own judgements might appear well considered. He now introduces four ages into the Mosaic account, as it soon appears that his true purpose is to support this account:

"From all this, if it be satisfactorily proved, we may infer a general unity or affinity between the most distinguished inhabitants of the primitive world at the time when they deviated, as they did too early deviate, from the rational adoration of the only true God." (3)

- 
1. Op Cit., Southey calls the Hindu records worthless.
  2. Works, i, 232.
  3. Ibid., 230.

Jones divides the Hebrew annals into the Diluvian or purest age, the Patriarchal or pure age, the Mosaic or less pure age and the Prophetical or impure age. Increasing knowledge and a developing civilisation appeared to him, as to the Greeks, Romans and Indians, in an inverse ratio with morality. Life is not seen as a gradual improvement but as a gradual degeneration: Figures which existed in the distant past become magnified in the present. The Methuselah story has even more inflated parallels in Hindu accounts.

Saturn and Satyavrata are identified with each other, and the Saturnian age or Satya Yuga is synchronised with the Deluge. Mention of a flood in a story related in the first Purana is cited in evidence. The name of the Hindu lawgiver is Manu, son of Brahma, whom Jones relates to Minos, son of Jove, and then to Nuh or Noah in Jewish, Christian and Islamic accounts. Other similarities are noted, the recurrence of a trinity or three-cornered godhead in separate accounts, a repetition of God incarnate in the persons of Krishna and Ham, the close parallel in name and function between the goddess Ceres and her Indian counterpart Sri's, also called Lakshmi; Padma or Kamla. Had Jones looked further he might have found 'strong man' legends and even the jaw-bone of an ass in Indian mythology.

---

1. Works, i, 244.

The similitudes are striking. The main difference is of time. Theologians had arrived at a figure of 4004 B.C. for the creation of Adam, while Hindu speculation stretched far back into a nebulous, allegorical past. Why Jones should have thought that wandering North African and Arabic tribes were necessarily more precise in their stories cannot be explained in objective terms. On a questionable premise, that the linguistic naivete of the Hebrew scriptures was proof that they were anterior to the sophisticated Vedas, he tries to contain all accounts within the Biblical framework of reckoning. The difficulties appear to be ignored. Some were pointed out in his own time: that it would be quite possible for a more developed civilisation to exist in one part of the world before a less developed one in another; that a period of four thousand years must have seemed hopelessly insufficient for the development of so much linguistic and racial variety; that a thousand years in India had produced no marked physical change in the fair-skinned, inter-marrying Parsis,

Half-conscious question begging shows through much of this reasoning. Hypotheses were established on intuition, which was itself conditioned by what he had imbibed at school. Much of the strangely unproductive, bitterly contested issues of the ensuing decades followed the same pattern. Many of Jones's premises were

accepted in principle; the argument rotated more around peripheral detail.

One of his links has come down to this century almost without question. The Greek historian Megasthenes has record of an Indian prince whom he calls Sandracottus, who defeated the Greek general Seleucus and concluded a treaty with him in 305 B.C. Jones relates him to Chandargupta Mauria, this providing a fixed point in Indian history. Much can be found doubtful in the assumption, which seems now to be accepted as a manifest truth. Two main Chandarguptas are known in Indian records, and they are frequently referred to as Chandar or Chanda. The Mauria's son and successor was Nanda, a name not easily reconciled with the Greek version of Sandracottus' son, Xandrames. If this date is accepted, the last Hindu king, Vikramaditya, should have commenced his reign after the Muslim invasions.

The evidence is gossamer thin, and it is unlikely that any attempts to create a Hindu chronology would succeed. Yet Jones's time-scale was accepted without demur by scholars like Max Muller at the end of the last century, and Vincent Smith and Durgaprasana Rayachaudhuri

---

1. Works, i, 153.

2. A difficulty which causes James Mill no worry. Rather than question a dubious hypothesis, he removes Vikramaditya on the argument that he must be a figment of Hindu imagination: History of British India, (1817), i, II, 440.

3. C. H. Philips, 'James Mill, Mountstuart Elphinstone and the History of India', Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon (1961) 217.

4. F. M. Muller, On Ancient Hindu Astronomy and Chronology (Oxford, 1862), 7.
5. V. A. Smith, The Early History of India, (Oxford, 1924), 21.
6. D. Rayachaudhuri, Sir William Jones and his Translation of Kalidasa's Sakuntala (Calcutta, 1928), 62.

at the beginning of this. Muller takes the same kind  
of speculation into the field of astronomy,<sup>1</sup> Nirmala  
Sidhanta into the field of epics:<sup>2</sup> neither improves on  
Jones because the available material does not lend  
itself to accurate pin-pointing.

Of far greater moment is his hypothesis on  
language. It may have been the result of inspired  
guessing, because without a knowledge of sound-shifts  
it would be impossible to assert affinities between  
languages. Vocabulary, even grammatical structure,  
would provide no premise for such a conclusion. In  
fact before his study of Sanskrit, Jones was reluctant  
to accept similarities in languages as proof of their  
family relationship. Conquest, commerce, simple  
proximity between nations brought about an interchange  
of words and phrases. From comments noted marginally  
in a copy of Parkehurst's Hebrew Lexicon (1762), it  
would seem that Jones was impatient with glib  
assumptions of affinity. At one place Parkehurst  
suggests that the study of similarities of words and  
roots would be profitable, and further suggests that

- 
1. F. M. Muller, On Ancient Hindu Astronomy and Chronology (Oxford, 1862), passim.
  2. N. K. Sidhanta, The Heroic Age of India (1929), preface vii, and passim.

the English word 'emmet' might be derived from Hebrew and Arabic sources, upon which Jones exclaims, 'It is very far from worthwhile to make such petty and ridiculous observations.' This, however, is only one of several disparaging remarks which he makes about this author: (At another place Parkehurst gives a fanciful image of a lion kneading its prey, in connection with the word  $\aleph$ ). Jones's comment is, 'I did not till now believe that it was possible for any dreaming etymologist to carry his absurdity to such a highth. Kneading his prey!'). But he indulges in something similar himself when he wishes to throw doubt on another of Parkehurst's conclusions with regard to the word  $\aleph$  which he maintains is in the plural, and as such is a proof of the Trinitarian conception of God, and an incontrovertible refutation of Arian blasphemies. Jones brings forth the same word in Arabic  $\text{كعب}$  which is not used in the plural; however he does not assert that the two words have the same root.

- 
1. Jones's copy of J. Parkehurst An Hebrew and English Lexicon (1762) in the British Museum, 170.
  2. Ibid.163. The handwriting, which is in his early style, suggests that the study of this Lexicon was made somewhere in his twenties. It was not before he had learnt Arabic, because he has written some Arabic words in the book. The spelling of 'height' also suggests an early period. He had not yet broken free from an absorbing admiration for Milton.
  3. Op. Cit., 9.

On November 26, 1778, Prince Adam Czartoryski wrote to him from Warsaw:

'I have always been at a loss to form any conjecture upon the following subject, which is, by what chance so many words from other European languages, or at least used in our European languages, are got into Persian; as for instance, jivan, pudder, mader, the English bad, the German dochter, der, bend, together with a deal of our Sclavonian, especially in the arithmetical numbers, which, even in the manner of pronouncing the, are exactly the same, such as pendsed, scheshed &c...' (1)

Jones's reply on February 17 the following year reveals his earlier attitude:

'How so many European words crept into the Persian Language, I know not with certainty. Procopius, I think, mentions the great intercourse, both in war and peace, between the Persians and the nations in the north of Europe and Asia, whom the ancients knew by the general name of Scythians. Many learned investigators of antiquity are fully persuaded, that a very old and almost primeval language was in use among those northern nations, from which not only the Celtic dialects, but even the Greek and Latin are derived;... We must confess that these researches are very obscure and uncertain; and you will allow, not so agreeable as an ode of Hafiz, or an elegy of Amr'alkeis...." (2)

- 
1. Memoirs, x, 165.
  2. Memoirs, x, 168.

The apparent transition from this attitude to an assertion about an older 'mother tongue' from which many Asiatic and European languages had developed would encourage the conjecture made by Franklin Edgerton,<sup>1</sup> Murray Emeneau<sup>2</sup> and Cannon,<sup>3</sup> that Jones had developed some inkling of sound shifts, in which case he anticipates Rask and Grimm. If so the inkling was very uncertain. Six years later he was to say:

"....but I beg leave, as a philologist, to enter my protest against conjectural etymology in historical researches, and principally, against the licentiousness of etymologists in transposing and inserting letters, in substituting at pleasure any consonant for another of the same order, and in totally disregarding the vowels....and I contend, that almost any word or nation might be derived from any other, if such license, as I am opposing, were permitted in etymological histories."(4).

His earlier attitude had hardly changed, it seems. Comparisons between words were not enough from which to deduce relationships between people. Only when they were re-inforced by other similarities could some conclusion be reached.

- 
1. F.Edgerton, 'Sir William Jones:1746-1794', Journal of the American Oriental Society(July 1946),lxvi,232 and 237.
  2. M.B.Emeneau, 'India and Linguistics',Ibid.,(July-September, 1955),lxxv,149.
  3. O.J.,142
  4. Works,i,139

What must therefore be describes as a rather unscientific statement nevertheless stimulated a great deal of activity, especially on the continent. The brothers Friedrich and August Von Schlegel, Franz Bopp who founded the science of comparative philology in 1816, Max Muller, and others, dedicated themselves to discovering the rules of change which had caused the fragmentation and variegated development of the primeval language. The introduction of influence of non-Indo-European strains produced shifts so regular that it was possible to form laws, and from both west and east to trace the dialects back to their common source, which some now believe to have had its first home in Lithuania. For a long time no one could conceive of the source as being European rather than Asiatic. The general tendency was to assume that the movement had come from Asia; Lithuanian was more likely to be called the 'Sanskrit of Europe' than vice versa.

- 
1. A. Master 'The Influence of Sir William Jones upon Sanskrit Studies', Bull., SOAS (1946), 804, thinks that the true source of the activity was the independent discoveries of some of the later French writers like Antoine de Chesy. However, this is one opinion against many, some more recent (see page 231 of this thesis).
  2. E. Sibree, 'The Sanskrit of Europe', The Indian Appeal (Oxford, March 1891), 221.

Jones also believed that the source was Asiatic, but was inclined to place it further west than India, in north Iran<sup>1</sup>. It would be too much to say that Jones treated Europe as another Asiatic peninsula, but his mind seems to have been less influenced by geographical or cultural demarcations than usual.

All this was in preparation for his major hypotheses on the races of man. Over a period of years his studies were directed towards establishing the identities and habitats of the most primitive families and nations. His Discourses were thought to be his most important contribution to knowledge by some of his contemporaries. His wife, who edited the first six volume edition of his works in 1799, gives them pride of place in the first volume.

As elsewhere, his method is historical, comparative and analytical; from similarities in 'language, religion arts and manners' to suppose connections between people, and from dissimilarities to conclude separation. He was of the opinion that the Hindu and the Ethiopic were of the same race,

---

1. Works, i, 94.

2. Ibid., 35.

the one straight-haired, the other curly-haired only<sup>1</sup> because of the different degrees of ambient humidity. Crude as this might seem, it is not very far from a recent assumption that racial variety is the product<sup>2</sup> of environmental variety. Closer to the 'Aryan' assumption so popular with the German scholar of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, is his statement that Greece and India were peopled by the same race,<sup>3</sup> and that both had 'immemorial affinity' with the old Persians, Ethiopians, Egyptians, Phoenicians, Scythians (or Goths), the Celts, Chinese, Japanese and Peruvians.<sup>4</sup>

1. Works, i, 31

2. See C. S. Coon, The Origin of Races (1963), 662 and passim. The argument now would be that so much 'gene' interflow has taken place between the races of men for untold centuries that there should be no black, brown or white races but only one pale khaki race. The difference therefore can only be explained by sustained local influences created by environment.

3. Works, i, 33.

4. Ibid., 34. The Incas had a festival called ramasitva, a similarity which Jones felt could not be explained by coincidence.

The arguments are pursued convincingly through a series of Discourses on the Arabs, Tartars, Persians and Chinese, addressed yearly to the Asiatic Society between 1787 and 1790. Arabic, he declares, is unquestionably as ancient as Sanskrit and quite as copious, yet bears little resemblance to it. Its letters<sup>1</sup> have more in common with Hebrew and Chaldaic.<sup>2</sup> Hence the Arabs are a different race from the Hindus. So also are the Tartars, who are different in complexion and manners from the Arabs or Hindus, yet who can make supportable claims to an antiquity four thousand years before the birth of Chengex Khan in 1164.<sup>3</sup> The overriding theme in these discussions is that all the major races started with a monotheistic form of worship, which later changed to polytheism.

Thus three primeval races are established, the Arabs, Hindus, and Tartars and he assumes that all Asia, and then all the world, was peopled by offshoots from these races. As regards the Arabs, Hindus and Tartars, he conjectures that at one time they belonged to a single tribe. From the oldest records and claims of the Persians, added to the traces of all the three cultures visible in Persia, he arrives at a place in the north of Iran as the beginning of man after the flood.<sup>4</sup>

---

1. Works, i, 36.

2. Ibid., 39

3. Ibid., 57.

4. Ibid., 140.

Through a mathematical formula he decides that a period of two or three thousand years would be enough for a single pair with two offspring to increase in geometrical progression to a figure approximating the estimated population of the world at his time.<sup>1</sup>

Modern anthropology would probably be in agreement with the postulate of a Caucasoid, Indo-European strain represented by families ranging in skin colour from white to dark brown, and would probably find nothing greatly wrong with the selection of North Persia as its earliest home.<sup>2</sup> The Arab, Hebrew stock would come into the same general family, despite the arguments of the German political racists of World War II. Disagreement would be registered with regard to his assumptions on the Tartar, Chinese and Negro races: the first two would be jointly placed in a separate evolutionary stream, the third would be the descendants of yet another. A radiating migration from Asia to Europe, the Americas and North Africa would be admitted, but not to the rest of Africa.<sup>3</sup> The chronology would be rejected outright.

- 
1. Works, i, 131
  2. A head of a Persian is shown in the Natural Science Museum, South Kensington, London, as typical of the Caucasoid race.
  3. See C. S. Coon, The Origin of Races (1963).

His remarks about the Chinese are curious. He assumes that they were Hindus of the Kshatriya caste and refers to a passage in the Institutes of Manu,<sup>1</sup> and a statement by Confucius,<sup>2</sup> as proof. His knowledge of the Chinese was taken from seventeenth century books, and contained mistakes like the following:

"Their letters, if we may so call them, are the symbols of ideas....and their philosophy seems yet in so rude a state, as hardly to deserve the appellation; they have no ancient monuments, from which their origin can be traced even by plausible conjecture; their sciences are wholly exotic; and their mechanical sciences have nothing in them characteristick of a particular family." (3)

Arthur Waley concludes that Jones was not aware of recent French publications on China, He writes:

"Happily in this case his dogmatism was innocuous. No one's reputation was blighted by the Discourse on the Chinese, not even Sir William's." (4)

The most surprising fact in the series is the way in which Jones sustained his original purpose, stated when his knowledge was sketchy, through seven years of detailed research during which it would be reasonable to expect some kind of change. Very few of the early mistakes are corrected; a notion that Budha was not an Indian but an Ethiopian, voiced in the Discourse

1. Works, i, 98-99
2. Ibid., 100.
3. Works, i, 102
4. A. D. Waley, 'Sir William Jones as Sinologue' Bull., SOAS (1946), 842.

1  
 on the Arabs, is later not denied but dealt with  
 2  
 in a non-committal way. The principle is changed not  
 at all. In the penultimate Discourse, which is devoted  
 to the small offshoots living in islands, mountainous  
 regions and on the borders of larger nations, talks  
 of the people of Judea, related to the Arabs, but  
 insulated from them, unruly, arrogant and vicious,  
 yet distinguished from all others by their ability to  
 preserve a monotheistic conception of God in the midst  
 3  
 of 'wild polytheism'. As such, their writings contain:

"...independently, of a divine origin, more  
 true sublimity, more exquisite beauty, purer  
 morality, more important history, and finer  
 strains of poetry and eloquence, than could  
 be collected within the same compass from  
 all other books...." (4)

It is a matter of regret that Jones made  
 concessions to the style of exaggerated dogmatism  
 favoured by the learned men of his time, and more so  
 that he descended to the style of thinking of the  
 polemicists, replete with petitio principii, of stating  
 a proposition and then moving heaven and earth to support  
 it, stretching, compressing, selecting, rejecting,  
 perhaps even manufacturing evidence in the process. The  
Discourses taken together represent a great deal of

- 
1. Works, i, 42.
  2. Ibid., 64
  3. Works, i, 126.
  4. Ibid.

impressive research, but the Age of Reason appears to have degenerated into an Age of 'Reasons'; nine years of pleading had taught him to be always plausible, but not always accurate.

His translation of the Hitopadesa (Good Advice, or Amicable Instruction as Jones has it) of Vishnusharma was completed by the end of 1786. It was not published until 1799<sup>1</sup>, and this may be because Wilkins came out with a translation of the same piece in 1787<sup>2</sup>. The method of the Hitopadesa is didactic, moral teaching under the garb of interesting fables and allegories in a way which would have pleased Sidney. It is in four books, 'The Acquisition of Friends', 'The Breach of Friendship', 'War' and 'Peace', extracted from the Tantra and other works. The burden is that knowledge is the supreme possession:

"....the science of arms and the science of books, are both causes of celebrity; but the first is ridiculous in an old man, and the second is in all ages respectable." (3)

Those who spoke easily in clichés about 'oriental fatalism' might have found some passages surprising:

"This is the language of idleness; used by men incapable of action: as a chariot runs not on one wheel, so the acts of man prosper not without favourable destiny.

Yet:

The potter forms what he pleases with moulded clay, so a man accomplishes his works by own acts."(4)

---

1. Works, vi, 3-176

2. O.J., 145.

3. Works, vi, 4.

4. Ibid., 22.

Some of the advice seems self-contradictory.

At one place the preceptor says:

"Contract no friendship, or even acquaintance with a guileful man: he resembles a coal, which when hot burneth the hand, and when cold blacketh it." (1);

from which it might be understood that deception of any kind is reprehensible. Yet the employment of what is later called a 'stratagem' by a woman who wishes to arrange a meeting with her princely lover appears to be condoned, even applauded.<sup>2</sup> Apparently the old Hindus were cynical about the amorality of women:

"No man is hated by women, and none is truly beloved by them: as cattle in a forest seek for pasture fresh and fresh" (3)

or:

"Women have the appetite of two, the understanding of four, the cunning of six, and the desire of eight." (4)

The Hitopadesa is, professedly, advice to princes. In its hard-headed pragmatism it does not fall short of Machiavelli's The Prince. Cunning, flexibility of principle and boldness of action are all considered to be essential qualities for a ruler. War as a means to peace is enjoined:

"Sometimes lenity is the grace of a man; but before victory is gained, violence becomes him." (5)

- 
1. Ibid., 22.
  2. Works, vi, 44-48
  3. Ibid., 44
  4. Ibid., 81
  5. Ibid., 103.

