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BOMBAY BRANCH

OF THE

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CONTENTS OF VOL. XIX.

ART.	PAGE
I.—The Extant Codices of the Pahlavi Nirangistan. By DASTUR DARAB PESHOTAN SANJANA, B.A.	1
II.—Párasakara Grihya Sútras and the Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXIX. By H. H. DHRUVA, B.A., LL.B.	24
III.—The Nadole Inscription of King Alhanadeva. V. S. 1218. Edited by H. H. DHRUVA, B.A., LL.B.	26
IV.—On the date of Kalidása. By K. B. Pathak, B.A.	35
V.—Note on Brick Figures found in a Buddhist Tower in Kahu, near Mirpur Khas, Sindh. By A. WOODBUEN, I.C.S., with an introduction by J. M. CAMPBELL, I.C.S., LL.D.	44
VI.—On the Authorship of the Nyayabindu. By K. B. PATHAK, B.A.	47
VII.—The Bas-relief of Behram Gour (Behram V.) at Naksh-i-Rastam and his marriage with an Indian Princess. By JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, B.A.	58
VIII.—The Progress and Development of the Aryan Speech: being the first of the Wilson Philological Lectures (1894) in connection with the University of Bombay. By H. H. DHRUVA, B.A., LL.B.	76
IX.—Interpretation of certain passages in the Pancha Sid-dhantika of Varahamihira. By M. P. KHAREGAT, I.C.S.	109
X.—Mahmad of Ghazni and the Legend of Somnath. By R. P. KARKARIA, Esq.	142
XI.—Mandu. By J. M. CAMPBELL, LL.D., I.C.S.	154
XII.—The Tree Blossomed. Shivaji as a Civil Ruler. By the Hon'ble Mr. JUSTICE M. G. RANADE, M.A., LL.B.	202
XIII.—The Telology of the Pahlavi Shikand Gumanik Vijar and Cicero's De Natura Deorum. By R. P. KARKARIA, Esq.	218
XIV.—Firdousi on the Indian Origin of the Game of Chess. By JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, B.A.	224
XV.—Cashmere and the Ancient Persians. By JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, B.A.	237
XVI.—The Portuguese in South Kanara. By Dr. J. GERSON DA CUNHA	249
XVII.—The Antiquity of the Avesta. By JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, B.A.	263
XVIII.—Akbar and the Parsees. By R. P. KARKARIA, Esq.	289
XIX.—A Historical Survey of Indian Logic. By MAHADEVA RAJARAM BODAS, M.A., LL.B.	306
XX.—Inscription on the "Three Gateways," Ahmedabad. By Rev. J. E. ABBOTT.	348
XXI.—A chapter from the Tandya Brahmana of the Sáma Veda and the Látyáyana Sutra, on the admission of the Non-Aryan Society in the Vedic Age. By Rájáram Rámkrishna Bhágavat, Esq.	357
XXII.—The Belief about the future of the Soul among the Ancient Egyptians and Zoroastrians. By JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, B.A.	365
Proceedings of B. B. R. A. Society, April 1894 to June 1897 and Lists of Presents to the Library.	I—CVII.

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No. LIII.]

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[VOL. XIX.]

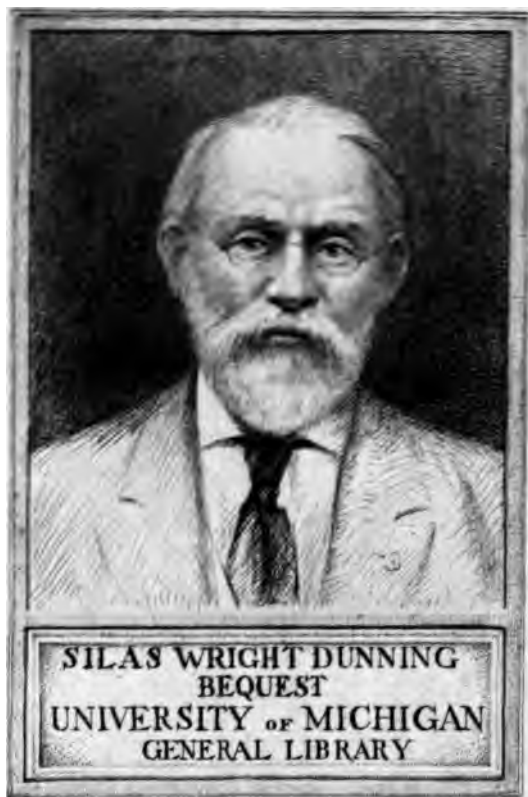
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methods it would be Vaiśākha, and yet there is little doubt the old Astronomers took it to be Chaitra. The explanation is the same. It would be both useful and interesting to find out when the modern methods were introduced and by whom. The only practical difference between these two is as to the naming of the intercalary month ; according to the first system it is called by the name of the succeeding month, and according to the second by that of the preceding.

CHAPTER I.—STANZA 10.

This Stanza shows how to reduce to Sāvāna days, the lunar days or Tithis obtained by the preceding two stanzas for the purpose of calculating the Romaka Ahargaṇa. In this stanza the Kshepa (additive quantity) expressed by the compound समनुहारो has been taken by the editors to mean 514. But I believe it means five multiplied by fourteen or seventy. This construction is permissible and is constantly used in the book *e. g.*, in the compounds अष्टषट्क नवषट्क in Chapter III. Stanza 2 and 3 and other stanzas of the same Chapter and दसुहोद् and धृतिकृत in Chapter VIII., Stanza 6.

I propose this interpretation in order to bring the Kshepa into accord with the positions of the sun and moon given in Chapter VIII. A little consideration will show that the Kshepa divided by 703 is the fractional part of the Tithi that has elapsed at the moment of the epoch, *i. e.*, sunset at Alexandria on Sunday, 20th March 505 A. D. The Tithi multiplied by twelve is equal to the distance of the sun and moon in degrees. It follows that the Kshepa multiplied by twelve and divided by 703 would give the distance of the sun and moon in degrees. If the Kshepa be 514, the distance would thus be

NOTE.— Long after I came to the above conclusion as to the epoch, I happened to read Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit's paper on the same subject in the Indian Antiquary (Vol. 19, p. 47), and I was glad to find that he had come to the same conclusion. The only difference is that he considers the epoch to begin on Tuesday 22nd March 505 A. D., but I have given sufficient reasons above why it should be Monday. I also beg to differ from him as to the reason for the naming of the month ; the reason adopted by him would reverse the ordinary rule that the bright fortnights of both the Amānta and Purnimānta months have the same names : he would make the dark fortnights have the same names, and there is no authority for that. The second reason which he rejects, seems to me to be more probable ; if the intercalary months were reckoned from the mean positions of the sun and moon, then certainly the month of the epoch would be the intercalary Chaitra.

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In other words, add for 107 years one to the sum obtained after multiplying by ten under the first rule before division by 9761.

The third rule I read thus:—

अधमासकेषु भूयो
ऽप्येक एकसुखपञ्चकेन्द्रियाब्देषु
देवो

I interpret it thus:—Again add one to the sum from which the intercalary months are obtained (*i. e.*, to the solar days multiplied by ten) for every 55061 years.”

Before proceeding to demonstrate the truth of these rules it will be best to put them in a clear mathematical form. It is evident that the first rule gives a fraction by which the solar days have to be multiplied in order to reduce them to the intercalary months; the fraction is $\frac{10}{9761}$. The second rule gives another fraction for the same purpose, and it is $\frac{1}{107 \times 360 \times 9761}$. For, suppose the number of solar days to be “S”; as 107 years contain 107×360 solar days, the number to be added to the numerator before division by 9761 will be $\frac{S}{107 \times 360}$; the total will thus be $\frac{10S + S}{9761}$, or $\frac{11S}{9761}$. In exactly the same way, the third rule gives a third fraction $\frac{1}{55061 \times 360 \times 9761}$. The result of the three rules is that the solar days have to be multiplied by the sum of these three fractions in order to be reduced to intercalary months.

It will be seen that I have interfered as little as possible with the text, specially the part of it giving the figures. In the first rule the only new suggestion is as to the last figure of the denominator; the text clearly requires the denominator to be of four figures, the numerator being multiplied by ten, and the fourth figure can hardly be anything but one. An objection might be raised to my interpreting the word Tithi as a solar day; but the last portion of the solar days is really represented by Tithis, the Tithis of the current year being added to the solar days of the years elapsed. The last figure of the years in the third rule is corrupt; the nearest approach to it would be one, and I have accordingly put that, although as I shall presently show two would be nearer the truth. I will now proceed to the demonstration.

The demonstration consists in proving that the mean motions of the sun and moon according to the Pauliśa Siddhánta given in other parts of the book give precisely the same fractions as those deduced above. According to Chapter III., Stanza I., the sun completes one sidereal revolution in $\frac{43831}{120}$ days. The mean motion of the moon is most probably the same as that for the Vasishṭha Siddhánta given in Chapter II, Stanzas 2 and 3 (see Dr. Thibant's Preface, Page XXXII). This mean motion is according to the editors 110 Revolutions, 11 signs, 7 degrees, 30 minutes and $\frac{2}{2971}$ of a sign in 3,031 days. For good reasons given in my discussion of those stanzas, I believe there is no fraction, but as the original text itself would read two kalás and a Kshepa quantity. This gives for the mean motion of the moon in 3031 days, 110 Rev.-11 S.-7°-32', which differs only by four-fifths of a minute from the editors'. This being reduced to minutes becomes 2396252. Hence one sidereal revolution of the moon consisting of 21,600' must be performed in $\frac{21600 \times 3031}{2396252}$ days. As the numbers to be dealt with are large it will be best to work with symbols in their place. Let $a=43831$, $b=120$, $c=21600 \times 3031$, & $d=2396252$. Then the length of a sidereal revolution of the sun in days is $\frac{a}{b}$, and that of the moon $\frac{c}{d}$. Hence the number of lunar sidereal revolutions in a year is $\frac{ad}{bc}$. The number of lunar months in any period is the number of lunar minus the number of the solar revolutions in that period. Hence the number of lunar months in a year is $\frac{ad}{bc} - 1$. The intercalary months in any period is the number of lunar months in that period minus the solar months. Hence the intercalary months in a year is $\frac{ad}{bc} - 13$. A year consists of 360 solar days, and therefore the solar days have to be multiplied by $\frac{\frac{ad}{bc} - 13}{360}$ to reduce them to intercalary months. The fraction in its simple form is $\frac{ad-13bc}{360bc}$, which in figures comes to $\frac{2897545412}{860 \times 7856352000}$. It is this very fraction which has been used by Varáhamihira and very cleverly broken up into parts. If the denominator of this fraction be divided by the numerator the quotient will be something more than 976.09. Hence

the fraction is a little more than $\frac{1}{9761}$ or $\frac{10}{9761}$. It is the first fraction of Varāhamihira. This subtracted from the original leaves as remainder $\frac{73566532}{360 \times 9761 \times 7856352000}$. If we again reduce the numerator to one by dividing the denominator by it, it will be found that the quotient is a fraction over 106 multiplied by 360×9761 ; hence the last remainder is just larger than $\frac{1}{107 \times 9761 \times 360}$ which is the second fraction of Varāhamihira. Subtracting this from the last remainder we obtain $\frac{15266924}{360 \times 9761 \times 107 \times 7856352000}$. On again trying to reduce the numerator to one, it will be found that the denominator is a trifle over 55062 multiplied by 360×9761 . This therefore gives us the third fraction of Varāhamihira.

To understand the full significance of this proof, it is necessary to consider how largely, any, the slightest variation in the mean motion of the moon affects the years given in the second and third rules. It will be found that if the mean motion of the moon in 3031 days be diminished by the fiftieth part of a second, the third rule will entirely vanish, the number of years being reduced to infinity; if the diminution be less than by a fiftieth, the years will vary from 55063 to infinity; if there be 10,000 years more in the third rule, the mean motion will be $\frac{1}{825}$ th of a second less. Similarly one second less in the mean motion will increase the years in the second rule by 12, and one second more reduce them by nine. What chance is there then of the figures in the text agreeing so closely with those deduced by calculation from the mean motions, unless both the interpretation of the text and the mean motions were correct?

I am unable to interpret the rules for reducing the lunar days to Śavana days given in the same stanzas. According to the *data* given above, it will be found that the fraction by which the lunar days have to be multiplied to get the Kshepa Tithis is, $\frac{30(ad-bc)-ac}{80(ad-bc)} = \frac{45615744760}{2915213082360}$. Similarly the following few figures will be of use for comparison with those of the other Siddhāntas. According to the above *data*.

	Ds.	Gh.	P.	Vp.	Vvp.
The length of a lunar sidereal revolution is ...	27	19	18	0	$8\frac{1}{2}$
" " " synodic month is ...	29	31	50	5	55
The number of solar days in which an intercalary month occurs is ...	...	...	...	976	5 50 51 35

	Ds. Gh. P. Vp. Vvp.
The number of Tithis in which a Kshaya	
Tithi occurs is	63 54 32 43 38
The number of lunar months in a year is ...	12·3688156
The number of lunar days in a year is ...	371 3 52 5 5
The close agreement with the synodic month	
of the Romaka Siddhánta 29·31·50·5·37 is	
worth noting. That of the old Surya	
Siddhánta is	29 31 50 6 53

CHAPTER I.—STANZAS 17, 18, 19 and 20.

These stanzas describe the cycle of seven years of 360 days each. I have to suggest a few amendments in the interpretation of these for evident reasons. It is clear that the Kshepa 2227 days, represents the period of the cycle elapsed before the beginning of the Ahargaṇa, *i. e.*, before Monday, 21st March 505 A.D. Hence the cycle began on Sunday, 14th February 499 A.D., and the next cycle commenced on Sunday, 8th January 506 A.D. It follows that in the 18th stanza the amount to be subtracted after multiplication of the year by 3 must be 2, and not 4; the word cannot be अद्भि or अद्भि, but some word representing 2 such as अद्भि. For, suppose the remainder after division by 2520 is less than 360, the ruler of that year will be clearly the sun; the current year one being multiplied by three would have to be diminished by two, and not four to obtain one, the symbol of Sunday.

In the 19th stanza it is not the Ahargaṇa that has to be divided by 30, but the remainder after division by 2520, else the months would begin on the 2228th day of the cycle. Moreover, one for the current month has to be added after multiplication by two and not before; an example similar to that for the year will make this clear.

In the 20th stanza, again, it is not the Ahargaṇa that has to be divided by seven, but the remainder after dividing by 2520; else the first day would be Monday.

One would at first sight suppose that this cycle of 2520 days is a purely artificial institution of the astronomers like that of the modern Surya Siddhánta, which is made to begin from the supposed first day of creation, Sunday. But calculation will show that this is not the case. Creation began $452\frac{3}{4}$ Maháyugas before the Kaliyuga, and Varáhamihira's Ahargaṇa began 1,317,123 days after the Kaliyuga. Now if we take the length of the Maháyuga, the same as that of our

author, *viz.*, 1,577,917,800 days, it will be found that the 452½ Maháyugas yield just 2070 days on dividing by 2520, rejecting whole cycles. The period after the Kaliyuga gives 1683 days. 2070 days *plus* 1683 days give one cycle *plus* 1233 days of another. Hence this cycle would have begun 1233 days before 21st March 505 A.D. or on 4th November 501 A.D., if it had commenced with creation. In the same way it will be found that a cycle of the modern Surya Siddhánta commenced on 19th August 501 A.D.

The question then is, what is the cycle of Varáhamihira? Is it the continuation of some old calendar with a year of 360 days? Such a year was in use in India for sacrificial purposes (see the Kálamadhava, the chapter on years); the name Sávana itself being derived from सु to extract the Soma juice. It is a strange coincidence that the Egyptians also used a year of 360 days for religious purposes according to Diodorus Siculus.

CHAPTER I.—STANZAS 23-25.

These stanzas have been thought by the editors to contain only astrological matter and therefore to be of altogether subordinate interest. As a matter of fact they contain the Persian calendar of the year of the epoch 505 A.D., and are of the greatest interest at least to a Parsi. The meaning of the 23rd stanza as correctly given by the editors is "Increase the Ahargaṇa by one and divide by 365; divide the remainder by 30; the quotient represents the months and the remainder is to be considered as belonging to the lords of the degrees of the signs." The next two stanzas give the 30 names of the 30 lords of the 30 degrees of each sign. In fact, these names are those of the thirty angels to whom each day of the Persian month is dedicated, as the identification of the greater number of them, and the order in which they stand proves conclusively.

The first is कर्मजोद्ध *i. e.*, Brahmá; he is the same as Hormuzd, the principal deity.

The second is प्रजेश *i. e.*, the one who presides over the living creatures. That is one of the principal functions of Bahman.

The third is स्वर्गी, the lord of heaven. So is Ardibehesht who holds the keys of heaven.

The names of the next four I fail to identify as the text is corrupt. Possibly there has been an attempt to transliterate the original

Pehlvi words as I shall show has been the case as respects the 10th and 20th.

The eighth is कृमला *i. e.*, the female counterpart of the highest deity. The angel of the eighth Persian day *Depúdar* or *Din. Pavan, Ataro* is also feminine and represents the highest deity (See *Sháyastla Sháyast*, Chap XXII. and XXIII.).

The ninth is अनल *i. e.*, fire. It is the same as Adar.

The tenth is अन्त. It seems to be a transliteration for Anáhiti the classical Anáitis, *i. e.*, Ábán the angel of the tenth day. In the process the word has been changed, probably by the copyist to the familiar Anta the destroyer, which certainly was not an attribute of Ábán.

The eleventh is रवि, *i. e.*, the sun. He is the same as Khorshed.

The twelfth is सखी, *i. e.*, the moon. He is the same as Mohr.

The thirteenth is इन्द्र the god of rain. So is the angel of the thirteenth Persian day Tir.

The fourteenth is गो, *i. e.*, the cow or bull, which is the same as Gosh.

The fifteenth is नियति. It is feminine and means self-restraint or a religious duty. In the latter significance it possibly represents the female *Din-Pavan-Mítro* or *Dapmehr*.

The sixteenth is called हर This seems again like an attempt at transliterations, the M of Mehr being dropped by copyists, and changed to the familiar Hara, *i. e.*, Shiva.

The seventeenth is called भव in one manuscript and त्रव in another. Possibly the last may be Trátá, the protector, which is one of the principal parts of Shrosh.

The eighteenth is गुह in one manuscript and गुरु in the other. Justice is one of the principal characteristics of Rashnu, and so it is of Guru the teacher of the gods.

The nineteenth is पितृ, *i. e.*, the deceased fathers. There can be little doubt about their identification with the Fravashis, to whom the nineteenth day is dedicated by the Persians.

The twentieth is वरुण. Can it be वराण closely akin to the classical Varanes for Behram, which has been converted into the familiar Varuṇa?

The twenty-first and twenty-second are बलदेव and समीरण. Both are names of the wind or air, and represent Rám and Guvád.

The twenty-third is यम. I fail to see any connection between him and Depdin.

The twenty-fourth is वाक्, *i. e.*, the goddess of speech and wisdom. So are Din and her companion Chisti, both females.

The twenty-fifth is श्री, the bestower of wealth and happiness. It is an accurate translation of the later idea of the female Arshisang. The same word has been used for her in the Sanskrit Ashirvad.

The twenty-sixth is धनद, the male bestower of wealth a sort of counterpart of Shri as Arstad is of Arshisang. He is the increaser, the one who makes the world grow.

The twenty-seventh is गिरय, *i. e.*, the mountains. The firmament is considered in Parsi books to be made of stone, and that is possibly why Ásmán has been so translated.

The twenty-eighth is धात्री, *i. e.*, the earth. It is an accurate translation of Zamyad.

The twenty-ninth is वेधा the creator, the ordainer. It may represent Mahrespad, the religious and heavenly law which ordains. If the word were Vedá it would be a better translation.

The thirtieth is पर पुरुष, *i. e.*, the last person or the being who underlies all creation. That is but another name for the mystic eternal, and boundless light represented by Anerán. But possibly the epithet means nothing more than the last angel of the month.

The identification of the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 8th, 9th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 19th, 21st, 22nd, 24th, 25th and 28th names is, I think, beyond doubt. These names could not occur by accident in exactly the same places in which they occur in the Parsi month. The year, it will be seen from Stanza 23, has the same constitution as the Parsi year, *viz.*, 12 months each of 30 days, with 5 intercalary days at the end. As the Abargaya begins on Monday, and as one day has to be added to it, it is clear this year is made to begin on Sunday, 20th March, 505 A. D.

It will be found on calculation that this year is exactly the year of the Persians described by Alberuni in his *Asár-i-Báki* which has been translated by Dr. Sacha and called the "Chronology of Ancient

Nations." Alberuni describes two kinds of Zoroastrians years, that of the Zoroastrians of Persia proper, and that of the Zoroastrians of Khwarism and Sogdiáná, i. e., those of Khorasan, Samarkand and other regions to the east and north of Persia proper. In the first kind of year the five intercalary days were inserted at the end of the 8th month Ábán, and in the second at the end of the 12th Aspadád. This distinction is clearly laid down in his chapter on the Persian months. Alberuni explains in the same chapter that these intercalary days came to be inserted at the end of Ábán, because the last two intercalary months (Kabisas) were inserted at the end of Ábán in the reign of Yasdegird bin Shápur, and it was the custom in Persia proper to insert these days immediately after the intercalary months. Working back from the modern Persian Calendar which is that of the Kadmi Parsis, or from the Epoch of Yasdegird Shahriar 1st Farvardin corresponding to 16th June 632 A. D., an easy calculation will show that 14th March 505 A. D. was 30th Ábán. If the intercalary days be inserted after Ábán, the month Adár will begin on 20th March and we shall have the year described by Varáhamihira.

The fact that the calendar described by our author has the form given to it by Yasdegird bin Shápur is of considerable interest. That monarch reigned from 404 to 421 A. D. Hence the Hindu astronomers must have been interchanging ideas with the Persian at least after 404 A. D. I think that may have happened even much later, viz., after the year of our epoch 505 A. D. This year would naturally have been chosen by Persian astronomers for their epoch; according to the theory of the Gahubárs or seasonal festivals, the last of the intercalary days is the Hamaspathamedam, which probably means the day on which the day and night are equal; the year 505 A. D. was the first of the four years in which this last intercalary day fell on the day of the vernal equinox and therefore all the seasonal festivals were exactly in their proper places; such a year never occurred again on account of the neglect of intercalation. Can it be by chance that our author chose the same epoch? Is it not more probable that he was led to choose it by the example of the Persian astronomers of his time reported possibly in the Paulísa or Romaka Siddhántas or their commentaries?

The connection of Persian and Hindu astronomy is a subject to which little attention has hitherto been paid by scholars, but it is well worth study as likely to throw considerable light on the sources

of later Hindu astronomy. No doubt there is little left of old Persian astronomy, but probably a search of the earlier Arab writers might furnish some facts. In this connexion Alberuni furnishes an interesting fact. According to him (see page 11 of Dr. Sachu's translation) the Persian year was of 365 days, a fourth of a day, and a fifth of an hour, *i. e.*, 365 days, 6 hours and 12 minutes precisely the year of the Paulísa Siddhánta. On the other hand, we know that the Persians used Hindu astronomical tables as well as Greek, and their own (see page XLVI. of the Preface to the 4th volume of West's Pehlvi Texts).

CHAPTER II.—STANZA I.

This Stanza has been left untranslated by the editors. An examination of the numbers contained therein leaves hardly any doubt that it contains a description of a year of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days, composed of solar months from whence the position of the sun on any day can be easily deduced.

I propose to read it thus :--

कृतशुणितमृत्युतमेकतुर्म
 नुहतं षड्यमेन्दुभिर्विभजेत् ।
 दशित्खल्लख्यमकृतस्वर
 नवनववसुषट्कविषयोः ॥

I translate it thus :—“ Multiply the Ahargana by four, and] add six ; divide the sum by 1461 ; divide it up by 126 diminished by one, zero, zero, zero, two, four, seven, nine, nine, eight, six and five (*i. e.*, subtract from it successively as far as you can 125, 126, 126, 126, 124, 122, 119, 117, 117, 118, 120 and 121).” The elipsis to be supplied is “The number of these sums subtracted will represent the whole signs the sun has passed from Aries, and the remainder divided by the number for the next sign will represent the fraction of the sign that has to be passed.”

This method of expression is common in Sanscrit works ; it is used with respect to the calculation of Sines, as well as of the Lagna or horoscope by the Udayas. The Kshepa 6 represents that the sun entered Aries a day and a half before the epoch, which is correct. I give below side by side the length of each solar month in days,

Ghatis and Pals according to this system, and of each such month according to modern Hindu calculations rejecting fractions under one Pal. The reader will judge whether the identification is complete or not, remembering that the modern year is 31 Pals longer :—

Name of the month.	Length according to modern Hindu calculations.			Length according to this stanza.	
	Dys.	Ghts.	Pls.	Dys.	Ghts.
Chaitra	30	55	56	31	15
Vaisákha	31	25	53	31	30
Jyeshtha	31	37	57	31	30
Ashádha	31	28	50	31	30
Shrávāṇa	31	1	27	31	0
Bhádrapada	30	26	37	30	30
Aśvin	29	53	40	29	45
Kártika	29	29	25	29	15
Márgśírsha	29	18	57	29	15
Pausha	29	26	45	29	30
Mágha	29	49	5	30	0
Fálguna	30	20	59	30	15

CHAPTER II.—STANZA 3.

I submit the last two lines of this stanza should be read thus :—

भादि कला द्विगुणघनाः

शशिमृनिनवयमा श्वराद्याद्याः ॥

I propose to translate thus “(The preceding amount) begins with signs. Add to that minutes equal to twice the number of Ghanas. Add to that 2 signs, 9 degrees, 7 minutes and 1 second.”

The construction of the last line is similar to that of the 6th stanza

of the 17th Chapter about the meaning of which there can be no doubt.

One reason for the proposed reading is that it is more in accordance with the extant text. A second reason is that it exactly accords with the rules for the calculation of the Ahargana given in the first Chapter and already discussed by me. A third reason is that it gives the longitude of the moon's apogee at the epoch near its true place and very near that of the Romaka Siddhānta, whereas the interpretation of the editors gives the apogee nearly 60° behind its true place. This is easy to ascertain by working out the rules given in the 2nd and 3rd stanzas. The Ahargana is zero; add 1936; there is no Ghana; multiply by 9 and divide by 248; the quotient is 70 Gatis or anomalistic revolutions, and the remainder 64 Padas or ninths of a day. Hence the moon was in apogee $7\frac{1}{9}$ days before the epoch; as each Gati gives a motion of $3^\circ 4\frac{2}{3}'$, in 70 Gatis the motion is $215^\circ-43'$. If the editors' interpretation be correct and there be no Kshepa $215^\circ-43'$ would be the longitude of the apogee $7\frac{1}{9}$ days before the epoch, and it would be about $46'$ more at the epoch or $216^\circ-29'$. Any modern table will show that it is nearly 281° ; according to the old Sūrya Siddhānta it is $279^\circ-44'$; according to the Romaka it is $286^\circ-58'$. If the proposed interpretation be adopted, and a Kshepa of $2s-9^\circ-7'-1'$ be added it would be $285^\circ-36'$ which it will be seen is near enough to the truth and very near the Romaka.

I must however state that there is yet some defect in the constants. The longitude of the mean moon even according to the present interpretation is not right. It is $18^\circ-32'$ according to this interpretation and 309° according to that of the editors. The first would be the longitude on Tuesday evening, the 22nd March 505 A. D., according to the Sūrya Siddhānta, and on Tuesday morning according to the Romaka; the second would be that on Thursday, the 17th, about mid-day. Probably the last figure of 1936 is not correct; if it were 1935 the longitude would be that on Monday morning and therefore correct. This Kshepa represents the number of days before the epoch when the moon was in apogee at sunrise or some other fixed time; if it were 1936 the day would be 2nd December 499 A. D., and if it were 1935 it would be 3rd December, which is also the day of the full moon. The latter must be correct as the moon is very nearly in apogee on the morning of 3rd December 499 A. D. If so the position of the mean moon at sunrise on the day of our epoch will be $5^\circ-22'$.

CHAPTER II.—STANZAS 4, 5, 6.

The fifth and sixth stanzas have been considered unintelligible by the editors. To understand them it is necessary to re-translate the latter half of the 4th stanza also. I translate them as follows:—"124 Padas make half a Gati. The first half Gati is Dhana and the second Rīṇa. For the first half Gati add $180^{\circ}-4'$. Take degrees equal to the Padas, or Padas remaining after subtracting 124; then (add) the minutes (worked out as follows) in the case of Dhana and Rīṇa (half Gatis respectively) (In the first case) subtract one from the Padas, multiply by five, add 1094, multiply the sum by the Padas, and divide by 63; (in the second case) subtract 5 times the Padas minus one from 2414, multiply by the Padas and divide by 63."

These stanzas give rules for finding the position of the true moon; having obtained the motion for whole Gatis by the 2nd and 3rd stanzas, we have to make additions to it for the Padas. To put it clearly let the Padas be "p;" if they are less than 124, the amount to be added is $p^{\circ} + \frac{[1094 + 5(p-1)]}{63} p'$. If they are more than 124 then for 124 add $180^{\circ}+4'$; let the remainder be p., then add $p^{\circ} + \frac{[2414-5(p-1)]}{63} p'$.

These formulæ give an extremely simple theory of the moon based on arithmetical progression. The motion is supposed to be $1^{\circ} + \left(\frac{1094'}{63}\right)$ for the first Pada (or ninth of a day) after apogee; it is then supposed to increase from Pada to Pada by the common difference $\frac{10'}{63}$ until the moon becomes perigee. For the first Pada after the perigee it is $1^{\circ} + \left(\frac{2414'}{63}\right)$, and it then diminishes from Pada to Pada by the same common difference $\frac{10'}{63}$. It will be noticed that the motion in the first Pada before the apogee, differs from that in the first Pada after by $\frac{90'}{63}$, and the same is the case with the first Pada before and after the perigee. The reason for this anomaly becomes intelligible when we calculate the motions for days instead of Padas; it is then found that the motion for the first day after the apogee is the least, that the motion for the second day after the apogee is the same as that for the first day before, that for the third day after the same as that for the second day before, and so on, the common difference for a day being $(124)'$.

The following table will show these motions :—

The motion of the moon.		For which day.
11°	42'	1st day after apogee.
11°	54 $\frac{5}{7}$ '	2nd day after apogee and 1st day before apogee.
12°	7 $\frac{5}{7}$ '	3rd " " " " 2nd " " "
12°	20 $\frac{3}{7}$ '	4th " " " " 3rd " " "
12°	33 $\frac{3}{7}$ '	5th " " " " 4th " " "
12°	46 $\frac{3}{7}$ '	6th " " " " 5th " " "
12°	59 $\frac{1}{7}$ '	7th " " " " 6th " " "
13°	12'	8th " " " " 7th " " "
13°	24 $\frac{6}{7}$ '	9th " " " " 8th " " "
13°	37 $\frac{5}{7}$ '	10th " " " " 9th " " "
13°	50 $\frac{3}{7}$ '	11th " " " " 10th " " "
14°	3 $\frac{5}{7}$ '	12th " " " " 11th " " "
14°	16 $\frac{3}{7}$ '	13th " " " " 12th " " "
11°	14 $\frac{5}{8}$ '	13 $\frac{5}{8}$ th " " " " 12 $\frac{3}{8}$ th " " "
14°	39 $\frac{1}{2}$ '	First day after perigee.

The motion is equally distributed on both sides of the first day after the apogee and first day after the perigee, and not round the apogee and perigee themselves. This also explains why the motion in the first half of the Gati is nearly 3° smaller than that in the second half; working out with the formulæ already given it will be found that the motion for the first 124 Padas is $180^\circ + 3\frac{47'}{53}$, which is put equal to $180^\circ + 4'$, similarly for the next 124 Padas, the motion will be found to be $183^\circ + \frac{8'}{9}$, hence the total motion in one Gati is $363^\circ + 4\frac{8}{9}$. The second and third stanzas give $363^\circ + 4\frac{9'}{10}$. This proves that the interpretation is correct.

It is an interesting question whether this theory of the lunar motion is indigenous or borrowed. I do not know of any other astronomical system containing this theory. It seems to be indigenous, for the idea of arithmetical progression is also employed in the same Siddhānta for calculating the varying lengths of the day and night during the year.

The interpretations now given of the obscure stanzas of this chapter will show that the connection of the luni-solar system of the Vasishtha Siddhānta with the Vākyam process of the Tamil

astronomers described by Warren is much closer than the editors thought. In fact, it seems to me that the latter is derived from the former, certain corrections based on the more scientific Siddhāntas being introduced, but the old form being almost entirely retained. I will give a few details to prove this. It will be seen that the solar months are used and not lunar, and the longitude of the sun is determined from the lengths of these solar months exactly as in the Vākyam process. Both for the sun and the moon, the true positions are determined directly without determining the mean exactly as in the Vākyam process. The Vākyam process derives the longitude of the moon from its anomalistic position exactly like the Siddhānta in question. The Vedam of the Vākyam process $7s-2^{\circ}-0'-7''$ is nothing more than the true position of the moon, when it is in apogee at sunrise on the day of its epoch 1,600,984 days after the Kaliyuga, i. e., Friday, 22nd May 1282 A. D.; this will be found on working out its position with the modern Surya Siddhānta; it will be discovered that the moon is in apogee on the day in question about 7 pals after sunrise, and that its longitude at sunrise is $7s-2^{\circ}-15\frac{1}{2}'$; the difference of $15\frac{1}{2}'$ seems to be made up in table 47 of Warren giving the correction due to the interval between mean sunrise at Lankā and true sunrise at Trivallore; this correction has been kept all throughout positive by adding to it the difference of $15\frac{1}{2}'$ or something very near it. Exactly corresponding to 22nd May 1282 of the Vākyam process, is 2nd or 3rd December 499 A. D. of our Siddhānta, the day on which the moon is in apogee at sunrise. The Vedam corresponds to the Kshepa $2s-9^{\circ}-7'-1''$ the position of the moon on 2nd or 3rd December 499 A. D. The main period of the Vākyam process is 12,372 days, in which the moon is taken to complete 449 revolutions; it also employs the subsidiary periods of 3,031 days for 110 revolutions, and 248 for 9 revolutions, which are employed by our Siddhānta, the first being its principal period. It will be seen that the correction in this respect is very small, for if 449 revolutions take place in 12,372 days, 110 revolutions will take place in only 8 Pals more than 3,031 days, and 9 revolutions in 32 Pals less than 248 days. The last correction for the moon's place mentioned by Warren is applied because the moon is nearer its apogee for each Devaram or period of 248 days by 32 Pals; the difference between the mean and true motions for that period of 32 Pals is added. Such a correction would also be necessary for our Siddhānta as 110 Revolutions in 3,031 days, give 9 revolutions in 31 Pals

less than 248 days, but being small this correction has not been applied.

It is interesting to see how the simple astronomy of southern India of the time of Varáhamihira, has been subsequently modified, corrections based on the more scientific Siddhántas or on original observation applied, and yet the old form retained almost in its entirety. Possibly even the elements given by Varahamihira are not those of this Siddhánta when it was originally started. Possibly the mean motion of the moon has been borrowed from the Panlísá Siddhánta.

CHAPTER III.—STANZA 4.

This and the following five stanzas give rules for finding the true place of the moon and its motion in one day according to the Panlísá Siddhánta. I have not been able to find the meaning of the next five stanzas, but that of the 4th is pretty clear and is in accordance with the theory of the moon given in the second chapter. According to this theory the Bhukti or motion of the moon for the first day in the first half of the Gati is 702'; that for the second day is $\frac{90'}{7}$ more, that for the third $\frac{180'}{7}$ more and so on, i. e., $\frac{10}{7}$ times the number of the Pada last preceding the day; exactly the same rule is given in the first two verses of this stanza if we interpret the *dworsnagañ pñññ* as the Pada last preceding the day. Again according to the same theory, the motion for the first day in the second half of the Gati is 879 1/7'; that for any subsequent day can be obtained by subtracting $\frac{90'}{7}$ for each succeeding day, i. e., a number equal to $\frac{10}{7}$ times the number of the Pada last preceding the day. This rule is prescribed in the second part of the stanza, but by some accident the figures 879 have been inverted and changed to 978.

CHAPTER III.—STANZAS 20 and 21.

I think the original reading of the last word of the first line of the 20th stanza *चके* is quite correct, and the emendation *चके* is not. As the stanza stands it conveys nothing more than the well-known rule that Vaidhrita is the 27th Yoga and Vyatipáta the 17th.

When the sun is as much in advance of $8\frac{1}{2}$ Nakshatras, i. e., the middle of Áśleshá, as the moon is behind it, it is clear the sum of their Nakshatras must be 17 and then Vyatipáta occurs. The 21st

stanza, when it asserts that the solstice was in its proper place when it was in the middle of Áśleshá, means that at that time the Yoga Vyatipáta was in accord with its original significance. For Vyatipáta originally signified a particular configuration of the sun and moon, *vis.*, when they were each at the same distance from the solstice on opposite sides of it, so that they rose on the horizon at the same spot, and yet one was going southwards and the other northwards, and hence they were supposed to be opposed to each other and to fight. Hence when the solstice was in the middle of Áśleshá the technical Yoga Vyatipáta coincided with the true Vyatipáta, and in fact must date from that period.

Vaidhrita happens when the sun is as much in advance of the end of Revati or the middle of Chitrá as the moon is behind it. This Yoga could have had no particular significance until the vernal equinox coincided with the end of Revati, and the autumnal with the middle of Chitrá. Hence it also happens that the Paitamaha Siddhánta (See Chapter XII. of our book) mentions the Vyatipáta Yoga but not the Vaidhrita, for that Siddhánta dates long before the time when the Zodiac began with Áśvini.

CHAPTER III.—STANZA 29.

This stanza, left untranslated, means nothing more than that the Kshepa or longitude of Ráhu at the time of the epoch is one minute less than 26° of Scorpio, and that the mean motion in the Ahargana obtained by the former stanza should be subtracted from the Kshepa to obtain the head of Ráhu (the ascending node), and six signs added to it to obtain his tail (the descending node). The longitude so given is accurate. According to modern tables I find it to be a few minutes less than 26° of Scorpio. According to Varáhamihira's Surya Siddhánta it is $6'$ more than 26° of Scorpio, and according to his Romaka $11'$ less.

CHAPTERS IX. AND XVI.

There are good reasons for believing that Áryabhaṭa either edited the old Surya Siddhánta or else that he wrote a work in exact accordance with it. I will give them one after the other.

The editors have proved that the Bhagaṇas, *i. e.*, revolutions in a Maháyuga of the sun, moon, her nodes and apogee, Venus, Mars and Saturn given in Chapters IX. and XVI. as those of the old Surya

Siddhānta are the same as those of the extant *Āryabhaṭīyam*. They have also proved that the apogees and epicycles are the same as those ascribed to *Āryabhaṭa* by Brahmagupta in his *Khaṇḍa Khādyaka*.

I will show first that the mean places of the above said heavenly bodies, according to the old *Surya Siddhānta*, are exactly the same as those to be derived from the *Āryabhaṭīyam* at the epoch of *Āryabhaṭa*, *vis.*, the end of the 3600th year of the *Kaliyuga*. The learned Pandit has proved in the Sanskrit commentary that the mean places of all the heavenly bodies at the beginning of creation are at the beginning of Aries. There are 452½ *Mahāyugas* from the beginning of creation to that of the present *Kaliyuga*; hence the *Bhagaṇas* multiplied by this number will give the positions of the different bodies at the beginning of *Kali*. It will thus be found that in the beginning of *Kali*, the sun, moon and planets are at the beginning of Aries, the moon's apogee is at the beginning of Cancer, and her node at that of *Librá*; these positions are therefore the same as those of the *Āryabhaṭīyam*. But in the case of the old *Surya Siddhānta* *Kaliyuga* begins at midnight, and according to the *Āryabhaṭīyam* at sunrise; and hence at the beginning of *Kali* the heavenly bodies of the former are six hours in advance of those of the latter. This difference will be made up exactly in 3600 years. For it is clear that for the same number of years in both cases the mean motions will be the same, but the years of the *Surya* being larger than those of the *Ārya Siddhānta* for the same amount of motion the planets will take more time in the former. Now the *Mahāyuga* of the former is larger than that of the latter by just 300 days, and as 3600 years is the twelve hundredth part of a *Mahāyuga* 3600 years of the former will be larger than those of the latter by the 1200th part of 300 days or exactly 6 hours. As the former began 6 hours before the latter, the ends will coincide: in fact, the 3600th year of both will terminate exactly at mid-day, and the mean positions of the planets in both cases will be the same at that time.

But *Āryabhaṭa* is himself reported to have also begun the *Kaliyuga* at midnight in some other work (see the 20th Stanza of the 15th Chapter). It follows from what has been said above that if *Āryabhaṭa* wanted to keep the mean places for his own epoch the same according to both systems, he must have lengthened the *Mahāyuga* by 300 days. There can be little doubt that he must have kept the mean places of the heavenly bodies for his own time the same according to both systems, because that was a matter of observation; and

hence he must also have used the same length of the Maháyuga as the old Surya Siddhánta.

I will show presently when dealing with the 15th and 16th Stanzas of Chapter IX. that the sizes of the earth, moon and sun and the distances of the two latter from the former also closely resemble those of Áryabhaṭa, being very different from those of the modern Surya Siddhánta.

On the other hand the modern Surya Siddhánta, which is probably a recast of the old one by some later writer, does connect itself by a very important date given in it with Áryabhaṭa. According to the theory of precession contained in it, the Hindu Zodiac commenced at the vernal equinox in the beginning of Kali and also at the end of the 3600th year after Kali, and that is again the epoch of Áryabhaṭa. Not only does this follow from the theory of precession given in Chapter III. Stanza 9, of the modern Surya Siddhánta, but the labours of Prof. Whitney have proved that the stellar longitudes in Chapter VIII. are also calculated for that date. The editor of the modern treatise either borrowed them from the old one, or else calculated them for that date. In the first case it follows that the old treatise was edited by Áryabhaṭa himself; in the second case it follows that it was the opinion of the modern editor that Áryabhaṭa was the founder of modern Hindu astronomy.

CHAPTER IX.—STANZA 5.

The Kshepa of Ráhu in this stanza is not given by the editors as too corrupt. It can, however, be easily found on the assumption that it is at the beginning of Librá at the commencement of Kali, and that its revolutions in a Maháyuga are 232226. These revolutions multiplied by the number of days elapsed since Kali 1317123, and divided by the number of days in a Maháyuga will give $193\frac{1}{2}$ revolutions and $\frac{543111498}{1577917800}$ th of a revolution; this has to be reduced to the denominator 1834582 employed in the book; the numerator multiplied by this denominator and divided by its own denominator gives the Kshepa 631454; out of this 135 have to be subtracted as the Kshepa obtained is that for mid-night; the true Kshepa is 631319. The figures given in the text are नवकोकपक्षरामेन्दुवहनक्षत्राः; these are the identical figures found above if पक्ष be removed, and नव taken to mean six. It is clear that one figure has to be removed because the numerator cannot be larger than the denominator.

CHAPTER IX.—STANZAS 15 AND 16.

I propose to read these stanzas thus:—

मुनिकृतगुणोन्निबन्धः
 स्फुटकर्णः खकृतभाजितोऽर्कस्य ।
 कक्षेति चन्द्रकर्णो
 विग्नः कक्षा घर्षांकस्य ॥
 खवसुखसुमनीन्नुविषया
 भानोः खकृतर्तुवसुगुणाः क्षाशिनः
 तात्कालिकानामर्थं
 स्फुटकक्षाभ्यां पृथग्विभजेत् ॥

I translate them as follows:—“(15) The true hypotenuse multiplied by 5347 and divided by 40 gives the Kakshá of the sun; the true hypotenuse of the moon multiplied by ten gives the Kakshá of the moon. (16) Divide 517080 by the Kakshá of the sun, and 38640 by that of the moon; the quotients are the diameters of the sun and moon respectively in minutes.”

It will be seen that the method of translation is the same as that of the editors, but certain figures have been altered. The alterations are as near the original text as those of the editors, if not nearer. The results justify the alterations as I proceed to show.

The alterations in the 15th Stanza are for the sun in the divisor and for the moon in the multiplier. With the reading of the editors the sine of the horizontal parallax of the moon at its mean distance according to Stanza 22nd would be $\frac{18 \times 120}{3 \times 120}$, and that of the sun $\frac{18 \times 120 \times 120}{5347 \times 120}$; this would make the parallax of the moon $2^{\circ} 52'$ and that of the sun $11\frac{1}{2}'$, the radius being of 120 parts. These results are on the face of them nearly three times larger than they ought to be. The proposed reading will give the parallax of the moon $51\frac{1}{2}'$ and that of the sun $3\frac{1}{2}'$ which are very near those of the modern Siddhántas; besides the ratio of these parallaxes to each other will be inversely as that of the mean motions which the Hindu theory demands. The reading of the editors will not satisfy even that test.

The proposed reading of the 16th Stanza, will give the diameters of the sun and moon at their mean distances respectively $32' 14''$ and $32' 12''$, which is very near the truth. The reading of the editors gave them $962' \cdot 6$ and $962' \cdot 8$ for which they have been obliged to postulate a division by 30 which is not in the text.

It will now be easy to find out the data as regards sizes and distances. The diameter of the earth being assumed to be 36 units, the mean distance from the moon is given as 1200 units, and from the sun as 16041 units; the latter two are respectively the Kakshás, distances not in Yojanas but in peculiar units. The diameters of the sun and moon in the same units will be obtained by dividing the numbers in the 16th stanza by 3438. For the diameters divided by the Kakshás in the same units will give the circular measures of the angles subtended; as one circular measure contains 3438 minutes very nearly, the diameters have to be multiplied by 3438 before division by the Kakshás to obtain them in minutes. Thus the diameter of the sun will be found to be $150 \frac{2}{5}$ units and that of the moon $11\frac{1}{4}$ units, very nearly.

What is the length of the unit in Yojanas? Varáhamihira does not explicitly state the diameter or circumference of the earth according to the Surya Siddhánta. But if we assume that it is the same as that implied for the Paulísa Siddhánta in Chap. III. stanza 14, and explicitly given in several places in Chap. XIII. viz., 3200 Yojanas, then each unit will be very nearly 28·3 Yojanas.

It is well worth noting that the measures thus deduced resemble far more closely those of Áryabhata, than those of the modern Surya Siddhánta which are nearly one and a half times as large. According to Áryabhata the diameter of the earth is 1050 Yojanas, and its circumference 3300 Yojanas, whereas according to the modern Surya Siddhánta the diameter is 1600 Yojanas. The sun's diameter according to Áryabhata is 4410 Yojanas, i. e., $4 \frac{1}{5}$ times that of the earth, and that is also very nearly the ratio of our author, whereas that of the modern Surya Siddhánta is $4 \frac{1}{16}$. According to Áryabhata the moon moves ten Yojanas for each circular minute of its motion, so that its distance from the earth is just ten times the artificial radius 3438; Varáhamihira also makes the distance ten times his artificial radius 120, and it seems very probable therefore that he has also adopted the theory of ten Yojanas in one circular minute. If so, the distance would be exactly the same as that of Áryabhata, and the unit would be equal to $\frac{3438}{120}$ Yojanas, i. e., 28·65 very near our previous result. If the distance of the moon from the earth be the same for the two authors, so also must be the distance of the sun; for the ratio of the distances is the inverse of the ratio of the circular velocities of the two bodies, which latter ratio is the same for both authors.

A curious fact strikes one here. The measures of the earth given by Varāhamihira and Āryabhata are extremely near the measure of the Greek Philosopher Eratosthenes, who flourished at Alexandria in the 3rd century before Christ. The circumference of the earth according to this Greek is 252000 stadia. Now a Yojana is of 32000 cubits, and a stadium called in Sanscrit Nalva is of 400 cubits; hence there are 80 stadia in a Yojana. Hence 3200 Yojanas make 256000 stadia and 3300 make 264000. But the resemblance is in fact still closer. The diameter 1950 Yojanas is exactly equal to 84,000 stadia, and that is just one-third of Eratosthenes' measure; very likely it was in that form brought to India by inaccurate writers who did not know a more exact ratio between the diameter and circumference of a circle than three. Some of the classical writers did commit this mistake. According to Pliny, the Greek Dionysiodorus fixed the radius of the earth at 42,000 stadia, which is exactly that of Āryabhata. (See Delambre's *History of Ancient Astronomy*, Volume I., Pages 220 and 293.)

CHAPTER X.—STANZA I.

In this stanza the original reading of the number in the second line 286 seems correct, and not the substituted reading 276. According to this stanza the difference between the diameters of the earth and sun in units is equal to that particular number (286 or 276) multiplied by 36 and divided by 90. Hence the number must be equal to the difference multiplied by $\frac{3}{2}$ or $\frac{5}{2}$. The difference according to the figures given above is $114\frac{3}{4}$ units, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ times, that is exactly 286. This also goes to support the truth of the figures already found-

CHAPTER XII.

The epoch of the Paitāmaha Siddhānta is the second year of the Śaka Era Māgha Śukla 1, when the sun and moon were in conjunction at sunrise in the beginning of Dhanishṭha. The data are correct, for on Tuesday, 11th January 80 A.D. the sun and moon were in conjunction in Dhanishṭha in the morning. But the conjunction took place not in the beginning of the Nakshatra as now understood, but very near the true longitude of the star Dhanishṭha (Alpha Delphinus). The sun was then in the 21st degree from the winter solstice of that year, and in the 27th degree of Capricornus of the moveable Hindu Zodiac; the true longitude of the star is also in the 27th degree of Capricornus. This is extremely important as fixing the

true position of the Hindu Zodiac before the introduction of the Babylonian system of signs; Āsvini, according to this system, must have commenced three degrees more to the East than it does now. Its present position was fixed at the epoch of Āryabhaṭa, and we may very properly infer that it was he who fixed it. Another point worth noting is that even at that early date (80 A.D.) before the importation of the new astronomy, the Nakshatras were taken to be of equal length and 27 in number. It is also worth noting that at first Śāka years must have begun with Māgha and not Chaitra.

This Siddhānta could have been of practical use only for a short period; the year is of 366 days, and so the sun must have fallen back by 15° or over a Nakshatra in 20 years; the lunar month is too short by over 20 minutes, and therefore there must have been a loss of 4 Tithis in 20 years, and of 15 in 75 when the full moon must have fallen on the day there ought to have been new moon according to calculation.

CHAPTER XIV.

The latter part of this chapter gives the longitudes and latitudes of certain stars. I think the longitudes must be true longitudes measured along latitude circles, and not polar longitudes measured along declination circles. The latter seem to be a refinement of the modern Surya Siddhānta, being the true longitudes corrected by the Āyana Dṛikkarma. Lalla's longitudes of the stars given in his Śishya Dhī Vriddhida are clearly true longitudes, and very probably they were those of Āryabhaṭa. I have just shown that the Paitāmaha Siddhānta also indicates Dhanishṭha by its true longitude not its polar which would be nearly 6° less.

It is remarkable that the latitudes are measured in cubits, a method of measuring celestial distances very commonly employed by the Greeks. The Greek measure was a very uncertain one as Delambre has shown in different parts of his book; a cubit may have been one or two or three degrees. I think it has been properly fixed at 54 2/5' in the present case by the editors.

The exact star of the group Kṛittikā (Pleiades) cannot be identified; certainly the stars Pushya and Āśleshā are different from those of the modern Surya Siddhānta if the reading be correct. Rohini is about 1° behind its true position, Punarvasu, which seems to represent the mean between Alpha and Beta Gemini about 3°, Maghā about 3°, and Chitrā about 2° for the epoch of Varāhamihira. One ex-

planation of this is that the longitudes are taken from an old catalogue, and not determined from observation in his own time or near it. Another is that the longitudes were determined according to the old Hindu Zodiac, which as I have shown commenced about 3° to the East of the present one. The only other old catalogue I know is that of Ptolemy, which is probably the same as that of Hipparchus. I give below his longitudes side by side with those of Varáhamihira. Certainly the longitude of Maghá (Regulus) would be what it is according to Ptolemy's method, by adding $3\frac{1}{2}^\circ$ for his value of the precession for the three and a half centuries that elapsed between him and the epoch of Áryabhaṭa. It is also worth noting that the latitude of Canopus $75\frac{1}{2}^\circ$ is much closer to Ptolemy's latitude 75° than the 80° of the modern Surya Siddhánta:—

Name of Star.	Ptolemy's		Varahamihira's	
	Longitude.	Latitude.	Longitude.	Latitude.
Aldebaran or Rohini	42 40	5 30 S.	48°	4° 59' S.
Pollux and Castor or Punarvasu.	{ 86 20	{ 6 15 N.	} 88°	} 7° 15' N.
	{ 83 20	{ 9 30 N.		
Regulus or Maghá	122 30	0 10 N.	126°	0°
Spica or Chitra	176 40	2° S.	180° 50	2° 43' S.
Canopus or Agastya	77 10	75° S.	90° 0	75° 30' S.

Note on the Persian Calendar.

The passage of Varáhamihira dealing with this subject leads to some interesting results, but as they are not directly connected with Hindu astronomy, it has been thought best to discuss them in a separate note.

The passage gives us the oldest recorded date in the Persian Calendar known to us. Strange as it may seem, hitherto there was not a single date of that calendar known to us previous to the accession of the last Sassanian monarch.

The passage furnishes extremely good corroboration of Alberuni's testimony which was very much wanted. The fact that the intercalary days were added at the end of the eighth month seems so odd and inconsistent with the modern practice in India as well as Persia,

that the authority of the Mahommedan writers who have asserted it, has been very strongly doubted by European scholars as well as by the modern Parsis themselves. Yet Alberuni asserts that that was the case even in his own time (About A.D. 1000). He states (See page 56 of Dr. Sachu's translation) "In that intercalation the turn had come to Ábán Mah, therefore the epagominae were added at its end, and there they have remained ever since." Alberuni knew also the other system in which the epagominae were put at the end of the 12th month which he states prevailed in Khwarism and Sugdiana. Throughout his book Alberuni has marked this difference. Thus at page 136 when describing the day on which 1st Thoth of the era of Nabonassar begins he states that it begins on the 1st of the month Dé.; that can only be if the intercalary days have preceded Dé.; if they be at the end of Aspandád as in the calendars at present current 1st Thoth would fall on the 6th of Dé. In the reformed calendar of Khalif Al-Mu'taqid introduced in 895 A.D., although the year begins with 1st Farvardin on 11th June, the intercalation takes place in the same way being at the end of Ábán. (See as regards this calendar pages 36, 37, 38, 136 and 185 of Dr. Sachu's translation.) Again at page 184 when describing the way to find the signum or week-day of the beginning of each month of the Yasdegirdi Era, the same distinction is made between the Persian and Khwárismanian calendars. The same distinction is most clearly marked in the description of the Persian feasts beginning at page 201; the Gáhnbárs or six seasonal festivals come exactly as if the year commenced with Ádár and not Farvardin, and that they must do as they must keep their respective distances and at the same time the last of them must fall on the last intercalary day; the Farvardigan ceremonies are described as taking place during the last five days of Ábán and the intercalary days; whereas in the case of the Sughdians they are described as taking place at the end of Aspandad as now in India. A perusal of his whole work cannot but convince one of the truth of this assertion, for he tells not merely a tradition but what was prevailing in his own time in the heart of Persia. Alberuni receives unexpected support from Varahamihira, for the passage I have quoted shows that even in 505 A.D., five centuries before Alberuni's time the intercalary days were at the end of Ábán. Varáhamihira wrote in the time of Noshirván if not earlier, and the calendar he describes is that of the time of Kobad, and his is therefore contemporary testimony.

Another peculiar assertion of Alberuni receives confirmation from another unexpected quarter. He asserts that the Khwārisman calendar differed from the Persian not only in putting the intercalary days at the end of the twelfth month, but also according to that calendar the year commenced five days later than the Persian, so that the first day of the first month Navasardi fell on the sixth day of the Persian month Farvardin which is called Khurdād Sāl now, and used to be called formerly the great Nauroz. Thus the first year of Yasdegird Shahriār would in Khwārisman have commenced on 21st June 632 A.D. I find the Khwarisman calendar is in fact identical with the common Armenian calendar. The first month in both calendars bears the same name, *viz.*, Nava Sardi, meaning new year, and commences on exactly the same day, so that the rest of the months as well as the intercalary days also coincide. The Armenian Era commenced on 11th July 552 A.D. (See Du Laurier's Armenian Chronology); if we count back from 21st June 632 A.D. by years of 365 days we shall come to the same date for 552 A.D., *viz.*, 11th July; or in the reverse way the Armenian year in 1894 A.D. commenced on 22nd August exactly as the Khwārisman. We can understand the identity when we remember that it was one of the Arsacide kings Artaxes who introduced this calendar into Armenia about the end of the first century after Christ. This shows, moreover, how accurate Alberuni is.

It is an interesting question as to how the Parsis of India came to have the Khwārisman mode of intercalation instead of the pure Persian. Probably a clue may be furnished by the tradition reported in the Kissa-e-Sanján that they came to India after a long stay in Khorásán. A date given in the same book would seem to show as if they had at first the Khwārisman calendar in exactly the form given by Alberuni. The date of landing at Sanján is given as Shrāvan Sud 9 Samvat 772 Friday, corresponding to the 4th month and 2nd day of the Yasdegirdi year 85. The Hindu date corresponds to 3rd July 716 A.D. Old style; and it would correspond exactly with the 4th day of the 2nd month of the Khwārisman year 85 of Yasdegird. The month and day seem to have been interchanged somehow in the original; such is the theory also of Mr. K. R. Kama in his excellent pamphlet on the Yasdegirdi Era in Gujerati, but of course according to the ordinary calendar the day comes out to be the 9th and therefore the explanation is not quite satisfactory; it would be the 4th according to the Khwārisman. I have taken the date at second-hand from

Dasbur Aspandiarji's book on the Kabisa, and that I believe is also Mr. Kama's source; it would be worth while looking up the oldest manuscripts of the Kissa-e-Sanján to find the truth.

After this digression I will return to Varāhamihira. It must not be inferred from the passage in question, that the year actually commenced with the month of Ādar. The year always seems to have commenced with Farvardin. Such is the explicit assertion of Alberuni. The same is also clear from the facts that the first day of Farvardin was always called the Nauroj, *i. e.*, new day, and that the month corresponding with Farvardin both in Khwarism and Armenia is called Nava Sardi, *i. e.*, New Year. That this correspondence of Farvardin with Navasardi is not accidental is shown by the names of several other months being nearly identical, such as Āri, Hamdád, and Iksharewari for Tir Amerdad and Shahrivar.

Neither must it be supposed from the passage that the month of Ādar always began with the vernal equinox. There is good reason to suppose that once upon a time the month of Farvardin began with the vernal equinox. Of course it did so in the tenth century after Christ on account of the neglect of intercalation, but what I mean is that this seems to have happened also before. There is a tradition to that effect reported by Alberuni (See page 55 of his book), as well as in the Bundahis. This tradition receives great support from the astrological doctrine of exaltation. The 19th degree of Aries is the exaltation of the sun, and the 3rd degree of Taurus that of the moon; this seems to be derived from or connected with the fact that the 19th day of Farvardin is Farvardin, and the 3rd day of Ardibesht is Ardibesht, both considered holy on which days the sun entered his own exaltation and that of the moon respectively; this idea of connecting the degrees of the Zodiacal signs with the days of the Parsi months is not a new one, for it is the leading idea of the very passage of Varāhamihira under discussion. The doctrine of exaltation thus connects Farvardin with Aries and Ardibesht with Taurus, and it is as old as Ptolemy if not older, and consequently even before Ptolemy Farvardin must once have been near the vernal equinox. Another tradition reported in the Bundahis connects the fourth month Tir with the heliacal rising of the star Sirius; the tradition is probably true as the name shows; the heliacal rising of Sirius has within the last 2,500 years taken place in the third and fourth months after the vernal equinox; this also shows that Farvardin must have been near the vernal equinox when the month Tir was so named.

From the fact that Ádar has not always been near the vernal equinox but that Farvardin was once there, it follows that intercalary months could not always have been added. In fact, it seems probable that there have been only three intercalary months. Before these months were intercalated, the Persian year must have been exactly the same as the Egyptian; a little consideration will show this if one bears in mind the fact that at present the first Egyptian month Thoth coincides with the tenth Persian month Dé; before the last month was intercalated it must have coincided with the eleventh Persian, before the last two months were intercalated with the twelfth Persian, and before the last three months were intercalated with the first Persian Farvardin. It seems very unlikely that the two calendars ever were different before; the chances seem to be very few that by accident the two calendars should have not only the same structure, *viz.*, 12 months of 30 days and 5 intercalary days, but that also the months should exactly coincide, so that the year began on the same day. In this connection the tradition reported by Diodorus Siculus that a Zodiac of 365 cubits was carried by Cambyses from Egypt to Persia seems to be significant. No doubt Cambyses himself could not have introduced the Egyptian calendar into Persia, for his successor Darius seems to have used a different one in his inscriptions, but probably he paved the way for it.

The next question is as to when the three months were intercalated. We have the explicit statement of Alberuni that the last two were intercalated in the reign of Yasdegird bin Shápúr at the beginning of the fifth century after Christ, and there is no good reason to doubt this tradition. It is not clear when the first was; it may have been in the time of the hero Hormazd bin Shápúr who is said by Alberuni to have connected the two Nauroz and made some other changes in the calendar; who this hero was or when he flourished I do not know. But it seems pretty clear that the first intercalation must have taken place within two or three centuries before the last, probably at the end of the Arsacide or beginning of the Sassanian period.

The passage of Varáhamihira seems to throw some light on the last question indirectly by confirming the seasonal theory of the Gáhnbárs, and suggesting a good reason why the intercalary days were put at the end of Ábán. In the year chosen by our author the Gáhnbárs or six festivals fall in complete accordance with the seasonal theory; the last of them which is the same as the fifth intercalary day falls on the day of the vernal equinox, and the rest fall

at the fixed distances of 45, 105, 150, 210 and 290 days from it. Is it not probable that the intercalary days were put at the end of the eighth month *Ābān* in order that the *Gāhobārs* might come in their proper seasons before the intercalations began? Then they could have been kept in their proper place by the intercalation of a month in about 120 years. If the Parsee calendar was originally the same as the Egyptian it will be found that the eighth month terminated at the time of the vernal equinox about the middle of the second century after Christ. One can understand how at that time all the seasonal festivals were brought right by shifting the intercalary days from the end of the twelfth to the end of the eighth month *Ābān*, the other festivals keeping their fixed distances from the intercalary days. One can also understand how about the latter part of the third century after Christ one month was intercalated to bring back the intercalary days to the vernal equinox, and how the time again came for intercalation at the beginning of the fifth century. Of course these suggestions cannot be finally accepted without the discovery of some more facts, but it does not seem unlikely that the Persians should have thought of reforming their calendar about the same time that the neighbouring nations in Turkey in Asia and Europe were doing the same for theirs on the basis of the Julian. No doubt the above suggestions are not in accordance with the alleged tradition reported by Alberuni, that intercalations existed from the very oldest times that the first intercalary month was put after *Farvardin*, the second after *Ardibhesht* and so on, and that the intercalary days were put in succession after each of these intercalary months. But this tradition is not supported by any particular facts; it is not known when any intercalary month or intercalary days were added except after *Ābān*. The knowledge of the true length of the year in very remote times seems extremely doubtful. Moreover, by the alleged method the intercalary days and therefore the seasonal festivals would have been carried all round the year, a result the very reverse of which people who intercalate generally try to attain. The alleged tradition would seem to be no tradition at all, but an attempt at explanation by some ingenious person or persons who did not know the facts.

ART. X.—*Mahmud of Ghazni and the Legend of Somnath.* BY
R. P. KARKARIA, Esq.

Read 10th April 1895.

THE reign of Mahmud of Ghazni is of great importance in the history of India, as it marks the beginning of the critical period of the Mahomedan rule, fraught with momentous consequences to the land and its peoples. Ancient history which in the West is by common consent, taken to have terminated with the fall of Rome in 475 A. D., lasted much longer in India and may be said to have closed here with the advent of the Mahomedans under Mahmud. For all previous history up to this point presents a homogeneity which clearly distinguishes it from the subsequent period. The Mahomedan conquest and rule of India changed completely and disastrously the condition and character of the various peoples affected by it. The accounts which we have of the Hindu character from writers in pre-Mahomedan times, are inapplicable to it in later days, owing to the curse of the foreign rule. The truthfulness, honesty, bravery, and many other good qualities which Greek observers, like Megasthenes and Arrian, noted and admired in them, gradually gave way under the political and religious tyranny to which they were subjected for nearly eight centuries by their Mahomedan rulers, and are only now beginning to revive under another and a far better rule. "Their bravery is always spoken of as characteristic, their superiority in war to other Asiatics is repeatedly asserted and appears in more ways than one. They are said to be sober, moderate, peaceable; good soldiers; good farmers; remarkable for simplicity and integrity; so reasonable as never to have recourse to a law-suit; and so honest as neither to require locks to their doors, nor writings to bind their agreements. Above all, it is said (by Arrian) that no Indian was ever known to tell an untruth." Of course, there is some exaggeration in all this, as may be seen from the remark on this account of one whose bias, if he had any, was certainly on the side of the natives, and whom these hold in the highest esteem. "We know," says Mountstuart Elphinstone, "from the ancient writings of the Hindus themselves, that the alleged proofs

of their confidence in each other are erroneous. The account of their veracity may safely be regarded as equally incorrect; but the statement is still of great importance, since it shows what were the qualities of the Indians, that made most impression on the Macedonians, and proves that their character must since have undergone a total change. Strangers are now struck with the litigiousness and falsehood of the natives; and when they are incorrect in their accounts, it is always by exaggerating those defects."*

This change in character was but natural in a subject-people. Falsehood and treachery are the weapons to which helpless subjects of despotism readily turn when they have no open and brave means of hostility left. The enlightened and liberal views which the Hindus had about the education and freedom of women, had necessarily to be changed when they were confronted with the lawlessness of their licentious new rulers. It would be very interesting to enquire into the moral effects of the Mahomedan rule upon the Indians, but this is not the place for it. The subject is here touched only to show the critical nature of the epoch heralded in India by Mahmud of Ghazni. It may be said that he found a garden and converted it into a desert. The work of wanton destruction gratuitously begun by him—for the redeeming feature of the idea of possession and rule is absent in his case, as after each invasion he returned to his capital—was continued by successive rulers and dynasties who, however, showed better method in their fury.

Personally Mahmud is an attractive subject to the historian. Gallant, brave, prudent, enterprising, zealous, and, above all, scrupulously just, he is the character to fascinate. When we add to this the magnificence of his court, the grandeur of his city, his love of architecture, and, especially, his munificent patronage of literature, we cannot wonder that he has been made a hero by his people. This last trait is specially attractive. He collected round him some of the best men of letters of his time, Ansuri, Rudini, Firdausi, the poets, Al Utbi, the historian, Albiruni, the philosopher, and his reign shines with the reflected lustre of their literary renown. The great epic of Firdausi alone would keep his bays green for ever, if all other laurels were to be stripped by time from his brows. Among Oriental potentates he shares with Caliph Harun Al Rashid and Akbar alone, the rare honour of ranking with Pericles and Augustus,

* Elphinstone's *History of India*, Ed. 1874, p. 266.

Louis XIV and Queen Anne for the literary splendour of his reign. As Mohl puts it, he had established at his court a veritable Round Table and become the King Arthur of the East.

But it is for his religious zeal, amounting to fanaticism, that he is chiefly remembered by his co-religionists. It was zeal for his faith that induced him to invade year after year the distant provinces of India, and to carry away innumerable captives to be converted and sold into slavery. No doubt his ruling passion of avarice, which was found in his case literally "strong in death," as is attested by the story of his weeping on his death-bed at the sight of the enormous wealth and grandeur that he had ordered to be paraded before him for the last time, and which he could not carry with him out of this life, this avarice had much to do with his activity, especially as he was immensely enriched by his campaigns. But still it can hardly be doubted that one of his chief motives was religious zeal. At least his contemporaries thought so. He got from the Commander of the Faithful the title of Yamin-ood-Dowla, and was called by his people the Ghazi, titles highly coveted by all true followers of Islam.