The utilitarian impulse takes precedence over all others:

"Let an union be formed with a foe, who benefits; not with a friend who injures thee: a view must be duly made of benefits and injuries." (1)

and elsewhere:

"Let a man purchase a miser with money; a haughty man with joined hands and reverence; a fool with promises: a wise man with truth...with affection win a friend, and a kinsman; thy wife, and servants with gifts and honours; with great actions, the powerful! (2)

The exclamation mark must be Jones's way of remarking on the text, because no such sign exists in Sanskrit.

He saw in the Hitopadesa a collection of charming and sagacious fables which might have been a source for some of those attributed to Luqman or Aesop by the Arabs and Greeks.<sup>3</sup> From it he might also have formed some idea of how the Hindu ethos had preserved itself practically untouched through centuries of foreign, often hostile rule. The British could, with valid reason, persuade themselves that

1. Ibid, 150

2. Ibid, 173

3. Works, i, 32. The Fables of Pilpay as the Hitopadesa of Vishnusharma was often called, had appeared in England in translations done from Latin, one dating as far back as 1570 by Sir Thomas North. (See W. P. Conant, The Oriental Tale in England, (Columbia, 1908), App,i, 271).

their experience had given them some mastery in the art of ruling. Now they were dealing with people who had inherited much greater experience in the art of being ruled by others, with maximum benefit to themselves. It was achieved by coupling an unchangingly purposeful core with a fringe elasticity. Ends usually superseded means, as Jones discovered when dealing with Hindus in court.

When dealing with Muslims, he encountered a different problem. The giving of true testimony was a religious duty for Muslims, but this was modified by the categorical egocentricity of Islam, which would always prefer the testimony of a Muslim to that of an infidel, and which would encourage Muslims to support each other, even to the point of perjury. This could hardly be interpreted as licence to be untruthful, because the conditions under which deviations were allowed were stringent. But without an oath there could not be reasonable certainty.

The prescription of oaths became Jones's first concern in his second Charge to the Grand Jury delivered on July 10, 1785. He had discussed the matter with Hindu and Muslim lawyers, but the tone of the charge would indicate that he was not satisfied. The first book of the Institutes of Manu had already been translated into Persian, and Jones was of the opinion that satisfactory

oaths would be particularly difficult to administer to Hindus, divided as they were into separate castes.

His campaign against slavery continued in India. The man who could accept hereditary kingship could not accept hereditary slavery, and he found a new authority in Manu, the Hindu lawgiver, who declared that a slave was a servant under contract, and that a master had no right of life and death over him. Jones gave the same opinion in connection with the imprisonment of a man named Osborne who had beaten a slave girl to death.

The horrible condition of the debtors' prison is deplored in this charge. Jones had made a disguised visit to the Calcutta prisons and had been shocked by what he saw. He could understand that a debtor should be kept within reach of the law but not that he should be confined under inconceivably wretched conditions.

Calcutta's harsh climate continued to take its toll from Lady Jones and Sir William. Europeans, especially when like Jones they were not robust, were particularly prone to the strange fevers which had not been classified or recognised, and for which there seemed to be no remedy. Jones made a study of old Hindu prescriptions and suggested that some of these would yield useful information. He was almost an invalid and took no part in the social rounds. The early mornings were spent on his languages, which he

practised with natives, the main part of the day was taken up by his judicial duties, and the evenings were spent in the company of his wife, who helped him in his studies, particularly in his botanical research, by making drawings of the plants he brought home.

Some consciousness of his own impermanence appears to be at the source of his increased interest in religious matters. The formulae he had so confidently voiced in his youth, the plans which he had drawn up for his life from the first to the seventieth year, were now qualified with questions about life itself. In 1784 he composed a prayer which was in essence gratitude to God for having allowed him another night and day of life. Among his belongings at his death was found a scrap of paper which modified Sir Edward Coke's couplet on the good life:

'Six hours in sleep, in law's grave study, six  
Four hours in prayer, the rest in nature fix.'

to:

'Six hours to law, to soothing slumbers, seven,  
Ten to the world allot--and all to Heaven!' (1).

- 
1. Memoirs, 251. Jones's version adds up to twenty three hours. Wilks, in the 1835 edition of Teignmouth's Memoirs, 1, 60n, deduces that there is a tacit injunction for one hour of prayer every day.

Sanskrit was his chief interest especially during recesses. In a letter to Thomas Caldicott dated September 27, 1787, a new note of confidence is expressed, clearly because the depression of repeated illness has been lifted: Jones mentions that he can now converse in Sanskrit, and that his knowledge of Sanskrit and Arabic will enable him to do a service to India by preparing accurate digests of Hindu and Mahomedan law.<sup>1</sup> He adds that his constitution has overcome the climate, but that his wife's perpetual complaints give him perpetual anxiety.<sup>2</sup>

In 1789 he brought out the Gitagovinda, or the Songs of Jayadeva. The story is the traditional one of Radha and Krishna. Radha loves Krishna (Hari or Govind) yet after some time he deserts her and seeks the company of herdsman's daughters, who seem inordinately keen to please him. Radha sends a messenger to remind him of his love for her. He remembers, is smitten with remorse, and tries to win her back. She is reluctant at first, mainly because she is ill, but they are finally united.

Jones tries to read an allegory into the story. It is, he writes, the 'reciprocal attraction between the divine goddess and the human soul.'<sup>3</sup> Vedantic pantheism, that the human soul differs from the eternal soul not in

---

1. Memoirs, 299.

2. Works, i, 462.

3. India, 7.

kind, only in degree, is at the source of the legend. Love is related to God, and Radha's anxiety to win Krishna back is explained as the yearning of the human soul for absorption into the eternal reality.<sup>1</sup> Jones's explanation is not quite satisfactory, but he circumvents argument by stating that symbols are always vague. Krishna is a god, the incarnation of heavenly goodness. Radha, whose name means gentleness or peace, is constant, while the god is inconstant and forgetful. This leads Cannon to explain it another way:

"....the attraction of the soul first by earthly and heavenly love. Hari abandons his loved one to wanton with herdsmens' daughters. Repenting, he asks her to come to his bower....ultimately she accepts his apologies and does come. Thereby he has freed himself from mere physical allurements and has found peace with Radha." (2)

This makes Krishna the earthly being and Radha the heavenly one, which is not as the Hindus would have it, and is less satisfactory than Jones's it would be easier to see God as cruel and faithless, as He must have often appeared to puzzled believers everywhere. Alternatively, the theme of a faithful wife enduring<sup>3</sup>

---

1. Works, i, 447.

2. O.J., 160.

3. Traditionally, Radha is not the wife of Krishna. Radha and some of the Gopis are wives of other men. Krishna is supposed to have been a nobleman of Mathura. How closely literature is related to religion in India can be seen in the way a legend becomes faith. This is one cause of the excellence of early Indian literature, but also the chief cause of its inability to change. Among the Muslims, in whose religion poetry has been proscribed, the tendency of treating Hafiz and other great poets as near-prophets can still be seen.

hardship because of the wantonness of her husband is so common in Sanskrit literature, that one might conjecture that here a religious parable has been coloured by traditional forms. Perhaps the story should be taken with a similar one of Sita and Rama, in which Sita also undergoes great difficulties. Sita's story is more of profane love, Radha's more of divine; the old Hindu philosophers would like to show that neither is easily attainable.

Elsewhere Jones assumes that Krishna and the nine Gopis are merely an eastern version of Apollo and the nine muses.<sup>1</sup> Some of his relationships are forced, and one is left to wonder how much of the original Hindu pantheon is left, and how much has been grafted on to it by Jones's enthusiastic attempts. Jones set the pattern for many Indian scholars who wished to prove that all thought western or eastern, new or old, was contained in the ancient writings. How much of this is true and how much a conscious or unconscious assimilation of western ideas would be difficult to determine.

Jones's translations improved because he was now looking for secondary and tertiary meanings. The light, superficial, unsatisfying aspect of his Persian

---

1. Works, i, 267-268.

translations, the effect of a single violin playing melodiously enough, yet lacking depth because of the few undertones, is now given richer orchestration, both in prose and poetry.

Following the Gitagovinda is his translation of Kalidas's Sacountala, or the Fatal Ring which came out in 1790. This is one of his most important literary works. The drama was brought to his attention by Radhacaunt, a pundit working under him in his efforts to get together a digest of Hindu law. The pundit knew the play by heart, which Jones found useful for checking the authenticity of a Bengali recension of the play which he possessed.

The story, taken from the Mahabharat, has the same pattern; King Dushmanta falls in love with Shakuntala, the daughter of a heavenly nymph who is being brought up by a hermit, and she reciprocates his love. He is a Kashatrya, a warrior, while she is a Brahmin, and this causes a great deal of doubt, especially in Act I. A technicality, however, decides Dushmanta that he can marry her, so they go through a Ghandarva form of marriage. A Brahmin mendicant pronounces a curse of forgetfulness on Dushmanta because Shakuntala's friends are discourteous to him.

---

1. Works, vi, 203-204.

2. Ibid.

3. A form which is on the fringe of legality, not really approved, in which cohabitation often precedes the rites. Mutual acceptance without witnesses is sufficient.

He relents only to give them a ring, which when shown to Dushmanta will restore his memory. This is lost in a pond, and Shakuntala is denied by Dushmanta when she goes to his court. The same round of tragedy and agony for Shakuntala follows, but all is well when a fisherman discovers the ring in the belly of a fish: Dushmanta is mortified and travels forth in search of his wife. Both have changed so much that they have difficulty in recognising one another, and only the demonstration of his fatherhood of her son, also through a divine sign, allays their doubts and permits the happy re-union. The play is in seven acts, and Jones suggests that in an abbreviated form it might be suitable for acting in Europe.

The paraphrase of what seems to be a common theme gives little indication of the playwright's artistry or Jones's success in translating it. Kalidas had succeeded in transmitting base metal to gold, infusing life, character and feeling into a dry story. Jones's version, which only excluded some of the more suggestive passages and suppressed some descriptions of perspiration on Shakuntala's face<sup>1</sup> in deference to an eighteenth century sense of delicacy, does him fair justice. In

---

1. D. Rayachaudhuri, Sir William Jones and his Translation of Kalidasa's Sakuntala, (Calcutta, 1928), 108.

Act I, Dushmanta soliloquises:

"My body moves onwards, but my restless heart runs back to her; like a light flag borne on a staff against the wind, and fluttering in the opposite direction."<sup>(1)</sup>

There is an echo of Hindu pantheism elsewhere:

"She was formed and moulded in the eternal mind"<sup>(2)</sup>

In Act II there is some humour at the expense of the Brahmin jester of the king. Apparently this, too, was what the shrewd dramatist realised would go down well with his audience: Dushmanta describes Mahadavya as a 'buffoon of a Brahmin' and a 'slippery genius'.<sup>3</sup> But the irreverence is not allowed to go too far; Mahadavya, as a wise Brahmin should, sees through Dushmanta's clumsy attempts to deceive him as to his true intentions towards<sup>4</sup> Shakuntala.

The whole structure has a fatalistic bias. Superlative courage meets superlative beauty, and mutual attraction is plausible. But thereafter Fate and the supernatural have a big hand. Even the denouement, if what comes when the story has really exhausted itself can be

1. Works, vi, 226

2. Ibid., 232

3. Works, vi, 236: the jester in Sanskrit drama is usually a Brahmin.

4. Ibid.

described as such, is really only possible after a magic sign has shown Dushmanta his son. Indian story endings have always been painfully involved, drawn-out things, crusted heavily with emotion, building up tension while the long awaited moment is deferred seemingly for ever. And when it comes there is no catharsis, only a slow diffusion of feeling.

It is difficult to see why this play had such a good reception in Europe. Kalidas had dealt with an average Indian theme in an artistic manner, and Jones had made a reasonably sensitive translation, Kalidas's play might be a great work of art, but Jones's version is hardly that. August Von Schlegel came out with a surprising statement:

"Die liebliche Sakuntala, bei dem fremdem Klimatischen Colorit, im Bau des Ganzen, hat eine so auffallende Aehnlichkeit mit unserem romantischen Schauspiel, dass man argwohnen sollte, der englische Uebersetzer Jones habe aus Vorliebe fur den Shakespeare auf diese Aehnlichkeit hingearbeitet, wenn nicht andere Gelehrte seine Treue bestatigten."(2)

- 
1. W. Poel 'Hindu Drama on the English Stage', Asiatic Review (Jan-April, 1913), i, 321, was not satisfied with Jones's translation (cf. Walpole to William Robertson June 20, 1791: Horace Walpole's Correspondence ed, W. S. Lewis (1955), xv, 211).
  2. A. W. Schlegel, Vorlesungen uber dramatische Kunst und Literatur (3 Ausgabe, 1, Teil, Leipzig 1826, S. 26). (cf. D. Royachaudhuri, Sir William Jones and his translation of Kalidasa's Shakuntala (Calcutta, 1928), 97).

One would be hard put to discover what similarities in structure Schlegel saw. Jones did describe Kalidas as the Shakespeare of India, but for no other reason than when he made his other parallels, to introduce someone to the west who had something in common with a well known figure. A lot of what seems pointless argument about Sacountala and Sanskrit literature, indulged in especially by the Germans, as to whether Sanskrit drama or Greek drama came first, or if Indian drama had been imported from Greece, was without doubt prompted by the research of the philologists, who were so pleased with their 'Aryan' theory that they saw only that which supported it.

Yet the dissimilarities are more striking. Tersely, and with no reference to other Hindu works, it might be said that the sum total of Hindu morality as

- 
1. The parallel has something wrong with it. Kavya literature, of whose exponents Kalidas is most honoured, was esoteric, written for the highly educated, sophisticated few. The standards were exacting. Shakespeare had to make a living out of his plays, Kalidas was apparently a man of means. Kalidas was perhaps closer to a Tennyson or a Matthew Arnold in temperament. However, both greatly enriched their languages, and if Sanskrit had continued as a commonly spoken tongue, Kalidas would undoubtedly have had comparable fame in India.
  2. This is now mostly denied. The Brahmins were very insular, almost hermetically sealed. Indian ideas appear in Greek language and thought, but only half a dozen Greek words have come into Sanskrit (W. W. Tarn, The Greeks in Bactria and India, Cambridge, 1951, 376)

taught through Sanskrit literature is obedience and respect for the caste system, for both men and women, and obedience to the husband, for the woman. Disrespect shown to a Brahmin brings in the vengeance of supernatural forces; separation from her husband is the greatest evil that a woman can endure. Usually the Brahmin element of morality is not given the same importance as the duties of the wife to her husband.

Old India indulged in a kind of inverse mediæval chivalry. Whereas the Knights of Europe were enjoined to remain constant and serve their women, no matter how capricious or worthless they proved to be, the women of India were expected to crave for only one fulfilment, union with their husbands, no matter how weak, dishonourable or faithless they might be. Indian literature is mainly the literature of a woman, without recognisable fault or flaw, caught in the net of perverse fate, struggling to find the mate who has left her, either because he has tired of her, or has been cursed, or has died. Paradoxically it is the

- 
1. The culmination of the Hindu concept of womanly virtue is surely in the story of Savitri, who pursues the god of death Yama as he carries away the soul of her husband, and so pesters him that he grants her a wish that her father-in-law's family line should prosper and continue. She points out shrewdly that as her husband was an only child, this would not be possible unless he were returned to her, so Yama is forced to give him back.

woman, though thought to be the inferior being, who pursues the male.

Other differences, more basic ones, might also be noted. The major Greek theme was the action around a man, usually a prince (to give the story elevation and importance), generally of a good character (to create pity for him), yet possessing some flaw in his outlook or understanding which drags him through a frightening series of reverses, against which his efforts seem to be futile for a long time, but which are finally rewarded through divine working, so that even if the hero dies in some kind of bloodstained martyrdom, the moral sense is satisfied. The hero-figure is nearly always male. The tragic flaw lends credibility to what would be otherwise a rather meaningless run of bad luck.

Cause and effect has less to do with Indian drama. There is a kind of inevitability about the plots, but this could well be explained in terms of social conditioning. Cogency is derived from tradition, not from 'pure' logic; the average Indian, used as he is to this theme which appears unchanged in nearly every drama staged or filmed in that country, would find nothing amiss. The determinate aspect of human existence is voiced clearly in Sacotala:

"Events which were foredoomed in Heaven must not be lamented...."(1)

The plot moves because of the fatal ring, the curse of the Brahmin, and the revelation of Dushmanta's fatherhood. The supernatural, argues a Hindu critic, has the kind of symbolic meaning which one might find in the ghosts and witches of Shakespeare. However, the first impression of the play persists, that while it is credible and cogent most of the time, its plot derives movement and direction from indeterminables.

The relative purposes of Greek and Indian dramatic art may also be considered. There is little to be seen of a directed imitation of an action, although it seems to be just and lively enough; nor is there a purpose to create pity or fear or effect a catharsis in an Indian play, in conscious terms. The first purpose of the author is to create a condition of enjoyment called a rasa (Juice, flavour, taste), the evocation of a certain sentiment rather than several emotions, a total framework of feeling, not plot or structure. It is no accident that the Indian hero-figure is a woman. In the Indian mind, as elsewhere, the woman symbolises feeling, the man intellect: in Hindu records the consort's name can usually be observed

---

1. Works, vi, 286.

2. S. N. Dasgupta, and S. De, History of Sanskrit Literature (Univ. of Calcutta, 1947), i, 141.

first; thus, Madhakraishna, Sitaram, and others. The buttress and background is the male, the female is what is seen--or, emotion and feeling come to the foreground on an unobtrusive foundation of organisation and intellect.

The traditional class between good and evil is not much in evidence--morality has a somewhat undramatic quality, and there is a deficient sense of conflict, more of lamentation, moving enough, and for which one hopes there will be relief, but not drama in the Greek connotation of the word. Poetic justice, the reward for good and the punishment for evil which is the crux of the Greek play, is little more than a relenting by the gods in Sacotala; and one can never really understand why she has been subjected to her sorrows.

The unities have no relevance here, and all this goes to create effects which defy criticism of the classical western kind. Sacotala has to be savoured, not analysed or explained, and a taste for it would require effort and association. Art creates its own standards.

- 
1. A. B. Keith, Classical Sanskrit Literature (Calcutta, 1928) preface, i, makes a peculiar statement that if Sanskrit literature is to rank with the best in the world, it must stand up to testing by 'world' standards, by which he means western standards. His meaning is not clear; western 'standards' are fluctuating things, and there has probably not been a satisfactory universal hypothesis on art. If anything, Europe appears to have grown closer to old India, in some aspects of its outlook on art.

Sacontala was translated into German by George Foster within a year of its appearance in England. Goethe was especially pleased with it, and it also won the approval of important writers like Herder and Schiller. Goethe described it as a work of unfathomable<sup>1</sup> depth, and made much of its delicacy and fulness of sentiment. The Gitagovinda, also taken from Jones, was translated later into German by F. H. Dalburg (1802), F. Majer (1818) and A. W. Riemenschneider (1818). The translations were deficient, but were enough to arouse<sup>2</sup> wonder in Goethe.

The emphasis on sentiment must have been one reason for Sacontala's popularity. The other reason does not seem quite as praiseworthy. A developing Teutonic nationalism somehow took credit for performance with merit in ancient India, in the hope that this would establish 'Aryan' monopolies. If the Hindu, German and Englishmen were brothers under the skin, it would be easier for each to derive some reflected glory from the better actions of the other, ancient or modern. An English pan-Aryanist spoke of the Brahmin civilisation as an eastern development of the 'Aryan' race,

- 
1. Goethe to Chezy, October 9, 1830 (Goethes Werke, Weimare Ausgabe, Abt. iv, Bd. 17, 284) (cf. M. Winternitz, A History of Indian Literature (Trans: S. Jha, Calcutta, 1931), iii, 238n).
  2. M. Winternitz, A History of Indian Literature (Trans: S. Jha, Calcutta, 1931), iii, 239.

at a pole opposite to that of the Greeks, the one idealistic, the other practical. In other words, a different development of the same thing, and not just different things. The Hindus battered on the same field, suddenly seeing themselves in a new light. The great revival in Sanskrit combined with the efforts of the Anglicisers to push into the background India's only contemporary culture, a well developed Indo-Persic one which was no mere reflex of Iranian thought. The Muslims who in Jones's time were the best educated community in India became by 1947 almost the poorest and most backward. Sluices widen into floodgates; from such innocuous causes came the need for the division of India.

Notwithstanding Sacountala's success, the influence of the play on European thought appears to have been small. Goethe adopted the form of the prologue (for a play as un-Indian as Faust) in which a personal link is established between manager, players and audience. The succession of Fausts, Siegfrieds, supermen and heroes continued without break in Goethe, Wagner, Nietzsche, Schopenhauer, and Carlyle; Europe's dominant outlook was too aggressively male to allow much time for the feminine refinements of Sacountala.

---

1. E. B. Havell, History of Aryan Rule in India from the Earliest Times to the Death of Akbar (1918), preface, vito xiv.

2. See G.H. Cannon, 'The Literary Place of Sir William Jones, 1746-1794', Journal of the Asiatic Society 11 (1960): 1.49.

At about the same time as he translated the Gitagovinda Jones showed interest in the philosophies of the Hindus and Sufis. He was particularly interested in the pantheistic element in Vedantism, which he considered to be at the source of Persian Sufism. His studies in this direction have more relevance to later developments in Europe than almost any other that he undertook, as will be seen in a later chapter. The fragments from the Vedas did not appear until 1799, when Teigmouth, to whom he had sent them sometime before his death, returned them to Lady Jones for inclusion in the Works. Teigmouth was among the first Englishmen to recognise the philosophy in Vedantism when he called it 'pure Deism' and mentioned its wonderful resemblance to the doctrines of Plato.

In a letter to Lord Momboddo dated September 24, 1788, Jones writes:

"...I have not yet examined the philosophy of the Brahmins; but I have seen enough of it to be convinced, that the doctrines of the Vidanti school are Platonic." (3).

The similarities are sufficiently striking for a conclusion that Vedantism and Platonism are the same.

- 
1. See Chapter VIII of this thesis.
  2. Letter to John Ford, September 17, 1783 (Shore Correspondence, i, 108).
  3. Memoirs, 322.

The question of archetypal Ideas which Jones brought out in Narayana is common to both, though Plato does not negate 'being' entirely; the notion of a world soul and the rotation of life in a process of re-births, the paradox of duality, of the one and the many, of stability in flux, these might be seen in both.

There are differences; Socrates may have been able to rationalise death away, but Platonism tends to remain a conceptual rather than a moral system, something applauded in the world of the intellect, but rarely followed even in its several revivals. There have been important exceptions; eighteenth century 'Deism' and the development of nature worship may be traced to Platonism as interpreted by the neo-Platonists, and in England by Ralph Cudworth and the Earl of Shaftesbury through writers like Thomson; Henry Brooke, Pope, Akenside, John Cooper and James Harris. India is actively permeated with it; it is not only considered to be an approximate truth which has been pointed out through the use of the intellect, it is something to be realised through personal experience. The worship of the world-soul, the desire to be re-absorbed into it, a desire for death, so that the spirit might unite with itself, is given in Jones's translations:

---

1. See page 264 of this thesis.

"That all-pervading spirit, that spirit which gives light to the visible sun, even the same in kind am I, though infinitely different in degree. Let my soul return to the immortal spirit of God, and then let my body, which ends in ashes, return to dust!" (1);

Jones's ever-present purpose, to show that all religions were at one time inspired by the same source can be

seen in the note he adds to another verse:

"There is one living and true God, everlasting, without body, parts, or passions, of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness; the maker and preserver of all things, both visible &c., &c." (3)

Other extracts are interesting:

"May that sould of mine, which is a ray of perfect wisdom, pure intellect and permanent existence, which is the unextinguishable light fixed within created bodies, without which no good act is performed, be united by devout meditation with the Spirit supremely blest, and supremely intelligent!" (4)

the following has interesting parallels with Christian accounts:

"Others greater still, have been changed; vast rivers dried; mountains torn up; the pole itself moved from its place; the cords of the stars rent asunder; the whole earth deluged with water; even the sules or angels hurled from their stations" (5)

- 
1. Works, vi, 425.
  2. Works, vi, 422, 'Veda, and 1st Article of our Church'.
  3. Ibid.
  4. Ibid., 421.
  5. Ibid., 420.

while this was probably at the source of his Hymn  
to Narayena:

"Unveil, O Thou who givest sustenance to  
the world, the face of the true sun, which  
is now hidden by a vase of golden light" (1)

The last extract shows the Absolute immersed  
in a vase of golden light, a light which prevents  
rather than assists perception, a veil. This has its  
repercussions in Narayena:

"Wrapt in eternal solitary shade,  
Th'impenetrable gloom of light intense,  
Impervious, inaccessible, immense," (2)

and in Indra:

"Like shooting stars around his regal seat  
A veil of many-colour'd light they weave." (3)

In Lockean terms this doubles the possibility of  
illusion in perception. Not only are human beings  
handicapped by the uncertainty of their own perceptive  
faculties, even the ideas which emanate from the world  
could be liable to distortion; both the primary and  
secondary attributes of a substance are apparent.  
Everything apart from God Himself is an illusion  
which the mind in its uneducated state vests with a  
semblance of reality. The ultimate truth can only be  
known when the delusive values of this world are put aside.

---

1. Ibid., 425.

2. Works, vi, 369.

3. Ibid., 338.

Many interpretations of Vedantism are possible at its more rarefied levels. The fact that personal experience is a requisite to the realisation of the upper strata of truth precludes the possibility of analysis at a lower, rational level. It is perhaps possible to talk of reality at three levels; utilitarian/illusive; empirical/illusive; and absolute, a recognition of which comes in Mukti or the total absorption into the ultimate. Exactly as in Platonism this predicates duality, the being within the being, the permanent fused somehow to the temporary, the mind within the body. If the body is a foul delusion, it is the mind, an 'intellectual' substance which alone can come to a recognition of the truth. The mind itself is the 'same in kind' as the eternal spirit. The difficulties of this duality are resolved more naively in Vedantism; anything other than the Mind is maya.

In Platonism perception is only of things that are; absolute non-being cannot be known at all, all other things can be known to the extent of which they are real.<sup>1</sup> Hence 'delusion' is not a part of Platonism, although the imagery of the philosopher, the description of the shadows on the walls of a cave, would lead one to believe that it is.

---

1. See Eduard Zeller, Plato and the Older Academy (trans. E.F. Alleyne and A. Goodwin, 1898), 226, 228, 333 and passim.

The reduction to the 'I am' postulate of Descartes can be paralleled in Vedantism, on slightly different premises. The existence of the 'self' is concluded from the attributes of the Absolute; the self cannot be a part of the Absolute, because it is partless, timeless and spaceless; it cannot be something different from the Absolute, because the Absolute is unlimited; it cannot be a metamorphosis of the Absolute, because the Absolute is unchanging; so it is itself the Absolute. Something similar was proposed by Plotinus a few centuries later and by Schopenhauer in the nineteenth century; the exaltation of the ego, of the will of individual and collective man, of the mind which develops special faculties by becoming in tune with the infinite. <sup>1</sup> Nothing like this was specifically interpreted from the Vedas by Jones, <sup>2</sup> but in the hands of men with more time for sophistries, it would be easy to use the material he had supplied to reach these conclusions.

The world soul has revealed itself in creation in Jones's interpretation of the Vedas:

- 
1. Schopenhauer's 'Supreme Will' is evil, a point in which he differs from his Indian predecessors.
  2. Jones was aware of Sankara's writings, among which this argument appears (Works, 1, 165).

"Omniscient Spirit, whose all-ruling pow'r,  
 Bids from each sense bright emanations beam;  
 Glows in the rainbow, sparkles in the stream,  
 Smiles in the bud, and glistens in the flow'r  
 That crowns each vernal bow'r;  
 Sighs in the gale, and warbles in the throat  
 Of ev'ry bird:....." (1).

This is an obvious attempt to show how closely Hindu thought could resemble the pantheistic speculations of the eighteenth century nature poets. However, the difference is also stressed; Jones emphasises the illusory character of the phenomenal world.

To sum up the points of difference. In Vedantism, 'nature' is a mirage, not an alternative revelation of God; the Absolute is itself helpless before the mysteries of existence; the 'self' is given greater importance; the emphasis is on individual realisation, not on general concepts; and, although the idea of metempsychosis appears in both, the soul in Platoism retains its identity after death, in Vedantism it becomes one with the eternal once it has purified itself enough to attain Atman.

- 
1. This appears to have been influenced by a passage in Pope's An Essay on Man (The Poems of Alexander Pope, (1961), iii, 48):

Great in the Earth, as in the aetherial frame  
 Warms in the sun, refreshes in the breeze  
 Glows in the stars, and blossoms in the trees,  
 Spreads through all life, extends through all  
 extent,

Spreads undivided, operates unspent.

2. He had after thoughts on this, in February, 1794, in the tenth Discourse to the Asiatic Society, (Works, i, 165). He here tries to bring Vedantism in line with Platoism in accepting the reality of the world of matter.
3. The argument is in the Phaedo, between Socrates, Cebes and Simmias.

CHAPTER SEVEN

The Later Years In India

Of the works which occupied Jones's closing years, one of the most important is the Dissertation on the Orthography of Asiatic Words in Roman Letters, written for the Asiatic Society in 1789. European interest in eastern languages had increased vastly, and this posed the problem of standardising a system of phonetics which would make the transliterations comprehensible. As many systems existed as there were translators and linguists, and the whole matter was in chaos. The phonetic inaccuracies of English and French were largely to blame. Jones wrote on this strongly:

"Our English alphabet and orthography are disgracefully and almost ridiculously imperfect...."(1).

One of the main difficulties appears to have been in showing neutral or zero vowels. 'Sacontala' as Jones has written it, would almost certainly be mispronounced by Englishmen who had not heard the Indian way of saying it, śakuntala. Jones has nothing to say on syllable stress, which seems to be crucial in pronunciation. His chief endeavour is to find a Roman equivalent for each Asiatic sound. Most of what he suggests is right: but he gives no example of the

---

1. Works, i, 186.

aspirated 'g' sound (in Urdu  $\text{گ}$ ), which should be shown as 'gh'; this he allocates rather to the Arabic  $\text{ع}$  and, apparently, to the Sanskrit  $\text{घ}$ .

He is aware of the difficulties caused by the neutral vowel which is nowadays shown by the symbol 'ə'. The title of Kalidas's play indicates no vowels except in the third and last letters. A faithful reproduction in English would be 'Skuntla', yet because European practice is to compound consonants written together (as in 'strength'), the sound reproduction would be faulty. To get the effect of the separation, most transliterators have introduced an 'a' or an 'e' between the consonants--thus  $\text{मरुत}$ .

- 
1. Works, i, 220. This is still commonly used for  $\text{ع}$ . Other variants have been the Greek  $\gamma$ , or a 'g' with a dot above or below it. The closest European sound is the German or Parisian 'r' without any trill. The symbols  $\text{r}$ ,  $\text{r}$ , and  $\text{r}$  have been recommended (The Principles of the International Phonetic Association (1949), 13). An amendment to something closer to the Arabic letter has also been proposed (Ibid., 19). The Dev Nagari/Sanskrit letter is simply an aspirated 'g' and may not be bracketed with the Arabic  $\text{ع}$ , nor does a parallel sound exist in Sanskrit. Since Jones a kind of 'All-India' romanized orthography has evolved, but how successfully may be seen from the generally poor pronunciation of Europeans even when they are fluent in Indian languages. Indians have fared slightly better with European languages doubtless because less reliance has been placed on their own orthographies. Even so, many deviations have now become 'standard' in some Indian dialects of English; 'station' is now 'satation' or 'istation', 'petrol' is 'pitrawl', 'hospital' is 'aspitaal', obvious adaptations from the Persian renderings of these words.

which shows no vowels in Sanskrit, becomes 'sadasat' or 'sedeset' in English. Modern practice is to use an 'a' rather than an 'e', probably because the 'e' would tend to be given its Latin value. Alfred Master criticises Jones on this score and claims that Wilkins' 'yat syat sarvatra sarvada' is closer to modern usage than Jones's 'yat servatra servada'.<sup>1</sup> Jones had a reason for doing this. The vowel shows fractional differences, becoming slightly more open before certain consonants.<sup>2</sup> When followed by letters like 'h' and 'r', some opening probably does take place, which, in Arabic, would be indicated by a diacritical mark. In the Sanskrit word 'aham' ( अहम् ), which Wilkins shows as 'ähäm' and Jones as 'aham',<sup>3</sup> the first 'a' would be slightly more open than the second. In fact, on his own system, Jones should have written this 'ahem'.

However, this brings in too much fine distinction, and might confuse the issue. No system can be more than approximate. The symbols suggested by the International Phonetic Association would, if universally accepted in the west and properly followed, provide the best answer, Eastern nations have yet to do something in the same field.

- 
1. A. Master, 'The influence of Sir William Jones upon Sanskrit Studies', Bull., SOAS (1946), 805-806.
  2. Works, i, 187
  3. Ibid., 296.

Some sounds defy reproduction without training. Equivalents for ق , ع and ح seem to have been lost in European speech patterns. The nearest for the first would be a 'q' as in ق سا (saqi), sounded well back in the throat with the hint of a stop; the second is like a strongly sounded Old English 'æ', but not exactly; close to the third is the 'ch' in the German 'ich' or the Scottish 'loch'.

The last two syllables of a Persian word form a similar sound to the Sanskrit 'aham' mentioned before. Jones writes this word ( ا ه م ), "terah'h'um", which would probably be mispronounced in Europe, but which can hardly be improved, except by indicating the stress on the second syllable.

He makes an attempt at writing English according to his own system of phonetics:

"So hwen sm énjel, bai divain camánd,  
 With raisin tempests shees a gilti land,  
 Sch az äv lét or péi Britanya pást  
 Calm and sirín hi drawz dhi fyüryas blást  
 And, plízd dh 'Élmaitiz Ärderz tu perform  
 Raids in dhi hwerlwind and directs dhi stärm."(3)

This is an interesting commentary on the received pronunciation of some words in the late part of the century. 'The' is always 'dhi', even before a consonant,

- 
1. Works, vi, 435, Jones gives this 'saki', yet 'bahi' for ق سا, in which the same letter occurs.
  2. Ibid, i, 226.
  3. Ibid, 205.

a practice which has lingered in some Indian dialects of English. The 'l' of 'calm' still appears to be voiced. The modern value of the 'aw' sound appears to be unchanged in 'draws' ('drawz'), but this is clearly not the same as the accented 'a' values in 'ālmaitiz' (Almighty's), 'ārderz' (orders) and 'stārm' (storm). Jones believes that such a way of writing verse would afford a touchstone of bad rhyme:

"...which the eye as well as the ear would instantly detect, as in the first couplet of this description, and even the last, according to the common pronunciation of the word perform." (1)

Jones may be credited with more insight into these matters than is usually thought. It is common to think of him as a pioneer who made many mistakes. The mistakes are undeniable, but it is difficult to see where some of the 'corrections' of his successors have improved on him. The difficulties of transliteration are still unresolved, and will remain so while personal phonetic systems abound and the recommendations of the international body are ignored. The following by Jones (and by Wilkins) would be acceptable in modern India, whereas some of the intervening systems would not:

---

1. Works, i, 205.

अहमेवासमेवाग्रे नान्यद्यत् सदसत् परम्  
 ( ahamevasamevagre nanjadyat sadasat param.)

Jones: ahamevāsamēvāgrē nānyadyat sadasat param.

Wilkins: āhamēvāsamēvāgrē nānyādyāt sādāsāt pārām (1)

A rather short-sighted attack on Jones's system of pronunciation was made by a Russian linguist who addressed his book of Hindustani grammar to the East India Company.<sup>2</sup> At one place, Lyebdev complains (validly) that Jones has failed to mention the five-by-seven classification of the Sanskrit alphabet, which, had it been included, would have made the sounds more intelligible to a foreigner.<sup>3</sup> However, Jones was writing only about sounds, not about Sanskrit grammar, for which this classification would have been essential. Lyebdev thinks that the 'learned President was not perfectly acquainted with the sounds of the Shamkrit characters'<sup>4</sup> and later writes:

"I decline at present making further remarks upon Sir Wm., Jones's successive descriptions of characters; such of them as are perverted

- 
1. Works, 1, 206.
  2. G. Lyebdev, A Grammar of the Pure and Mixed East Indian Dialects, (1801).
  3. *Ibid.*, preface xviii.
  4. *Ibid.*, preface xvii.

from B, into V or W--from sh into  
s &c--"(1).