His memory is cherished by them on this account to the present day, and many are the legends woven around it by pious fraud and believed by gross credulity. It is one of these, what I have called the legend of Somnath, that is selected for examination in this paper. A mixture of falsehood never adds pleasure, said Bacon; and the Persian historians who manufactured and embellished this legend, were great adepts in this art of mixing truth with falsehood. Nothing that added to the glorification of a Ghazi of their faith could be wrong or false in their eyes. The end truly justified the means with them. Nothing that could discredit and damn the infidels could be considered reprehensible to be invented. Hence their pages contain many fictions invented to praise the faithful, greatly at the expense of the infidels who, in their eyes, had no claim to justice or truth at their hands.

This religious bias and unscrupulousness is a great drawback to the authority of these historians, who, without it, are also untrustworthy enough. One who had studied them thoroughly, and who has, moreover, done much more than any one else to spread a knowledge of them, says that it is almost a misnomer to style their works histories, and that they "may be said to be deficient in some of the most essential requisites of history."* He notices in them "the intense

* Elliot's preface to *Historians of India*, 1849, Part I., p. xv.

desire for parade and ostentation, which inclines authors to quote works they have never seen, and to lay claim to an erudition which the limited extent of their knowledge does not justify." And he quotes an instance of how, in one list of works, he found that "from beginning to end it was a complete fabrication, the names of the works being taken from the prefaces of standard histories in which it is usual to quote the authorities, the very identical sequence of names, and even the errors of the originals being implicitly followed,"*

Great care thus should be employed by a modern enquirer in using these Persian historians of India, and it would be dangerous to follow implicitly the authority of anyone of them, however renowned for accuracy he may be. Collating them with one another, and, if possible, with independent authorities, we can arrive at something like the real facts, though it must always be a matter of doubt whether we can be sure of the truth of events related by these historians alone.

In his sixteenth invasion Mahmud came to the temple of Somnath and captured it after a stubborn resistance on the part of its defenders. Somnath is in Kattiawar, and, on its site, is the present town of Prabhas Patan which flared up into notice so suddenly and disastrously in 1893. A striking description of its site is given by Tod. "Nothing can surpass the beauty of the site chosen for the temple, which stands on a projecting rock, whose base is washed by the ocean. Here resting on the skirt of the mighty waters, the vision lost in their boundless expanse, the votary would be lulled into a blissful state of repose by the monotonous roar of the waves. Before him is the bay extending to Billawal (Verawal), its golden sands kept in perpetual agitation by the surf, in bold and graceful curvature; it is unrivalled in India, and although I have since seen many noble bays, from that of Penzance to Salurnum, perhaps the finest in the world, with all its accessories of back-ground, and in all the glory of a closing day, none ever struck my imagination more forcibly than that of Puttun. The port and headland of Billawal, with its dark walls raised as a defence against the pirates of Europe, form a noble terminating point of view, and from which the land trends northwards to Dwarica. The peaks of Girnar, twenty *cos*s distant, would raise the sublimest feeling, or if he choose more tranquil scenes, the country around presents objects of interest, the plains being well wooded and diversified both by Nature and art."†

* *Ibid.*

† *Travels in Western India*, p. 344.

But Mahmud must have cared little for the beautiful situation and the natural scenery of the place. He was intent on taking the place by force and breaking the idol. And it is with this breaking of the idol that the legend is connected. The earliest account of this in English is that of Col. Dow, whose *History of Hindustan*, translated from the Persian, published in 1767-72, professes to be a rendering of the famous Persian historian Ferishta, but contains much put in by himself. This is Dow's account: "In the centre of the hall stood Somnath, an idol of stone, five yards in height, two of which were sunk in the ground. The King was enraged when he saw this idol, and raising his mace, struck off the nose from his face. He then ordered that two pieces of the image should be broken off to be sent to Ghazni, there to be thrown at the threshold of the public mosque and in the court of his palace. Two more fragments he reserved to be sent to Mecca and Medina. When Mahmud was thus employed in breaking up Somnath, a crowd of Brahmans petitioned his attendants and offered some crores in gold if the King should be pleased to proceed no further. The Omrahs endeavoured to persuade Mahmud to accept of the money; for they said that breaking up the idol could not remove idolatry from the walls of Somnath, that therefore it could serve no purpose to destroy the image, but that such a sum of money given in charity, among believers, would be a very meritorious action. The King acknowledged that what they said was in some measure true; but should he consent to that bargain, he might justly be called a seller of idols; and that he looked upon a breaker of them as a more honorable title. He therefore ordered them to proceed. The next blow having broken up the belly of Somnath which had been made hollow, they discovered that it was full of diamonds, rubies and pearls of a much greater value than the amount of what the Brahmans had offered, so that a zeal for religion was not the sole cause of their application to Mahmud."* This account is in the main an accurate version of Ferishta. With Dow's version may be compared the more correct translation of Ferishta, given by Briggs: "In the centre of the hall was Somnath, a stone idol, five yards in height, two of which were sunk in the ground. The King approaching the image raised his mace and struck off its nose. He ordered two pieces of the idol to be broken off and sent to Ghizny, that one might be thrown at the threshold of the public mosque, and the other at the court door of

* Vol. I. pp. 65, 66, Ed. 1812.

his own palace. These identical fragments are to this day (now 600 years ago) to be seen at Ghizny. Two more fragments were reserved to be sent to Mecca and Medina. It is a well authenticated fact, that when Mahmud was thus employed in destroying the idol, a crowd of Brahmins petitioned his attendants and offered a quantity of gold if the King would desist from further mutilation. His officers endeavoured to persuade him to accept of the money, for they said that breaking one idol would not do away with idolatry altogether, that, therefore, it could serve no purpose to destroy the image entirely; but that such a sum of money given in charity among true believers would be a meritorious act. The King acknowledged there might be reason in what they said, but replied, that if we should consent to such a measure, his name would be handed down to posterity as 'Mahmud the idol-seller;' whereas he was desirous of being known as 'Mahmud the destroyer:' he therefore directed the troops to proceed in their work. The next blow broke open the belly of Somnath, which was hollow, and discovered a quantity of diamonds, rubies and pearls, of much greater value than the amount which the Brahmins had offered.*

The version of Dow has been the chief source of misleading later writers. Gibbon, coming a few years in 1786 after Dow, based his short account on him, and compressed it in the following round sentence:—"He repeated his blows, and a treasure of pearls and rubies, concealed in the belly of the statue explained in some degree the devout prodigality of the Brahmins."† Then came Maurice, the learned author of *Indian Antiquities*, who, in his *Modern History of Hindustan*, published in 1802, gave the same account, with the embellishment about the nose of the idol. "In the fury of Mahomedan zeal, he smote off the nose of the idol with a mace which he carried, and ordered the image to be disfigured and broken to pieces the person appointed having mutilated the superior parts, broke in pieces the body of the idol, which had been made hollow, and contained an infinite variety of diamonds, rubies and pearls of a water so pure, and of a magnitude so uncommon, that the beholders were filled with surprise and admiration."‡ Next came James Mill, who, in his first volume of the *History of India*

* Briggs' *Ferishta*, Vol. I. pp. 72, 73, Ed. 1829.

† *Decline and Fall*, Vol. VI. Chap. LVII. p. 361.

‡ *History of Hindoostan*, Vol. I. Part I. p. 296.

published in 1817, repeats the same. "At the next blow the belly of the idol burst open: and forth issued a vast treasure of diamonds, rubies and pearls, rewarding the holy perseverance of Mahmud, and explaining the devout liberality of the Brahmans."*

After Mill came Price, who, in the second volume of his *Mahomedan History*, published in 1821, bases his account on the *Khulasat-ul-Akbar* as well as Ferishta. "The circumstance of its being smitten on the nose by the mace of Mahmud, and of the immense treasure concealed in its belly, are already known. We shall here just mention that he rejected a prodigious ransom to spare it, alleging that of two appellations, rather than the idol-broker, he chose to be called *Mahmud the idol-breaker*: and to reward his zeal the precious contents discovered in the hollow of the idol surpassed an hundred-fold the sum which had been offered by the Brahmans for its redemption."† Even the judicious Elphinstone is misled into giving the same account in his excellent history published in 1841, though, in a line in the note, he expresses some doubt and says, that Feristah's "account might be true of some idol in the temple."‡ Since the time of Elphinstone, Prof. Wilson showed in 1843, how the mistake was made by referring to some Persian historians. But later writers have not heeded this, and continue to repeat the old story which has the sanction of the authorities we have quoted. Two books published very recently, Mr. Rees' short account of the Mahomedans, in Mr. Adam's Series, and Syed Mahmud Latif's more pretentious and bulky *History of the Panjab*, give the same old account.

Only Sir W. Hunter has given the correct version of the sack of Somnath and the breaking of the idol in the historical part of his *Gazetteer*. But owing to its very narrow limits, he has merely condensed the result of the enquiry in a few lines. It is here proposed to trace the origin and growth of the legend by means of all the authorities available, some of which were rendered accessible only recently, and consequently not used by Wilson, and to dissipate the delusion, if possible, once for all.

Ferishta, as we have seen, who wrote before 1611 A. D., in the reign of Jehangir, is the source for all European writers who

* Vol. I. p. 177, Ed. 1858.

† *Retrospect of Mahomedan History*, Vol. II. p. 289, Ed. 1821.

‡ P. 336, Ed. 1874.

mention the event. But Ferishta is not alone in narrating it. The writers of the *Tarikh-i-Alfi*, a great history composed by the order of Akbar, of the thousand years after the Hegira that expired in his reign, say that, "It is a well authenticated fact, that when Mahmud was about to destroy the idol, a crowd of Brahmans represented to his nobles, that if he would desist from the mutilation, they would pay several crores of gold coins into his treasury. This was agreed to by many of the nobles, who pointed out to the Sultan that he could not obtain so much treasure by breaking the image, and that the proffered money would be very serviceable. Mahmud replied, "I knew this, but I desire that on the day of resurrection, I should be summoned with the words, "Where is that Mahmud who broke the greatest of the heathen idols?" rather than by these: 'Where is that Mahmud who sold the greatest of the idols to the infidels for gold?' When Mahmud demolished the image, he found in it so many superb jewels and rubies that they amounted to, and even exceeded an hundred times the value of, the ransom which had been offered to him by the Brahmans."*

Ferishta cites as his general authority the celebrated *Rauzat-us-Safa* of Mirkhond, which was written towards the close of the 15th century. But Mirkhond's account does not mention the remarkable incidents we have seen alluded to by all the writers quoted above. It merely says: "The temples were demolished and razed to the ground. The stone of Somnath was broken into fragments, some of which were sent to Ghazni and placed at the door of the mosque, and were there many years." Khondamir, the son, or according to some, the nephew of Mirkhond in his *Habib-us-Siyar*, written 1521-28, gives a similar account: "Somnath was an idol cut out of stone, whose height was five yards, of which three yards were visible, and two yards were concealed in the ground. Yaminu d-Daula having broken that idol with his own hand, ordered that they should pack up pieces of the stone, take them to Ghazni, and throw them on the threshold of the Jami Masjid. The sum which the treasury of the Sultan Mahmud obtained from the idol temple of Somnath, was more than twenty thousand thousand *dinars*, inasmuch as these pillars were all adorned with precious jewels."†

The oldest account of this expedition is that given by Ibn Asir in

* *Apud*, Elliot and Dowson, Vol. II., p. 472.

† *Ibid.* Vol. IV. p. 133.

his *Kamilu-t-Tawarikh*, written about 1230 A. D., and this also does not mention the incidents of the bribe and the belly. It is very specific in its details, and has been largely drawn upon by later writers. It says:—"The temple of Somnath was built upon 56 pillars of teakwood covered with lead. The idol itself was in a chamber, its height was five cubits, and its girth three cubits. This was what appeared to the eye, but two cubits were hidden in the basement. It had no appearance of having been sculptured. Yaminu-d-Doula seized it, part of it he burnt, and part of it he carried away with him to Ghazni, where he made it a step at the entrance of the Jami Musjid. The shrine of the idol was dark, but it was lighted by most exquisitely jewelled chandeliers. Near the idol was a chain of gold to which bells were attached. The weight of it was 200 *mans*. When a certain portion of the night had passed, this chain was shaken to ring the bells, and so rouse a fresh party of Brahmans to carry on the worship. The treasury was near, and in it there were many idols of gold and silver. Over it there were veils hanging, set with jewels, everyone of which was of immense value. The worth of what was found in the temple exceeded two millions of dinars, all of which was taken."* A contemporary of Ibn Asir, the famous Ibn Khalikan, adds another detail, and says that the idol had 30 rings in its ears.† Abul Feda, in his *Annals*, written about the same time, at the commencement of the 13th century, confirms the fact that the idol was burnt.

Thus, as we get nearer to the times, we get more accurate and less embellished accounts. We may note, whilst dealing with writers of the 13th century, that the famous Shaikh Sadi, who lived 200 years after Mahmud, gives an amusing tale of his own adventures at Somnath in his *Bustan*. But from the details he mentions, it is quite evident that he never saw the inside of the temple, nor the idol, for most strangely he calls it a temple of the Guebres or Parsis, who, as is well known, have no images whatever in their places of worship.

When we come to the contemporary writers, we get the straightforward account of the famous Alberuni, which sets the whole matter at rest. From his account it is certain that the idol was not a statue having any form or belly, but was a stone *linga* or phallic image of Mahadeva. The great contemporary chronicler of Mahmud, Al Utbi,

* *Apud*, Elliot and Dowson, Vol. II., p. 471.

† *Biographical Dictionary*, Vol. III., p. 333.

does not narrate the events of this campaign of Somnath, as he stops a few years before this event : otherwise we might have had a most valuable narrative which would have set at rest all doubts.

The following is Alberuni's account in his *Tarikh-i-Hind*, taken from Dr. Sachau's recent scholarly and faithful translation. "The lunar stations they declare to be the daughters of Prajâpati, to whom the moon is married. He was especially attached to Rohini, and preferred her to the others. Now her sisters, urged by jealousy, complained of him to their father, Prajâpati. The latter strove to keep the peace among them, and admonished him, but without any success. Then he cursed the moon (Lunus), in consequence of which his face became leprous. Now the moon repented of his doing, and came penitent to Prajâpati, who spoke to him : "My word is one, and cannot be cancelled ; however, I shall cover thy shame for the half of each month." Thereupon the moon spoke to Prajâpati : "But how shall the trace of the sin of the past be wiped off from me ?" Prajâpati answered : "By erecting the shape of the linga of Mahâdeva as an object of thy worship." This he did. The linga he raised was the stone of Somnâth, for *soma* means the moon and *nâtha* means master, so that the whole word means master of the moon. The image was destroyed by the prince Mahmud—may God be merciful to him ! A. H. 416. He ordered the upper part to be broken, and the remainder to be transported to his residence, Ghazni, with all its coverings and trappings of gold, jewels, and embroidered garments. Part of it has been thrown into the hippodrome of the town together with the Chakrasvâmin, an idol of bronze, that had been brought from Tâneshar. Another part of the idol from Somnâth lies before the door of the mosque of Ghazni, on which people rub their feet to clean them from dirt and wet.

The linga is an image of the penis of Mahâdeva. I have heard the following story regarding it :—"A Rishi, on seeing Mahâdeva with his wife, became suspicious of him, and cursed him that he should lose his penis. At once his penis dropped, and was, as if wiped off. But afterwards the Rishi was in position to establish the signs of his innocence, and to confirm them by the necessary proofs. The suspicion which had troubled his mind was removed, and he spoke to him : 'Verily, I shall recompense thee by making the image of the limb which thou hast lost the object of worship for men, who thereby will find the road to God, and come near him.'"

Varâhamihira says about the construction of the linga :—"After

having chosen a faultless stone for it, take it as long as the image is intended to be. Divide it into three parts. The lowest part of it is quadrangular, as if it were a cube or quadrangular column. The middle part is octagonal, its surface being divided by four pilasters. The upper third is round, rounded off so as to resemble the gland of a penis. In erecting the figure, place the quadrangular third within the earth, and for the octagonal third, make a cover which is called pinda, quadrangular from without, but so as to fit also on the quadrangular third in the earth. The octagonal form of the inner side is to fit on to the middle third, which projects out of the earth. The round third alone remains without cover."

Further he says :—" If you make the round part too small or too thin, it will hurt the country and bring about evil among the inhabitants of the regions who have constructed it. If it does not go deep enough down into the earth, or if it projects too little out of the earth, this causes people to fall ill. When it is in the course of construction, and is struck by a peg, the ruler and his family will perish. If on the transport it is hit and the blow leaves a trace on it, the artist will perish, and destruction and diseases will spread in that country."

In the south-west of the Sindh country this idol is frequently met with in the houses destined for the worship of the Hindus, but Somnâth was the most famous of these places. Every day they brought there a jug of Ganges water and a basket of flowers from Kashmir. They believed that the linga of Somnâth would cure persons of every inveterate illness and heal every desperate and incurable disease.

The reason why, in particular, Somnâth has become so famous, is that it was a harbour for seafaring people, and a station for those who went to and fro between Sufâla in the country of the Zang and China."

It is clear from Alberuni that the idol of Somnâth was merely a solid piece of stone having no hollow, in which jewels and precious stones could be concealed to reward the pious zeal of an iconoclast. As Alberuni says, the top of the stone idol was decorated with precious stones and gold, which were thus visible to all at first sight. Mahmud must have seen them before the Brahmans, according to the later writers, offered the ransom. But as we have seen, both the immense wealth concealed in the belly of the idol, as well as the proffered ransom of the Brahmans, with the zealous answer of the iconoclast, are purely fictitious, the creatures of the imagination of later Mahomedan annalists, who care more for religious zeal than historical truth, and

who evidently thought they were doing nothing wrong—on the contrary something highly meritorious—when they converted the plain story of the sack of Somnâth into a pious legend of Yamin-ood-Daula's iconoclastic zeal. The spirit which led those writers to invent this legend, and which made it popular among the Moslems for so many centuries, seems to live among them still to this day, if one may judge from the fervour, with which the ignorant among them believe in it, and the way in which they resent any attempt to show the real character of the legend of Somnâth.

Another myth connected with Somnâth in history is the story of the famous Sandalwood Gates which, eight centuries after they had been rifled from the temple and taken to Ghazni by Mahmud, were paraded by a theatrical Governor-General through the cities of India as a trophy from Afghanistan to soothe the susceptibilities of the injured Hindus. But the gates were spurious beyond doubt, and will live in Indian history as an instance of a clumsy forgery and a huge practical joke.

R. P. KARKARIA.

ART. XI.—*Mánda*. By J. M. CAMPBELL, Esq.,
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PART I.—DESCRIPTION.

Mánda, about twenty-three miles south of Dhár in Central India, is a wide waving hill-top, part of the great wall of the Vindhian range. The hill-top is three to four miles from north to south and four to five miles from east to west. On the north, the east, and the west, *Mánda* is islanded from the main plateau of *Málwa* by valleys and ravines that circle round to its southern face, which stands 1,200 feet out of the *Nímár* plain. The area of the hill-top is over 12,000 English acres, and, so broken is its outline, that the encircling wall is said to have a length of between thirty-seven and thirty-eight miles. Its height, 1,950 feet above the sea, secures for the hill-top at all seasons the boon of fresh and cool air.

About twenty miles south of Dhár the level cultivated plateau breaks into woody glades and uplands. Two miles further the plain is cleft by two great ravines, which from their deeper and broader southern mouths 700 to 800 feet below the Dhár plateau, as they wind northwards, narrow and rise, till, to the north of *Mánda* hill, they shallow into a woody dip or valley about 300 yards broad and 200 feet below the south crest of *Málwa*. From the south crest of the *Málwa* plateau, across the tree tops of this wild valley, stand the cliffs of the island *Mánda*, their crests crowned by the great Dehli gateway and its long lofty line of flanking walls. At the foot of the sudden dip into the valley the *Âlamgír*, or World-Guarding Gate, stands sentinel.¹ Beyond the gateway, among wild reaches of rock

¹ *Farishtah (Persian Text, II. p. 466)* calls this the Northern Gate of *Mánda*. The following Persian verses are carved on the Gateway:—

In the time of *Âlamgír Aurangzib* (A. D. 1658-1707), the ruler of the World,

This gate resembling the skies in altitude was built anew,

In the year A. H. 1079 (A. D. 1668) the work of renewal was begun and completed,

By the endeavour of the exalted *Khán Muhammad Beg Khán*.

From the accession of this Emperor of the World, *Aurangzib*,

This was the eleventh year by way of writing and history.

and forest, a noble causeway with high domed tombs on either hand fills the lowest dip of the valley. From the south end of the causeway the road winds up to a second gateway, and beyond the second gateway between side walls climbs till, at the crest of the slope, it passes through the ruined but still lofty and beautiful Delhi or northern gateway, one of the earliest works of Diláwar Khán (A. D. 1400), the founder of Musalmán Mándu.

Close inside of the Dehli gate, on the right or west, stands the handsome Hindola palace. The name Hindola, which is probably the title of the builder, is explained by the people as the Swingcot palace, because, like the sides of the cage of a swinging cot, the walls of the hall bulge below and narrow towards the top. Its great baronial hall and hanging windows give the Hindola palace a special merit and interest, and an air of lordly wealth and luxury still clings to the tree-covered ruins which stretch west to large underground cisterns and hot weather retreats. About a quarter of a mile south stand the notable group of the Jaház Mehel or Ship palace on the west, and the Tapela Mehel or Caldron palace on the south, with their rows of lofty pointed arches below deep stone eaves, their heavy windowless upper stories, and their massive arched and domed roof-chambers. These palaces are not more handsomely built than finely set. The massive ship-like length of the Jaház Mehel lies between two large tree-girt ponds, and the Tapela, across a beautiful foreground of water and ruin, looks east into the mass of tangled bush and tree which once formed part of the 130 acres of the Lál Bágh or Royal Gardens.

The flat palace roofs command the whole 12,000 acres of Mándu hill, north to the knolls and broken uplands beyond the great ravine-moat, and south across the waving hill-top with its miles of glades and ridges, its scattered villages, hamlets and tombs, and its gleaming groves of mangoes, *khirnis*, banyans, *mhowras*, and *pipals*. In the middle distance, out from the tree-tops, stand the lofty domes of Hoshang's tomb and of the great Jáma mosque. Further south lies the tree-girt hollow of the Ságur Taláo or Sea Lake, and beyond the Ságur lake a woody plateau rises about 200 feet to the southern crest, where, clear against the sky, stand the airy cupolas of the pavilion of Rúp Mati, the beautiful wife of Báz Bahádur (A. D. 1551-1561), the last Sultán of Málwa. Finally to the west, from the end of the Rúp Mati heights, rises even higher the bare nearly isolated shoulder of Songad, the citadel or inner fort of Mándu, the scene of the Gujarát Bahádur's (A. D. 1531) daring and successful surprise. This fair

hill-top, beautiful from its tangled wildness and scattered ruins, is a strange contrast to Mándu, the capital of a warlike independent dynasty. During the palmy days of the fifteenth century, of the 12,000 acres of the Mándu hill-top, 560 were fields, 370 were gardens, 200 were wells, 780 were lakes and ponds, 100 were bazar roads, 1,500 were dwellings, 200 were rest-houses, 260 were baths, 470 were mosques, and 334 were palaces. These allotments crowded out the wild to a narrow pittance of 1,560 acres of knolls and ridges.

From the Jaház Mehel the road winds through fields and woods, gammed with peafowl and droll with monkeys, among scattered palaces, mosques and tombs, some shapely, some in heaps, about a mile south to the walled enclosure of the lofty domed tomb of the establisher of Mándu's greatness, Hoshang Sháh Ghori (A. D. 1405-1432). Though the badly-fitted joinings of the marble slabs of the tomb walls are a notable contrast to the finish of the later Mughal buildings, Hoshang's tomb, in its massive simplicity and dim-lighted roughness, is a solemn and suitable resting-place for a great Pathán warrior. Along the west of the tomb enclosure runs a handsome flat-roofed colonnade. The pillars, which near the base are four-sided, pass through an eight-sided and a sixteen-sided belt into a round upper shaft. The round shaft ends in a square under-capital, each face of which is filled by a group of leafage in outline the same as the favourite Hindu *Singh-mukh* or horned head. Over the entwined leafy horns of this moulding, stone brackets support heavy stone beams, all Hindu in form.² Close to the east of Hoshang's tomb is Hoshang's Jáma Masjid or Great Mosque, built of blocks of red limestone. Hoshang's Mosque is approached from the east through a massive domed gateway and across a quadrangle enclosed on the

² Mr. Fergusson (*Indian Architecture*, p. 543) says: "The pillars appear to have been taken from a Jain building." But the refinement on the square capital of each pillar of the Hindu *Singh-mukh* or horned face into a group of leaves of the same outline shows that the pillars were specially carved for use in a Muslim building. The porch on the north side of the tomb enclosure is described (Fergusson, *Indian Architecture*, p. 543) as composed of pillars avowedly re-erected from a Jain building. This note of Mr. Fergusson's must have gone astray, as the north porch of Hoshang's tomb enclosure is in the plain massive pointed arch and square-shafted style of the tomb and of the great mosque. Mr. Fergusson's note apparently belongs to the second and smaller Jáma Masjid, about 100 yards east of the Sea or *Ságnr* lake, the pillars of whose colonnade and porch are still enlivened by rows of the lucky face of the Hindu old horny.

east, north, and south by wrecked colonnades of pointed arches. The west is filled by the great pointed arches of the mosque in fair repair, and from the roof out of a thick undergrowth of domelets rise three lofty domes.³

In front of the gateway of the great Mosque, in the centre of a masonry plinth about three feet high, stands an iron pillar about a foot in diameter at the base and twenty feet high. Close to the east of the gateway is the site of Mehmud's (A.D. 1442) Tower of Victory, traces of which remained as late as A. D. 1840. About fifty yards further east are the ruins of a great building called the Ashrafi Mehel, said to have been a Musalmán College. To the north-east a banner marks a temple and the local State offices. South the road passes between the two lines of small houses and huts that make modern Mándu. Beyond the village, among ruins and huge swollen baobab stems, the road winds south along a downward slope to the richly-wooded lowland, where stretches to the west the wide coolness of the Ságar Taláv or Sea Lake. Its broad surface covering 600 acres is green with fan-like lotus leaves, reeds and water grasses. Its banks are rough with brakes of tangled bush from which, in uncramped

³ Hoshang's great mosque has the following much damaged Persian inscription:—

“The mosque of exalted construction, the temple of heavenly altitude,
Whose every thick pillar is a copy of the (pillars of the) Sacred Temple
(the Temple of Makkah).

On account of the greatness of its dignity, like the pigeons of the
Temple of Makkah,

Sacred angels of high degree are always engaged in hovering around it.
The result of the events born of the merciless revolution of the skies,
When the sun of his life came as far as the balcony (i. e., was ready to
set),

Aázam Humáyún (that is, Malik Mughís) said * *

The administration of the country, the construction of buildings, and the
driving back of enemies

Are things which I leave you (the son of Aázam Humáyún) as parting
advice with great earnestness.

The personification of the kindness of Providence, the Sultán Âlá-ud-dín
(Mehmúd I, A. D. 1436-1469), who is

The outcome of the refulgence of the Faith, and the satisfier of the
wants of the people,

In the year A. H. 856 (A. D. 1454),

In the words of the above parting advice, finished the construction of
this building.”

stateliness, rise lofty *mhauras*, mangoes, *kirnís*, and *pípals*. To the east round a smaller tank, whose banks are crowned by splendid mangoes and tamarinds, stand the domes of several handsome tombs. Of some of these domes the black masses are brightened by belts of brilliant pale and deep-blue enamel. To the north of this overflow pool a long black wall is the back of the smaller *Jáma* or congregation mosque, badly ruined, but of special interest, as each of its numerous pillars shows the undefaced Hindu *Singh-mukh* or horned head. By a rough piece of constructive skill the original cross corners of the end cupolas have been worked into vaulted Musalmán domes.⁴

From the Sea Lake, about a mile across the waving richly-wooded plain, bounded by the southern height of the plateau, the path leads to the sacred Rewa Kund or *Narbada* Pool, a small shady pond lined with rich masonry, and its west side adorned by the ruins of a handsome Bath or *Hummám Khánáh*. From the north-east corner of the Rewa Pool a broad flight of easy stairs leads thirty or forty feet up the slope on whose top stands the palace of *Báz Bahádúr* (A. D.

* This *Jáma* Mosque has the following Persian inscription, dated H. 835 (A. D. 1431):—

“ With good omens, at a happy time, and in a lucky and well-starred year.

On the 4th of the month of Alláh (Ramazán) on the great day of Friday, In the year 835 and six months from the Hijrah (A. D. 1431)

Counted according to the revolution of the moon in the Arabian manner, This Islámic mosque was founded in this world,

The top of whose dome rubs its head against the green canopy of Heaven.

The construction of this high mosque was due to *Mughís-ud-dín-wad-dunyá* (Malik *Mughís*), the father of *Mehmúd I.* of *Málwa* (A. D. 1436-1469), the redresser of temporal and spiritual wrongs.

Ulugh (brave), *Aázam* (great), *Humáyun* (august), the *Khán* of the seven climes and of the nine countries.

By the hands of his enterprise this mosque was founded so great,

That some call it the House of Peace, others style it the *Kaábah*.

This good building was completed on the last of the month of *Shawwál* (A. H. 835, A. D. 1431).

May the merit of this good act be inserted in the scroll of the *Khán's* actions!

In this centre may the praises of the sermon read (in the name) of *Mehmúd Sháh*.

Be everlasting, so long as mountains stand on the earth and stars in the firmament.”

1551-1561), the last independent Chief of Mándu.⁵ The broad easy flight of steps ends in a lofty arched gateway through which a roomy hall or passage gives entrance into a courtyard with a central masonry cistern and an enclosing double colonnade, which on the right opens into an arched balcony overlooking the Rewa Kund and garden. Within this courtyard is a second court enclosed on three sides by an arched gallery. The roofs of the colonnades, which are reached by flights of easy steps, are shaded by arched pavilions topped by cupolas brightened by belts of blue enamel.

To the south of Báz Bahádur's Palace a winding path climbs the steep slope of the southern rim of Mándu to the massive pillared cupolas of Ráp Mati's palace, which, clear against the sky, are the most notable ornament of the hill-top. From a ground-floor of heavy masonry walls and arched gateways stairs lead to a flat masonry terrace. At the north and south ends of the terrace stand massive heavy-eaved pavilions, whose square pillars and pointed arches support lofty deep-grooved domes. The south pavilion on the crest of the Vindhian cliff commands a long stretch of the south face of Mándu with its guardian wall crowning the heights and hollows of the hill-top. Twelve hundred feet below spreads the dim hazy Nímár plain brightened eastwards by the gleaming line of the Narbada. The north pavilion, through the clear fresh air of the hill-top, looks over the entire stretch of Mándu from the high shoulder of Songad in the extreme south-west across rolling tree-brightened fields, past the domes, the tangled bush, and the broad grey of the Sea Lake, to the five-domed cluster of Hoshang's mosque and tomb, on, across a sea of green tree tops, to the domed roof-chambers of the Jaház and Tapela palaces, through the Dehli gateway, and, beyond the deep cleft of the northern ravine, to the bare level and low ranges of the Málwa plateau.

From the Rewa Pool, a path, along the foot of the southern height among noble solitary *mkauras* and *khirnis*, across fields and past small clusters of huts, guides to a flight of steps which lead down to a deep shady rock-cut dell where a Muhammadan chamber with great open-arched front looks out across a fountained courtyard and sloping

⁵ The following Persian inscription, carved on the entrance arch, shows that though it may have been repaired by Báz Bahádur, the building of the palace was fifty years earlier (H. 914, A. D. 1508):—"In the time of the Sultán of Nations, the most just and great, and the most knowing and munificent Khákán Násir Sháh Khilji (A. D. 1500-1512). Written by Yusuf, the year (H. 914) A. D. 1508."

scalloped water-table, to the wild western slopes of Mándu. This is Nílkanth, where the Emperor Akbar lodged in A.D. 1574, and which Jehángír visited in A.D. 1617.⁶

From the top of the steps that lead to the dell the hill stretches west bare and stony to the Songad or Tárápúr gateway on the narrow neck beyond which rises the broad shoulder of Songad, the lofty south-west limit of the Mándu hill-top.⁷

PART II.—HISTORY.⁸

The history of Mándu belongs to two main sections, before and after the overthrow by the Emperor Akbar in A.D. 1563 of the independent power of the Sultáns of Málwa.

SECTION I.—THE MÁLWA SULTÁNS, A.D. 1400-1570.

Of early Hindu Mándu, which is said to date from A.D. 813, nothing is known.⁹ Hindu spire stones are built into the Hindola Palace walls; and the pillars of the lesser Jáma mosque, about one hundred yards from the east end of the sea or Ságár Lake, are Hindu, apparently Jain. Of these local Hindu chiefs almost nothing is known, except that their fort was taken and their power brought to an end by Sultán Shams-ud-dín Altamsh about A.D. 1234.¹⁰ Dhár, not

⁶ Translations of its two much-admired Persian inscriptions are given below, p. 181.

⁷ On the Tárápúr gate a Persian inscription of the reign of the Emperor Akbar (A.D. 1556-1605) states that the royal road that passed through this gateway was repaired by Táhir Muhammad Hassan Imád-ud-din.

⁸ The Persian references and extracts in this section are contributed by Khán Sáheb Fazl-ul-láh Lutfulláh Farúf of Súrat.

⁹ Sir John Malcolm in Eastwick's Handbook of the Panjab, 119. This reference has not been traced. Farishtah (Elliot, VI., 563) says Mándu was built by Anand Dev of the Bais tribe, who was a contemporary of Khusráo Parwíz, the Sassanian (A.D. 591-621).

¹⁰ The date is uncertain. Compare Elphinstone's History, p. 328; Briggs' Farishtah, Vol. I., pp. 210-211; Tabakát-i-Násiri, in Elliot, Vol. II., p. 328. The conquest of Mándu in A.D. 1227 is not Mándu in Málwa as Elphinstone and Briggs supposed, but Mandúr in the Siwálik Hills. See Elliot, Vol. II., p. 325, Note 1. The Persian text of Farishtah (I., 116), though by mistake calling it Mandu (not Mándu), notes that it was the Mandu in the Siwálik Hills. The poetical date-script also terms it Biláli-Siwálik, or the Siwálik countries. The date of the conquest of the Siwálik Mandu by Altamsh is given by Farishtah (*Id.*) as A. H. 624 (A.D. 1226). The conquest of Málwa by Altamsh, the taking by him of Bhilsah and Ujjain, and the destruction of the temple of Maha Káli and of the statue or image of Bikramájít are given as occurring in A. H. 631

Mánda, was at that time the capital. It seems doubtful whether Mánda ever enjoyed the position of a capital till the end of the fourteenth century. In A.D. 1401, in the ruin that followed Tímúr's (A. D. 1398-1400) conquest of Northern India, a Pathán from the town of Ghor, Diláwar Khán Ghori (A. D. 1387-1405), at the suggestion of his son Alp Khán, assumed the white canopy, and scarlet pavilion of royalty.¹¹ Though Dhár was Diláwar's headquarters he sometimes stayed for months at a time at Mánda,¹² strengthening the defences and adorning the hill with buildings, as he always entertained the desire of making Mánda his capital.¹³ Three available inscriptions

(A.D. 1233). The Miráti-Sikandari (Persian Text 13) notices an expedition made in A.D. 1395 by Zafar Khán (Muzaffar I. of Gujarát) against a Hindu chief of Mánda, who, it was reported, was oppressing the Musalmáns. A siege of more than twelve months failed to capture the fort.

¹¹ Briggs' Farishtah, Vol. IV., p. 170.

¹² Briggs' Farishtah, Vol. IV., p. 168. According to the Wákiát-i-Mush-táki (Elliot, IV., 553) Diláwar Khán, or as the writer calls him Amín Sháh, through the good offices of a merchant whom he had refrained from plundering obtained the grant of Mánda, which was entirely desolate. The King sent a robe and a horse, and Amín gave up walking and took to riding. He made his friends ride, enlisted horsemen, and promoted the cultivation of the country (Elliot, IV., 552). Farishtah (Pers. Text. Vol. II., pp. 460-61) states that when Sultán Muhammad, the son of Fírúz Tughlak, made Khwájah Sarwar his chief minister, with the title of Khwájah Jchán, and gave Zafar Khán the Viceroyalty of Gujarát and Khizr Khán that of Multán, he sent Diláwar Khán to be Governor of Málwa. In another passage Farishtah (II., 461) states that one of Diláwar's grandfathers, Sultáu Shaháb-ud-dín, came from Ghor and took service in the Court of the Dehli Sultáns. His son rose to be an Amír, and his grandson, Diláwar Khán, in the time of Sultán Fírúz, became a leading nobleman, and, in the reign of Muhammad, son of Fírúz, obtained Málwa in fief. When the power of the Tughlaks went to ruin Diláwar assumed the royal emblems of the umbrellas and the red-tent.

¹³ Diláwar Khán Ghori, whose original name was Husein, was one of the grandsons of Sultán Sháháb-ud-dín Muhammad bin Sâm. He was one of the nobles of Muhammad, the son of Fírúz Tughlak, who, after the death of that monarch, settled in and asserted his power over Málwa. (Pers. Text, Farishtah, II., 460). The Emperor Jehángír (who calls him Ámid Sháh Ghori) attributes to him the construction of the Fort of Dhár. He says (Memoirs, Pers. Text, 201-202):—Dhár is one of the oldest cities of India. Rája Bhoj, one of the famous ancient Hindu kings, lived in this city. From his time up to this 1,000 years have passed. Dhár was also the capital of the Muhammadan rulers of Málwa. When Sultán Muhammad Tughlak (A. D. 1325) was on his way to the conquest of the Dakhan he built a cut-stone fort on a raised site. Its outline is very elegant and beautiful, but the space inside is empty of buildings.

of Diláwar Khán (A. D. 1387-1405) seem to show that he built an assembly mosque near the Ship Palace, a mosque near the Dehli Gate, and a gate at the entrance to Songad, the south-west corner and citadel of Mándu, afterwards known as the Tárápúr Gate.

In A. D. 1398 Alp Khán, son of Diláwar Khán, annoyed with his father for entertaining as his overlord at Dhár, Mehmúd Tughlak, the refugee monarch of Dehli, withdrew to Mándu. He stayed in Mándu for three years, laying, according to Farishtah, the foundation of the famous fortress of solid masonry which was the strongest fortification in that part of the world.¹⁴ On his father's death in A. D. 1405 Alp Khán took the title of Sultán Hoshang, and moved the capital to Mándu. The rumour that Hoshang had poisoned his father gave Diláwar's brother-in-arms, Muzafar Sháh of Gujarát (A. D. 1399-1411), an excuse for an expedition against Hoshang.¹⁵

Âmid Sháh Ghori, known as Diláwar Khán, who in the days of Sultán Muhammad, the son of Sultán Fírúz, King of Dehli, gained the independent rule of Málwa, built outside this fort an assembly mosque, which has in front of it fixed in the ground a four-cornered iron column about four feet round. When Sultán Bahádur of Gujarát took Málwa (A. D. 1580-31) he wished to carry this column to Gujarát. In digging it up the pillar fell and broke in two, one piece measuring twenty-two feet and the other thirteen feet. As it was lying here uncared for I (Jehángír) ordered the big piece to be carried to Agra to be put up in the courtyard of the shrine of him whose abode is the heavenly throne (Akbar), to be utilized as a lamp post. The mosque has two gates. In front of the arch of one gate they have fixed a stone tablet engraved with a prose passage to the effect that Âmid Sháh Ghori in the year H. 806 (A. D. 1405) laid the foundation of this mosque. On the other arch they have written a poetic inscription of which the following verses are a part :—

The liege lord of the world.

The star of the sphere of glory.

The stay of the people.

The sun of the zenith of perfection.

The bulwark of the law of the Prophet, Âmid Sháh Dáúd.

The possessor of amiable qualities, the pride of Ghor.

Diláwar Khán, the helper and defender of the Prophet's faith.

The chosen instrument of the exalted Lord, who in the city of Dhár constructed the assembly mosque.

In a happy and auspicious moment on a day of lucky omen.

Of the date 808 years have passed (A. D. 1405).

When this fabric of Hope was completed.

¹⁴ Briggs' Farishtah, IV., 169.

¹⁵ When fellow-nobles in the Court of the Tughlak Sultán, Zafar Khán (Sultán Muzaffar of Gujarát) and Diláwar Khán bound themselves under an oath to be brothers-in-arms. Farishtah, Pers. Text II., 462.

Hoshang was defeated at Dhár, made prisoner, and carried to Gujarát, and Muzaffar's brother Nasrat was appointed in his place. Nasrat failed to gain the good-will either of the people or of the army of Málwa, and was forced to retire from Dhár and take refuge in Mándu. In consequence of this failure in A. D. 1408, at Hoshang's request, Muzaffar set Hoshang free after one year's confinement, and deputed his grandson Ahmed to take Hoshang to Málwa and establish Hoshang's power.¹⁶ With Ahmed's help Hoshang took Dhár, and shortly after secured the fort of Mándu. Hoshang (A.D. 1405-1431) made Mándu his capital and spread his power on all sides except towards Gujarát.¹⁷ Shortly after the death of Muzaffar I. and the accession of Ahmed, when (A.D. 1414) Ahmed was quelling the disturbances raised by his cousins, Hoshang, instead of helping Ahmed, marched towards Gujarát and created a diversion in favour of the rebels by sending two of his nobles to attack Broach. They were soon expelled by Ahmed Shah. Shortly after Hoshang marched to the help of the Chief of Jháláwár, in Kathiáwár, and ravaged eastern and central Gujarát.¹⁸ To punish Hoshang for these acts of ingratitude, between A. D. 1418 and 1422, Ahmed twice besieged Mándu, and though he failed to take the fort his retirement had to be purchased, and both as regards success and fair-dealing the honours of the campaign remained with Ahmed.¹⁹ In A. D. 1421 Hoshang went disguised as a horse-dealer to Jájnapur, now Jájpur, in Katak, in Orissa. He took with him a number of cream-coloured horses, of which he had heard the Rájah was very fond. His object was to barter these horses and other goods for the famous war elephants of Jájnapur. An accident in the camp of the disguised merchants led to a fight, in which the Rájah was taken prisoner and Hoshang was able to secure 150 elephants to fight the Gujarát Sultán.²⁰ During Hoshang's absence at Jájnapur Ahmed pressed the siege of Mándu so hard that the garrison would

¹⁶ Briggs' *Farishtah*, IV., 173; Elphinstone's *History*, 678.

¹⁷ Though their temples were turned into mosques the Jains continued to prosper under the Ghoris. At Deogarh in Lalitpura in Jhánsi in the North-West Provinces an inscription of Samvat 1481, that is, of A. D. 1424, records the dedication of two Jaina images by a Jain priest named Holi during the reign of Sháh Alambhaka of Mandapapura, that is, of Sháh Alp Khán of Mándu, that is, Sultán Hoshang Ghori. *Archæological Survey of India, New Series, Vol. II.*, 120.

¹⁸ *Farishtah*, Pers. Text, II., 464-65.

¹⁹ Briggs' *Farishtah*, IV., 176, 178, 180, 181, 183.

²⁰ *Farishtah*, Pers. Text, II., 466-67.

have surrendered had Hoshang not succeeded in finding his way into the fort through the south or Tárápúr Gate.²¹ For ten years after the Gujarát campaign by the help of his Minister Malik Mughís of the Khilji family and of his Minister's son Mehmúd Khán, Málwa prospered and Hoshang's power was extended. Hoshang enriched his capital with buildings, among them the Great Mosque and his own tomb, both of which he left unfinished. Hoshang's Minister, Malik Mughís (who received the title of Ulugh Aázam Humáyún Khán) appears to have built the assembly mosque near the Ságár Lake in Hoshang's life-time, A. D. 1431. Another of his buildings must have been a Mint, as copper coins remain bearing Hoshang's name, and Mándu Shádiábád as the place of mintage.²² In A. D. 1432, at Hoshangábád, on the left bank of the Narbada, about 120 miles east of Mándu, Hoshang, who was suffering from diabetes, took greatly to heart the fall of a ruby out of his crown. He said : A few days before the death of Fírúz Tughlak, a jewel dropped from his crown. Hoshang ordered that he should be taken to Mándu. Before he had gone many miles the king died. His nobles carried the body to the Madrasah or College in Shádiábád, or Mándu, and buried him in the College on the ninth day of Zil-Hajjah, the twelfth month of A. H. 838, A. D. 1434. The year of Hoshang's death is to be found in the letters.

*Ah Sháh Hoshang na mend : Alas, Sháh Hoshang stayed not.*²³

²¹ Briggs' *Farishtah*, IV., 180. In connection with the Tárápúr Gate *Farishtah* says (Pers. Text, II., 468):—The fort of Mándu is built on the top of a mountain, and the line of its fortification is about 28 miles in length. In place of a moat it is surrounded by a deep chasm, so that it is impossible to use missiles against it. Within the fort water and provisions are abundant, and it includes land enough to grow grain for the garrison. The extent of its walls makes it impossible for an army to invest it. Most of the villages near it are too small to furnish supplies to a besieging force. The south of Tárápúr Gate is exceedingly difficult of access. A horseman can hardly approach it. From whichever side the fort may be attempted, most difficult heights have to be scaled. The long distances and intervening hills prevent the watchers of the besieging force communicating with each other. The gate on the side of Delhi is of easier access than the other gates.

²² It follows that *Farishtah* (Briggs, IV., 196) is mistaken in stating that Hoshang's son, Muhammad, gave Mándu the name of Shádiábád, the Abode of Joy.

²³ *Farishtah*, Pers. Text II., 472-475. It seems to follow that the monument to Hoshang in Hoshangábád from the first, was an empty tomb. Compare Briggs' *Farishtah*, IV., 180-190.

On Hoshang's death his son Gházni Khán, with the title of Sultán Muhammad Ghori, succeeded. Malik Mughís, his father's Minister, and the Minister's son, Mehmúd, were maintained in power. In three years (A. D. 1433-36), as Sultán Muhammad proved dissipated cruel and suspicious, Mehmúd, the Minister's son, procured his death by poison. Mehmúd Khilji then asked his father to accept the succession, but his father declined, saying that Mehmúd was fitter to be king. A. D. 1436 Mehmúd was accordingly crowned with the Royal tiara of Hoshang.²⁴ He conferred on his father the honour of being attended by mace-bearers carrying gold and silver sticks, who,

²⁴ The following more detailed, but also more confused, story is told in the *Wakífat-i-Mushtáki*, (Elliot, IV., 552-54):—A man named Mehmúd, son of Mughís Khilji, came to Hoshang and entered his service. He was a treacherous man who secretly aspired to the throne. He became Minister, and gave his daughter in marriage to the King. [*Farishtah*, Pers. Text II., 474, says:—“Malik Mughís gave his daughter (Mehmúd's sister) in marriage, not to Hoshang, but to Hoshang's son Muhammad Sháh.”] His father, Malik Mughís, coming to know of his son's ambitious designs, informed the King of them. Hereupon Mehmúd feigned illness, and to deceive the King's physicians shut himself in a dark room and drank the blood of a newly killed goat. When the physicians came Mehmúd rose hastily, threw up the blood into a basin, and tossing back his head rolled on the floor as if in pain. The physicians called for a light. When they saw that what Mehmúd had spat up was blood they were satisfied of his sickness, and told the King that Mehmúd had not long to live. The King refrained from killing a dying man. This strange story seems to be an embellishment of a passage in *Farishtah* (Pers. Text II., 477). When Khán Jehán, that is Malik Mughís, the father of Mehmúd, was ordered by Sultán Muhammad to take the field against the Rájput rebels of Nádoti (Hároti?) many of the old nobles of Málwa went with him. In their absence the party hostile to the Kiljis represented to Sultán Muhammad that Mehmúd Khilji was plotting his death. On hearing that the Sultán was enraged against him Mehmúd secluded himself from the Court on pretence of illness. At the same time he worked secretly and bribed Sultán Muhammad's cup-bearer to poison his master. On the death of Sultán Muhammad the party of nobles opposed to Mehmúd, concealing the fact of Muhammad's death, sent word that Muhammad had ordered him immediately to the palace, as he wanted to send him on an embassy to Gujarát. Mehmúd, who knew that the Sultán was dead returned word to the nobles that he had vowed a life-long seclusion as the sweeper of the shrine of his patron, Sultán Hoshang, but that if the nobles came to him and convinced him that the good of his country depended on his going to Gujarát he was ready to go and see Sultán Muhammad. The nobles were caught in their own trap. They went to Mehmud and were secured and imprisoned by him.

when the Khán mounted or went out, had, like the mace-bearers of independent monarchs, the privilege of repeating the *Bismillah*, "In the name of the compassionate and merciful Alláh."²⁵ He gave his father royal honours, the white canopy and the silver quiver, and to his title of Malik Ashraf Khán Jehán he added among others Amír-ul-Umara and Áúzam Humáyún.²⁶ Mehmúd quelled a revolt among his nobles. And an outbreak of plague in the Gujarát camp relieved him from a contest with Ahmed Sháh.²⁷ In A. D. 1439 Mehmúd repaired the palace of Sultán Hoshang and opened the mosque built in commemoration of that monarch which Fariishtah describes as a splendid edifice with 208 columns.²⁸ About the same time Mehmúd completed Hoshang's tomb, which Hoshang had left unfinished. On the completion of this building Hoshang's remains seem to have been moved into it from their first resting-place in the College. In A. D. 1441 Mehmúd built a garden with a dome and palaces²⁹ and a mosque at Nálcha, about three miles north of the Dehli Gate of Mándu, a pleasing well-watered spot, where the plateau of Málwa breaks into glades and knolls³⁰. In A. D. 1443, in honour of his victory over Rána Kúmbha of Chitor, Mehmúd built a beautiful column of victory,³¹ seven storeys high, and a

²⁵ Fariishtah, Pers. Text II., 480.

²⁶ Brigg's Fariishtah IV., 196. These titles mean: The Chief of Nobles, the Great, the August.

²⁷ It is related that one of the pious men in the camp of Sultán Ahmed of Gujarát had a warning dream, in which the Prophet (on whom be Peace) appeared to him and said:—"The calamity of (spirit of) pestilence is coming down from the skies. Tell Sultán Ahmed to leave this country." This warning was told to Sultán Ahmed, but he disregarded it, and within three days pestilence raged in his camp. Fariishtah, Pers. Text II., 484..

²⁸ Brigg's Fariishtah IV., 205, gives 230 minarets and 360 arches. This must have been an addition in the Text used by Briggs. These details do not apply to the building. The Persian text of Fariishtah, II., 485, mentions 208 columns or pillars (*duyast o hasht ustuwának*). No reference is made either to minarets or to arches.

²⁹ Fariishtah, Pers. Text II., 487.

³⁰ Brigg's Fariishtah IV., 207. Malcolm's Central India I., 32. In A. D. 1817 Sir John Malcolm (Central India I., 33 n) fitted up one of Mehmud's palaces as a hot weather residence.

³¹ Of the siege of Kúmbhálera a curious incident is recorded by Fariishtah (Pers. Text IV., 485). He says that a temple outside the town destroyed by Mehmúd had a marble idol in the form of a goat. The Sultán ordered the idol to be ground into lime and sold to the Rájputs as betel-leaf lime, so that the

college in front of the mosque of Hoshang Ghorī. Facing the east entrance to the Great Mosque stands a paved ramp crowned by a confused ruin. As late as A.D. 1843 this ruin is described as a square marble chamber. Each face of the chamber had three arches, the centre arch in two of the faces being a door. Above the arches the wall was of yellow stone faced with marble. Inside the chamber the square corners were cut off by arches. No roof or other trace of superstructure remained.³² This chamber seems to be the basement of the column of victory which was raised in A.D. 1443 by Mehmúd I. (A.D. 1432-1469) in honour of his victory over Rána Kúmbha of Chitor.³³ Mehmúd's column has the special interest of being, if not the original at least the cause of the building of Kúmbha Rána's still uninjured Victory Pillar, which was completed in A.D. 1454 at a cost of £900,000 in honour of his defeat of Mehmud.³⁴ That the Mándu Column of Victory was a famous work is shown by Abul Fazl's reference to it in A.D. 1590 as an eight-storeyed minaret.³⁵ Farishtah, about twenty years later (A.D. 1610), calls it a beautiful Victory, Pillar, seven storeys high.³⁶ The Emperor Jehángír (A.D. 1605-1627) gives the following account of Mehmúd's Tower of Victory.³⁷ This day, the 29th of the month Tír, corresponding to July-August of A.D. 1617, about the close of the day, with the ladies of the palace, I went out to see the *Haft Manzar* or Seven Storeys. This building is one of the structures of the old rulers of Málwa, that is of Sultán Mehmúd Khilji. It has seven storeys, and on each storey there are four porticos, and in each portico are four windows. The height of this tower is about 163 feet and its circumference 150 feet. From the surface of the ground to the top of the seventh storey there are

Hindus might eat their god. The idol was perhaps a ram, not a goat. The temple would then have been a Sun-temple and the ram the carrier or *váhana* of the sun would have occupied in the porch a position similar to that held by the bull in a Mahádeva temple.

³² Ruins of Mándu, 13.

³³ In the end of A. H. 846 (A.D. 1442) Mehmúd built a seven-storeyed tower and a college opposite the Jáma Mosque of Hoshang Sháh. Brigg's Farishtah IV., 210; Persian Text II., 488.

³⁴ Compare Brigg's Farishtah IV., 323.

³⁵ Gladwin's Aín-i-Akbari II., 41.

³⁶ Brigg's Farishtah IV., 210; Farishtah, Persian Text II, 488.

³⁷ Memoirs of the Emperor Jehángír (Pers. Text) Sir Sayad Ahmed's Edition 188, year 11th of Jehángír, A.D. 1617.

one hundred and seventy-one steps." Sir Thomas Herbert, the traveller, in A.D. 1626, describes it from hearsay, or at least at second-hand, as a tower 170 steps high, supported by massive pillars and adorned with gates and windows very observable. It was built, he adds, by Khán Jehán, who there lies buried.³⁸

Two years later (A. D. 1445) Mehmúd built at Mándu, and endowed with the revenues of several villages a large *Shifa Khánah*, or Hospital, with wards and attendants for all classes and separate apartments for maniacs. He placed in charge of it his own physician, Maulána Fazlulláh.³⁹ He also built a college to the east of the Jáma mosque, of which traces remain.⁴⁰

In A. D. 1453, though defeated, Mehmúd brought back from Gujarát the jewelled waistbelt of Gujarát, which in a daring charge he had taken from the tent of the Gujarát King Kutb-ud-dín Sháh.⁴¹

³⁸ Herbert's Khán Jehán is doubtless Mehmud's father the Minister Malik Mughlá, Khán Jehán Aázam Humáyún. It cannot be Khán Jehán Pir Muhammad, Akbar's general, who after only a few months' residence was slain in Mándu in A.D. 1561; nor can it be Jehángír's great Afghán general, Khán Jehán Lodi (A.D. 1600-1630), as he was not in Mándu until A.D. 1628, that is more than a year after Herbert left India. Compare Herbert's *Travels*, 107-118; Elliot VI., 249-323; VII., 7, 8, and 21; and Blochman's *Áin-i-Akbari* 503-506.

³⁹ Brigg's *Farishtah* IV., 214.

⁴⁰ Ruins of Mándu, 13, *Farishtah* has three mentions of colleges. One (*Pers. Text* II., 475) as the place where the body of Hoshang was carried, probably that prayers might be said over it. In another passage in the reign of Mehmúd I (*Pers. Text* II., 480) he states that Mehmúd built colleges in his territories which became the envy of Shiráz and Samarkand. In a third passage he mentions a college (p. 488) near the Victory Tower.

⁴¹ Brigg's *Farishtah* IV., 217. A different but almost incredible account of the capture of the royal belt is given in the *Mírát-i-Sikandari*, *Pers. Text*, 159:—When Sultán Kutb-ud-dín, son of Sultán Muhammad, defeated Sultán Mehmúd Khilji at the battle of Kapadwanj, there was such a slaughter as could not be exceeded. By chance, in the heat of the fray, which resembled the day of judgment, the wardrobe-keeper of Sultán Kutb-ud-dín, in whose charge was the jewelled belt, was by the restiveness of his horse carried into the ranks of the enemy. The animal there became so violent that the wardrobe-keeper fell off and was captured by the enemy, and the jewelled belt was taken from him and given to Sultán Mehmúd of Málwa. The author adds: This jewelled waist-band was in the Málwa treasury at the time the fortress of Mándu was taken by the strength of the arm of Sultán Muzaffar (A. D. 1531). Sultán Mehmúd sent this belt together with a fitting sword and horse to Sultán Muzaffar by the hands of his son.

In A. D. 1441 Mehmúd's father died at Mandasor. Mehmúd felt the loss so keenly that he tore his hair like one bereft of reason.⁴³ After his father's death Mehmúd made his son, Ghiás-ud-dín, Minister, and conferred the command of the army and the title of Aázam Humáyún on his kinsman Táj Khán. In A. D. 1469, after a reign of thirty-four years (A. D. 1436-1469) of untiring energy and activity Mehmúd died. Farishtah says of him—"His tent was his home, the field of battle his resting-place. He was polite, brave, just, and learned. His Hindu and Musalmán subjects were happy and friendly. He guarded his lands from invaders. He made good his loss to any one who suffered from robbery in his dominions, recovering the amount from the village in whose lands the robbery had taken place, a system which worked so well that theft and robbery became almost unknown. Finally, by systematic effort, he freed the country from the dread of wild beasts."⁴³

In A. D. 1469 Mehmúd was succeeded by his son and minister, Ghiás-ud-dín, to whose skill as a soldier much of Mehmúd's success had been due. On his accession Ghiás-ud-dín made his son, Abdul Káder, Prime Minister and heir-apparent, and gave him the title of Násir-ud-dín. He called his nobles, and in their presence handed his sword to Násir-ud-dín, saying:—"I have passed thirty-four years in ceaseless fighting. I now devote my life to rest and enjoyment."⁴⁴ Ghiás-ud-dín, who never left Mándu during the whole thirty years of his reign (A. D. 1469-1499), is said to have completed the Jaház Mehel, or Ship Palace,⁴⁵ and the widespread buildings which surround it. It seems probable that the Tapela Palace close to the south-east of the Ship Palace and the Lake and Royal Gardens immediately to the north and north-east of the Tapela Palace were part of Ghiás-ud-dín's pleasure houses and grounds. The scale of the ruins behind the Hindola or Swing Cot palace to the north, and their connection with the out-buildings to the west of the Jaház Mehel, suggest that they also belonged to the palaces and women's quarters of the pleasure-loving Ghiás-ud-dín.

Of the surprising size and fantastic arrangements of Ghiás-ud-dín's pleasure city, the true Mándu Shádiábád or Abode of Joy, curious

⁴³ Brigg's Farishtah IV., 209.

⁴³ Brigg's Farishtah IV., 234-35; Pers. Text II., 503.

⁴⁴ Brigg's Farishtah IV., 236.

⁴⁵ Ruins of Mándu, p. 6.

details have been preserved. This Abode of Pleasure was a city, not a palace. It contained 15,000 inhabitants, all of them women, none either old or plain featured, and each trained to some profession or craft. Among them were the whole officers of a court, and besides courtiers, teachers, musicians, dancers, prayer readers, embroiderers, and followers of all crafts and callings. Whenever the King heard of a beautiful girl he never rested till he obtained her. This city of women had its two regiments of guards, the Archers and the Carabineers, each 500 strong, its soldiers dressed like men in a distinguishing uniform. The Archers were beautiful young Turki damsels, all armed with bows and arrows: the Carabineers were Abyssinian maidens, each carrying a carbine. Attached to the palace and city was a deer park, where the Lord of Leisure used to hunt with his favourites. Each dweller in the city of women received her daily dole of grain and coppers, and besides the women were many pensioners, mice, parrots, and pigeons, who also received the same dole as their owners. So evenly just was Ghiás-ud-dín in the matter of his allowances, that the prettiest of his favourites received the same allowance as the roughest Carabineer.⁴⁶

The Lord of the City of Pleasure was deeply religious. Whenever he was amusing himself two of his companions held in front of him a cloth to remind him of his shroud. A thousand *Háfizáhs*, that is women who knew the Kuraán by heart, constantly repeated its holy verses, and, under the orders of the King, whenever he changed his raiment the *Háfizáhs* blew on his body from head to foot with their prayer-hallowed breath.⁴⁷ None of the five daily prayers passed unprayed. If at any of the hours of prayer the King was asleep he was sprinkled with water, and when water failed to arouse him, he was dragged out of bed. Even when dragged out of bed by his servants the King never uttered an improper or querulous word.

So keen was his sense of justice, that when one of his courtiers, pretending he had purchased her, brought to him a maiden of ideal beauty, and her relations, not knowing she had been given to the King, came to complain, though they gladly resigned her, the King grieved over his unconscious wrong. Besides paying compensation he mourned long and truly, and ordered that no more inmates should be brought to his palace.⁴⁸ So great was

⁴⁶ Farishtah Pers. Text II., 504-505.

⁴⁷ Farishtah Pers. Text II., 505.

⁴⁸ Farishtah Pers. Text II., 507.

the King's charity that every night below his pillow he placed a bag containing some thousand gold-mohurs, and before the next evening all were distributed to the deserving. So religious was the King that he paid 50,000 *tankas* for each of the four feet of the ass of Christ. A man came bringing a fifth hoof, and one of the courtiers said—"My Lord, an ass has four feet. I never heard that it had five, unless, perhaps, the ass of Christ had five." "Who knows," the King replied, "it may be that this last man has told the truth, and one of the others was wrong. See that he is paid." So sober was the King that he would neither look upon nor hear of intoxicants or stimulants. A potion that had cost 100,000 *tankas* was brought to him. Among the 300 ingredients one was nutmeg. The King directed the potion to be thrown into a drain. His favourite horse fell sick. The King ordered it to have medicine, and the horse recovered. "What medicine was given the horse?" asked the King. "The medicine ordered by the physicians" replied his servants. Fearing that in this medicine there might be an intoxicant, the King commanded that the horse should be taken out of the stables and turned loose into the forest.⁴⁹

The King's spirit of peace steeped the land, which, like its ruler, after thirty years of fighting, yearned for rest. For fourteen years neither inward malcontent, nor foreign foe broke the quiet. In A.D. 1482 Bahlol Lodi advanced from Dehli to subdue Málwa. The talk of Mándu was Bahlol's approach, but no whisper of it passed into the charmed City of Women. At last the son-minister forced his way into the King's presence. At the news of pressing danger his soldier spirit awoke in Ghiás-ud-din. His orders for meeting the invaders were so prompt and well-planned that the King of Dehli paid a ransom and withdrew. A second rest of fifteen years ended in the son-minister once more forcing his way into the presence. In A.D. 1500 the son presented his father, now an aged man of eighty, with a cup of sherbet and told him to drink. The King, whose armlet of bezoar stone had already twice made poison harmless, drew the stone from his arm. He thanked the Almighty for granting him, unworthy, the happiest life that had ever fallen to the lot of man. He prayed that

⁴⁹ *Wakiát-i-Mushtáki*, in Elliot IV., 554-56. Probably these are stock tales. The Gujarát historians give Muzaffar II. (A.D. 1513-1526), credit for the horse scrupulosity. See *Mirát-i-Sikandari*. Pers. Text, p. 178.

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the sin of his death might not be laid to his son's charge, drank the poison, and died.⁵⁰

Ghiás-ud-dín can hardly have shut himself off so completely from State affairs as the story-tellers make out. He seems to have been the first of the Málwa kings who minted gold. He also introduced new titles and ornaments, which implies an interest in his coinage.⁵¹ Farishtah says that Ghiás-ud-dín used to come out every day for an hour from his *harám*, sit on the throne and receive the salutations of his nobles and subjects, and give orders in all weighty matters of State. He used to entrust minor affairs to his Ministers; but in all grave matters he was so anxious not to shirk his responsibility as a ruler, that he had given strict orders that all such communications should be made to him at whatever time they came through a particular female officer appointed to receive his orders.⁵²

According to most accounts Násir-ud-dín was led to poison his father by an attempt of his younger brother, Shujáát Khán, supported if not organized by some of Ghiás-ud-dín's favourite wives, to

⁵⁰ Briggs's Farishtah IV., 336-39; *Wakiat-i-Jehángiri*, in Elliot VI., 349-350; *Wakiat-i-Mushtaki*, in Elliot IV., 354-35; Malcolm's Central India I., 26-36. The *Mírát-i-Sikandri* (Pers. Text 130) has the following notice of Ghiás-ud-dín:—The Sultans of Mándu had reached such a pitch of luxury and ease that it is impossible to imagine aught exceeding it. Among them, Sultan Ghiás-ud-dín was so famous for his luxurious habits, that at present (A.D. 1611) if any one exceeds in luxury and pleasure, they say he is a second Ghiás-ud-dín. The orders of the Sultan were that no event of a painful nature, or one in which there was any touch of sadness, should be related to him. They say that during his entire reign, news of a sad nature was only twice conveyed to him. Once when his son-in-law died, and his daughter was brought before him clothed in white garments. On this occasion the Sultan is related to have simply said, "Perhaps her husband is dead." This he said because the custom of the people of India is that when the husband of a woman dies, she gives up wearing coloured clothes. The second occasion was, when the army of Sultan Bahádur had plundered several of the districts of Chanderi. Though it was necessary to report this to the Sultan, his ministers were unable to communicate it to him. They therefore asked a band of actors (*binásh*) to assume the dress of *Agáns*, and motioning the Harlots to persecute them as being pillaged and bad wares. Sultan Ghiás-ud-dín exclaimed in surprise: "But is the Governor of Chanderi dead? or is he not to avenge from the *Agáns* the sin of his country?"

⁵¹ Compare Chalchagua's *Historia General de las Indias Occidentales*, pp. LII., LV., and 118-121.

⁵² Farishtah Pers. Text II., 307.

oust Násir-ud-dín from the succession.⁵³ In the struggle Násir-ud-dín triumphed and was crowned at Mándu in A. D. 1500.⁵⁴ The new King left Mándu to put down a revolt. On his return to Mándu he devoted himself to debauchery and to hunting down and murdering his brother's adherents. He subjected his mother, Khurshíd Ráni, to great indignities and torture, to force from her information regarding his father's concealed treasures.⁵⁵ In a fit of drunkenness he fell into a reservoir. He was pulled out by four of his female slaves. He awoke with a headache, and discovering what his slaves had done put them to death with his own hand.⁵⁶ Some time after, in A. D. 1512, he again fell into the reservoir, and there he was left till he was dead.⁵⁷ Násir-ud-dín was fond of building. His palace at Akbarpúr, in the Nímár plain, about twenty miles south of Mándu, was splendid and greatly admired.⁵⁸ And, at Mándu, besides his sepulchre⁵⁹ which the Emperor Jehángír (A. D. 1617)

⁵³ Farishtah (Pers. Text II., 508) detailing how Násir-ud-dín came to power, says: There was a difference between Násir-ud-dín and his brother Alá-ud-dín. The mother of these princes, Khurshíd Ráni, who was the daughter of the Hindu chief of Biglána, had taken Alá-ud-dín the younger brother's side. After killing his father Násir-ud-dín ordered his mother to be dragged out of the *harim* and Alá-ud-dín and his children to be slaughtered like lambs.

⁵⁴ Brigg's Farishtah IV., 238-39. Farishtah holds that Násir-ud-dín's murder of his father is not proved. He adds (Pers. Text II., 515) that Násir-ud-dín was at Dhár, where he had gone to quell the rebellion of the nobles when the news of Ghiás-ud-dín's death reached him. He argues that as a patricide cannot flourish more than a year after his father's murder, and as Násir-ud-dín ruled for years after that event, he could not have killed his father.

⁵⁵ Farishtah Pers. Text II., 516.

⁵⁶ Brigg's Farishtah IV., 243. The Emperor Jehángír (Memoirs, Pers. Text 181) says that Násir-ud-dín had a disease which made him feel so hot that he used to sit for hours in water.

⁵⁷ Wákiát-i-Jehángíri, in Elliot VI., 350. Farishtah (Pers. Text II., 517-18) says that Násir-ud-dín died of a burning-fever he had contracted by hard drinking and other evil habits; that he showed keen penitence before his death; and bequeathed his kingdom to his third son Mehmud. The Emperor Jehángír (Memoirs Pers. Text 181) confirms the account of the Wákiát as to the manner of Násir-ud-dín's death.

⁵⁸ Brigg's Farishtah IV., 243.