On reading more of Lyebdev's Grammar it becomes apparent that of the two Jones was the more cautious and knowledgable. In one place we have:

Jones: Yallabhase injacarmo pattam

Lyebdev: Jo-lo bhoshe nijo cormmo patto. (2);

from which it is clear that Lyebdev's chief point of difference is in the 'a' or 'o' sound. The Bengali bias shows up strongly in his version, and he is not aware of this. Jones also learnt his Sanskrit in Bengal but he was aware that the Bengali pronunciation had limited acceptance in India:

"....its proper symbol is therefore A....  
the Nagari letter is called Acār but is  
pronounced in Bengal like our fourth  
short vowel and in the west of India, like  
our first." (3)

Lyebdev's book is professedly a Hindustani grammar, but some of his corruptions are grotesque, such as 'tora' and 'bout' (which he elsewhere gives as 'both') for <sup>٤</sup>تورا and <sup>٤</sup>بوت. The following is a really bad example of pidgin, Bengalised Hindustani:

<sup>5</sup>  
\*Ham both koosie hoe toomko dekneco'.

- 
1. Opl Cit., preface xviii. The interchange between these letters, and between others, such as, 'y' and 'j', is now a well known phenomenon. The English word 'vast' has become 'bast' or even 'bhasht' in eastern India.
  2. Ibid., preface xix.
  3. Works, i, 187.
  4. Loc. Cit., 2.
  5. Ibid., 40.

Compared with this, we have Jones's sole attempt<sup>1</sup> at 'Hindi' translation and transliteration, and it is easy to see that Lyebdev was in no position to criticise Jones. The latter's ability to grasp the meaning of a poem with its syntactical inversions and compressed diction shows that his perception was good, even if not quite as good as the performance suggests. It is possible that the piece was explained to him.

He calls it Hindi;<sup>2</sup> the Arabic script and the fact that it was written by Gunna Begum, a Muslim woman, would entitle it to be called Urdu, but clearly<sup>3</sup> this word was not yet in common usage.

Jones's transliteration is quite acceptable, as is the rather laboured translation. Some Bengali taint shows in the rendering of the word سارے (sarè) which Jones gives as 'sùrè'; one might question his purpose in putting points over the 'z' of عرض (aważ). This form of 'z' is pronounced like a lisped 'd' in Arabic, as in Spanish generally, but not in Persian and Urdu, at least not now. Habits may have changed

---

1. Works, i, 226-228.

2. Ibid., 226.

3. The two languages have much in common; Urdu might be called 'Persianised Hindustani', Hindi might be called 'Sanskritised Hindustani'. Urdu is the more sophisticated, having absorbed the literary traditions of Persia and Arabia into its Indian base in a very successful amalgam.

since the eighteenth century; the Arabic word عرض would now be written عروض (aivaz) in Urdu; some process of standardisation in the script also seems to have taken place since his time. In the fourth couplet he has written:

عروض در مزی سے وہ بھرے ہیں سارے

which would now be written:

عروض در مزی سے وہ بھرے ہیں سارے

and which would clarify the confusion between بھرے (deaf) and بھرے (filled). This may also have been because of the inadequacy of available Persian type.

In his transliteration, objection might be made at the use of 'i' for the possessive, the 'ezafe' (repeating what he did in the Persian grammar), instead of 'e' as in:

نشرتِ داغِ غمِ خراباں  
(Casrati daghe ghami khuban);

which he gives

'Casrati daghi ghemi khuban' (1).

It is possible that he was trying to correct what he thought were inexcusable deviations from Persian methods. He writes elsewhere that the Indian pronunciation of Persian is to be compared with that of Persia, as of a

---

1. Works, 1, 227

Another of Jones's arguments might well be allowed:

"...the Brahmins were always too proud to borrow their science from the Greeks, Arabs, Moguls, or any nation of Mlechch'ass as they call those, who are ignorant of the Vedas, and have not studied the language of the Gods." (1).

This most residents or observers of India would readily admit. The Brahmins were too proud, too immersed in a conviction of their inherent superiority in all matters, to take kindly to borrowing or adapting knowledge from others. They were the teachers, never the learners; it was a point of pride with them never to admit a shortage of knowledge. Jones gives a good description of this attitude:

"...they have often repeated to me a fragment of an old verse which they now use proverbially, na nicho yavenatparah or no base creature can be lower than a Yavan; by which name they formerly meant an Ionian or Greek and now mean a Mogul, or generally, a Muselman." (2)

That the Greeks were known to have tendency to appropriate knowledge, and, under a new guise, proffer it as their own, coupled with the Brahmin's inelasticty, would seem to support Jones's stand that, if any borrowing took place, the greater likelihood was an east

1. Works, i, 345.

2. Ibid.

1

to west movement. But the greatest likelihood is that there has been a parallelism in races which both owe something to a common past.

To the same year belongs his essay On the Literature of the Hindus, which is a translation from the Sanskrit communicated to him by Goverdhan Caul, to which he appended a commentary. It is easy to see that Jones was deeply impressed by the writings of the ancients:

"From the Vedas are immediately deduced the practical arts of Chirurgery and Medicine, Musick and Dancing, Archery, which comprises the whole art of war, and Architecture under which the system of mechanical arts is included....Infinite advantage may be derived by Europeans from the various Medical books in Sanscrit, which contain the names and descriptions of Indian plants, with their uses, discovered by experience in curing disorders:" (2)

- 
1. See W. W. Tarn, The Greeks in Bactria and India (Cambridge, 1951), 376-377 and n2, and A. L. Basham, The Wonder that was India (1956), 50, 490-491. It would seem that some Greek astrological terms were Sanskritised and absorbed into Indian science. But it would be difficult to dogmatise on this issue, and the time when national pride depended on who was first has perhaps passed.
  2. Works, 1, 358. Both Muslims and Europeans have been slow to study Hindu traditional medicine. A recent acquisition to western allopathy was the alkaloid from Rauwolfia Serpentina used in India for centuries as a tranquillizer.

He attempts to relate the Indian schools of philosophy to the classical ones; the Nyaya to the Peripatetic, the Vaiseschica to the Ionic, the Vedanta to the Platonic, the first Sankhya to the Italic and the second to the Stoic, so that:

"GAUTAMA corresponds with ARISTOTLE;  
 CANA'DA with THALES; JAIMINI with  
 SOCRATES; VYALSA with PLATO; CAPILA  
 with PYTHAGORAS; and PATANJALI with ZENO:" (1)

He realised that the immense volume of Hindu writings would require the detailed and dedicated efforts of several lifetimes for its systematisation:

"Wherever we direct our attention to Hindu literature, the notion of infinity presents itself". (2);

however, he was anxious that an accurate knowledge of Sanskrit literature should be Britain's contribution to Europe, indebted as they were to the Dutch for Arabic and to the French for Chinese.<sup>3</sup>

Jones never realised his ambition to learn Chinese properly. That he made sporadic attempts is revealed in his essay On the Second Classical Book of the Chinese, probably written in 1790. In it he gave a verbal translation of two odes from the Shi-king, followed by a metrical paraphrase:

"...the only method of doing justice to the poetical compositions of the Asiaticks." (4).

---

1. Works, 1, 360

2. Ibid., 362

3. Ibid., 364

4. Ibid., 368.

These odes are interesting because they really answer Waley's<sup>1</sup> idea that Jones did not acknowledge his source in Couplet. The Latin translation of the first ode<sup>2</sup> had appeared in 1774 (and had certainly been done much earlier) and Couplet's authority was acknowledged in a footnote.<sup>3</sup> The Latin version of the first ten characters is:

"Vides ut agros dulce geminatos lavet  
Argenteus rivi latex;  
Virides ut aura stradulo modulamine  
Arundines interstrepant!" (4)

the English version is:

"Behold, where yon blue riv'let glides  
Along the laughing Dale;  
Light reeds bedeck its verdant sides,  
And frolic in the gale:" (5).

He succeeded in doing this without really knowing Chinese. The tremendous compression of the Chinese characters, of which the first six (behold, that, water, river, green) required thrice their own number in Latin or English words, certainly caused him trouble, and probably led to his irritation with the script.<sup>6</sup> In this essay, we have further examples of Jones's parallels: Tsem Tsu is the Xenophon, Cun Fu'Tsu is the Socrates and Mem Tsu is the Plato of the far east.

- 
1. See page 40 of this thesis.
  2. Works, ii, 351
  3. Ibid.
  4. Ibid.
  5. Ibid, i, 369.
  6. See page 238 of this thesis.

Previously, it was Confucius who had been assigned to  
 1  
 Plato.

Other instructional essays in the same genre were On the Lunar Year of the Hindus, On the Musical Modes of the Hindus, Remarks on the Island of Hinzuana or Johanna (which he had visited on his outward journey), On the Indian Game of Chess, On the Baya, or Indian Cross-Beak, On the Pangolin of Bahar, On the Loris or Slowpaced Lemur and On the Cure of the Elephantiasis, in which he recommended the use of a Hindu remedy under  
 2  
 European supervision. The last essay was followed by a translation from an account of a Muslim Maulvi, who had apparently used the remedy with success.

Jones's interests were dispersed over a wide field, cultural, historical and scientific. He translated from the Sanskrit a document written in 1018, An Indian Grant of Land, found at Tanna, and inscriptions found on the Staff of Feroz Shah (a monument near Delhi). It seems that he was deliberately training himself to a kind of objective, scientific writing. His language in most of these efforts is economical and functional.

Of the foregoing works, the essay on the music of the Hindus deserves special attention because it was the first attempt in English to understand Indian classical music. It was first drafted in 1784, showing

---

1. See page 96 of this thesis.

2. Works, i, 550.

how soon after his arrival in India he had applied himself to the arts of that country. In 1802 it was translated into German by F. H. Von Dalberg and published with a commentary and thirty copper plates.<sup>1</sup> In 1929 its fame was still undiminished; Ethel Rosenthal included 'Sir William Jones' celebrated Treatise in Full'<sup>2</sup> in her book on Indian music. Within a year of his arrival Jones had been able to comprehend and appreciate one of the most highly elaborated systems of melody in the world, well enough to be able to explain it to others.

It is with sympathy rather than censure that he deals with the crust of myth which has grown around Indian music, the power of the Rags to move the souls of gods and men, to influence the behaviour of beasts, to affect the elements. Music is close to religion in India (as is, indeed, all its traditional knowledge), and its power is thought to be divine. The anecdotes which accompany the genesis of the Rags and Ragnis were given some treatment later in the Hymn to Sereswaty; one of the most interesting is that of Dipuc or Kama, which is supposed to have been lost when Kama was burnt to ashes by Shivi; now, anyone attempting to discover and sing the mode of Dipuc

- 
1. Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians (1954), iv, 662.
  2. E. Rosenthal, Indian Music and its Instruments (1929), titlepage.

is also liable to be burnt to ashes, according to the  
<sup>1</sup>  
 legend.

The Dipuc is not mentioned in the Hindu sources  
<sup>2</sup>  
 given by Jones, but its mode is outlined in a Muslim  
<sup>3</sup>  
 source, which Jones prefers to discount. He voices  
 a general dissatisfaction with Muslim accounts of the  
 learning of Hindu India:

"...that a man, who knows the Hindus only  
 from Persian books, does not know the Hindus;  
 and that an European, who follows the muddy  
 rivulets of Muselman writers on India, instead  
 of drinking from the pure fountain of Hindu  
 learning, will be in perpetual danger of  
 misleading himself and others." (4)

It is usual to think of quarter and third tones when  
 one talks of Indian music. If they exist, only a  
 highly trained ear could detect them. Probably they  
 are only theoretical--if half tones can exist there  
 is no reason why quarter tones cannot, but the human  
 ear is not built to differentiate them. The Indian  
 diatonic scale corresponds closely to the European one,

- 
1. Works, vi, 376. The other product of Indian fancy connected with this legend, that the singer of the Dipuc can be saved by another who sings the Mek Halhar, has not been mentioned by Jones. This leads one to surmise that this story, widely known in India, may have been invented later than Jones, although it is usual to associate with Akbar's reign. It seems unlikely that Jones could have missed it.
  2. Ibid., i, 436-437.
  3. Ibid., 437-439.
  4. Ibid., 423. This is true; However, most Muslims (and many Hindus) believe that traditional Indian music has had some of its best exponents among Muslims.

the half notes, the tinvar and convar are the sharps and flats of European music, Jones was among the first to discount this legend, after he had tested the matter for himself and verified his experiments with the help of a German professor of music.<sup>1</sup>

He translates the word Rag (or Raga) as 'mode',<sup>2</sup> signifying 'a passion or affection of the mind'.

Mention is made of the psychological aspect given to Indian music, how a certain season, or to a certain mood.<sup>3</sup> The mode of Todi is that of adoration, best suited to the mornning; of Imankalian, that of merriment, allocated to the evening; of Kanada, to be played in the mystic calm of midnight. Jones tried to give a scientific answer for this:

"Whether it had occurred to the Hindu musicians, that the velocity or slowness of sounds must depend, in a certain ratio, upon the rarefaction and condensation of air, so that their motion must be much quicker in summer than in spring or autumn, and much quicker in summer than in winter, I cannot assure myself; but am persuaded that their primary modes...were first arranged according to the number of their seasons." (4).

---

1. Works, i, 423.

2. Ibid., 428

3. Ibid., 429

4. Ibid.,

Touches of this sort seem to indicate that Jones, known to the world as a scholar and a man of taste, would now like the world to know him as a man of science also. It is not clear what he meant by the 'velocity and slowness' of sounds depending on the rarefaction and condensation of air; nor, using this as a premise, does the rest of his argument really follow. Pitch would depend on relative velocity, and this would remain unchanged no matter what the season.

The Hindus have six seasons and six major modes; Jones argues that by allocating a different mode to each season, Indian artists connected certain ideas with certain strains, so that they were able to evoke:

"...the memory of autumnal merriment at the close of harvest, or of separation and melancholy....during the cold months;.... hilarity on the appearance of blossoms.... langour during the dry heats....refreshment by the first rains...." (1)

Several theories have been forwarded for what seems to be meaningless ritual in the approach to classical music. Jones's is as acceptable as any, although it does not account for the need for the evocation of the memories associated with certain season at certain times of the day. Perhaps the early musicians had

---

1. Works, i, 430.

some inkling of the physiological changes, the pattern of blood-pressures and sugar levels which human beings undergo during the course of the day, and which would impinge on the psyche. Modern science sees it as a peak before noon, trailing away to a sense of loss and unhappiness by the evening. The morning mood is confident and worldly, the evening mood is depressed. This is almost the reverse of the Hindu allocations. Two assumptions are possible; either the old Hindus knew about this and tried to influence and counteract the cycle of moods through their music, or else they genuinely thought that the morning was for devotion, the evening for merriment, and tried to adjust the music to the mood. Whatever it may have been, the original reasons have been lost and ritual remains. Jones's arguments may be cautiously admitted, but not taken as final.

Jones has nothing to say on rhythm, which is vital to the understanding of Indian, or any, music. The usage of what are probably the most advanced hand percussion instruments anywhere, which is integral with any discussion on Indian music, is given no mention. His only indirect reference to measure is in his example of an old Indian air, given in  $2/4$  time.

Jones was under the influence of what one writer has called the most successful proselytising religion in the world.<sup>1</sup> Before he was allowed to enter the sacred world of Sanskrit devotional literature, he had to be accepted as a Kashatriya by the Brahmins.<sup>2</sup> In some respects the religion which he followed, which was no savagely bigoted Anglicanism, was close to the universalism professed in theory by the Brahmins. Everyone was in possession of some degree of the truth, and no one was in possession of all of it, so everyone who worshiped, no matter under what name or sect, was a Hindu. One's caste was determined by one's birth and occupation; invaders of India have sometimes been allocated to the Kashatriya or warrior/ruler caste. Most of the cases were decided individually, after a person had demonstrated his sympathy and interest; more often than not, the arrogance displayed by successful invaders prevented much rapport, and caused the Hindu ranks to be sealed off in defence. Wilkins, Jones and Teignmouth take all credit for showing sufficient open-mindedness in these matters to break through the ring of suspicion which surrounded the holy texts.

- 
1. Sir Alfred C. Lyall, Asiatic Studies, Religious and Social (1882), 103.
  2. O. J., 163.

The Joneses had not born the ravages of Bengal's climate well. Lady Jones was in special danger, and her doctors advised that she be sent home if she were to survive. Jones had also become emaciated, and it was only his powerful will which prevented him from admitting that India had sapped most of his strength. He placed 1795 as a tentative year for his departure, provided his work on The Institutes of Manu was completed. This, with his translation from Al-Sirajya, was to be his big contribution to the better functioning of law in India. Manu, more a book of final appeal than a direct law book, had a great deal of interesting material on Indian thought and custom. The Arabic document he had now selected was more relevant to the needs of lawyers and judges in India than his previous choice, the Baghyat-ul-Bahith.

In 1791, Chambers was confirmed in his post of Chief Justice. The efforts of Jones's friends, the Spencers and others, had put him in line for the job, but he wrote to Sir John Macpherson on October 15, 1790, requesting that Chambers be given first choice as he was in need of money, whereas Jones was now a rich man.<sup>3</sup> In the same year Sir William Dunkin became junior puisne judge.

- 
1. Works, iii, 53-463
  2. Ibid., 507-555
  3. Memoirs, 342 (cf. O.J., 161).



His death, coming as it did when he was at his most productive, when the quality of his literary output was certainly improving, came as a shock to many who had expected that his special talents would be at the service of humanity for many more years. A large number of tri-butes were paid to him, and obituaries were written by his friends Chambers and Teignmouth, among others. Some measure of the reputation he enjoyed in his lifetime can be made from the following piece, written anonymously in 1796 on the appointment of Sir James Watson to the vacancy on the Calcutta bench:

"At Folly's freaks oft times surprized we stare,  
 At Banks succeeding to great Newton's chair!  
 Reynolds whom Genius with the Graces blest,  
 Succeeded by that sweet hist'ry painter, West,  
 Now comes the wildest freak that folly owns,  
 Viz. Sergeant Watson, post Sir William Jones!!!!"(1)

Some aspects of Jones's influence on his own and following ages will be discussed in the next chapter.

---

1. Quoted in Memoirs of William Hickey, ed. A. Spencer, (1919), iv, 135.

## Chapter Eight

### His Literary Influence

It is necessary to make some assessment of Jones's real position among the many writers on the customs, manners and literatures of the east who were busy at this time. Jones exceeded, without question, all other writers in range and taste, in sympathy and flair, but this did not make him invariably the best in single fields. Too much success has the habit of rebounding on itself, and Jones's rapid decline from public favour can be in part attributed to this. In Arabic, there were probably men who knew more than he did about the literature and background of Arabia, to be found in the great universities. In Persian, it was found necessary to caution students against his 'fascinating exaggerations and erroneous statements' in 1824, and to suggest that for a sound grounding in Persian other sources should also be tapped. Probably the feeling was that his wide interests has led to sciolism; that he would have done better to have learnt much in one or two fields than to learn something in so many.