⁵⁹ The Emperor Jehángír thus describes (Memoirs Pers. Text 181) his visit to Násir-ud-dín's grave. It is related that when during his reign Sher Khán Afghán Súr (A. D. 1540-55) visited Násir-ud-dín's grave he ordered his

mentions,⁶⁰ an inscription shews that the palace now known by the name of Báz Bahádur was built by Násir-ud-dín.

Násir-ud-dín was succeeded by his younger son, Mehmúd (A. D. 1512-30), who, with the title of Mehmúd the Second, was crowned with great pomp at Mándu. Seven hundred elephants in gold-embroidered velvet housings adorned the procession.⁶¹ Shortly after his accession Mehmúd II. was driven out of Mándu by the revolt of the commandant, Muháfiz Khán, but was restored by the skill and courage of Medáni Rái, his Rájput commander-in-chief.⁶² A still more dangerous combination, Muzaffar II. (A. D. 1511-26) of Gujarát and Sikandar Sháh Lodi (A. D. 1488-1516) of Dehli, was baffled by the foresight and energy of the same Rájput general. Mehmúd, feeling that his power had passed to the Hindus, tried to disband the Rájputs and assassinate Medáni Rái. Failing in both attempts Mehmúd fled from Mándu to Gujarát, where he was well received by Sultán Muzaffar (A. D. 1511-26).⁶³ They advanced together against Mándu, and in A. D. 1519, after

attendants to flagellate the parricide's tomb. When I visited the sepulchre I kicked his grave and ordered those with me to do the same. Not satisfied with this I ordered his bones to be dug out and burned, and the ashes to be thrown into the Narbada.

⁶⁰ *Wákiát-i-Jehángíri*, in Elliot VI., 350. The Emperor Jehángír (*Memoirs Pers. Text*, 202) refers to the well-known bridge and water palace, about three miles north of Ujjain, as the work of Násir-ud-dín. He says: "On Sunday I reached Sañálpur near Ujjain. In this village is a river-house with a bridge, on which are alcoves, both built by Násir-ud-dín Khiljí (A. D. 1500-12). Though the bridge is not specially praiseworthy, the water-courses and cisterns connected with it have a certain merit."

⁶¹ *Brigg's Farishtah* IV., 246.

⁶² *Brigg's Farishtah* IV., 247-49. Malcolm (*Central India* I., 38) writes the Rájput's name Maderay. The *Mirát-i-Sikandari* (*Pers. Text*, p. 149-55) gives the form Medáni Rái, the Lord of the Battle Field, a title which the author says (p. 149) was conferred on the Rájput by Mehmúd in acknowledgment of his prowess.

⁶³ The *Mirát-i-Sikandari* (*Pers. Text*, 154) gives the following details of Mehmúd's flight; Sultán Mehmúd, on pretence of hunting, left Mándu and remained hunting for several days. The Hindus, whom Medáni Rái had placed on guard over him, slept after the fatigue of the chase. Only some of the more trusted guards remained. Among them was a Rájput named Krishna, a Málwa *zamindár*, who was attached to the Sultán. Mehmúd said to Krishna: "Can you find me two horses and show me the way to Gujarát that I may get aid from Sultán Muzafer to punish these rascals? If you can, do so at once,

a close siege of several months, took the fort by assault. The Rájpút garrison, who are said to have lost 19,000 men, fought to the last, consecrating the close of their defence by a general *javár* or fire sacrifice. Sultán Mehmúd entered Mándu close after the storming party, and while Mehmúd established his authority in Mándu, Muzaffer withdrew to Dhár. When order was restored Mehmúd sent this message to Muzaffar at Dhár: "Mándu is a splendid fort. You should come and see it." "May Mándu," Muzaffar replied, "bring good fortune to Sultán Mehmúd. He is the master of the fort. For the sake of the Lord I came to his help. On Friday I will go to the fortress, and having read the sermon in Mehmúd's name, will return." On Muzaffar's arrival in Mándu Mehmúd gave a great entertainment;⁶⁴ and Muzaffar retired to Gujarát, leaving a force of 3,000 Gujarátis to help to guard the hill.⁶⁵ Immediately after Muzaffar's departure, as Sultán Mehmúd was anxious to recover Chanderi and Gagraun, which still remained in the possession of Medáni Rái and his supporters, he marched against them. Rána Sága of Chitor came to Medáni's aid and a great battle was fought.⁶⁶ Mehmúd's hastiness

and, Alláh willing, you shall be handsomely rewarded." Krishna brought two horses from the Sultán's stables. Mehmúd rode on one and seated his dearest of wives, Ráni Kannya Kuar, on the other. Krishna marched in front. In half the night and one day they reached the Gujarát frontier.

⁶⁴ *Tárikh-i-Sher Sháhi*, in Elliot IV., 386. The *Mirát-i-Sikandari* (Pers. Text, 160) gives the following details of the entertainment:—Sultán Mehmúd showed great hospitality and humility. After the banquet, as he led the Sultán over the palaces, they came to a mansion, in the centre of which was a four-cornered building like the Kaábah, carved and gilded, and round it were many apartments. When Sultán Muzaffar placed his foot within the threshold of that building the thousand beauties of Sultán Mehmúd's harem, magnificently apparelled and ornamented, all at once opened the doors of their chambers and burst into view like huris and fairies. When Muzaffar's eyes fell on their charms he bowed his head and said: "To see other than one's own *harám* is sinful." Sultán Mehmúd replied: "These are mine, and therefore yours, seeing that I am the slave purchased by your Majesty's kindness." Muzaffar said: "They are more suitable for you. May you have joy in them. Let them retire." At a signal from Sultán Mehmúd the ladies vanished.

⁶⁵ Brigg's *Farishtah* IV., 250-62.

⁶⁶ *Farishtah* Pers. Text., II., 527. According to the *Mirát-i-Sikandari* (Pers. Text, 161), Mehmúd marched against Gagraun first, and slew Hemkarau, a partisan of Medáni Rái, in a hand-to-hand fight. On this the Rána and Medáni Rai joined their forces against Mehmúd.

led him to attack when his men were weary and the Rájpúts were fresh. In spite of the greatest bravery on the part of himself and of his officers the Musalmán army was defeated, and Mehmúd weakened by loss of blood, was made prisoner. The Rána Sánga had Mehmúd's wounds dressed, sent him to Chitor, and on his recovery released him.⁶⁷

In A. D. 1526, by giving protection to his outlawed brother, Chánd Khán, and to Razi-ul-Mulk, a refugee Gujarát noble, Mehmúd brought on himself the wrath of Bahádur Sháh of Gujarát (A. D. 1526-1536). The offended Bahádur did not act hastily. He wrote to Mehmúd, asking him to come to his camp and settle their quarrels. He waited on the Gujarát frontier at Karji Ghát, east of Bánawára, until at last satisfied that Mehmúd did not wish for a peaceful settlement he advanced on Mándu. Meanwhile Mehmúd had repaired the walls of Mándu, which soon after was invested by Bahádur. The siege was proceeding in regular course by mines and batteries, and the garrison, though over-taxed, were still loyal and in heart, when in the dim light of morning Mehmúd suddenly found the Gujarát flag waving on the battlements. According to the *Mirát-i-Sikandari*⁶⁸ Bahádur annoyed by the slow progress of the siege asked his spies where was the highest ground near Mándu. The spies said: Towards Songad-Chitor the hill is extremely high. With a few followers the Sultan scaled Songad, and rushing down the slope, burst through the wall and took the fort (May 20th, 1526).⁶⁹ Mehmúd surrendered. Near Dohad, on his way to his prison at Chámpanir, an attempt was made to rescue Mehmúd, and to prevent their escape he and some of his sons were slain and buried on the bank of the Dohad tank.⁷⁰ Bahádur spent the rainy season (June-October 1526) in Mándu, and Malwa was incorporated with Gujarát.

Mándu remained under Gujarát, till in A. D. 1554, after Bahádur's defeat by Humayun at Maudassar, Bahádur retired to Mándu. Humayun followed. At night 200 of Humayun's soldiers went to the back of the fortress, according to Firishtah, the south-west height of Songad,⁷¹ by which Bahádur had surprised Mehmúd's garrison, scaled

⁶⁷ *Waghs-i-Munawwar* IV. 262-33.

⁶⁸ *Waghs-i-Munawwar* v. 268.

⁶⁹ *Waghs-i-Farishtah* II. 267-68. Sultan Bahádur unexpectedly surprised the party in charge of the transport of Southern Glass.

⁷⁰ *Waghs-i-Farishtah* II. 268. *Muzam-mil-mashhūr* (Luck. Ed. Vol. I. p. 78).

⁷¹ *Waghs-i-Munawwar* II. 267.

the walls by ladders and ropes, opened the gate, and let others in. Mallu Khán, the commandant of the batteries, a native of Málwa, who afterwards gained the title of Kádir Sháh, went to Bahádur and wakened him. Bahádur rushed out with four or five attendants. He was joined by about twenty more, and reaching the gate at the top of the *maidán*, apparently the Tárápúr gate by which Humáyún's men had entered, cut through 200 of Humáyún's troops and went off with Mallu Khán to the fort of Songad, the citadel of Mándu. While two of Bahádur's chiefs, Sadr Khán and Sultán Álam Lodi, threw themselves into Songad, Bahádur himself let his horses down the cliff by ropes and after a thousand difficulties made his way to Chámpánír.⁷³ On the day after Bahádur's escape Sadr Khán and Sultán Álam Lodi came out of Songad and surrendered to Humáyún.⁷³

In the following year (A.D. 1535) the combined news of Sher Sháh's revolt in Bengal, and of the defeat of his officers at Broach and Cambay, forced Humáyún to retire from Gujárát. As he preferred its climate he withdrew, not to Agra, but to Mándu.⁷⁴ From Mándu, as fortune was against him in Bengal, Humáyún went (A. D. 1535-36) to Ágra.

On Humáyún's departure three chiefs attempted to establish themselves at Mándu: Bhúpat Rái, the ruler of Bijágar, sixty miles south of Mándu; Mallu Khán or Kádir Sháh, the former commandant from Gujarat; and Mirán Muhammad Fárúki from Burhánpúr.⁷⁵ Of these three Mallu Khán was successful. In A. D. 1536, when Humáyún fled from Sher Sháh to Persia, Mallu spread his power from Mándu to Ujjain, Sárangpúr, and Rantambhor, assumed the title of Kádir Sháh Málwai, and made Mándu his capital. Some time after, Sher Sháh, who was now supreme, wrote to Mallu Kádir Sháh, ordering him to co-operate in expelling the Mughals. Kádir Sháh resenting this assumption of over-lordship, addressed Sher Sháh as an

⁷³ Abul Fazl's Akbar Námah, in Elliot VI., 14; Brigg's Farishtah II., 77.

⁷⁴ Abul Fazl's Akbar Námah, in Elliot V., 192.

⁷⁵ Abul Fazl's Akbar Námah, in Elliot VI., 15; Brigg's Farishtah II., 80-81.

⁷⁶ Abul Fazl's Akbar Námah in Elliot VI., 18. According to Farishtah (Pers. Text II., 532) Mallu, the son of Mallu, was a native of Málwa and a Khilji slave noble. Mallu received his title of Kádir Sháh from Sultán Mehmúd III. of Gujarat (A. D. 1536-1544) at the recommendation of his minister Imád-ul-Mulk who was a great friend of Mallu, Mirát-i-Sikandari, Persian Text, p. 298.

inferior. When Sher Sháh received Mallu's order he folded it and placed it in the scabbard of his poniard to keep the indignity fresh in his mind. Alláh willing, he said, we shall ask an explanation for this in person.⁷⁶ In A. D. 1542 (H. 949) as Kádir Sháh failed to act with Kutb Khán, who had been sent to establish Sher Sháh's over-lordship in Málwa, Sher Sháh advanced from Gwálior towards Mándu with the object of punishing Kádir Sháh.⁷⁷ As he knew he could not stand against Sher Sháh, Kádir Sháh went to Sárangpúr to do homage. Though on arrival Kádir Sháh was well received, his kingdom was given to Shujáât Khán, one of Sher Sháh's chief followers, and himself placed in Shujáât Khán's keeping.⁷⁸ Suspicious of what might be in store for him Kádir Sháh fled to Gujarát. Sher Sháh was so much annoyed at Shujáât Khán's remissness in not preventing Kádir Sháh's escape that he transferred the command at Dhár and Mándu from Shujáât Khán to Háji Khán and Junaid Khán. Shortly after Kádir Sháh brought a force from Gujarát and attacked Mándu. Shujáât came to Háji Khán's help and routed Kádir Sháh under the walls of Mándu. In reward Sher Sháh made him ruler of the whole country of Mándu.⁷⁹ Shujáât Khán established his headquarters at Mándu with 10,000 horse and 7,000 matchlockmen.

During the reign of Sher Sháh's successor, Selím Sháh (A. D.

⁷⁶ Farishtah Pers. Text II., 532.

⁷⁷ Táríkh-i-Sher Sháhi, in Elliot IV., 391 ; Brigg's Farishtah IV., 271-72.

⁷⁸ Farishtah (Pers. Text, 533-34) refers to the following circumstances as the cause of Kádir Sháh's suspicion. On his way to Sher Sháh's Darbár at Ujjain Kádir saw some Mughal prisoners in chains making a road. One of the prisoners seeing him began to sing:—

"Mará mé bín darínahwál o fikrú kháshán mé kun!"

In this plight thou seest me to-day,

Thine own turn is not far away.

When Kádir Sháh escaped, Sher Sháh on hearing of his flight exclaimed—

Bá má chí kard dídí

Mallú Ghulám-i-gídí?

Thus he treats us with scorn,

Mallu the slave base born.

To this one of Sher Sháh's men replied :

Kaul-i-Rasúl bar hak

Lá khair fil ábdí.

The words of the Prophet are true,

No good can a slave ever do.

⁷⁹ Táríkh-i-Sher Sháhi in Elliot IV., 397.

1545-53), Shujáát was forced to leave Málwa and seek shelter in Dúngarpúr. Selím pardoned Shujáát, but divided Málwa among other nobles. Shujáát remained in Hindustán till in A. D. 1553, on the accession of Selím's successor, Ádali, he recovered Málwa, and in A. D. 1554, on the decay of Ádali's power, assumed independence.⁸⁰ He died almost immediately after, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Malik Báyzid.⁸¹ Shujáát Khán was a great builder. Besides his chief works at Shujáawalpúr, near Ujjain, he left many memorials in different parts of Málwa.⁸² So far none of the remains at Mándu are known to have been erected during the rule of Shujáát Khán.

On the death of his father Malik Báyzid killed his brother Daulat Khán, and was crowned in A. D. 1555 with the title of Báz Bahádúr. He attacked the Gonds, but met with so crushing a defeat that he foreswore fighting.⁸³ He gave himself to enjoyment, and became famous as a musician,⁸⁴ and for his poetic love of Rúp Mani or Rúp Mati, who, according to one account, was a wise and beautiful courtesan of Saháranpúr in Northern India, and according to another was the daughter of a Nímár Rájput, the master of the town of Dharampuri.⁸⁵ In A. D. 1560 Pír Muhammad, a general of Akbar's, afterwards ennobled as Khán Jehán, defeated Báz Bahádúr, drove him out of Mándu, and made the hill his own headquarters.⁸⁶ In the following year (A. D. 1561), by the help of the Berár Chief, Pír Mubammad was slain and Báz Bahádúr re-instated. On news of this defeat (A. D. 1562) Akbar sent Abdullah Khán Uzbek with almost unlimited power to re-conquer the province. Abdulláh was successful, but as he showed signs of assuming independence Akbar moved against him and he fled to Gujarát.⁸⁷

⁸⁰ *Tárkh-i-Alfi* in Elliott V., 168; Elphinstone's India, 402-403.

⁸¹ *Tárkh-i-Alfi* in Elliott V., 168.

⁸² *Brigg's Farihtah* IV., 276.

⁸³ When Báz Bahádúr attacked the Gonds their chief was dead, and his widow, Ráni Durgávati, was ruling in his place. The Ráni led the Gonds against the invaders, and hemming them in one of the passes, inflicted on them such a defeat that Báz Bahádúr fled from the field, leaving his baggage and camp in her hands, *Farihtah Pers.* Text II., 538.

⁸⁴ According to *Farihtah* (Pers. Text II., 538) Báz Bahádúr was already an adept in music.

⁸⁵ *Malcolm's Central India* I., 39; *Ruins of Mándu*, 30.

⁸⁶ *Brigg's Farihtah* II., 210.

⁸⁷ *Blochman's Áin-i-Akbari*, 321.

Akbar remained in Māndu during the greater part of the following rains (A. D. 1563), examining with interest the buildings erected by the Khilji kings.⁸⁸ At Māndu Akbar married the daughter of Mírán Mubárak Khán of Khándesh.⁸⁹ When Akbar left (August, 1564), he appointed Karra Bahádur Khán governor of Māndu and returned to Ágra.⁹⁰ In A. D. 1568 the Mírzás, Akbar's cousins, flying from Gujarát, attacked Ujjain. From Ujjain they retreated to Māndu and failing to make any impression on the fort withdrew to Gujarát.⁹¹ The Mírzás' failure was due to the ability of Akbar's general, Háji Muhammad Khán, to whom Akbar granted the province of Māndu.⁹² At the same time (A. D. 1568) the command of Māndu Hill was entrusted to Sháh Budágh Khán who continued commandant of the fort till his death many years later. During his command, in a picturesque spot overlooking a well-watered ravine, in the south of Māndu, between the Ságár Lake and the Tárapúr Gateway, Budágh Khán built a pleasure-house, which he named, or rather perhaps which he continued to call, Nílkanth or Blue Throat. This lodge is interesting from the following inscriptions, which show that the Emperor Akbar more than once rested within its walls.⁹³

The inscription on the small north arch of Nílkanth, dated A. D. 1574, runs:—

(Call it not waste) to spend your life in water and earth (*i. e.*, in building).
If perchance a man of mind for a moment makes your house his lodging.

Written by Sháh Budágh Khán in the year A. H. 982-87.⁹⁴

The inscription on the great southern arch of Nílkanth, dated A. D. 1574, runs:—

This pleasant building was completed in the reign of the great Sultán, the

⁸⁸ Brigg's Farishtah IV., 211.

⁸⁹ Brigg's Farishtah IV., 216.

⁹⁰ Tabakát-i-Akbari, Elliot V., 291.

⁹¹ Tabakát i-Akbari V., 330-31.

⁹² Blochman's Áin-i-Akbari, 375.

⁹³ The Emperor Jehángír thus describes (Memoirs, Pers. Text. 372) a visit to this building. On the third day of Amardád (July, 1617), with the palace ladies I set out to see Nílkanth, which is one of the pleasantest places in Māndu fort. Sháh Budágh Khán, who was one of the trusted nobles of my august father, built this very pleasing and joy-giving lodge during the time he held this province in fief (A. D. 1572-77). I remained at Nílkanth till about an hour after nightfall and then returned to my State quarters.

⁹⁴ An officer who distinguished himself under Humáyún, one of Akbar's Commanders of Three Thousand, long Governor of Māndu, where he died. Blochman's Áin-i-Akbari, 372.

most munificent and just Khákán, the Lord of the countries of Arabia and Persia,⁹⁵ the shadow of God on the two earths, the ruler of the sea and of the land, the exalter of the standards of those who war on the side of God, Abu Fatah Jálal-ud-dín Muhammad Akbar, the warrior king, may his dominion and his kingdom be everlasting.

Written by Faridún Husein, son of Hátim-al-ward, in the year A. H. 982.⁹⁶

The inscription on the right wall of Nílkanth, dated A. D. 1591-92, runs :—

In the year A. H. 1000, when on his way to the conquest of the Dakhan, the slaves of the Exalted Lord of the Earth, the holder of the sky-like Throne, the shadow of Alláh (the Emperor Akbar), passed by this place.

That time wastes your home cease, Soul, to complain,
Who will not scorn a complainer so vain ;
From the story of others this wisdom derive
Ere naught of thyself but stories survive.

The inscription on the left wall of Nílkanth, dated A.D. 1600, runs :—

The (Lord of the mighty Presence) shadow of Alláh, the Emperor Akbar, after the conquest of the Dakhan and Dándes (Khandesh) in the year A.H. 1009, set out for Hind (Northern India).

May the name of the writer last for ever !

At dawn and at eve I have watched an owl sitting

On the lofty wall-top of Shírwán Sháh's Tomb.⁹⁷

The owl's plaintive hooting convey'd me this warning

"Here pomp, wealth, and greatness lie dumb."

In A.D. 1573, with the rest of Málwa, Akbar handed Mándu to Muzaffar III., the dethroned ruler of Gujarát. It seems doubtful if Muzaffar ever visited his new territory.⁹⁸ On his second defeat in A.D. 1562, Báẓ Bahádúr retired to Gondwána, where he remained, his power gradually waning, till in A. D. 1570 he paid homage to the Emperor and received the command of 2,000 horse.⁹⁹ His decoration

⁹⁵ When opposed to Arab the word Ájam signifies all countries except Arabia, and in a narrow sense, Persia. The meaning of the word Ájam is dumbness, the Arabs so glorying in the richness of their own tongue as to hold all other countries and nations dumb.

⁹⁶ The stones on which this inscription is carved have been wrongly arranged by some restorer. Those with the latter portion of the inscription come first and those with the beginning come last. Munshi Abdur Rahím of Dhár.

⁹⁷ The maternal uncle of Naushirawán (A. D. 539-576) the Sássánian, Shírwán Sháh was ruler of a district on Mount Caucasus. Al-Masúdi, Arab Text Prairies d'Or II., 4, and Rauzat-us-Safa, Persian Text I., 259.

⁹⁸ Blochmau's Áfn-i-Akbari, 353.

⁹⁹ Brigg's Farishtah IV., 279.

details have been preserved. This Abode of Pleasure was a city, not a palace. It contained 15,000 inhabitants, all of them women, none either old or plain featured, and each trained to some profession or craft. Among them were the whole officers of a court, and besides courtiers, teachers, musicians, dancers, prayer readers, embroiderers, and followers of all crafts and callings. Whenever the King heard of a beautiful girl he never rested till he obtained her. This city of women had its two regiments of guards, the Archers and the Carabineers, each 500 strong, its soldiers dressed like men in a distinguishing uniform. The Archers were beautiful young Turki damsels, all armed with bows and arrows: the Carabineers were Abyssinian maidens, each carrying a carbine. Attached to the palace and city was a deer park, where the Lord of Leisure used to hunt with his favourites. Each dweller in the city of women received her daily dole of grain and coppers, and besides the women were many pensioners, mice, parrots, and pigeons, who also received the same dole as their owners. So evenly just was Ghiás-ud-dín in the matter of his allowances, that the prettiest of his favourites received the same allowance as the roughest Carabineer.⁴⁶

The Lord of the City of Pleasure was deeply religious. Whenever he was amusing himself two of his companions held in front of him a cloth to remind him of his shroud. A thousand *Háfizáhs*, that is women who knew the Kuraán by heart, constantly repeated its holy verses, and, under the orders of the King, whenever he changed his raiment the *Háfizáhs* blew on his body from head to foot with their prayer-hallowed breath.⁴⁷ None of the five daily prayers passed unprayed. If at any of the hours of prayer the King was asleep he was sprinkled with water, and when water failed to arouse him, he was dragged out of bed. Even when dragged out of bed by his servants the King never uttered an improper or querulous word.

So keen was his sense of justice, that when one of his courtiers, pretending he had purchased her, brought to him a maiden of ideal beauty, and her relations, not knowing she had been given to the King, came to complain, though they gladly resigned her, the King grieved over his unconscious wrong. Besides paying compensation he mourned long and truly, and ordered that no more inmates should be brought to his palace.⁴⁸ So great was

⁴⁶ Farištah Pers. Text II., 504-505.

⁴⁷ Farištah Pers. Text II., 505.

⁴⁸ Farištah Pers. Text II., 507.

the King's charity that every night below his pillow he placed a bag containing some thousand gold-mohurs, and before the next evening all were distributed to the deserving. So religious was the King that he paid 50,000 *tankas* for each of the four feet of the ass of Christ. A man came bringing a fifth hoof, and one of the courtiers said—"My Lord, an ass has four feet. I never heard that it had five, unless, perhaps, the ass of Christ had five." "Who knows," the King replied, "it may be that this last man has told the truth, and one of the others was wrong. See that he is paid." So sober was the King that he would neither look upon nor hear of intoxicants or stimulants. A potion that had cost 100,000 *tankas* was brought to him. Among the 300 ingredients one was nutmeg. The King directed the potion to be thrown into a drain. His favourite horse fell sick. The King ordered it to have medicine, and the horse recovered. "What medicine was given the horse?" asked the King. "The medicine ordered by the physicians" replied his servants. Fearing that in this medicine there might be an intoxicant, the King commanded that the horse should be taken out of the stables and turned loose into the forest.⁴⁹

The King's spirit of peace steeped the land, which, like its ruler, after thirty years of fighting, yearned for rest. For fourteen years neither inward malcontent, nor foreign foe broke the quiet. In A.D. 1482 Bahlol Lodi advanced from Dehli to subdue Málwa. The talk of Mándu was Bahlol's approach, but no whisper of it passed into the charmed City of Women. At last the son-minister forced his way into the King's presence. At the news of pressing danger his soldier spirit awoke in Ghiás-ud-din. His orders for meeting the invaders were so prompt and well-planned that the King of Dehli paid a ransom and withdrew. A second rest of fifteen years ended in the son-minister once more forcing his way into the presence. In A.D. 1500 the son presented his father, now an aged man of eighty, with a cup of sherbet and told him to drink. The King, whose armlet of bezoar stone had already twice made poison harmless, drew the stone from his arm. He thanked the Almighty for granting him, unworthy, the happiest life that had ever fallen to the lot of man. He prayed that

⁴⁹ *Wákiát-i-Mushtáki*, in Elliot IV., 554-56. Probably these are stock tales. The Gujarát historians give Muzaffar II. (A.D. 1513-1528), credit for the horse scrupulosity. See *Mirát-i-Sikandari*. Pers. Text, p. 178.

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with her gun. I said "Be it so." In a trice she killed these four tigers with six bullets. I had never seen such shooting. To shoot from the back of an elephant from within a closed *howdah* and bring down with six bullets four wild beasts without giving them an opportunity of moving or springing is wonderful. In acknowledgment of this capital marksmanship I ordered a thousand *ashrafis* (Rs. 4,500) to be scattered¹⁰⁷ over Núr Jehán and granted her a pair of ruby wristlets worth a lakh of rupees.¹⁰⁸

Of the mangoes of Mándu, Jehángír says :—In these days many mangoes have come into my fruit stores from the Dakhan, Burhánpúr, Gujarát, and the districts of Málwa. This country is famous for its mangoes. There are few places the mangoes of which can rival those of this country in richness of flavour, in sweetness, in freedom from fibre, and in size.¹⁰⁹

The rains set in with unusual severity. Rain fell for forty days continuously. With the rain were severe thunderstorms, accompanied by lightning which injured some of the old buildings.¹¹⁰ His account of the beauty of the hill in July, when clear sunshine followed the forty days of rain, is one of the pleasantest passages in Jehángír's Memoirs : What words of mine can describe the beauty of the grass and of the wild flowers ! They clothe each hill and dale, each slope and plain. I know of no place so pleasant in climate and so pretty in scenery as Mándu in the rainy season. This month of July which is one of the months of the hot season, the sun being in Leo, one cannot sleep within the house without a coverlet, and during the day there is no need for a fan. What I have noticed is but a small part of the many beauties of Mándu. Two things I have seen here which

¹⁰⁷ This scattering of gold, silver, or copper coin, called in Arabic and Persian *nisar*, is a common form of offering. The influence of the evil eye, or other baneful influence, is believed to be transferred from the person over whom the coin is scattered to the coin, and through the coin to him who takes it.

¹⁰⁸ This feat of Núr Jehán's drew from one of the Court poets the couplet :
Núr Jehán gar chih ba súrat zanast
Dar safi Mardán zani sher askanast.
 Núr Jehán the tiger-slayer's woman
 Rankt with men as the tiger-slaying woman.

Sherafkan, that is tiger-slayer, was the title of Núr Jehán's first husband, Ali Kuli-Istajlu.

¹⁰⁹ Tuzuk-i-Jehángíri, Pers. Text, 187.

¹¹⁰ Tuzuk-i-Jehángíri, Pers. Text, 189.

I had seen nowhere in India. One of them is the tree of the wild plantain which grows all over the hill-top, the other is the nest of the *mamolah* or wagtail. Till now no bird-catcher could tell its nest. It so happened that in the building where I lodged we found a wagtail's nest with two young ones.

The following additional entries in the Memoirs belong to Jehángír's stay at Mándu. Among the presents submitted by Mahábatkhán, who received the honour of kissing the ground at Mándu, Jehángír describes a ruby weighing eleven *miskáls*.¹¹¹ He says:—This ruby was brought to Ajmeré last year by a Frankish jeweller who wanted two lakhs of rupees for it. Mahábatkhán bought it at Burhánpúr for one lakh of rupees.¹¹²

On the 1st of *Tír*, the fourth month of the Persian year (15th May, 1617), the Hindu chiefs of the neighbourhood came to pay their respects and present their tribute. The Hindu chief of Jaitpúr in the neighbourhood of Mándu, through his evil fortune, did not come to kiss the threshold.¹¹³ For this reason I ordered Fidáikhán to pillage the Jaitpúr country at the head of thirteen officers and four or five hundred matchlockmen. On the approach of Fidáikhán the chief fled. He is now reported to regret his past conduct and to intend to come to the Court and make his submission. On the 9th of *Yúr*, the sixth month of the Persian calendar (late July A.D. 1617), I heard that while raiding the lands of the chief of Jaitpúr, Rúh-ul-láh, the brother of Fidáikhán, was slain with a lance in the village where the chief's wives and children were in hiding. The village was burned, and the women and daughters of the rebel chief were taken captives.¹¹⁴

The beautiful surroundings of the Sagar Lake offered to the elegant taste of Núr Jehán a fitting opportunity for honouring the *Shab-i-Barát* or Night of Jubilee with special illuminations. The Emperor describes the result in these words:—On the evening of Thursday the 19th of *Amardád*, the fifth month of the Persian year (early July, A. D. 1617), I went with the ladies of the palace to see the buildings and palaces on the Sagar Lake which were built by the old Kings of

¹¹¹ The *miskál* which was used in weighing gold was equal in weight to 96 barley corns.—Blochman's *Áfn-i-Akbari*, 36.

¹¹² *Tuzuk-i-Jehángíri*, Pers. Text, 195.

¹¹³ *Tuzuk-i-Jehángíri*, Pers. Text, 195.

¹¹⁴ *Tuzuk-i-Jehángíri*, Pers. Text, 192-191.

Mánda. The 26th of *Amardád* (about mid July) was the Shab-i-Barát holiday. I ordered a jubilee or assembly of joy to be held on the occasion in one of the palaces occupied by Núr Jehán Begam in the midst of the big lake. The nobles and others were invited to attend this party which was organized by the Begam, and I ordered the cup and other intoxicants with various fruits and minced meats to be given to all who wished them. It was a wonderful gathering. As evening set in, the lanterns and lamps gleaming along the banks of the lake made an illumination such as never had been seen. The countless lights with which the palaces and buildings were ablaze shining on the lake made the whole surface of the water appear to be on fire.¹¹⁵

The Memoirs continue: On Sunday, the 9th of *Yúr*, the sixth Persian month (late July), I went with the ladies of the palace to the quarters of Ásaf Khán, Núr Jehán's brother, the second son of Mírza Ghiás Beg. I found Ásaf Khán lodged in a glen of great beauty surrounded by other little vales and dells with waterfalls and running streamlets and green fresh and shady mango groves. In one of these dells were from two to three hundred sweet pandanus or *keuda* trees. I passed a very happy day in this spot and got up a wine party with some of my lords-in-waiting, giving them bumpers of wine.¹¹⁶ Two months later (early September) Jehángír has the following entry¹¹⁷ regarding a visit from his eldest son and heir, Prince Khurram, afterwards the Emperor Shah Jehán, who had lately brought the war in the Dakhan to a successful close. On the 8th of the month of *Máh* of the year H. 1026 (according to Roe, September 2nd, 1617), my son of exalted name obtained the good fortune of waiting upon me in the fort of Mánda after three-quarters and one *ghadí* of the day had passed, that is about half an hour after sunrise. He had been absent fifteen months and eleven days. After he had performed the ceremonies of kissing the ground and the *kurnish* or prostration, I called him up to my bay window or *jharokah*. In a transport of affection I could not restrain myself from getting up and taking him into my arms. The more I increased the measure of affection and honours the more humility and respect did he show. I called him near me and made him sit by me. He submitted a thousand *ashrafis*

¹¹⁵ Tuzuk-i-Jehangiri, Pers. Text, 190.

¹¹⁶ Tuzuk-i-Jehangiri, Pers. Text, 192.

¹¹⁷ Tuzuk-i-Jehangiri, Pers. Text, 194-5.

(Rs. 4,500) and a thousand rupees as a gift or *nazar* and the same amount as sacrifice or *nisár*. As there was not time for me to inspect all his presents he produced the elephant Sarnák, the best of the elephants of Ádil Khán of Bjjápúr. He also gave me a case full of the rarest precious stones. I ordered the military paymasters to make presents to his nobles according to their rank. The first to come was Khán Jehán, whom I allowed the honour of kissing my feet. For his victory over the Rána of Chitor I had before granted to my fortunate child Khurram the rank of a commander of 20,000 with 10,000 horse. Now for his service in the Dakhan I made him a commander of 30,000 and 20,000 horse with the title of Sháh Jehán. I also ordered that henceforward he should enjoy the privilege of sitting on a stool near my throne, an honour which did not exist and is the first of its kind granted to anyone in my family. I further granted him a special dress. To do him honour I came down from the window, and with my own hand scattered over his head as sacrifice a tray full of precious stones as well as a large tray full of gold.

Jehángír's last Mándu entry is this:—On the night of Friday in the month of Abán (October 24th, 1617) in all happiness and good fortune I marched from Mándu and halted on the bank of the lake at Naálchah.

Jehángír's stay at Mándu is referred to by more than one English traveller. In March 1617, the Rev. Edward Terry, chaplain to the Right Honourable Sir T. Roe, Lord Ambassador to the Great Mughal, came to Mándu from Burhánpúr in east Khándesh.¹¹⁸ Terry crossed a broad river, the Narbadá, at a great town called Anchabarpúr (Akbarpúr)¹¹⁹ in the Nímár plain not far south of Mándu hill. The way up, probably by the Bhairav pass, a few miles east of Mándu, seemed to Terry exceeding long. The ascent was very difficult, taking the carriages, apparently meaning coaches and wagons, two whole days.¹²⁰ Terry found the hill of Mándu stuck

¹¹⁸ A Voyage to East India, 181, Terry gives April 1616, but Roe seems correct in saying March 1617. Compare Wákiát-i-Jehángiri in Elliot VI., 351.

¹¹⁹ Akbarpúr lies between Dharampuri and Waisiar, Malcolm's Central India I., 84, note.

¹²⁰ Carriages may have the old meaning of things carried, that is baggage. The time taken favours the view that waggons or carts were forced up the hill. For the early seventeenth century use of carriages in its modern sense compare Terry (Voyage 161). Of our waggons drawn with oxen . . . and other

round with fair trees that kept their distance so, one from and behind the other, that there was much delight in beholding them from either the bottom or the top of the hill. From one side only was the ascent not very high and steep. The top was flat plain and spacious with vast and far-stretching woods in which were lions, tigers, and other beasts of prey and many wild elephants. Terry passed through Mándu a few days' march across a plain and level country, apparently towards Dhár, where he met the Lord Ambassador, Sir Thomas Roe, who had summoned Terry from Súrat to be his chaplain. Sir Thomas Roe was then marching from Ajmir to Mándu with the Court of the Emperor Jehángír, whom Terry calls the Great King.

On the 3rd of March, says Roe, the Mughal was to have entered Mándu. But all had to wait for the good hour fixed by the astrologers. From the 6th of March, when he entered Mándu, till the 24th of October, the Emperor Jehángír, with Sir Thomas Roe in attendance, remained at Mándu.¹²¹ According to Roe before the Mughal visit to Mándu the hill was not much inhabited, having more ruins than standing houses.¹²² But the moving city that accompanied the emperor soon overflowed the hilltop. According to Roe Jehángír's own encampment was walled round half a mile in circuit in the form of a fortress, with high screens or curtains of coarse stuff, somewhat like Aras hangings, red on the outside, the inside divided into cor-

riages we made a ring every night; also Dodsworth (1614), who described a band of Rájputs near Baroda cutting off two of his carriages (Kerr's *Voyages* IX., 208); and Roe (1616), who journeyed from Ajmir to Mándu with two camels, four carts, and two coaches (Kerr IX., 308). Terry's carriages seem to be Roe's coaches, to which Dela Valle (A.D. 1623) (Haklyts' Edition I., 2) refers as much like the Indian chariots described by Strabo (B.C. 50) covered with crimson silk fringed with yellow about the roof and the curtains. Compare Idrisi (A.D. 1100-1150, but probably from Al Istakhiri A.D. 960, *ME* I., 87). In all Nahrwala or north Gujarát the only mode of carrying either passengers or goods is in chariots drawn by oxen with harness and trace under the control of a driver. When in A.D. 1616 Jehángír left Ajmir for Mándu the English carriage presented to him by the English Ambassador, Sir Thomas Roe, was allotted to the Sultánah Núr Jehán Begam. It was driven by an English coachman. Jehángír followed in the coach his own men had made an imitation of the English coach. Corryat (1615 *Ordnities* III. *Letters from India*, unpagged) calls the English chariot a gallant coach of 150 pounds price

¹²¹ Kerr's *Voyages* IX., 335. *Wákiát-i-Jehángíri* in Elliot VI., 377.

¹²² Roe writing from Ajmir in the previous year (29th August, 1616) described Mándu as a castle on a hill, where there is no town and no buildings, Kerr IX. 287.

partments with a variety of figures. This enclosure had a handsome gateway and the circuit was formed into various coins and bulwarks. The posts that supported the curtains were all surmounted with brass tops.¹²³ Besides the emperor's encampment were the noblemen's quarters, each at an appointed distance from the king's tents, very handsome, some having their tents green, others white, others of mixed colours. The whole composed the most curious and magnificent sight Roe had ever beheld.¹²⁴ The hour taken by Jehángír in passing from the Dehli Gate to his own quarters, the two English miles from Roe's lodge which was not far from the Dehli Gate to Jehángír's palace, and other reasons noted below make it almost certain that the Mughal's encampment and the camps of the leading nobles were on the open slopes to the south of the Sea Lake between Báz Bahádúr's palace on the east and Songad on the west. And that the palace at Mándu from which Jehángír wrote was the building now known as Báz Bahádúr's palace.¹²⁵ A few months before it reached Mándu the Imperial camp had turned the whole valley of Ajmir into a magnificent city,¹²⁶ and a few weeks before reaching Mándu at Thoda, about fifty miles south east of Ajmir, the camp formed a settlement not less in circuit than twenty English miles, equalling in size almost any town in Europe.¹²⁷ In the middle of the encampment were all sorts of shops so regularly disposed that all persons knew where to go for everything.

The demands of so great a city overtaxed the powers of the deserted Mándu. The scarcity of water soon became so pressing that the poor were commanded to leave and all horses and cattle were ordered off the hill.¹²⁸ Of the scarcity of water the English traveller Corryat, who was then a guest of Sir Thomas Roe, writes: On the first day one of my Lord's people, Master Herbert, brother to Sir Edward Herbert, found a fountain which, if he had not done, he would have had to send ten course (*kos*) every day for water to a river called Narbada that falleth into the Bay of Cambye near Broach. The custom being such that whatsoever fountain or tank is found by any great man in time of drought he shall keep it proper to

¹²³ Roe in Kerr's Travels IX., 313.

¹²⁴ Roe in Kerr's Travels IX., 314.

¹²⁵ Compare *Wákiát-i-Jehángíri* in Elliot VI., 377.

¹²⁶ Roe in Kerr's Travels IX., 314.

¹²⁷ Roe in Kerr's Travels IX., 321.

¹²⁸ Roe in Kerr's Travels IX., 335.

his without interruption. The day after one of the King's *Hadis* (*Ahadís*) finding the same and striving for it was taken by my Lord's people and bound.¹²⁹ Corryat adds: During the time of the great drought two Moor nobles daily sent ten camels to the *Narbada* and distributed the water to the poor, which was so dear they sold a little skin for 8 pies.¹³⁰

Terry notices that among the piles of buildings that held their heads above ruin were not a few unfrequented mosques or Muhammadan churches, Though the people who attended the King were marvelously straitened for room to put their most excellent horses, none would use the churches as stables, even though they were forsaken and out of use. This abstinence seems to have been voluntary, as *Roe's* servants, who were sent in advance, took possession of a fair court with walled enclosure in which was a goodly temple and a tomb. It was the best in the whole circuit of *Mánda*, the only drawback being that it was two miles from the King's house.¹³¹ The air was wholesome and the prospect was pleasant, as it was on the edge of the hill.¹³² The Emperor, perhaps referring rather to the south of the hill, which from the elaborate building and repairs carried out in advance by *Abdul Karím* seems to have been called the *New City*, gives a less deserted impression of *Mánda*. He writes (24th March, 1617):—Many buildings and relics of the old Kings are still standing, for as yet decay has not fallen upon the city. On the 24th I rode to see the royal edifices. First I visited the *Jáma Masjid* built by *Sultán Hoshang Ghori*. It is a very lofty building and erected entirely of hewn stone. Although it has been standing 180 years it looks as if built do-day. Then I visited the sepulchres of the kings and rulers of the *Khilji* dynasty, among which is the sepulchre of the eternally cursed *Násir-ud-dín*.¹³³ *Sher Sháh* to show his horror of *Násir-ud-dín*, the father slayer, ordered his people to beat *Násir-ud-dín's* tomb with sticks. *Jehángír* also kicked the grave. Then he

¹²⁹ Corryat's *Crudities*, Vol. III., Extracts (unpaged). This Master Herbert was Thomas, brother of Sir Edward Herbert, the first Lord Herbert. It seems probably that this Thomas supplied his cousin Sir Thomas Herbert who was travelling in India and Persia in A. D. 1637 with his account of *Mánda*. See below p. 197-98.

¹³⁰ Corryat's *Crudities*, Vol. III., Extracts (unpaged).

¹³¹ Terry's *Voyage*, 183. See in Kerr IX., 335.

¹³² *Roe* in Kerr IX., 335.

¹³³ *Wákiát-i-Jehángíri* in Elliot VI., 349.

ordered the tomb to be opened and the remains to be taken out and burnt. Finally, fearing the remains might pollute the eternal light, he ordered the ashes to be thrown into the Narbadá.¹³⁴

The pleasant outlying position of Roe's lodge proved to be open to the objection that out of the vast wilderness wild beasts often came, seldom returning without a sheep, a goat, or a kid. One evening a great lion leapt over the stone wall that encompassed the yard and snapt up the Lord Ambassador's little white neat shock, that is as Roe explains a small Irish mastiff, which ran out barking at the lion. Out of the ruins of the mosque and tomb Roe built a lodge,¹³⁵ and here he passed the rains with his "family," including besides his secretary, chaplain, and cook twenty-three Englishmen and about sixty native servants, and during part of the time the sturdy halfcrazed traveller Tom Coryate or Corryat.¹³⁶ They had their flock of sheep and goats, all necessaries belonging to the kitchen and everything else required for bodily use including bedding and all things pertaining thereto.¹³⁷ Among the necessaries were¹³⁸ tables and chairs, since the Ambassador refused to adopt the Mughal practice of sitting cross-legged on mats "like taylors on their shop boards." Roe's diet was dressed by an English and an Indian cook and was served on plate by waiters in red taffata cloaks guarded with green taffata. The chaplain wore a long black cassock, and the Lord Ambassador wore English habits made as light and cool as possible.¹³⁹

On the 12th of March, a few days after they were settled at Mándu, came the festival of the Persian new year. Jehángír held a great reception seated on a throne of gold, bespangled with rubies, emeralds, and turquoises. The hall was adorned with pictures of the King and Queen of England, the Princess Elizabeth, Sir Thomas Smith and others, with beautiful Persian hangings. On one side, on a little stage, was a couple of women singers. The king commanded that Sir T. Roe should come up and stand beside him on the steps of the throne where stood on one side the Persian Ambassador and on the other the old king of Kandahár with whom Sir T. Roe ranked. The

¹³⁴ Wákiát-i-Jehángiri in Elliot VI., 350.

¹³⁵ Terry's Voyage, 228.

¹³⁶ Terry's Voyage, 69.

¹³⁷ Terry's Voyage, 183.

¹³⁸ Terry's Voyage, 186, 198.

¹³⁹ Terry's Voyage, 198, 205.

king called the Persian Ambassador and gave him some stones and a young elephant. The Ambassador knelt and knocked his head against the steps of the throne to thank him.¹⁴⁰ From time to time during Terry's stay at Mándu, the Mughal, with his stout daring Persian and Tartarian horsemen and some grandees, went out to take young wild elephants in the great woods that environed Mándu. The elephants were caught in strong toils prepared for the purpose and were manned and made fit for service. In these hunts the king and his men also pursued lions and other wild beasts on horseback, killing some of them with their bows, carbines, and lances.¹⁴¹

The first of September was Jehángír's birthday. The king, says Corryat,¹⁴² was forty-five years old, of middle height, corpulent, of a seemly composition of body, and of an olive coloured skin. Roe went to pay his respects and was conducted apparently to Báz Bahádúr's gardens to the east of the Rewa Pool. This tangled orchard was then a beautiful garden with a great square pond or tank set all round with trees and flowers and in the middle of the garden a pavilion or pleasure house under which hung the scales in which the king was to be weighed.¹⁴³ The scales were of beaten gold set with many small stones, as rubies and turquoises. They were hung by chains of gold, large and massive, but strengthened by silken ropes. The beam and tressels from which the scales hung were covered with thin plates of gold. All round were the nobles of the court seated on rich carpets waiting for the king. He came laden with diamonds, rubies, pearls, and other precious vanities, making a great and glorious show. His swords, targets, and throne were corresponding in riches and splendour. His head, neck, breast, and arms above the elbows and at the wrist were decked with chains of precious stones, and every finger had two or three rich rings. His legs were as it were fettered with chains of diamonds and rubies as large as walnuts and amazing pearls. He got into the scales crouching or sitting on his legs like a woman. To counterpoise his weight bags said to contain Rs. 9,000 in silver were changed six times. After this he was weighed against bags containing gold jewels and precious

¹⁴⁰ Roe in Kerr's *Voyages* IX., 337; Pinkerton's *Voyages* VIII., 85.

¹⁴¹ Terry's *Voyage*, 403.

¹⁴² Corryat's *Crudities* III., L2., Extracts unpagged.

¹⁴³ Roe in Kerr's *Voyages* IX., 343.

stones. Then against cloth of gold, silk stuffs, cotton goods, spices, and all commodities. Last of all against meal, butter, and corn. Except the silver, which was reserved for the poor, all was said to be distributed to Baniahs (that is, Bráhmans).¹⁴⁴ After he was weighed Jehángír ascended the throne and had basons of nuts, almonds, and spices of all sorts given him. These the king threw about, and his great men scrambled prostrate on their bellies. Roe thought it not decent that he should scramble. And the king seeing that he stood aloof reached him a bason almost full and poured the contents into his cloak.¹⁴⁵ Terry adds: The physicians noted the king's weight and spoke flatteringly of it. Then the Mughal drank to his nobles in his royal wine and the nobles pledged his health. The king drank also to the Lord Ambassador, whom he always treated with special consideration, and presented him with the cup of gold curiously enamelled and crusted with rubies, turkesses, and emeralds.¹⁴⁶

Of Prince Khurram's visit, Roe writes:—A month later (October 2nd) the proud Prince Khurram, afterwards the Emperor Sháh Jehán (A.D. 1626-1657), returned from his glorious success in the Dakhan, accompanied by all the great men, in wondrous triumph.¹⁴⁷ A week later (October 9th), hearing that the Emperor was to pass near his lodging on his way to take air at the Narbada, in accordance with the rule that the masters of all houses near which the king passes must make him a present, Roe took horse to meet the king. He offered the king an Atlas neatly bound, saying he presented the king with the whole world. The king was pleased. In return he praised Roe's lodge, which he had built out of the ruins of the temple and the ancient tomb, and which was one of the best lodges

¹⁴⁴ Roe in Kerr's Travels IX., 340-343.

¹⁴⁵ Roe in Kerr's Travels IX., 344.

¹⁴⁶ Terry's Voyage, 377. Terry's details seem not to agree with Roe's, who states (Kerr's Voyages IX., 344 and Pinkerton's Voyages VIII. 37) I was invited to the drinking, but desired to be excused because there was no avoiding drinking, and their liquors are so hot that they burn out a man's very bowels. Perhaps the invitation Roe declined was to a private drinking party after the public weighing was over.

¹⁴⁷ Roe in Kerr's Voyage IX., 347; Elphinstone's History, 494 Kerr (IX. 347) gives September 2, but October 2 is right, compare Pinkerton's Voyages, VIII. 39.

in the camp.¹⁴⁹ Jehángir left Mándu on the 24th October. On the 30th when Roe started the hill was entirely deserted.¹⁴⁹

Terry mentions only two buildings at Mándu. One was the house of the Mughal, apparently Báz Bahádur's palace, which he describes as large and stately, built of excellent stone, well squared, and put together, taking up a large compass of ground. He adds: We could never see how it was contrived within, as the king's wives and women were there.¹⁵⁰ The only other building to which Terry refers, he calls "The Grot." Of the grot, which is almost certainly the pleasure-house Nilkanth, whose Persian inscriptions have been quoted above, Terry gives the following details:—To the Mughal's house, at a small distance from it, belonged a very curious grot. In the building of the grot a way was made into a firm rock which showed itself on the side of the hill canopied over with part of that rock. It was a place that had much beauty in it by reason of the curious workmanship bestowed on it and much pleasure by reason of its coolness.¹⁵¹ Besides the fountain this grot has still one of the charmingly cool and murmuring scalloped rillstones where, as Terry says, water runs down a broad stone table with many hollows like to scallop shells, in its passage over the hollows making so pretty a murmur as helps to tie the senses with the bonds of sleep.

Sháh Jehán seems to have been pleased with Mándu. He returned in A. D. 1621 and stayed at Mándu till he marched north against his father in A. D. 1622.¹⁵² In March, A. D. 1623, Sháh Jehán came out of Mándu with 20,000 horse, many elephants, and powerful artillery, intending to fight his brother Sháh Parwíz.¹⁵³ After the failure of this expedition Sháh Jehán retired to Mándu.¹⁵⁴ At this

¹⁴⁹ Ruins of Mándu, 57. As the Emperor must have passed out by the Dehli Gate, and as Roe's lodge was two miles from Báz Bahádur's palace, the lodge cannot have been far from the Dehli Gate. It is disappointing that, of his many genial gossip entries Jehángir does not devote one to Roe. The only reference to Roe's visit is the indirect entry (*Wákiát-i-Jehángiri* in Elliot VI., 347) that Jehángir gave one of his nobles a coach, apparently a copy of the English coach, with which, to Jehángir's delight, Roe had presented him.

¹⁴⁹ Roe in Kerr's *Voyages* IX., 353.

¹⁵⁰ Terry's *Voyage*, 180.

¹⁵¹ Terry's *Voyage*, 181.

¹⁵² *Wákiát-i-Jehángiri* in Elliot VI., 363.

¹⁵³ *Wákiát-i-Jehángiri* in Elliot VI., 387.

¹⁵⁴ Elphinstone's *History*, 496-97. Compare Dela Valle (*Haklyt Edition* I., 177) writing in A. D. 1622, Sultán Khurram after his defeat by Jehángir retired to Mándu.

time (A. D. 1623) the Italian traveller Dela Valle ranks Mándu with Agra, Láhor and Ahmedábád, as the four capitals, each endowed with an imperial palace and court.¹⁵⁵ Five years later the great General Khán Jehán Lodi besieged Mándu, but apparently without success.¹⁵⁶ Khán Jehán Lodi's siege of Mándu is interesting in connection with a description of Mándu in Herbert's Travels. Herbert, who was in Gujarát in A. D. 1626, says, Mándu is seated at the side of a declining hill (apparently Herbert refers to the slope from the southern crest northwards to Ságar Lake and the Grot or Nílkanth) in which both for ornament and defence is a castle which is strong in being encompassed with a defensive wall of nearly five miles (probably *kos*, that is, ten miles): the whole, he adds, heretofore had fifteen miles' circuit. But the city later built is of less size yet fresher beauty, whether you behold the temples (in one of which are entombed four kings), palaces or fortresses, especially that tower which is elevated 170 steps, supported by massive pillars and adorned with gates and windows very observable. It was built by Khán Jehán, who there lies buried. The confusedness of these details shows that Herbert obtained them second-hand, probably from Corryat's Master Herbert on Sir T. Roe's Staff.¹⁵⁷ The new city

¹⁵⁵ Dela Valle's Travels, Haklyt Edition I., 97.

¹⁵⁶ Elphinstone's History, 507.

¹⁵⁷ Herbert's Travels, 84. Corryat's Master Herbert was, as already noticed named like the traveller Thomas. The two Thomas were distant relations both being fourth in descent from Sir Richard Herbert of Colebroke, who lived about the middle of the fifteenth century. A further connection between the two families is the copy of complimentary verses, "To my cousin Sir Thomas Herbert," signed Ch. Herbert, in the A.D. 1634 and A.D. 1665 editions of Herbert's Travels, which are naturally, though somewhat doubtfully, ascribed to Charles Herbert, a brother of our Master Thomas. It is, therefore, probable that after his return to England Sir Thomas Herbert obtained the Mandu details from Master Thomas, who was himself a writer, the author of several poems and pamphlets. Corryat's tale how, during the water-famine at Mandu, Master Herbert annexed a spring or cistern, and then bound a servant of the Great King who attempted to share in its use, shows admirable courage and resolution on the part of Master Thomas, then a youth of twenty years. The details of Thomas in his brother Lord Herbert's autobiography give additional interest to the hero of Corryat's Tale of a Tank. Master Thomas was born in A. D. 1597. In A.D. 1610, when a page to Sir Edward Cecil and a boy of thirteen, in the German War, especially in the siege of Juliers, fifteen miles north-east of Aix-la-Chapelle, Master Thomas showed such forwardness as no man in that great army surpassed. On his voyage to India

of fresher beauty is probably a reference to the buildings raised and repaired by Abdul Karím against Jehángír's coming, among which the chief seems to have been the palace now known by the name of Báz Bahádur. The tower of 170 steps is Mehmúd Khiljí's Tower of victory, erected in A. D. 1443, the Khán Jehán being Mehmúd's father, the great minister Khán Jehán Aázam Humáyún.

In A. D. 1658 a Rájá Shivráj was commandant of Mandu.¹⁵⁸ No reference has been traced to any imperial visit to Mándu during Aurangzib's reign. But that great monarch has left an example of his watchful care in the rebuilding of the Álamgír or Aurangzib Gate, which guards the approach to the stone-crossing of the great northern ravine and bears an inscription of A. D. 1668, the eleventh year of Álamgír's reign. In spite of this additional safeguard, thirty years later (A. D. 1696) Mándu was taken and the standard of Udáji Pavár was planted on the battlements.¹⁵⁹ The Marathás soon withdrew and Málwa again passed under an imperial governor. In A. D. 1708 the Shía-loving Emperor Bahádur Sháh I. (A. D. 1707-1712) visited Mándu, and there received from Ahmedábád a copy of the Kurán written by Imám Ali Taki, son of Músa Razá (A. D. 810-829), seventh in descent from Áli, the famous son-in-law of the

1617, in a fight with a great Portuguese carrack, Captain Joseph, in command of Herbert's ship *Globe*, was killed. Thomas took Joseph's place, forced the carrack aground, and so riddled her with shot that she never floated again. To his brother's visit to India Lord Herbert refers as a year spent with the merchants who went from Surat to the Great Moghal. After his return to England Master Thomas distinguished himself at Algiers, capturing a vessel worth £1,800. In A.D. 1622, when Master Thomas was in command of one of the ships sent to fetch Prince Charles (afterwards King Charles I.) from Spain, during the return voyage certain Low Countrymen and Dunkirkers, that is, Dutch and Spanish vessels, offended the Prince's dignity by fighting in his presence without his leave. The Prince ordered the fighting ships to be separated; whereupon Master Thomas, with some other ships, got betwixt the fighters on either side, and shot so long that both Low Countrymen and Dunkirkers were glad to desist. Afterwards at divers times Thomas fought with great courage and success with divers men in single fight, sometimes hurting and disarming his adversary, sometimes driving him away. The end of Master Thomas was sad. Finding his proofs of himself undervalued, he retired into a private and melancholy life, and after living in this sullen humour for many years, he died about A.D. 1642 and was buried in London in St. Martin's near Charing Cross.

¹⁵⁸ Kháfí Khan in Elliot VII., 218.

¹⁵⁹ Malcolm's Central India I., 64.

Prophet, the first of Musalmán mystics. In A. D. 1717 Asaph Jáh Nizám-ul-Mulk was appointed Governor of Málwa and continued to manage the province by deputy till A. D. 1721. In A. D. 1722 Rája Girdhar Bahádur, a Nágara Bráhmaṇ, was made governor and remained in charge till in A. D. 1724 he was attacked and defeated by Chimnáji Pandit and Udáji Pavár.¹⁶⁰ Rája Girdar was succeeded by his relation Dia Bahádur, whose successful government ended in A. D. 1732, when through the secret help of the local Chiefs Malhárao Holkar led an army up the Bhairav pass, a few miles east of Mándu, and at Tirellah, between Amjhera and Dhár, defeated and slew Dia Bahádur. As neither the next Governor Muhammad Khán Bangash nor his successor Rája Jai Singh of Jaipur were able to oust the Maráthas, their success was admitted in A. D. 1734 by the appointment of Peshwa Bájráo (A. D. 1720-1740) to be Governor of Málwa. On his appointment (A. D. 1734) the Peshwa chose Ánand Ráo Pavár as his deputy. Ánand Ráo shortly after settled at Dhár, and since A. D. 1734 Mándu has continued part of the territory of the Pavárs of Dhár.¹⁶¹ In A. D. 1805 Mándu sheltered the heroic Míuah Báí during the birth-time of her son, Rámchandra Ráo Pavár, whose State was saved from the clutches of Holkár and Siudhia by the establishment of British overlordship in A. D. 1817.¹⁶²

In A. D. 1820 Sir John Malcolm¹⁶³ describes the hill-top as a place of religious resort occupied by some mendicants. The holy places on the hill are the shrine of Hoshang Ghori, whose guardian spirit still scares barrenness and other disease fiends¹⁶⁴, and the Rewa or Narbada Pool, whose holy water, according to common belief, prevents the dreaded return of the spirit of the Hindoo whose ashes are strewn on its surface, or, in the refined phrase of the Bráhmaṇ, enables the dead to lose self in the ocean of being.¹⁶⁵ In A. D. 1820 the Jáma Mosque, Hoshang's tomb, and the palaces of Báz Bahádur were still fine remains, though surrounded with jungle and fast crumbling to pieces.¹⁶⁶ In A. D. 1827 Colonel Briggs says¹⁶⁷:

¹⁶⁰ Malcolm's Central India I., 78.

¹⁶¹ Malcolm's Central India I., 100.

¹⁶² Malcolm's Central India I., 106.

¹⁶³ Central India II., 503.

¹⁶⁴ Ruins of Mándu, 43 : March, 1852, p. 34.

¹⁶⁵ Ruins of Mándu, 43 : March, 1852, p. 34.

¹⁶⁶ Malcolm's Central II., 503.

¹⁶⁷ Briggs' Farishtah IV., 235, note.*

Perhaps no part of India so abounds with tigers as the neighbourhood of the once famous city of Mándu. The capital now deserted by man is overgrown by forest, and from being the seat of luxury, elegance and wealth, it has become the abode of wild beasts, and is resorted to by the few Europeans in that quarter for the pleasure of destroying them. Instances have been known of tigers being so bold as to carry off troopers riding in the ranks of their regiments. Twelve years later (A.D. 1839) Mr. Fergusson¹⁶⁸ found the hill a vast uninhabited jungle, the rank vegetation tearing the buildings of the city to pieces and obscuring them so that they could hardly be seen.¹⁶⁹ Between A.D. 1842 and 1852 tigers are described as prowling among the regal rooms, the half savage marauding Bhil as eating his meal and feeding his cattle in the cloisters of its sanctuaries and the insidious *pipal* as levelling to the earth the magnificent remains.¹⁷⁰ So favourite a tiger retreat was the Jaház Palace that it was dangerous to venture into it unarmed. Close to the very huts of the poor central village, near the Jáma Mosque, cattle were frequently seized by tigers. In the south tigers came nightly to drink at the Ságar Lake. Huge bonfires had to be burnt to prevent them attacking the houses.¹⁷¹ In A.D. 1883 Captain Eastwick wrote: At Mándu the traveller will require some armed men, as tigers are very numerous and dangerous. He will do well not to have any dogs with him, as the panthers will take them even from under his bed.¹⁷² If this was true of Mándu in A.D. 1883—and is not as seems likely the repetition of an old world tale—the last ten years have wrought notable changes. Through the interest His Highness Sir Ánand Rao Pávar, K C.S.I., C.I.E., the present Mahárájah of Dhár, takes in the old capital of his State, travelling in Mándu is now as safe and easier than in many, perhaps than in most, outlying districts. A phaeton can drive across the northern ravine-moat through the three gateways and along the hill-top, at least as far south as the Sea Lake. Large stretches of the level are cleared and tilled, and herds of cattle

¹⁶⁸ Indian Architecture, 541.

¹⁶⁹ Ruins of Mándu, p. 9.

¹⁷⁰ Ruins of Mándu, p. 9.

¹⁷¹ Ruins of Mándu, 18, 25, 35. Some of these extracts seem to belong to a Bombay Subaltern, who was at Mándu about A.D. 1842, and some to Captain Claudius Harris who visited the hill in April 1852. Compare Ruins of Mándu, 34.

¹⁷² Murray's Handbook, Panjáb, 118.

graze free from the dread of wild beasts. The leading buildings have been saved from their ruinous tree-growth, the underwood has been cleared, the marauding Bhil has settled to tillage, the tiger, even the panther, is nearly as rare as the wild elephant, and finally its old wholesomeness has returned to the air of the hill-top.

This sketch notices only the main events and the main buildings. Even about the main buildings much is still doubtful. Many inscriptions, some in the puzzling interlaced *Tughra* character, have still to be read. They may bring to light traces of the Mándu kings and of the Mughal emperors, whose connection with Mándu, so far as the hill buildings are concerned, is still a blank. The ruins are so many and so widespread that weeks are wanted to ensure their complete examination. It may be hoped that at no distant date Major Delasseau, the Political Agent of Dhár, whose opportunities are not more special than his knowledge, may be able to prepare a complete description of the hill and of its many ruins and writings.

ART. XI.—*The Tree Blossomed. Shivaji as a Civil Ruler.* By the Hon'ble Mr. JUSTICE M. G. RANADE, M.A., LL.B., C.I.E.

[Read 17th September 1895.]

The history of Shivaji's military exploits only presents to our view one side of the working of his master-mind, and we are too apt to forget that he had other and stronger claims upon our attention as a civil ruler. Like the first Napoleon, Shivaji in his time was a great organiser, and a builder of civil institutions which conduced largely to the success of the movement initiated by him, and which alone enabled the country to pass unscathed through the dangers which overwhelmed it shortly after his death, and helped it to assert its claim to national independence, after a twenty years' struggle with the whole power of the Mogul Empire. These civil institutions deserve special study because they display an originality and breadth of conception which he could not have derived from the systems of government then prevalent under Mahomedan or Hindu rule; and what is still more noteworthy is that when, after the war of independence, the country was reorganised, his own successors returned to the traditions of the past, and departed from the lines laid down by the founder of the Marhatta power, and in so departing from the model he had set up, they sowed the seeds of that disunion and separation which it was his constant solicitude to avoid in all that he attempted and achieved. As has been stated before, Shivaji did not aspire to found an universal Empire under his own direct rule throughout India. He strove to secure the freedom of his own people, and unite them into one nation powerful for self-defence, and for self-assertion also; but the extinction of all other powers was not contemplated by him. He had friendly relations with the Chiefs of Golconda and Bednur, and even Bijapur, and did not interfere with their respective spheres of influence, in the Telangan, Mysore, and Carnatic countries, and he allowed his brother Venkoji to retain his father's Jahagir, all to himself, in the Dravid country. He contented himself with levying only *chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi* from the Mogul possessions. He made a clear distinction between *Swarājya* (territory directly governed by

him), and Mogalai (that governed by foreign kings outside his Swarājya). The civil institutions founded by him were intended chiefly for the Marhatta country proper, though they were also introduced partially in the line of military forts, maintained by him to the extreme south of the Peninsula. The civil territory, held under his direct sway, was divided into a number of Prants (Districts). Besides his ancestral Jahagir about Poona, there, was (1) Prant Mawal—corresponding with Mawal, Saswad, Junnar, and Khed Talukas of the present day, and guarded by 18 great Hill-forts; (2) the Prants of Wai, Satara, and Karad—corresponding with the Western portions of the present Satara district, guarded by 15 forts; (3) Prant Panhala—corresponding with the Western parts of Kolhapur, with 13 Hill-forts; (4) Prant South Konkan—corresponding with Ratnagiri, with 58 Hill-forts and sea-fortresses; (5) Prant Thana—corresponding with North Konkan district, with 12 forts; (6, 7) Prants Trimbak and Baglan—corresponding with the Western parts of Nasik, with 62 Hill-forts. The territories occupied by the military garrisons were, (8) Prant Wanagad—corresponding with the Southern parts of Dharwar district, with 22 forts; (9, 10, 11) Prants Bednur, Kolhar, and Shrirangpatam—corresponding with the modern Mysore, with 18 forts; (12) Prant Carnatic, being the ceded districts in the Madras Presidency south of the Krishna, with 18 forts; (13) Prant Vellor—(modern Arcat districts) with 25 forts; and (14) Prant Tanjore, with 6 forts. The whole of the Sahyadri range was studded with forts, and the territories to the west as far as the sea, and to the east of these forts, varied in breadth from 50 to 100 miles at the most.

The chronicles make mention of some 280 forts in Shivaji's occupation. In one sense it might be said that the Hill-fort, with the territory commanded by it, was the unit of Shivaji's civil government. He spared no money in building new, and repairing old forts, and his arrangements about the garrisoning and provisioning of these forts were of the most elaborate kind. The military exploits which made these forts so famous, as points of resistance against attack, or centres of aggression, formed the chief interest of these early Marhatta wars. The Empire was knit together by the chain of these Hill-forts, and they were its saviours in days of adversity. In the Satara district, Satara itself stood a siege for many months against Aurangzebe's whole power, and though it was storm-

ed at last, it was the first fort which was taken back from the Moguls under Rajaram's leadership by the ancestors of the present chief of Aundh. Torana and Rajagurh are associated with the first conquests of Shivaji, Shivaneri was his birth-place, Purandar was made memorable by Baji Parbhu's defence, and Rohida and Sinhggad will always be associated with the memory of the brave Tanaji Malusare : Panhala stood the famous siege by Shiddijohar, while Rangana was famous for the defence by another Baji Parbhu of the defile which led to it at the sacrifice of his life. The Malwan fort and Kolaba were the places where the Marhatta navy was fitted out for its expeditions by sea. Pratápgad was made famous as the place of Afzulkhan's tragedy, while Mahuli and Saleri were scenes of great battles in which the Marhatta Mawalis defeated the Mogul commanders. The extreme limits on the east side of these Hill-forts of Shivaji's possessions were marked by the fortresses of Kalyan, Bhiwadi, Wai, Karad, Supe, Khataw Baranwati, Chakan, Shirawal, Miraj, Tasgaon, and Kolhapur. The important part played by these forts justified the care Shivaji bestowed on them. Each fort was under a Marhatta Havaldar, who had under him other assistants, in charge of each circular wall of defence, from the same class, and he was assisted by a Brahman Subhedar, or Subnis, chosen from the three great divisions of Brahmans, and a Karkhanis who was a Parbhu. The Havaldar with his assistants had the military charge of the garrison. The Brahman Subhedar had the civil and revenue charge, and this charge included the villages within the command of the fort, while the Parbhu officer was in charge of the grain and fodder and military stores and of the repairs. The three classes were thus joined together in a division of work, which ensured fidelity and prevented jealousy. The hill-sides were carefully protected by strict conservancy, and the charge of the forests below the forts was entrusted to the Ramoshis and other lower classes of the population. Minute directions were given as to the way watch and ward duties were to be performed by day and night. The garrison varied in numbers according to the size and importance of the forts. There was a Naik for every 9 Sepoys, and the arms were guns, short swords, javelins, spears and pattas (long thin swords). Each man received in cash and kind fixed amounts as wages for service according to his rank.

Coming down from the Hill-forts to the plains, the country was

divided into Mahals, and Prants very much on the plan now in force, in our Taluka system. The average revenue of a Mahal ranged from three-fourths of a lack to a lack and a quarter, and two or three Mahals made a Subha or a district. The average pay of a Subhedar was 400 *hons* per year, *i. e.*, about Rs. 100 per month. Shivaji did not continue the old Mogul system of leaving the revenue management solely in the hands of the village patels or Kulkarnis or of the Deshamukhas, and Deshapandes of the district. These village and district authorities received their dues as before, but the work of management was taken out of their hands, and carried on directly by the Subhedars or Mahalkaris for the Subha or the Mahal, while every group of two or three villages was managed by a Kumavisdar (Karkun) who made the direct collection of the revenue. The plan of farming out land-revenue, either of villages or mahals, found no support under Shivaji's system.

The gradations of officers and men in the garrisons of the Hill forts were only copied from the regulations which were enforced by Shivaji both in his infantry and in his cavalry. In each Infantry corps there was a Naik for every ten soldiers, one Havaldar had charge of 5 such parties, 2 Hawalas made one Jumaledar, 10 Jumalas made a full corps of 1,000 men under a Hazari, and 7 Hazaris made up a Sarnobat's charge for the Mawali infantry. In the cavalry, there were 2 divisions Bargirs and Shilledars, and 25 Bargirs or Shilledars had a Havaldar over them, 5 Hawals made one Jumala, 10 Jumalas made a Hazari's charge, and 5 Hazari charges made one Panch Hazari. The Panch Hazari was under the Surnobat of the cavalry. Every batch of 25 horses had one water-carrier and farrier. Under each of the higher Marhatta officers, both in the infantry and cavalry, there was a Brahman Sabnis and a Parbhu Karkhanis or a Brahman Muzumdar and Prabhu Jaminis. The Bargir's horses were during the monsoons cantoned in camps where every provision was made for grass and grain supplies, and barracks were built for the men to live under shelter. All the officers and men received fixed pay, which in the case of the Paga Hazari was 1,000 *hons*, and Paga Panch Hazari 2,000 *hons*. In the case of the Infantry, the pay was 500 *hons* for the Hazari, and for the lower officers and men, the pay varied from Rs. 9 to 3 for the infantry, and Rs. 20 to 6 in the cavalry according to the higher or lower rank of the soldier or trooper. During 8 months in the year the armies were expected to maintain

themselves by *mulkhagiri*, i.e., by levying Chouth and Sardeshmukhi from the Mogul Districts. When engaged on such service, the men were strictly prohibited from taking their women and children with them. When a city was plundered, the loot had to be accounted for by each soldier and trooper. No soldier or trooper was enlisted without taking a security bond from his fellows to insure good conduct. The military commanders were paid in advance, and they had to account for the Chouth and Sardeshmukhi collected by them. No assignments of revenue or land were allowed for the service of the army in Shivaji's time. Notwithstanding these strict restraints there was no difficulty found about the enlistment of recruits in the army, and no service was more popular than that which led the Mawalees of the Ghautmatha and the Hatakaries of the Konkan, and the Shilledars and Bargirs of Maharashtra proper to flock in numbers to the national standard on each Dasara day, when a call was made for their services.

This system of cash payment and direct revenue management was introduced and extended by Shivaji throughout his dominions. Native chroniclers notice this departure from old traditions in these two points more prominently because Shivaji appears to have laid great stress on it. It was his conviction that much of the disorder in old times was due to the entrusting of revenue duties to Zamindars of districts and villages. They collected more from the Rayats, and paid less into the treasury than was strictly due, and used their opportunities to create disturbances and to resist the commands of the central power. Shivaji engaged the services of paid men—Kumavisdars, Mahalkaris and Subhedars, for the duties till then performed by Zamindars. It was the Kumavisdars' duty to levy the grain and cash payments while the crops were standing. The fields were carefully measured out, and entered in blocks in the name of the holders thereof, and annual Kabulayats were taken from them for the payments due. In the case of grain payments, the Government assessment never exceeded two-fifths of the actual yield. The remaining three-fifths were left to the cultivator as his share of the crops. In times of distress, or in case of accident, Tugai advances were made liberally, and their recovery provided for by instalments spread over 4 or 5 years. The Subhedars performed both revenue and criminal duties. The work of Civil Courts was not then of much importance, and when disputes arose, parties were referred by the

Subheddar to the Panch of the villages, or to those of other villages in important cases, and enforced their decisions.

The civil organization of the District was of course subordinate to the authorities at head-quarters, two of whom—the Pant Amátya and the Pant Sachiva, had respectively the charge of what in our time would be called the office of Finance Minister and the General Accountant and Auditor. The districts accounts had to be sent to these officers, and were there collated together, and irregularities detected and punished. These officers had power to depute men on their establishments to supervise the working of the district officers. The Pant Amátya and the Sachiva were, next to the Peshwa, the highest civil officers, and they had, besides these revenue duties military commands. They were both important members of the Board of Administration, called the Asta Pradhan or Cabinet of eight heads of departments. The Peshwa was Prime-minister, next to the king, and was at the head of both the civil and military administration, and sat first on the right hand below the throne. The Senapati was in charge of the military administration, and sat first on the left side. Amátya and Sachiva sat next to the Peshwa while the Mantri sat next below the Sachiva, and was in charge of the king's private affairs. The Sumant was foreign Secretary, and sat below the Senapati on the left. Next came Panditrao who had charge of the ecclesiastical department, and below him on the left side sat the Chief Justice. It will be seen from these details that the Asta Pradhan system has its counter-part in the present constitution of the Government of India. The Governor-General and Viceroy occupies the place of the Peshwa; next comes the Commander-in-chief of the army. The Finance and Foreign Ministers come next. In the Government of India, the Executive Council makes no room for the head of the ecclesiastical department, or for the Chief Justice on one side, and the Private Secretary on the other, and in their place sit the Member in charge of the Home Department, the Legal Member, and the Public Works Minister. These variations are due to the difference of circumstances, but the conception which lies at the bottom of both systems is the same, of having a council of the highest officers of the state, sitting together to assist the king in the proper discharge of his duties. If this system could have been loyally worked out by the successors of Shivaji, as it was originally conceived and worked by Shivaji himself, many of the dangers which

ultimately destroyed the Marhatta confederacy, even before it came in conflict with the superior discipline and resources of the British power, might have been avoided. The seeds of dissolution lay in the fact that the necessities of the times required all the eight Pradhans or ministers, except Pauditrao and Nyayadhisha, to be military commanders, and these military commands necessarily placed power in the hands of the most successful leaders of the army. Shivaji himself carefully guarded against this danger by providing that none of these offices should be hereditary. In his own time he had four different Commanders-in-Chief, *viz.*, Mankoji Dahatonde, Netaji Palkar, Prataprao Gujar, and Hambirrao Mohite. He deprived the first Peshwa of his office, and gave it to Moropant Pingle. The Pant Amatya's office similarly changed hands, and in fact the other officers were not allowed to be hereditary in particular families. This caution was, to some extent, observed in the early years of Shahu's reign, but towards its end the talents and power of the first three Peshawas, Balaji Vishwanath, the first Bajirao, and Balaji Bajirao, made the Peshwaship hereditary in their family, whilst the representatives of the other ministers were mostly incapable men, and their importance dwindled in consequence, and the equal distribution and balance of power was destroyed. Throughout the Peshwa's rule, the Ashtpradhans or the eight hereditary ministers of state, had no functions, or only nominal functions to discharge, and instead of being the organised government, which Shivaji designed it to be we find an unorganised power of the old Asiatic type, depending solely for its vitality upon the capacity of the chief centre of power. Shivaji's system cannot be blamed for such a consequence. It was the departure from his system that was responsible for the failure of his plans.

In another respect also, Shivaji was far in advance of his times. He set himself steadily against any assignments of land as *jahagir* to his successful civil or military commanders. Every one from the Peshwa and Senapati down to the lowest *sepoj* or *karkun* was, under Shivaji's arrangements, directed to draw his salary in kind or money from the public treasury and granaries. The salaries were fixed and paid regularly at stated periods. The assignment system was condemned because it was liable to be abused under the best circumstances, and with the best motives. The *Jahagir* naturally tends to become a territorial or feudal landlord, and when his influence is strengthened by hereditary connections, he cannot be

removed except by force. The centrifugal tendencies towards separation and disunion are always naturally very strong in India, and the system of assigning jahagirs, and permitting the jahagirdar to maintain a force of his own out of the revenue of the land assigned to him, aggravates this tendency to a degree which makes well ordered rule almost impossible. Shivaji would not even allow Zamindars of the District to build forts for their protection, but required them to live in houses unprotected like those of the rayats. None of the great men, who distinguished themselves in Shivaji's time, were able to hand over to their descendants large landed estates. Neither Moropant Pingley nor Abaji Sondeo, nor Ragho Ballal or Datto Annaji or Neeraji Raoji, among the Brahmans, nor the Maloosres or Kanks, or Prataprao Gujar, Netaji Palkar, Hambirrao Mohite of the Maratha Sardars, were able to found ancient families such as those which Shahu's ministers in the early part of the 18th century succeeded in doing.

The only assignments of land which Shivaji sanctioned in his time were intended for the endowment of temples and charities. These were public trusts, and the holders thereof had no military duties to discharge and could not in the ordinary course of things, become dangerous to the State. Among the charities, the Dakshina system of encouraging learning found strong support with Shivaji. It was an old edition of our modern system of payment by results. Brahmans received Dakshina according to a scale which was carefully graduated so as to provide both for the extent and quality of learning acquired. There were no public schools in those days, but private teachers taught pupils in their own homes, and both teacher and pupil were placed above want by means of a judicious distribution of annual rewards. Sanskrit learning was at its lowest ebb in these parts when Shivaji rose to power, but by the methods of encouragement adopted by him, the Deccan soon became known for the proficiency of her scholars who proceeded to Benares for purposes of study, and returned back to their country laden with honors, and rewarded by their sovereign. The Dakshina system of encouraging learning was, after Sambhaji's capture by the Moguls, kept up by the Dabhades of Talegaon, and when the Dabhades lost their importance, the Peshwas took up the trust, and greatly enlarged its scope, and it flourished down to the times of the British conquest, when the amount disbursed each year is said to have exceeded five lakhs.

It will be seen from the details given above that Shivaji's system of civil government was distinguished from those which preceded it or succeeded it in several important respects :—

1stly. In the great importance he attached to the Hill-forts, which were virtually the starting unit of his system of Government.

2ndly. In his discouragement of the hereditary system of transmitting high offices in one and the same family.

3rdly. In his refusal to grant jahagir assignments of land for the support of Civil or Military officers.

4thly. In the establishment of a direct system of revenue management, without the intervention of district or village Zamindars.

5thly. In the disallowance of the farming system.

6thly. In the establishment of a Council of Ministers with their proper work allotted to them, and each directly responsible to the King in Council.

7thly. In the subordination of the Military to the Civil element in the administration.

8thly. In the intermixture of Brahmans, Parbhus and Marhattas in all offices, high and low, so as to keep check upon one another.

Of course some of these distinctive features could not be continued intact when the Marhatta power, instead of being confined to the small area of the Swarajya district, was extended in all directions so as to embrace provinces so distant as Cuttack on the east, and Kathiawar on the west, and Delhi in the north and Tanjore in the south. In the Marhatta country proper, the nation, the army, the officers, and the kings were all of the same race, and a common bond of loyalty knit them together in a way which it was impossible to secure in distant parts of India, where the conquered population differed essentially from the army of occupation, and too often the army of occupation consisted of mercenaries who had no bond of union with their commanding officers, or with the representatives of the central power. It is therefore not to be wondered at that Shivaji's institutions, as described above, were not found elastic enough to be suitable for all parts of India. The connection of the Hill-forts with the plains commanded by them, for instance, was a feature so entirely local that it could not be accepted as a practical basis of government in the plains of Gujarata or Malwa or in the Eastern Districts of Maharashtra itself. For a similar reason, the strict system of direct revenue management and the total supersession of

farmers and zamindars was also not equally suited for distant provinces where the traditions of Government had been all along opposed to such direct collection. While therefore allowance may be made for these and other considerations, there can be no doubt that, in other respects, the departure from Shivaji's system was a distinctly retrograde step, for which no similar excuse can be pleaded, except that the men who came after did not realise the wisdom of his plans, and yielded to the temptation of present convenience, only to find that they had thereby lowered the organised union he had established into an unorganised mass held together by the very loosest ties, and threatening dissolution at the first great crisis in its history.

The system of Government by a Council of eight Ministers, for instance, was retained in the early years of Shahu's reign, but gradually fell into disuse when the Peshwa's power increased so as to overshadow the other Ministers, and it actually ceased to exist when the Peshwas made Poona their capital. The Pant Amatya and Pant Sachiva, the most powerful civil functionaries next to the Peshwa, occupy no place in the Marhatta history after Shahu's death, and sank into the position of mere jehagirdars. The Peshwas did not venture or care to set up any substitutes in their place, and presumed to manage all affairs on their own responsibility. They were their own generals, and their own finance ministers, and foreign ministers also. No wonder that the personal system of rule thus established had not the stability which it would have derived, if Shivaji's institutions had been faithfully respected by his successors.

The system of filling up high offices as though they were hereditary Watan was another retrograde departure from the instructions laid down by Shivaji, and systematically carried out by him. When the Peshwaship itself became hereditary, it was not to be wondered at that every other office became hereditary also. But as natural capacity and virtues are not hereditary endowments, the office soon came to be filled up by incapable persons, and brought on, sooner or later, the expected disaster. Four generations of Peshwas retained power by natural right; but the other officers had not even this claim to urge for the continuance of office in their families. New men rose from the ranks to the top-most positions, but there was no room for them in the general Councils of the Empire. Nana Faranavis, for instance, from being a Fadnis, aspired to be Prime Minister, Mahadji

Shinde, from being a Sirdar of secondary importance, became the most powerful military commander of his time. There was no room for both of them, and the like of them, in the central council, and each tried to supplant the other by force or craft, and each dragged the other down. More frequently still, the great military commanders became kings in their own territory, and made peace or war at their own will. This danger might have been, to a great extent, obviated, if the system of government by a council, with the necessary enlargements dictated by altered circumstances, had been continued, and the hereditary principle not allowed to take such deep root, as it did in the course of two generations from Shivaji's death.

The greatest departure, however, was in the abandonment of the principle of not giving extensive territories as Jahagir to those who could conquer them by the strength of their military prowess. To some extent this departure was forced upon the Government of Shahu by the events that had preceded his accession to power. The whole country of Maharashtra had been conquered by the Moguls after Sambhaji's death, and Sambhaji's brother, Rajaram, and his Councilors had been driven far to the South. The whole work had to be commenced again, and the new leaders who came to power had to be allowed much their own way. No fault therefore can be laid at the door of Rajaram's advisers, and the stress of adverse circumstances continued to be in considerable strength in the early years of Shahu. When, however, Shahu's Government was established in Maharashtra, and plans of extending the Empire in all directions were entertained, the temptation of present convenience was not so strong, and might have been resisted. It was just at this time that the mistake was committed of allowing every soldier of fortune to carve out his own jahagir. Pillaji and Damaji Gaikawad settled themselves as sovereigns of Gujarat. The Bhosales of Nagpur became supreme in those parts, while Shinde and Holkar and the Powars established themselves in Malwa and North India, under a very loose system of allegiance to the central power, represented by their agreement to pay a portion of the revenue to the Peshwa as wielding the chief authority in Maharashtra. When these jahagir assignments were continued hereditary, the transformation from organized to unorganized power was complete. Those who first acquired these large domains retained some sense of loyalty to the common cause. Their successors, however, resented all interference with what they

came to regard as their own private possessions. It was in this way that the more important departures from the policy laid down by Shivaji proved ruinous to the general interests.

Shivaji's arrangements about the direct management of land revenue, without the intervention of the District and village Zamidars, were on the whole faithfully carried out by his successors, and during the best period of the Peshwa's rule, almost down to the death of Nana Fardanavis, the system of farming revenue found no favour. It was only under the rule of the last Peshwa that Districts began to be farmed out in the Marhatta country proper. In the outlying conquests of Malwa, Gujarat and other parts of North India, the farming system was more in vogue, as being more suited to the unsettled condition of those parts. While in this matter, therefore, Shivaji's traditions were on the whole respected, the precautions he had taken about the distribution of offices amongst Marhattas, Brahmans and Parbhus, do not appear to have commended themselves to his successors. The Parbhus, who had played such an important part in the early history of Shivaji, ceased to occupy any prominent place in the latter history of the Peshwas from Balaji Bajirao's times. Only one great name, that of Sakharam Hari, who was a favourite commander under Raghunathrao Peshwa, appears in this later period, though in the Courts at Baroda and Nagpur representatives of this class continued to play an important part as civil ministers and military commanders. As regards the Brahmans, there is an impression that the Konkanastha section had no employment under the great Shivaji. The native chronicles, however, clearly show that Brahmans of all the three sections of that community were employed as Subhedars and Commanders of Hill forts. The Deshastha Brahmans naturally took the lead in the times of Shivaji and his two sons. With the accession to power of the Peshwas in Shahu's time, the balance was turned in favour of the Konkanasthas, and the disproportion became more manifest, because the leading Deshastha Jahagirdars had taken the side of Raghunathrao in his wars with his nephews.

The military profession had not been monopolised by the Marhattas in Shivaji's time, but they constituted the chief strength of the army, both in the ranks and file. The Brahman commanders under Shivaji were as brave in generalship as any Marhatta commander. This continued to be the case under the early Peshwas.

ACT. XIII.—*The Teleology of the Pahlavi Shikand Gumanik Vijar and Cicero's De Natura Deorum.* By R. P. KARKARIA, ESQ.

[Read 15th October 1895.]

The Parsis have been well called the ruins of a great people, and their existing sacred books the ruins of a great religion. How great that nation and that religion once were is known to all who have read ancient history and care for the power and thought of bygone ages. Under the great Xerxes the ancient Persian nation was on the point of triumphing over Greece, Europe would have been subdued by Asia, and the faith of Zoroaster would have taken the place of the gross Paganism then existing and anticipated Christianity. But that was not destined to be. The battle of Marathan turned the scale against it and decided the fate of Europe and of the Persian monarchy. The power of Xerxes rapidly waned from that point till the Greeks in their turn in the next century invaded and conquered Persia under Alexander the Great who put a stop to the long and glorious line of the Persian Monarchs. Their faith fell along with them, and what with the deliberate and wanton destruction imputed to Alexander, and the apathy and neglect of the Parthian Kings, the ancient Zoroastrian religion lost its sacred books. There seems to be a peculiar fatality about it in this matter. Having lost its sacred literature and restored it again, it has once again lost it and now possesses only straggling fragments. After the losses under the Greeks and the Parthians it recovered under the Sassanides and succeeded in recovering nearly all its lost books. But when that last line of Zoroastrian monarchs fell at the hands of the newly risen Arab power, their ancient faith lost ground rapidly and suffered terribly under the persecution of the new faith of Islam. The literature recovered under the Sassanides was again lost, now irrecoverably. Not only are the ancient books or Nasks themselves lost but also works upon them and connected with them have disappeared. The treatise which Hermippos of Smyrna is said to have written on that religion and based on his direct knowledge of the Nasks has also not escaped the ravages of time.

The great revival of Zoroastrianism which took place when Ardeshir Babigan mounted the throne of Persia after destroying the rule of

The greatest and most interesting remains behind of the destruction under Islam. The sacred mission was to recover the Nasks of several centuries. Great exertions were made for the recovery of literature. They were successful and many fragments were recovered. They were engaged in editing and revising to one of the kings of Ardeshir, by name Tansar or Tansar, who is passing that this Tansar is credited for more than mere editing and revising. It is said that scholar Tansar was no less

interested in the entire Avesta as we possess it now! He succeeded in presenting to the King and his successors. They and their successors also employed the language of their time with an elaborate

philosophers of the Sassanide times were engaged in translating the Avesta texts. There was a rivalry among them. Their faith came from a religion that had arisen in Palestine and spread to the West and East. Christianity had made some progress there in spite of persecution. The Greeks, Neo-platonism, Gnosticism and the early centuries of the Christian era, the state religion of the Empire that had struck terror into the Empires on the one hand, and India on the other. All these influenced it in many ways. The argument of the sword, it must be employed against Christianity and many heretical sects of martyrology and hagiology bear testimony to some of the most enlightened monarchs of the Sassanide. Enlightenment it seems was, in those days, the cause at least the concomitant of persecution. It was also in Europe. The pure Trajan and the Emperor Aurelius were among the most bitter persecutors; and it is a standing marvel how the Emperor Julian, who shows such a tenderness and weakness, who puts before himself such a lofty ideal, and yet could have issued orders for massacring

thousands of obscure and unoffending human beings, unless we assume such a cynical and complete divorce of practice from opinion as is not warranted by the story of his life.

But the *argumentum ad baculum* was not the only instrument. Less tangible though more convincing arguments were brought forward, and a whole class of polemical literature arose in the language of the day. This was the Pahlavi language, about the origin and antiquity of which there has been a good deal of controversy. Some have held that it is a frontier language of the second century A. D., and that it grew into importance only in the times of the Sassanian revival. But the authority of Haug is against them. In his "Essay on Pahlavi" he proves the great antiquity of the language and shows that its Semitic dialect can be traced as far back as the seventh century B. C. and its Assyrian dialect several centuries earlier still. "The origin of Pahlavi," says he, "can be sought for only during the period of the Assyrian rule, which lasted over Iran for 250 years¹ and was established as early as the twelfth century B. C., if not earlier. In the whole history of Iran from Assyrian down to Arsacidan times there is no other period during which its rise and spread could be explained in any reasonable way."² In this opinion he is confirmed by another scholar who thinks that "the Pahlavi language obtained currency in ancient Persia during the dynasty of the Kyanian Kings," and that "as maintained by some authorities it does not owe its origin to the time of the Sassanian dynasty."³ Whatever view may be held about the origin and age of the language, the literature written in that language and extant to-day dates only from the third century A. D., whilst the greatest bulk of it is as recent as the seventh and eighth centuries. Most of the theological and polemical treatises written in the heyday of the old faith under the Sassanides were lost along with books of a more sacred character.

The Zoroastrian faith fell again from power, and with Yazdigard III., the last of the royal race of Sassan and his followers, it was forced into an exile from which it has never since returned to its home and renown. The new conquerors of Persia, the Arab followers of the new faith of Islam, submitted it to a long and terrible persecution almost amounting to extermination. In the great welter into which

¹ Herodotus, I., 95.

² Pahlavi-Pazand Glossary, 1870, by Hoshang and Haug, p. 141.

³ Dastur Peshotan Sanjana's Pahlavi Grammar, 1871, pp. 7, 10. •

things were thrown, the religious literature recovered after so much trouble was again greatly lost sight of, though it may be suspected not so much through active destruction as through the neglect of a persecuted and down-trodden people. Even this persecution must not have been so very severe. There was a great change; but that change was not rapid, as is popularly supposed. For nearly three or four centuries after the Arab conquest the old religion, though fallen, was flourishing in the country. M. Mohl has investigated this obscure period successfully, and the introductions and other essays in his magnificent edition of the *Shah Nameh* of Firdousi contain excellent materials for a history of that period. From these it appears that the Persian religion, customs, traditions and songs survived in the hands of the Persian nobility and landed gentry—the *Dikhans* as they were called—who lived among the people, particularly in the Eastern Provinces, remote from the capital and the seats of foreign dominion, Baghdad, Kufah and Mosul.⁴ And the poet Firdousi must have gathered the materials for his great epic from these sources. Religious materials, too, were then existing and even added to. That the old faith was surviving in the country for a long time is seen from the notices of Zoroastrian families that occur in the annals of the first four centuries after the conquest, and from the many fire-temples that still remained to be destroyed under the later Caliphs. The story of Afshin, the Commander-in-Chief and favourite of Caliph Motassim shews, as Sir William Muir notes, the strong hold which Magian or Zoroastrian doctrines and worship still retained in the ninth century, and the toleration accorded to them in the country.⁵

The old books existed during these centuries of supposed rigorous persecution; and not only that, but many new theological works were produced during that period. Most of the Pahlavi treatises we now possess were written during those centuries. It was only afterwards that most of the theological literature disappeared, and that not so much through deliberate destruction by the Arabs, as through the neglect of the Parsis themselves. As Dr. E. W. West says, "the survival of so much of the sacred Zoroastrian literature during these centuries of Mahomedan rule, indicates that the final loss of nearly all this literature was not so directly attributable to the Arabs as the Parsis suppose. So long as a considerable number of the Persians

⁴ Cf. Max Müller, *Chips*, Vol. I., p. 94, ed. 1867.

⁵ *Early Caliphate*, p. 514.

adhered to their ancient religion, they were able to preserve its literature almost intact, even for centuries, but when through conversion and extermination, the Mazda-worshippers had become a mere remnant and then fell under the more barbarous rule of the Tartars, they rapidly lost all their old literature that was not in daily religious use. And the loss may have been as much due to their neglecting the necessary copying of manuscript as to any destructiveness on the part of their conquerors; because the durability of a manuscript written on paper seldom exceeds five or six centuries."⁶

The Pahlavi treatises written under the Sassanides and in the three centuries after the Arab conquest treat of several subjects connected with religion. Some are dogmatic and expository, expounding the views of the true faith in various matters, as for instance, the famous *Bundahish*, which gives the account of the origin of creation according to the Zoroastrian faith and tradition. Some are commentaries on the ancient sacred books and usages. Some are in the form of general epistles indited by learned Dasturs to the lower clergy and the laity on certain points of dogma and ritual which seem to have puzzled them, as the epistles of Manuschehr and others. While some again are polemical and apologetic works refuting other religions and sects and upholding their own. The work which we are to consider presently is of this last class.

It is called "Shikand Gumanik Vijar," which means "doubt-dispelling explanations," and was written with the chief object of showing that good and evil arise from two independent sources as taught by the Mazda-worshipping religion. To show this the author naturally considers the arguments of the opposing creeds. He tries to show that while professing to believe in the unity of creation, they can only account for the origin of evil either by degrading the character of the sacred being, or by attributing evil to a corrupting influence, which is really a second being. In the general course of his great argument, he considers and refutes the doctrines of Atheists, Jews, Christians, Manichæans and Mahomedans. A great knowledge is shown of their side of the case and great dialectical skill is apparent in many parts of the argument. Quotations are given from the Old and New Testament, as well as other works, including the Koran, and the writer seems to have been a scholar of no mean abilities.

⁶ *Pahlavi Texts*, Part IV.; *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XXXVII., p. xxxix. Cf. also E. W. West *apud* Geiger and Kuhn, *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*, II. 1., p. 80.

This writer appears to be Mardan-farukh, son of Ahurmazdad, as he gives his own name in the body of the book. This autobiographical passage is interesting, as it gives the author's qualifications for his task, and may be quoted : "The many kinds of falsehood, which must become confused and mutually afflicting to many, are, in the aggregate, from one source of deceitfulness. As to that, this composition is provided by me, who am Mardan-farukh, son of Ahurmazdad, as I saw in the age much religiousness and much good consideration of sects of many species ; and I have been fervently minded, at all times in my whole youthful career, an enquirer and investigator of the truth of them. For the same reason I have wandered forth also to many realms and the sea-shore. And of these compendious statements which owing thereto are an enquiry of those desiring the truth, and a collection and selection of it for these memoranda, from the writings and memoranda of the ancient sages and high-priests of the just, and especially those of the glorified Atur Padhtyavand, the name Shikand Gumanik Vijar is appointed by me. As it is very suitable for explaining away the doubts of new learners about the thorough understanding of the truth, the blessedness and truth of the good religion, and the inward dignity of these free from strife."⁷ His age has been fixed by his scholarly translator, Mr. E. W. West, in the latter half of the ninth century.⁸ The original Pahlavi text of the treatise is not extant, but there are some copies of a Pazand version of the earlier part of the work. Our existing text is derived from the Pazand and Sanskrit version of the famous medieval Parsi scholar Neryosang. This Pazand-Sanskrit text has been lately edited in a scholarly publication by Dastur Hoshang Jamasp of Poona and Mr. E. W. West.

We have said that Mardan-farukh refutes the arguments of the Atheists, and it is to that portion of his treatise that I am going to draw your attention to-day. His refutation of Atheism is contained in the fifth and sixth Chapters. In them he points out (§§ 1—9) the necessity of understanding the nature of the sacred being as well as of admitting his existence. He then details (§§ 10—45) in a general manner the various modes of acquiring such knowledge, and these modes are (§§ 46—91) applied to prove the existence of a wise and benevolent Creator, from the evident existence of design in the

⁷ Chap. I., 34—39, West, p. 120.

⁸ *Pahlavi Texts*, Pt. III. ; *S. B. E.*, Vol. XXIV., p. xxvii. ; and West and Hoshang's *Pazand and Sanskrit Text of the Shikand*, p. xvii., 1887.

creatures, and their various organs and appliances. In the sixth chapter, the argument from design is continued with a special rebuke at its close to the Sophists who argue that there can be no certainty about spiritual matters because our knowledge of them is merely subjective illusion.⁹

Now, what I wish to point out to you this evening is that the argument, of which this is a bare outline, presents a very close resemblance to the argument of M. Lucilius Balbus, the spokesman of the Stoics in the famous dialogue of Cicero, called the *De Natura Deorum*. This treatise is so well known to all who pay attention either to classical literature or to philosophy that I shall not pause here to describe it. Suffice it to say, that in it Cicero presents the theories of the great ancient philosophical sects, the Stoics, the Epicureans, and the Academics, about the existence, nature, and government of the gods. In the first book the representative of the Epicureans, C. Velleius, gives their views; he believes in the existence of the gods, but denies the government of the world by them. C. Aurelius Cotta, on behalf of the Academics, says, that it is impossible to arrive at any certainty with regard to the divine nature. The second book is entirely taken up with the Stoic argument of Balbus. He gives, (1) proof of the divine existence, (2) of the divine nature, (3) of the providential government of the universe, and (4) of the providential care for man. Of the third part of his argument, the providential government of the Universe, I shall give an outline from the elaborate and excellent critical Cambridge edition of this treatise by Prof. Joseph Mayor. Providential government is inferred from the consideration of the Universe itself, as embodying an intelligent principle first imported into it by a creative energy. A detailed review is given of the wonders of Nature, viz., the earth, the sun, moon, stars and planets; also wonders of vegetable and animal life. Then the hand of Providence is shewn to be most plainly visible in man, in the provision made for supporting his life by food and air; in the framework of his body and his erect position; in the organs of sense; in the gift of reason; in the gift of speech through the wondrous mechanism of the vocal organs; in the capacity for action through the mechanism of the hand; and finally in the capacity for meditation and worship.¹⁰

⁹ West and Hoshang, p. xi.

¹⁰ II., §§ 81—153. *De Natura Deorum*, ed. Joseph Mayor, Vol. II., pp. xiii.

This entire section of Cicero presents a resemblance to the two chapters of the Pahlavi treatise noted above ; and this can be clearly seen by reading the two side by side. I shall here give one instance. Both Cicero and Mardan-farukh take the instance of the human eye to show the adaptation of means to ends in the human body as well as the Universe.

“What artificer but Nature,” says Balbus, “whose direction is incomparable, could have exhibited so much ingenuity in the formations of the senses? In the first place, she has covered and invested the eyes with the finest membranes, which she has made transparent, that we may see through them, and firm in their texture to preserve the eyes. She has made them slippery and moveable that they might avoid what would offend them and easily direct the sight wherever they will. The actual organ of sight, which is called the pupil, is so small that it can easily shun whatever might be hurtful to it. The eyelids which are their coverings, are soft and smooth, that they may not injure the eyes ; and are made to shut at the apprehension of any accident, or to open at pleasure ; and these movements Nature has ordained to be made in an instant ; they are fortified with a sort of palisade of hairs, to sweep off what may be noxious to them when open, and to be a fence to their repose when sleep closes them, and allows them to rest as if they were wrapped up in a case. Besides they are commodiously hidden and defended by eminences on every side ; for on the upper part the eyebrows turn aside the perspiration which falls from the head and forehead ; the cheeks beneath rise a little, so as to protect them on the lower side ; and the nose is placed between as a wall of separation.¹¹

Mardan-farukh handles the same subject of the eye. “When only the construction of one of the organs of the body is examined into—that is, how it is—it is wonderfully sagaciously constructed. Such is the eye which is of many natures of different names and different purposes, as the eyelash, the eyelid, the white, the eyeball, the iris, and the pupil, in such way that the white is fat, the iris is water which has so stood in the prism of fat, that the turning of the eye, from side to side, occurs through it, and the pupil, itself the sight, is like a view into the water. The iris stands in the prism of white like the standing of water in a prism of fat and the pupil is within the iris, like the view of a thing within clear water, or the form of a column in a sliming manner. And the arrangement of the white in

¹¹ IL, Chap. LVII.

the orbit is for the reason that the dust whirling from the atmosphere, when it arrives at the eye, shall not be concealed in it, but shall turn to the lid of the eye."¹² And both Cicero and Mardan-farukh then proceed from the eye to the ear.

This resemblance between the two treatises has not, so far as I am aware, been pointed out by any one. This may be chiefly owing to general ignorance of Oriental works and especially old Persian religious books shewn by Western scholars. But now that Prof. Max Müller has rendered many of those old works accessible in English, the work of comparison may be carried on with profit. It was whilst engaged in a pretty close study of Cicero's treatise ten years ago, that I was struck with the similarity in the arguments of the Pahlavi writer even whilst cutting open the volume of Max Müller's Series containing the *Shikand*. I do not say anything about the later writer borrowing from the earlier. We have no means of arriving at any conclusions as to Mardan's knowledge of Cicero either in the original Latin or through a translation. Cicero's philosophical works are, as is well known, not original. He is indebted to Greek writers. And the *De Natura Deorum*, as is shewn by Prof. Mayor, can be traced to the lost work of the philosopher Posidonius "On the gods." Mardan says explicitly that he got these arguments from the *Dinkard* of Adirfrobag. The date of this *Dinkard* is hard to fix, as it took a long time to compose, and as it was added to so much by later editors. Probably the editors of the *Dinkard* might have seen Greek philosophical works.

¹² Chap. V., 65—76.

ART. XIV. *Firdousi on the Indian Origin of the Game of Chess.*
 BY JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, B.A.

[Read 21st November 1895.]

India is the original home of the game of chess. From India it was introduced into Persia in the time of the great Noushiravân or Chosroes I. The Arabs who subsequently conquered Persia introduced it into Spain on their conquest of the country. Spain spread it into other parts of Europe. Though some seem to be of opinion that it was the Crusaders who brought it from the East, many are of opinion that it was known in Europe long before the Crusades, and that it was known in England before the Norman conquest.

As to its Indian origin, Sir William Jones in his paper¹ "On the Indian Game of Chess," says, "If evidence be required to prove that chess was invented by the Hindus, we may be satisfied with the testimony of the Persians, who, though as much inclined as other nations to appropriate the ingenious invention of a foreign people, unanimously agree that the game was imported from the west of India, together with the charming fables of Vishnusarma, in the fifth century of our era"

The object of this paper is to adduce the testimony of one of the greatest, if not the greatest, Persian writers, as to the Indian origin of the game. Sir W. Jones makes a passing allusion to Firdousi, but does not give his version of the origin. Further on, Sir William Jones says, "Of this simple game, so exquisitely contrived and so certainly invented in India, I cannot find any account in the classical writings of the Brahmans. It is indeed confidently asserted that Sanskrit books on chess exist in this country, and if they can be produced at Benares, they will assuredly be sent to us."

I do not know if since Sir W. Jones wrote the above, any Sanskrit writing has been brought to light which would give in detail a description of the origin of the game, and an account as to why this game was invented. If a Sanskrit work of the kind has been brought to light, it will be of some use to see, how far the following version of Firdousi, about the circumstances which led to the invention of this game, was right.

¹ Asiatic Researches, Vol. II.

Firdousi gives this version on the authority of one Shahui (شاهوی) a wise old man:—

“There lived a king in India, Jamhour (جمہور) by name, who was more valiant than Four (فور).² He was an intelligent and wise monarch, whose territory extended from Kashmir in the west to China in the east. He had his capital at a place called Sandali (سندلی). The king had a wife who was equally intelligent and wise. The queen gave birth to a prince as beautiful as the moon. The king gave the child the name of Gau (گو). A short time after the birth of the prince, king Jamhour died, conveying his last wishes to his queen. The civil and military authorities of the State met together and after some consultation resolved, that as the prince was a minor, and, as such, was not capable of carrying on the affairs of the State, the crown be bequeathed upon Mái (مای), a brother of the late king, who lived in Dambar (دنبہ). Mái accepted the throne and came to Sandali from Dambar. After ascending the throne, he married the wife of his deceased brother³ and a son was born, whom he named Talhend (طلهند). When the child grew two years old and Gau seven years old, king Mái fell ill and died within fifteen days of his illness. The nobles of the State met together and resolved, that up to the time when the two princes came to age, the throne be entrusted to the queen who had all along shown herself to be virtuous and wise. The queen ascended the throne and entrusted the two princes to the care of two learned men to be properly educated. When the princes grew up, they separately went to their mother and asked her, which of her two sons she found to be nobler and worthier than the other. She evaded the question, saying in a general way, that in order to deserve her approbation they must be as temperate, courteous and wise as befitted the sons of a king. And again they went separately to her and asked her, to which of the two sons she would entrust the throne. She said to each of them in turn, that he was entitled to the throne on account of his wisdom. Thus both the princes came to age with their minds filled up with the ambition of being the future rulers of the country. Their respective teachers fanned the fire of this ambition. They looked with jealousy at each other. The noble men of the Court and the people divided themselves into two factions, one supporting

² Porus, who was defeated by Alexander.

³ This allusion shows that widow marriage was not prohibited in Northern India in the time of Noushiravân in the sixth century after Christ.

the cause of Gau and the other that of Talhend. One day both the brothers went together to their royal mother and asked her, which of the two sons she found to be worthy of the throne. In reply she asked them to be patient and to submit the question to the leading men of the State for a peaceful settlement. Gau, who was the elder of the two, did not like this reply and asked her to decide that question herself. He said, "if you do not find me worthy of the throne of my father, say so, and give the throne to Talhend, and I will submit myself to him. But if you find me better qualified by my age and wisdom, ask Talhend to give up his claim to the throne." The mother said in reply, that though he (Gau), being older than the other brother, had a better right to the throne, it was better for him to settle the question of succession peacefully with his younger brother. Talhend, however, did not like even this qualified expression of opinion by his royal mother in favour of Gau on account of his being elder of the two and said that age did not always carry with it any kind of superiority, and that in civil and military appointments it was not always the aged who occupied high positions. He said that as his father Mâi was the last occupant of the throne he had every right to the throne as his heir and successor. The royal mother thereupon called upon him not to lose his temper and to take what she had said in the spirit in which she had uttered. She said that she treated both the brothers impartially and fairly, and thereupon, distributed equally among them, all the royal treasures that she had under her control.

The two brothers then resolved to submit the question of succession to the arbitration of their tutors. But the tutors, being interested in the elevation to power, of their respective pupils, did not come to any decision. Then the princes got two thrones placed in the audience hall and sent for the nobles of the State and asked them to settle the question, but as the Court was equally divided it was difficult to do so. Then the last resort was to submit the question to war. Before making any preparations for war, Gau requested his brother to withdraw from the contest, saying that the throne of Jamhour passed to Mâi only during his minority and that Mâi was no more than a regent and that therefore he (Gau) was entitled to the throne. Talhend did not attend to this and prepared for war. Both the brothers collected their armies, and before the commencement of the battle, Gau once more requested his younger brother, through a messenger, to give up the contest. He also suggested the alternative

of dividing the kingdom into two parts. But all this was of no avail, as Talhend was bent upon fighting. Gau sent for his preceptor and asked his advice over the state of affairs at this crisis. The preceptor advised his royal pupil to once more try his best, to win over his brother, by offering him all the royal treasures, except the throne and the royal seal. Gau sent a special messenger to Talhend, offering all these, but it was of no avail.

Before giving the final orders to commence fighting, Gau said a few words of encouragement to his soldiers and asked them to take Talhend prisoner, but not to kill him or wound him. On the other side, Talhend also gave a similar order to his soldiers. A bloody battle was fought, in which the army of Talhend received a crushing defeat. At the end of the battle Gau once more asked his brother to give up the hopeless contest, but Talhend paid no attention to his request and retired from the battle-field to a place called Marg and collected another large army, paying the men very liberally for their services. He then sent an insulting message to his elder brother Gau, and said that he was willing to fight again. At the instance of his preceptor, Gau sent a peaceful reply, offering terms of peace to his brother. Talhend called a council of war and submitted the terms offered by his brother for consideration. In the end they resolved to fight again. A second bloody and fierce battle was fought, wherein Talhend was found dead, over his elephant, through great exhaustion, consequent upon hard work and want of food and water for a long time. Gau, not seeing his brother in the midst of the army, sent his men to inquire, and they found him dead upon the back of his elephant. Gau lamented long for the death of his brother. When the Queen heard of the death of her younger son, she lost herself in profound grief. She went to Talhend's palace and burnt his crown and throne as signs of mourning, and then burnt his body according to the customs of the Hindus.

Gau, when he heard of the grief of his mother, went to her and consoled her, saying that he had no hand in the death of his brother, that he had done his best to dissuade him from fighting, that he had given all possible instructions to his army not to kill or wound him, and that he was found dead on the elephant, without in the least being wounded by anybody. The mother could not believe the fact that Talhend was found dead on the back of his elephant and that he died of exhaustion without being killed or wounded by any one in the turmoil of the battle. She thought that a case like that was

impossible and suspected some foul play. Gau thereupon asked his mother to be patient for some time, in order that he may prove to her satisfaction, that a death like that of Talhend was possible in a battle-field, and that neither he nor anybody else had any hand in his death. He said that by some contrivance he would prove to her satisfaction that the death of a king, on the back of his elephant, in the midst of a battle, on being shut up on all sides and without being either killed or wounded by anybody, was quite possible. He added that if he could not prove that, he was ready to burn himself. The mother thereupon desired to be shown how such a death was possible, and said that if that could not be shown to her satisfaction, she would prefer burning herself rather than that her son Gau should burn himself. Gau thereupon returned to his palace and told his preceptor all that had passed between him and his mother. The preceptor advised the king to call a council of learned men from different parts of the country, such as Cashmere, Dambar, Marg and Mâi, and to ask them to devise some means or contrivance by which the queen can be consoled for the death of her younger son, and it should be shown to her that the death of a king, without either being wounded or killed in a battle, was quite possible, and that it might be brought about by being shut up on all sides and consequently through exhaustion and want of food and water.

Gau accordingly sent messengers all round and called a council of the learned men of the country. The preceptor of the king explained to them the whole state of affairs and then described the battle-field on which the battle between the two brothers was fought and the position of the different armies and generals. On learning all the particulars, the learned men, and especially two among them, invented the game of chess, wherein one could see how one of the two kings, without being slain, was shut up on all sides, by the army of his opponent and lost the battle or the game.

I give below Firdousi's description of the game to enable the players of the modern game to see how far their method of play resembled that described by Firdousi as the Indian method. In giving my translation I follow the text of Mohl (Vol. VI.) "Two great and good-natured men prepared a square board of ebony wood. It represented ditches and a battle-field on which two armies had met face to face. They painted 100 squares on that board for the movement of the army and the king. Then they prepared two armies out of teakwood and ivory and two exalted kings with dignity

and crown. Over it the footmen and the horsemen were drawn in two lines prepared for the battle. Horses and elephants, the Dastur of the king and the warriors who ride their horses in the midst of an army, all presented the picture of warfare, some marching fast and at a gallop and others going at a slow pace. The king led the centre of the army, having his well-wishing minister on one hand. On the two sides of the hand of the king were two elephants. The movements of the elephant raised the dust of the colour of the water of the river Nile. On the sides of the two elephants were standing two camels having two intelligent persons for their riders. On the sides of the camels were two horses and two riders, who could fight on the day of battle. On the sides of the two lines of the army were two warlike rooks, with all foam over the lips, being excited for the battle. The foot soldier moved here and there, because in the midst of the battle it was he, who provided help. When one of these (foot soldiers) succeeded in going to the other end of the battle field, it had the right of sitting by the side of the king as his adviser.

“The adviser (or the vazir) cannot move in the midst of the battle more than one square away from the king. The exalted elephant moved three squares and he looked across the whole battle field up to a distance of two miles; similarly the camel also moved three squares, moving pompously and majestically over the battle field. The horse also moved three squares, one of which was out of the way. Nobody dared to go before the rook which ran over the whole of the battle field, looking for revenge. Everybody moved within the sphere of his own plain; none moved more or less. When somebody saw the king within his reach, he called out “Hold off, oh king!” The king then moved away and away from his square, until he had no more room to move. Then the rook, the horse, the minister, the elephant and the foot-soldiers all shut up the way of the king. He looked round in all the four directions and found his army defeated with their eyebrows dejected. He found his way shut up by water and ditches. On his left and right, in front of him and behind him, were the soldiers of the enemy. Out of fatigue and thirst, the king perished. This was the lot that he had obtained from the revolving heavens.”

We find from these details of Firdousi that among the ancient Hindoos, the chess board was made up of 100 squares instead of 84 as we have at present. In the modern method the following pieces make up the first line of eight squares:—

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Rook or castle, knight, bishop, queen, king, bishop, knight, rook or castle.							

But in the old Indian method, as there were 100 squares, ten pieces formed the first line in the following order. To use Firdousi's words:—

Rook, horse, camel, elephant, Dastur, king, elephant, camel, horse, rook.

To use modern words:—

Rook, knight, bishop, castle, queen, king, castle, bishop, knight, rook.

We thus find that while in the ancient game the rook and the castle formed two different sets of pieces, in the modern game, they are combined into one. The very fact that, while all the different kinds of pieces in the modern game have one name, the piece representing the rook or castle has two alternative names, shows that in the ancient Indian game rook and castle represented two different pieces, but latterly they were made to represent one and the same piece. It appears that it was in Persia, that the amalgamation was first made because the Pehelvi Madigân-i-chatrang, of which we will speak later on, speaks of 16 pieces on each side of the board and not of 20 as suggested by the description of Firdousi.

We give below the English names of the different pieces and their Persian equivalents as given by Firdousi:—

English	...	...	Firdousi's.
King	...	...	شاه (<i>i. e.</i> , king).
Queen	...	...	فوزانہ ⁴ (<i>i. e.</i> , vazir) or دستور شاه (<i>i. e.</i> , the bishop or adviser of the king).
Bishop	...	..	شتر (camel).
Knight	...	...	اسب (horse).
Castle	...	...	پیل (elephant).
Rook	...	...	رخ (rook).
Pawn	...	...	پداده (foot soldier).

In the modern game the queen, as the adviser of the king, occupies the second place of honour, which in the old game was occupied by the Dastur, *i. e.*, the minister or the bishop of the king. The name bishop, for one of the pieces in the modern English game, seems to me to have been taken from the old Persian game, where, according to Firdousi, his equivalent was Dastur. But these two pieces have changed their places in their respective games.

Again, Sir William Jones refers to a description of the game of chess in the Bhavishya Purân, "in which Yudhisht'har is represented

⁴ Vazir in modern Persian.

conversing with Vyāsa, who explains at the king's request, the form of a fictitious warfare and the principal rules of it." In that description a boat forms one of the pieces of the game. Sir William Jones refers to that and says: "A ship or boat is substituted, we see, in this complex game for the rat'h, or armed chariot, which the Bengalese pronounce rot'h, and which the Persians changed into rokh, whence came the rook of some European nations; as the *vierge* and *fol* of the French are supposed to be corruptions of *ferz* and *fil*, the prime minister and elephant of the Persians and Arabs. . . . I cannot agree with my friend Rádácant, that a ship is properly introduced in this imaginary warfare, instead of a chariot, in which the old Indian warriors constantly fought; for though the king might be supposed to sit in a car, so that the four *angas* would be complete, and though it may often be necessary in a real campaign to pass rivers or lakes, yet no river is marked on the Indian as it is in the Chinese chess-board." But Firdousi's version throws some light on this subject, because we find from his description of the Indian game given above, that ditches and water were represented on the ancient Indian chess-board.

The game of chess thus showed that it was possible for a king to be shut up on all sides in a battle-field and to die out of mere exhaustion and through thirst and hunger without being killed or wounded by anybody. Gau showed the game to his royal mother and explained how it was possible for Talhend to have died on the battle-field through exhaustion, thirst and hunger, without being killed or wounded by any of his soldiers. Thereafter, the queen, whenever she remembered the death of her departed son, Talhend, sought to drown her grief in this game of chess. "She always liked the game of chess because she was always sorry for the death of Talhend. She often shed tears of grief and in that case the game of chess was the only remedy for her grief."

Thus we learn from Firdousi that it was to console a royal mother that an Indian prince had invented the game of chess. We will now briefly see how, according to Firdousi, the game was introduced into Persia from India.

One day there came to Noushiravân (Chosroes I.) of Persia a messenger⁵ from India carrying with him Indian elephants, Sindhi

⁵ We have an older authority which, though it does not say how the game of chess was invented, supports Firdousi in his description as to how the game was introduced in Persia. It is the Pehelvi treatise known as the *Madigan-i-Chatrang*, for the text and translation of which we are indebted to Dastur

horses and various Indian curiosities as presents for the Persian king from an Indian Raja.⁶ He also carried a very handsome and costly chess-board and a letter from the Raja to the Shah of Persia. The messenger presented all these on behalf of his royal master to Noushiravân and communicated an oral message which said: "May you live as long as the heaven lasts. Order those who are very wise in your Majesty's Court to place this chess-board before them and to find out the method of playing this game. Let them determine the names of the different pieces and the way how to move them in the different squares and how to regulate the courses of the elephant, the horse, the rook, the Vizier and the king. If your Majesty's courtiers will succeed in discovering the method of playing this game, we will acknowledge your suzerainty and give you the tribute which your Majesty demands. But if the wise men of Iran are not able to discover the method of playing this game, then as they are not able to stand with us in point of wisdom, they should cease asking from us any tribute. Not only that, but in that case Iran should undertake to pay tribute to India, because of all things, knowledge is the best."⁷

The message having ended, the chess-board was arranged before king Noushiravân who began to look at it very eagerly. The messenger then, on being asked by the king, said that the game portrayed the scene of a battle, and that the king, if he was able to discover the method of playing it, would find therefrom, the details of a battle.

Dr. Peshotan Byramjee. Though the Pehelvi account is much shorter than Firdousi's, and though there are several points of difference, the two accounts agree in their main features. This Pehelvi treatise gives the name of the messenger as Takhtaritus. I give the name as it is read by Dastur Dr. Peshotan but the word 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 can be read in various other ways.

⁶ The Madigan-i-Chatrang gives the name of the Indian Râjâ as Devsâram. The word 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 can be read in various other ways, and I choose to read it as Dipislim which is the same as Dabislîm the well-known king of the book of Kalîleh and Damneh or the story of Bidpâe otherwise known under its later name of Anvâr-e-Sohîli.

⁷ The message as given in the Pehelvi treatise runs thus:—

"As you deem yourself to be the king of all the rest of us kings and hold the title of Emperor (over us) the wise men of your court ought also to surpass those of ours. Hence you should send us an exposition of this game of chess (that is sent herewith), and if you fail to do so, you should give us tribute and the fourth part of your revenues."—Dr. Peshotan.

Noushiravân asked for a period of seven days,⁸ by the end of which time, he said he would discover the method of playing the game.

The noblemen and the officers of the king's court then tried their best to discover the method, but they all failed. The king was very sorry, lest it would throw a slur upon his royal court, that it possessed not a single clever soul who could solve the mysteries of an Indian game. But then Buzarjameher, the chief adviser of the king, rose to the occasion and undertook to solve the mystery of the game. He studied it for one day and night and then discovered the method of playing it. Having communicated his success to his royal master, the latter called an assembly wherein he invited the Indian messenger to be present. Buzarjameher made the Indian messenger repeat the conditions of the treaty offered by the Indian Râjâ, *vis.*, that in case an Irânian discovered the method of playing the game, the king of Persia had the right of suzerainty upon the Indian Raja, and then he arranged the game and showed to the messenger the method of playing it.⁹ The whole of the assembly and the messenger were struck with astonishment at the intelligence displayed by the minister of the king. The king was much pleased with him and rewarded him very liberally.

Firdousi thereafter adds that this Buzarjameher, in his turn, invented another game called the game of Nard¹⁰ (نرد), a game like that of draughts or backgammon and carried it to India to test the intelligence of the Indian Brahmans, if they could solve its mysteries and discover the meaning and the mystery of the game. The Indian Raja asked a period of seven days¹¹ to try to discover the method. But the Hindoo sages in the end failed to discover the mystery of the game.

The modern Indian name of the game of chess is "Shatranj," which Sir William Jones derives as follows from its original Sanskrit word :—

"It seems to have been immemorially known in Hindustan by the name of Chatur-anga, that is the four 'angas' or members of

⁸ The Pehelvi treatise gives three days.

⁹ The Pehelvi treatise says that he played twelve games with the Indian envoy and won all of them.

¹⁰ According to the Madigan-i-Chatrang, the name of the game was Vin-i-Artashir (وین ایارشیر). It was so called in honour of Ardeshir Babegan, the founder of the Sassanian Dynasty.

¹¹ According to the Pehelvi account 40 days.

an army, *vis.*, elephants, horses, chariots and foot soldiers. . . By a natural corruption of the pure Sanscrit word it was changed by the old Persians into Chatrang¹² but the Arabs who soon after took possession of the country, had neither the initial nor the final letter of that word in their alphabet, and consequently altered it further into 'Shtrang,' which found its way presently into the modern Persian and at length into the dialects of India where the true derivation of the word is known only to the learned. Thus has a very significant word in the sacred language of the Brahmaus been transformed by successive changes into axedrez, scacchi, échecs, chess, and by a whimsical occurrence of circumstances, given birth to the English word check, and even a name to the Exchequer of Great Britain.¹³”

Several modern dictionaries derive the word chess from Persian 'Shah,' *i. e.*, king. This mistaken etymology seems to have begun from the time the Arabs introduced the play into Europe, because having corrupted in their pronunciation the original word Chatrang into Shatrang, they derived the word from Persian 'Shah' (king) and 'ranj' (trouble), and gave it the meaning of "the trouble or the difficulty of the king," because the chief point in the play rests upon shutting up the moves of the king.

Before concluding this paper, we will briefly speak of two other versions about the origin and discovery of the game of chess. One of these versions is given by Caxton, the first English printer in his book "The game of chess," which was the second book printed in England (1474).¹⁴

According to Caxton's work which was the translation of a French book, which in its turn was taken from the Latin, the game of chess was discovered in the time of "a kyng in Babilon that was named enylmerodach a jolye man without justyse and so cruel that he did do hewe his faders body in thre hondred pieces and gaf hit to ete and deuoure to thre hondred byrdes that men calle voutres." (Part I. ch. I.)

It was discovered by a philosopher of the East named Excercises in Chaldaic and Philometer in Greek. Philometer in Greek meant "lover of justice or measure." The philosopher, true to his name, was no flatterer, and hated the evil and vicious life of king enylmerodach (evil Merodach). The king put to death all those who dared to advise

¹² It is so named in the Pehelvi work Madigân-i-Chatrang.

¹³ Asiatic Researches, Vol. II., p. 159.

¹⁴ Caxton's game of Chess. Facsimile 1862.

him and to remonstrate with him for his injustice and cruelty. So when the people requested¹⁵ this philosopher to approach the king and advise him, he found himself in a difficulty. On being pressed to undertake even at the risk of his life that important task which would immortalise his name, the philosopher consented. "And thenne, he began to thynke hym in what maner he myght escape the deth and kepe to the peple his promesse and thenne thus he maad in thys maner and ordeynged the eschequer of 64 poyntes."

Having thus discovered the game, the philosopher began to play it with the barons, knights and gentlemen of the Court of the king, who all liked it very much. The king once saw the philosopher playing the game. He liked it and wanted to play with the philosopher. The latter said that the king must first learn it thoroughly from him. The king consented. The philosopher began to teach it to him and in so doing dwelt at some length upon the duties of the different officers of the State that were represented on the chess-board. He dwelt at great length upon the duties and responsibilities of a good king and at length advised the king to "amonde hymself and become vertuous." The king thereupon demanded "upon payn of deth to telle hym wherefore he had founden and maad this playe and he answerd 'my right dere lord and kyng, the grettest and most thyng that I desire is that thou have in thyself a glorious and vertuous lyf. . . . Thus than I desire that thou have other gouvernement thene thou hast had, and that thou have upon thyself first seignourie and maistrise suche as thou hast upon other by force and not by right. Certeynly hit is not right that a man be maister over other and comandour whe he cannot rewle nor may rewle hymself and that his vertues domyne above his vyces, for seignourie by force and wylle may not longe endure. Thenne thus may thou see oon of the causes why and wherefore I have founden and maad this playe, whiche is for to correcte and repreve the of thy tyrannye and vicious lyuyng."¹⁶

Having thus described at some length the first cause why he had discovered the game to improve the king, the philosopher said that "the second cause wherfore this playe was founden and maad was for to kepe him from ydlenesse, wherof Seneque sayth unto Lucylle ydlenes without any ocupacion is sepulture of a man luyng." The philosopher made a few remarks as to idleness leading a man to an evil and sinful life, and said that the third cause why he had discovered

¹⁵ Caxton, Part IV., Chap. VIII.

¹⁶ Caxton, Part I., Chap. III.

the game was to remove "pensifnes and thoughtes" from the mind of the player.

The king having heard all these causes, thought "that the philosopher had founde a good maner of correccion and than he thankyd hym gretely and thus by the signement and lenrnyng of the philosopher, he chaunged his lif, his maners and alle his euyll condicions." Part IV. ch. 8.

Now though the two versions about the cause, which led to the discovery of the game are different, I think that the Greek Philometor referred to by Caxton is the same as Persian Buzarjameher. The Greek name according to Caxton means "lover of justice" and the Persian word means "great in justice." The Greek *matron* is the same as Persian *meher*.

Now, before giving this version of the cause why the game of chess was discovered, Caxton's work, though it does not believe the statement, alludes to one other version. It says that some men say "that this play was founden in the tyme of the Vataylles and siege of Troye."¹⁷ This reminds us of what Sir William Jones¹⁸ says of his being told "that this game is mentioned in the oldest law books, and that it was invented by the wife of Rávan, king of Lanca in order to amuse him with an image of war, while his metropolis was closely beseiged by Rama in the second age of the world."

These two latter versions, the European version and the Indian version, which give to the seige of Troy and to the seige of Lanca respectively, the credit of having originated the discovery of the game of chess, are very striking, because they add one more link to the number of facts which have been advanced to show that there is a striking resemblance between the Indian episode of Sitá and Rávan in the Rámáyan and the Greek episode of Helen and Paris in the Illiad.¹⁹

¹⁷ Part I., Chap. I.

¹⁸ Asiatic Researchoes, Vol. II., p. 160.

¹⁹ (१) शकुन्तला अभिज्ञेय बालक विलास, अने राजाधर तथा कल्याणी वार्तालाप साथ तेनी सरजायके ज्ञान प्रसारक मन्त्रीनी सने १८८८-८९ ना मेसजना आषट्ठा आषट्ठा उपु. A lecture by Mr. Pallonjee Burjorjee Desai.

A Lecture by Prof. Macmillan.

ART. XV.—*Cashmere and the Ancient Persians.* BY JIVANJI
JAMSHEDJI MODI, B. A.

[Read 9th December 1895.]

M. Troyer in his *Rajatarangini*¹ says that "In all the geographical notices of the ancients, Kachmir appears to have been joined to India." This is, to a very great extent, true of the geographical notices of Cashmere in the ancient Iranian literature.

In the times of the Avesta, the modern regions of Cashmeré, Panjaub and Scinde which are watered by the great Indus and its tributaries, were included in the region known by the name of Hapta Hindu (𑀧𑁆𑀢𑀺𑀢𑀺𑀢𑀺𑀢𑀺𑀢𑀺𑀢𑀺) the Septa Sindhu (सप्त सिन्धु) of the Vedas. As the Avestic and Vedic names Hapta-Hindu and Sapta-Sindhu signify, the Indus then had seven tributaries. The ancient Greeks and the ancient Hipdus had given the following names to the seven tributaries :—

Vedic-names.	Greek.	Modern.	In the Mahâbhârata. ²
Sindhu ...	Indus ...	Sindhu ...	
Vitastâ ...	Hydaspes ...	Jhelum ...	Vitastâ.
Asikani ...	Akesines ...	Chenaub ...	Tchandrabhâga.
Parushani ...	Hydraortes ...	Ravi ...	Airavati.
Vipâs... ...	Hyphasis ...	Biyâ ...	Vipasa.
Śatâdhrû ...	Hesydrus ...	Sutlej... ..	Śatadru.
Kubhâ ...	Kophen ...		

By the time when the Pehelvi writers wrote their commentaries of the Avesta Vendidad, which mentions the name of this country as Hapta Hindu, some of the tributaries were united and their number was reduced to five, which has given the country its comparatively modern name of Panjnaddy or Panjaub, i.e., the country of five rivers.

¹ *Rajatarangini*. Histoire des Bois du Kachmir, Vol. II., p. 308.

² *Ibid.*, II., p. 317.

for this statement Wilson says, "It does not appear from what source they have derived this story, as it is not found in the Hindu records, nor in the historical romance of Firdousi Had there been any foundation for the tradition, it might have been of some chronological utility." I think the source of this tradition is Bahman-nâme, *i. e.*, the book of Bahman, written according to M. Mohl. in the end of the eleventh or in the commencement of the twelfth century. It appears from the Bahman-nameh that the fame of the beauty of the women of Cashmere had spread even in Persia. When the different advisers of the king advised him to marry the princesses of the different countries which they liked best, Rustam pointed to Cashmere and advised his king to marry the princess of that country. Firdousi says that Bahman had died a natural death¹⁶ but according to Badi-ud-din, whose authority Wilson follows, he was murdered by the attendants of his Cashmiri queen, his marriage with whom had proved very unhappy.

Again, it appears from the Bahman-nâme that Cashmere was a place of refuge for the family of Rustam from the cruel hand of Bahman. His sisters and other relations ran away to Cashmere when pursued by the followers of Bahman.¹⁷

According to Badi-ud-din, Janaka, the third ruling prince of Cashmere after the above named Surendra, had sent a Cashmiri army under his son to invade Persia then ruled over by Homai, the daughter of Bahman, but the army was repelled by Dârâb, the son of Bahman.

Jaloka, the third ruling prince after Janaka, had, according to Badi-ud-din, subjugated a part of the north of Persia then ruled over by Dârâb.

In the long list of rulers who succeeded Jaloka, we have nothing special to record about the relations of the ancient Persians with Cashmere, until we come to the reign of Mihircule, the Mirkhol of

¹⁶ بیبماری اندر بمرد اردشیر

¹⁷ On the other side of Takht-i-Solomon near Shrinagar there is a place called Rustamgari. A pundit at the temple of Bagoonath Mandir told me that according to some it is believed to have derived its name from Rustam. I was told by my syec at Islâmâbad that at Giljit, in Cashmere, a place was pointed out to him as that at which, according to tradition, Rustam was killed by the treachery of his brother Shagâd.

Ayin-i-Akbari. The author of the Rajatarangini depicts this king as a wicked monarch in whose reign the Mlechhas had an ascendancy. He founded the temple of Mihireswara and the city of Mihirapur, "in which the Gandhar Brahmans, a low race, were permitted to seize upon the endowments of the more respectable orders of the priesthood."

Now who were these गान्धार ब्राह्मण of the मलेच्छवंश i. e., the Gandharva Brahmans of the Malechha dynasties?

A learned Pundit of Cashmere told me that this is an allusion to the Persian priests of Zoroastrian faith. The king Mibirakula having favoured these Zoroastrian priests, he is run down by the Brahman writer of the Rajatarangini and the Persian priests are abused. The very names, of the king, his temple and his city as Mibirakula, Mihireswara and Mihirapura point to a tendency to lean towards the Persian worship of Meher or Mithras.

The references to the Gandarii by the classical writers, as collected both by Wilson and Troyer, point to two different races of the Gandarii. It appears that the Gandharas referred to by the author of the Rajatarangini were not the same as those referred to in the Mahābhārata, but they were the same as those referred to by Herodotus, as a people of one of the twenty Satrapies, in which Darius Hystaspes had divided his Persian Empire.¹⁸ They were the same who, with the Sogdians "having the same accoutrements as the Bactrians," formed a part of the army of Xerxes.¹⁹ They are the same as those referred to by Pliny as being a tribe of Sogdiana, the Sogdha of the Vendidad.

Thus the Gandhara Brahmins referred to by Rajatarangini, as being preferred to the Brahmins of the country and as having won the favour of Mibirakula, were some foreigners from the further west. That they were Zoroastrian Mobeds appears from the description given in the Rajatarangini.²⁰ The writer alludes tauntingly to the oft-repeated charge of the custom of marriage among the nearest kins among the ancient Persians, a charge that has been rebutted as one carelessly made by a few Greek writers on the authority of a few doubtful recorded instances of one or two unreasonable Persian monarchs.

¹⁸ Bk. III., 91.

¹⁹ Bk. VII., 66.

²⁰ Bk. I., Slokas 306—309.

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A learned Pundit of Cashmere told me that this is an allusion to the Persian priests of Zoroastrian faith. The king Mihirakula having favoured these Zoroastrian priests, he is run down by the Brahman writer of the Rajatarangini and the Persian priests are abused. The very names, of the king, his temple and his city as Mihirakula, Mihireswara and Mihirapura point to a tendency to lean towards the Persian worship of Meher or Mithras.

The references to the Gandarii by the classical writers, as collected both by Wilson and Troyer, point to two different races of the Gandarii. It appears that the Gandharas referred to by the author of the Rajatarangini were not the same as those referred to in the Mahābhārata, but they were the same as those referred to by Herodotus, as a people of one of the twenty Satrapies, in which Darius Hystaspes had divided his Persian Empire.¹⁸ They were the same who, with the Sogdians "having the same accoutrements as the Bactrians," formed a part of the army of Xerxes.¹⁹ They are the same as those referred to by Pliny as being a tribe of Sogdiana, the Sogdha of the Vendidad.

Thus the Gandhara Brahmins referred to by Rajatarangini, as being preferred to the Brahmins of the country and as having won the favour of Mihirakula, were some foreigners from the further west. That they were Zoroastrian Mobeds appears from the description given in the Rajatarangini.²⁰ The writer alludes tauntingly to the oft-repeated charge of the custom of marriage among the nearest kins among the ancient Persians, a charge that has been rebutted as one carelessly made by a few Greek writers on the authority of a few doubtful recorded instances of one or two unreasonable Persian monarchs.

¹⁸ Bk. III., 91.

¹⁹ Bk. VII., 66.

²⁰ Bk. I., Slokas 306—309.

The next reference by Badia-ud-din to a Cashmiri king who had any relations with Persia is that to Lalitāditya, who, according to Wilson's chronology, ruled in the commencement of the eighth century after Christ. When Yazdgird, the last of the Sassanian rulers, was hard pressed by the rising power of the Arabs, he was one of the neighbouring rulers who had marched to Persia to help the Persian monarch. But, on his way, hearing of the great power of the Arabs, he withdrew and returned to Cashmere.