- 
1. Critical Researches in Philology and Geography(James Brash & Co., 1824), 87.
  2. H. Oldenbarg, Aus Indien und Iran(1899) accused him of dilettantism; 'Ein unermüdlicher coquetierender schönredner' (Quoted in F. Edgerton 'Sir William Jones, 1746-1794' Journal of the American Oriental Society(July, 1946), lxxvi, 234 n).

A writer for the Edinburgh Review (xlix, 1815, 151) complained that since the turn of the nineteenth century the Muse had become 'very infidel', preferring now to chant in 'suras', 'storas' and 'puranas'. Almost anyone could have pointed out that the Muse had never been very Christian, and had at last begun to look farther east than Greece for its exoticism, something which Jones had advocated from the start. Since the crusades and throughout the occupation of Spain, when the threat of Islam had been strong towards Europe, many attempts had been made to learn about the Muslims. This interest persisted long after the threat had faded, shifting from military intelligence to an emphasis on the arts and philosophies. Jones was a prominent member of those who had continued with this study; but he was only one of many. John Richardson published A Specimen of Persian Poetry, or Odes of Hafiz (taken chiefly from Reviczki's Specimen Poeseos Persicae, 1770) in 1774. Alexander Dow had made some translations from Persian before Jones. Another Persian scholar, Charles Fox, who knew Joseph Cottle and the Lake poets intimately, brought out علس پرتو; the story of Selim and Zaida in 1797. Other writers were John Nott, who added to Hafiz's great popularity in Europe, already well established due to the efforts of Meninski, Reviczki, Thomas Hyde and Jones, with his Select Odes

from the Persian Poet Hafiz(1787), and John Scott whose Oriental Eclogues(1782) was admittedly inspired by Jones. Other important sources for the later writers were Joseph Champion's The Poems of Firdosi and Sir William Ousley's Persian Miscellanies(1795) which also owed something to Jones.

England's knowledge of India and the Hindus was comparatively scanty; what had filtered through, mainly from France, was inclined to be sensational and inaccurate. John Zephana Holwell published his Mythology of the Gentoos and A Dissertation on Metempsychosis between 1765 and 1771. In 1775, William Sagshaw Stevens published Poems, consisting of Indian Odes and Miscellaneous Pieces, probably the first attempt in English on Indian themes. Thomas Maurice, who was known to both Jones and the Lak poets, contributed among other works, A History of Hindostan(1795) and Indian Antiquities(1800). The efforts of the members of the Asiatic Society also brought in a stream of articles.

Jones's big contribution, part of which he shared with  
1  
Wilkins, was in Hindu mythology, philosophy

- 
1. Charles Wilkins' important works are the Bhagavat-Geeta or Dialogues of Kreeshna and Arjoon(1785), The Heetopades of Veeshnoo Sarma(1787), and The Story of Dooshwanta and Sakoontala(1795). One of India's major epics the Ramayana, the last book of which was translated by Jones, was fully translated by William Carey, a Clapham evangelical then residing at Serampore, in three volumes between 1806 and 1810.

and literature, in his translations from the Mo'allakat and other Arabian tracts (in which he was virtually alone) and in introducing Hafiz to the English public. The Persian poet was to become nearly as popular in the west as in Persia and India.

The academic revival of Jones which has taken place in this century was probably stimulated by two German articles on Shelley and Tennyson and their indebtedness to Jones. It is in Shelley and in Tennyson that the greatest direct influence of Jones can be seen. Some of Koeppl's links seem tenuous, based almost on the correspondence of a single word in both, but the general debt is unquestionable in Queen Mab, about which another critic wrote:

"Selbst die anlage rahmen der dichtung  
waren nicht ganz Shelleys erfindung". (2)

- 
1. Emil Koeppl, 'Shelley's Queen Mab und Sir William Jones's "Palace of Fortune" ' and 'Sir William Jones's übersetzung der "Moallakat" und "Locksley Hall" ', Englische Studien, Bd., 28, (1900), 43-53, 400-406
  2. Helen Richter, Percy Bysshe Shelley (Weimar, 1898), 148.

Koepfel has shown that the framework and diction of Queen Mab owe something to Jones's Palace of Fortune:

- Jones: "The goddess still with looks divinely fair  
Surveys the sleeping object of her care..." (2)
- Shelley: "Long did she gaze, and silently  
Upon the slumb'ring maid...." (3)
- Jones: "And thus in sounds that favour'd mortals  
hear,  
She gently whispers...." (4)
- Shelley: "And the clear silver tones  
As thus she spoke, wer such  
As are unheard by all but gifted ear." (5)

1. This is somewhat grudgingly admitted by Carlos Baker, Shelley's Major Poems (Princeton Univ., 1948, 25n):  
"...the ancestor of Mab's car....can be found in Jones, and several times over in Southey's Thalaba and Kehama....Shelley agrees with Jones and Darwin in using women as central characters...."  
But Jones's Palace of Fortune is only one of the "other palaces, castles, temples and houses of Fame, Pleasure, Indolence, Nature, Disease and Superstition which had been strewn across the literary landscape by Shelley's predecessors."  
Baker thinks that the Palace of Fortune is influenced by Pope's The Temple of Fame (1711): it is also influenced by The Rape of the Lock (see page 298 of this thesis).
2. Works, iv, 412.
3. SPW, 764
4. Works, iv, 412
5. SPW, 764.



"Celestial shapes! in fluid light array'd....  
 Their lucid mantles glitter'd in the sun....  
 Transparent robes, that bore the rainbow's hue,  
 And finer the nets of pearly hue  
 That morning spreads o'er every opening flow'r  
 The Queen herself, too fair for mortal sight.."(1)

Western evaluations of Shelley have tended to overlook his early interest in Jones and the east. It is beyond doubt; Walter Peck thinks that Shelley first came into contact with the Works when he visited the library of Dr. Lind, Royal Physician at Windsor.<sup>2</sup> He ordered them from Glio Rickman on December 24, 1812.<sup>3</sup> Yet treatises like Ellsworth Barnard, Shelley's Religion (Univ., of Minnesota, 1937), Lillian Wistanley, 'Platonism in Shelley', Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association (1913), George Brett, 'Shelley's Relation to Berkeley and Drummond'; Studies in English by Members of the University College, Toronto, (1931) and Peter Butter, Shelley's Idols of

- 
1. This is itself influenced by a passage in Pope's The Rape of the Lock

Transparent Forms, too fine for mortal Sight  
 Their fluid Bodies half dissolved in light,  
 Loose to the Wind their airy Garments flew,  
 Thin glitt'ring Textures of the filmy Dew,  
 Dipp'd in the richest Tinctures of the Skies,  
The Poems of Alexander Pope (1962), ii, 163)

2. W. E. Peck, Shelley, His Life and Works (Boston, 1927), i, 24-25.
3. Amiyakumara Sen, Studies in Shelley (Univ., of Calcutta 1936), 244.

the Cave (Edinburgh Univ., 1954), take no cognizance  
<sup>1</sup>  
of the fact.

A clue given by an English writer in 1946<sup>2</sup>  
<sup>3</sup>  
and a Hindu writer ten years earlier is worth  
following up, that Shelley's borrowing is not  
confined to stray passages and ideas in Jones, but  
extends to Indian thought as interpreted by Jones,  
so accounting for the uncertain 'Berkeleyanism' and  
'Platoism' of some of his later poems. Pinto  
specifies Adonais, and while he admits the dominant  
Vedantism, he does not exclude Platonism altogether;  
this is wisely done because the exclusion could be  
challenged successfully. Sen, who deals with the  
matter in greater detail, and quite convincingly,  
says at one place that Shelley 'definitely rejects'  
his masters Plato and Berkeley in favour of Hindu

1. See. A. J. Arberry, 'Persian Literature', The Legacy of Persia, ed. A. J. Arberry, (1953), 210, 214, in which it is suggested that Shelley emulated the Persian idea of introducing his own name into a piece, after reading Jones;  
"Less oft is peace in Shelley's mind,  
than in calm waters seen...";  
'To Jane, the Recollection', SPW, 590.)
2. V. de Sola Pinto, 'Sir William Jones and English Literature' Bull., SOAS (1946), 697
3. Amiyakumara Sen, Studies in Shelley, (Univ., of Calcutta, 1936), 244, and the chapter 'Shelley and Indian thought', 243-270.

1

thought as represented by Jones. The definite rejection is not really admissible.

2

Writers like Brett, Benjamin Kurtz and Butter find Shelley's Berkeleianism inadequate at times, and tend to push this aside as imperfect assimilation, incorrect interpretation or deliberate deviation. Yet it does not follow that because Shelley borrowed a copy of Berkeley from Charles Lloyd in 1812 that he must immediately embark upon a series of Berkeleian poems, any more than because he made incomplete translations from the Ion and Symposium he was duty bound to become a rigid Platonist. His school romance St. Irvyne; or the Rosicrucian (1809) indicates that he became familiar with the tenets of the Egyptian order quite early in life, which are similar to those proposed in Vedantism. It is easier to see Shelley as an English Hindu, right from the days of Queen Mab, whose studies of Locke, Hume, Godwin, Owen, Berkeley, Drummond and Plato in turn modified his essential Vedantism. This view would be supported by his vegetarianism.

---

1. Ibid., 254.

2. B. Kurtz, The Pursuit of Death (Oxford Univ., 1933), 279-281.

The most positive evidence of Shelley's early contact with Hindu thought is in a passage in

A Refutation of Deism:

"The Universal Being can only be described or defined by negatives which deny his subjection to the laws of all inferior classes.." (1).

which is, of course, the 'neti, neti' method adopted<sup>2</sup> by one school of Hindu thinkers to describe God.

Ellsworth Barnard writes that it is 'not alone'<sup>3</sup> the study of Berkeley and Hume which led Shelley away from materialism, but Shelley's own sense of intuition of the transience and unreality of the world, coupled with an 'unreasonable conviction'<sup>4</sup> that the realm of illusion could be transcended. There are several such admissions of the inadequacy of thinking of Shelley as a neo-Platonist, and the answer is to find that Shelley was simply thinking for himself.

- 
1. Quoted in Shelley's Literary and Philosophical Criticism, ed, John Shawcross (1909), 91.
  2. Hindus claim this as their invention, and I have not discovered any challenge to the claim. However, the Medieval Scholastics sometimes indulged in the same method, and it has received treatment in Donne's Negative Love, (The Poems of John Donne, ed, Sir Herbert Grierson, (1960), 59).
  3. E. Barnard, Shelley's Religion (Univ. of Minnesota, 1937), 44.
  4. *Ibid.*, 45.

This is perfectly valid; Shelley did not need to be bound by any rationale. However, when the similarities between Jones and Shelley are pointed out, between Hindu thought as seen by Jones and several passages in Shelley, the link approaches certainty. In the latter's Essay on Life we have:

"The words I, you, they, are not signs of any actual difference subsisting between the assemblage of thoughts thus indicated, but are merely marks employed to denote the different modifications of the one mind." (1)

The reduction to one mind, to a world soul, a single creative energy, a god or a single principle, can be seen as part of the requirements of the order of the Rosy Cross, Vedantism, Platonism, Sufism and mysticism everywhere. Life is a temporary aberration, a dissociation from its true place which is to be found when it is merged with the universal soul (except in Platonism, where individual souls retain their identity after death). Shelley has something of both Platonism and Vedantism in Adonais: Chatterton and Lucan are still recognisable, while Adonais is expected to take his place on a special star: elsewhere, however, we are told that his soul will flow 'back to the burning fountain whence it came'<sup>2</sup>, and the body return to dust.

---

1. Quoted on page 47, Op Cit.

2. Jones has given: 'Let my soul return to the immortal spirit of God, and then let my body, which ends in ashes, return to dust.' (Works, vi, 425).

Shelley's other images also reflect a kind of Sufi/Vedantism. His concept of love as a union between two small fires which causes a kind of death and brings both into the embrace of the big, central conflagration, the Cosmic principle of love, is another method of achieving Mukti (what Barnard calls Shelley's 'unreasonable conviction', which is shared by a great many Hindus), a repetition on an earthly scale of an eternal principle. Most people would look upon human love as an attraction between opposites, or at least the attraction of natures of themselves incomplete, but Shelley sees it as soul looking for its own, greater self, and he needed to look no further than Jones's translations from the Vedas for the idea.

The strongest similarity is in the concept of the world as illusion. The world of sense as the mind's maya, a tapestry of nothingness which has been woven out of ideas by the Creator, a many-coloured veil which He has drawn round Himself, and which deflects the human mind from its true vocation which is to meditate upon Him, had been asserted in Narayana:

"Hence! vanish from my sight!  
Delusive pictures! unsubstantial shows!  
My Soul absorb'd One only Being knows," (2).

- 
1. This is the 'ishq-e-majazi/ishq-e-haqiqi' idea of the Sufi writers, that earthly love is a step towards heavenly love.
  2. Works, vi, 373.

and in Indra:

"Like shooting stars around his regal seat  
A veil of many-coloured light they weave," (1)

which may be compared with the frequently quoted Stanza

52 in Adonais:

"The One remains, the many change and pass;  
Heaven's light forever shines, Earth's shadows  
fly;  
Life like a dome of many-coloured glass  
Stains the white radiance of Eternity," (2);

and the following:

"Woven all the wondrous imagery  
Of this dim spot, which mortals call the world...  
And as a veil in which I walk through heaven,  
I have wrought mountains, seas, and waves and  
clouds,  
And lastly light...." (3)

.....This Whole  
Of suns, and worlds, and men, and beasts, and  
flowers,  
With all the silent or tempestuous workings  
By which they have been seen, are, or cease  
to be,  
Is but a vision...." (4).

The examples may be multiplied at will, to no purpose. The foregoing is enough to show that Shelley frequently reverted to his early idea of the essential

1. Works, vi, 338.

2. SPW., 443

3. 'Unfinished Drama', Ibid., #83.

4. 'Hellas', Ibid., 470. This may be compared with Jones (Works, vi, 373): 'But suns and fading worlds I view no more.'

nothingness of the world, even in his later poems, Nothingness cannot be related to Berkeley, who talks of 'real things' as well as chimeras, nor validly to Plato, nor, as Kurtz attempted, to Aristotle and the concept of 'becoming', the middle term between non-being and being. The idea does appear to have been derived from Hindu thought, and the source is certainly Jones.

Shelley's diction seems to have absorbed something from Jones. His imagery is calculated to cause a confusion of the senses at times, to strengthen the effect of uncertainty and illusion. There is something similar between the examples 1 and 2 on page 304, beyond what could be a coincidence in phraseology. A comparison of lines out of context would probably not be fair, but the last two lines of Shelley and those by Jones constitute complete sentences. From a twentieth century point of view, Jones's diction is the inferior. The rather weak adverbiation in 'weave around' has to carry the burden of things which look like shooting stars, a seat which is regal, a veil and light which is many-coloured; there is too much description, not enough

---

1. See B. Kurtz, The Pursuit of Death (Oxford, 1933), 279-281.

sinew. Shelley's 'stains' is forceful, and positioned so well that the dome of many-coloured glass and the white radiance of eternity are sustained without a sense of strain. There is mass, momentum and impact, while Jones's is spangled and pretty but inconsequential.<sup>1</sup>

1. This is by no means a general complaint against his verse; excessive description is a tendency of the minor verse of this time. Apparently Jones was conscious that poetic expression, as against description, could not be achieved by qualifying every noun with an adjective while the predicate remained vapid. Some of his methods are reminiscent of Donne's, as below:

'Fountain of living light,  
 That o'er all nature streams,  
 Of this vast microcosm both nerve and soul  
 Whose swift and subtil beams,  
 Eluding mortal sight,  
 Pervade, attract, sustain th'effulgent whole,  
 Unite, impel, dilate, calcine,  
 Give to gold its weight and blaze,  
 Dart from the diamond many-tinted rays  
 Condense, protrude, transform, concoct, refine,  
 The sparkling daughters of the mine.' (Works, vi, 347)

in which the use of verbs may be compared with Donne's in the following:

'Batter my heart, three-cornered God; for you  
 As yet but knock, breathe, shine, and seeke to  
 mend;  
 That I may rise, and stand, o'erthrow mee, and  
 bend  
 Your force, to breake, blowe, burn, and make  
 mee new'.

(The Poems of John Donne, ed. Sir Herbert Grierson,  
 (1960), 299.)

Despite this there is a resemblance, and this is further strengthened by the observable similarities in the use of the 'veil' symbol, and in the way of showing light as something which hinders perception, a reversal of the 'darkness visible' oxymoron in Milton. In Narayena Brahma is shown seeking for an answer to the riddle of his own being, and is told:

"My veil thou canst not move" (1);

which Shelley seems to have adapted for one of his posthumous sonnets, when he warns against trying to learn about unknowables:

"Lift not the painted veil" (2)

That Shelley should use light, which is normally thought of as something which illuminates perception, as a veil, seems to Butter to be a paradox;<sup>3</sup> yet it is used in Jones just so several times. Indra is surrounded by a veil of light, the Absolute is submerged in a vase of light,<sup>4</sup> and in Narayena we have:

"Th'impenetrable gloom of light intense" (5)

1. Works, vi, 341
2. SPW., 569
3. P. Butter, Shelley's Idols of the Cave, (Edinburgh Univ., 1954), 112.
4. Works, i, 425. See page 262 of this thesis.
5. Ibid., vi, 369.

Shelley's use of the symbol in the same way can be seen in:

"As clear as when a veil of light is drawn" (1).

"The day's veil fell from the world of sleep" (2).

"Through the veil of daylight concealed him  
from her". (3)

while something of the way light can be dimmed by light seems to be at the source of his imagery in The Triumph of Life when the radiance of the sun is weakened by the arrival of the Car of Life with its cold brightness. Butter remarks about Shelley's scientific bent (pertaining to this poem) thus:

"The one energy, emanating from the sun, manifesting itself in various forms and being the cause of all motion and life in the whole system could be used as a symbol of the one spirit sustaining the universe." (4).

which is precisely how the Vedas use it, as Jones gives it:

"What the sun and light are to the visible world, that are the supreme god, and truth, to the intellectual and invisible universe; and, as our corporeal eyes have a distinct perception of objects enlightened by the sun, thus our souls acquire certain knowledge, by meditating on the light of truth, which emanates from the Being of beings." (5).

1. SPW., 508.
2. Ibid., 591.
3. Ibid., 592.
4. P. Butter, Shelley's Idols of the Cave, (Edinburgh, 1954), 145.
5. Works, i, 417. The concept of the world as an 'energy' rather than as a creation is also voiced in Jones (Ibid, vi, 368).

A translation from the Vedas called A Hymn to Night shows some resemblance to Shelley's To Night.

Jones gives us:

"Night approaches with stars and planets, and looking on all sides with numberless eyes, overpowers all meaner lights. The immortal goddess pervades the firmament covering the low Valleys and shrubs and the lofty mountains and trees, but soon she disturbs the gloom with celestial effulgence. Advancing with brightness she recalls her sister morning, and the nightly shade gradually melts away."<sup>(1)</sup>

Shelley's Night advances wrapped in a 'star-inwrought' mantle,<sup>2</sup> and his 'Thy Brother Death' seems to be a modification of Jones's 'her sister Morning'.