According to Herodotus, Darius Hystaspes was the first Persian monarch, who had sent to Cashmere an expedition for exploring the regions watered by the Indus. We know from the same authority, and from several stone columns with cuneiform inscriptions recently discovered near Suez, that this enterprising monarch was the first to build a complete Suez canal about twenty-three centuries ago, for the purpose of developing the trade of his conquered countries.²¹ It appears that it was with the same enterprising zeal that he had sent an expedition to the shores of the Indus. Herodotus says:—

“A great part of Asia was explored under the direction of Darius. He being desirous to know in what part the Indus, which is the second river that produces crocodiles, discharges itself into the sea, sent in ships with others on whom he could rely to make a true report and also Scylax of Caryanda. They accordingly setting out from the city of Caspatyrus and the country of Pactyice, sailed down the river towards the east and sunrise to the east. . . . After these persons had sailed round, Darius subdued the Indians and frequented this sea.”²²

Herodotus refers to the above Caspatyrus in another chapter as follows:—“There are other Indians bordering on the city of Caspatyrus and the country of Pactyice settled northward of the other Indians, whose mode of life resembles that of the Bactrians. They are the most warlike of the Indians.”²³

Wilson has shown very cleverly that the Caspatyrus of Herodotus is the same as Cashmere.²⁴ According to the ancient tradition recorded in the Rajatarangini, the ancient history of Cashmere, the country was

²¹ “La Stele de Chalouf” par M. Joachim Menant. *Vide* my Gujarati Lecture before the Dnyān Prasarak Mandli on “The Suez Canal.”

²² Herodotus IV., Ch. 44; translated by Cary.

²³ Herodotus III., Ch. 102.

²⁴ Asiatic Researches, Vol. XV., p. 115.

at first a vast lake called Satisaras. Saint Kaçyapa, the son of Marichi, the son of Brahma (the Kashef of the Mahomedans), was the person who brought about the desecration of the country and emptied the lake. Hence the country was called Kaçyapapura, *i.e.*, the country of Kaçyapa.

According to another legend about the drying of the valley of Kashmir referred to by Wilson, as given in the Wakiat-i-Kashmir, when this country was covered with water, there lived in it a demon, named Jaladeo (*i. e.*, the demon of water) "who preyed upon mankind and seized on everything and person he could meet with in the neighbouring regions." Kashef, the son of Marichi, prayed to Mahadeo to kill this demon. Mahadeo asked his servant Vishnu to do this, and he succeeded in killing this demon after a fight of 100 years. May I ask—Has not this story any connection with that in the Shâhnâmeh in which Sâm, the son of Narimân, kills on the banks of the river Kashaf a demon dragon "whose length extended from one city to another and whose breadth spread from one mountain to another. All the people were afraid of him and kept a watch for day and night against him."²⁵ That Sâm had visited Hindustan, appears from another part of the Shâhnâmeh, wherein we find old Faridoon entrusting young Minocheher to the care of this general.²⁶

Even now the people of Cashmere read and hear with pleasure some of the touching episodes about the ancient Persians in the Shâhnâmeh of Firdousi. During my visit to that country last May, I frequently heard the Pundits saying :

هران کس که شاپانامه خواني کند
اگر زن بود پهلواني کند

i. e., "The person who reads Shâhnâmeh, even if he were a woman, acts like a hero." The episodes are rendered into Cashmiri songs and

²⁵ چنان از دبا کو ز رود کشف

برون آمد و کرد گيتي چو کف

زمین شهر تا شهر بالای او

همان کوه تا کوه پهنای او

جهانرا ازو بود دل پربراس

Vuller I., p. 194. همي داشتندی شب و روز پاس

²⁶ که سام آمده بود ز هندوستان

Vuller I., p. 126. بفریاد آن رزم جادوستان

sung on special occasions by musicians and singers before large assemblies at night. In the midst of a very touching episode, when, owing to the difficulty or the danger of the favourite hero of the episode, who has for the time become a favourite of the audience as well, the excitement of the hearers is raised to the highest pitch, the singer suddenly stops and refuses to proceed further. The hearers get impatient to know the fate of their favourite hero and subscribe among themselves a small sum to be given to the singer as the price for releasing the favourite hero from what they call his "*band*," i. e., difficulty or danger. It is only when a sum is presented that the singer proceeds further. They say that even on marriage occasions some of the marriage songs treat of the ancient Persians. For example, I was told that one of the marriage songs was a song sung by the mother of Rustam when her son went to Mazinderan to release king Kâus.

It was for the first time that I had heard in Kashmir the following story about Rustam and Ali. I do not know if it is common to other parts of India.

They say that Rustam was resuscitated about 500 years after his death for the following reason. Ali, the favourite of the holy Prophet, had fought very bravely in the war against the infidels. The Prophet complimented him, saying: "You have fought as bravely as Rustam." This remark excited the curiosity of Ali as to who and how strong this Rustam was. To satisfy the curiosity of Ali, but without letting him know about it, the Prophet prayed to God to resuscitate Rustam. God accepted the prayer. Rustam re-appeared on this earth and met Ali once when he was passing through a very narrow defile which could allow only one rider to pass. Rustam bade Ali, *Salâm Âlikum*. Ali did not return the *Âlikum Salâm*. Having met in the midst of a narrow defile, it was difficult for any one of them to pass by the side of the other unless one retraced his steps. To solve the difficulty Rustam lifted up the horse of Ali together with the rider by passing his whip under his belly, and taking him over his head placed him on the other side of the defile behind him. This feat of extraordinary strength surprised Ali who on return spoke of it to the Prophet.

After a few days Ali again met Rustam who was sitting on a plain with his horse Rakhsh grazing by his side. On seeing Ali he bade him *Salâm Âlikum* but Ali did not return the *salâm*. Rustam then requested Ali to bring to him the grain bag of his horse which was lying at some distance. Ali found it immensely heavy to lift up, and it was after an amount of effort that he could carry it to Rustam.

Ali thought to himself what must be the strength of the horse and of the master of the horse if the grain-bag of the horse was so extraordinarily heavy. On going home he narrated to the Prophet what he had seen. The Prophet then explained the matter to him and said that it was Rustam whom he had seen during these two visits, and that God had brought him to life again at his special request. He then reprimanded Ali for his want of respect towards Rustam in not returning his salâms and said that had Ali been sufficiently courteous to Rustam, he would have prayed to God to keep him alive some time longer, and in that case he (Rustam) would have rendered him great help in his battles.

Most of the Cashmiri songs about the ancient Persians refer to Rustam and to King Kâus. I was told by a Pundit that the Sultan of Kathâi near Muzafferabad in Cashmere, traced his descent from King Kâus. We know from Avesta and Pehelvi books that King Kâus was known for his opposition to magicians, fairies, &c. In the Abân Yasht he is represented as praying before Ardviçura on Mount Ereziphya, identified by Bunsen with Mount Seraphi in the country of Holmîus between Merv and Herat, for suppressing the power of these evil-minded people. The Pehelvi Beheman Yasht supports this statement. Again, from the Pehelvi manuscript Zarthosht-nâmeh of Mr. Tehmuras Dinshaw Anklesaria, we learn that this monarch had sent one

Sarita to an abode of the fairies known as "Dair-i-Parikân (دایرہ پاریکان)" with an order to destroy that place. Sarita, instead of executing the order of his master, entered into a treaty of peace, whereupon Kâus sent him back with special orders to kill a fairy known as Kalba Karap. Now we still hear in Cashmere, Cashmiri songs and stories wherein Kâus and the fairies play a prominent part. The age of Kâus is even now spoken of as the golden age of Cashmere when boats could move on land. One can say that this is true even now in the case of the Dal Lake, where the movement of the boats in the beautiful waters of the lake, all covered with aquatic flower plants and bushes, gives an appearance of the boats moving as it were on land.

Before concluding this paper, I will refer to a mistake committed by some Parsee writers in mixing up Cashmere (کشمیر) with Kashmar (کشمور) a place situated according to Ousley²⁷ near Tarshiz in Khorasan. Firdousi speaks of the foundation of the new religion of Zoroaster in

²⁷ Ousley's travels in Persia. Vol. I., p. 388.

the reign of Gushtâsp as the planting of a tree in the ground. He says: "It was a tree with many roots and a large number of branches, spreading from the mansion of Gushtasp to the top of his palace. The leaves of that tree were good counsels and the fruit was wisdom. How can one who eats of such fruit (*viz.*, wisdom) die?"²⁸

Having thus spoken allegorically of Zoroaster and his new religion, Firdousi says that King Gushtasp, the then King of Persia, planted before the gate of his fire-temple, a noble cypress which Zoroaster had brought from paradise. He calls it the cypress of Kashmir (سروکشمیر), because it was planted in a place called Kashmar. This tree "reminds us," says Ousley²⁹ "of that extraordinary, triple tree, planted by the Patriarch Abraham and existing until the death of Christ." Mohsan Fani, a native of Cashmere, also speaks of this cypress tree in his Dabistân.³⁰ and I think it is this Dabistân that has led Parsee writers, like the learned author of the Rehbar-i-Din-i-Zarthoshti³¹ into the mistake of taking the Kashmar of Firdousi to be the same as Cashmere. It speaks of the locality at one place as Kashmir or Kashmar³² and at another place as Kashmir. Again, it speaks of the locality as "a place celebrated for female beauty," and we know that it is from very ancient times that modern Cashmere is celebrated for the beauty of its women. Then, add to this the fact that the author of the Dabistan was himself a native of Cashmere. All these facts seem to have led later Parsee writers to believe that the modern Cashmere was the place where King Gushtasp had planted in the compound of a fire-temple the 'cypress of Zoroaster, which, from the straightness of its growth and the elegance of its form, was considered to be the symbol of straightforwardness, uprightness and truth. The author of the Dabistan tries to give some intelligent explanation of the tradition which allegorically speaks of the cypress being brought from the paradise. As Firdousi says, King Gushtasp planted the cypress before the fire-temple as a symbol to impress upon the minds of the spectators that as the tree would grow straight and spread all round so he would endeavour to spread the doctrines of truth and straightforwardness taught by the new faith.

²⁸ Vuller III., p. 1497.

²⁹ Travels in Persia, Vol. I., p. 389.

³⁰ The Dabistan by Shea and Troyer. Vol. I., p. 306-9.

³¹ Rehbari-Din-i-Zarthoshti, by Dastur Erachjee Sorabjee Meherji Rana, p. 40.

³² p. 306.

ART. XVI.—*The Portuguese in South Kanara.* By J. GERSON
DA CUNHA, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., K.C.J., &c.

[Read, 21st January 1896.]

PART I.

A short professional visit to South Kanara, last September, having afforded me an opportunity of studying the extant monuments of the early Portuguese settlements in that interesting region, I have put together a few notes, which, I trust, will be acceptable to the members of this learned Society.

This visit, hurried though it was, brought me into close contact with almost all the sections of its population, and thus enabled me to gather from local sources much valuable information. But as the element of exaggeration is rarely, if ever, absent from oral tradition, I have tested its accuracy by consulting the chronicles of the time.

The Portuguese historians of the 16th and 17th centuries use the word Kanara in a somewhat vague sense. Like Italy, prior to the middle of this century, the kingdom of Kanara was but a geographical expression. Gaspar Correa, in his *Lendas*, speaks of it as a part of Malabar, while Barros, Couto, and other annalists of the period assign to it various boundaries. Simão Botelho, in his *Tombo do Estado da India*, mentions the river Cumbia as separating Kanara from Malabar, while Faria e Souza fixes new lines of demarcation approaching those of recent times. North and South Kanara once formed one great province, a coast line of about 250 miles, with its fourteen harbours, and was divided into 10 talukas, each taluka being sub-divided into Maganes or collection of villages; these again into Monzas or Gramas, i.e., villages, and the latter into Magazas or hamlets, also called Upagramas.

Kanara, although divided into North and South, belonged to the Madras Presidency until 1862, when the North portion was annexed to the Bombay Presidency.

The general aspect of Kanara is charming. It presents a continuously varying panorama of grand and picturesque scenery. The Eastern length is bounded by the Ghauts, which, in some places, as Honore and Ankola, approach near to the coast, whilst in the direction

of Mangalore they are distant from 50 to 60 miles. Mr. Forbes, in his *Wild Life in Canara, &c.* (Lond., 1885, p. 8), writes:—"Nothing more beautiful is to be seen anywhere in Europe or Asia than the coast of Canara. Mountain-spurs from the main range of the Western Ghats run down to the coast and sometimes extend far out to sea, wooded to the water's edge, and mapping out broad bays or land-locked coves; in other places they flank the estuaries of navigable rivers which come winding among the hills from the east, bordered—as the valleys open out and admit of cultivation—by plains of brilliant green. All this wealth of picturesque outline is bathed in the soft brilliancy of tropical atmosphere; and the effect, to eyes unfamiliar with the scene, is a happy stupor of admiration."

Another writer in *Fraser's Magazine* (New Series, Vol. XI., p. 616) says:—"To the ship sailing past, the shore presents an ever-varying outline—generally a dark serried belt of cocoa-trees, whose roots are washed by the waves, divided at frequent intervals by the gleaming mouths of broad rivers. Rocky headlands, seldom uncrowned with old fort or white pagoda, jut out, forming a succession of winding bays where the long narrow fishing-boats are busy, and the awkward-looking pattimars or native vessels, with their titled sterns and sloping masts, are lying at anchor. Now and then large towns can be discerned embowered amongst cocoa groves and bananas; further inland knolls and tree-clad eminences are dotted about, and beyond them long rolling upland plains, bright green during the rains, whitening when the grass is ripe, extend far away."

Dr. Buchanan, in his *Mysore, etc.*, speaking of Khundapur, writes:—"I have not seen a more beautiful country than this; and an old fort, situated a little higher up than the town, commands one of the finest prospects that I ever beheld."

Barkur is another pretty town of great antiquity, and the beauty of the women of this place deserves mention. There are sculptures upon temple walls representing warriors, who resemble the soldiers of old Greece. Perhaps, a colony of ancient Yavanas from Northern India was settled here, and the beautiful women may claim descent from them.

Karkal and Mudabidri contain Jain temples, statues, and memorial pillars of exquisite workmanship. Udipi has a coast line, which curves into a bay, protected to the seaward by three islets called St. Mary's Isles. Vasco da Gama, in 1498, on his return voyage from Calicut, set up a *padrão* or landmark there, which he called Santa Maria, while the one left at Calicut was dedicated to St. Gabriel.

Bednur, somewhat northwards, is situate in the midst of a basin, the surrounding country being covered with luxuriant forests. Abd-er-Razzak, the Persian Ambassador, in 1444, on his way to Vijayanagar from Mangalore, passed through Bednur, where the houses were like palaces, the women like celestial houris, and its temples and other buildings marvels of sculpture and painting.

If one were to describe all the interesting features of these lovely Kanarese towns, it would carry him far afield. Besides, no description could fully portray the natural charms of a country, which must be seen in order to be duly appreciated.

What strikes one, however, as strange in the numerous chronicles and poems that have been written by the Portuguese on their dealings with this delightful region, is, with very rare exceptions, their absolute silence about the beauty and the fertility of its soil. Probably, in those troubled times, the conquest, trade, and conversion absorbed men's thoughts, and left but little leisure to admire the charms of Nature. Mr. Herbert Spencer tells us that when mental faculties are largely applied to one purpose, they become disabled for other purposes, as great expenditure in one direction leads to economy in other directions. The Portuguese, having their minds fully engrossed in warfare and arts of an aggressive and material character, the marvels of the universe, which demand a deep and sustained contemplation, did not appeal to their æsthetic sense.

Albuquerque, the greatest Portuguese soldier that ever landed on the Indian shores, speaking of Honore, has only one remark to make, "Onor he cova de ladrões," "Honore is a den of thieves," in his letter to the King of the 1st December, 1513. And St. Francis Xavier, their most holy missionary, writing on the 18th September, 1542, to the members of his Society in Rome, says :—"Tenemos grande esperanza que se han de hacer muchissimos christianos," "We have great hope that a great many Christians will be made," a theme to which he returns often in his subsequent letters, with casual variations, still without even a passing allusion to the beauty of the Eastern countries the saint was privileged to visit and convert to the Roman Catholic Church. But the times were different, and men are much in the habit of reading other ages in the light of their own.

When the fleet of Vasco da Gama arrived at Calicut on the 20th May, 1498, an important date whose quatercentenary the civilised world will soon celebrate, Vijayanagar, under the dominion of the Raya dynasty, was the most powerful kingdom of Southern India,

besides Malabar, and extended from one sea coast to the other. Its Western portion corresponded to the province of Kanara, and was subject either to their Viceroys or to Chieftains, who were tributary to their Kings.

From Calicut to Goa, which in 1510 became the capital of their Eastern Empire, the Portuguese called frequently at the fourteen harbours of varied depth and extent, which gave shelter to the boats of the native merchants.

From the time of Vasco da Gama, the Portuguese felt the need of planting, like the ancient Phœnicians, factories or agencies in all lands where they traded, both to dispose of their cargoes and to collect the produce for shipment to Europe. They did not choose new or comparatively unknown spots for their factories and *entrepôts*, but built on historic sites, some of which grew under their auspices to be commercial emporia and centres of political, social, and religious influence, which outlived the decline of the nation as a maritime power.

Although their authority became supreme in the course of the following 20 years over more than 12,000 miles of coast, they never obtained possession of a single province on the continent of India. Thus their power was sustained by a fleet that was fitted out every year with an army corps exceedingly burdensome to a numerically small people, and by between thirty and forty factories, some of which were fortified. And the factory and the fort between them always required a church, which became the centre from which radiated the missionary zeal in all directions. Thus the Kanara coast was in course of time not only studded with factories and forts, but also with churches and convents of Franciscans, Dominicans, Jesuits, Augustins, Theatins, and other religious orders, with their seminaries, schools, orphanages, and such civilising agencies of the modern times.

Gaspar Correa tells us that during the second voyage of Vasco da Gama in 1502, the captain-major anchored at the ports of Onor and of Baticala, where there were many Moorish ships, which were captured and burned. He told the Moors that the King of Portugal, his sovereign, was "lord of the sea, of all the world, and also of all this coast; for which reason all the rivers and ports which have got shipping have to obey him, and pay tribute for their people who go in their fleets: and this only as a sign of obedience, in order that thereby their ports may be free and that they may carry on in them their trade and profits in security, neither trading in pepper, nor bringing Turks, nor going to the port of Calicut, because for any of these

three things the ships which shall be found to have done these shall be burned, with as many as may be captured in them." These words of Vasco da Gama sum up the policy pursued by the Portuguese in India. Thus they claimed dominion over the Indian Sea, and these petty kings, who said that they had the names of kings, but were mere tenants of the king of Bisnagar, were ready to acknowledge this new sovereignty, and pay the tribute demanded from them.

But these attacks on Onor and Baticala or Honawar and Bhatkal, as they are called now, had hardly the shadow of a pretext for them, except that of punishing the pirates, which Defoe would describe as *acting the murderers to punish robbers*, according to a remark by Mr. Stanley, the translator of a part of the *Lendas*.

The twelve years which had elapsed from the doubling of the Cape of Good Hope to the capture of Goa were spent mostly, save occasional skirmishes with the pirates, in establishing tolerably friendly relations with the rulers of the coast. These relations appear to have become more cordial and durable after the conquest of Goa, when Narasinha of Vijayanagar signed a treaty of alliance with Albuquerque. This treaty made his viceroys and tenants tributary to the King of Portugal.

One cannot cease admiring Albuquerque's organizing power. As long as he was alive, this coast enjoyed perfect peace. The fame of the founder of the Portuguese Empire in the East is imperishable. Albuquerque is to be placed in the same category with Alexander and Cæsar, who, by their splendid genius, masterful organisation, ready resource and decisive action in every occasion, laid the foundation of more or less lasting empires. What endeared his memory to the grateful hearts of the Indians was his love of justice, and what embittered his existence in this country was that great flaw in the Iberic temperament of his own countrymen—envy. His life, singularly free from vulgar ambition, full of chivalry, devoted to the service of his country, pure, and delighting in dealing even-handed justice, offers some details of marked interest. Amongst these, his statesman-like firmness, even when wielding a divided authority, and waging unceasingly a calm combat against obstructions of all kinds, engendered by the vilest of human passions, is most conspicuous.

But after Albuquerque's death, the friendly understanding with the native princes, which was, indeed, from the beginning, of a precarious character, although supported by the conciliating manner of the great captain, ceased, and then outbreaks and naval engagements became more frequent.

These periodical conflicts culminated one day in a serious fight. There was no actual *casus belli*, no provocation of any grave nature, but mere wantonness and conceit which characterised the countrymen of Viriato.

Barkur, called Vákkánur in Malayalam and Bacanor by the Portuguese, gave shelter to a small fleet of *paraos* or native boats laden with rice, about to sail to Calicut, for exchanging it with pepper. This town was situated in the country of an allied prince. Nevertheless, "fierce" Sampaio, as Camões calls him, went there from Cannanore, burned the boats, plundered the town and killed men, sparing neither women nor children, nor unarmed peasants. This took place in January 1528.

Lopo Vaz de Sampaio was an able, bold, and brave soldier, but an unscrupulous character. He usurped the Governorship of India, was sent a prisoner to Lisbon, but through his great military talents obtained pardon from the King. The *Lusiads*, which are the creation of their age, often pass over many a prowess and episode of the Portuguese in silence, when they do not add to the glory of the nation. The exploit of Sampaio was, however, of too epic a character, and as the national poet had to refer to it, he appeased the qualms of his conscience by prefixing a stanza in praise of justice. Such lines ought to have been inscribed in golden letters, like the "know thyself" on the Delphian temple of Apollo, on the main gates and portals of every factory and fort in India.

Camões writes :—

"Mas na India cobiça e ambição,
Que claramente põe aberto o rosto
Contra Deos e justiça, te farão
Vituperio nenhum, mas só desgosto :
Quem faz injúria vil e semrazão,
Com fôrças e poder em que está posto,
Não vence ; que a victoria verdadeira
He saber ter justiça nua e inteira."—Canto x., 58.

Sir R. Burton translates it thus :—

"But Inde's ambition, and her Lucre-lust,
for ever flaunting bold and brazen face
in front of God and Justice, shall disgust
thy heart, but do thine honour no disgrace.
Who works vile inj'ury with unreasoning trust
in force, and footing lent by rank and place,
conqueroeth nothing, the true Conqueror he
who dares do naked Justice fair and free."

Sampaio's victory is then recorded in these terms :—

“ Mas com tudo não nego que Sampaio
Será no esforço illustre e assinalado,
Mostrando-se no mar um fero raio,
Que de inimigos mil verá coalhado:
Em Bacanor fará cruel ensaio
No Malabar, para que amedrontado
Depois a ser vencido delle venha
Cutiale, com quanta armada tenha:”

Canto x., 59.

This is translated by Burton as follows :—

“ Yet to Sampaio will I not gainsay
a noble valour shown by shrewdest blows,
that shall o'er Ocean flash like thunder-ray,
ordured with thousand corpses of his foes.
He shall in Bacanor make fierce assay
on Malabar, till owns in terror-throes
Cutiale, beaten with his battered Fleet
the dreadful ruin of a rout complete.”

Like the soldier-poet, there are not a few who would also like to forget their crimes and remember only their virtues, especially when one contemplates at this distance of time the heroic deeds of these Western adventurers, whom the Kanarese people, not knowing who they were, called both Yavanas and Franghis, Greeks and Franks.

But whatever they were, they were a sturdy race of men. Even now the entrance of each of these creeks and rivers presents considerable obstacles. How dangerous is the crossing of the bar, how difficult the landing. Still, this handful of men, defying all the perils of the sea and land, of Nature and man, amidst showers of arrows, bullets, and cannon balls from a host of the enemy, rowed quite heedlessly across the unsafe gulfs, creeks, and rivers, armed as these were with palisades, fences, and stockades of all sorts, to the shore, captured the vessels, burned them, sacked, pillaged, devastated the town, and returned to their galleys and then sailed back to Goa, Cochin, or Cannanore, to be fêted with chimes of bells, bon-fires, triumphal arches, salutes, flourish of trumpets, and processions of the clergy singing *Te Deums* in the cathedrals of their towns. These modern Yavanas seem really as if they were either pirates or madmen. If piracy was their business, it was certainly attended with great heroism ; if madness, there was a method in it.

But to return to the narrative. Two years after this engagement at Barkur, the terrible Diogo da Silveira, who had already signalised his passage along the northern coast from Bombay to Bassein, was keeping watch over the Kanara coast. Having heard that a rich merchant, who had dealings with Calicut, was fitting out a fleet of *paraos* to carry rice in exchange for pepper to the latter place, he set sail to Mangalore, burned both the fleet and the town, plundered and laid waste the country around and returned to Goa. This memorable event in the annals of Mangalore took place in March 1530. Both this engagement and the one of Barkur are described at length by the chroniclers.

Twenty-nine years since the havoc and devastation wrought by Silveira at Mangalore had passed away, during which period the Coast principalities of the kingdom of Kanara had paid their *paraos* or tribute, in the form of bales of rice, from the Queen of Garsopa to the Queen of Olala or whoever reigned there, with the intervening viceroys often playing the *rôle* of kings, to the King of Portugal. But the repeated extortions by the Portuguese had caused considerable discontent among them, and all the princes of the Coast were only too glad to get rid of them.

In 1559, during the vicerealty of D. Constantino de Bragança, news was received from spies, mostly native Christians, who appear to have always had free access to the native Courts, that a conspiracy was being hatched against the Portuguese. The head-quarters of this plot were at Mangalore. No sooner was the Viceroy apprised of the fact than he lost no time in fitting out a fleet apparently to punish a rebellious Moor in the port of that city, but in reality to nip in the bud the rising against the Portuguese power. The preparations for this expedition, which was placed under the command of D. Luiz de Mello da Silva, were on such a scale of prodigality as to become the topic of general amazement. This naval combat, as the chroniclers call it, reduced Mangalore to ashes. The soldiers opened a series of butcheries, and much blood was thus shed. Several pages of Faria and Souza's *Asia Portuguesa* are filled with it, as well of the *Decadas*. D. Luiz de Mello took here a Turkish flag, which he placed under a Christian standard, and thus adorned, some time after, with seven other vessels, sailed from Palmeirinha, near Mangalore, to help D. Paio de Noronha against the Malabar princes, and gained a signal victory. Lafitau, describing this action, says:—"Fut une des plus glorieuses pour les portugais, its firent des prodiges d'une extrême valeur."

The Kanarese towns seem, indeed, to possess great vitality. Twice was Mangalore ravaged and destroyed by the Portuguese within thirty years, and each time it sprang up, like the Phoenix of old, from its own ashes. Still the misfortunes of the "prosperous city," for such is the meaning of its name, from the Sanskrit *Mangala*, "happiness, success," and 'pur' "city" were not over.

Eight years had hardly gone by since the glorious action, as Lafitau calls it, in which D. Luiz de Mello laid waste Mangalore and the adjacent coast to the south, had evoked dismay mingled with admiration from the awe-struck people of Kanara, and Mangalore was again a flourishing town, and this time under the rule of a woman of lofty resolve and strength of purpose.

The Portuguese had, from the day they visited Mangalore for the first time, made it tributary, like many other towns on the seaboard. It had regularly paid a certain number of bales of rice, which was supposed to be of the best quality. Barbosa, describing this place, as early as 1514, says:—"There many ships always load brown rice, which is much better and more healthy than the white, for Malabar, for the common people, and it is very cheap. They also ship there much rice in Moorish ships for Aden, also pepper, which henceforward the earth begins to produce, but little of it, and better than all the other which the Malabars bring to this place in small vessels. The banks of this river are very pretty, and very full of woods and palm trees, and are very thickly inhabited by Moors and Gentiles, and studded with fine buildings and houses of prayer of the Gentiles, which are very large, and enriched with large revenues. There are also many mosques, where they greatly honour Mahomed." (Hakluyt Edition, p. 83.)

Every time the Portuguese sacked and burned a town the tribute was increased. Thus Mangalore was paying, according to Botelho's *Tombo* of 1554, three tributes for each of its small harbours. *Banguo* was paying a thousand bales of rice, the port near the pagoda seven hundred, and the port to the south, called *Talnhe*, an equal number.

The Queen of Olala, who was the mistress of these ports, became eventually recalcitrant, and objected to pay so heavy a tribute. The Factor of the town used all possible persuasion, but failed.

Some of the factories had not yet been fortified, and that of Mangalore was a structure of primitive type. The Factor could not enforce his claims to the payment of the tribute, there being no military force to support him. Moreover, the Queen of Olala was growing every day more refractory and overbearing.

The Viceroy D. Antão de Noronha then applied to the Queen for the grant of a piece of ground for erecting a fort. The Queen not only denied permission, but treated the request with a flippancy and a want of the courtesy due to his high position. The Viceroy, then, to curb—*pôr lhe freio*, as a chronicler expresses it—the insolence of the Queen, equipped a large fleet, which he placed under the command of D. Francisco Mascarenhas. To this he added a smaller one of seven ships, which he confided to the Second-in-command, João Peixoto, and he followed the expedition himself with 7 galleys, 2 galleons, and 5 fustas. The squadron consisted in all of 54 vessels, and there were 3,000 fighting men on board, besides the crews.

They sailed on the 8th of December, 1567, and anchored off Mangalore on the 4th of January. The landing was unopposed, and the troops meeting with no resistance, as they had expected, made light of the enemy. They lit bonfires in their camp and began to eat, drink, and play. The enemy, however, who was all the while lying in wait, taking advantage of the darkness of the hour, and of the distraction of the soldiers, rushed in the dead of night, and at the height of the festivities, into the encampment, and surprised them. The result was a great confusion, during which the Portuguese are said to have killed their own companions, believing them to be the enemy, and a terrible slaughter ensued. Among the dead was Lopo Barros, a son of the great historian, the Portuguese Livy, and among the wounded many distinguished officers. Mathias de Albuquerque, who lived to be a Viceroy of Philip II., when Portugal became an appanage of the Spanish Crown, had a narrow escape. When wounded, he feigned death, but every Kanarese soldier who touched him, tried by kicking and other means to be sure that he was dead. This is called a miraculous escape, and so it apparently was.

The following morning, however, the Portuguese, fully avenged the disaster. Mangalore was taken and razed to the ground, and the Queen fled to the mountains. The Viceroy, seeing himself master of the situation, commanded a fort to be built, the foundation of which was laid on the 20th of January, 1568, and named St. Sebastian, in honour of the saint of the day, and of the reigning sovereign of Portugal. The building was completed about the middle of March. The Viceroy nominated his brother-in-law, D. Antonio Pereira, its commander, and left with him a garrison of 300 men, and ammunition and provisions for six months.

Faria e Souza is severe upon the men who brought on the reverse of the night, previous to the final victory. He blames the vanity more than the self-reliance of his countrymen in despising the enemy. These are his words: "Pues más vanidad que confianza es hazer bizarría de despreciar al enemigo," "It is indeed more vanity than confidence to arrogantly despise the enemy."

The next Viceroy, D. Luis de Athaide, made a treaty of peace with the Queen of Olala, who, besides paying the war indemnity, was compelled to increase, as usual in such cases, the annual tribute of bales of rice, in proportion to the losses suffered by the Portuguese.

The Fort of Mangalore, however, built so hurriedly, could not possibly possess much strength, nor last long. King Philip, in his correspondence with the Viceroy Mathias de Albuquerque, which has been published in the *Archivo Portuguez Oriental*, Vol. III., alludes to it frequently and urges the Viceroy to render it the best fortified town of the whole of South Kanara. Antonio Teixeira de Macedo was then the Captain of the fort.

It appears that, notwithstanding the efforts of Mathias de Albuquerque to make Mangalore the *entrepôt* and the best fortified town of South Kanara, it fell off in prosperity. While in the time of Barbosa and Varthema, fifty to sixty ships used to load rice here; sixty years later, according to C. Federici, it was a little place of small trade, exporting a little rice.

But, as said before, Mangalore, although pursued by a strange fatality, seems to have been endowed with the power of quick revival. When Della Valle visited the place in 1623, it was again full of life, although the Portuguese Fort was decaying. The Roman traveller describes it as follows:—"Mangalore stands between Olala and Banghel, and in the middle of the bay, right against the mouth of the harbour, into which the Fort extends itself, being almost encompassed with water on three sides. It is but small, the worst built of any I have seen in India, and, as the Captain told me one day when I visited him, may rather be termed the house of a gentleman than a fort." (Venice Edn. of 1667, Vol. II., p. 272.) The Captain of the Fort was then Pero Gomes Pessanha.

Della Valle was a keen observer of the events that were passing in India in the first quarter of the 17th century. I shall have to refer to him again in Part II. of this paper, but, in the meantime, it may be worth while to quote his opinion of the Portuguese of those days. He writes:—"I have mentioned this occurrence at large . . .

to make known to all the world the demeanour of the noble Portuguese nation in these parts, who, indeed, had they but as much order, discipline and good government as they have valour, Ormuz and other sad losses would not be now lamented, but they would most certainly be capable of achieving great matters. But God gives not all things to all." *Ibid.* p. 358.

Evidently valour, without order, discipline, and good government, was of no avail against the host of the enemy in India, although bravery is the keynote of the national temperament, which, like the temperament of all the peoples of Southern Europe, is often more profoundly influenced by sentiment than by reason, the feeling being more acute than logic. A mighty spirit of valour seems, indeed, to move through all the pages of the national poem:—

“Cesse tudo o que a Musa antiga canta,
Que outro valor mais alto se alevanta.”

Canto i., 3.

“Cease all that antique Muse hath sung, for now
a better Brav’ry rears its bolder brow.”

But bravery without discipline is a negative quality. Want of discipline neutralises the best display of courage and endurance. If the Portuguese had possessed the two combined, and also sentiment along with reason, their power in the East might still be an important factor in the civilization of the world. But, as Della Valle says, “God gives not all things to all.” *Però Dio non a tutti dà tutte le cose.*

To this internal enemy was now, about the middle of the 17th century, to be added an external and a more powerful one. The Dutch had crippled the Portuguese power by first capturing Malaca in 1641, then Ceylon from 1656 to 1658, and latterly Cochin and some other settlements on the Malabar Coast in 1662.

These continued losses encouraged the Kanarese princes to defy the Portuguese. Mangalore and other fortresses in Kanara were now reported to be in a weak and dangerous condition, both on account of their own feeble power of defence, and of a new aggressive power rising in their neighbourhood. Shivappa Naik, a Bednur Chief, had grown into a potentate of no mean order from the decay of the kingdom of Vijayanagar, and between 1648 and 1670 held all the surrounding country, being called the king of Kanara.

The Portuguese were now, according to their proverb, between the anvil and the hammer (*entre o malho e a bigorna*). Having frittered away the best opportunities to befriend the natives, and having then

alienated their sympathies, they were now placed between two enemies, the internal and the external, the Indian and the Dutch.

In 1652 Shivappa invested Mangalore and some other towns still in the hands of the Portuguese, but D. Vasco Mascarenhas patched up a hasty peace. The negotiations were again protracted for many years, and not brought to a conclusion until 1671, when the king of Kanara gave sites for the erection of new factories at various places, among them Mangalore, but stipulated that they should be surrounded by only single walls, without embrasures or bastions.

In 1678 there was another outbreak of hostilities, at the end of which one more treaty was signed, whereby Shivappa undertook to supply stone and timber for the factory at Mangalore. This factory yielded, in 1687, 4,088 Xerafins and spent 1,831.

We now come to the last act of the drama. It was a duel fought for a long time, at the end of which both the antagonists were left exhausted. The Naik dynasty of Bednur or Ikkeri, in spite of their repeated treaties of friendship with the Portuguese, was almost always at variance with the latter. In 1713 the Viceroy Vasco Fernandes Cezar de Menezes had a disagreement with Keladi Basappa Naik, King of Kanara. Not coming to terms a squadron was despatched on the 15th of January, 1713, which captured and burnt many ships all along the coast as far as Mangalore, and destroyed much merchandise. These losses brought the Naik to submission, and a treaty was signed on the 19th of February, 1714. These few lines in which I have condensed the events of the whole year are given by Cardinal D. Francisco S. Luiz in his *Os Portuguezes em Africa, Asia, America e Oceania*, Vol. VI., in nearly twenty-five pages, 4to size, with copies of authentic documents.

From this time to the conquest of South Kanara by Haidar Ali in 1763, and its annexation to British India in 1799, the Portuguese Factory of Mangalore passed through further vicissitudes. A treaty was signed with Haidar Ali in 1764, which agreed to the permanency of the Factory, but in 1776 he somehow took possession of it. In 1783 both the Fort and the Factory were destroyed. Negotiations were then opened with Tippu Sultan, and with the British Government at the end of the last century, in order to re-establish the Factory, but all in vain. And thus the last remnant of the Portuguese rule and trade in South Kanara was for ever extinguished.

But these were not the only vestiges of the Portuguese influence in that beautiful country. A large section of its population, professing

the Roman Catholic religion, more than twenty-five churches, some of them larger and more handsome buildings than the churches in Bassein or Salsette, and other monuments, which I shall reserve for Part II. of this paper, testify to the civilising action of that nation, in times past. Mangalore, the capital of South Kanara, where the largest number of the converts of the Portuguese reside, is now a prosperous town. With the bright prospects of a rapidly advancing community, with all the elements, moral and material, that help to make a people happy, and the abundant resources of a rich commercial city, it is expected that, if the port can be improved and a railway built, it will soon become the emporium of the Western Coast of Southern India.

ART. XVII.—*The Antiquity of the Avesta*: By JIVANJI
JAMSHEDJI MODI, B.A.

[Read 26th June 1896.]

The general opinion about the extant Avesta literature is that it is a faithful remnant of the "Grand Avesta" of the Achemenian times. But as Prof. Max-Muller says, the late lamented Dr. Darmesteter, whose untimely death has caused a great gap in the foremost rank of Avesta scholars, has, by what he calls the historical solution of the question, "thrown a bomb-shell in the peaceful camp of the Orientalists,"⁽¹⁾ He asserts⁽²⁾ that the Avesta, as it has come down to us, is not a faithful reproduction from the "Grand Avesta" of the Achemenian times, but that it has undergone several changes while passing through the hands of the different monarchs of Persia, who undertook to collect them.

To support his theory he dwells upon what he calls two kinds of evidence. Firstly, the historical evidence as collected from the Dinkard and the letter of Tansar, the Dastur of Ardeshir Babegân (Artaxerxes I.) to the king of Tabaristan; secondly, the internal evidence as presented by the Avesta itself.

On the supposed strength of these two kinds of evidence, he says, that a great part of the Avesta had been re-written in the period of the political and religious fermentation, which preceded the advent of the Sassanians; that the greatest and the most important touch and finish were given to it in the reign of Ardeshir Babegân (A. D. 211-241), and that even in the reign of Shapur I. (A. D. 241-272) some final changes were made in it. Thus Dr. Darmesteter brings down the antiquity of the Avesta, which scholars like Haug and his Vedic school had placed in a remote period, preceding even the Achemenian times, to as late as the third century after Christ. The object of this paper is to examine some of the points, which Darmesteter dwells upon, to support his theory. This paper does not pretend to examine in

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THE PORTUGUESE IN SOUTH KANARA.

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detail the great question of the Antiquity of the Avesta from all standpoints, but aims to examine it from a few standpoints suggested by Darmesteter as facts of historical and internal evidence.

Firstly, we will enter into the subject of the historical evidence about the later origin of the Avesta. The history of the collection of the Avesta, as given in the Dinkard⁽³⁾ is as follows:—

In the times of the Achemenian emperors one copy of the "Grand Avesta" was deposited in the royal archives of Istakhar (Persepolis) and another in the royal treasury of Shapigân. The one in the royal archives was destroyed by Alexander the Great⁽⁴⁾ during his conquest of Persia. The literature so destroyed was written, according to Tansar⁽⁵⁾ upon 12,000 ox-hides. It consisted of 1,000 chapters. The other copy in the royal treasury was taken possession of by the Greeks, who carried it away and got it translated into their language. Perhaps it is this translation that Pliny refers to, when he says that Hermippos of Alexandria (3rd century B. C.) had, with the assistance of Azonax, translated into Greek 20,000 verses of the writings of Zoroaster. During the times of the Parthian dynasty when there was a religious anarchy in Persia, Valkhash (Vologeses I.), with a view to restore the religion, tried to collect the Avesta literature destroyed by Alexander.

But the most successful attempt was made by Ardeshir Babegân, the founder of the Sassanian dynasty. The services rendered by Ardeshir to the cause of the Zoroastrian religion are therefore thus commemorated in the Afrin î Rapithavan: Hamâzor Farohar-i-Ardasher Babegân bād, avâ hamâ Farohar-i-ârûstârân va vinâstârân va vinârtârân-i-din khudâe bad, *i. e.*, "May the guiding spirit of Ardeshir Babegân be one with us together with the guiding spirits of those who restore, arrange and look into the religion of God." Ardeshir was helped in this noble cause by a learned Dastur named Taosar or Tansar. Although, as said above, one attempt was made by Vologeses I. before Ardeshir, and although two more attempts were made after Ardeshir by Shapur I. and Shapur II. to restore the ancient literature and religion, it is only Ardeshir's more important attempts that are commemorated in the above Afrin. Now Darmesteter lays great stress upon the abovementioned

(3) West's Dinkard, p. xxxi., 413-14.

(4) Viraf, 1-8.

(5) Journal Asiatique Tome III. (1894), p. 516.

account of the Dinkard and upon a letter by Tansar to the king of Tabaristan, wherein he explained to a certain extent how he wished to proceed in the work of helping his royal master Ardeshir in the cause of uniting the ancient Persian empire, of reviving the ancient literature, and of restoring the ancient religion. On the strength of these two documents, he says that the Avesta literature, as it has now come down to us, is, to a certain extent, meddled with by Tansar. It appears from Macoudi that Tansar belonged to the Platonic sect, and so according to Darmesteter, Tansar had introduced into the Avesta his Platonic views. Working upon that speculation he tries to show that there are several Greek elements in the Avesta. Not only that, but there are several other elements—Budhistic, Brahminical, Jewish, etc., which show, he says, that the Avesta now extant are not very old.

Firstly, we will examine the evidence produced by Darmesteter from the historical documents, and see how far his conclusion is based on solid ground.

He takes his stand upon the general statements of the Dinkard and of the letter of Tansar, and boldly draws inferences which would not be justified by a detail examination of the passages. Let us examine the statements about the different sovereigns of Persia who collected the Avesta, and who worked, so to speak, to bring about Iranian renaissance. Firstly comes Valkhash. The Dinkard says of him that "Valkhash, descendant of Askan in each district, just as he had come forth, ordered the careful preservation and making of memoranda for the royal city, of the Avesta and Zand, as it had purely come unto them, and also of whatever instruction, due to it, had remained written about, as well as deliverable by the tongue through a high priest, in a scattered state in the country of Irân, owing to the ravages and devastation of Alexander and the cavalry and infantry of the Arûmans." (6)

Darmesteter refers from this passage that as Valkhash had a hand in the collection of the Avesta, the modern Avesta had some interpolations of his time, and that some post-Alexandrian elements had crept into it. But the passage does not admit of this inference. It very clearly says that he had ordered the careful preservation of the Avesta and Zand, as it had *purely* come into them.

(6) West, p. 413.

Again, we must take into consideration the character of the two chief actors of this second period of Iránian renaissance, the character of both, the king and his Dastur, of Ardeshir and Tansar. Ardeshir through his grandfather Sassan, belonged to the sacerdotal race. According to Agathias he "was initiated in the doctrine of the Magi, and could himself celebrate the mysteries."⁽⁸⁾ How can such a king, himself versed in the learned lore of his religion, give a free hand to his Dastur to introduce into the religious scriptures any foreign element that he liked. It could do in the case of a king not versed in religious lore, but not in the case of a king like Ardeshir who, by birth and education, belonged to the sacerdotal class versed in their religious books. If Tansar had taken any liberty, Ardeshir could have at once stopped him.

But now let us examine the character of Tansar himself. According to the Dinkard he was a "Paoiryô-tkaêsha," *i.e.*, one of the old order of faith, and so naturally averse to any innovations and to the introduction of any new elements in the old religion and in the old scriptures. This is confirmed by the tone he adopts in his letter to the king of Tabaristan. He expresses his displeasure at the new order of things subsequent upon the religious anarchy in the reign of the preceding dynasty. He says: ⁽⁹⁾—

"At last, by the corruption of the men of those times, by the disappearance of the law, the love of novelties and apocrypha, and the wish for notoriety, even those legends and traditions passed away from the memory of the people." How then can we expect a Paoiryô-tkaêsha of Tansar's type and views to introduce into the religion and religious scriptures notions foreign to the old faith? While speaking about the characters of the two principal actors of the second period of Iránian renaissance, it will not be out of place to examine briefly a few important parts of Tansar's letter on which Darmesteter rests so much.

Firstly, Darmesteter attaches great importance to that part of the letter wherein Tansar writes to the king of Tabaristan that king Ardeshir does away with those customs which do not suit the necessities of his time. Now this does not show that Ardeshir, through his Dastur Tansar meddled with the old religious scriptures. It simply means that he modified several customs which, looking to the circumstances of the changed times, acted harshly and unjustly.

⁽⁸⁾ Darm. Vend., 2 Ed. XLI. ⁽⁹⁾ Ibid, p. XLIII.

the Roman Catholic religion, more than twenty-five churches, some of them larger and more handsome buildings than the churches in Bassein or Salsette, and other monuments, which I shall reserve for Part II. of this paper, testify to the civilising action of that small nation, in times past. Mangalore, the capital of South Kanara, where the largest number of the converts of the Portuguese reside, is now a prosperous town. With the bright prospects of a rapidly advancing community, with all the elements, moral and material, that help to make a people happy, and the abundant resources of a rich commercial city, it is expected that, if the port can be improved and a railway built, it will soon become the emporium of the Western Coast of Southern India.

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here referred to is not at all in accord with the punishment referred to by Tansar in his letter as that "ordered by him to be inserted in the Book of Laws." On the other hand it is more in accord with that spoken of by Tansar, as prevalent in the ancient times. This shows that Tansar had nothing to do with the Avesta. Not only that, but he had nothing to do even with the Pehelvi commentaries written much later than the original Avesta. If he had no free hand in the later Pehelvi commentaries, how can he have a free hand in the original Avesta itself.

Again we find in the Pehelvi version of the Vendidad a number of names of eminent Dasturs, who had made comments, such as Gogoshasp, Dâd-farrok, Âdar-pâd, Khoshtanbujid, Vakhshâpur, but we do not find anywhere the name of Tansar. This is a very strong proof that Tansar had no hand at all, not only in the original Avesta but even in the much later Pehelvi versions.

Lastly take the case of Tansar's reference to the social custom of marriage. He says, that Ardeshir "prohibited that a man of high family should marry a girl of a lower family, with a view to preserve the purity of blood." Now, we find no prohibition of this kind in the present Avesta. If Tansar had taken liberty with it as alleged, he would have put in this prohibition in the Vendidad. The only prohibition referred to in the Vendidad is that a Mâzdayaçnân should not join in marriage with a Daëva-yaçnân.

In examining the so-called historical evidence of Darmesteter on the later origin of the Avesta, we now come to Shapur, the third important actor of the period of renaissance, after whose time he thinks the Avesta canon was closed. Darmesteter is of opinion that foreign elements crept into the Avesta even after Ardesir's time, and so he attaches great importance to the following passage in the Dinkard about Shapur.

"Shahpûbar, king of kings, and son of Artakhshatar, again brought together also the writings which were distinct from religion, about the investigation of medicine and astronomy, time, place, and quality, creation, existence, and destruction . . . that were scattered among the Hindus and in Arum and other lands; and he ordered their collection again with the Avesta, and the presentation of a correct copy of each to the treasury of Shapigân. (West's Dinkard P. Texts IV. p. 414; Darm. Le Zend Avesta III., p. XXXII).

Darmesteter says that "This is a confession that part of the Avesta

account of the Dinkard and upon a letter by Tansar to the king of Tabaristan, wherein he explained to a certain extent how he wished to proceed in the work of helping his royal master Ardeshir in the cause of uniting the ancient Persian empire, of reviving the ancient literature, and of restoring the ancient religion. On the strength of these two documents, he says that the Avesta literature, as it has now come down to us, is, to a certain extent, meddled with by Tansar. It appears from Macoudi that Tansar belonged to the Platonic sect, and so according to Darmesteter, Tansar had introduced into the Avesta his Platonic views. Working upon that speculation he tries to show that there are several Greek elements in the Avesta. Not only that, but there are several other elements—Budhistic, Brahaminical, Jewish, etc., which show, he says, that the Avesta now extant are not very old.

Firstly, we will examine the evidence produced by Darmesteter from the historical documents, and see how far his conclusion is based on solid ground.

He takes his stand upon the general statements of the Dinkard and of the letter of Tansar, and boldly draws inferences which would not be justified by a detail examination of the passages. Let us examine the statements about the different sovereigns of Persia who collected the Avesta, and who worked, so to speak, to bring about Iranian renaissance. Firstly comes Valkhash. The Dinkard says of him that "Valkhash, descendant of Askan in each district, just as he had come forth, ordered the careful preservation and making of memoranda for the royal city, of the Avesta and Zand, as it had purely come unto them, and also of whatever instruction, due to it, had remained written about, as well as deliverable by the tongue through a high priest, in a scattered state in the country of Irân, owing to the ravages and devastation of Alexander and the cavalry and infantry of the Arûmans." (6)

Darmesteter refers from this passage that as Valkhash had a hand in the collection of the Avesta, the modern Avesta had some interpolations of his time, and that some post-Alexandrian elements had crept into it. But the passage does not admit of this inference. It very clearly says that he had ordered the careful preservation of the Avesta and Zand, as it had *purely* come into them.

(6) West, p. 413.

Again, we must take into consideration the character of the two chief actors of this second period of Iránian renaissance, the character of both, the king and his Dastur, of Ardeshir and Tansar. Ardeshir through his grandfather Sassan, belonged to the sacerdotal race. According to Agathias he "was initiated in the doctrine of the Magi, and could himself celebrate the mysteries."⁽⁸⁾ How can such a king, himself versed in the learned lore of his religion, give a free hand to his Dastur to introduce into the religious scriptures any foreign element that he liked. It could do in the case of a king not versed in religious lore, but not in the case of a king like Ardeshir who, by birth and education, belonged to the sacerdotal class versed in their religious books. If Tansar had taken any liberty, Ardeshir could have at once stopped him.

But now let us examine the character of Tansar himself. According to the Dinkard he was a "Paairyô-tkaêsha," *i.e.*, one of the old order of faith, and so naturally averse to any innovations and to the introduction of any new elements in the old religion and in the old scriptures. This is confirmed by the tone he adopts in his letter to the king of Tabaristan. He expresses his displeasure at the new order of things subsequent upon the religious anarchy in the reign of the preceding dynasty. He says: ⁽⁹⁾—

"At last, by the corruption of the men of those times, by the disappearance of the law, the love of novelties and apocrypha, and the wish for notoriety, even those legends and traditions passed away from the memory of the people." How then can we expect a Paairyô-tkaêsha of Tansar's type and views to introduce into the religion and religious scriptures notions foreign to the old faith? While speaking about the characters of the two principal actors of the second period of Iránian renaissance, it will not be out of place to examine briefly a few important parts of Tansar's letter on which Darmesteter rests so much.

Firstly, Darmesteter attaches great importance to that part of the letter wherein Tansar writes to the king of Tabaristan that king Ardeshir does away with those customs which do not suit the necessities of his time. Now this does not show that Ardeshir, through his Dastur Tansar meddled with the old religious scriptures. It simply means that he modified several customs which, looking to the circumstances of the changed times, acted harshly and unjustly.

⁽⁸⁾ Darm. Vend., 2 Ed. XLI. ⁽⁹⁾ Ibid, p. XLIII.

Again, Yansar's words ²⁰ *دین را که است بر دین* mean that "the king is the ruler over the religion," i.e. the king is superior in rank to religion or is the head of the Church. What Yansar meant was that the king was the spiritual and temporal head of the country. It seems that the translation given by Darmesteter, viz. "the Mohammedan has power over the religion" is beyond the mark. It stretches the meaning too much. When Henry VIII. assumed in England the power as the spiritual head of the Church, he did not make all possible changes either in the religious observances or the scriptures. Again, Yansar's words ²¹ *دین را که است بر دین* mean that

"If the religion is not described or explained by reason, it has no soundness." Darmesteter's rendering of *دین را که است بر دین* as "enlightened" carries the idea that Yansar meant addition or modification, but the words merely mean "description." The fact that this passage of Yansar's letter does not refer to the addition of any new notions or ideas is proved by another part of Yansar's letter quoted above, wherein he himself expresses his displeasure against the introduction of novelties.

Again, the fact that Yansar's letter does not refer to any changes or additions in the Avesta scriptures is more than proved by a cursory examination of some of the rules and laws referred to by Yansar. Let us see if some of the points referred to by Yansar are found in the present Avesta, with which he is supposed to have taken great liberty.

The king of Eusebian complains of some innovations on the part of Ardeshir. Now, if according to Darmesteter's theory Yansar had taken liberty with the Avesta, we should have found those innovations in the Avesta. But, as a matter of fact, we do not find them. For example, the king of Eusebian inquires of Ardeshir's division of the different professions into four classes. ²² The Avesta division of the professions is as follows:—1. *Atreva* (the clergy), 2. *Rathahant* (the army), 3. *Vasra* (the cultivators), and 4. *Utroksh* (the artisans).

Ardeshir's division, according to Yansar's letter, is as follows:—

- The king is at the head of all. Then follow:—
- 1. *Atreva*—*Atre*, i.e. the clergy.
- 2. *Muzra*—*Muzra*, i.e. the army.

²⁰ *Journal Asiatique*, Paris, 1844, p. 217.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 217.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 217.

3 Kuttâb, *i.e.*, the writers. This class includes clerks, medical men, literary men and scientific men.

4 Muhanâ, *i.e.*, the men of the ordinary class of work. This class includes merchants, agriculturists, workmen, &c.

A superficial examination of these two divisions, the one of the Avesta and the other of Tansar, shows that they widely differ. Now if Tansar took liberty with the Avesta, why did he not replace the Avesta division which "did not suit the necessities of the present" by the new division? If Tansar's object was to establish the unity of the throne by the unity of the Church, instead of meddling with philosophic subjects like those of the Logos and the Ideas which the generality of the people did not care for, and which could in no way strengthen the power of Ardeshir, he ought to have first of all handled subjects like this and the following which had drawn the general attention, and which had, according to the king of Tabaristan, displeased the people. He ought to have introduced them into the Avesta, to give them the stamp of religion. The fact that Tansar did not do so and that the extant Avesta gives quite another division shows that Tansar had not taken any liberty with the Avesta.

Then the next important subject, referred to by Tansar in his letter, is the subject of punishments for scepticism and for criminal faults, such as theft and adultery. For example, Ardeshir ordered that the adulterer must be punished by having his nose cut, that the brigand and the thief must be punished by being made to pay large fines, &c. Now, if Tansar had taken liberty with the Avesta, and, if, as he says, Ardeshir had "ordered these precepts to be inserted in the Book of Laws" (ketâb-i-sunun), we should find them in the present Avesta, at least in the Vendidad. But we do not find anything of the kind in the Avesta, which shows that Tansar had not meddled with the Avesta.

In the Pehelvi commentary of the Vendidad (VIII.-236 (74) Spiegel, p. 122), we find an allusion to the punishment of a brigand (raqdâr 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥). It is there said on the authority of a commentator Gogoshasp that a brigand, if he continues in his evil profession, may be at once put to death without waiting for a formal order from the Dâto-bar.

𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭡 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭡𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭡 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭡𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭡 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭡𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭡𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭡
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The same punishment is ordered on the authority of one Vakhshâpur. Now it appears from this, that the punishment

here referred to is not at all in accord with the punishment referred to by Tansar in his letter as that "ordered by him to be inserted in the Book of Laws." On the other hand it is more in accord with that spoken of by Tansar, as prevalent in the ancient times. This shows that Tansar had nothing to do with the Avesta. Not only that, but he had nothing to do even with the Pehelvi commentaries written much later than the original Avesta. If he had no free hand in the later Pehelvi commentaries, how can he have a free hand in the original Avesta itself.

Again we find in the Pehelvi version of the Vendidad a number of names of eminent Dasturs, who had made comments, such as Gogoshasp, Dâd-farrok, Âdar-pâd, Khoshtanbujid, Vakhshâpur, but we do not find anywhere the name of Tansar. This is a very strong proof that Tansar had no hand at all, not only in the original Avesta but even in the much later Pehelvi versions.

Lastly take the case of Tansar's reference to the social custom of marriage. He says, that Ardeshir "prohibited that a man of high family should marry a girl of a lower family, with a view to preserve the purity of blood." Now, we find no prohibition of this kind in the present Avesta. If Tansar had taken liberty with it as alleged, he would have put in this prohibition in the Vendidad. The only prohibition referred to in the Vendidad is that a Mâzdayaçnân should not join in marriage with a Daêva-yaçnân.

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Darmesteter says that "This is a confession that part of the Avesta

was translated or imitated from foreign sources." Nothing of the kind. It appears to be clear from this passage that here the question is about the collection of medical and other scientific works *other than those of religion* (*١٠٩ ١٣ ٤ ١٤٧٠٥١*) How can they have been embodied in the extant Avesta which, according to Darmesteter himself, is "only a liturgical collection, and it bears more likeness to a Prayer Book than to the Bible." What the Dinkard says is merely this, that Shapur got collected, both from the East and from the West, works on scientific subjects. They were not all embodied in the Avesta, but as the last sentence of the above quoted passage says "the presentation of a correct copy of each to the treasury of Shapigan" was ordered by the king. The words in the text *١٠٩ ١٣ ٤ ١٤٧٠٥١ ١٣ ٤ ١٤٧٠٥١ ١٣ ٤ ١٤٧٠٥١* (i. e., he ordered their collection again together with the Avesta-Peh. Paz. glossary, p. 150) mean that Shapur ordered the collection again of this scientific literature together with that of the Avesta, and ordered a copy of each to be preserved in the royal library of Shapigân. The words do not admit of the interpretation of "reunir et incorporer dans l'Avesta les fragments d'un intérêt scientifique" as Darmesteter understands them.

If, as Darmesteter says, the above passage is an allusion to his theory that additions were made to the Avesta even in later times, then, as a matter of fact, we must find these writings on medicine, astronomy, and such other scientific subjects in our present Avesta. But we do not find them at all. Therefore, the only inference we can draw is this, that the passage in the Dinkard does not at all allude to any subsequent additions to the Avesta itself, but to the Pehelvi works.

In closing this short survey of Darmesteter's conclusion based on the historical evidence of the Dinkard and of Tansar's letter, we must bear in mind that in the very passages where the Dinkard speaks of the restoration of religion, and of the religious scriptures, and on which Darmesteter lays great stress in support of his theory, Alexander, the Greek of Greeks, is spoken of as "the evil-destined villain Alexander" and allusions are made to his ravages and devastations. Again, the very document on which Darmesteter bases his theory, *vis.*, Ibn al Muqaffa's letter of Tansar speaks of the harsh conduct of Alexander towards the Persians. He thought of killing the princes and nobles of Irân so that during his march

towards India they may not rise against him. But the good advice of his tutor Aristotle prevailed, and he divided Irân into petty principalities, so that the rulers may fight among themselves and not join into an open rebellion against his rule. Again in the body of the letter itself, Tansar alludes to the fact of Alexander's burning the sacred books. ⁽¹³⁾

Now Darmesteter represents Tansar as borrowing foreign elements for his Avesta from these very Greeks, whose hero Alexander he (Tansar) himself runs down, and so do the Dinkard and other Pehelvi works. How improbable to think that a religious and sacerdotal monarch like Ardeshir, and a Paçiryo-Tkaçsha Dastur like Tansar should think of introducing into their scriptures the notions and beliefs of those very Greeks who had brought about the ruin of their country and religion, a ruin, the painful memory of which was fresh in their minds, and which continued to remain fresh for some time longer. Nothing can be more improbable than this.

But look to this question from another point of view. What did Valkhash and Ardeshir and Shapur aim at? What was the religious renaissance for? The Greeks had possibly left the mark of their invasion on the politics, as well as on the social and religious life of Irân. It was this mark of the Greeks that had brought about the political, social, and religious anarchy. It was to obliterate these marks that Valkhash, Ardeshir, and the Shapurs worked. It was to obliterate these marks that was the aim of the renaissance of Arde-shir's time. Now what can be more improbable than to think that those who worked hard in that work of renaissance should, instead of obliterating these marks of Greek influence, perpetuate them, by bodily introducing Greek elements into their very scriptures.

Again, if there be any country, whose religious ideas the Persians would not like to have incorporated into their religious books, it would be Greece or India. Again, if there be anybody who could be said to have introduced into Zoroastrianism these so-called Greek and Indian elements, Tansar should be the last person, because from his very letter to the king of Tabaristan, to which Darmesteter attaches so much importance, we learn that as a true Zoroastrian, he found the

⁽¹³⁾ "Tu sais qu' Alexandro brûla á Istakhar nos livres sacrés écrits sur douze mille peaux de bœuf," *Journal Asiatique* T. III, p. 516,

Greeks, Indians, and others wanting in good religious manners and customs (آداب دینی). Referring to the country of the Tartars, Greece, and India, Tansar says (I give Darmesteter's translation, ⁽¹⁴⁾ *Quant aux bonnes mœurs religieuses et au service du Roi, ce sont des inventions qu'il (Le Dieu) nous a octroyées et on n'en a refusées.*" Again further on he says: "*Toutes les sciences de la terre sont nées chez lui.*" Thus we see that Tansar believed that his fatherland of Iran possessed all the sciences of the world, and that that his country was favoured by God with all good religious customs which the other countries were deprived of. Now, how can you expect a man with such a belief to borrow elements for his scriptures from Greece and from other countries?

Again, what is more probable? That, if in order to suit new circumstances, he was allowed the liberty to meddle with the Avesta, he should take liberty with those parts which treat of philosophic subjects, or with those that treat of the social manners and customs, with which the generality of people have to do? As a religious reformer, it would be his duty not to add new philosophic ideas with which the people on the whole had little concern, but to change some of the old social usages which required a change under the new circumstances. If allowed a free hand Tansar would have at first changed some of the customs mentioned in the Vendidad, which clearly point that they belonged to very old times.

For example, it appears from the Vendidad that during the olden times when it was written, the use of metal as money was very little known. Animals were the medium of exchange or barter. A medical practitioner is required to be paid not in coins, but in animals. ⁽¹⁵⁾ If he cured the head of a family he is to be given a small ox as his professional fee; if he cured the ruler of a village, a large ox; if he cured the lady of the house, a she-ass and so on.

This scale of medical fees must have existed a long time before the Achemenian rulers, some of whom had Greek doctors on their staff. Now then, if Tansar had a *carte blanche* from his sovereign to take liberty with the Avesta, and to add, omit, or modify, of course, the first thing he would have done would have been to strike off from the Vendidad the above system of payment and to introduce a

⁽¹⁴⁾ *Journal Asiatique*, Tome III., p. 547.

⁽¹⁵⁾ Vendidad VII., 41-43.

new system of payment by coins. There are several other old customs in the Vendidad which suited the times when it was written, but in the times of Velkhash or Tansar, were more honoured in their breach than in their observance. So, had Tansar taken liberty with the Avesta, instead of meddling with some philosophic ideas, he would have at once changed some of the customs mentioned in the Vendidad. But the very fact that the Vendidad has come down to us, as it was written in some pre-Achæmænian times, shows that Tansar could not have taken any liberty with the sacred writings of the Gâthas ascribed to Zoroaster himself.

The chief point which should determine the age when the different writings of Zoroastrian literature were written, is the mention made therein of the names of historical personages. * The Farvardin Yasht contains a long list of the departed worthies of ancient Irân. It contains the names of eminent men, who lived upto two centuries after Zoroaster, and who did yeoman's service to their country. For example, the name of Saêna Ahum Stuto (Saêna Ahum Studân of Afrin i Rapithavan) who, according to the Pehelvi Zarthosht. Nameh, died about two hundred years after Zoroaster, is commemorated there (Y. XIII., 97). Now, if according to Darmesteter, the Zoroastrian canon was not closed up to the time of Shapur, why is it that we do not find in the Farvardin Yasht any names of the Achæmænian, Parthian or Sassanian dynasties. Those dynasties have produced a number of men worthy of being commemorated for their services to the cause of their country and religion. Take the case of Valkhash (Vologeses I.), whose services to the cause of Zoroastrian religion were highly spoken of by the Dinkard together with those of Ardeshir. Now if liberty was taken, as alleged, by Tansar, and his predecessors with the Avesta, surely the name of Valkhash would most assuredly have been added to the long list of the worthies of Irân in the Farvardin Yasht. Ardeshir's services to the cause of Zoroastrian religion were really very great, and so they were commemorated in the later Pazend prayer known as the Afrin i Rapithavan, together with those of Zoroaster, King Goshtasp, Asfandiar, and others. Now if the Sassanian princes took liberty with the Avesta, why is it that the name of Ardeshir Babegân is not included in the list of Farvardin Yasht. Ardeshir's son Shapur I., who also is spoken of in the Dinkard as having had a part in the revival of the religion, could have added the name of his illustrious father in the list of Farvardin

Pehelvi translator meant by Kilisyâk, Alexander, why should he have used the plural number.

There is another consideration which shows that by Kereçani the Hom Yasht did not mean Alexander. In the Pehelvi books, wherever, Alexander is spoken of, he is always spoken of, as Alexeidar, Akandgar, Alasandar, or in some other similar form (Virâf-Nameh I., 4; West's Dinkard, Bk. VIII., ch. I., 21; Bahman Yasht II., 19; III., 34; Bundeshesh XXXIV., 8 Minokherad; VIII., 29). He is never spoken of as Kilisyâk. In the Bahman Yasht the word Kilisyâk is once used, but mind, there it is used with his original name Akandgar. As we have said above there the word is not used alone but simply as an appellation. Just as in some books (for example the Virâf-Nameh I., 4) he is spoken of as Arumayâk, *i.e.*, the Roman, so in the Bahman Yasht he is spoken of as Akandgar,-i-Kilisyâkih, *i.e.*, Alexander the Kilisyâk. In all other books he is spoken of by his own name written in different ways. Now, if in all these Pehelvi writings Alexander was spoken of by his own proper name, why should he not have been spoken of by that name by the Pehelvi commentator of the Hom Yasht, if, at all, he meant to express that Kereçani was Alexander.

One fact more. In most of the above Pehelvi works, wherever the harm done by Alexander to the Zoroastrian religion is spoken of, he is always spoken of as Alexander the Gazashté (𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬎𐬀) *i.e.*, the cursed, an epithet generally applied to Ahriman or the devil. Some such other epithet is often applied to him (Viraf-Nameh I., 4; Bahman Yasht. (16) II., 19; Dinkard VII., ch. I., 21). Now if we take that, as Darmesteter says, the passage in the Hom Yasht refers to the religious persecution by Alexander, why is it that we do not find either in the Avesta passage itself or its Pehelvi rendering any usual expression of hatred with the mention of Alexander's name.

Again, if the Avesta writer wished to make an allusion to the religious persecution by Alexander, why should he have chosen the Haoma Yasht for it? We know nothing of Alexander's special hostility to Haoma. In his invasion the Greeks generally destroyed some of the Persian fire temples; so if there was any part of the Avesta where an appropriate allusion to Alexander's persecution could have been made with propriety, it was the sacred pieces in honour

(16) West, Pehelvi Series I. and VI.

of fire and not the Yasht in honour of Haoma. All these considerations lead to show that it is a mistake to take Kereçani to be Alexander.

Darmesteter points to another name in the Avesta and connects it with a historical event, and thereby tries to show that the Avesta, as they have come down to us, have a later origin.

It is the name of Azi Dahâka (Zohâk of Firdousi). From the fact that the Pehelvi Bundelesh draws his descent from one Tâz, a brother of Hoshang and from the fact that the Shah-Nameh calls him a Tâzi, *i.e.*, an Arab (مرد تازی), and from the fact that Bawri, identified with the later Babylon, is spoken of in the Avesta as the place of Azi-Dahâka, Darmesteter infers that it is a reference to the settlement of the Arabs along the banks of the Euphrates and the Tigris, an event which took place in the second half of the Arsacide period. Hence he infers that the Avesta which refers to this historic event must have been written a long time after Alexander. But from the mere fact that Zohâk was descended from one Tâz who was the founder of the tribe of Tâziks, latterly known as the Arabs, and from the mention of the name of Bawri identified with the later Babylon, we have no sufficient grounds to infer that it is an allusion to the historical event of the occupation of Chaldea by the Arabs in later times. Neither the Avesta nor the Pehelvi Bundelesh say that Zohâk was an Arab. The Bundelesh, did not take Zohâk to be an Arab. It simply says that he was descended from one Tâz. It is only Firdousi that calls him an Arab; and it is perhaps from the fact that Zohâk was descended from Tâz and that the Tâziks, latterly known as the Arabs, were also descended from Tâz. Thus then, if the Bundelesh, did not recognize Zohâk as an Arab, how can Tansar or some of his predecessors recognize him as such?