The link between Jones and Shelley is unquestionable, and it would be possible to trace many of Shelley's prototypes to Jones, his female figures, his personifications, some aspects of his imagery, and some of his ideas and philosophies. As a professional poet, possessor of a mind at once mystical and rational, he was able to use his raw material more effectively.

When one turns from Shelley to the other major romantic poets, one finds only hints of Jones's influence. Coleridge was not in sympathy with Jones's

---

1. Works, 1, 427.

2. SPW., 637.

findings with regard to the civilisation of old India. He readily admitted that the 'late Sir W. Jones' was 'truly admirable', but he could not find much in Brahminism which appealed to him:

" It would be more than we are entitled to expect of the human mind, if Sir W. Jones, Mr. Wilkins, etc., great and good as we know them to have been, had not overrated the merit of works, the power of understanding which is of such rare occurrence, and so difficultly attained." (1).

In other words, that Jones was so carried away with the excitement of having learnt Sanskrit, that he lost objectivity. Yet some of Coleridge's opinions are even phrased like those of Jones. Commenting on the latter's translation of the Manava Dharma Shastra, Coleridge wrote to Thomas Poole on November 7, 1796:

"....it....exhibits a mournful picture of an hideous union of Priestcraft and Despotism." (2)

As elsewhere, Jones was quoted when his opinions happened to coincide with whatever purpose was in hand, and contradicted when they were not. Coleridge wanted

- 
1. Extract from Opus Maximum in the Huntington Library, San Marino, California (HM 8195, ff 261-75) partly reproduced in John Muirhead, Coleridge as Philosopher (New York, 1930), 283-284.
  2. Griggs, Letters, i, 251. Jones had written: 'it is a system of despotism and priestcraft, both indeed limited by law but artfully contrived to give mutual support though with mutual checks.' (Works, iii, 62).

to see Hinduism as a grotesque amalgam of superstition and politics; Jones had looked at both sides of the picture, and had seen more that he liked than disliked.

Despite the distaste which Coleridge seems to have had for the extravagances of Hindu mythology and the religious stranglehold which everyone thought the priests had effected on Indian society, he absorbed something from his studies of Jones and Wilkins. Before he finally rejected pantheism as a handsome mask for a particularly ugly kind of atheism,<sup>1</sup> his mystical predilections resulted in works which show something of Hindu and Jain doctrines; the first title of The Eolian Harp was Effusion XXXV, and the change of title may have been suggested by Southey's description of Lute of Nared as an Eolian harp.<sup>2</sup> The passive principle, the harp waiting to be played upon by the breeze, would have more in it of the east than of the west:

"And what if all of animated nature  
Be but organic harps divinely framed  
That tremble into thought as o'er them sweeps  
Plastic and vast, one intellectual breeze,  
At once the soul of each, and God of all?" (3)

- 
1. E. H. Coleridge, Anima Poetae (1895), 58.
  2. See page 322 of this thesis.
  3. CPW., 49.

it is not the mind of Adonais, contributing to the loveliness of the world, but something waiting to respond to it, ready for the sign which will bring it to true life. Of course, the rest of the poem shows that Coleridge was merely toying with the idea, not accepting it. In his long effort to reconcile Greek and Hebrew forms of thought,<sup>1</sup> apparently one of his earliest attempts was to see if Hindu pantheism had anything to offer, and it is safe to conjecture that his source was Jones, who, more than Wilkins, had done something to explain Hinduism and relate it to other religions.

The principle in The Rime of the Ancient Mariner is virtually that of jeu-bathis among Hindus and Jains. To worship and respect God's creation is to respect God himself. The killing, even in accident, of any creature, rebounds upon the killer;<sup>2</sup> Jones has the basic idea thus:

"The man who considers all beings as existing even in the supreme spirit, and the supreme spirit as pervading all beings, henceforth views no creature with contempt." (3);

- 
1. See J. B. Beer, Coleridge the Visionary (1959), 29.
  2. The Jains, a heterodox sect of the Hindus, cover the nose and mouth with a cloth and walk barefoot, the theory being that thus no insect will be breathed and killed, or crushed inadvertently.
  3. Works, 1, 425.

which is not dissimilar from Coleridge's:

"He prayeth best that loveth best  
All things both great and small." (1)

The mystical fragment Christabel is open to many interpretations, none fully satisfactory. 667 lines of the poem were published, though from Coleridge's statements it would appear that 1300 or 1400 lines were written.<sup>2</sup> The author never explained what it was meant to be, beyond that it was to show how the virtuous people of the world save the wicked, or that it was an exacting piece about witchery by daylight.<sup>3</sup> The idea of metempsychosis, the transmigration of souls, may have been among the other threads which he intended to weave into the total mysticism of the poem.<sup>4</sup> In Jones's translation of the Institutes of Manu we have the following:

"Souls endued with goodness, attain always the state of deities; those filled with ambitious passions, the condition of men; and those immersed in darkness, the nature of beasts." (5)

- 
1. CPW., 110.
  2. See CPW., 602.
  3. Ibid., 604.
  4. See A. H. Nethercote, The Road to Tryermaine (Chicago, 1939), 129-139.
  5. Works, vi, 448.

Geraldine poses some kind of threat to the innocent Christabel, and there is something reptilian about her at times:

"A snake's small eye blinks dull and shy,  
And the lady's eyes they shrunk into her head,  
Each shrunk up to a serpent's eye." (1).

It is not possible to take this kind of speculation too far, as the purpose of the piece is not known.

The vision of paradise in Kubla Khan, which Coleridge informs us was the recollection of a dream he had when he fell asleep over Purchas's Pilgrimage, seems to have some of the influence of Jones in the concept of a perfumed garden, a clear river, a beautiful damsel playing a dulcimer. This is the Arab's ultimate in the concept of a pleasurable scene. Jones gives it as follows:

"It is a maxim among the Arabians that the three most charming objects in Nature are a green meadow, a clear rivulet, and a beautiful woman, and that the view of these objects at the same time affords the greatest delight imaginable" (2).

1. CPW., 123.
2. Works, iv, 532-33 (cf. G. H. Cannon 'The Literary Place of Sir William Jones, 1746-1794', Journal of the Asiatic Society, II, 1960, ii, 56, and G. H. Cannon, 'A New Probable source for Kubla Khan', College English, xvii (December 1955), 136-142).

In a letter to John Thelwall dated October 14, 1797, Coleridge writes:

"...at other times I adopt the Brahmin Creed & say--It is better to sit than to stand, it is better to lie than to sit, it is better to sleep than to wake-- but Death is best of all! --I should much wish, like the Indian Vishna, (Vishnu) to float about along an infinite ocean cradled in the flower of the Lotus,...."(1);

which may have been taken from the picture of the Mahadev floating on his lotus given in Jones's <sup>2</sup> Dissertation on the Gods of Greece, Italy and India and mentioned in Narayana.<sup>3</sup>

Coleridge's gloom at the news of the birth of a son, expressed in two short pieces,<sup>4</sup> may have been in part inspired by a translation by Jones of a Persian quatrain, entitled On Parent Knees;<sup>5</sup>

- 
1. Griggs, Letters, i, 209. (cf. Notebooks, ed K. Coburn (1962), Text 2, 3130; Coleridge was thinking of using the translation of a note in Sanskrit sent to Jones by an aging Pundit as the theme of a poem).
  2. Works, i, opp. 250. Coleridge refers to this dissertation in The Friend, a Series of Essays in Three Volumes (1818), 111, 189 n.
  3. Works, vi, 371.
  4. Sonnet (1796) and Sonnet: On the Birth of a Son (September 20, 1796).
  5. Probably written about 1784 (O.J., 134). This piece was included in the first volume of Asiatic Miscellanies, and had a very good reception in England

"On parent knees, a naked, new born child,  
Weeping thou sats't, while all around thee smil'd  
So live, that, sinking in thy last long sleep,  
Calm thou may's't smile, when all around thee  
weep."

In Coleridge's second sonnet we have:

"I think that I should struggle to believe  
Thou wert a spirit, to this nether sphere  
Sentenced for some more venial crime to grieve;  
Dids't scream, the spring to meet Heaven's  
quick reprieve,  
While we wept idly o'er thy little bier!" (1)

If indeed, Coleridge derived the thought from Jones, his elaborations have not effected much in the way of improvement.

Other works containing examples of Coleridge's orientalism are Lewti: A Circassian Love Chant (1793), Orosorio: A Tragedy (1797), Mahomet (1799?) a project intended to be written in collaboration with Southey, and the proposed work Man as a Religious Being (1796?) in which the major religions of the world were to have been discussed. Not all can be shown in direct relationship with Jones, who was only one source, albeit an important source, for the copious pot pourri of knowledge which Coleridge drew upon for his writings.

Southey's debts are quite as many, and more visible. Examples of Southey's antipathy to Jones have already been seen: other examples are passages

in letters to Miss Barker dated June 22, 1808 and to H. H. Southey the same year.<sup>1</sup> Yet Southey's own oriental leanings forced him to draw upon Jones frequently. He had no time for the philosophies proposed by those who had studied Hinduism and Sufism, nor did he find much enthusiasm for the ideas on pantheism, necessitarianism or Deism which gripped most of his colleagues at one time or another. He condemned Hinduism with greater severity than Coleridge, but was somewhat drawn towards Islam. The desirability of offering the light of Christendom to Hindu India was voiced more than once, but he seemed to be in agreement with Jones that Muslims would never be converted to Christianity:

"....because they exactly believe all that is reasonable in our belief." (2).

Southey was something of a fatalist himself. If any kind of teaching emerges from his two oriental

1. Selections from the Letters of Robert Southey ed., J. W. Warter (1856), ii, 75: 'Neville White has sent me Sir William Jones's works....they are in excellent taste and it is not Neville's fault, that the inside is not so perfect as the out. He followed public opinion in supposing Sir William Jones a very great man: I look upon him as one of the show-books of fashion.' (cf. *Ibid.*, 96). However, a year before this Southey praised Jones in his Specimens of the Later English Poets (1807), 383. Perhaps Southey also followed public opinion when he made a public statement.

2. *Ibid.*, i, 299.

poems taken together. Thalaba the Destroyer and The Curse of Kehama, it is that Thalaba, the Muslim, is successful because he lives his life in accordance with his destiny, and Kehama, the Hindu, is brought to a sorry end because he tries to flout it. Neither is typical of the field it tries to portray. The tone of approval which rings through Thalaba is perhaps more because of the emphasis on the similarities between Christianity and Islam, while Kehama is hardly an Indian figure, and certainly not a figure which belongs to traditional Indian literature. The portrait of a man challenging the gods belongs more to the west, with the Faustus and Tamberlaine of Marlow.

There are many direct references to Jones in Thalaba (1800):

Southey: "Or if he strung the pearls of Poesy," (1)

Jones: "...that fine sentiments, delivered in prose, were like gems scattered at random; but when they were confined in a poetical measure, they resembled bracelets and strings of pearls." (2).

Jones: "Go boldly forth my simple lay  
Whose accents flow with artless ease,  
Like orient pearls at random strung;" (3)

1. South PW, 238.

2. Works, iv, 538

3. Ibid., ii, 246

- Southey: "....for a brother's eye  
Were her long fingers tinged." (1);
- Jones: "She dispenses gifts with small delicate  
fingers,  
sweetly glowing at their tips...."(2);
- Southey: "Forth from her shadowy haunt  
Flies the large headed screamer of the  
night" (3);
- Jones: "She turns her right side, as if she were in  
fear of some large-headed screamer of the  
night." (4);
- Southey: "For rightly he knew had the Phrophet  
forbidden  
That beverage, the mother of sins." (5);
- Jones: "Mohammedes vinum appellabat....  
Matrem peccatorum". (6).

Jones was Southey's only successful predecessor in the use of Hindu mythology and fable in English verse. His purpose was to introduce that mythology to the western world and indicate parallels where he saw them. Some of the Hymns are heavily weighted with the names of the Hindu deities, the stories are not always very clear, nor is there much evidence of a point of view: perhaps this is as he intended. Southey

- 
1. South PW, 239.
  2. Works, iv, 253.
  3. South PW, 242
  4. Works, iv, 302.
  5. South PW, 267.
  6. Works, ii, 431.

found Hindu mythology 'vile, a tangle of thread, fragments which require the touch of a faery's distaff to unravel and unite them'<sup>1</sup>, and his purpose in Kehama (1810) was to make that mythology 'plain and easy to the meanest capacity.'<sup>2</sup>

The hero of the piece is a Brahmin (but an inherently bad man) who by his devotions and sacrifices corners the gods into giving him a drink from Amrita,<sup>3</sup> which confers immortality, which once obtained he proposes to utilise to overcome the members of the divine trinity, Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva. Unfortunately for him, although the gods cannot refuse the drink, its effects are to paralyse an evil man and make him helpless for eternity, under the throne of Yamen, God of Death, Lord of Hell. Thus even good works evil in an evil man, a theme in direct opposition to what Coleridge had apparently intended in Christabel.

Kehama is one of Southey's best efforts, overwhelmingly superior to anything by Jones in the same field: nor has anything comparable appeared since.

- 
1. South PW, 548.
  2. Quarterly Review (1811), v. 55.
  3. Southey, who takes the legend from Jones (South PW, 626n), spells this 'amreeta' as does Wilkins.

Southey's decision to place Shiva at the top of the Hindu triad (in which it is more common to accord the supreme gods equal status, with perhaps Brahma as the Mahadev) was probably conditioned by some desire to undermine all religious trinitities. The Indian trimurty was adduced by some Christian trinitarians in support of the Christian concept; at this period of his life Southey was an avowed unitarian. However, in Jones's Camdeo, the God of Love is burnt to ashes by Mahadev, who is here<sup>1</sup> clearly related to Shiva.

Southey is indebted to Jones for many aspects of Kehama. Fifteen direct references in footnotes may be observed, to The Institutes of Manu, Sacontala, the Hymns, the Sitagovinda and other works on the

---

1. Works, vi, 316:

'But when thy daring arm untam'd  
 At Mahadeo a loveshaft aim'd  
 Heav'n shook and, smit with stony wonder,  
 Told his deep dread in bursts of thunder,  
 Whilst on thy beauteous limbs an azure fire  
 Blaz'd forth, which never must expire."

1

Hindus by Jones. One passage is Kehama is:

"The lute of Nared warbling on the wind,  
All tones of magic harmony combined,  
To soothe his troubled mind,  
While the dark-eyed Asparas danced before him." (2)

Jones writes about the Lute of Nared thus:

"NARED sat watching from time to time his large Vina, which by the impulse of the breeze, yeilded notes...." (3);

in a footnote Southey remarks, 'the vina is an Eolian  
4  
Harp', a remark which may have relevance to Coleridge's decision to change the title of his Effusion XXXV.

Jones's influence on Keats cannot be supported by any evidence in Keat's poetry or letters. This does not mean, of course, that he was unaware of Jones, nor that he never read him. That Keats sometimes looked beyond Italy and Greece for his mythology can be seen in passages like the following from Endymion:

- 
1. South PW, 552n, 554n, 562n, 563n, 564n, 566-67n, 570n, 578n, 584n, 591n, 594n, 595n, 612n, 617n 626-7n.
  2. Ibid., 570. The 'dark-eyed Asparas' is taken from Indra, 'soft-eyed Asparas' (Works, vi, 341).
  3. Works, i, 270.
  4. South PW, 570n.

"The Kings of Inde their jewel-sceptres veil,  
And from their treasures scatter pearled hail;  
Great Brahma from his mystic heavens groans,  
And all his priesthood moans". (1)

2

Sir Henry Sharp, in his essay on 'Anglo-Indian Verse',  
points out a rather doubtful comparison between the  
opening lines of Hyperion:

"Deep in the Shady sadness of a vale  
Far sunken from the healthy breath of morn,  
Far from the fiery noon, and eve's one star  
Sat grey-haired Saturn, quiet as a stone," (3);

and this by Jones in the Hymn to Narayana:

"Wrapt in eternal solitary shade,  
Th'impenetrable gloom of light intense,  
Impervious, inaccessible, immense." (4)

It may be assumed that Keats made no significant  
borrowings from Jones.

Byron was certainly interested in Jones. In  
a letter to Robert Dallas dated September 7, 1811,<sup>5</sup>  
he mentions 'all Secara's vaunted gold' and 'all the  
gems of Samarcand', phrases taken straight from the  
Persian Song. Some lines of this song were parodied  
in a poem the Barmaid which has been lost. Jones  
had written about the natural similes of the Arabs

1. KPW, 166.
2. Essays by Diver Hands (1937), 100.
3. KPW, 276.
4. Works, vi, 367
5. Letters and Journals, ed. R. N. Prothers (1898-1904),  
ii, 27.

in his Essay on the Poetry of the Eastern Nations,  
of the blue eyes of a woman bathed in tears described  
as 'violets dropping with dew',<sup>1</sup> which Byron liked  
well enough to use with hardly any modification in  
'I Saw Thee Weep':

"The big bright tear  
 Came o'er that eye of blue  
 And then methought it did appear  
 A violet dropping dew." (2)

Cannon mentions other aspects of Byron's familiarity  
with the Works, and his use of Jones's fable of the  
nightingale and the rose at least twice in The Giaour  
and The Bride of Abydos;<sup>3</sup> the allusion to Kama in  
The Adieu probably owes something to the Hymn to  
Camdeo. Likewise, Byron's knowledge of the Hindu  
version of transmigration probably came from Jones's  
translations from Manu.

His friend Moore depended heavily on Jones  
for his currently very popular Lalla Rookh. The  
quantity of parallels excludes the possibility of  
mention here: some eleven descriptions in the poem  
have been taken from Jones's observations on  
eastern plants. There are four references to the

- 
1. Works, iv, 531.
  2. BPW, iii, 390.
  3. See G. H. Cannon 'The Literary Place of Sir  
 William Jones, 1746-1794', Journal of the Asiatic  
 Society, ii, 1960, 1, 56.

Mo'allakat and some derivations from passages in On the Gods of Greece, Italy and India and the Gitagovinda. Cannon remarks that the most important acknowledgement by Moore was in the song by Moore and Gatty called Bendemeer's Stream an Adaptation from the Persian Song), which also became very popular.

Other small traces of the influence of Jones can be seen in Leigh Hunt's Abou Ben Adhem, Walter Savage Landor's Poems from the Arabic and the Persian and Sir Walter Scott's The Talisman. Landor acknowledges his debts to Jones in the aforementioned Poems but is careful to place himself on the side of western poetry:

"I should be ashamed to be numbered with those enthusiasts, who diminish the merit of western poetry, by deriving so much of it from the east..." (2)

On Parent Knees, Jones's translation from the Persian which had been accorded such a good reception in England, was described by Samuel Rogers as a 'beautiful thought' and adapted for inclusion in his poem Human Life.