Again, even taking it for granted that Tansar or the people of his time knew Azi-dahâk to be an Arab, how could Tansar or some one else in the latter half of the Arsacide period (whom Darmesteter supposes to have taken some liberty with the Avesta) have connected the historical event of the occupation of Chaldea by the Arabs with Azi-dahâk. The event having happened only about one or two centuries before their time must be fresh in their minds through oral traditions. So how can either Tansar, an intelligent man, who is represented as having studied the philosophy of adjoining countries, or any other man of his stamp, be supposed to connect a recent historical event

with a man of the times of the Peshdâdyan dynasty, a contemporary of Faridun, who lived several hundred years before the event. To suppose that Tansar or men of his stamp mixed up a historical event that had recently occurred and connected it with a man who lived several hundred years before the event is paying a very poor compliment to men of Tansar's intelligence, who are otherwise credited with a knowledge of the philosophies of adjoining countries.

Again Bawri, the name used in the Avesta for Babylon, suggests another consideration. We find from the cuneiform inscriptions that Babylon was one of the countries conquered by Darius. In the Behistun inscriptions Babylon is spoken of as Bâbiru (Spiegel's *Die Altpersischen Keilinschriften*, p. 4, Oppert's *Les Inscriptions des Achéménides*, p. 24). This word Bâbiru shows that in the Acheminian times the old word Bawri had already begun to assume its later form of Bâbîrû. Bawri is an older form of Bâbiru. Hence the text wherein the passage of Bawri occurs must have been written a long time before the Achemenians, and the conclusion of Darmesteter that "The texts in which the Arab Azi Dahâka appears as reigning in Babylon belong to a time when the Arabs were already settled in Mesopotamia" is groundless. Had that been the case the writers would have used Bâbiru or some other later form for Babylon and not the older form of Bawri.

Again, what is said of Zohâk can be said of Darmesteter's attempt of connecting one Zainigan, alleged to be a contemporary of Afrasiâb, with an historical event of the later Parthian times. In the first place the word Zainigan has up to now been translated both by European and Parsee scholars, and among them by Darmesteter himself (*Zend Avesta* II, S. B. E.) as a common noun. But now Darmesteter, to support further his theory, finds in Zainigan, an Arab who was killed by Afrasiâb, and thinks that the allusion refers to the subsequent events of the Arab invasions, which occurred in the later Parthian times. Here again as in the case of Zohâk, we are led to believe, that a learned man like Tansar or others of his stamp were altogether ignorant of history, that they did not know when Afrasiâb lived, and that therefore they mixed up historical events which had occurred only a century or two before their times with some other event which occurred a long time before. Again, in connection with this event, Dr. Darmesteter says,

on the authority of Tabari (17), "the legendary history of Yemen tells of the Tubbâh Abu Kurrub's invasion into Mesopotamia and his struggles with the Turânians of Adarbaigan." But Tabari makes this Tubbâh a contemporary of Kings Gushtasp and Bahaman of Persia (18). If that is the case, then it appears, according to Tabari, that the Arabs had a footing in Mesopotamia in the time of king Goshtâsp, i. e., several centuries before the Parthian rule. Thus the arguments based by Darmesteter (that the texts in which Zohak is made to settle at Bawri and in which Zainigau is represented as being killed by Afrâsiab are texts written in the latter half of the Arsacide period) upon the assumption that "the oldest periods known when the Arabs settled along the Euphrates and the Tigris in the second half of the Arsacide period" fall to ground.

Another point, that Darmesteter dwells upon to support his theory, is this that "the Avesta seems to ignore the existence of an Iranian empire. The highest political unity is the *dahyu*, a name which in the inscriptions of Darius denoted the satrapies, i. e., the provincial kingdoms . . . the highest political power is the *danhupaiti*, the chief of a *dahyu*." Hence he infers that the Avesta was written in the times of the Parthian dynasty after the fall of the empire when there were so many provincial kings but no Shahinshah, no emperor.

But here Darmesteter commits a mistake in taking a *dahyu* in the sense of a satrapy in which it is used in the inscriptions of Darius. We ought to take it in the sense in which it is used in the Avesta itself. In the Avesta it is not used in the sense of a provincial kingdom but in that of an extensive country.

There is a passage common to all Afringans (Westergaard Afringân 1-14) wherein the worshipper asks the blessings of God upon all the good reigning sovereigns. Just as in the Farvardin Yasht are invoked the Fravashis of the holy men of all countries, Îrân, Turân, Sairim Saini (China) and Dahi, so here blessings are invoked upon all good reigning sovereigns (Khshathrayân *danhupaiti*). The Avesta praises good order and peaceful rule. It says "down with the tyrant." ("Dush-pâdshâhân âvâdashân bâd," Nirang-kusti. "Dâná pâdshâ-bâd

(17) Zotenburg I., p. 504.

(18) "Ce roi vivait du temps de Goushtasp et de Bahman." Zotenburg I., p. 505.

duzdânâ avadashân bad" Afrin), but may good kings flourish in all parts of the world. Now if the word 'dāhupaiti' used in this passage meant a mere provincial chief, the passage would, according to Darmesteter, point to several provincial chiefs. If that is so, it requires an explanation why Tansar who is supposed to have taken liberty with the philosophic part of the Avesta and who wanted to bring about the unity of the empire through the unity of the church did not alter this passage. This is a passage which was, as now, recited daily in hundreds of fire-temples of Iran and in thousands of houses, and therein the blessings of God were invoked upon all the ruling provincial chiefs. Ardeshir is represented by Darmesteter on the authority of Tansar's letter to have tried to extinguish the sacred fires of the provincial kingdoms to preserve the unity of the empire by the unity of the royal fire. It is strange then that he should have allowed to remain this most important passage in the Avesta which acknowledged the sovereignty of several provincial rulers.

This consideration tends to show that the word *dāhupaiti* does not refer to mere provincial chiefs and that the argument based on the meaning of this word is vague. In his French translation Darmesteter says:—

"Vishtāspa lui-même dans les Gāthas n'a point la physionomie d'un Roi des Rois. C'est un prince qui a donné sa protection à Zoroastre contre d'autres princes : rien ne le distingue des *dāhupaitis* ordinaires." (19) What Darmesteter means by this passage is this that there was no empire even before the Achemenians. There were a number of provincial chiefs. Granted. Then what grounds have Darmesteter to conclude that the fact that the Avesta ignores the existence of an Iranian empire shows that it was written in the times of the provincial chiefs of the Parthian dynasty? It may as well have been written in the times of the provincial chiefs of the *pre*-Achemenian times.

Let us look to this question from another point of view. If the present Avesta does not speak of an Iranian empire and of a king of kings, the Cuneiform inscriptions do speak of a king of kings ("khsāyathiya khsāyathiyānām," Behistoun I-1). Now if the Cunei-

(19) Zend Avesta III., p. xli.

form inscriptions recognise an empire and a king of kings, it is clear that their contemporary writings the "Grand Avesta" must have also recognised a king of kings. The question then is Who did away with the mention of this king of kings from the Sassanian Avesta? The answer perhaps would be that either Valkhash or somebody in the Parthian times, finding the Iranian empire divided into small provincial kingdoms, removed from the Avesta the passages referring to the king of kings. If that was the case, why did not Tansar, who is represented as taking all possible liberties with the Avesta, re-insert similar passages which would have been of great use to him in uniting the power and the authority of his new master and emperor Ardeshir. To establish the unity of the empire, he wanted the unity of the church. So a re-insertion of similar passages ought to have drawn his attention first of all in revising the Avesta, if he at all took liberty with it by adding to or by modifying the original.

We now come to the subject of the Greek influence upon the Avesta.

To support his post-Alexandrian theory, Darmesteter points to an instance of the Greek influence upon Zoroastrian schools. He refers to the four periods of three thousand years each, referred to by the ancient Persians as the period of the duration of the world. The *pre*-Alexandrian doctrine of the Persians described by Theopompus as quoted by Plutarch is "that Oromosdes ruled for 3,000 years alone and Areimanios for 3,000 more. After this period of 6,000 years had elapsed they began to wage war against each other, one attempting to destroy the other; but finally Areimanios is to perish, mankind is to enjoy a blessed state of life; men will neither be any more in need of food nor will they cast shadows; the dead are to rise again; men will be immortal and everything is to exist in consequence of their progress."⁽²⁰⁾

Now the Pehelvi Bundelesh refers to the same doctrine, but according to Darmesteter it differs in the description of the first two periods. The Bundelesh says: "Auharmazd through omniscience knew that Aharman exists and whatever he schemes he infuses with malice and greediness till the end; and because he accomplished end by many means, he also produced spiritually

(²⁰) Haug's *Essays*, 2nd ed., p. 8-9.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER LII.

ART.

- IX.—Interpretation of certain passages in the *Pañcha Sādhāntikā* of Varāhamihira. By M. P. KHARDEAT, U.C.S. ... 4
- X.—Mahmud of Ghazni and the Legend of Somnāth. By R. P. KARRARIA 11
- XI.—Mandu. By J. M. CAMPBELL, LL.D., C.I.E., U.C.S. ... 17
- XII.—The Tree Blossomed. Shivaji as a Civil Ruler. By the Hon. Mr. Justice M. G. BANARJE, M.A., LL.B., C.I.E. ... 29
- XIII.—The Teleology of the Pahlavi *Shikand Gumanik Vist* and Cicero's *De Natura Deorum*. By R. P. KARRARIA ... 37
- XIV.—Firdausi on the Indian Origin of the Game of Go. By JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, B.A. 47
- XV.—Cashmere and the Ancient Persians. By JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, B.A. 57
- XVI.—The Portuguese in South Kanara. By J. GONCALVES DA CUNHA, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., K.C.J. 67
- XVII.—The Antiquity of the Avesta. By JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, B.A. 77

Proceedings of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society from January 1895 to June 1896 107

List of Presents to the Library... .. 110

63
[No. LIII.]

[Vol. XIX.]

THE JOURNAL
OF THE
BOMBAY BRANCH
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

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the creatures which were necessary for those means, and they remained three thousand years in a spiritual state, so that they were unthinking and unmoving with intangible bodies. The evil spirit, on account of backward knowledge, was not aware of the existence of Aûharmazd; and afterwards he arose from the abyss and came in unto the light which he saw. Desirous of destroying, and because of his malicious nature, he rushed in to destroy that light of Aûhurmazd, unassailed by fiends, and he saw its bravery and glory were greater than his own; so he fled back to the gloomy darkness and formed many demons and fiends, and the creatures of the destroyer arose for violence." (West's *Bundehesh* I., 8-10.)

Now, Darmesteter says that the latter doctrine of the *Bundehesh* is quite mystical. He says: "That period of spiritual ideal existence of the world preceding its material and sensible opposition reminds one strikingly of the Platonic ideas, and it can hardly have entered Zoroastrianism before Greek philosophy penetrated the East."

In the first place, Theopompus has made a brief reference to the four periods of the world's duration. He has summed up in his words the Zoroastrian doctrine about these periods. So, as long as he has not given any detailed description of those periods as given by the *Bundehesh*, one cannot affirm that there is a difference between these two statements of the same doctrine. The very fact that he has tried to describe the last two periods and not the first two, rather shows that perhaps he did not clearly understand what Darmesteter calls "the mystical spirit of the Zoroastrian doctrine."

Now, for the Platonic ideas, one must look to the *Farvardin Yasht*, which speaks at some length of the *Fravashis* or *Farohars* which are, as Dr. West says, the immaterial existences, the prototypes, the spiritual counterparts of the spiritual and material creatures afterwards produced, and which are therefore compared to the 'ideas' of Plato. A comparison of some points in the description of the 'ideas' of Plato and the *Fravashis* of the *Avesta* will clearly show whether it is the *Avesta* that has borrowed or Plato that has borrowed.

Let us see "of what things," according to Taylor, the best translator of the *Parmenides*, there are ideas. He says: "There are ideas only of universal and perfect substances and of whatever contributes to the perfection of these, as, for instance, of man,

and whatever is perfective of man, such as wisdom and virtue." Thus, according to Plato, all perfect substances in the universe have ideas.

In the Avesta it is the vegetable and the animal world that has Fravashis, and not the mineral world. The earth has its Fravashi as the home of animal and vegetable life. It is only the life-bearing creation that has the Fravashis, not the lifeless. To speak scientifically it is the objects of the organic kingdom that have the Fravashis, and not those of the inorganic kingdom.

Now, what is the case with the 'ideas' of Plato? According to Plato, all existing objects have their ideas, whether they belong to the organic kingdom or to the inorganic. The ideas are the realities, and the substances of which they are the ideas or models are non-realities or mere imitations of the ideas.

Again, according to Plato, whatever contributes to the perfection of perfect substances have 'ideas.' For example, not only has a man an 'idea,' but wisdom and virtue, which contribute to the perfection of man have ideas. So have justice, and beauty, and goodness. Now, in the Avesta, we have nothing like this. We have no Fravashis of these abstract qualities of justice, beauty, or goodness.

Then, what does this show? That the Avesta borrowed from Plato or that Plato borrowed from the Avesta? The system of the Avesta is simple. All the life-bearing or organic substances only have their Fravashis or spiritual parts. The dead people have their Fravashis, because they had them in their living condition. But Plato, as it were, developed his own system from that of the Avesta. He extended the notion even to the objects of the inorganic world and to qualities which led to perfection, and again mixed up with the question, the notion of realities and non-realities. Thus we find that Plato's system is more intricate than that of the Avesta. What conclusion then is possible? That the more developed and intricate system is later than the simple one; that it has worked out its development or completion from the original simple one. Thus one sees that the Avesta system is older than that of Plato.

Darmesteter attributes these Platonic ideas in the Avesta to the times of the Neo-Platonists, the school founded by Philo Judæus. But we have seen above that the Farvardin Yasht, a part of which treats of the Fravashis, must have been written long before the

store of different ideas, and a wide review of the different directions of philosophical thought." (*Beeton.*)

"Du III^e siècle de l'ère chrétienne jusqu'à VI^e les Neo-Platoniciens entreprirent de fondre la philosophie orientale avec la philosophie grecque. Des tentatives analogues avaient été faites précédemment par des philosophes juifs d'Alexandrie, par Aristobule peut être et certainement par Philon dans le I^{er} siècle." Herein lies, then, the key why some of the notions of the Avesta resemble those of the Neo-Platonists. It was the Neo-Platonists who took some of their notions from the Persian religion and philosophy as from other religions and philosophies. Darmesteter has just missed the key note, and so has tried in vain to find reasons for the similarity of notions in the Avesta and in Neo-Platonism.

This very consideration and the above quoted statement from Plutarch destroy the theory based by Darmesteter upon the names of the three demons, *viz.*, Indra, Saurva and Naunghaithya, opposed to the three Amesha Spentas, Asha Vashista, Khshathra Vairya and Spenta Armaiti. From the fact that the names of the three demons are also found in Brahminical works, he thinks that they represent foreign Brahminical element borrowed by the Avesta in later times. He says "it appears clear thereby that their present character is not the result of a prolonged evolution in the inner circle of Zoroastrianism." The above statement from Plutarch contradicts this *in toto*, and clearly points out that the notion of the Amesha Spentas and their counter-acting opponents the 'daevas' is specially Zoroastrian and pre-Alexandrian.

Again, Darmesteter points to two passages of the Avesta wherein he supposes there are references to Gaotama Buddha and to his religion. Firstly, the word Buity (Vend. XI., 7 ; XIX., 43) which he thinks to be the same as Baodha, is a word which refers to one of the evil forces of the soul. The word occurs among other similar words which speak of moral vices. This shows that it is not a proper noun. Again, Darmesteter points to the word Gaotama in the Farvardin Yasht (13) and says that it is a reference to Gaotama Buddha. As it was under the Indo-Greeks (first century before Christ) that Buddhism spread widely in the eastern provinces of Irân, and as in the first century of our era Kanishka's coins present in an instructive eclecticism the deities of the Indo-Scythian empire, Greek gods, Brahminical deities, Buddha and the principal Yazatas of Mazdeism," he concludes

that "if the alleged allusions to Buddhism are accepted, the Avesta passages where they occur cannot have been written earlier than the second century before our era." But then the question is if the Farvardin Yasht wherein occur these passages were written so late as the second century after Christ, why is it that we do not find therein the names of men like Valkhash who had done, according to the Dinkard, important services to the cause of the Zoroastrian religion. The list of the historical personages in the Farvardin Yasht was closed long before the Christian era.

Darmesteter speaks at some length about what he calls the Jewish elements in the Avesta. This part of the question has been very ably lately handled by learned scholars like Dr. Mills and Dr. Cheyne, who have tried to show that the Jewish scriptures owe a good deal to Zoroastrian scriptures. I will allude to one point only and close, and that is the subject of the Deluge. Darmesteter sees, like others, in the second chapter of the Vendidad, a description of the Deluge. I have shown elsewhere ⁽²¹⁾ that though there are several points which are similar in the Hebrew sketch of Noah and the Avesta sketch of Yama or Jamshed, the second chapter of the Vendidad refers, not to the Deluge, but to the founding and building of the city of Airyana-Vaêja.

(21) J. Jamshed, Hom and Âtash.

Index to the Transactions of the Literary Society, Bombay,

Vols. I.—III., and to the Journals of the B. B. R. A. Society,

Vols. I.—XVII., with a Historical Sketch of the Society. By Rs. a. p.

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----- XII., 1854-1856	2	0	0
----- XIII., 1856-1857	2	0	0
----- XIV., 1857-1858	2	0	0
----- XV., 1858-1860	2	0	0
----- XVI., 1860-1862	2	0	0
----- XVII., 1863-1864	2	0	0
----- XVIII., 1865-1867	2	0	0
----- XIX., 1868-1873	2	0	0

Index to the Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society,

Vols. 1 to 17, with Catalogue of the Library. By D. J.

Kennelly, Honorary Secretary 5 0 0

CONTENTS OF NUMBER III.

ART.	PAGE
IX.—Interpretation of certain passages in the <i>Upanishad</i> <i>Sādhāntikā</i> of Varāhamihira. By M. P. KHARWAT, I.C.S.	104
X.—Mahmūd of Ghazni and the Legend of Somnāth. By R. P. KARKARIA	110
XI.—Mandu. By J. M. CAMPBELL, LL.D., D.I.E., I.C.S.	116
XII.—The Tree Blossomed. Shivaji as a Civil Ruler. By the Hon. Mr. Justice M. G. BANADE, M.A., LL.M., C.I.E.	122
XIII.—The Teleology of the Pahlavi <i>Shikand Nama</i> and Cicero's <i>De Natura Deorum</i> . By R. P. KARKARIA...	128
XIV.—Firdousi on the Indian Origin of the Game of Chess. By JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, B.A.	134
XV.—Cashmere and the Ancient Persians. By JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, B.A.	140
XVI.—The Portuguese in South Kanara. By J. GANESH DA GUHA, M.B.C.S., L.R.C.P., K.C.J.	146
XVII.—The Antiquity of the Avesta. By JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, B.A.	152
—————	
Proceedings of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society from January 1895 to June 1896	158
List of Presents to the Library... ..	162

No. LIII.]

[Vol. XIX.]

THE JOURNAL
OF THE
BOMBAY BRANCH
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

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No. X. (1845)...	2 0 0	No. XXXIX. (1881)...	2 0 0
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No. XIII. (1850)...	2 8 0	ber (Dr. Peterson's	
No. XIV. (1851)...	2 8 0	Report on Sanskrit	
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No. XV. (1852)...	2 8 0	cle), 1882-83 ...	2 0 0
No. XVI. (1852)...	2 8 0	No. XLII. (1883-84)	3 0 0
No. XVII. (1853)...	2 8 0	No. XLIII. (1885)...	3 0 0
Vol. V.—		Vol. XVII.—	
No. XVIII. (1853)...	2 8 0	No. XLIV. Extra	
No. XIX. (1854)...	3 0 0	Number (Dr. Peter-	
No. XX. (1857)...	3 0 0	son's Report on Sans-	
Vol. VI.—		krit MSS., Bombay	
No. XXI. (1862)...	3 0 0	Circle), 1883-84 ...	2 0 0
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No. XXII. ...	3 0 0	Number (Dr. Peter-	
Vol. VIII.—		son's Report on Sans-	
No. XXIII. (1863-65)	3 0 0	krit MSS., Bombay	
No. XXIV. (1865-66)	3 0 0	Circle), 1884-86 ...	3 0 0
Vol. IX.—		Vol. XVII.—	
No. XXV. (1867-68)	3 0 0	No. XLVI. (1887)...	2 8 0
No. XXVI. (1869)...	3 0 0	No. XLVII. (1889)...	3 0 0
No. XXVII. (1870)...	3 0 0	Vol. XVIII.—	
Vol. X.—		No. XLVIII. (1891)...	2 0 0
No. XXVIII. (1871-72)	3 0 0	No. XLIX. (1892)...	3 0 0
No. XXIX. (1873-74)	3 0 0	No. XLIXA. Extra	
No. XXX. (1874)...	2 0 0	Number (Dr. Peter-	
Vol. XI.—		son's Report on Sans-	
No. XXXI. (1875)...	3 9 0	krit MSS., Bombay	
No. XXXII. (1876)...	2 8 0	Circle), 1886-92 ...	3 0 0
Vol. XII.—		No. L. (September 1892	
No. XXXIII. (1876)...	3 4 0	to March 1894) ...	3 0 0
No. XXXIV. (1876)...	3 8 0	No. LI. (March to De-	
		cember 1894) ...	2 0 0
		No. LII. January 1895	
		to Ju ...	3 0 0

ART. XVIII.—*Akbar and the Parsees*. BY R. P. KARKARIA, Esq.

[Read 8th August 1896.]

When the Emperor Akbar, disappointed with the faith of Islam, professed by his fathers and by the State, started on an earnest enquiry after the best religion for men, he resolved to examine all the existing creeds that he could, and bestow patient toil on the discovery of the truth. If he could not discover any one among the existing religions which could satisfy his need, he resolved to find out the true elements in each, and combining them together, to set up a new faith. For this purpose he assembled the representatives of many sects and various creeds at his court, and built a special palace for their meetings, called the Ibadat-Khana, at Fatehpur-Sikhri. There he himself presided over their discussions, encouraging everyone to come out with his views without fear of repression. All the great religions of the world were represented before the Emperor. First and foremost was, of course, Islam, the nominal State religion, whose learned doctors naturally disliked such discussions and had scant sympathy with the enlightened object of their Emperor. They had, however, to be present and argue, as best they might and could, for the excellence of their religion above all others, and refute the claims of rival creeds. Used hitherto to be treated with special favour at court and to look down upon these creeds with contempt and intolerance, they did not always behave well under these novel circumstances, and betook themselves to strange methods of defence. This led on occasions to great confusions and uproar, when the meetings had to be adjourned to let the heated passions cool down. Even the Emperor's presence was at times not respected, and the bigoted Ulemas taunted and threatened his trusted advisers like Abul Fazl, Faizi, and Bir Bal, whom they held responsible for all his religious vagaries, in the face of their royal master. One of these, a grandee named Shahbaz Khan, once said openly to Bir Bal at one of these meetings: "you cursed infidel, do you talk in this manner? It would not take me long to settle you!" Whereupon the Emperor scolded him in particular, and all

the other Ulemas in general, saying: "would that a shoeful of excrement were thrown into your faces!"¹

Then there were the expounders of Hinduism, the faith of the vast majority of Akbar's Indian subjects. He listened attentively to their doctrines and favoured their views. He not only discussed with them in public, but saw them privately in his palace, and was influenced much by them. The historian, Badaoni, gives a curious instance of how the Emperor used to receive these men. "A Brahman named Debi," says he, "who was one of the interpreters of the Mahabharata, was pulled up the walls of the castle sitting on a *char-poi*, till he arrived near a balcony which the Emperor had made his bed-chamber. Whilst thus suspended, he instructed his Majesty in the secrets and legends of Hinduism, in the manner of worshipping idols, the fire, the sun, the stars, and of revering the chief gods of these unbelievers."²

Akbar's surroundings, his Rajput wives, his Hindu advisers and generals, like Todar Mal and Bir Bal, his taste for Sanskrit literature and philosophy, which he had translated into Persian, made him lean considerably towards Hinduism. Buddhism, too, was brought to his notice and was also not without influence upon him. Professor Max Müller says that "Abul Fazl, the minister of Akbar, could find no one to assist him in his enquiries respecting Buddhism."³ But Badaoni says distinctly that "Samanas" were interviewed by Akbar along with the Brahmans. Now, these "Samanas" are rightly interpreted by Professor Cowell and Mr. Lowe as Buddhist ascetics, "Shramanas," in fact. Professor Max Müller himself seems to have conjectured this, as he puts this query to the word of Badaoni on p. 90: "Is not Sumani meant for Samana, *i.e.*, Shramana?" The cause

¹ Badaoni, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Calcutta edition, by Moulvi Agha Ahmed Ali, vol. ii., p. 274.

There are two essays on Akbar's religion, *vis.*, Vans Kennedy's in the *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay*, 1818, and Prof. H. H. Wilson's in the *Quarterly Oriental Magazine*, Calcutta, 1824. Kennedy had not got Badaoni before him, but relied on an extract from that historian given in a later Indian compilation the *Gool-e-Rano*. Wilson was the first to use Badaoni. I have not used either, or Rehatsak's imperfect translation of passages from Badaoni (Bombay, 1869), because I have gone to the original sources themselves.

² Badaoni, Calcutta edition, vol. ii., p. 257. Lowe, p. 265.

³ *Introduction to Science of Religion*, p. 24.

of his hesitation seems to be the misinterpretation of Blochmann, who, following Arabic dictionaries, calls them "a sect in Sind who believe in the transmigration of souls (tanasuk)." ⁴

Besides Mahomedans, Hindoos and Buddhists, Akbar took great care to have the representatives of the great Christian faith of which he had heard. He requested the Portuguese authorities at Goa to send him missionary priests who could expound the mysteries of their faith. Learned and pious priests were accordingly sent from Goa to Akbar's court. An account of their travels and mission may be read in Hugh Murray's "Discoveries in Asia" (vol. ii.). But the best account of what they did at the Mogul court, and of their influence on the monarch, is doubtless that contained in the work of the Jesuit Father Catrou, who based his "History of the Mogul Empire" on the manuscript Memoirs of the Venetian physician, Manucci, who resided for 48 years at the Mogul court. I am glad to be able to state that my friend Mr. Archibald Constable, who has given us a scholarly edition of Bernier, is going to edit the complete work of Catrou from a rare manuscript which he has recently secured. Bartoli's Italian History is also very important in this connection. Akbar's attitude towards Christianity is a very interesting problem, not free from uncertainty and doubt, and may be treated on another occasion. The Mohamedan historian notes that "learned monks also came from Europe, who are called *Padre*, and have an infallible head called, *Papa*, who is able to change religious ordinances as he may deem advisable for the moment, and to whose authority kings must submit, brought the Gospel and advanced proofs for the Trinity. His Majesty firmly believed in the truth of the Christian religion, and, wishing to spread the doctrines of Jesus, ordered Prince Murad to take a few lessons in Christianity under good auspices, and charged Abul Fazl to translate the Gospel." ⁵

There were, moreover, Jews, Sufis, Shiahs, Hanefites, and various other religious and philosophical sects represented before Akbar, who wanted to listen to all, theologian and philosopher, orthodox and heterodox, heretic and schismatic, rationalist and mystic, to know every shade of opinion, to receive every ray of light that he could obtain from any quarter.

⁴ *Ain-i-Akbari*, vol. i., p. 179.

⁵ *Badaoni*, vol. ii., p. 260; *Lowe*, p. 267.

There was one religion which was distinguished by its great and hoary antiquity as well as its purity, which, if it could only attract the royal enquirer's notice, could not but influence him greatly, owing to its conformity with much of Akbar's object. That was the ancient religion of Zoroaster, which, after a long spell of persecution, had been driven out of its home in Persia to seek a shelter in a corner of Akbar's dominions. This religion was historical, and must have forced itself on his notice in several ways. "Notwithstanding their paucity," says Count de Noer, the German historian of Akbar, "and political insignificance, the opinions of the Parsees exercised considerable influence on the great minds of India towards the close of the 16th Century."⁶

What Akbar did to get acquainted with this religion, and what was his attitude towards it, are the questions I propose now to consider. That he came to know this religion, and some of its chief doctrines, is certain. But how far he was influenced by it, and how much of it he adopted in the new faith that he constructed, is problematical. There is a tradition among the Parsees themselves that a priest of theirs had been called from Naosari, in Guzerat, to Akbar's court under strange circumstances, and that he so far succeeded in forcing upon the Emperor's mind the truth and excellence of his religion as actually to convert him to the Parsee faith by investing him with the sacred shirt and thread-girdle, *sulreh* and *kusti*, the outward sign of adopting that faith. The circumstances under which this priest, whose name was Mehrjee Rana, was called to Akbar's court were these exceedingly strange ones, according to the tradition. A Hindoo priest, deeply versed in the arts of magic and sorcery, Jugut Guru by name,⁷ once performed a miracle in the presence of the Emperor and his court, by sending up and suspending a large silver plate high in the sky, which looked like another sun shining in the heavens, and challenged the professors of all the religions assembled to take this new sun down, and test the powers of their faiths. Akbar, of course, called upon the Ulemas to do this and refute the Hindoo. But they could not do it themselves. Hence they were in anxious search of some one who could do this and disgrace the infidel. They were told

⁶ *Emperor Akbar*, vol. i., p. 21. (I quote from Mrs. Beveridge's excellent translation, which is in many respects superior to M. Maury's French).

⁷ *Sic* in the tradition; but, of course, Jagat Guru is a title assumed by the heads of various Hindu sects.

that a priest in Naosari could do this, if he were called. At their suggestion Akbar sent for him. He came ; he saw ; he conquered. By reciting his prayers and by other incantations he broke the power of the Hindoo's magic, and the pseudo-sun came down, plate as it was, and fell at Akbar's feet ! Akbar was astonished, as well he might be. The Parsee priest was received with awe. He expounded his faith to Akbar, and convinced him so well as to make him a Parsee. This is the Parsee tradition, long cherished by the people and circulated in various forms in prose and verse. There are some poems about this triumph of Mehrjee Rana, sung by Khialis, or itinerant minstrels, and others in Guzerat and Bombay.⁸

But now as to the validity of this tradition. After a diligent search I can find no historical proof of it whatever. None of the numerous great histories of this reign notice it at all ; and it need hardly be said that, if such a highly improbable, if not impossible, event happened at all, it must have been mentioned and detailed by the writers who are generally very fond of relating the marvellous. Badaoni, who mentions many other so-called miraculous or thaumaturgic feats of *jogis* and Mahomedan saints, as, for instance, that of the *Anuptalao*, the lake filled with copper coins, does not say a word about this. There is nothing about it in the *Dabistan*, the other great authority for Akbar's religious history. Neither the Akbar Nama of Abul Fazl, the official history, nor the excellent *Tabakat-i-Akbari* of Nizam-ud-din, mentions it. Nay, not even the name of Mehrjee Rana, the Parsee priest, occurs anywhere in any historical work as having gone to Akbar's court at all. A paper has been put into my hands by the present descendants of this Mehrjee Rana, who still live in Naosari, in which what are called historical authorities are given for the abovementioned traditions. The writer of this quotes what purport to be passages from three famous historians of Akbar, *viz.*, Badaoni, Abul Fazl, and the author of the *Tabakat-i-Akbari*, in each of which the tradition is fully and emphatically mentioned. But, strange to relate, I do not find just those passages in these historians ! They are conspicuous by their absence in the

⁸ These poems, which are mere doggerel, were composed, I find on enquiry, by hireling rhymesters a generation or two ago, as may be seen from language in which they are written. There were several such professional rhymesters who composed any number of such doggerel verses in praiseworthy body who paid them for their labour.

excellent editions of Badaoni and Abul Fazl, published by the Bengal Asiatic Society in the *Bibliotheca Indica*! The copyist says that they are to be found in the copies at Agra, from which a Mahomedan Munshi had transcribed them for the information of the Parsees. But this may be dismissed as an instance of interpolation on the part of that Munshi, very likely a forgery by the copyist himself. If passages are wanted in Persian manuscripts, there is nothing so certain as that they will appear somehow! One who has any experience of Persian historians and their manuscripts will readily understand this. Sir Henry Elliot, who knew them all intimately, mentions several instances of impudent and interested frauds by Persian compilers, and warns us to be on our guard against "the blunders arising from negligence and ignorance; the misquoting of titles, dates and names; the ascription to wrong authors; the absence of beginnings and endings; the arbitrary substitution of new ones to complete a mutilated manuscript; the mistakes of copyists; the exercise of ingenuity in their corrections and of fancy in their additions."⁹

Let us now look to the historical sources for the reign of Akbar about his relation to the Parsees. Abul Fazl, as is well known, has only one short chapter, Ain 77, book i, on Akbar's religious opinions. He does not dilate on them in his great work, because he meant to write a special treatise on this subject. But that treatise unfortunately he did not live to write. The fullest account of his religious views may be obtained, and their progress traced, in the great work of Abdul Kader Badaoni. The only passage in his whole work where he mentions the Parsee religion is this:—"Fire-worshippers also came from Naosari in Gujarat, proclaimed the religion of Zardusht as the true one, and declared reverence to fire to be superior to every other kind of worship. They also attracted the Emperor's regard, and taught him the peculiar terms, the ordinances, the rites and ceremonies of the Kaianians. At last he ordered that the sacred fire should be made over to the charge of Abul Fazl, and that, after the manner of the Kings of Persia, in whose temples blazed perpetual fires, he should take care it was never extinguished night or day, for that it is one of the signs of God, and one light from the many lights of His creation."¹⁰

The author of the *Dabistan*, the famous book on the various

⁹ *History of India and its Historians*, vol. I., p. 11, ed. 1848. Vol. I., p. 18, ed. Dowson, 1867.

¹⁰ Vol. ii., 261, Cal. ed.; W. Lowe, p. 269.

religious and philosophical sects of the time in Asia, which may be called a veritable encyclopædia of Oriental religions, gives a fuller and more detailed account. "In like manner," he says, "the fire-worshippers, who had come from the town of Naosari, situated in the district of Guzerat, asserted the truth of the religion of Zoroaster and the great reverence and worship due to fire. The Emperor called them to his presence, and was pleased to take information about the way and lustre of their wise men. He also called from Persia a follower of Zardusht, named Ardeshir, to whom he sent money; he delivered the sacred fire with care to the wise Shaikh Abul Fazl, and established that it should be preserved in the interior apartment by night and day, perpetual henceforth, according to the rule of the Mobeds, and to the manner which was always practised in the fire-temples of the Kings of Ajem, because the *Iti Set* was among the sentences of the Lord,¹¹ and light from among the lights of the great Ized. He invited likewise the fire-worshippers from Kirman to his presence, and questioned them about the subtleties of Zardusht's religion; and he wrote letters to Azer Kaivan, who was a chief of the Yezdanian and Abadanian, and invited him to India. Azer Kaivan begged to be excused from coming, but sent a book of his composition in praise of the self-existing being, of reason, the soul, the heavens, the stars, and the elements, as well as a word of advice to the King; all this contained in fourteen sections; every first line of each was in Persian pure *deri*; when read invertedly it was Arabic, when turned about, Turkish, and when this was read in reversed order it became Hindi."¹²

This shows clearly that the priest Ardeshir of Kerman took a prominent part in leading Akbar to Parseeism. The discussions at Akbar's court between the various religious and philosophical sects were carried on with ability; and, to judge from the specimens of them that we have in this *Dabistan*, and also in the *Akbar Nama*, their representatives must have been learned men. The arguments brought forward by the various disputants show great acumen and knowledge, and I do not think that an obscure priest in a corner of Guzerat would have been able to take part in discussions showing such skill and dialectical ability. They show a knowledge of other religions and other general information about history and philosophy

¹¹ *Sic* in Shea and Troyer. There is a slight discrepancy here between the original and the translation, but this is immaterial for our purpose.

¹² Troyer and Shea, vol. iii., pp. 95-6.

which it is vain to look for in a priest of Naosari. Ardeshir was, on the contrary, known as a learned doctor of Zoroastrianism, and he was considered of importance enough to be invited all the way from Kerman in Persia, and it is recorded in the *Dabistan* that money for his travelling expenses was sent by Akbar.¹³ Another circumstance also points to this. Ardeshir was invited some years after Mehrjee Rana is supposed to have gone to the Mogul court. This shows that Akbar must have been dissatisfied with the priests from Naosari whom Badaoni mentions, and, seeing that they could not teach him much, determined to go further afield and invite Ardeshir and other Parsees from Kerman.¹⁴ Mehrjee Rana may have gone to Akbar's court, as his family possesses a grant of 300 *bigahs* of land from the Mogul court, said to have been given by Akbar to Mehrjee on his departure from Delhi.¹⁵ But that he took any great part in the religious and philosophical discussions that were carried on in the Emperor's presence, cannot be maintained. Badaoni, as well as the *Dabistan*, merely says that fire worshippers came from Naosari, and does not single out one of them as having done anything noteworthy. Then, where is the reason for exalting Mehrjee above his fellow-travellers? And, then, who were those other persons who had gone from Naosari to Delhi? Naosari itself stood in need of religious enlightenment three centuries ago, and could not be supposed to spare much of it for Delhi. Akbar must, out of curiosity, have called Parsees from his own recently conquered province of Guzerat for

¹³ Vide Blochmann in *Jour. Ben. Asiat. Soc.*, 1868, p. 14.

¹⁴ The Editor of the *Futuh-i-Jehangiri*, prepared under the orders of Akbar, says that Ardeshir was deeply versed in the lore of the Parsees and was a great scholar of the Zend Avesta. Now the fact that he was specially invited all the way from Persia clearly shows that the Parsi priests of Guzerat who had previously been to Akbar's court were found wanting in any knowledge of the meaning of the Avesta. This is proved also by the general state of ignorance in which the Indian Parsees then were steeped.

¹⁵ The testimony of this grant, too, is very doubtful, as it is not in the name of Mehrjee Rana, but of his son, and was granted several years after that priest's death. The services for which it was given are also not mentioned in it, and the land may have been given for services quite other than those pretended by the priest's family. Now, as Mehrjee Rana's name is not mentioned in any historical book whatever, and is not found even in this family-grant, the mainstay of his family's pretended claim to his having worked the miracle and converted Akbar, I am disposed to doubt the fact of his ever having gone to Akbar's court at all.

information, but, seeing that he could not get much out of them, he had to call others from Persia. This, I think, is a legitimate inference.¹⁶

The state of the Parsees of Guzerat at those times abundantly confirms this inference, that none of them could have possessed the requisite ability to take any part in the learned and philosophic discussions of the Ibadatkhana. We have some historical records which prove clearly that their standard of knowledge was very low and that there were no men among them of even ordinary learning. They were a down-trodden people among unsympathetic aliens, entirely absorbed in obtaining a decent livelihood. This very Mehrjee Rana and his family were farmers, supporting themselves by tilling the ground. The clergy and the laity were alike ignorant and indifferent. The Parsee historical manuscripts called *Revayets*, of which there are a goodly number—enable us to judge of the state of knowledge among these people during the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They lay bare a state of the grossest ignorance about religion and even its most ordinary and elementary matters. It is a matter of notoriety among Parsees that for centuries their ancestors in Guzerat knew very little about their religion. The compiler of the *Parsee Prakash*¹⁷ is constrained to say, under year 1478:

¹⁶ Persia, the original home of the Zoroastrian religion, was the place from which the ignorant Parsees of India themselves sought and obtained information and knowledge of their own religion during the fifteenth, sixteenth and following centuries. *Vide* Anquetil du Perron, *Zend Avesta*, Tome Ier. p. ccxxiii. Prof. Max Müller also supports the same inference about Ardeshir. "We have," says he, "the Zend Avesta, the sacred writings of the so-called fire-worshippers, and we possess translations of it far more complete and far more correct than any that the Emperor Akbar could have obtained from Ardeshir, a wise Zoroastrian whom he invited from Kerman to India."—*Science of Religion*. p. 24.

¹⁷ This work in Guzerati is a compilation in the form of annals, and is based upon materials which are selected and used uncritically. It is by no means an authoritative work, but one which must be consulted with caution and judgment. So far as it is based on solid authenticated facts, it is reliable. But in many instances its authorities are doubtful. For instance, much of the information about the early history of the Parsees in Naosari, Guzerat, is derived from a manuscript book which purports to be a copy of original documents, written by an interested party. The compiler of these annals, *Parsee Prakash*, had not seen the original documents, which were not accessible. Hence, he had to rely on the mercy of this

“After their arrival in India from Persia, the Parsees day by day grew in ignorance of their religion and ancient customs and traditions, and in religious matters they were very unenlightened.” Their ignorance was so great that they at last tried the expedient of sending messengers to Persia, asking information about religious matters from the Zoroastrians in Persia, who were kind enough to answer these queries. The first letter of religious information thus received was in 1478, and is very curious. In it information is given about the most elementary points of religious observances in which the Parsees of Naosari and Guzerat were found wanting. And such is the ignorance of the priesthood of Naosari about their sacred languages and writings that the Dasturs of Persia recommend them to send a “couple of priests to Persia in order to learn Zend and Pahlavi and thereby be able to know their religious practices.”¹⁹ After 1478, frequent letters were sent to Persia, and the answers received from the Dasturs, were recorded and treasured up in what are called *Revaqets*. For instance, in a letter sent in 1527, the famous “Ardai Viraf Nama,” which contains the Parsee traditional representation of heaven and hell, was transmitted to India as no copy existed there of even this famous book.²⁰ In 1550, many more books were asked for from Broach and sent there by the Dasturs of Persia.²⁰ Even as late as 1627, a copy of the “Vispered” was asked for from Persia.²¹ Even the *Vendidad*, one of the most important parts of the Parsee sacred writings, which had originally been brought by the refugee Parsees to India, was lost by their descendants, who had to do without it for a long time, till Ardeshir, a Persian priest from Sistan,

copyist, who has put in things laudatory of his family and party. The interpolated passages from the Persian historians to which I have alluded above are also to be found transcribed in this manuscript copy of supposed original documents. For historical purposes such a book is worthless, as anybody can pass off any book of documents as copied by him from the originals. The industry of the compiler of this *Parsee Prahash*, Mr. Bomanji B. Patel, in culling information from old files of newspapers is, however, great and commendable. To the historian with the critical faculty in him, this compilation will prove a good mine of materials; but it is of very little authority in itself.

¹⁹ *Report of Barjor Kamdin* Manuscript No. 353. Meolla Firoze Library Bombay, p. 335.

²⁰ *Report of Kamdin Khambatti*, p. 67.

²⁰ *Report of Barjor Kamdin*, p. 343.

²¹ *Report of Darab Heravzdyar*, p. 455.

came to Guzerat, about the beginning of the thirteenth century, and gave them a copy, which they translated and from which all their modern copies are derived.²² Jamasp Hakim Vilayati, another learned Persian priest, says, in the preface to his Pahlavi Furhang (MSS. Moolla Firoze Library, app. 2, No. 3), that the Parsees of Guzerat had to do without the *Furokhschi*, another most important sacred book, for nearly 1,000 years, till he gave them a copy of it in 1722.²³

There is still stronger contemporary evidence of the state of gross ignorance of the Parsees, priests and laity alike, of Naosari and other parts of Guzerat, in the sixteenth century, the very age of this Mehrjee Rana. This is in a book written in the thirties of the sixteenth century by a Parsee from Hormuzd in Persia, giving a straightforward and true account of what he saw during his travels in Naosari and the neighbouring cities. He was accompanied by another Persian, and both of them were merely lay merchants and not very learned at all. Yet even they were shocked at the gross

²² Anquetil du Perron *Zend Avesta* Tome I, pt. I., p. ccxcxiii. Westergaard, vol. I., *Zend Avesta*, p. x, also Geldner *Avesta*, 1896, p. xvi.

²³ Anquetil du Perron, p. ccxcxvi. and Jamasp in MSS. Moolla Firoze Library, Bombay, app. 2, No. 3. "The Parsees in India about a thousand years after their immigration, were no longer in possession of the genuine Hôrn plant, nor of the Frohoram Yasht. Jamasp accordingly prepared this copy for his Indian co-religionists, at the special request, in fact, of Mobed Rustomji, as we may read between the lines, . . . He heard at Bombay that Rustomji meanwhile had died. After seven days he travelled to Surat, where he was received by the three sons of Rustomji. Here he presented to the Parsees the Frawardin Yasht which he had brought with him, and the Hôrn plant. On May 23rd, 1723, he returned to Bombay, and there transcribed the Frawardin Yasht in Persian characters." Karl Geldner, *Avesta* Stuttgart, 1896, Prolegomena, p. vii. n. Cf. Dr. J. Wilson in Journal, B. B. R. A. S., vol. V., p. 506. Dr. Geldner elsewhere notes that at the time of Jamasp and Rustomji this 13th or Frawardin Yasht was in existence in the Indian Yasht MSS. p. xlv., n. 2. It is however absent from most of them, as will be seen from Dr. Geldner's own accounts of these MSS. The chief book in which it is found, Dastur Peshotun Sanjana's MS. *Khordek Avesta*, is of doubtful date. The learned Doctor says about it that "its colophon has been removed by a second hand, but copied, at all events, from the original which is gone: it bears the date A. Y. 994, A. D. 1625," p. xii. In absence of the original colophon, the date put in it by a later hand must be considered highly doubtful. The dates of Indian MSS. present a very puzzling question to inquirers owing to many forgeries and false dates inserted to increase the value of spurious later copies.

ignorance of their faith in which the Parsees of Guzerat were then hopelessly steeped. These people did not even know the most elementary facts of the faith they professed, and this Persian Parsee makes the melancholy observation that they were no better than the *durwands* or non-Zoroastrians around them. Nay, the Parsees of Guzerat knew their pitiable condition, and acknowledge it in the letter of invitation they sent to this Persian, whose name was Kaos, in these penitential words: "Though you are laymen, you are our priests; for our laity in India do not know their religion, and our faith is corrupted by our having gone astray. And all our laity have accepted the ways of *durwands*, or infidels, and *there are none to aid them in religious knowledge.*" This was written by the leader of the Naosari society which was supposed to contain our pretended learned men. We will not quote further from this interesting account, called the "Kissah-Kaoo va Afshad," which is the first part of a book called the *Hadesa Nama*, or an account of the evil days of the Parsees. In truth, it furnishes a gloomy picture of the degraded state of that people in the middle of the sixteenth century. *Ex uno disce omne.* This is typical of several centuries. This period has been neglected in the "History of the Parsees," by my learned and respected friend, Mr. Dosabhai Framjee Karaka, C.S.I., but I am hopeful that this and other defects in his work will be remedied in the new edition now preparing.

Now let us turn to the influence of the Parsee religion upon Akbar. That he studied it deeply and was struck by it, is clear. But what did he adopt of it, when he constructed his *Tauhid-i-Ilahi*, his "Divine Monotheism," upon the good that he found in the existing religions? As I have shown elsewhere, Akbar at first established a pure and simple monotheism, without any symbols or any rites. But later on, when he saw the necessity of outward visible symbols to express the inner ideas, he took the Sun for his great symbol of God. As Tennyson makes him say:—

Let the Sun
Who heats our Earth to yield us grain and fruit,
And laughs upon thy field as well as mine,
And warms the blood of Shiah and Sunnee,
Symbol the eternal.

This veneration for the Sun he may be said to have taken from the Parsee religion, which, as is well known, venerates the Sun as the great symbol of the Eternal. Father Catrou ambiguously says in

his rare work : " He adopted from the Pagan worship the adoration of the Sun, which he practised three times a day : at the rising of that luminary, when it was at its meridian, and at its setting.²⁴ Hinduism had also something to do with this inclination of Akbar towards sun-worship. Badaoni says that Bir Bal gave him this : " The accursed Bir Bal tried to persuade the Emperor that since the sun gives light to all and ripens all grain, fruit and products of the earth and supports the life of mankind, therefore that luminary should be the object of worship and veneration ; that the face should be turned towards the rising and not towards the setting sun, *i.e.*, towards Mecca, like the Mahomedans, which is the west ; that man should venerate fire, water, stones and trees, and all natural objects, even down to cows and their dung ; that he should adopt the sectarial mark and Brahmanical thread. Several wise men at Court confirmed what he said, by representing that the sun was the ' greater light ' of the world and benefactor of its inhabitants, the patron of kings, and that kings are but his viceregents. This was the cause of the worship paid to the sun on the *Nauroz-i-Jellali*, and of his being induced to adopt that festival for the celebration of his accession to the throne."²⁵ Thus, as in every thing else, so in this, Akbar, owing to his strong eclectic bent, combined several things together. Tennyson's *Hymn to the Sun* is a beautiful embodiment of Akbar's ideas about it.

I

Once again thou flamest heavenward, once again we see thee rise,
Every morning is thy birthday gladdening human hearts and eyes,
Every morning here we greet it, bowing lowly down before thee,
Thee the Godlike, thee the changeless, in thine everchanging skies.

II

Shadow-maker, shadow-slayer, arrowing light from clime to clime,
Hear thy myriad laureates hail thee monarch in their woodland rhyme,
Warble bird, and open flower, and men, below the dense of azure,
Kneel adoring Him the Timeless in the flame that measures time.

Akbar's eclecticism is also to be found in the other thing that he may be said to have taken from the Parsee religion—the veneration of fire. We have seen how he ordered Abul Fazl to take charge of the sacred fire and to feed it continuously, thus keeping it always burn-

²⁴ *Moghul Empire*, p. 121.

²⁵ Vol. ii., p. 260, Lowe, p. 268 ; also cf. *Dabistan*, vol. iii., p. 95.

ing, as in the fire-temples of the Persians. But the Hindoos, too, have a kind of fire-worship, and Akbar must have been influenced by them, too, in this. Badaoni mentions the fact that "from early youth, in compliment to his wives, the daughters of the Rajahs of Hind, he had within the female apartments continued to burn the *hom*, which is a ceremony derived from sun-worship."²⁶ I think Badaoni's learned translator, Mr. W. H. Lowe, is wrong in his note on this *hom* when he says it is "the branch of a certain tree offered by Parsees as a substitute for *soma* juice."²⁷ The *hom* ceremony of the Hindoos is, as Blochmann rightly notes here, a kind of fire-worship, and has nothing to do with the Parsee mystic "hom" juice, in most of their sacred rites. Fire-worship, therefore, like sun-worship, Akbar must have taken from the Parsee religion and partly also from the Hindoo. The pious care with which he ordered the fire to be kept burning is, of course, peculiar only to the Zoroastrians, who are unique in this matter. The Hindoos offer sacrifices to the god of fire, but are not so solicitous about keeping it pure and always burning.

Another matter in which Akbar was brought into connection with the Parsees and indirectly influenced by them was the Calendar. Being displeased with everything Mahomedan, he tried to get rid of as many institutions and opinions connected with the established faith as he could. One of the chief of these was the Mahomedan Lunar Calendar, which was in vogue for a long time in India. He altered it and adopted the Parsee Solar Calendar, with the old Persian names of the months and days, Farvardin, Ardibehesht, &c., and Hormazd, Bahman, &c. The era he changed also, making it, like the ancient Persian kingly era begin with his accession. According to the *Min-i-Akbari*,²⁸ Akbar changed the era and established his Habi or Divine era after the Parsee model in A. H. 992, or A. D. 1584.²⁹

"His Majesty," says Abul Fazl "had long desired to introduce a new computation of years and months throughout the fair regions of Hindustan, in order that perplexity might give place to easiness. He was likewise averse to the era of the Hijra, which was of ominous signification, but because of the number of short-sighted ignorant men who believe the currency of the era to be inseparable

²⁶ Vol. ii, p. 61, Lowe, p. 269.

²⁷ P. 269 note.

²⁸ Bk. iii, intro.

²⁹ Jarrett, vol. ii., p. 31.

from religion, His Imperial Majesty, in his graciousness, dearly regarding the attachment of the hearts of his subjects, did not carry out his design of suppressing it. . . In 992 of the Novi lunar year [A. D. 1584] the lamp of knowledge received another light from the flame of his sublime intelligence and its full blaze shone upon mankind. . . The imperial design was accomplished. Amir Fathu'llah Shirazi, the representative of ancient sages, the paragon of the house of wisdom, set himself to the fulfilment of this object, and, taking as his base the recent Gurgani Canon, began the era with the accession of his Imperial Majesty. The splendour of visible sublimity which had its manifestation in the lord of the universe commended itself to this chosen one, especially as it also concentrated the leadership of the world of spirituality, and for its cognition by vessels of auspicious mind, the characteristics of the divine essence were ascribed to it, and the glad tidings of its perpetual adoption proclaimed. The years and months are natural solar without intercalation, and the Persian names of the months and days have been left unaltered. The days of the month are reckoned from 29 to 32,³⁰ and the two days of the last are called *Roz-o-Shab* (Day and Night)."

Badaoni's account of this change of the Era and Calendar is characteristic. "Since, in his Majesty's opinion, it was a settled fact that the thousand years since the time of the mission of the prophet (peace be upon him!) which was to be the period of the continuance of the faith of Islam, were now completed, no hindrance remained to the promulgation of these secret designs which he nursed in his heart. And so, considering any further respect or regard for the Shaikhs and Ulema (who were unbending and uncompromising) to be unnecessary, he felt at liberty to embark fearlessly on his design

³⁰ Cunningham has this passage of Abul Fazl in a slightly altered form, taken from Gladwin. "The months are from 29 to 30 days each. There is not any week in the Persian month, the 30 days being distinguished by different names, and in those months which have 32 days the last two are named *Roz-o-Shab* (day and night), and in order to distinguish one from the other are called first and second." Whereupon this learned antiquary comments thus: "In the account quoted from Abul Fazl, which Prinsep has also copied, the lengths of the months are said to be 'from 29 to 30 days each;' but in the old Persian Calendar of Yazdajird, they were 30 days each, the same as amongst the Parsees of the present day," *vide* Prinsep, *Indian Antiquities*, vol. ii., p. 171 (Useful Tables). The Parsees have 5 intercalary days at the end of the 12 months.

of annulling the Statutes and Ordinances of Islam, and of establishing his own cherished pernicious belief. The first command that he issued was this: that the "Era of the Thousand" should be stamped on the coins. . . . The Era of the Hijrah was now abolished, and a new era was introduced, of which the first year was the year of the Emperor's accession, *viz.*, 963.³¹ The months had the same names as at the time of the old Persian kings, and as given in the *Nicab-uccibyaân*.³² Fourteen festivals also were introduced corresponding to the feasts of the Zoroastrians; but the feasts of the Mussalmans and their glory were trodden down, the Friday prayer alone being retained, because some old decrepit silly people used to go to it. The new Era was called the *Turikh-i-Ilahi*. On copper coins and gold *mohurs* the Era of the Millennium was used, as indicating that the end of the religion of Muhammed, which was to last one thousand years, was drawing near."³³

The fourteen sacred festivals of the Parsees were also adopted by him. "When his Majesty," says Abul Fazl, "was informed of the feasts of Jamshed, and the festivals of the Parsee priests, he adopted them and used them as opportunities of conferring benefits. Again His Majesty followed the custom of the ancient Parsees, who held banquets on those days the names of which coincided with the name of a month. The following are the days which have the same name as a month: 19th Farvardin; 3rd Ardibehesht;

³¹ The new era commenced, according to Cunningham, on 15th February 1556 (B. S.); but, as Messrs. Sewell and Dikshit point out in the *Indian Calendar* recently published (London 1896), 'that day was a Saturday,' and they accordingly commence it on the 14th February.—*Indian Calendar*, p. 46 note.

³² A vocabulary in rhyme written by Abu Nasr-i-Farâhi, of Farah in Sijistan, and read, says Blochmann, for centuries, in nearly every Madrasah of Persia and India.

³³ Balaoni, *Ed. Et.* Vol. II., pp. 301, 305; Lowe, pp. 310, 310. Cf. *Dabistan*: "The Emperor further said, that one thousand years have elapsed, since the beginning of Muhammed's mission, and that this was the extent of the duration of this religion, now arrived at its term." (Vol. III. p. 98). "I have read somewhere," says General Cunningham, "that in A. II. 992, when the Hijra millenary began to draw towards its close, and Akbar was meditating the establishment of the Ilahi Era, one of his courtiers stated openly that the eras even of the greatest kings did not last beyond 1,000 years. In proof of this he cited the extinction of some Hindu era, which was abolished at the end of 1,000 years." (*Book of Indian Eras*, p. 54).

6th Khúrdád; 13th Tir; 7th Amurdád; 4th Shahriwar; 16th Mihr; 10th Aban; 9th Azar; 8th, 15th, 23rd Dai; 2nd Bahman; 5th Isfandármad. Feasts are, actually and ideally, held on each of these days. Of these, the greatest was the Naoroz or New Year's day feast, which commenced on the day the sun entered Aries and lasted till the 19th day of the first month Farvardin.³⁴

But this New Parsee Calendar disappeared soon, like most innovations of Akbar, being abolished by Aurangzib in the very second year of his reign. The historian of that monarch gives this candid reason for the abolition of the new calendar. "As this resembled," says Khafi Khan, "the system of the fire-worshippers, the Emperor, in his zeal for upholding Mahomedan rule, directed that the year of the reign should be reckoned by the Arab lunar year and months, and that in the revenue accounts also the lunar year should be preferred to the solar. The festival of the (solar) used year was entirely abolished. Mathematicians, astronomers and men who have studied history, know that . . . the recurrence of the four seasons, summer, winter, the rainy season of Hindustan, the autumn and spring harvests, the ripening of the corn and fruit of each season, the *tankwah* of the *jagirs*, and the money of the *mansabdars*, are all dependent upon the solar reckoning, and cannot be regulated by the lunar; still his religious Majesty was unwilling that the *nauroz* and the year and months of the Magi should give their names to the anniversary of his accession."³⁵

³⁴ *Ain-i-Akbari*, Bk. II., ain 22; Blochmann, Vol. I., p. 276; cf. Count de Noer, *Emperor Akbar*, Vol. II., p. 268. The account in the *Dabistan* is as follows: "On account of the difference between the era of the Hindus and that of the Hejira used by the Arabs, the Emperor introduced a new one, beginning from the first year of the reign of Humayun, which is 963 of the Hejira (A.D. 1555-6); the names of the months were those used by the kings of Ajem, and fourteen festivals in the year instituted, coinciding with those of Zardusht were named 'the years and days of *Ilahi*.' This arrangement was established by Hakim Shah Fatah' ulla Shirazi." (Shea and Troyer, Vol. III., p. 99.)

³⁵ *Muntakhabu-l-Lubab*, apud Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VII., pp. 231-4; cf. Cunningham *Indian Eras*, p. 83: "The *Ilahi* era was employed extensively, though not exclusively, on the coins of Akbar and Jehangir, and appears to have fallen into disuse early in the reign of Shah Jahan. Marsden has published a coin of this king with the date of Sanh 5 *Ilahi*, coupled with the Hijra date of 1041. But in this case the *Ilahi* date would appear to be only the *jalus* or year of the king's reign. *Numismata Orientalia*, Vol. II., p. 640.

ART. XIX.—*A Historical Survey of Indian Logic.* BY MAHADEV
RAJARAM BODAS, M.A., LL.B.

[Read 24th September 1896.]

“THE foundation of logic as a Science,” says Ueberweg, “is a work of the Greek mind, which, equally removed from the hardness of the Northern and the softness of the Oriental, harmoniously united power and impressibility.”¹ The supple mind of the Oriental is said to be wanting in the mental grip and measure required for strictly scientific thinking. Ueberweg, when he laid down the above proposition, was not wholly ignorant of the existence of *Nyāya* philosophy, but his knowledge of it seems to have been very meagre. Had he known some of the standard works of *Nyāya* and *Vaiśeṣika* systems, he would not have passed such a sweeping remark about the incapacity of the Oriental mind to develop a rigorous science like Logic. The same ignorance has led many eminent writers to belittle Indian philosophies in general or, where striking coincidences are discovered between Greek and Indian speculations, to assume a Grecian importation of philosophical ideas into India at some ancient time. Thus Niebuhr unhesitatingly asserts that the close similarity between Indian and Greek philosophies cannot be explained “except by the intercourse which the Indians had with the Græco-Macedonic kings of Bactria.”² On the other hand, there are writers like Gorres who as positively declare that the Greeks borrowed their first elements of philosophy from the Hindus. Max Müller is probably nearer the truth in saying that both Greek and Indian philosophies were autochthonic, and that neither of the two nations borrowed their thoughts from the other.³ As the human mind is alike everywhere, it is quite possible that philosophers in both India and Greece unconsciously adopted the same mode of reasoning and arrived at similar results quite independently. A closer study of Indian philosophical literature is already producing a conviction among European scholars that it is tolerably indigenous and self-consistent, and that it does not need the

¹ Dr. F. Ueberweg: *System of Logic*, p. 19.

² Thomson's *Laws of Thought*, Appendix p. 285.

³ Thomson's *Laws of Thought*, Appendix p. 285.

supposition of a foreign influence to explain any portion of it. It should also be noticed that notwithstanding many coincidences between the Indian and the Grecian currents of philosophical thought there are several features in each so peculiar as to make any intercommunion between them highly improbable. The fact, for instance, that Indian Logic retained a close similarity to Pre-Aristotelian Dialectics up to a very late time is a legitimate ground for believing that the influence of Aristotle's works was never felt in India. Besides, as a history of Indian philosophy is still unwritten, and will probably remain so for years to come, it is advisable for every student to keep an open mind on the subject. Preconceived theories, however ingenious or plausible, are more likely to mislead than help such investigations. We shall therefore assume, until the contrary is indubitably proved, that Indian philosophy, including Indian logic, is a home-grown product, created by the natural genius of the people and capable of historical treatment.

That it is possible to write a history of the *Nyāya* and *Vaiśeṣika* philosophies will be readily admitted; but a history of philosophy, such as it ought to be, presupposes a good many things, which may not find universal acceptance. It assumes, for instance, that the Indian systems of philosophy were gradually evolved out of a few broad principles by a succession of writers and under particular circumstances. The idea that philosophical speculations in India were the spontaneous brain-creations of a few mystic Brahmans dreaming high thoughts in lonely forests and totally unaffected by the passing events of the world, must be discarded once for all. There is no reason why philosophy in India should have followed a different course from what it did in Greece and other civilized countries. Systems of philosophy are as much liable to be influenced by past and contemporary events as any other branch of science or literature; and Indian philosophy should be no exception to the rule. But the task of writing such a history is beset with innumerable difficulties. The chief of these is the absence of any reliable historical data which might serve us as landmarks in the ocean of Sanscrit literature. Not only are the dates of the principal writers and their works unknown, but even the existence of some of them as historical personages is doubted. Many of these works, again, are not available for reference, while of those that are printed or can be procured in MS. only a few have yet been critically studied. European scholars are too much engrossed in their Vedic and antiquarian

researches to devote serious attention to systematic study of Indian philosophy ; while as to native Pandits, however learned, the very notion of a history of philosophy is foreign to their minds. There are works in Sanskrit, like the *Sarva-Darśana-Sangraha* of *Mādhavācharya* and the *Shal-Darśana-Samuchchaya* of *Haribhatta*, which profess to treat of all current systems of philosophy ; but the historical view is totally absent in them. There the systems are arranged either according to their religious character or according to the predilections of the author. In modern times, scholars like Colebrook, Weber, Hall and Bannerjee have made some valuable contributions, but most of their opinions and criticisms are now antiquated and stand in need of revision in the light of further researches. A good deal has also been added to our knowledge of the Buddhistic literature, but even there the attention of scholars has not yet been sufficiently directed to its philosophical portion. It is not possible, therefore, under these circumstances to do more than throw out a few hints which, while dispelling some of the prevalent errors on the subject, will serve as a basis for future inquiries in the same direction. The following pages will not have been written in vain if this aim is even partially achieved.

The value of a history of philosophy will be appreciated by those who know how much our knowledge of Greek philosophy has been deepened by the accounts left by Plato, Xenophon and Thucydides. Systems of philosophy as well as individual doctrines are never the products of personal caprice or of mere accident ; they are evolved out of a long chain of antecedent causes. They are in fact the tangible manifestations of various latent forces which mould the character and history of the nation. There could have been no Aristotle without a Plato or a Socrates, and no Socrates without the Sophists. A knowledge of this sequence is therefore essential to a true appreciation of every system and every doctrine, an isolated study of them being either insufficient or misleading. Besides, theories and schools are often the work of not one individual or of one age, but of a succession of thinkers who fashion and refashion them as it were until they become worthy of general acceptance. Such seems to have been the case with doctrines of God, of causality and of creation, in India as well as in Greece. The true aim of a history of philosophy may be explained in the words of Zeller :—

“The systems of philosophy, however peculiar and self-dependent they may be, thus appear as the members of a larger historical inter-

connection; in respect to this alone can they be perfectly understood; the further we follow it the more the individuals become united to a whole of historical development, and the problem arises not merely of explaining this whole by means of the particulars conditioning it, but likewise of explaining these moments by one another and consequently the individual by the whole."⁴

A history of Indian philosophy, such as would fulfil this purpose, is not of course possible in the present rudimentary state of Indian chronology. Still even a crude attempt of that kind will give a truer insight into each system or each doctrine than can be got by a study of isolated works. The need of such a connected view of philosophy is all the greater in the case of systems like the *Nyāya* and the *Vaiśeshika* whose real merits lie hidden under a heavy load of scholastic surplusage. They have not the halo of religion and mysticism which makes the *Vedānta* and other theological systems so attractive to students of Hindu philosophy, while the scholastic subtleties of most modern *Nyāya* writers, such as *Sīromani* and *Gadādhara*, inspire positive terror in untrained minds. If the *Nyāya* and *Vaiśeshika* systems, therefore, are to be popularized and their value to be recognized, it is necessary to divest them of their excrescences. A large mass of rubbish is to be found in the works of modern *Naiyāyikas*, and the task of extracting the pure ore out of it is very difficult; but it is worth performing. The process of sifting and cleaning will have to be repeated several times before we can really understand some of the profoundest conceptions that are interwoven in these systems. Philosophy is the stronghold of Hinduism, and the system of *Nyāya* forms as it were the back-bone of Hindu philosophy. Every other system accepts the fundamental principles of *Nyāya* logic, while even where there are differences, the dissentients often borrow the very arguments and phraseology of the *Nyāya* for their own purpose. A study of the *Nyāya* as well as *Vaiśeshika* systems is therefore a necessary step to a proper understanding of most of the systems. It forms as it were an introduction to the general study of philosophy, and hence no scholar who would seek the truth in the latter can afford to neglect them.

Among the numerous systems of philosophy that have been evolved in India during the last three thousand years, the *Nyāya* and *Vaiśeshika* occupy a unique position, both on account of their cardi-

⁴ Zeller : *Outline of Greek Philosophy*, p. 3.

nal doctrines and of the mass of learning that has accumulated around them. A general view of these doctrines will not, therefore, be out of place in a sketch like this. *Nyāya*, which is the more compact, and perhaps also the more modern of the two, is much more a system of dialectics than one of philosophy. The aphorisms of *Gotama* and the works founded on them treat no doubt of metaphysical and theological questions occasionally, but they come in rather as digressions than as inseparable parts of the system. The *Vaiśeṣika*, on the other hand, is essentially a system of metaphysics with a disquisition on logic skilfully dovetailed into it by later writers. It is these peculiarities which have earned them the name of logical systems and which distinguish them from each other as well as from other systems of Indian philosophy. These peculiarities must be carefully noted, for inattention to them has led many to misunderstand the true scope and function of these systems.

Gotama begins by enumerating 16 topics, which have been erroneously called *padārthas*.⁵ These topics are not a classification of all sublunary things or categories. They look like headings of so many chapters in a treatise on logic. Of these the first nine, *viz.*, प्रमाण, प्रमेय, संशय, प्रयोजन, वृष्टान्त, सिद्धान्त, अवयव, तर्क and निर्णय, constitute what may be called logic proper, while the last seven may be collectively termed illegitimate or false logic. प्रमाण includes the four proofs, Perception, Inference, Comparison and Word;⁶ while प्रमेय comprises all objects which are known by means of those proofs, *viz.*, soul, body, organ, material qualities, cognition, mind, effort, fault, death, fruition, pain and salvation.⁷ These multifarious things have obviously nothing in common except the capacity of being known by one or other of the above proofs; and *Gotama* accordingly treats of them only in that light. He rarely troubles himself about the nature or form of these things, or of their production and destruction, as *Kanāda*, for instance, does. This is the reason why *Gotama's* definitions of soul, cognition, mind, &c., only tell us how they are known, but say nothing as to what kind of things they are. *Gotama's* theory of knowledge is essentially material. Perception is a physical process consisting in the contact of organs with their appropriate objects;⁸ while Inference, which is

⁵ G. S. I, 1, 1.