- 
1. Op Cit, 58.
  2. W. S. Landor, Poems from the Arabic and the Persian (1800), preface, 1, and n.
  3. The Poetical Works of Samuel Rogers (1848), 112

Of the Victorians, apart from Tennyson who will be dealt with later, probably Browning, Arnold and Emily Bronte were influenced in a small way. Cannon thinks that Browning was 'at least indirectly' influenced by Jones for Perishta's Fancies and that he almost certainly read Jones's Hitopadesa either in the pioneer, or in a subsequent<sup>1</sup> version. To this may be added Browning's experiments in Arabic metres in Abt Vogler and Muleykeh, the second of which bears significant resemblances to Jones's Mo'allakat both in the title and in the theme of an Arabic poet extolling the virtues of his horse.

The metrical form of An Ode in Imitation of Alcaeus was adopted by Emily Bronte (probably through Mrs. Hemans)<sup>2</sup> for No Coward Soul is Mine. Matthew Arnold paraphrased three passages from<sup>3</sup> Manu, and it is possible that he first conceived of Sohrab and Rustum through Jones's descriptions of Firdausi's poem on the same subject.<sup>4</sup> Fitzgerald learnt much from Jones and was to exceed him as a successful translator from Persian. Through

- 
1. G. H. Cannon, 'The Literary Place of Sir William Jones 1746-1794', Journal of the Asiatic Society, ii. 1960, 1, 59.
  2. Ibid. (cf. V. de Sola Pinto, 'Sir William Jones and English Literature' Bull., SOAS, (1946), 691-692.)
  3. Ibid.

Edward Cowell he made his first study of the Grammar: the many references to Hafiz in this work stimulated Fitzgerald's interest in Persian poetry. Had it been a straightforward, academic grammar, the chances are that the 'scholarly recluse who liked Calderon and Greek' would never have composed his Rubaiyat.

Tennyson's interest in Jones has, among several references, verification in a letter dated June 8, 1854, from Fitzgerald to Cowell, that Tennyson and himself were reading Jones at the time, and that 'A.T.' would look at nothing but Hafiz. Hallam Tennyson mentions that his father got the idea of Locksley Hall from Jones's translations of the Mo'allakat. Koepfel has pointed out the similarities between the opening of the Moallaka of Hharith and that of Locksley Hall, in the way the poet desires to be left alone so that he may muse on his former loves:

- 
1. Ibid, 60.
  2. A. J. Arberry, Classical Persian Literature (1958), 341. (cf. R. A. Piddington, 'Fitzgerald's Indian Colonel', Notes and Queries (1959), cciv, 449)
  3. E. Koepfel, 'Tennysonia' Englische Studien, (1900), Bd., 28, 402. (cf. E. F. Shannon, 'Locksley Hall and Ivanhoe', Notes and Queries (1959), cciv, 216, who thinks that the influence hardly goes beyond the 'Idea').



1

trochaics because his English audience likes them. Nevertheless, the trochee was not Tennyson's usual metre, and the fact that it has been employed in both of the Locksley Halls would indicate that Tennyson did, in fact, derive something from Jones's transcription.

Some of the poems showing the influence of Jones are included in Poems by Two Brothers (1893, first compiled in 1827). Under the signature (A.T.) we find a poem called Love in which Tennyson has taken one of Jones's descriptions and acknowledged it in a footnote:

"Thy fragrant bow of cane thou bendest,  
Twanging the string of honey'd bees  
And then the flower-tipp'd arrow sendest,  
Which give, or robs the heart of ease;  
Gamdee or Cupid, O be near,  
To listen or to grant my prayer." (2).

In a poem which begins 'Thou camest to thy bower, my Love, across the musky grove' Tennyson takes another simile from Jones:

"Thy locks were like a midnight cloud with silver  
moon-beams wove," (3)

- 
1. D. Kayachaudhuri, Sir William Jones and his Translation of Kalidasa's Sakuntala (Calcutta, 1928), 86.
  2. Poems by Two Brothers (1893), 206.
  3. Poems by Two Brothers (1893), 165.

about which Tennyson remarks in a footnote:

"....a simile elicited from the songs  
of Jayadeva, the Horace of India." (1)

in Jones's translation from the Gitagovinda we have:

"His locks, interwoven with blossoms, were  
like a cloud, vaiegated with moonbeams." (2)

The same poem contains a line which Tennyson acknowledges to be derived from one of Jones's descriptions of eastern plants:

"And brighter than the sea of gold,  
the gorgeous Himsagar," (3).

This volume also has a poem entitled The Expedition of Nadir Shah into Hindostan; once again Tennyson refers to Jones in a footnote, mentioning the latter's History of Nadir Shah.<sup>4</sup> In the poem on Persia Tennyson has this line:

"Blue Ganga leaves her vaccine source;" (5)

and explains this in a footnote:

"The cavern in the ridge of Himmalah, whence  
the Ganges seems to derive its original  
springs." (6).

1. Ibid., 165n.
2. Works, 1, 481
3. Loc Cit., 166 and footnote.
4. Ibid., 79-80 and footnote 80.
5. Ibid., 65
6. Ibid., 65n

this appears to have some echoes of Jones's Hymn to Ganga, which has this line:

"From Himola's perennial show," (1)

although elsewhere Jones appears to think that the big Indian rivers are extensions of Chinese ones.<sup>2</sup>

There is not much that can be seen in the way of doctrinal borrowing. The Higher Pantheism tries to answer the Jones/Shelley hypothesis of the phenomenal world as maya. The stand at first seems to be orthodox Berkeleyianism:

"The Sun, the moon, the stars, the hills  
and the plains--  
Are not these, O Soul, the Vision of Him  
who reigns?" (3)

and appears to reach a conclusion similar to that proposed by Sankara as regards the 'self':

"Earth, these solid stars, this weight of  
body and limb,  
Are they not sign and symbol of thy  
division of Him?"

Dark is the world to thee: thyself art the  
reason why;  
For is He not but all that which has power  
to feel 'I am I'?" (4)

1. Works, vi, 389.
2. Ibid., 384.
3. RPW, 239
4. Ibid. (see page 265 of this thesis)

before which comes an assertion that things are as real as they need to be:

"Is not the Vision He? tho' He be not that  
   which He seems?  
 Dreams are true while they last, and do we  
   not live in dreams?" (1)

It would of course, be false to suggest that this poem had been inspired by Jones's first Hypothesis that everything was unreal. By the time it was written (1869) a great deal had been done in the way of interpreting this new form of pantheism from the east. The Higher Pantheism was probably a step towards AKbar's Dream (1892), an attempt to define the true religion of the spirit. Yet Jones's idea in Narayana had been absorbed into English thought, and had had at least one important supporter in Shelley, (and to a lesser extent another in Coleridge, especially in some poems written before 1798).

Pinto remarks that Jones had the power of kindling the imaginations of some of the most important writers of his own and the succeeding age.<sup>2</sup> He was neither a poetical genius, nor a great critic.

---

1. Ibid.

2. V. de Sola Pinto, 'Sir William Jones and English Literature' Bull., SOAS (1946), 694.

He was a third thing, perhaps as important to the growth and evolution of literature as either of these, a scholar with an unbelievably wide range of attainments, whose scholarship had in no way impaired an unerring sense of taste nor dried the springs of his enthusiasm, whose judgments on the literatures of both east and west have scarcely been improved upon in two centuries, and above all a man whose own greatness of heart led him to look for, and find, the best in others.

---

### Conclusion

All studies of Jones's life and works must be inadequate, because in dealing with a subject so versatile, strict selections must be made in accordance with the capabilities of the commentator, and surely very few men could hope to match Jones in range and accomplishment.

Jones's name lives mainly in the journals and bulletins of oriental societies; in his own time he was known as 'the Orientalist' or 'Asiatic Jones', and it is on this aspect of his work that Professor Arberry has concentrated in his articles, on his role as a founder of eastern studies and as the father of Persian studies in Britain.

Another modern authority, Professor Cannon of Columbia University, has attempted an overall survey in Oriental Jones, but his emphasis has been more on Jones's qualities as a politician, administrator and human being, less on his poetical and critical writings. Professor Cannon has collected about 700 letters and has completed the task of identifying the persons mentioned therein. We may yet have to wait several years for the publication of these letters.

The short formal eulogies of Jones's contemporaries and of some nineteenth-century periodical writers do not add much to what we learn from Teignmouth. Therefore this study has concentrated more on the exploration of Jones's most important writings. The endeavour has been to treat Jones as a valuable minor critic and poet in an age of transition. Like Shaftesbury, whose contributions to the development of thought in eighteenth-century Europe have only been fully recognised in this century, Jones now deserves to be given his true place as the contributor of several new ideas to English poetical thought. His translations into English have also here been considered mainly as English compositions; my limitations, little Persian and less Sanskrit, have prevented me from voicing very many direct opinions, particularly about the Sanskrit writings which have been discussed in this study.

Finally, emphasis has also been laid on Jones's attitude towards religion in India. Ainslee Embree mentions Jones as Charles Grant's chief opponent in his desire to Anglicise India. The matter was one of great importance to India, and Jones's opinions were used

in many tracts for and against Grant's proposal. For this discussion accounts have been consulted of the activities of the Church in Bengal and of the Clapham Sect, and material has been introduced which, to the best of my knowledge, has not been used before in any sketch of Jones. Teignmouth gives great importance to Jones's religious attitudes, while Arberry and Cannon dispose of them in a few words. It has seemed to me that religion was one of the strongest motives in Jones's life, and that most of his research and writing has been coloured by it. That he could look beyond mere labels and sects to what he truly thought were the permanent and first elements of religion among all people comes as no surprise in a man who attempted to identify the first human race and the first languages; but this does not mean that his own religious impulse was diffused away into a paralysing syncretism.

---

(Taken from Ad.Ms(British Museum) 39898, ff 30-31).

My heart, which ardent love consumes,  
Throbs with each agonising thought:  
So flutters with entangled plumes  
The lark with wily meshes caught  
There she with unavailing strain  
Pours through the night her warbled grief:  
The gloom recedes--but not her pain,  
The dawn appears--but not relief.  
Two nestlings wait the parent bird,  
Their thrilling anguish to appease:  
She comes--ah! no: the sound they heard  
Was but a whisper of the breeze.

The first four lines can be seen in Memoirs, 225 n):

While sad suspense and chill delay  
Bereave my wounded soul of rest,  
New hopes, new fears, from day to day,  
By turns assail my lab'ring breast,

The piece is ended by the Arabic word الطوبى which means a slow-flying bird, a sand-grouse, a popular symbol with Arabic poets because of its qualities of timidity, delicacy and light gait when walking. Jones translates as a lark.

(Taken from the photostatic copy of this letter in Henry B. Hyde, The Parish of Bengal (Calcutta, 1899), opp. 90).

Garden

Thursday Morning, 1784.

Dear Sir,

I am just favoured with your note concerning my subscription to the Church; and, though I understand it to be written by you officially, as secretary to the committee of subscribers, yet it will be pleasanter to us both, for me to answer you in your private capacity; and you will be kind enough to report the substance of my answer to the committee.

When the revd. Mr. Johnson applied to me on the subject, I told him openly, that as a private individual, I certainly should not subscribe at all to the building of a new church; because, from my observations and from those of others, I could not think a large place of worship necessary at Calcutta, and I never thought a magnificent one either necessary or expedient; but that, if it were necessary or expedient, it was the duty of the Company, not of individuals, to provide the settlement with a convenient place for divine service; and that, on due representation of the case, they would not fail to have it erected. I believe I added that, as to myself, I should regularly pass my Sundays at my garden and should only attend the publick service on Christmas day. At the beginning of this conversation Mr. Johnson said that Sir Rt. Chambers had desired his name to be kept down; and I said, that, though I would not subscribe as an individual yet I would contribute what the other judges did, but I would follow them, not lead. All this I had the honour of repeating to the other gentlemen, who favoured me with their company at the court house; or at least the substance of it. I would certainly have subscribed as a judge, if it had been general on the bench, and would then (for I meant no more) have followed Sir Robert Chambers and Mr. Hyde; but I never thought of guiding myself by Sir Robert's intentions in his individual capacity since he may see things in a different light, or may have opinions on the subject which I have not. So little did I think of following him, that, on his return from the Presidency, I told him I should not

be a subscriber, as the bench had not taken up the measure. Had Sir Elijah and Mr. Hyde subscribed I would not have been the only dissentient in such a case; but I understand, that when the committee went from me to Mr. Hyde, he declined contributing: and probably for some of the reasons, which have weighed with me. These being my sentiments, my name would add little to the list, and the sum is too inconsiderable to be an object with the subscribers or with me. I will take care, however, that the sum of 500 Sa.R at least, shall be applied, with all due speed to one of the principal purposes for which the Church itself is intended, and will so far, though not a contributor to its walls, promote the end of their erection.

I am, with great esteem,  
dear Sir, your obedient and faithful servant,

W. Jones.

(The last sentence might be interpreted as support from Jones for the missionary activity of the Church. However, it is more likely to have been support for other good purposes which the Church may have had, because Jones was against the idea of organised attempts at conversion).

Appendix C

(Taken from Memoirs, 519)

An Ode of JAMI:

How sweet the gale of morning breathes!  
     Sweet news of my delight he brings  
 News that the rose will soon approach  
     The tuneful bird of night, he brings.  
 Soon will a thousand parted souls  
     Be led, his captives, through the sky,  
 Since tidings, which in every heart  
     Must ardent flames excite, he brings.  
 Late near my charmer's flowing robe  
     He pass'd and kiss'd the fragrant hem;  
 Thence, odour to the rose bud's veil,  
     And jasmine's mantle white, he brings.  
 Painful is absence, and that pain  
     To some base rival oft is ow'd;  
 Thou know'st dear maid! when to thine ear  
     False tales, contriv'd in spite, he brings.  
 Why should I trace love's mazy path,  
     Since destiny my bliss forbids?  
 Black destiny! my lot is woe,  
     To me no ray of light he brings.  
 In vain my friend his mind disturbs  
     In vain a childish trouble gives,  
 When sage physician to the couch,  
     Of heartsick lovelorn wight he brings  
 A roving stranger in thy town  
     No guidance can sad JAMI find,  
 'Till this his name, and rambling lay  
     To thine all piercing sight he brings.

In this translation an attempt has been made to retain the double rhyming aspect of some Persian odes, the indispensable internal rhyme, or 'qafia', and the less important rhyme or rhyming phrase, the 'radeef'. Jones has italicised the 'qafia'; the 'radeef' is in the iteration of 'he brings'. The attempt is not unsuccessful.

(Given in alphabetic order. Unless otherwise stated, the place of publication is London).

Ad Ms. (British Museum), 8889.

- 8895.
- 8896.
- 16264.
- 29167.
- 29170.
- 30877.
- 35655.
- 35656.
- 37232.
- 39871.
- 39898.

Anon., 'An Account of the Life and Writings of Sir William Jones, Knt', European Magazine (1787), xii.

- An Appeal from the Hasty to the Deliberative Judgment of the People of England (1787?).
- A Vindication of the Hindus (1808)
- 'Character of Sir William Jones', Gentleman's Magazine (June/July supp., 1801), lxxi, 641-642, 1191-1194.
- 'The Debt to Asiatic Jones', Times Literary Supplement (September 28, 1946).
- 'The Poems of Sir William Jones' Southern Literary Messenger (1849).
- 'Sir William Jones's Monument' European Magazine (July 1805), xlviii.

- M.H.Abrams, The Mirror and the Lamp(New York,1953)
- R.P.Anderson, 'Sir William Jones and Chittagong', Bengal, Past and Present (October/December,1917),xv.
- 'Sir William Jones at Chittagong', Bengal, Past and Present(July/December,1919).
- N.C.Aiyar, Mayne's Treatise on Hindu Law(Madras,1953).
- A.J.Arberry, Asiatic Jones(1946).
- Classical Persian Literature(1958).
- Hafiz, Fifty Poems(1953).
- 'The Founder, William Jones', Oriental Essays(1960).
- 'The Jones Tradition in British Orientalism', Indian Art and Letters(1946),xx,pt.I.
- 'Persian Jones', Asiatic Review(April 1944),xi.
- 'Persian Literature', The Legacy of Persia,ed. A.J.Arberry(1953)
- 'New Light on Sir William Jones', Bulletin of The London School of Oriental and African Studies (1946),iv.
- 'Orient Pearls at Random Strung', Bulletin of the London School of Oriental and African Studies (1946),iv.
- Asiatic Annual Register(1799).
- The Asiatic Miscellany(1787).
- Asiatic Researches(Calcutta,1788-1795).
- J.Arthos, The Language of Natural Description in Eighteenth Century Poetry(Michigan,1949).
- A.Aspinall, Cornwallis in Bengal(1931).
- J.C.Bailey, Dr.Johnson and his Circle(1944)
- O.Baker, The Fabric of Vision:Shelley's Major Poetry(Princeton, 1948).

- K.C. Balderstone, Thraliana (1942)
- B. Banerji, Dawn of New India (Calcutta, 1927).
- E. Barnard, Shelley's Religion (Minnesota, 1937)
- A.L. Basham, The Wonder that was India (1956).
- 'Beattie' Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine (1880), cxxvii.
- J.B. Beer, Coleridge the Visionary (1959)
- J. Benthall, Selections from Sir William Jones (1961)
- G. Berkeley, A New Theory of Vision (1910).
- Biographie Universelle (2nd edition): 'Le Chevalier William Jones'.
- H. Blair, Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres (Edinburgh, 1813)
- J. Boswell, Life of Johnson (1787)
- J.C.E. Bowen, Poems from the Persian (1964)
- G.S. Brett, 'Shelley's Relation to Berkeley and Drummond', Studies in English by Members of the University College (Toronto, 1931)
- E.G. Browne, A Literary History of Persia (1919).
- The Poetical Works of Robert Browning (1951).
- D.C. Bryant, Burke and his Literary Friends (Washington University Studies, 1939).
- The Correspondence of the Rt. Honourable Edmund Burke between 1744 and 1797, ed C. William, Earl Fitzwilliam and Sir Richard Bourke (1844).
- The Correspondence of Edmund Burke, ed. T. Copeland (Chicago, 1963).
- The Works of Lord Byron, ed E.H. Coleridge (1904).
- 'Calcuttensis', Notes and Queries (July 24, 1869), iv.
- G.H. Cannon, 'The Freedom of the Press and Sir William Jones', Journalism Quarterly (Minnesota, 1956)

- G.H.Cannon, 'The Literary Place of Sir William Jones 1746-1794', Journal of the Asiatic Society(1960),ii,I.
- 'A New, Probable Source for Kubla Khan', College English, (December,1955),xvii.
- 'Sir William Jones, Lord Shelburne and the Indian Judgeship', University College Record(December,1963)
- 'Sir William Jones and Benjamin Franklin', University College Record(October,1961),iv.
- Sir William Jones, Orientalist(Hawaii,1952)
- Oriental Jones(1964).
- Cambridge History of the British Empire(Cambridge,1929).
- H.F.Gary, 'Sir William Jones' London Magazine(1821)
- S.K.Chatterji, 'Sir William Jones,1746-1794', Bicentenary Commemoration Volume(Calcutta,1948).
- Clapham and the Clapham Sect(1927).
- A.Cobban, Edmund Burke and the Revolt against the Eighteenth Century(1929).
- G.H.Cobban, Indian Missions and their Latest Critics(1873).
- Sir T.E.Colebrooke,The Life of H.T.Colebrooke(1873)
- H.H.Coleridge, Anima Poetae(1895).
- The Collected Letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge,ed.E.L.Griggs (Oxford,1956).
- S.T.Coleridge, The Friend: A Series of Essays in Three Volumes(1818),iii.
- S.T.Coleridge, Notebooks,ed K.Coburn(1962).
- The Poetical Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge(1925).
- M.P.Conant, The Oriental Tale in England(New York,1908).
- The Conference of Orientalists,ed. S.Butter(Simla,July 1911).
- C.S.Coon, The Origin of Races(1963).

Critical Researches in Philology and Geography(James Brash, Glasgow,1824).

'Orto', Gentleman's Magazine(1817),lxxxvii,II,295-296.

S.N.Dasgupta and S.K.De, History of Sanskrit Literature (Calcutta,1947).

D.Davie, Purity of Diction in English Verse(1952)

P.Deussen, On the Philosophy of the Vedanta in its Relation to the Occidental Metaphysics(Bombay,1893)

The Poems of John Donne,ed.Sir H.Grierson(1960)

D'Eorammaville? Lettres philosophiques et historiques á Mylord S....(1790?)

F.Edgerton, 'Sir William Jones:1746-1794', Journal of the American Oriental Society(July,1946),lxvi.

E.Embree, Charles Grant and British Rule in India(1962)

M.B.Emeneau, 'India and Linguistics', Journal of the American Oriental Society(July/September,1955),lxxv.

E.Fay, Original Letters from India,1779-1815,ed. E.M.Forster, (1925)

E.Fitzgerald, The Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam(1921)

S.G.Vesey-Fitzgerald, 'Sir William Jones, the Jurist', Bulletin of the London School of Oriental and African Studies(1946),iv.

F.Fielding, The Life of Warren Hastings(1931)

W.K.Firminger, The Bengal District Records(1914)

Five Dialogues of Plato(Everyman's Library,1935)

L.Foster, Translation:an Introduction(1958).

W.T.Franklin, Memoirs of Benjamin Franklin(1818).

R.W.Frazer, Indian Thought, Past and Present(1915)1

H.Furber, Henry Dundas, First Viscount Melville(1931)

-- The Private Record of an Indian Governor General-ship (Cambridge Mass.,1933)

G.T.Garratt, 'Indo-British Civilisation', The Legacy of India, ed G.T.Garratt(1937).

Sophia Goldborne? Hartly House, Calcutta(Dublin,1789)

C.Grant, Observations on the State of Society Among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain Particularly with respect to Morals; and on the Means of Improving it(1792).

W.Graham, English Political Philosophy from Hobbes to Maine(1889)

Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians(1954),iv.

A.Gossman, 'Harmonious Jones and Milton's Invocations', Notes and Queries(1954),cic,527-529.

A.Gray, 'Sir William Jones' Tinsley's Magazine(July 1886),xxxix.

Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Mr. Gray,ed.W.Mason(1775)

Hafiz, The Persian Lyric Poet(Roses of Parnassus Series,1906)

N.Halhed, A Code of Gentoo Law(1776).

E.J.Hamilton, 'The Role of Monopoly in the Overseas Expansion of Europe'The Making of Modern Europe,ed.H.Ausubel (New York,1951).

E.Havell, A History of Aryan Rule in India from the Earliest to the Death of Akbar(1918)

L.M.Hawkins, Memoirs, Anecdotes, Facts and Opinions(1824).

P.Hazard, European Thought in the Eighteenth Century(1954)

J.G.Von Herder, Treatise upon the origin of Language,trans.(1827)

M.Hennell, John Venn and the Clapham Sect(1958)

R.M.Hewitt, 'Harmonious Jones', Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association(1942),xxvii.

Hicky's Gazette(Calcutta,1781-1782)

Memoirs of William Hickey,ed A.Spencer(1919).

J.H.Hindley, Persian Lyrics(1800)

M.Hiriyanna, Outlines of Indian Philosophy(1932)

Historical Manuscripts Commission(14th Report,App.4).

- J.Z.Holwell, A Dissertation on Metempsychosis(1765)
- Interesting Historical Events relative to the Province of Bengal and the Empire of Indostan(1765-1771).
- E.W.Hopkins, The Great Epic of India(New York,1902)
- T.P.Hughe, Dictionary of Islam(1885).
- Sir W.W.Hunter, A Brief History of the Indian Peoples(1890)
- A.Huxley, Jesting Pilate(1926, reprint 1948).
- H.B.Hyde, The Parish of Bengal(Calcutta,1899)
- Parochial Annals of Bengal(Calcutta,1901).
- E.B.Impey, Memoirs of Sir Elijah Impey, Knt(1846)
- The Encyclopaedia of Islam,ed.B.Lewis, C.Pellat and J.Schacht (1962)
- F.Jeffrey, 'Lord Teignmouth's Memoirs', Christian Observer(1805)
- Letters of Johnson,ed G.B.Hill(Oxford,1892)
- The Works of Sir William Jones, ed.A.M.Jones(1799)
- Two Supplemental Volumes, ed.Lord Teignmouth and A.M.Jones(1801).
- Sir William Jones, An Essay on the Law of Bailments,ed.J. Balmano(1798)
- An Oration Intended to be delivered in the Theatre at Oxford(1773)
- A Speech to the Freeholders of Middlesex(September 9, 1782)
- A Letter to a Patriot Senator(1783)
- 66 Letter to John Alleyne(containing opinions on the 18th Chapter of Leviticus,March 13,1774)
- Thirteen Letters to Charles Wilkins, copies in the American Oriental Society, extracts in the Journal of the American Oriental Society(October 1870),9,lxxxviii.

Sir William Jones, A History of the Life of Nader Shah(1773)

-- The Poem of Imru'al-Kais Ibn Hujh al-Kinda, ed. J.E.Masters(1930).

The Bi-Centenary Commemoration Volume of Sir William Jones and the 150th Anniversary Jubilee of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal(Calcutta,1948)

The Letters of Sir William Jones : The British Prose Writers(1819-1821),xxii.

Sir William Jones's Discourses and Miscellaneous Papers, ed. J.Elmes (1821).

The Poetical Works of John Keats(Oxford,1958)

A.B.Keith, Sanscrit Drama(1924)

-- Classical Sanskrit Literature(Calcutta,1928)

E.Koeppel, 'Shelleys "Queen Mab" und Sir William Jones' "Palace of Fortune", Englische Studien, Bd.28 (Strassburg,1900)

-- 'Tennysonia' Englische Studien,Bd.28(Strassburg,1900)

F.Krenkow, 'Writing for the Preservation of Ancient Arabic Poetry' كتاب, ed.T.W.Arnold and R.A. Nicholson(Cambridge,1922)

K.Krishnamacharya, History of Classical Sanscrit Literature (Madras,1937).

B.Kurtz, The Pursuit of Death(Oxford,1933)

W.S.Landor, Poems from the Arabic and Persian(1800)

The Poems of Walter Savage Landor(1889)

J.O'Lanfrac, Gentleman's Magazine(1817),lxxxvii,II,133-134 and 582-583.

The Legacy of India,ed.G.T.Garratt(1937).

O.R.Leslie and T.Taylor, The Life and Times of Sir Joshua Reynolds(1862).

- Letters and Journals, ed. R.E. Prothero (1898-1904)
- 'Libel Case of Dean Shipley', Trials, 1715-1784 (1785)
- Littleton's Treatise on Tenures, Jones's Copy in the British Museum (1766)
- L. Lockhart, Nadir Shah (1938)
- J. Long? The Centenary of the Old or Mission Church (Calcutta, 1870)
- E. Lodge, 'Sir William Jones', Portraits of Illustrious Personages (1849-50)
- A.O. Lovejoy, Essays in the History of Ideas (New York, 1960)
- J.L. Lowes, The Road to Xanadu (Cambridge Mass., 1927)
- Sir A. Lyall, Asiatic Studies, Religious and Social (1882)
- Tennyson (1902, reprint 1930)
- G. Lyebdev, A Grammar of the Pure and Mixed East Indian Dialects (1801)
- T.B. Macaulay, 'Milton', Essays (Everyman's Library, 1907)
- A.A. Macdonnell, Hymns from the Rigveda (Calcutta, 1924)
- D.B. Macdonald, 'Classification of some Mss of the Arabian Nights' تاریخ و جغرافیہ, ed. T.W. Arnold and R.A. Nicholson (Cambridge, 1922)
- J. Mace, Modern Persian (1962)
- R.C. Majumdar, The Vedic Age (1951)
- N.S. Marsh, 'Sir William Jones, 1746-94', University College Record (1954-1955)
- A. Master, 'The Influence of Sir William Jones upon Sanskrit Studies', Bulletin of the London School of Oriental Studies (1946), iv.
- B.T. McCully, English Education and the origins of Indian Nationalism (New York, 1940)

- M.E.deMeester, Oriental Influences in the English Literature of the Nineteenth Century(Heidelberg,1915)
- Memoires des Indes(Toulouse,1810)
- J.Mill, History of British India(1817)
- H.Miller, Memoir of William Forsyth(1839)
- S.H.Monk, The Sublime: a Study of Critical Theories in Eighteenth Century England(1935)
- The Poetical Works of Thomas Moore(1888)
- C.A.Moore, Essays in East-West Philosophy(Hawaii,1951)
- C.A.Moore, 'The Return to Nature in English Poetry of the Eighteenth Century'Studies in Philology(1917),xiv.
- T.C.Morton, Decisions of the Supreme Court of Judicature  
(Calcutta,1841)
- H.Morris(of the Madras Civil Service),Sir William Jones(1901)
- E.C.Mossner, The Life of David Hume(1954)
- F.M.Muller, On Ancient Hindu Astronomy and Chronology  
(Oxford,1862)
- Comparative Mythology(1867)
- Chips from a German Workshop(1894)
- India, What can it Teach Us?(1883)
- R.Muir, The Making of British India,1756-1858(Manchester,1915)
- J.Muirhead, Coleridge as Philosopher(New York,1930)
- J.Nehru, The Discovery of India (New York,1946)
- A.H.Nethercot, The Road to Tryermaine(Chicago,1939)
- R.A.Nicholson, A Literary History of the Arabs(Cambridge,1930)
- Translations of Eastern Poetry and Prose  
(Cambridge,1922)

- J.Owen, A Charge Delivered from the Chair at a General Meeting of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge(1797)
- J.Parkehurst, An Hebrew and English Lexicon, Jones's copy in the British Museum(1762)
- T.L.Peacock, The Four Ages of Poetry, ed. H.F.S.Brett-Smith (Oxford,1953)
- W.E?Peck, Shelley, His Life and Works(Boston,1927)
- Sir E.Perry, 'Notice of Anquetil du Perron', Miscellanies of the Philobiblon Society(1856-1857)
- The Several Petitions of the British Inhabitants of Bengal, of the Governor General and Council and of the Court of Directors of the East India Company to Parliament(1785?)
- R.A.Piddington, 'Fitzgerald's Indian Colonel', Notes and Queries(December,1959), cciv.
- V.de Sola Pinto, 'Sir William Jones and English Literature' Bulletin of the London School of Oriental and African Studies(1946), iv.
- W.Poel , 'Hindu Drama on the English Stage', Asiatic Review (January-April,1913), i.
- The Poems of Alexander Pope(1961)
- Poems by Two Brothers(1893)
- L.F.Powel, 'Sir William Jones and the Club', Bulletin of the London School of Oriental and African Studies(1946), iv.
- The Principles of the International Phonetic Association(1949)
- Quarterly Review(1811), v.
- D.Rayachaudhuri, Sir William Jones and his Translation of Kalidasa's Sakuntala(Calcutta,1928)
- Reynolds' Discourses(Everyman's Library,1906)
- J.Richardson, A Specimen of Persian Poetry, or Odes of Hafez(1774)

- H.Richter, Percy Bysshe Shelley(Weimar,1898)
- The Poetical Works of Samuel Rogers(1848)
- F.Rosen, Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts Collected by Sir Robert Chambers(1838)
- E.Rosenthal, Indian Music and its Instruments(1929)
- W.Robertson, An Historical Disquisition concerning the Knowledge the Ancients had of India(Calcutta,1904)
- G.Ross, Memoirs of the Life of Charles, First Marquis Cornwallis(1859)
- H.Roscoe, 'Sir William Jones', Lives of Eminent British Lawyers: Cabinet Cyclopaedia(1830),306-328.
- S.de Sacy, 'Notice of A Grammar of the Persian Language', Classical Journal(September 1825),xxxii.
- J.Schacht, The Origins of Muhammedan Jurisprudence(Oxford,1953)
- R.L.Schuyler, 'The Rise of Anti-Imperialism in England', Political Science Quarterly(New York,1922)
- A.W.Schlegel, 'Vorlesungen uber dramatische Kunt und Literatur(Leipzig,1826)
- The Familiar Letters of Sir Walter Scott(Boston,1894)
- The Private Letter Books of Sir Walter Scott,ed.W.Partington (1930)
- Select Committee for Considering the Administration of Justice in Bengal( 9th Report),1785.
- Selections from the Letters of Robert Southey,ed.J.W.Warter (1856)
- Selected Speeches of Lord Macaulay,ed.G.M.Young (1935)
- R.Sencourt, India in English Literature(1925)
- E.F.Shannon, 'Locksley Hall and Ivanhoe', Notes and Queries (December 1959),cciv.
- Sir Henry Sharp, 'Anglo-Indian Verse' Essays by Divers Hands (1937),xvi.
- W.A.Shaw, The Knights of England(1906),ii,

- M. Sherwood, Undercurrents of Influence in English Romantic Poetry (Cambridge Mass., 1934)
- A. Sen, Studies in Shelley (Calcutta, 1936)
- Shelley's Literary and Philosophical Criticism, ed. J. Shawcross (1909)
- The Complete Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley (Oxford, 1952)
- The Works of the Reverend Jonathan Shipley (1792)
- (Shore Correspondence) Lord Teignmouth, Memoir of the Life of John, Lord Teignmouth (1843)
- E. Sibree, 'The Sanskrit of Europe', The Indian Appeal, ed. H. L. Kumar (Oxford, March 1891)
- N. K. Sidhanta, The Heroic Age of India (1929)
- Six Sanskrit Plays, ed. H. W. Wells (1964)
- M. A. Smith, The Early History of India (Oxford, 1924)
- W. H. Smoult, A Collection of Orders Made and Passed by the Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William (Calcutta, 1834)
- C. G. Southey, The Life and Correspondence of Robert Southey (1884)
- R. Southey, Authentic Memoirs of George III (1820)
- Specimens of the Later English Poets (1807)
- The Poetical Works of Robert Southey (1884)
- J. A. Stewart, 'Sir William Jones's Revision of the Text of Two Poems of Anacreon' Bulletin of the London School of Oriental and African Studies (1946), iv.
- H. Morse-Stephens, DNB
- E. T. Stokes, The English Utilitarians and India (Oxford, 1959)
- Sir T. Strange, Hindu Law (4th edition, 1864)
- L. S. Sutherland, The East India Company in Eighteenth Century Politics (Oxford, 1952).

- W.W.Tarn, The Greeks in Bactria and India(Cambridge,1951)
- Lord Teignmouth, Memoirs of the Life, Writings and Correspondence of Sir William Jones(1804)
- ed., the Reverend Samuel Wilks(1835)
- Considerations on the Practicability, Policy and Obligation of Communicating to the Natives of India the Knowledge of Christianity(1808)
- The Complete Works of Alfred, Lord Tennyson(1926)
- J.A.K.Thomson, The Classical Background of English Literature (1948)
- The Complete Poetical Works of James Thomson(1951)
- Times Literary Supplement(Thursday November 25,1965)
- S.Timmins, Lord Spencer's Library(1870)
- C.E.Trevelyan, 'Defence of Sir William Jones's System of Oriental Orthography', Journal of the Asiatic Society(August,1834), 413-417
- A.S.Tritton, 'The Student of Arabic', Bulletin of the London School of Oriental and African Studies(1946), iv
- The Letters of Horace Walpole, ed.P.Toynbee(Oxford,1903-1905)
- Horace Walpole's Correspondence, ed.W.S.Lewis(1955)
- J.Steven-Watson, The Reign of George III,1760-1815(1960)
- R.Wellek, A History of Modern Criticism,1750-1950(1955)  
'The Later Eighteenth Century'  
'The Romantic Age'
- R.Wellek and A.Warren, Theory of Literature(1954)
- A.M.Wilberforce, Private Papers of William Wilberforce(1897)
- B.D.Waley, 'Anquetil Duperron and Sir William Jones' History Today(January 1952), ii, 23-33.
- 'Sir William Jones as Sinologue', Bulletin of the London School of Oriental and African Studies(1946), iv.

- B. Willey, The Eighteenth Century Background (1949)
- R. Wharton, Observations on the Authenticity of Bruce's Travels in Abyssinia (1800)
- H. Whitehead, Indian Problems (1924)
- E. H. Whinfield, The Quatrains of Omar Khayyam (1883)
- W. K. Wimsatt and C. Brooks, Literary Criticism: A Short History (New York, 1957)
- L. Winstanley, 'Platonism in Shelley' Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association (1913).
- M. Winternitz, A History of Indian Literature  
translated: S. Ketkar (Calcutta, 1927)  
S. Jha (Calcutta, 1931)
- P. Woodruff, The Men Who Ruled India  
'The Founders' (1954)
- W. Wordsworth, The Prelude, ed. E. de Selincourt (1950)
- Wordsworth's Preface to Lyrical Ballads, ed. W. J. B. Owen, Anglistica (Copenhagen, 1957), ix.
- W. Wraaxall, Historical and Posthumous Memoirs, ed. H. E. Wheatley (1884)
- J. D. Yohannan, 'The Persian Fad in England, 1770-1825', Comparative Literature (1952), iv.
- E. Zeller, Plato and the Older Academy, translated by E. F. Alleyne and A. Goodwin (1898).