⁶ G. S. I, 1, 3.

⁷ G. S. I, 1, 9.

⁸ G. S. I, 1, 4.

threefold, springs from *Perception*.⁹ *Comparison* and *Word* are of course exceptional cases, and may be called imperfect inferences. Having thus dealt with the chief ingredients of knowledge, namely, the proof and its object, *Gotama* describes several accessories to knowledge, *viz.*, doubt, aim, instance or precedent, general truths, premises, hypothetical reasoning and conclusion. Doubt and aim as incentives to every inquiry are necessary to knowledge. Precedents and general truths form the material, while premises and hypothetical reasoning are the instruments of acquiring fresh knowledge. Conclusion is the final and combined product of all these things.¹⁰ The seven topics forming the second group have a negative function in logic, namely, of preventing erroneous knowledge. By exposing errors they teach us how to avoid them. They are rather like weapons for destroying the enemy's fortress than tools to build one's own. Continued argument (*वाद*), sophistry (*जल्प*), wrangling (*वितण्डा*), fallacies (*हेत्वाभास*), quibbling (*छल*), far-fetched analogies (*जाति*), and opponent's errors (*निग्रहस्थान*); all these are useful where the object is to vanquish an opponent or to gain a temporary triumph; but they do not legitimately belong to the province of logic. *Gotama's* treatise may therefore be appropriately called the theory and practice of controversy rather than a science of logic. It resembles in this respect the dialectical work of *Zeno* who founded the sophistic dialectics in Greece.

The system, however, underwent considerable modifications in later times. The sixteen *padārthas* were practically ignored, and the theory of the four proofs absorbed almost the whole attention of later *Naiyāyikas*. The philosophical views of *Gotama* mostly came out in the digressions which are numerous in his work. They are generally introduced by way of illustrations to his method; and yet his followers have accepted these views as cardinal principles and built a regular system of philosophy upon them. The most characteristic of these doctrines are the non-eternity of sound,¹¹ the agency of God,¹² the theory of atoms,¹³ the production of effects,¹⁴ and its corollary, the reality of our knowledge. From the fragmentary discussions on these points contained in *Gotama's* work the modern *Naiyāyikas* have

⁹ G. S. I., 1, 5.

¹⁰ See for definitions of these, G. S. I., 1, 23-32, 40, 41.

¹¹ G. S. II, 2, 13-10.

¹² G. S. IV, 1, 19-21.

¹³ G. S. IV, 2, 4-25.

¹⁴ G. S. IV, 1, 22-54.

evolved elaborate theories which have made the system what it is. The radical and realistic tendency of these later doctrines came at every step into conflict with the more orthodox views of the two *Mīmāṃsās*.

The system of the *Vaiśeṣhikās* is even more radical than the *Nyāya*. As a system of philosophy, the *Vaiśeṣhika* is more symmetrical and also more uncompromising. Its enumeration of the six categories,¹⁵ with the seventh *Abhāva* added afterwards, is a complete analysis of all existing things. These categories again are not enumerated for a special purpose only like the 16 *padārthas* of *Gotama*; but they resolve the entire universe, as it were, not excepting even the Almighty Creator, into so many classes. *Kanāda's* categories resemble in this respect those of Aristotle. *Gotama* treats of knowledge only, but *Kanāda* deals with the wider phenomena of existence. The first three categories, Substance, Quality, and Motion, have a real objective existence, and so form one group designated as अर्थ *Kanāda*.¹⁶ The next three, Generality, Particularity, and Intimate Union, are products of our conception, and may be called metaphysical categories, while the last one, Negation, appears to have been added for dialectical purposes. The nine substances comprise all corporeal and incorporeal things, and the twenty-four qualities exhaust all the properties that can reside in a substance. बुद्धि is a quality of the Soul, and the whole theory of knowledge therefore consists in the production of this quality in its substratum the Soul. The process by which the cognition of an external object is produced in the Soul is something like printing or stamping on some soft material. Mind is the moveable joint between the Soul and the various organs which carry those impressions from external objects. Logic as a science of knowledge falls under बुद्धि and is so treated in all *Vaiśeṣhika* treatises. *Vaiśeṣhikas* recognize only the first two of the four proofs mentioned by *Gotama*,¹⁷ and they differ from the *Nāiyāyikas* on some other points also. What specially distinguishes the *Vaiśeṣhikas*, however, is their remarkable power of analysis; and their system may for that reason be appropriately called analytical philosophy. They divide and subdivide each class of things, and dissect every notion into its minutest components. No doubt the process of analysis is sometimes carried to an extreme where it ends into fruitless divisions and distinctions, but its influence

¹⁵ V. S. I, 1, 4.¹⁶ V. S. VIII, 2, 3.¹⁷ B. P. Ben. ed. p. 213.

on philosophical speculations in general must have been enormous. It is this feature of the *Vaiśeṣika* system that has made it the source of all liberal thought in Indian philosophy. None are so unrestrained in their speculations, and none are such powerful critics of time-worn prejudices as the followers of *Kaṇāda*. No wonder then that they were looked upon with distrust by the orthodox school, and were labelled *Ardha-Vaiśeṣikas* (Semi-Buddhists) by their opponents.¹⁸ The *Vaiśeṣikas* never declared any open revolt against orthodox faith, nor is there any reason for supposing that *Kaṇāda* or his immediate followers were atheists; but the tendency of their doctrine was none the less unmistakable. As the devout Lord Bacon produced a Hume and a Voltaire in Europe, so the *Vaiśeṣika* doctrines must have led ultimately to many a heresy in India such as those of the *Buddhas* and the *Jainas*.

A remarkable feature of both the *Nyāya* and the *Vaiśeṣika* systems, as in fact of all the Indian systems of philosophy, is the religious motive which underlies them. Religion is the incentive to all these speculations, and religion is also the test of their truth and utility. Salvation is the goal which both *Kaṇāda* and *Gotama* promise the people as the reward of a thorough knowledge of their respective systems.¹⁹ Amidst all the differences one idea appears to be common to all the ancient Indian systems, namely, that knowledge is the door and the only door to salvation. Opinions only differ as to what things are worth knowing. Consequently the bitterest controversies have raged among these rivals as to what things ought to be known for the speedy attainment of salvation. These controversies usually take the form of attacks on the rival classifications of categories as being either defective or superfluous or illogical. Another effect of the religious character of these systems is the discussion of many apparently irrelevant topics which have made them look somewhat heterogeneous and unsystematic. The many digressions in the works of *Gotama* and *Kaṇāda* as well as their followers are easily understood if we look to the bearing which those topics have upon the end and aim of philosophy. Take for instance the controversy about the non-eternity of sound.²⁰ What has the eternity of sound to do with logic? An inference would be just as right or wrong whether the words conveying

¹⁸ Śāṅkarāchārya : *Brahma-Sūtra-Bhāṣya* II, 2, 18.

¹⁹ G. S. I., 1, 1; V. S., I., 1, 4.

²⁰ G. S. II., 2, 13.

it are eternal or not. But the question of the eternity of sound is vitally connected with the infallibility of the *Vedas* which are final authority in all matters of doubt ; and all orthodox systems, therefore, must have their say on the point. We thus find that questions of the most diverse character are discussed wherever the context leads to them while others more closely related to the subject are neglected. Each system has consequently become a mixture as it were of the fragments of several sciences such as logic, metaphysics, psychology, and theology. This is not however a weakness as some superficial critics have supposed. It arises from the very conception of a *Darśana*, and could never have been avoided by those who in these systems sought to provide a complete guide as it were to the road to salvation. Indian philosophy is not singular in this respect. Everywhere philosophy grows out of religious instincts. The sense of dependence on supernatural powers and a desire to conciliate them were the first incentives which led men at a very early period to think of their religious well-being. "Philosophy," says Zeller, "just begins when man experiences and acts upon the necessity of explaining phenomena by means of natural causes."²¹ The *Rigveda*, the *Brāhmanas* and the *Upanishads* abound in passages showing how in India this feeling grew in intensity until it became the ruling passion of the Brahmins. Salvation was the sole purpose of life, and knowledge of the universe was the means to it. The ancient *Upanishads* were the repositories of the speculations which rose like bubbles out of this fermentation of thought, and which appear to have ultimately crystallized into the various systems of philosophy. In Greece philosophy tended to become more and more ethical and worldly ; in India it could never free itself from its religious setting. This is the reason why in spite of additions and modifications Indian *Darśanas* never lost their original character completely. A history of each of these systems is therefore a history of its gradual evolution within certain limits, while its relations outside of them remained practically unchanged.

The period before the rise of Buddhism is almost a blank page. We know nothing of it except that a large amount of free speculation must have been stored up at that time in the *Brāhmanas* and the *Upanishads*. The only system which dates prior to Buddhism is the *Sāṅkhya*, and possibly the *Vaiśeṣika* also ; but all the other

²¹ Zeller: *Outline of Greek Philosophy*, p. 6.

Darśanas are presumably of a post-Buddhistic origin, at least in the form in which we possess them. In fact the very notion of a system seems to be post-Buddhistic. The severe conflict between Buddhism and Brahminism which stirred men's minds in the century after Buddha's death, must have compelled both the parties to systematize the doctrines and express them in a compact methodical form. The same cause or causes which led the Buddhists to collect their ethical and philosophical teachings in their *suttas* during the period which elapsed between the first and the second council must have also induced their Brahmin rivals to compose similar works for the defence of vedic orthodoxy. The two collections of aphorisms belonging to the Prior and the Posterior *Mīmāṃsās* and known by the names of *Jaimini* and *Bādarāyaṇa* respectively have a strong controversial flavour about them, and appear to be the first products of this reaction against Buddhism. The aphorisms of *Kaṇāda* and *Gotama* could not have been of any prior date, and as we do not know of any *Nyāya* or *Vaiśeṣhika* works older than these *Sūtras*, the history of those systems may safely be said to begin in the 5th or the 4th century before Christ.

Roughly speaking the literature of the *Nyāya* and *Vaiśeṣhika* systems extends over a period of 22 centuries, that is, from about the 4th century B. C. till very recent times, of which the last two hundred years not being distinguished by any original works may be left out of account. The history may be divided into three periods: the first from about 400 B. C. to 500 A. C., the second from thence to 1300 A. C., and the third after that till the end of the last century. The only known representatives of the first period are the two collections of aphorisms going under the name of *Gotama* and *Kaṇāda* respectively, and perhaps the scholium of *Prasastapāda* also; but there must have existed other works now lost. The second period is pre-eminently distinguished by a series of commentaries on these *Sūtras* beginning with *Vātsyāyana* and comprising several works of acknowledged authority. The third period saw the introduction of independent treatises and commentaries on them which at last dwindle down into short manuals like *Tarka-saṅgraha* and *Tarka-Kaumudī*. These three periods also mark three successive stages in the development of the two systems. The first may be called the age of the formation of doctrines in the *Sūtras*; the second that of their elaboration by commentators; and the third that of their systematization by writers of special treatises. The

first is characterised by great originality and freshness, the second by a fulness of details, and the third by scholastic subtlety ultimately leading to decadence. These divisions may sometimes overlap, for a we have treatises like *Tárlkika-rakshá* and *Saptu-padárthi* before the 14th century, so we have commentaries on the *Sútras*, like *Sankara Mísra's Upaskára*, and *Víswanátha's Vritti*, written afterwards. This does not however affect our general conclusion that the writings of the 14th century and onwards are in marked contrast with those of the preceding age. The exact duration of these periods may have varied a little in the case of the two systems, but the order is the same. The mutual relation of these two systems, however appears to have changed at different times. During the first period they seem to have been two different systems, independent in origin but treating of the same topics and often borrowing from each other. *Vátsyáyana* regards them as supplementary.²² In the second period, however, they become somewhat antagonistic, partly owing to an accumulation of points of difference between the two, and partly on account of the alliance of the *Vaiśeshikas* with the Buddhists. The third period saw the amalgamation of the two systems, and we come across many works, like the *Tarka-Saṅgraha* for instance, in which the authors have attempted to select the best portions of each and construct from these fragments a harmonious system of their own. This is a curious phenomenon, no doubt, and we do not yet sufficiently know the causes which brought about these successive changes in the attitude of the exponents of these two systems towards each other; but the fact is important in as much as it must have been a powerful factor in moulding both of them. At any rate it accounts for the difficulty, which every student meets with at the threshold, whether to regard these systems as really supplementary or antagonistic to each other. They are spoken of as both, and yet no Sanskrit writer seems to have perceived the inconsistency of doing so. The only explanation that can at present be suggested is that the twins after quarrelling for some time reunited under the influence of a reaction.

Having premised so much we may proceed to consider the three periods in order; and the first thing we shall have to do is of course to fix the age of the *Sútras* of *Gotama* and *Kaṇáda*. They are the recognized basis of the *Nyáya* and the *Vaiśeshika* systems, and they are so far as we know the oldest works on those systems. Not that

²² *Vá.* on *G.* S. 1., 1, 4.

they were the first of their kind ; perhaps they were preceded by cruder attempts of the same sort that have perished ; perhaps the present works are improved editions of older ones. For all practical purposes, however, the works of *Kaṇāda* and *Gotama* may be taken as the starting points for the two systems. Now before adverting to the evidence that exists for determining the dates of these two *Sūtras* it is necessary to notice one or two misconceptions that would otherwise hinder our task. The first of these is the confusion that is often made between the system and the *Sūtra* work expounding it ; and the second is a similar want of distinction between the systems as a whole and the particular doctrines composing it. The three things, viz., *Gotama's* work, the *Nyāya* system, and the individual doctrines embodied in it, are quite distinct, and ought not to be confounded with one another. They may for aught we know have originated at different times, and no inference can therefore be safely drawn as to the probable date of the one from any ascertained fact relating to the other. The fact for instance that some of the *Vaiśeṣika* doctrines are controverted in *Bādarāyaṇa's Brahma-Sūtras*²³ has been made the ground for inferring that *Kaṇāda's Sūtras* were composed prior to those of *Bādarāyaṇa*, and yet there are cogent reasons for believing that they were of a much later origin. We must therefore suppose that the doctrines controverted in *Brahma-Sūtras* existed prior to their incorporation into a regular system as set out in *Kaṇāda's* work. Similarly many of the arguments as to the relative priority of *Nyāya* and *Vaiśeṣika* systems are based on assumptions made from some doctrines of the one being cited or refuted by the other. Such arguments however are misleading and often produce confusion. The *Nyāya* doctrine of असत्कार्यवाद must have existed before the rise of Buddhism and even before the formation of the *Sāṅkhya* system, the oldest works of which controvert it. Does it follow therefore that *Gotama* and *Kaṇāda* preceded both the *Sāṅkhyas* and the *Bauddhas* ? And if so, how are we to account for the fact that several doctrines of the *Sāṅkhyas* as well as the *Bauddhas* are in their turn quoted in the *Sūtras* of both these authors ? Here is a dilemma which can only be solved by supposing that the doctrine of असत्कार्यवाद and many others like it subsequently adopted by the *Naiyāyikas* and *Vaiśeṣikas* must have formed topics of hot discussion long before the *Sūtras* of *Gotama* and *Kaṇāda* were composed. In

²³ *Brahma-Sūtras*, II., 2, 11, et. seq.

like manner, even supposing that the system as such existed at or before a particular date it will not be right to argue that *Kaṇāda's Sūtras* also must have existed at that time.²⁴ Nor should it be supposed that the whole system as conceived later on is to be found in these works. Many doctrines now looked upon as cardinal principles of *Vaiśeṣhika* philosophy, are conspicuous by their absence in *Kaṇāda's* work, such as, for instance, *Abhāva* as a seventh category, the last seven qualities, and the doctrine of *Viśeṣa*.²⁵ This much however is certain, that when the *Sūtras* were composed the two systems had assumed a definite form which was never to be substantially changed. There are important gaps that were filled up afterwards; but the skeleton is there and it is the skeleton that gives shape to the body. The process may have been something like this. First bold thinkers started theories of their own on the burning questions of the day, and then these theories after much discussion crystallized into specific doctrines such as those of अस्तकार्ये, समवाय and others. The ancient *Upanishads* abound in passages in which we find such definite principles being actually worked out of a mass of general speculations. The next step is for some eminent teacher to adopt and develop some of these doctrines and form a school which might in time grow up into a system. The difference between a school and a system is that of degree. A school adopts a theory about a particular phenomenon, while a system aims at explaining consistently the whole order of nature by reducing several of these theories into harmony. *Aululomi*, *Kāśakrītina*, *Bāḷari*, and many others whose names occur in the philosophical *Sūtras*, seem to have been founders of the schools which preceded the regular systems. The system when thus formed required an authoritative exposition, and many must have been the failures of inferior persons, before a master mind like *Gotama* or *Kaṇāda* could produce a work that would live into futurity. The present *Sūtras* of *Kaṇāda* and *Gotama* must, therefore, be regarded as representing the end rather than the commencement of this evolutionary process. They did not originate the systems, they only stereotyped them, by giving them as it were a body and shape. Besides it is probable that the fashion of propounding philosophical systems in the form of *Sūtras*, if not the systems themselves, came into vogue after the rise of *Buddhism*. The ethi-

²⁴ Colebrooke's *Miscellaneous Essays*. Vol. I., p. 354, Cowell's note.

²⁵ V. S. I., 1, 4; I., 1, 6; I., 2, 3.

cal teachings of *Gotama Buddha* were expressed in the shape of pithy sentences which were easy to remember and possessed a certain attraction for the popular mind. The Brahmins, probably with a desire to beat their rivals with their own weapons, composed *Sūtras* on their own philosophical systems modelled on the Buddhistic *suttas*, and possessing in some cases literary finish of a very high order. The necessity of meeting their opponents in controversies which became frequent from this time compelled the orthodox philosophers to put their cardinal doctrines in a definite shape; and this they did by expressing them in an incisive and dogmatic form so as to produce immediate conviction. The uncompromising tone and rigid logic of these post-Buddhistic *Sūtras* are in strong contrast with the loose reasoning and poetical imagery which abound in earlier philosophical books, such as the *Upanishads*. While morality was the stronghold of the Buddhists, philosophy was their weakest point; in these early times; naturally the shrewd Brahmins cultivated this latter branch with the greater vigour in order to outshine their rivals. The *sūtras* of *Jaimini* and *Bádaráyana* must have been composed with some object in view; and the example once set, was of course followed by other teachers belonging to the orthodox party.

It is difficult to determine the chronological order of the several systems of philosophy, and the attempts hitherto made have not been very successful. The *Sánkhya* system and many of the doctrines of the *Vaiśeshikas*, if not the whole of their system, are most probably Pre-Buddhistic. The *Vaiśeshika* system pre-supposes the *Sánkhya*, and there is evidence to show that the *Vaiśeshika* not only preceded Buddhism and Jainism, but directly contributed to the rise of those sects, many of their peculiar dogmas being closely allied to *Vaiśeshika* theories. The Buddhistic doctrines of total annihilation for instance, is only a further and an inevitable development of the *Vaiśeshika* doctrine of असत्कार्यवाद; while the categories or *Padárthas* of the latter find their counterpart in the five *Āstikāyas* or essences of the *Jainas*. The atomic theory moreover is largely adopted by the *Jainas*, and even enters into their legendary mythology. The epithet *Ardha-Vaináśikas* or Semi-Buddhists, contemptuously bestowed upon the *Vaiśeshikas* by *Sánkaráchárya*,²⁵ concealed a historical truth, if the *Vaiśeshikas* as suggested above were the half-hearted precursors who by their materialistic speculations paved

²⁵ See foot-note 16 *supra*.

the way for the extreme radicalism of *Gotama Buddha*. The *Vaiśeṣika* school is specifically named in the sacred texts of the *Jainas* and also in the *Lalitā-Vistara*.²⁶ Several of their doctrines are refuted in *Bādarāyaṇa's Brahma-Sūtras*, and it is possible that they may have existed then in some systematic form. As to the other systems the two *Mīmāṃsās* appear to have come immediately after the rise of Buddhism and before the advent of the *Nyāya* and the *Yoga*. Neither *Bādarāyaṇa* nor *Jaimini* refers to any peculiar *Nyāya* doctrine, while the few aphorisms in *Bādarāyaṇa's* work which mention *Yoga* look like interpolations. It will be shown presently that *Gotama* himself borrows from *Bādarāyaṇa's* work.

Looking to the *sūtras*, however, the two *Mīmāṃsā* collections appear to be the oldest of them, while the works of *Gotama* and *Kaṇāda* come next in succession. The date of *Jaimini* and *Bādarāyaṇa*, who quote each other and might have been contemporaries, is not yet settled. They are certainly aware of the Buddhistic sect, many of whose doctrines they quote and refute.²⁷ The two *Mīmāṃsā Sūtras* therefore could not have been composed before the 6th century B. C. They may for the present be assigned to the 5th or the earlier part of the 4th century B. C. The *Sūtras* of *Gotama* and *Kaṇāda* must be still later productions, as will appear from a comparison of them with the *Brahma-Sūtras*. The opening *sūtras* of both *Gotama* and *Kaṇāda* appear to recognize the *Vedāntic* doctrine of knowledge being the means to salvation; while throughout their works whenever they treat of soul, salvation, pain, knowledge, and such other topics, their language seems to be strongly tinged with *Vedāntic* notions. The phraseology is often the same, and in several places even direct references to the *Brahma-Sūtras* may be detected in these works. For example, the *Vaiśeṣika sūtras*, अनित्य इति विशेषतः प्रतिषेधभावः | and अविद्या |²⁸ appear to be answers to *Bādarāyaṇa's* objections to the eternity of atoms²⁹; while the *Sūtra* अहमिति शब्दस्य च्छतिरेकानागमिकम्³⁰ is evidently aimed at the *Vedāntic* view explained in the four preceding *sūtras*, that the soul is to be known only through *Sruti*.³¹ Similarly V. S. IV, 2, 2-3 controvert the *Vedāntin's* view

²⁶ Weber: *History of Indian Literature*, p. 236, foot-note.

²⁷ *Brahma-Sūtra* II, 2, 18, *et. seq.*; *Mīmāṃsā-Sūtra* 1, 2, 33; see also Colebrooke's *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I, p. 351.

²⁸ V. S. IV, 1, 4-5.

²⁹ *Brahma-Sūtra* II, 2, 14-15.

³⁰ V. S. III, 2, 9.

³¹ Cf. also G. S. III, 1, 28-30.

that our body is formed by the union of five or three elements.³³ Again many of the terms used by *Kaṇāda*, such as अविद्या, लिङ्ग, प्रत्य-
गत्मा, and च्याख्यात, appear to be borrowed from *Bādarāyaṇa*. The
same holds good of *Gotama*. In several places he propounds views
very similar to well-known *Vedāntic* doctrines³⁴; while a comparison
of G. S. III, 2, 14-16 with *Brahma-Sūtra* II, 1, 24, will show that
Gotama borrows even illustrations and arguments from *Bādarāyaṇa*.³⁴
G. S. II, 1, 61-67³⁵ would likewise show that *Gotama* was also
posterior to *Jaimini*. It may be argued that the borrowing may
have been on the other side, or that the particular *sūtras* may be later
additions. But we must in such cases judge by the whole tone and
drift of the authors. While in all the cases noted above the topics
form essential parts of the two *Mīmāṃsā* systems, they come only in-
cidentally in the works of *Kaṇāda* and *Gotama*. We can, therefore,
confidently assert that the works of *Gotama* and *Kaṇāda*, as we have
them at present, cannot be older than the 4th century B. C.

The question as to the relative priority of these two systems *per se* is
beset with many difficulties. Opinions have differed as to which sys-
tem is prior in time, and arguments have been advanced on both
sides. *Uhandrakānta Tarkālakara*, in the preface to his edition of
Vaiśeṣika-sūtras, strongly contends for the priority of *Vaiśeṣika*
system, while others maintain the opposite view.³⁶ Goldstücker calls
the *Vaiśeṣika* only a branch of the *Nyāya* without deciding their re-
lative priority³⁷; while Weber is undecided on the point.³⁸ Much of the
confusion, however, on this point can be avoided by making a distinc-
tion, as already noted, between the *Vaiśeṣika* system and the *Vaiśe-
shikā Sūtras*. There are strong grounds for believing, as Mr. *Tarkā-
lakāra* contends, that the *Vaiśeṣika* system preceded *Gotama's*, and
yet the *Sūtras* of *Kaṇāda*, or at least many of them, may be of a later
date. The fact that, while *Vaiśeṣika* doctrines are noticed in
Bādarāyaṇa's Brahma-Sūtras, *Gotama's* system is not even once
alluded to, shows that some *Vaiśeṣika* doctrines at least were promul-
gated not only before *Gotama* but even before the composition of the

³³ *Brahma-Sūtra* II, 2, 21, 22.

³⁴ Cf. G. S. IV, 1, 64.

³⁵ क्षीरविनाशि कारणानुपलब्धिवद्ध्युत्पत्तिवच्च तदुत्पत्तिः। *Gotama-Sūtra*; उपसंहारदर्श-
नाच्चेति चेन्न क्षीरवद्धि। *Brahma-Sūtra*.

³⁶ विध्यर्थवादानुवादवचनविनियोगात् G. S. II. 1. 61.

³⁷ Bhīmācharya: *Nyāya-Kośha*, Intro., p. 2-3, note.

³⁸ Goldstücker's *Pāṇini*, p. 153.

³⁹ Weber: *History of Indian Literature*, p. 245.

Brahma-Sūtras. *Vātsyāyana's* remark that omissions in *Gotama's* work are to be supplied from the cognate system of the *Vaiśeṣikas* may likewise be taken to imply that that system existed before *Gotama's* time³⁹; while the latter's reference to a प्रतितन्वासिद्धा,⁴⁰ by which he probably means doctrines taught by some allied school such as the *Vaiśeṣikas*, would support such an inference. The posteriority of *Gotama* may also be inferred from the fact that many topics summarily disposed of or imperfectly discussed by *Kaṇāda* are fully treated by him, as, for instance, inference, fallacies, eternity of sound, and the nature of soul. It is true that some of these arguments would also prove that *Kaṇāda's sūtras* were anterior to *Gotama's* work, and it is possible that a collection of *Vaiśeṣika-sūtras* was known to *Gotama*. But we must also take account of the fact that several *sūtras* in the present collection of *Kaṇāda's* aphorisms appear to be suggested by *Gotama's* work.

V. S. III, 2, 4,⁴¹ for instance, is clearly an amplification of G. S. I, 1, 10.⁴² V. S. III, 1, 17⁴³ again gives an illustration of the अनैकान्तिक fallacy, although the name, strange to say, is nowhere explained throughout *Kaṇāda's* work. The word is, however, used by *Gotama* as a definition of सव्यभिचार,⁴⁴ and it is possible that the author of the *Vaiśeṣika sūtra* borrowed it from him, and wrongly used it as the name of the fallacy. These *sūtras*, therefore, if not the whole work of *Kaṇāda*, must have been composed after *Gotama's* work was published. Now there are good reasons for suspecting that *Kaṇāda's* work, as we have it at present, contains a large number of aphorisms which have been either modified or added in after times. A comparison of *Kaṇāda's sūtras*, as found in our printed editions, with the *Bhāṣya* of *Prāśastapāda*, shows that many of the *sūtras* are not explained by the scholiast and were probably unknown to him.⁴⁵ Moreover, all these suspicious aphorisms relate to topics that look like having been suggested afterwards. The practice of making such interpolations

³⁹ *Vat.* on G. S. I, 1, 4.

⁴⁰ G. S. I, 1, 29.

⁴¹ प्राणायाननिमेषोन्मेषजोवनमनोगतीन्द्रियान्तराविकाराः सुखदुःखच्छाद्वेषप्रयत्नाच्चात्मनो लिङ्गानि । *Vaiśeṣika-Sūtra*.

⁴² इच्छाद्वेषप्रयत्नसुखदुःखज्ञानान्यात्मनो लिङ्गमिति । *Gotama-Sūtra*.

⁴³ यस्माद्विषाणी तस्मद्गौरिति चानैकान्तिकस्योदाहरणम् ।

⁴⁴ अनैकान्तिकः सव्यभिचारः G. S. I, 2, 46.

⁴⁵ See the excellent conspectus showing the *sūtras* corresponding to each section of *Prāśastapāda's* scholium, prefixed to the Benares Edition of that work.

in ancient works is not uncommon in Indian literature. The *Sāṅkhya-Sūtras* are notoriously modern productions, though ascribed to an ancient *Rishi*; and even the *Brahma-Sūtras* of *Bādarāyaṇa* lie under the suspicion of being tampered with. The loose and unsystematic arrangement of the *Vaiśeṣika* aphorisms must have considerably facilitated the task of an interpolator, while such liberties could not have been easily taken with the more compact and finished production of *Gotama*.

The most reasonable conclusion that may be drawn from the foregoing facts is that, although we can say nothing definite about an original collection of *Vaiśeṣika* aphorisms, the present work of that name is comparatively modern. We have no materials at present to fix its probable age. *Kaṇāda* is a mythical personage and is variously styled *Kāśyapa*, *Kaṇabhukṣha* or *Kaṇabhuk*.⁴⁶ The latter two appellations are, of course, paraphrases of *Kaṇāda*, which literally means "an eater of seeds or atoms." The name is said to be derived from his having lived upon picked-up grain-seeds while practising austerities; more probably it is a derisive appellation invented by antagonists for his atomic theory. The system is also called *Āulūkyā-Darśana*,⁴⁷ and a pretty old tradition is told that God Mahadeva pleased by the austerities of the sage *Kaṇāda* appeared to him in the guise of an owl and revealed the system which the latter subsequently embodied in the *Sūtras*.⁴⁸ A *Rishi* named *Ulūka* is mentioned in the *Mahā-Bhārata*, but nothing can be said as to what connection he had with the *Vaiśeṣika* system. The name *Āulūkyā* is, however, considerably old, being mentioned by *Udyōtakāra* and *Kumārila*.⁴⁹ The name *Vaiśeṣika* occurs even in the scholium of *Prāśastapāda*, who also refers to the tradition about God Mahadeva just mentioned.⁵⁰ *Vāyu Purāna* makes *Akṣha-pāṇḍu*, *Kaṇāda* and *Ulūka* sons of *Vyāsa*,⁵¹ but no reliance can be placed on such an authority.

It has been already shown that the present collection of *Vaiśeṣika* aphorisms is posterior to the 4th century B. C., and the references to it contained in *Vātsyāyana's* commentary on *Gotama's* work prove that it must have existed before the 5th century A. D. *Vātsyāyana*

⁴⁶ P. B. Ben. ed. p. 200; V. S. Up. Calo. ed. p. 160-1; *Trikānda-Sesha*.

⁴⁷ Sarv. D. S. Calo. ed. p. 110.

⁴⁸ *Bhimāchārya*: *Nyāya-Kośh*, Intro. p. 2.

⁴⁹ *Nyāya-Vārtika*, Bibl. In. p. 168; *Tantra-Vārtika* I., 1, 4.

⁵⁰ P. B. Ben. ed. p. 234.

⁵¹ See the verses quoted in P. B. Ben. ed. Intro. p. 10.

not only mentions it as a समानतन्त्र, enumerates the six categories⁵² and actually quotes one aphorism of Kaṇāda.⁵³ This is the utmost that we can say with certainty about the age of Kaṇāda's work. The date of *Prāsasta-pāda*, the earliest scholiast of Kaṇāda, is equally uncertain. He cannot be the same as the *Rishi Prāsasta* mentioned in the *Pravarādhyāya* of *Baudhāyana-Sūtra*, for *Baudhāyana-Sūtra* being composed before the 4th century B. C.,⁵⁴ *Prāsasta-pāda* and *a fortiori* Kaṇāda would have to be placed long before that time. *Prāsasta-pāda* has also been identified with *Gotama*, the author of *Nyāya-Sūtras*,⁵⁵ but it seems to be a mistake. So no inference as to the age of the *Vaiśeṣika-Sūtras* can be drawn from the date of the commentator. The six categories as well as the proofs are mentioned in the medical work of *Charaka*, who has been identified with *Patanjali*, the author of the *Mahā-Bhāṣya*.⁵⁶ But even if this identity is correct, the original work of *Charaka* having been subsequently recast and enlarged by *Dridhabala*, particular passages from it cannot be relied upon for historical purposes.

Happily we can obtain better results in the case of *Gotama's* work. That it is posterior to the rise of Buddhism is evident on its face, for Buddhistic doctrines are expressly mentioned therein.⁵⁷ It is also, as has been already shown, later than the latter part of the fifth century B. C., the time of *Bādarāyaṇa's Brahma-Sūtras* which, while refuting *Vaiśeṣika* doctrines, make no mention of the cognate school of *Naiyāyikas*. Goldstücker says that both *Katyāyana* and *Patanjali* knew of the *Nyaya Sūtras*.⁵⁸ Now *Patanjali* is said to have written his great work about 140 B. C.⁵⁹; but *Katyāyana's* date is not so certain. According to a story told in *Kathā-Sarit-Sangraha*, *Kātyāyana* was a pupil of *Upavarhsa* and a minister of king *Nanda* who reigned about 350 B. C.⁶⁰ Goldstücker makes light of the authority of

⁵² अस्वयंपदवि द्रव्यगुणकर्मसामान्यविशेषसमवायाः प्रमेयम् । तद्वेदेन चाऽपरितङ्गधे यम् । *Vdt.* on G. S. I, 1, 9.

⁵³ यस्माद्विषाणी तस्मादध इति (V. S. III, 1, 16) किमनुमानमिति चेत् सन्तानो पपत्तिरुपपादितः शब्दसन्तानः &c. । *Vdt.* on G. S. II, 2, 36.

⁵⁴ Buhler: Sacred Laws (S. B. E. Series). Part I *Āpastamba*, Intro. p. XXII. ⁵⁵ Bhimācharya: *Nyāya-Kośha* Intro. p. 2.

⁵⁶ *Parama-Laghu-Manjusha*. A verse said to be from *Yogabīja* calls *Patanjali*, a writer on three sciences, grammar, medicine, and *Yoga*.

⁵⁷ G. S. III, 2, 11-13. ⁵⁸ Goldstücker's *Pānini*, p. 157. ⁵⁹ *Ibid* p. 224.

⁶⁰ *Katha-Sarit-Sangraha* I. 5; Max Müller: *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 240.

Kathá-Sarít-Sangraha, but it is hard to believe that such a story could have got currency without some sort of foundation. If the story is true the *Nyáya-Sútras* would have to be placed before 350 B. C. *Kátyáyana's* date is now generally taken to be about the middle of the 4th century B. C.⁶¹; and so *Gotama* will have to be placed before that time. There is another fact which confirms this conclusion. *Sabara Swámin*, the scholiast on *Jaimini's Sútras*, often quotes an ancient author whom he calls *Bhagawán Upavarsha*, and who must have, therefore, lived a long time before him. This *Upavarsha* is said to have written commentaries on both the *Mímánsá Sútras*.⁶² If he be the same as the reputed teacher of *Kátyáyana* above mentioned, he must have lived in the first part of the 4th century B. C.⁶³ Now a passage quoted by *Sabara Swámin* from the commentary of this *Upavarsha*⁶⁴ shows that he was intimately acquainted with *Gotama's* system and largely adopted its doctrines. *Gotama's* work must, therefore, have been composed before the 3rd century B. C., that is, it belongs to the 4th century B. C.⁶⁵

There is another piece of evidence, which, though apparently conflicting with the above conclusion, really supports it. *Ápastamba*, the author of the *Dharma-Sútra*, knew both the *Púrva* and the *Uttara Mímánsú* systems but not the *Nyáya*.⁶⁶ It is true that *Ápastamba* in two passages of his work uses the word न्याय and न्यायवेत् respectively⁶⁷; but there he clearly refers to *Púrva-Mímánsú*, and not to the system of *Gotama*. Nor is this use of the word uncommon in ancient writings. The fact that the word न्याय, which was subsequently monopolized by the followers of *Gotama*, is applied

⁶¹ Eggeling's *Sátopatha-Bráhmaṇa* (S. B. E. Series) Intro. p. 30.

⁶² Colebrooke's *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I. p. 357.

⁶³ Another story in *Somadeva-Bhatta's Kathá-Sarít-Sangraha* makes him live in Pátaliputra during the reign of Nanda, i. e., about 350 B. C.; but no reliance can be placed on the chronological data furnished by this book in the absence of other evidence.

⁶⁴ *Sábara-Bhāshya* Bibl. Ind. p. 10; for an English translation of the passage, see Colebrooke's *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I, p. 328.

⁶⁵ This conclusion will not be affected by any date that may be assigned to Pānini. Goldstücker places Pānini long before the rise of Buddhism and holds that he did not know *Gotama's* work. Pānini mentions the word न्याय but only in the sense of a syllogism or rather a thesis, such as those in *Jaimini's* work. See Goldstücker's *Pānini*, p. 152.

⁶⁶ Buhler: *Sacred Laws* (S. B. E. Series.) Part I *Ápastamba*, Intro. p. xxvii.

⁶⁷ *Ápastamba-Dharma-Sútra* II, 4, 8, 13; and II, 6, 14, 13.

by *Āpastamba* to the system of *Jaimini*, shows that at his time *Gotama's* system was either unknown, or at least so new as not to have attained any wide celebrity. *Āpastamba*, according to Buhler, must have lived before the 3rd century B. C. and even 150 or 200 years earlier⁶⁸; but his knowledge of the two *Mīmāṃsās* shows that he could not have lived long before 400 B. C. *Gotama's* work must therefore be assigned to the end of the 5th or the beginning of the 4th Century B. C.

It is needless to state after this that our *Gotama* is quite different from *Gotama*, the author of a *Dharma-Sūtra*, who preceded *Baudhāyana* and was *a fortiori* prior to *Āpastamba*⁶⁹; nor has he anything to do with the mythical sage of that name mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* as the son of *Utathya* and the husband of *Akilyā*. Nothing is known about the personality of our author, and it is even doubtful whether his real name was *Gotama* or *Gautama*. Being a Brahman he could not have belonged to the race from which the founder of Buddhism sprung. He is also called *Akṣa-pāda* or *Akṣa-charana*, but the origin of the name is not known. Some have conjectured that the epithet was a nick-name given to *Gotama* for his peculiar theory of sensual perception, and means one who stands or walks upon organs of sense (अङ्ग); but there is no authority for this. At any rate the author, whoever he may be, possessed great originality and a grasp of general principles that enabled him to systematize the science of logic for the first time. He cannot, however, be said to have founded it, for logical rules seem to have prevailed even before his time. *Manu* proclaims the need of reason for a correct understanding of the sacred law,⁷⁰ while *Bālarāyaṇa* goes to the other extreme of declaring the utter futility of our reasoning power to discover truth.⁷¹ Besides, it is quite obvious that, unless the art of reasoning had been practised for a long time previous, and had been considerably developed, neither the philosophical speculations in the *Upanishads* nor the rise of heretical sects, such as the *Chārvākas* or the *Bauddhas* and the *Jainas*, could have been possible. What then did *Gotama* achieve, and what is his place in the history of Indian logic? This is an interesting question, and would, if satisfactorily answered, throw a flood of light on the early history of Indian philosophy.

⁶⁸ Buhler: *Sacred Laws* (S. B. E. Series) Part I *Āpastamba*, Intro. p. xliii.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* p. xx and lv.

⁷⁰ *Manu-Smṛiti* xii. 106.

⁷¹ *Brahma-Sūtra* II, 1, 11.

Gotama was certainly not the pioneer. The very fact that he has evolved a logical system complete and well knit in all essential respects would lead us to suspect that he must have used materials left by his predecessors and profited by their errors. This is not a mere inference however, for *Vátsyáyana* in his Commentary on G. S. I, 1, 52, actually tells us that there was a school of *Naiyáyikas* who required ten premisses in a syllogism, and that *Gotama* reduced their number to five.⁷² This is quite probable, for Indian systematists always favour brevity, and even *Gotama's* five premisses were subsequently reduced by others to three. *Gotama*, therefore, must have been preceded by other labourers in the same field whose works have been eclipsed by his superior treatise. External evidence would lead us even a step further. The two passages from *Āpastamba's Dharma-Sutra*, referred to above, show that the word न्याय was formerly applied to *Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā*. Similar passages are also found in many ancient *Smritis* and also some modern works in which the same word or its derivatives are used in connection with *Jaimini's* system. So late a writer as *Madhavāchārya* calls his epitome of *Jaimini's* work न्यायमालाविस्तर, while many other *Mīmāṃsā* works have न्याय as part of their title. The various theses propounded in *Jaimini's* work are called *Nyāyas*, and even *Pāṇini* uses the word in a similar sense.⁷³ How then are we to explain the fact that a word so generally used by the *Mīmāṃsakas* came afterwards to designate the rival and totally dissimilar systems of *Gotama*. As a general rule we find that when a new school arises it coins its own phraseology to distinguish itself from its predecessors. In this case, however, the followers of *Gotama* appropriated an old word, and that word stuck to them so fast as to become afterwards their exclusive property. The explanation, it seems, lies in the fact that the science of logic which afterwards developed into a separate system was originally the child of *Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā*.

Analogy of other arts and sciences points to the same conclusion. All sciences in India appear to have sprung out of sacrificial necessities. Astronomy was founded on the rules by which vedic *Rishis* ascertained the correct time for performing periodical sacrifices, from the movements of heavenly bodies. While medicine had its germ in the analysis of the properties of *Soma* plant and other sacrificial substances, music was first cultivated by the *Udgātā* priest for sing-

⁷² *Vāt.* on G. S. I, 1, 32.

⁷³ *Pāṇini's Sūtras* III, 2, 122.

have sufficed for half a dozen *Sūtras*. Besides it is very awkwardly worded if not positively ungrammatical. A comparison of this aphorism with the opening passage of *Prāśastapāla's* scholium leaves hardly any doubt about its spuriousness. *Prāśastapāla's* passage runs thus:—*द्रव्यगुणकर्मसामान्यविशेषसमवायानां षष्णां पदार्थानां साधर्म्यवैधर्म्य-तत्त्वज्ञानं निश्चयसहेतुः ॥ तद्येश्वरचोदनाभिव्यक्ताद्धर्मादेव ॥*⁷⁶

Now one of these two passages must be an adaptation of the other. According to *Kiraṇūvali*, this passage of *Prāśastapāla* explains only the first three *sūtras* of *Kaṇāda*, which implies that the fourth *Sūtra* quoted above was unknown to the scholiast. Hence if *Kiraṇūvali* is to be believed, the aphorism must be the later of the two. *Śrīdhara*, the author of *Nyāya-Kaṇāda*, speaks to the same effect. In introducing the last sentence he says that it was added to remove any apparent inconsistency between the preceding sentence and *Kaṇāda's* second aphorism *यतोऽभ्युदयनिःश्रेयससिद्धिः स धर्मः ।* The inconsistency is that while according to the scholiast knowledge of categories is the means of *निःश्रेयस*, *Kaṇāda* speaks of it as resulting from *धर्म*; and this inconsistency is removed by the scholiast by adding that the knowledge of categories itself springs from *धर्म* as revealed in divine commandments. So according to *Śrīdhara* this last clause is an addition of the scholiast intended to remove the apparent inconsistency, and yet it is summed up in the opening words of the fourth *Sūtra*, *विशेषप्रस्तात्*. Either these words or the whole aphorism, must, therefore, have been suggested by *Prāśasta-pāla's* passage. If the aphorism, as it stands now, had existed before, there would have been no *सूत्रावरोध*, and therefore no necessity for *Prāśasta-pāla's* additional clause *तद्येश्वरचोदनाभिव्यक्ताद्धर्मादेव*. We must, therefore, suppose that the aphorism was added by some later writer in order to supply what appeared to him an oversight of *Kaṇāda*. Besides, the fact that there should have been even the suspicion of a contradiction between the enumeration of six categories and *Kaṇāda's* second *sūtra* proves that the six categories were not thought of by *Kaṇāda* and were for the first time mentioned by his scholiast, *Prāśastapāla*. We must, therefore, construe the aphorism *अर्थ इति द्रव्यगुणकर्मसु*,⁷⁷ as implying that *Kaṇāda* mentioned only three categories, to which the scholiast added three more, while the seventh was added still later on.⁷⁸ If any doubt is felt on the point, a critical examination of the aphorisms which are

⁷⁶ P. E. Ben. ed. p. 6, 7.

⁷⁷ V. S. VIII. 2, 3.

⁷⁸ V. S. I. 2, 3, 6.

supposed to define सामान्य and विशेष will dispel it. These aphorisms speak of विशेष as well as of सामान्य in a way quite different from the later conceptions of the two categories. Aphorisms सामान्यं विशेष इति बुद्धपक्षम्। and अन्यत्रान्त्येभ्यो विशेषेभ्यः। are especially significant. The first shows that Kaṇāda used the word विशेष as a relative term opposed to सामान्य, meaning that the notions of *genus* and *differentia* are always relative, and that the same property may be a *genus* with respect to one class, and a *differentia* with respect to another class of things. घटत्व, for instance, is a *genus* as including all jars under one class, and a *differentia* as distinguishing all jars from other substances, as cloth and men. The second aphorism shows that Kaṇāda distinguishes *ultimate differences* of things from other *differentiæ* by giving to the former the special name of अन्त्याविशेष. It is these *ultimate differences* that are denoted by the later *Vaiśeṣikas* by the category विशेष; and the fact that Kaṇāda regards them only as one species of *differentia* shows that he did not include them in a separate category having absolute and not merely a relative existence. The conclusion is irresistible that the अन्त्याविशेष, which were at first only one kind of *differentia*, were afterwards developed into an independent category. The notions of सामान्य and समवाय can also be shown to have originated in the same way.

It will be thus seen that unlike *Nyāya*, *Vaiśeṣika* was never given out to the world as a cut and dry system. It was gradually evolved as the ever-flowing stream of controversy suggested new points or disclosed the faults of old ones. *Prāśastapāda* thus occupies a somewhat intermediate position between Kaṇāda and his later commentators. He is sufficiently removed in time from Kaṇāda to call him a *muni* and a disciple of *Maheśwara*,⁷⁹ while he himself is regarded almost as a semi-mythical personage by later writers. His age cannot, however, be ascertained even approximately. The earliest known commentary on *Prāśasta-pāda's* work is that of Śrīdhara who gives his own date as 991 A. C. He must also have preceded *Sankarāchārya* who seems to quote from him several times. The opinions ascribed by *Sankarāchārya* to the Kaṇāda school are all found in *Prāśasta-pāda's* work.⁸⁰ Śrīcharana, in his commentary on *Śūtraka-Bhāṣya* called *Prakātārtha*, says that a particular view criticised by *Sankara* belongs to the older school of *Vaiśeṣikas* though opposed

⁷⁹ P. B. Ben. ed. pp. 1 and 329.

⁸⁰ Cf. the passages in *Śūtraka-Bhāṣya* (Anandāśrama ed.) p. 514-5 and p. 519 with the passages in P. B. Ben. ed. p. 48 and p. 328 respectively.

to that contained in *Rāvana's Bhāshya*. The view referred to is propounded by *Prāśasta-pāda* who must, therefore, be older than *Rāvana*. This *Bhāshya* of *Rāvana* which may be a commentary either on *Kaṇḍāla's Sūtras* or *Prāśastapāda's* own work, is not available, nor is its date known. *Udayana's Kiraṇāvali* is, however, said to have been based upon it.⁸¹ If this *Rāvana* is the same as the reputed author of a commentary on *Rigveda* he appears to have been a very ancient author, and *Prāśastapāda* must be still older. Moreover, if *Prāśastapāda* was as suggested above the first to enumerate the six categories, he must have preceded *Vātsyāyana* who mentions them.⁸² Nothing more definite can be said on the point for the present, and we must, therefore, leave *Prāśastapāda's* date too as one of the uncertainties of Indian chronology.⁸³

The age of commentaries proper begins with *Vātsyāyana* otherwise known as *Pakshila-Swāmi*, whose commentary on *Gotama's* work is the oldest known work of the kind we now possess.⁸⁴ *Vātsyāyana* must have lived about the end of the 5th century A. C. for he preceded the well known Buddhist teacher *Dignāga* who is said to have lived in the early part of the 6th century.⁸⁵ *Dignāga* was succeeded by the celebrated author of *Udyota* who is mentioned by *Subandhu* writing in the 7th century.⁸⁶ *Udyotakāra* is said to have written his work to dispel the errors of *Dignāga* and others, and *Vāchaspati* in his *T.kā* adds that his principal object was to defend *Vātsyāyana* against the attacks of *Dignāga*.⁸⁷

According to the Jain *Sloka-Vārtika*, *Udyotakāra* was in his turn

⁸¹ P. B. Ben. ed. Intro. p. 12 note.

⁸² *Vāt.* on G. S. I. 1, 9.

⁸³ If *Charaka*, the writer on medicine, is correctly identified with *Patanjali*, *Prāśastapāda* must be anterior to him. See p. 24 *supra*.

⁸⁴ Was *Vātsyāyana* a Buddhist? Some have supposed him to be so because his work does not begin with a prayer to any of the Hindu deities. But the epithet *Swāmi* as well the fact that the Buddhist writer *Dignāga* controverts his views should leave no doubt about his orthodoxy.

⁸⁵ Max Muller: *India, What can it teach us?* 1st ed. p. 320.

⁸⁶ *Maaradattī* (Calc. ed. p. 235) has 'यायश्चित्तिभिवोयितकरस्वरूपाम्'. See also Dr. Hall's Preface to his edition of that work.

⁸⁷ See quotation at P. B. Ben. ed. Intro. p. 10. *Udyotakāra* himself says:—

यदक्षपादः प्रवरो मुनीनां शमाय शास्त्रं जगतो जगाद ।

कुतार्किकाज्ञाननिवृत्तिहेतुः करिष्यते तस्य मया निबन्धः ॥

Also see Weber, *Zeitschr. D. M. C.* XXI, 727, and Colebrooke, *Miscellaneous Essays* Vol I p. 282, Cowell's note.

answered by *Dharmakīrti*.⁸⁸ Now *Dharmakīrti* is known to have lived in the first half of the 7th century.⁸⁹ *Dignāga* and *Udyotakāra* therefore must have belonged to the 6th, and *Vātsyāyana* at the latest to the end of the 5th century. *Vātsyāyana* is not, however, the earliest scholiast on *Gotama's Sūtras*. The alternative interpretations of G. S. I. 1, 5 given by him show that the traditional meaning was obscured at his time, and that several writers before him had interpreted the *Sūtras* in different ways. The interval between *Gotama* and *Vātsyāyana* is considerable and could not have passed without producing some notable writers, yet no relics of the period appear to have been left behind. Either the Scythian inroads which ravaged the country from the 1st century B. C. to the 4th century A. C. must have swept away all literary records of the period, or some unknown cause must have lulled philosophical activity for the time.

After *Udyotakāra* there seems to have occurred another long gap in the succession of *Nyāya* writers until the end of 10th century when a revival took place under the influence of the author of *न्यायकन्दली* which is the earliest known commentary on *Prasastapāda's Bhāṣya*. *Srīdhara* wrote at least three other works named *अद्वयसिद्धि*, *तत्त्वबोध*, and *नस्वसंवादिनी*. The absence of any eminent *Nyāya* or *Vaiśeṣhika* writer between *Udyotakāra* and *Srīdhara* makes it highly probable that the tradition was broken in the interval. This interregnum so to say is the more inexplicable as the period was one of intense intellectual activity. Controversies between the Brahmins as represented by the *Mīmāṃsakas* and *Vedāntins* on the one hand and the Buddhists and the Jainas on the other occupy almost the whole of this period; and it is strange that the followers of *Gotama* and *Kaṇāda* did not freely enter into the fray. *Vātsyāyana* and *Udyotakāra* set the ball of controversy rolling, but no *Nyāya* or *Vaiśeṣhika* writer seems to have taken up the cudgels on their behalf immediately after *Dharmakīrti's* strictures. The task of answering the great Buddhist writer was left to *Mīmāṃsakas* like *Kumārila*, *Sankarāchārya* and *Mandana*, who were by no means favourable either to the *Nyāya* or to the *Vaiśeṣhika* systems. *Dharmottara* defended *Dharmakīrti* against the criticisms of *Kumārila* and *Mandana*, and we again find *Srīdhara* a *Naiyāyika* answering *Dharmottara*. Though the *Nyāya* and *Vaiśeṣhika* systems had thus no spokesman of

⁸⁸ J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. XVIII p. 229.

⁸⁹ Ibid p. 90.

their own during this interregnum, the individual doctrines inculcated by them were not a bit neglected. They were fully handled by the rival disputants as if they had by that time become the common property of all schools. The *Mīmāṃsakas* strongly controverted the doctrine of non-eternity of sound, and the *Veśāntins* criticized the atomic theory. The *Prābhākaras* started novel views about *Sama-vāya*, while all the schools fought over the proper number and nature of proofs. The answer to these criticisms came partly from the Buddhists and the Jainas and partly from the later *Nyāya* writers. The fact seems to be that at this time the *Nyāya* and much more the *Vaiśeshika* doctrines, despite smaller differences, found their strongest supporters among the Buddhists and the Jainas many of whose tenets closely resembled the peculiar doctrines of the *Vaiśeshikas*. The *Nyāya-Bindu*, for instance, which can now be safely ascribed to *Dharmakīrti*,⁹⁰ is a purely *Vaiśeshika* treatise, while the *Pramāṇa-Samuchchaya* of *Dignāga* and *Dharmakīrti's Vārtikas* on it must also have been largely indebted to previous *Vaiśeshika* works. This must also be the reason why *Vaiśeshikas* were at this time looked upon almost as heretics.

The alliance of the *Vaiśeshikas* with the Buddhists and the evident tendency of many of their theories towards atheism and materialism alarmed the orthodox writers of the *Mīmāṃsā* and *Veśānta* schools who at once consigned them to the purgatory of non-believers. *Śaṅkarāchārya* calls them *Ardha-Vaiśeshikas* (Semi-Buddhists), while *Kumārila* brackets them with *Sākyas* as heretics who are frightened out of their wits by the advent of the faithful *Mīmāṃsakas*.⁹¹ And yet a glance at *Prāśastapāda's Bhāṣya* will show that the *Vaiśeshikas* were at least as orthodox and as decidedly anti-Buddhistic as either the *Mīmāṃsakas* or the *Veśāntins*. *Prāśastapāda* begins, with a prayer to God and concludes by ascribing the origin of the world as well as of the *Vaiśeshika* system to *Maheśwara*. He accepts the authority of *Sruti* and occasionally controverts the views of the Buddhists. The notion of *Vaiśeshikas* being heretical probably originated in the din of controversy between the Buddhists and the *Mīmāṃsakas*, and the prejudice thus created stuck to them for a long time afterwards. The sister system of *Nyāya*, however, seems to have escaped the stigma of heresy, probably owing to its comparative neglect in this period. The controversies of this period mainly raged round metaphy-

⁹⁰ J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. XXX p. 47.

⁹¹ Max Müller: History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature p. 48.

sical and theological questions which were monopolized by the *Vaiśeṣhika*, while the purely logical part of *Gotama's* system did not provoke much opposition. Only one doctrine of the *Naiyāyikas* was made the subject of controversy, namely the theory of a personal creator of the universe. This doctrine was strongly advocated by the sect of *Pāśupatas*, and various sub-sections of *Bhājavatas*. These theistic Schools probably derived their inspiration from *Gotama's* work, but they very soon became distinct religious sects.⁹² On the whole it appears that, although there is a lack of special *Nyāya* or *Vaiśeṣhika* works in this period, the various doctrines laid down by *Gotama* and *Kaṇāda* were fully threshed out and underwent additions and alterations which were not even dreamt of by previous writers.

The interregnum from *Udyotakāra's* time to the end of the 10th century may have been produced by various causes which cannot be known at present; nor can we say for certain how the subsequent revival was brought about. Perhaps learned men at this time were too much occupied with religious and sectarian disputes to attend to the drier subtleties of logic. The fact, however, cannot be denied, for while none of the known works of *Nyāya* or *Vaiśeṣhika* proper can be assigned to the interval between the 7th and the 10th centuries, the succeeding age is marked by such an inrush of *Nyāya* and *Vaiśeṣhika* writers as more than atoned for the inactivity of the previous period. The most notable productions of this later age are a series of commentaries on the works of *Prāśastapāda* and *Vātsyāyana* who had then come to be looked upon as ancient authorities to be explained and enlarged with reverence, rather than criticized or corrected by abler successors. In this later period boldness and originality of thought dwindle in proportion to an increase of scholastic subtlety. The range of topics is limited, but each is treated with a greater fullness and ingenuity. There is a distinct tendency towards scholasticism, which afterwards assumed such abnormal proportions in the Nuddea school, but the change was not completed till four centuries later. It may be described as an age of transition from the genuine philosophy of mediæval India to the scholastic verbiage of modern times; and it is a striking fact that this age nearly coincides with the growth of scholasticism in mediæval Europe. It is not a little remarkable that the history of Indian logic bears in

⁹² *Udyotakāra* was called *Paśupatāchārya*. Had he anything to do with the *Pāśupata* sect who maintained the existence of a personal Creator and Lord of the Universe?

their own during this interregnum, the individual doctrines inculcated by them were not a bit neglected. They were fully handled by the rival disputants as if they had by that time become the common property of all schools. The *Mīmāṃsakas* strongly controverted the doctrine of non-eternity of sound, and the *Veśāntins* criticized the atomic theory. The *Prābhākaras* started novel views about *Sama-vāya*, while all the schools fought over the proper number and nature of proofs. The answer to these criticisms came partly from the Buddhists and the Jainas and partly from the later *Nyāya* writers. The fact seems to be that at this time the *Nyāya* and much more the *Vaiśeshika* doctrines, despite smaller differences, found their strongest supporters among the Buddhists and the Jainas many of whose tenets closely resembled the peculiar doctrines of the *Vaiśeshikas*. The *Nyāya-Bindu*, for instance, which can now be safely ascribed to *Dharmakīrti*,⁹⁰ is a purely *Vaiśeshika* treatise, while the *Pramāṇa-Samuchchaya* of *Dignāya* and *Dharmakīrti's Vārtikas* on it must also have been largely indebted to previous *Vaiśeshika* works. This must also be the reason why *Vaiśeshikas* were at this time looked upon almost as heretics.

The alliance of the *Vaiśeshikas* with the Buddhists and the evident tendency of many of their theories towards atheism and materialism alarmed the orthodox writers of the *Mīmāṃsā* and *Veśānta* schools who at once consigned them to the purgatory of non-believers. *Śaṅkarāchārya* calls them *Ardha-Vaiśēśikas* (Semi-Buddhists), while *Kumārila* brackets them with *Sākyas* as heretics who are frightened out of their wits by the advent of the faithful *Mīmāṃsakas*.⁹¹ And yet a glance at *Prāśastapāda's Bhāṣya* will show that the *Vaiśeshikas* were at least as orthodox and as decidedly anti-Buddhistic as either the *Mīmāṃsakas* or the *Veśāntins*. *Prāśastapāda* begins, with a prayer to God and concludes by ascribing the origin of the world as well as of the *Vaiśeshika* system to Maheśwara. He accepts the authority of *Śruti* and occasionally controverts the views of the Buddhists. The notion of *Vaiśeshikas* being heretical probably originated in the din of controversy between the Buddhists and the *Mīmāṃsakas*, and the prejudice thus created stuck to them for a long time afterwards. The sister system of *Nyāya*, however, seems to have escaped the stigma of heresy, probably owing to its comparative neglect in this period. The controversies of this period mainly raged round metaphy-

⁹⁰ J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. XXX p. 47.

⁹¹ Max Müller: History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature p. 48.

sical and theological questions which were monopolized by the *Vaiśeṣika*, while the purely logical part of *Gotama's* system did not provoke much opposition. Only one doctrine of the *Naiyāyikas* was made the subject of controversy, namely the theory of a personal creator of the universe. This doctrine was strongly advocated by the sect of *Pāśupatas*, and various sub-sections of *Bhāṅyawatas*. These theistic Schools probably derived their inspiration from *Gotama's* work, but they very soon became distinct religious sects.⁹² On the whole it appears that, although there is a lack of special *Nyāya* or *Vaiśeṣika* works in this period, the various doctrines laid down by *Gotama* and *Kaṇāda* were fully threshed out and underwent additions and alterations which were not even dreamt of by previous writers.

The interregnum from *Udyotakāra's* time to the end of the 10th century may have been produced by various causes which cannot be known at present; nor can we say for certain how the subsequent revival was brought about. Perhaps learned men at this time were too much occupied with religious and sectarian disputes to attend to the drier subtleties of logic. The fact, however, cannot be denied, for while none of the known works of *Nyāya* or *Vaiśeṣika* proper can be assigned to the interval between the 7th and the 10th centuries, the succeeding age is marked by such an inrush of *Nyāya* and *Vaiśeṣika* writers as more than atoned for the inactivity of the previous period. The most notable productions of this later age are a series of commentaries on the works of *Prāśastapādu* and *Vātsyāyana* who had then come to be looked upon as ancient authorities to be explained and enlarged with reverence, rather than criticized or corrected by abler successors. In this later period boldness and originality of thought dwindle in proportion to an increase of scholastic subtlety. The range of topics is limited, but each is treated with a greater fullness and ingenuity. There is a distinct tendency towards scholasticism, which afterwards assumed such abnormal proportions in the Nuddea school, but the change was not completed till four centuries later. It may be described as an age of transition from the genuine philosophy of mediæval India to the scholastic verbiage of modern times; and it is a striking fact that this age nearly coincides with the growth of scholasticism in mediæval Europe. It is not a little remarkable that the history of Indian logic bears in

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Mîra in the 11th century, who wrote commentaries on all the principal philosophical systems, and whose works have been deservedly held in the highest estimation by the succeeding generations.⁹⁶ *Vāchaspati*, the author of *Bhāmātī* and *Sāṅkhya-Tatva-Kaumudī*, wrote an equally able commentary on the *Vārtikas* of *Udyotakāra*, called *Vārtiku-Tātparyā-Tīkā*, and this *Tīkā* of *Vāchaspati* became the text of another commentary, *Tātparyā-Parīśuddhi* by *Udayana*.⁹⁷ *Udayandhārya*, the author of *Kiraṇavalī* and *Parīśuddhi* lived, therefore, some time after *Vāchaspati*, and may be assigned to the end of the 12th century.⁹⁸ *Udayana* is the greatest *Naiyāyika* writer of this age. He combines in himself the two-fold character of an eminent dialectician and a religious revivalist, and has consequently become the centre of a number of traditions which have perhaps little foundation in fact. A story, for instance, is told of his having once made a pilgrimage to the temple of Jagannath, where he found the temple-door shut against him. On this the irate *Naiyāyika* addressed the following couplet to the Deity :—

ऐश्वर्यमदमत्तो ऽसि मामवज्ञाय वर्तसे ।
उपस्थितेषु बौद्धेषु मदर्धना तव स्थितिः ॥⁹⁹

“Infatuated with omnipotence as thou art, thou treatest me with contempt; but (remember) when the heretics approach, thy very existence depends upon me.”

This irreverent apostrophe was probably founded on the fact that *Udayana* wrote two well-known treatises to prove the existence of God and to refute the atheistical objections of the *Bauddhas* and other heretics. These treatises, respectively known as *Kusumānjalt* and *Bauddha-dhikkāra*, though small, prove *Udayana* to be a very acute and powerful writer. *Udayana* is said to have carried on a vigorous crusade against the *Buddhas* and the *Jainas*; and if Monier Williams is right in assigning the complete decay of Buddhism in India to the beginning of the thirteenth century,¹⁰⁰ *Udayana* must have

⁹⁶ J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. XVIII. p. 90. Cowell in the preface to his translation of *Kusumānjalt* tries to prove that *Vāchaspati* lived in the 10th century; but his view cannot be accepted as *Vāchaspati* quotes राजवार्तिक of King Bhoja who reigned in 993 A.C.

⁹⁷ Bhandarkar : *Report on Search of Sk. MSS. for 1883-4*, p. 81.

⁹⁸ Cowell's Preface to his translation of *Kusūmanjalt*, p. x; J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. XVIII. p. 89-90.

⁹⁹ Nehemiah Gore's *Rationale Refutation of Hindu philosophy* translated by F. Hall, p. 6, note.

¹⁰⁰ Monier Williams : *Buddhism*, p. 170.

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about it until the work is available to the public. It is superfluous perhaps to remark that this *Vallabha*, the author of *Nyāya-Līlavatī* was quite a different personage from the great Vaishnavaita reformer of that name who flourished in the 15th century.

A host of smaller writers such as *Varadarāja* and *Mallinātha* may be mentioned as belonging to this second period, but they do not seem to have left any lasting mark on subsequent literature. The period may be roughly said to have closed about the beginning of the 14th century. It is marked by a great activity in the beginning and at the end, with an intervening blank which lasted for about 3 centuries and which sharply divides the older from the later school of writers. The conflict of opinions between the *Vaiśeṣikas* and the *Naiyāyikas* as well as the differences between the ancient and the modern schools of *Naiyāyikas*, which are so frequently discussed in modern works, seem to have originated in this period; and it was perhaps the growth of these minute differences that created at the end of this period a reaction in favour of amalgamating the two systems. This attempt at amalgamation, however, produced an effect exactly contrary to what was intended, for it stereotyped the differences instead of removing them. We find that in this period almost all the principal doctrines were evolved and the details were worked out, on which the dialecticians of the third period were exclusively to spend their scholastic ingenuity and produce volumes after volumes without making any real progress. With *Udayana* and *Sivāditya* we lose sight of writers who deserve to be called *Āchāryas*, as having aimed at originality and written epoch-making books. The class of *Āchāryas* or masters, was henceforward to give place to that of mere *Upādhyāyas* or ordinary pundits. The race of giants was to be succeeded by a remarkably versatile and disputations troop of dwarfs. Philosophy lost its freshness as well as its charm, and gradually degenerated into a bundle of endless controversies.

The end of the 14th century saw the commencement of the third period of *Nyāya* literature; and *Gaṅgeśa*, or *Gaṅgeśopādhyāya*, the author of *Tatva-Chintāmaṇi* may be said to be its oracle. He founded a new school of text-writers and commentators who afterwards came to be known as the Nuddea school owing to their having chiefly flourished in the toils of Nuddea or Navadwipa in Lower Bengal. The distinguishing features of the writers of the school were their overwhelming pride, an abnormal development of the critical faculty, and a total disinclination to go out of the narrow grooves of traditional

doctrines. The original *Sūtras* and the scholia on them recede into background, while *Gangeśa's* work itself becomes the centre of a mass of literature unparalleled in any other country or age. Here we see at one and the same time scholasticism at its climax and true philosophy at its lowest depth. We might wade through volumes of controversial jargon without coming across a single flash of deep thought or real insight into the nature of things. Mere conventionalities and distinctions without a difference are the weapons in this wordy warfare, with which one disputant tries to defend his thesis or to vanquish a rival. It may be doubted if either the writer or the reader is made a whit the wiser by all this labour.

All the writers of this school are not however equally faulty in this respect. The earlier ones especially show a considerable freedom of thought which is quite refreshing. The most notable of this kind is *Gangeśapādhyāya* the founder of the Nuddea school, whose exact date is not known, but who probably lived about the end of the 14th century. *Gangeśa* quotes *Vāchaspati*, while his son *Vardhamāna* wrote commentaries on *Udayana's Kirāṇīvali* and *Vallabha's Līlāvati*. *Gangeśa* must have therefore lived after the 12th century. *Gangeśa* was followed by two writers of note *Jayadeva* and *Vāsudeva*. According to Burnell *Jayadeva*, otherwise known as *Pakshadhara Mīśra*, wrote his *Maṇyāloka*, a commentary on *Gangeśa's Tatva-Chintāmaṇi* about 5 centuries ago, that is, about the middle of the 14th century, but this is highly improbable.⁴ *Vāsudeva Śārvabhauma*, a fellow student of *Jayadeva* and the author of a commentary on *Gangeśa's* work, had four pupils of whom the first *Gaurāṅga*, popularly known as *Chaitanya*, the celebrated religious reformer in Bengal, was born about 1485 A.C.⁵ Both *Śārvabhauma* and *Jayadeva* must, therefore, have lived in the latter part of the 15th century, and *Gangeśa* at least a generation or two earlier. *Jayadeva* is said to have studied *Tatva-Chintāmaṇi* with his uncle *Harimīśra*, which shows that *Gangeśa's* work was already a standard book in the first half of the

⁴ Burnell, Catalogue of Tanjor MSS., Vol. II., p. 117. *Jayadeva* was noted for his intellectual powers. He got the nickname पक्षधर from having mastered a difficult book in a fortnight. He is probably the same as the author of प्रसन्नरायण and is certainly different from the poet who composed गीतगोविन्द. Raghunātha Śiromaṇi is said to have been his pupil for some time.

⁵ Cowell (Colebrooke's *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I., p. 281) gives the date of Chaitanya's birth as 1489; but see Bose's *History of Hindu Civilization*, Vol. I., p. 43. Chaitanya died in A. C. 1525.

15th century. We shall not be wrong therefore in placing *Gangeśa* in the latter part of the 14th century at the latest.

Vāsudev Śārvabhauma must have been a remarkable man, for all of his pupils distinguished themselves in different fields. The first, *Chaitanya*, founded a *Vaiṣṇava* sect which soon spread over the whole province of Bengal and revolutionized as it were the religious life of the people. The fact is noteworthy that the greatest exponent of the doctrine of faith in modern times received his early training in the dialectics of *Nyāya* philosophy. The devout mind of *Chaitanya* must have no doubt recoiled from the scholastic subtleties of *Gangeśa*, but they could not have failed to influence many of his views. *Vāsudeva's* second pupil *Raghunātha*, otherwise known as *Tarka-Siromaṇi* or simple *Siro- maṇi*, wrote *Dīdhiti*, the best commentary on *Gangeśa's* *Tatwa-Chintāmaṇi*, and is acknowledged to be the highest authority among the modern *Naiyāyikas*. The third was *Raghunandana*, the lawyer and the author of a commentary on *Jīmūta-Vāhana's* *Dāya-Vibhāga*, and is now held to be the best current authority on the Bengal School of Hindu law. The fourth *Krishnānanda* also wrote works on charms and other kindred subjects.⁶ All these writers being contemporaries of *Chaitanya* must have flourished in the beginning of the 16th century. *Raghunātha Siromaṇi* wrote besides *Dīdhiti* commentaries on *Udayana's* works and a few other treatises, one of which is *Padārtha-Khandana* or a refutation of *Vaiśeṣika* categories. He was succeeded by a series of commentators whose sole ambition seems to have been to make the *Dīdhiti* as unintelligible and terrible to the student as possible. *Raghunātha's* immediate successors were *Mathurānātha* and *Harivāma Turkāṅkara* and *Jagadīśa*, who were followed by their respective pupils, *Raghudeva* and *Gadādhara*. *Gadādhara* may be called the prince of Indian schoolmen, and in him the modern *Nyāya* lore reached its climax. He was such a thoroughgoing *Naiyāyika* that when asked to think of the prime cause of the universe on his deathbed, instead of contemplating God he is said to have repeated the words पीलवः पीलवः पीलवः (atoms, atoms, atoms)! His sixty-four treatises or *Vādas* as they are called on as many topics noticed in *Tatwa-Chintāmaṇi* form a continuous commentary on *Siromaṇi's* *Dīdhiti* and *Jayadeva's* *Āloka*; but several of them are not yet available. *Gadādhara* having come about two

⁶ *Bhīmāchārya: Nyāya-Kośha*, Intro. p. 6.

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texts than mere explanatory glosses. These manuals proved very handy and useful to students, but they also marked the lowest watermark of the *Nyāya* and *Vaiśeṣika* systems. Henceforward all originality was dead and the writers chiefly aimed at explaining the ideas of their predecessors instead of expounding their own. The *Upādhyāyas* were now succeeded by writers whose high sounding names were in strange contrast with the worth of their productions. *Krodas* or annotations became plentiful, but original thinking was dead and gone completely. Even these are now rare, and the once famous class of *Naiyāyikas* is in danger of being extinct for ever.

The preceding resumé of the *Nyāya* and *Vaiśeṣika* literature brings out, it is hoped, at least the one fact that that literature is as capable of a historical treatment as any other class of writings. It is the story of a gradual development of two philosophical systems which, springing out of a few elementary notions, attained their present proportions after many vicissitudes and in the course of several centuries. There must have been during this time considerable additions and alterations in the fundamental doctrines as conceived by the founders of the systems. The original nucleus was comparatively small, but the accretions and out-growths seem to have assumed in time quite large proportions. What an amount of earnest thought and labour must have been devoted to this work of elaborating complete systems out of a few primary principles! It was a process of evolution brought about partly by the natural law of growth and partly by the mutual action and reaction of the several systems of Indian philosophy. In the beginning the chief rivals of the *Nyāya* and *Vaiśeṣika* systems were the *Sāṅkhyas*, whose theory of the anti-production reality of effects was diametrically opposed to the *Naiyāyika* doctrine of non-existent effect. Later on they encounter the more formidable critics of the *Mīmāṃsā* and *Vedānta* schools who differed from them in so many particulars that a severe conflict between the rivals was inevitable. The *Mīmāṃsakas* affirmed the eternity of sound, while the *Naiyāyikas* denied it. The first enumerated six proofs, the *Naiyāyikas* four, and the *Vaiśeṣikas* only two. The *Naiyāyikas* assumed a personal creator, the Vedāntins an impersonal *Brahma*, while the *Mīmāṃsakas* would recognize nothing but the eternal Vedas. Again the Vedāntins derived all creation from one universal spirit, the *Naiyāyikas* from hard minute atoms. The first were idealists *par excellence*, the latter were out and out realists. The doctrines of the first always tended towards mysti-

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...two views, see Notes on Sec. 37, pp. 186-90, in
...Bombay Sanskrit Series).

thinkers in two such distant countries as India and Greece, but it may also throw new light on some of the dark chapters in the history of Indian Logic. Space will not, however, permit me to enter into these interesting inquiries at present; and I must content myself with noting only one important fact which cannot be decently passed over in such a sketch as this. I, of course, refer to the striking resemblance which the syllogistic method of the *Nyāya* bears to the Pre-Aristotelian dialectics in Greece. Zeno the Eleatic was the founder of this latter, and Zeno must have been a contemporary of *Gotama*, or of at least some of his immediate predecessors.⁹ Zeno's work, which is divided into three parts, upon consequences, upon the interrogatory method of disputation, and upon sophistical problems respectively, has many points of similarity with that of *Gotama*, while the interrogatory method, cultivated by Zeno's followers the sophists and brought to perfection in Plato's Dialogues, was almost identical with the syllogistic process of the *Naiyāyikas*. The essence of this method consisted in driving an opponent to a point where he was either totally silenced or the absurdity of his position became self-evident. So far as the *Naiyāyikas* were concerned this was not an accidental feature, for they have laid down a special rule that no premiss in a syllogism can proceed without having a previous अक्रान्ता or doubt, presumably started by an opponent in the controversy. Take the stock-example. "Mountain is fiery." "Why?" "Because it has smoke." "What then?" "Wherever there is smoke, &c.," and so on, every premiss being a reply to some previous question, assumed until the imaginary querist has no more questions to ask. This is exactly the way Socrates used to argue with his real interrogators, or Euclid proves his theorems of geometry. Obviously this method is better suited for controversy than for purely didactic reasoning; and consequently we find that Indian thinkers who came after the *Naiyāyikas* such as the *Bauddhas* and the Vedāntins modified it to a considerable extent just as Aristotle did in Greece.¹⁰ The tripartite syllogism of Aristotle was nothing more than a re-adjustment of the ancient dialectical syllogism, although Aristotle himself made too much of it and expected from it results which it was incapable of producing. Similarly, those who claim superiority for the Aristotelean over the five-membered syllo-

⁹ Whately: *Elements of Logic*, p. 3.

¹⁰ Colebrooke thinks that the three-membered syllogism of the later Vedānta was borrowed from the Greeks, but this is a mere guess. See *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I, p. 356.

gism of the *Naiyāyikas* forget that both are mere instruments or mechanical aids for thinking, and as such cannot by themselves furnish an absolute guarantee for truth. Both have their peculiar merits as well as drawbacks, and consequently both must be judged from their proper standpoints. Aristotle distinguished between the dialectic and the apodictic, i.e., the old and the new, or his own, syllogism, by asserting that the former proceeded from mere belief or an assumed hypothesis while the latter was based on scientific truth. There is much force in this distinction, and it may to some extent apply to the five-membered syllogism also. But Aristotle's criticisms can no longer be accepted without reservation, even with respect to doctrines intimately known to him. Much less can he be accepted as a safe guide in adjudging the merits of Indian logic.

It will not be proper to conclude this introductory sketch without noticing one more objection that is often advanced against the *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika* systems, namely, that their heterogeneous character detracts considerably from their value as systems of pure logic. Indian logicians, say these objectors, have by their frequent digressions on metaphysical and other topics, such as the categories, the sources of knowledge and the theory of atoms, been led into treating the strictly logical questions either perfunctorily or in a wrong manner altogether. On a closer consideration, however, this heterogeneity of the *Nyāya* and *Vaiśeṣika* systems will be found to have been inevitable. The narrow conception of logic as being only a theory and art of proof and nothing more is no longer tenable. Modern investigations, such as those of Kant, Ueberweg and others, show that purely logical questions are inseparably connected with others comprehended in the wider province of metaphysics. The best answer to the above objection can therefore be given in the words of an eminent modern writer:—

“Start as we may,” says Prof. Adamson, “in popular current distinctions, no sooner do logical problems present themselves than it becomes apparent that for adequate treatment of them, reference to the principles of ultimate philosophy is requisite; and logic, as the systematic handling of such problems, ceases to be an independent discipline and becomes a subordinate special branch of general philosophy.”¹¹

¹¹ Prof. Adamson in his *Art. Logic*, in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. XIV., p. 781.

And again the same writer remarks :—

“ Any criticism of a general conception of logic or special application thereof, which does not rest upon criticism of the theory of knowledge implied in it must be inept and useless. It will also have become apparent that a general classification of logical schools as opposed to the reference of these to ultimate distinctions of philosophical theory is impossible.”¹²

The *Naiyāyikas* seem to have arrived at the same conclusion at an early period, and faced it boldly by embodying their views on all cognate and interdependent questions in a fairly consistent system. *Gotama* and *Kaṇāda* were not therefore such fools in mixing logical and metaphysical topics in their works as some of their modern critics would believe them to be. Logic is no longer regarded as a theory of proof only ; it is a theory of knowledge in general, and as such treats of many psychological and metaphysical topics which do not fall within the domain of the narrower science. Looked at from this standpoint *Gotama's* conception of his subject will be found to be remarkably accurate and just. Let us first understand him, and there will be then time enough to pick holes in his monumental work.

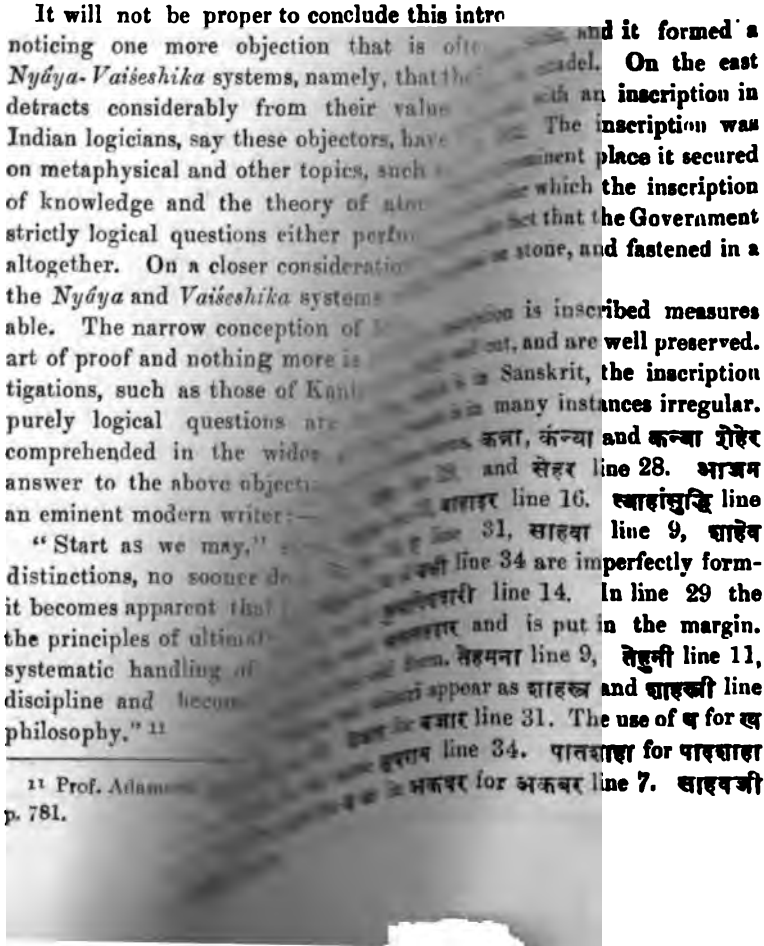
¹² *Ibid*, p. 799.

gism of the *Naiyāyikas* forget that both are mere instruments, mechanical aids for thinking, and as such cannot by themselves furnish an absolute guarantee for truth. Both have their merits as well as drawbacks, and consequently both must be judged from their proper standpoints. Aristotle distinguished the dialectic and the apodictic, i.e., the old and the new syllogism, by asserting that the former proceeded from an assumed hypothesis while the latter was based on facts. There is much force in this distinction, and it may well apply to the five-membered syllogism also. But Aristotle's distinction can no longer be accepted without reservation, since the old doctrines are intimately known to him. Much less can we regard it as a safe guide in adjudging the merits of Indian logic. (H. 814-846)

It will not be proper to conclude this introduction by noticing one more objection that is often advanced against the *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika* systems, namely, that they are too narrow and it formed a narrow circle. On the east side of the citadel, with an inscription in Sanskrit, the inscription was placed in a prominent place it secured the attention of the Government which the inscription set that the Government had to be fastened in a stone, and fastened in a stone. The narrow conception of knowledge is inscribed measures and are well preserved. The art of proof and nothing more is inscribed in Sanskrit, the inscription is in many instances irregular. The purely logical questions are not comprehended in the wide circle of the answer to the above objection. An eminent modern writer:—

“Start as we may,” the distinctions, no sooner do we begin to discuss it becomes apparent that the principles of ultimate systematic handling of the discipline and become a philosophy.”¹¹

¹¹ Prof. Adams, p. 781.



The substance of the inscription is as follows:—

That on a visit of the revenue officers of Fatesingh Gāyakawād, Regent of Baroda, to Ahmadābād in October 1812, the citizens of Ahmadābād presented a petition through the *Nagar Sheth* Wakhat-chand Khushālchand, before Captain James Rivett-Carnac, British Resident at Baroda, and his chief *Kārbhāri*, Gangādhar Shāstri, stating the following grievance, that in case a man died leaving only female heirs, Government interfered with the ancestral property. The petition asked a redress of this grievance. The justice of the request was recognized, and an order was passed that both son and daughter were to be considered as heirs. In case there was only a daughter she should be considered as heir until she herself should have offspring. The two *Māmlatdārs*, namely, Raghu Ramchandra, called the city Māmlatdār, and Bāpuji Govind, of the Haveli, representing the Gāyakawād's Government, were charged to see that the order was carried out. The order was to be engraved on stone, and placed in a prominent position in the bazār.



१।०



- १ ॥ श्री गणेशाय नमः ॥
 २ ॥ संवत् १८६८ वर्षे शके १७३४ प्रवत्तं ॥
 ३ ॥ माने वक्षणायगते श्री सूर्ये शरद ऋतौ ॥
 ४ ॥ मासोत्तम शुभकारि आश्विन मासे शुक्ल ॥
 ५ ॥ पक्षे ५ पंचमी तीर्थां क्षनिवास्तरे सुभानु नाम्ने ॥
 ६ ॥ संवत्सरे तद्दिने वीलीपत्य पातशाहा श्री ७ पात ॥
 ७ ॥ शाहा अकबर शाह गाजी तथा श्री पुना मध्ये ॥
 ८ ॥ राज्यकर्त्ता श्रीमंत पेशवा० वाजेराव साह ॥
 ९ ॥ वजी तेहमना कनिष्ठ बंधु श्रीमंत० राजश्री श्री ॥
 १० ॥ मनाजी रघुनाथ ते श्री अमदावाहना सुबेदार ॥
 ११ ॥ तेहनी आज्ञार्थी अधिकारि श्रीमंत राजेश्री आ ॥
 १२ ॥ पेशवा गायकवाड सेनात्यासखेल समसेर ॥
 १३ ॥ बाहदर तेहना बंधु श्रीमंत राजेश्री फतेहीघरा ॥
 १४ ॥ व गायकवाड तेहनामनि बडेहरेथी कुमावारी ॥
 १५ ॥ तेहनी सवारी सहेर अमदावाहमां आषी स्थारे आ ॥
 १६ ॥ जम कुंपनी बाहादरनी तरफथी अजम करणी ॥
 १७ ॥ एक शाहेव पंतैहता तेहना अभिकारभारी वे ॥
 १८ ॥ दशाहखसंपन्न राजेश्वरि गंगाधर शाहखां ते ॥
 १९ ॥ हुना आगल सेहेर अमदावाहना श्रेष्ठ० वखतर्च ॥
 २० ॥ इ खुस्तालखंद भावे शाहकार तथा रहिबन् सर्वे आ ॥

- 21 ॥ वीने भरज करी जे कोएकना वंसमां कजा होय छे तेह ॥
 22 ॥ ना पीतानी मलकत साक घारकार हरकत करे छे ते ॥
 23 ॥ हनी माफीमां घणूं पुन्य छे शांभलीने दया आवी रवा ॥
 24 ॥ रे अज्ञा करि जे रीकरो तथा रीकरी वारसवार भयवा ॥
 25 ॥ कन्याने संतान् न होय त्यारे कन्या पोते वारसवार जारसु ॥
 26 ॥ दि कन्यानी संतती होय त्यांहांसुद्धि वारसवार अबु श्री ॥
 27 ॥ चंद्रसूर्ये तपे तांसुधी काले घारकार समझी डखल को ॥
 28 ॥ ई करे नही एवु बोलीने राजेश्री० राघूरामचंद्र सेहर ॥
 29 ॥ ना मामतदार तथा हवेली गायकवाडनी मामतदार रा ॥
 30 ॥ जेश्री० बापुजी गोर्षीद जेमने आज्ञा करी जे अे प्रमाणे च ॥
 31 ॥ लावजो तथा पाशाण उपर ए प्रमाणे लखिने बेजारमां ॥
 32 ॥ गाडो जे मारग काय भोलघन करसे नही येम श्री ओलं ॥
 33 ॥ घन करे तेमने श्रीविश्वनाथ पुछे पोतानो धर्म हारे श्रीरस्तु ॥
 34 ॥ लखीतंग व्यास० प्राणजीवन सुषराम बक्षी खतवालो ॥
 35 ॥ कोइ वांकूजूकु बोले तो हींदुने श्री महादेव त० मुस ॥
 36 ॥ लमानने खुदा तथा रसुल पुछे सत्य मानजो ॥

The Translation is as follows :—

“ *Shri Ganeshāyanamah, Om.* In Sāmvat 1868, and Saka 1734 current, when the sun was in the south, in the autumn season, in the good and auspicious month of Āshwin, in the bright half of the month, on the 5th day, on Saturday, in the Sāmvatsar called Subhānu, in the days of the Dehlī Emperor, Shri Pādshāh Akbar Shāh Ghāzī, also at Shri Poona the ruler Shrimant Peshwa Bājerāo Sāhebji, and his youngest brother Shrimant Rājeshrī Chimmāji Raghunāth, governor of Shri Ahmadābād. When by his command the *adhikāri* Shrimant Rajeshrī Anandrāo Gāyakawād Senākhāskhel Samsar Bāhadar's brother Shrimant Rājeshrī Fatesinghrāo Gāyakawād's *Kumāvishdāri* from Baroda, came to the City of Ahmadābād, the *Sheikh* of the city of Ahmadābād, Wakhatchand Khushālchand, with all the merchants and *rayats*, presented a petition before the Hon. Carnac Sāheb, representing the Hon. Company Bahādar, and present in person, and before his chief *kārbhāri* Vedashāstrasampanna Rājeshrī Gangādhar Shāstrī as follows :—‘ In the case where a daughter represents the family line, Government interferes with the ancestral property, there would be great merit in the cancelling of this rule.’ Hearing this, pity was felt and an order was passed that a son and also a daughter may be heir, or if a daughter has no offspring she shall herself be heir until she has offspring ; so long as moon and sun endure let no one connected with Government

interfere. So saying, he ordered Rājeshrī Rāghu Rāmchandra, the City *Māmlatdār*, also Rājeshrī Bāpujī Govind, the *Māmlatdār* of the Haveli Gāyakawād, to see that the above was observed, and being engraved on stone be set up in the bazār, in order that no one may transgress it. If any one transgresses it the Lord of the Universe will inquire into it, and he will forfeit his religion. *Shrirastu*. The scribe is Vyāsa Prānajīvan Sukharām Bakshī, keeper of the documents. If any one speaks aught against this, if he is a Hindū Shri Mahādev will enquire into it, if a Musalmān, God and the Prophet will enquire into it. Accept this as the truth.”

This inscription is an interesting monument to the troublous times that characterized the close of the 18th, and beginning of the present, century. It mentions by name many of the chief actors of that period of struggle between the Peshvā and Gāyakawād, and the rapid ascendancy of the East India Company.

THE DATE of the inscription is Saturday, the 5th day of Ashvin, in the bright half of the month, in the Sāmvatsar called Subhānu, in Saka 1784 and Sāmvat 1868. This corresponds to the 10th of October 1812.¹

THE PLACES mentioned in this inscription are Dehlī, Poona, Baroda and Ahmadābād.

THE PERSONS mentioned are—

1. Muhammad Akbar II., next to the last of the Mughal Emperors.
2. Bājirāo Peshwā.
3. Chimnājī Raghunāth, brother of Bājerāv, and nominally Governor of Gujarāt.
4. Anandrāv Gāyakawād.
5. Fatesingh Gāyakawād, Regent of Baroda.
6. Captain James Rivett-Carnac, then British Resident at Baroda.
7. Gangādhar Shāstrī, the Gāyakawād's Minister.
8. Wakhatchand Khushālchand, the *Nagar Sheṭh* of Ahmad ābād.
9. Rāghu Rāmchandra, City *Māmlatdār*.
10. Bāpujī Govind, *Māmlatdār* of the Haveli.
11. Vyāsa Prānajīvan Sukharām, the scribe.

¹ Mr. Vinayak N. Nene, of the Colaba Observatory, kindly calculated for me the corresponding Christian date.

As nearly all the persons mentioned in this inscription are well known in modern history, the briefest reference, sufficient to identify them, and connect them together, seems all that is necessary.

1. Muḥammad Akbar II., H. 1221-1253 A.D. 1806-1837, next to the last of the Mughal Emperors, and pensioner of the British. With the close of Aurangzeb's reign, A.D. 1707, came to its end the glory of the Mughal Empire. Between the English and Marāthās the empire was completely dismembered. In 1806 (H. 1221) Shah Ālam died as a pensioner of the British, and Akbar II. succeeded him to that degraded position. He died in 1837 (H. 1253). (See Mughal Emperors of Hindūstān, by Stanley Lane-Poole.)

It seems strange that Akbar II. should be acknowledged as Pādshah by the Marāthās when he possessed no authority, and was merely a pensioner of the British. It appears, however, that he was still recognized as titular sovereign, for even at the time of this inscription the Marāthās coined in his name. Coins minted in Ahmadābād in Akbar's name are described in C. J. Rodgers's Catalogue of the Lahore Museum Coins, No. 5, page 244 (Mughal Emperor volume), and in Part II. of his Catalogue of the Calcutta Museum Coins, No. 8844, page 85. Rev. Geo. Taylor, of Ahmadābād, has several of these coins. I have also one dated H. 1233, A.D. 1817, with Akbar's name, and coined at Ahmadābād.

2. Bājerāv Peshwā. The Marāthās first began their invasion of Gujārāt in 1705, two years previous to Aurangzeb's death. By 1757 Gujārāt had come completely into the hands of the Marāthās, but the revenues were shared by the Peshwā and Gāyakawād. In 1760 Bājerāv Raghunāth received the insignia of Peshwā. In October 1800, an agreement was concluded between the Peshwā and Gāyakawād for the latter to take on a five years' lease the Peshwā's share of the revenues of Gujārāt. This was renewed in 1804 and continued until 1814, so that this was the arrangement in 1812, the time of our inscription. Bājerāv surrendered to the English, June 3rd, 1818. (See Duff's History of the Marāthās.)

3. Chinnājī Raghunāth, was the brother of Bājerāv Peshwā, and was appointed by him as Governor (Subedār) of Gujārāt. This appointment was nominal only, the active duties being performed by deputies. (See Duff's History of the Marāthās.)

4. Anandrāv Gāyakawād. Govindrāv died on the 18th September 1800, and Anandrāv was immediately placed on the throne of Baroda.

He was in every way a weak prince, a puppet in the hands of others. The administration of the State was placed in the hands of his younger brother, Fatesingh. Anandrāv died October 2nd 1819. (See Bom. Gaz. of Baroda, and Watson's History of Gujarat.)

5. Fatesingh was the younger brother of Anandrāv, and on account of his brother's incapacity he was made Regent. He joined the Darbār in 1807, and continued as Regent until his death, June 23rd, 1818. (See Bom. Gaz., Baroda.)

6. Captain James Rivett-Carnac. The predecessor of Captain Carnac as Resident at Baroda had been Major Walker. The latter left on sick leave in 1810 and Captain Carnac succeeded him as Resident. "Captain, afterwards Major-General, Sir James Carnac, Bart., belonged to the Madras Army. After completing his service at Baroda he was Member of the Court of Directors from 1829-1838 and for some of the time Deputy Chairman and Chairman, and finally he was Governor of Bombay from 1839-1841." (See Bom. Gaz., Baroda, page 216.)

7. Gangādhar Shāstrī Patwardhan. One of the best known characters in the history of that period. Originally from the Deccan, he entered the Gāyakawād's service in Baroda in 1802. In 1803 he was nominated confidential medium with the Darbār, and rapidly rose to great influence. In June 11th, 1813, the year following our inscription, he was created Mutālik Diwān on a salary of Rs. 60,000. He went to Poona in 1814 to settle questions between the Peshwā and Gāyakawād Governments, and was murdered at Pandharpur on the night of the 14th July 1815, with what was believed to be the full connivance of Bajerāv Peshwā and Trimbakji, his minister. (See Duff's History of the Marāthās, and Bom. Gaz., Baroda.)

8. Wakhatchand Khushā'chand.¹ The office of *Nagar Sheṭh*, while not peculiar to Ahmadābād, has special significance in that city in that the office was conferred on one of its merchants for special services rendered to the city. The office has descended from father to son. The present member of the family to bear the office of *Nagar Sheṭh* is Miābhai Premābhai.

¹ The history of this family I have prepared chiefly from information supplied to me by Mr. Manibhai Premābhai, brother of the present *Nagar Sheṭh*, and Vice-President of the Ahmadābād Municipality, but also from references to members of the family in the travels of Mandelslo and Thevenot. (See also Bom. Gaz., Ahmadābād, 113, 257 note.)

The genealogy of the family is as follows:—

1. Padmashāh.
- |
2. Vachashāh.
- |
3. Sheskarana,
- |
4. Shāntidās.
- |
5. Lakhmichand.
- |
6. Khushālchand.
- |
7. Wakhatchand.
- |
8. Himābhai.
- |
9. Premābhai.
- |
10. Miābhai.

The family claims to be of the solar dynasty, and of the Kukul and Sisodia race. Nothing is known of Padmashāh, Vachashāh, or Sheskarana. Shāntidās is better known. He was a merchant of great wealth and built a Jain temple at Saraspur about a mile to the east of Ahmadābād. It was visited and described by Mandelslo³ in

³ Mandelslo's Voyages, Vol. II., page 114.

"The chief *Mosque of the Benjans* is one of the finest structures that ever I saw, it being but lately built then; and stands in the Centre of a vast Court, furnished with a very high wall of Free-stone, all about which is a *Piazza* divided into Cells, in each of which stands a Statue, either white or black, representing a naked woman sitting with her legs under her, according to the Eastern fashion. Some of these Cells had three Statues, *to wit*, a great one between two little ones.

"As soon as you enter the Mosque, you see two Elephants of black marble done to the life, and upon one of them the effigies of the founder, a rich *Benjan* merchant, named *Santides*. The mosque is vaulted, and the wall adorned with the Figures of men and other living creatures. There was not the least thing to be seen within the *Mosque*, except three Chapels, which were very dark, and divided only by wooden rails, wherein were placed statues of marble like those in the cells, the middlemost having a lamp hanging before it. We saw the priest busie in receiving from such as were performing their

1638 when just completed. When Aurangzeb was Viceroy in 1644—1646 he defiled and mutilated the temple. On complaint being made to his father, the Emperor Shāh Jahān, he was rebuked, and the restoration of the temple was ordered.⁴ This must have been much against Aurangzeb's pride, for no sooner was he Emperor than he utterly demolished the temple.

The title of *Nagar Sheṭh* was conferred upon Shāntidās by the Mughal Emperor,⁵ probably Shāh Jahān. The Thākor of Palitānā gave him the full and unconditioned ownership of the Palitānā Hills. The dates of his birth and death are not known. Of Lakmichand nothing is known. His son Khushālchand was born in A. D. 1674. He was of great service to the city in stopping its pillage by the Marāthās, and in grateful recognition of his efforts there was given to him and his heirs in 1725⁶ the special privilege of taking octroi duty,⁷ which has since been commuted by the British Government into an annual pension of Rs. 2,133 payable from the Public Treasury. He died in 1748.

His son Wakhatchand, of our inscription, was born in 1740 and died in 1814. He seems to have been a favorite with the Gāyākawād Government, who gave him a present of a village called Ranchorda, the income of which is still enjoyed by his heirs. He rendered valuable assistance to the English. He was a man of wealth, having shops and firms in many places. As we see from the inscription

Devotions there, Flowers, Oyl, Wheat and Salt; with the first he adorned the Images, his Mouth and Nose being covered with a piece of Callicoe, for fear of prophaning the Mystery by the impurity of his breath; the Oyl was intended for the Lamps, and the Wheat and Salt for the sacrifice. He muttered out certain Prayers over the Lamp, and washed ever and anon his hands in the smoak of the flame, out of an Opinion they have that, Fire having a greater Power of purifying than Water, they may without offence lift up their Hands to God."

⁴ Thevenot's Travels (A. D. 1697), Part III., page 10.

⁵ According to the Bom. Gaz., Ahmadābād, p. 113, the title of *Nagar Sheṭh* was conferred on Khushālchand in 1725 for special services in preventing the pillage of the city by the Marāthās. It is possible, however, that Shāntidās first received the title, but that it was confirmed with special privileges to Khushālchand in 1725.

⁶ The reference to Khushālchand in Briggs's cities of Gujarāshtra, 212, 213, as rendering this service in 1781 on the occasion of General Goddard's Capture of the city, arose from mistaking Saṃvat 1781 (A. D. 1725) for A. D. 1781 the date of Gen. Goddard's siege. (Bom. Gaz., Ahmad., p. 257, note.)

⁷ Bom. Gaz., Ahmad., p. 114, note.

he represented the citizens of Ahmadābād on the occasion of their presenting the petition, and secured the redress of their grievances. His son, Himābhai, born 1725 and died 1857, was known for his many charities, and for the assistance rendered to the British during the sepoy rebellion of 1857. His son Premābhai was born in 1815 and died in 1887. The present *Nagar Sheṭh* is, as has been mentioned above, Miābhai Premābhai.

9-10. Rāghu Rāmchandra and Bāpujī Govind, the one called the City Māmlatdār, the other the Māmlatdār of Havelī Gāyakawād. I have been able to find no other reference to these than that of the inscription. I have been informed, however, that there are descendants of Bāpujī Govind living in the city. The Havelī Gāyakawād is the name of a citadel in the south-west corner of the city between the Rāykhad and Khān Jahān gates. It is supposed to have been built in 1738 when the Government of the city was divided between Momin Khān and the Marāthās. After 1757, when the city was divided between the Peshwā and Gāyakawād, the Havelī was occupied by the agents of the Gāyakawād, in whose possession it still remains. (Bom. Gaz., Ahmad. 260.)

11. Vyās Prānjīvan Sukharām, the scribe. I have found no reference to him other than that of this inscription.

In the books at my disposal I have found no reference to the occasion which brought Captain Carnac and Gangādhar Shāstrī to Ahmadābād. It is interesting to note, however, that this year, 1812, was the year of the great famine in Gujarāt, an account of which is given by Captain Carnac, from personal observation, in the *Transactions of the Bombay Literary Society*, Vol. I., pp. 321-329, in 1815. This fact may explain the visit which was connected with the collection of revenue. It may also explain the immediate occasion of the petition, since many families must have been left without male heirs, and if the property of such was interfered with by the Government the community must have necessarily felt the increased hardship.

ART. XXI.—*A Chapter from the Tândya Brâhmana of the Sâma Veda and the Lâtâyâna Sûtra, on the admission of the Non-Aryans into Aryan Society in the Vedic Age.* By RÂJÂRÂM RÂM-KRISHNA BHÂGAVAT, Esq.

[Read 21st December 1896.]

It has always been a moot question with the students of Indian history how the Aryan settlers in India succeeded in incorporating the non-Aryan races in all parts of the country into a common system of religious faith and social life. Indian society, as we now find it, with its system of caste-organisations, mutually exclusive of one another, seems wholly incapable of such an expansion, and yet there can be no doubt that at some early stage of its growth this capacity of expansion was its chief characteristic. Sir Alfred Lyall has indeed noticed in one of his essays this elasticity of the Aryan system of faith, and he has traced the process by which even at the present day the aboriginal tribes in large numbers are being converted to a nominal allegiance to Hindu gods and veneration for the Brahman and the cow. This modern expansion, however, is essentially different from what must have taken place when the Dravidian races and the Trans-Gangetic tribes were first âryanized and became in their turn the staunchest adherents of the old orthodox creed. The mythological as also the classical Sanskrit literature throws but little light on this interesting period of the Aryan settlements. Some glimpses, however, are afforded by the ritualistic writings, notably the Tândya Brâhmana of the Sâma Veda and the Lâtâyâna Sûtra in connection with the description of the Vrâtya-Stoma or the prayer for the Vrâtyas, a brief summary of which is proposed to be given in the following paper.

An English Translation of the Text.

The Tândya Brâhmana of the Sâma Veda in its 17th chapter has the following myth and remarks on this subject :—

“When the Devas (gods) retired to the upper world called Svarga, some of them who still wandered about on earth in the disguise of the *vrâtyas* (outcasts) had to remain below. These, longing to join their more fortunate brethren, now came to the spot whence the Devas (gods) had ascended to heaven ; but not knowing the necessary hymn

with the metre, were in a fix. The gods sympathising with their less fortunate brethren below, asked the Maruts to teach them the necessary hymn with the metre. Thereupon the less fortunate among the gods duly received from the Maruts the necessary hymn called *shoḍasha* with the metre called *anuṣṭubh*, by means of which they subsequently ascended to heaven."

"The *hīna* (depressed) *vrātyas* are certainly those who neither practise *brahma-charya* nor can till land nor carry on trade."

"This prayer has the power of elevating them. This prayer can make them all equal."

"In this prayer the priest recites the Sāma called *dyoutāna*."

"The Sāma is so called because the chief house-holder of the depressed gods was named Dyutāna. He belonged to the fallen Marud-gaṇas: he with his fallen followers performed the sacrifice and chanted this prayer and became prosperous."

"Those are called *garagir* (swallowers of poison) who eat the food to be eaten by the Brahmans, who, though not abused, complain of being abused, who punish those not deserving punishment, who, though not initiated, speak the language of the initiated."

"This prayer, called *shoḍasha*, has the power of destroying sins."

The Tāndya Brāhmaṇa, after this introduction about the *vrātyas* and the merits of the prayer, proceeds to describe the ceremony to be observed on the occasion.

"The *vrātya* house-holder who wishes to perform this sacrifice should secure a turban, a whip, a small bow, a chariot, a silver coin, 33 cows, etc.; his followers should do the same."

"In this way the *vrātya* who deposit their wealth with their old brethren or with the nominal Brahmans of the province of Bihar are raised and join the ranks of the Aryans."

"Thirty-three *vrātyas* come with their chief house-holder to the sacrifice and attain elevation and prosperity."

"The *vrātyas* are those who wear a turban on their heads, which they put on one side. They carry a whip in their hands and a small bow without arrows, by which they make depredations and trouble people. They ride in carts with bamboo seats, without cover and drawn by horses or mules. They wear on their bodies white garments with black borders or garments made of wool with red stripes or sheep skins. They use silver coins. These articles should be procured by the *grihapati* (the *vrātya* house-holder)."

The same prayer and rite is prescribed by this Brahman for the

admission of the *hīna* (degraded and depressed) tribes into the Aryan community as also of the condemned criminals, and young Aryans returning after a short sojourn among non-Aryan people, and lastly of those Aryans who, after having spent their lives among the non-Aryans, return home in old age. This is the substance of the Tândya Brâhmana.

The Lâtyâyana Sûtra of the same Veda in the 6th section of the 8th chapter tries to explain some of the obscure terms found in the Brâhmana and supplies additional information in regard to *vrâtya* sacrifices. It states that "the *vrâtyas*, who wish to perform this sacrifice should select the most learned or the purest in descent or the richest among them, as their *grîhapati* (chief house-holder) and they should partake of the sacrificial food after their chief"; also that "there should be at least 33 *vrâtyas* for performing this sacrifice."

The Sûtra makes references to the Tândya Brâhmana, and after having given explanations of some of the obscure terms, finally states that "when such sacrifices are performed the *vrâtyas*, having secured the rights and privileges of the *dvijas* or the first three regenerate castes, may afterwards learn the Vedas, perform sacrifices, and make presents (to Brahmans), and the Brahmans may teach them the Vedas, perform sacrifices for them, and receive presents at their hands, and even dine with them, without being required to submit to penance." This is the brief summary of the Brâhmana and the Sûtra. As it is not likely to be quite intelligible without further explanations, the following observations and remarks on the Brâhmana and the Sûtra, of which a brief summary has already been given, are placed before the audience.

Remarks and Observations.

The word *vrâtya*, as explained by Sâyana, means 'fallen.' The word *vrâtya-stoma* thus means "a prayer (to be chanted) in the *anushṣṭubh* metre for (the regeneration of) the fallen." There were four kinds of *vrâtya-stomas*.

The first kind of *vrâtya-stoma*, which on account of the number of the necessary hymns being four, was known as *chatûhṣhodashî* was performed for those who belonged to the depressed race (*hīna*) and also those who were degraded (*garagîr*). Those of the depressed race who had the *vrâtya-stoma* performed for them were treated as their equals by the followers of the Vedas. The degraded Aryans were collectively described as "swallowers of poison." In the case of the degraded, the question was more of re-admission than of conversion. The depressed

race though described as "not studying the Vedas tilling the soil or treading" is said to have been divided into two classes, the upper and the lower. The former class is described as "wearing a turban, carrying a whip or a javelin and a bow, possessed of a carriage, clad in (white) garments with black borders, wearing sheep-skins and using coins of silver," while the latter seems to have been "clad in sheep-skin or in garments of wool interwoven lengthwise with threads dyed red" and to have "used shoes." These sundry articles formed the wealth of the depressed people who were known as the *vrātyas* and who were regenerated generally in bands of thirty-three, their chief being the thirty-fourth. The legend declares the number of the depressed among the gods to have been thirty-three, their chief *Dyutāna* being the thirty-fourth. Corresponding to the original number of the depressed among the gods the number of the depressed on the occasion of any particular sacrifice was fixed at 33, or with the chief at 34, among the children of *Manu*. This certainly was conversion *en masse* pure and simple and not re-admission.

The second kind of *vrātya-stoma* was performed for re-admitting those who were "guilty of manslaughter." These having fled from justice or being condemned to banishment, after passing some years among alien races, naturally yearned to return to their kith and kin. The number of necessary hymns to be chanted being six, this *vrātya-stoma* was called *ṣaṭ-ṣoḍaśī*; the guilty persons being called the *nindītz* (condemned).

The third kind of *vrātya-stoma* was intended for the re-admission of those who, having lived from childhood for a limited number of years among the depressed races, were nearly denationalized. Such denationalized Aryans were classed with the depressed race and called the *kanishṭha* (juniors). Owing to the number of the necessary hymn being two, this *vrātya-stoma* was called *dvi-ṣoḍaśī*.

The occasion for the fourth kind of *vrātya-stoma* was the return in old age of a follower of the Vedas from the midst of the depressed people. Such old men also were classed with the *vrātyas* and called the *jyeshṭha* (seniors) or *shama-nāchāme-dhṛas* (the impotent). The first to perform the sacrifice was *kushītaka*. This was also a case of re-admission and not of conversion.

The *Lātyāyana Sūtra* says that "He who is superior in education, birth or wealth should be acknowledged as their chief by the thirty-three *vrātyas*, who should each have a separate fire for pouring the oblations into." Though not quite clear on the point, *Lātyāyana*

seems not to insist on the number 33; but the commentator having inserted the number of 33, is evidently not prepared to celebrate the *vr̥t̥ya-stoma* unless 33 of the depressed community seek him in a body. The word *shama-nīchā-medh̥ra*, according to Lātyāyana, means "those men who through old age have lost the power of procreation." There were times, it seems, when the *vr̥t̥yas* bow in hand "made depredations," owing to which the followers of the Vedas did not think life quite a blessing. Those of the depressed races who had the *vr̥t̥ya-stoma* performed for them assumed a new habit, casting off their old one, which was recommended to be given away to those who were not yet tired of their life as *vr̥t̥yas*; and in case the latter had disappeared, to the nominal Brāhman̥s of the province of Behār. The *vr̥t̥yas* who were fortunate enough to be thus enfranchized could, by the right of enfranchisement, engage in any of the callings considered honourable by the followers of the Vedas who no longer disdained to mix freely among them on terms of equality. From the manner in which the explanation of the words *vipatha* and *kr̥ṣṇasha* is attempted, there is room for entertaining a suspicion that when the author of the Sūtra flourished, the *vr̥t̥yas* having well nigh disappeared some of the words denoting things peculiar to them had become unintelligible and even obscure. Even the shoes worn by the primitive *vr̥t̥yas* which, according to Shāṇḍilya, were black and pointed, were almost forgotten, and it became customary to substitute any ordinary pair for them.

The graphic description of the Brāhman̥a clearly establishes that the word *vr̥t̥ya* originally denoted some non-Aryan tribes. As these non-Aryan tribes had a covering for the head to keep the sun off and were clad in white garments, with black borders, and had a silver currency and pointed shoes, they cannot be said to have been savages. They must have been semi-civilized. When we come down from the Brāhman̥a to the Sūtra we find that the society of the *vr̥t̥yas* acknowledged the three grades of the educated, the high-born and the wealthy, which perhaps formed its upper classes, and which at times, with its masses, made attempts to overwhelm the followers of the Vedas. The plan of assimilation by conversion was, perhaps, suggested to the Aryans by the necessity for expansion. A belief in the integrity of the Trayī or the three Vedas and an unshaken faith in the virtue of the Mantras contained therein combined to produce a wonderful cohesiveness, which enabled the Aryans to present a united front to the *vr̥t̥yas*. The expansive force of a people without is generally in direct ratio to

the cohesive force within. There was, perhaps, a necessity for expansion on the part of the *vrátyas* also. But the elements of cohesiveness being absent, a very compact combination for offensive, or even defensive, purposes became an impossibility, and the *vrátyas* had eventually to retire ignominiously from the unequal contest, leaving the combined Aryans masters of the field.

Such a glowing picture cannot be drawn of the Brahmanism of to-day. For all practical purposes it has become a dead organism by reason of the crystallization of castes whose sub-divisions, looking down upon one another, as if forming so many distinct races, refuse inter-marriage, and in some cases even interdining. But if we ascend higher and higher, and at last reach the crowning summit of the Vedic times, we shall find that the old Bráhmañism, being a living organism, and having, therefore, a cohesive as well as expansive force, was blessed with a wonderful power of assimilation which naturally refused crystallization into castes, though the distinction of classes was not unknown.

The word *vrátya* which thus originally denoted a barbarous or a non-Aryan people, came in course of time to be applied to those Aryans who happened, or were forced, to spend some years of their life amongst such. The word *shama-níchú-medhra* is, as explained by the commentator, somewhat suggestive. Some of the Aryans perhaps associated too freely with the licentious or gay women of the *vrátya* community, and having lost their bloom and health by excess returned home in old age with shattered constitutions. The *stoma* called by this name was, perhaps, originally intended for such dissolute and depraved specimens of humanity. In no other way can a connection be established between the loss of procreative power and a residence among the *vrátyas*. Gradually those also who degraded themselves by violating the approved rules of conduct were held to have become *vrátya* and classed with them. The word *vrátya* in the Vedic language will thus be found to have a three-fold significance. It is a pity that there is no clue in the Bráhmaña to determine the native country of the *vrátyas*. The Sûtra holds that "the chariot used by the *vrátyas*" was the same with that in use "among the eastern people," thereby hinting that the *vrátya* should be considered an eastern people. The custom of giving away the habit of the enfranchised *vrátya* to a Brahman of the province of Magadha (modern Behâr) in case a *vrátya* were not found at hand to receive it, pretty conclusively establishes the original home of these

non-Aryans. The Vedic tradition at least as embodied in the Sûtra of Lâtyâyana points to the province of Behâr (Eastern India) as being the cradle of this non-Aryan race.

In course of time the *vrâtyas* seem to have disappeared as a race partly by absorption and partly by extinction. The memory of their having been a non-Aryan race was, however, preserved and the word naturally came to denote those among the Brahmans, the Kshatriyas and the Vaishyas, who, their thread ceremony not being performed for 16, 22, or 23 years respectively, either from birth or from conception, had lost their claim to the honor of being called brethren by the three regenerate castes. Âshvalâyana in his Gṛihya-sûtra calls all those youths who have passed the limit of age fixed for each caste without being regenerated by the thread ceremony *vrâtya*, and lays down that no intercourse should be held with them. The *vrâtyas* having thus disappeared, the last three of the four *vrâtya-stomas* were completely forgotten, and the only occasion was for the first *vrâtya-stoma* called *chatuh-śhodashî*, which Âpastamba, as quoted by Sâyaṇa, while annotating the legend of Dyâtana, seems to recommend for the unregenerate youths of all ages of the three regenerate castes. In the Dharma-sûtra ascribed to Âpastamba the word *vrâtya*, however does not occur, though Âpastamba divides the unregenerate Aryan youths into three classes. The first class comprises those who have passed the limit of age fixed for the performance of the thread ceremony. Those whose fathers and grandfathers have died without the thread ceremony are put into the second class, while the third is reserved for those whose great grandfathers also have departed this world without the sacred thread. Âpastamba prescribes penance, which such unregenerate Aryans must submit to before they can ask to have the thread ceremony performed for them. The original *vrâtyas* being no more found there are no occasions for the performance of any of the four *vrâtya-stomas* in these days. The modern Brahman takes good care not to put off the thread ceremony of his son later than the tenth or eleventh year as preliminary to his early marriage, and stoutly holds that the Kshatriyas and Vaishyas have become quite extinct in this age of Kali. There are, therefore, nowadays no occasions even for the penances prescribed by Âpastamba.

The orthodox Brahman priest of to-day, having thus had no opportunities to perform the *vrâtya-stoma* himself, or to see it performed for

others, is unable to throw any light on the working of its details. Besides, the ceremony in question being treated of at some length in the Sâma-veda which has no followers among the Marâthhâ Brâhmanas who belong either to Rîg-veda, which makes no mention of it, or to Yajur-veda, which seems to allude to it only casually, the ignorance prevailing in regard to it throughout the length and breadth of Mahâ-râshtra ought not to excite surprise. Curiously enough the word *vrâtya* is still preserved in the sense of "naughty, unmanageable, playing pranks" in the every-day language of the Marâthhâ people.

(c) Again, with respect to Ka the Egyptians believed that man "included a second self able to pass through walls or barriers bound neither by time nor space, and which might exist for thousands of years."¹ This is true, to a certain extent, of the Fravashi of the Avesta. The Fravashi of a man existed thousands of years after his death. Not only that, but it existed long before his birth. The birth of a man is not a new event in the history of creation. His Fravashi was created by God with the creation of the world. It existed somewhere in the universe, helping in the work of creation. With the birth of the man it came into existence in this world and after his death it still existed somewhere in the universe, and irrespective of time and space it came to this world when piously invoked by the living.

(d) "The Ka, which had been the companion of the body in life, at death attained to independent existence. It was to the Ka that funeral prayers and offerings were made."² This is true of the Fravashi of the Avesta. In the Fravardin Yasht, wherein the departed worthies of ancient Irân are remembered, it is their Fravashis or Farôhârs that are invoked, and not their *ravâns* or souls in simple entity. It is in honour of the Fravashis that the funeral prayers and offerings are made.

2. *Âb*, or heart, was the second of the immortal parts of an Egyptian's soul. According to Wiedemann, "a distinct doctrine was gradually formulated as to the part played by the heart in the next world and how it was to be recovered by its owner. This taught that after death the heart led an independent existence, journeying alone through the Underworld until it met the deceased in the Hall of Judgement."

From this description it appears that the Egyptian *Âb* corresponded to the *Daêna* or conscience of the Avesta³ in several ways.(a) Just as the Egyptian *Âb* journeys alone and meets the deceased in the Hall of Judgment, so we find from the Avesta and Pehelvi books that *Daêna*, after being separated at death, meets the deceased again on the third day after death in the Judgment Hall before Meher Dâvar, i. e., Meher the Judge.

If the deceased had led a good and virtuous life, his *Daêna* or conscience appears before him in the form of a handsome maiden. We read in the Vishtâsp Yasht (Yt. XXIV.—56).

¹ Wiedemann, p. 240.

² Wiedemann, p. 241.

³ The Pehelvi equivalents of *Daêna* are *kunashné* or *kerdâr*, i. e., deeds.

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"It appears to him as if in that (wind) comes his own Daëna (conscience) in the form of a maiden that is handsome, beautiful, white-armed, brave, well-formed, tall, with large breasts, and well-formed body; well-born, of noble descent, of fifteen years of age, as beautiful in the growth of her body as the most beautiful object in creation."

The Hâdôkht Nask (II., 22,-23) and Virâf-nâmeh (IV., 18-20) give similar passages. The Minokherad says the same thing about the 𐬎𐬎𐬎𐬎 Kuneshné of a deceased person (II., 125). Here Kuneshné is the Pehelvi equivalent of the Avesta Daëna and means one's deeds or actions.

The Vendidad (XIX., 29) also gives a similar passage, but the word there used is Baodhangh, which, though one of the immortal constituents of the soul, is, according to the Avesta passage, a little different from Daëna. The Vendid seems to use it as an equivalent of Daëna.

Again, if the deceased had led a bad and vicious life, his Daëna appears before him in the form of a hideous ugly woman. We read in Virâf-nâmeh (XVII., 12).

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"He saw in that wind his own conscience and deeds (in the form of), a woman, loose, dirty, polluted, furious, with bent knees, back-

hipped, so endlessly spotted that one spot over reached another spot as if she were a polluted, dirty, stinking, noxious animal."

The Minokherad also says that in the case of a vicious man his conscience appears before him in the form of an unmaidenly maiden (II., 167). (اورور و اورور لئ سغه سغو)

This is what is termed a "noble allegory" by Dr. Cheyne, who hinks that "at any rate this Zoroastrian allegory suggested the Talmudic story of the three bards of ministering angels who meet the soul of the pious man, and the three bards of wounding angels who meet the bad man when he dies." (Bampton Lectures.—The Origin of the Psalter, p. 437.)

(b) Again, the belief of the Egyptians about this *Âb* (Heart) was that "it is not the heart which sins, but only its fleshly envelope. The heart was and still remained pure and in the Underworld accused its earthly covering of any impurities contracted. Only if the latter was pure did it return to its place; otherwise it probably dwelt in a place set apart as the Abode of Hearts and so devoted its former possessor to destruction."¹

Well nigh similar is the case with the *Daëna*, or conscience of the Avesta. When it appears before the deceased in the form of a woman on the third day after death at the time of his being judged by *Mehêr* the Judge, he gives credit to the deceased for her being comely and handsome or accuses him for her being ugly and irksome, according as the man is virtuous or vicious.

In the case of a virtuous man, his *Daëna* (conscience), appearing in the form of a beautiful damsel, praises the good actions of the deceased, or, as the Egyptians said, gives evidence in favour of the deceased and gives all credit for her being handsome to him. She says, "I am thy good thoughts, good words and good deeds . . . thou hast made me more lovely, more beautiful, more desirable, &c." (*Hâdôkt Nask* II., 25-30). In the same way in the case of a vicious man his *Daëna*, or conscience, appearing before him in the form of an ugly woman, accuses him of having made her ugly and filthy. She says, "Oh man of evil thoughts, evil words and evil deeds! I am thy bad deeds. It is on account of thy desire and deeds that I am ugly and hideous, &c." (*Viraf* XVII., 14, 15).

3. The third component immortal part of a man, was, according to the Egyptians, the *Ba*, which, Prof. Wiedemann says, "cor-

¹ Wiedemann, p. 287.

responds to our idea of the soul. It was imagined as being in the form of a bird usually with human head." This Ba of the Egyptians corresponds to the Urvan, or 'soul, of the Persians, but there is one important difference, viz., that when the Egyptians imagined the Ba, i. e., the Avesta Urvan, or soul, to be in the form of a bird, the ancient Persians imagined the Fravashi (the Ka of the Egyptians) to be in the form of a bird.

According to the Fravardin Yasht (Yt. XIII., 70), when a pious king invokes the Fravashis to his help, they fly to his help in the form of a bird-like man with wings.

4. The Sekhem was another important immortal component of the soul among the Egyptians. According to Wiedemann, it is "the personified power of strength of the deceased." This seems to correspond with the "Anghu" of the Avesta, which is the life-giving faculty or the power of vitality. In chapter LV of the Yaçna (s. 1) where the mortal and the immortal component parts of a man's body and soul are spoken of, we have the word 'Tevishi' used in place of 'Anghu' in the passage we have quoted in the beginning. This shows that 'Tevishi' was understood to be an equivalent of 'Anghu,'

Now the word Tevishi derived from $\text{𐬬𐬀} = \text{توانستن}$, i. e., to be able, to be strong, means strength or power. This, then, corresponds exactly with the work of the Sekhem of the Egyptians, as described by Wiedemann.

Now, there remains one word of the Avesta passage which remains to be compared, and that is Baodhangh. But, as we said above, the Vendidad uses the term as an equivalent of Daêna. In the above passage of the Yaçna (LV., 1) also, the word Daêna is altogether omitted, and the word 'Baodhangh' is used. This shews that there was a very slight shade of difference between Daêna and Baodhangh as two immortal component parts of the soul.

II.

The next point, wherein the Avesta and Egyptian beliefs about the future of the soul agree, is that of the judgment after death.

According to the Egyptians, the deceased went before Osiris to be

judged for his past actions.¹ According to the Avesta, it is before Mithra or Mehêr that the souls of the deceased appear to be judged.

(a) It is said that an ancient name of Osiris was Hysiris, which meant 'many-eyed.' In the same way, according to the Avesta, Mithra was called Baêvarê-Chashmana, *i. e.*, "a thousand-eyed."

(b) Again, Osiris was considered to be a Divinity of the Sun;² so was Mithra acknowledged to be the angel presiding over Light. Mithra is always associated with Hvarê-khsaêta or Khorshed, *i. e.*, the Sun himself.

(c) Osiris holds a sceptre and a flail which is a club-like instrument, as symbols of his power.³ Mithra also has his 'vazra,' *i. e.*, mace, or club, as a symbol of authority to be struck over the heads of vicious persons (Kamêrêdha paitî daêvanâm, Meher Nyâsh, 15).

(d) As Osiris has a weighing scale before him to weigh the good and the bad actions of a person,⁴ so has Mithra one before him (Minokherad II., 119).

(e) Both among the Egyptians and the ancient Persians, the souls of the deceased are led before the presiding judge by some god or angel. Among the Egyptians it is Anubis that leads them before Osiris and among the ancient Persians it is Sraosha, Râm and Beherâm that lead them before Mithra (Minokherad II., 115).

(f) Osiris is helped in his work of Judgement by some other gods. So is Mithra helped by some other Yazatas, *i. e.*, angels. (Viraf, V., 3.)

It is Anubis that is in charge of the weighing scales among the Egyptians. It is Rashnê that holds this office among the Persians. (Kiaf, V., 3.)

As it is Horus among the Egyptians that superintends the work of weighing, so it is Âstâd among the Persians that does a similar work. As the Horus of the Egyptians is a god of truth, so is Âstâd, among the Persians, an angel of justice and truth.

Among the Egyptians Thoth acts as a scribe of the gods and sets down the result of the proceedings, but among the Persians Mithra⁵

himself is an account-taker.  nyôkshê hamârgar

(Dadistan-i-Dini XIV., 3).

¹ Wiedemann, p. 217.

² Wiedemann, p. 215.

³ Wiedemann, p. 217, 248.

⁴ P. 248.

⁵ The names of the Zoroastrian angels taking a part in the work of judgment suggest a different kind of comparison between the ancient Egyptians

2. In both the nations the souls of the deceased go into the Higher world repeating some words expressive of their feeling. According to the Egyptians the deceased, while entering the Judgement Hall, said :

“ Hail to you, ye lords of the Two Truths! Hail to the Great God, Lord of the Two Truths I bring unto you Truth, I destroy the Evil for you.”

Compare with these, the words of a pious soul among the Zoroastrians. Ūshtë ahmâi yahmâi ushtë-kahmâi-chit, *i. e.*, “ Hail to him who (brings) happiness to others.” (Yaçna XLIII., 1.)

III.

Both the nations believed in Resurrection. As Pettigrew says:¹ “ Believing in the immortality of the soul, the ancient Egyptians conceived that they were retaining the soul within the body as long as the form of the body could be preserved entire, or were facilitating the reunion of it with the body, at the day of resurrection, by preserving the body from corruption.”

Thus we see that one of the two objects and the principal object of the Egyptians in preserving their bodies entire as mummies was to provide for the resurrection. They embalmed and preserved not only the body, which they called Kha (or Xa), but also the intestines, the heart, lungs and liver.² These four internal organs were, as it were

and Zoroastrians. According to both, the days of the month and the months are assigned to some gods or angels.

According to Herodotus (II., 82), “ each month and day is assigned to some particular god” among the Egyptians. We find the same among the Zoroastrians. All the 30 days of a Parsee month and all the 12 months of a Parsee year are named after particular ‘ yazatas ’ or angels.

The Egyptians intercalated five whole days at the end of the three hundred and sixty days of the Egyptian year. As Dr. Wiedemann says “ The old Egyptian year consisted of twelve months of thirty days each, and in order to bring this into closer conformity with the true year there were added to it the so-called Epagomenal days, which even at an early period were celebrated in certain temples as those on which the five gods of the Osirian cycle were born ” (p. 21).

The Zoroastrians have a similar intercalation of the year, and even now the last five days of the year so added, known as the ‘ gâthâ ’ days, are celebrated in the temples as the most sacred of Parsee holidays. They are named after the five ‘ gâthâs, ’ or sacred hymns, in honour of God and His Realm written by Zoroaster himself.

¹ A History of Egyptian Mummies, by Thomas Joseph Pettigrew. p. 13.

² Wiedemann, p. 234-35.

given at the time of burial in the charge of four gods to be preserved entire and to be reproduced at the time of resurrection.

Now the ancient Persians also believed in the resurrection, but they did not think it necessary to preserve the dead bodies entire for that purpose. At first they thought that the preservation of the bones was sufficient for the purpose of resurrection. One Saoshyant, that will appear at the end of this cycle, will raise the dead from their bones (Ast). He was called Astvat-erata, i. e., he who makes the possessors of bones rise up. Hence arose at one time in ancient Persia the custom of preserving the bones (Ast. *آستوت* L. *os* *استوتان*) in Astodāns or Ossuaries.¹

Latterly the necessity of preserving the bones in separate *astodāns* (receptacles of bones) or ossuaries, was gradually done away with, and we find that the Bundehesh gives a more rational way of dealing with the ancient belief of raising the dead from the bones. It says that when God will resuscitate this world and raise the dead he would do so from the materials of this earth to which the different material components of a man's body are entrusted. It says that at the time of the resurrection, when the dead will be made to rise again, their bones will be claimed from the earth, where they have been reduced to the state of dust, their blood from water, their hair from trees and their life from fire (XXX., 6).

Now rises the question, How shall we account for the above points of marked similarity between the beliefs of these two ancient nations, the Egyptians and the Persians?

The answer is that both these nations had their homes in Central Asia. The ancient Egyptians were Asiatics by origin and not Africans.

Wilkinson² says:—"Every one who considers the features, the language and other peculiarities of the ancient Egyptians, will feel convinced that they are not of African extraction, but that they bear the evident stamp of an Asiatic origin And if features and other external appearances are insufficient to establish this fact, the formation of the skull, which is decidedly of the Caucasian variety, must remove all doubts of their valley having been peopled from the East There

¹ Vide my paper on "A Persian Coffin said to be 3,000 years old sent to the Museum of the Society by Mr. Malcolm of Bushire," in the Journal of the Anthropological Society, Vol. I., No. 7.

² *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, by J. G. Wilkinson, Vol. I., p. 3.

has always been a striking resemblance between the Egyptians and Asiatics, both as to their manners, customs, language and religion; and some authors have considered the valley they inhabited to belong to Asia rather than to Africa. . . . In manner, language and many other respects, Egypt was certainly more Asiatic than African. It is not improbable that those two nations (the Hindus and Egyptians) may have proceeded from the same original stock and have migrated southwards from their parent country in Central Asia."

Not only were they foreigners to a certain extent in Africa, but in their adopted country of Egypt itself they, as Dr. Wiedemann says, "did not exclude foreign deities from their pantheon. They never questioned the divinity of the gods of the races with which they came in contact, but accepted it in each case as an established fact. To them, an exceptionally powerful nation was in itself a proof of that nation's possession of an exceptionally mighty god, whom the dwellers in the Valley of the Nile were, therefore, eager to receive into the ranks of Egyptian deities, that they might gain his protection for themselves by means of prayers and offerings and at the same time alienate his affections from his native land."¹

Among the deities of the Asiatic origin so adopted was one Astarte which was the Ardviçura Anâhita of the ancient Persians, the Anâitis of the Romans.

¹ Wiedemann, p. 148.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH ROYAL
ASIATIC SOCIETY.

(FROM JANUARY 1895 TO JUNE 1896.)

The Annual Meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the
31st January 1895.

Present.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. M. Birdwood, C.S.I., President, in the
Chair.

The Honorary Secretary read the Report for 1894.

ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1894.

MEMBERS.

Resident.—During the year under review 31 members were elected, one of whom paid his subscription for life, and two non-resident members came to Bombay; 16 members resigned, 4 died, 3 retired, and 2 having left Bombay, were transferred to the non-resident list. The total number at the close of 1894 was thus 253, including 14 life members. Of these 39 were absent from India. The number at the end of the preceding year was 245.

Non-Resident.—Two members were elected under this class, and 2 were transferred from the list of resident members. One withdrew, 3 died, 1 retired, and 2 were added to the resident list. The number at the close of the year was 60, that at the end of 1893 was 63.

OBITUARY.

THE Society have to announce with regret the loss by death of the following members :—

Resident.

Vinayak Wasudeva, Esq.

Sorabji Framji Patel, Esq.

C. E. Kane, Esq.

Jivandas Mulji, Esq.

Non-Resident.

Kabi Raja Samaldas.

Yeshwant Wasudeva Athale, Esq.

Shankar Pandurang Pandit, Esq.

Original Communications.

The following papers were read before the Society during the year :—

- (1) Madame Dupleix and the Marquise de Falaisean. By Dr J. Gerson da Cunha.
- (2) Pāraskara Grihya Sutras. By H. H. Dhruva, Esq.
- (3) Nadode Inscription of King Alhanadeva, of Vikram Samvat year 1218. By H. H. Dhruva, Esq.
- (4) Date of Kālidāsa. By K. B. Pathak, Esq.
- (5) Partābgarh (Pratāpgad) Fort and the Mahratha version of the Afzulkhan Tragedy. By R. P. Karkaria, Esq.
- (6) On the Authorship of the Buddhist work *Nyayabindhu*. By K. B. Pathak, Esq.
- (7) The Bas-relief of King Beharam Gour at Naksh-i-Rustam and his marriage with an Indian Princess. By Jivanji Jamshedji Mody, Esq.

The following were communicated to the Society :—

- (8) Note on brick figures found in a Buddhist tower in Kahu near Mirpur Khās, Sindh. By A. Woodburn, Esq., I.C.S., with an introduction by J. M. Campbell, Esq., I.C.S.
- (9) Wilson Philological Lectures. By H. H. Dhruva, Esq. (Lecture I.)

LIBRARY.**ISSUES OF BOOKS.**

The issues of books during the year under review were 16,300 volumes of new works, including periodicals, and 10,283 of old books, compared with 16,004 volumes of new books and 9,976 of the old in the preceding year.

A detailed statement of the monthly issues is subjoined :—

	Old Books.	New Books.
January	959	1,458
February	1,163	1,172
March	638	1,211
April	762	1,190
May	1,049	1,318
June	862	1,548
July	832	1,529
August	736	1,455
September	652	1,007
October... ..	1,028	1,367
November	796	1,494
December	806	1,555
Total...10,283	Total...16,300	

The volumes of each class of books, new and old, issued during the year are stated in the following table :—

CLASSES.	Volumes.
Periodicals, Magazines, &c.	8,457
Novels, Romances and Tales	8,427
Biography	1,602
Miscellaneous, and Works on several subjects of the same Authors... ..	1,081
Voyages, Travels, Geography and Topography	1,017
History, Historical Memoirs and Chronology	971
Oriental Literature and Religion	631
Transactions of Learned Societies, Encyclopædias and Periodical Works	608
English Poetry and Dramatic Works	585
Politics, Political Economy and Statistics	575
Natural History, Mineralogy, Geology and Chemistry	360
Theology and Ecclesiastical History	359
Foreign Literature	295
Philology, Literary History and Bibliography	180
Fine Arts and Architecture	179
Classics, Translations and Works illustrative of the Classics... ..	177
Medicine, Surgery, Physiology	170
Antiquities, Numismatics, Heraldry and Genealogy	166
Logic, Rhetoric and Works relating to Education	153
Metaphysics and Moral Philosophy	146
Natural Philosophy, Mathematics, Mechanics and Astronomy... ..	106
Jurisprudence	100
Public Records, Statutes, &c.	90
Botany, Agriculture and Horticulture	83
Grammatical Works and Dictionaries	63
Science of War and Works on Military Subjects	52
Total.....	26,583

Additions to the Library.

The book accessions in 1894 numbered 901 volumes ; 575 of these were purchased and 326 presented, compared with 541 volumes purchased and 299 presented in the year before. The presents of books were as usual received chiefly from the Bombay Government, the Secretary of State for India, the Government of India, and the other local Governments and from individual authors.

The number of volumes of each class of books added to the Library during the year under report by purchase and by presentation is shown in the following table :—

CLASSES.	Purchased.	Presented.
Theology and Ecclesiastical History	13	1
Natural Theology, Metaphysics and Moral Philosophy...	12	.....
Logic, Rhetoric, and Works relating to Education ...	.....	.....
Classics, Translations and Works illustrative of the Classics*	6	22
Philology, Literary History and Bibliography	10	1
History, Historical Memoirs and Chronology	32	.....
Politics, Political Economy and Statistics... ..	42	29
Jurisprudence	3	2
Public Records, Statutes, &c.	8	188
Biography and Personal Narratives	49	.....
Antiquities, Numismatics, Heraldry and Genealogy ...	3	9
Voyages, Travels, Geography and Topography	31	16
English Poetry and Dramatic Works	18	.....
Novels, Romances and Tales	133	.....
Miscellaneous, and Works on several subjects of the same Authors	71	2
Foreign Literature	6	.....
Natural Philosophy, Mathematics, Mechanics and Astronomy	6	1
Fine Arts and Architecture	4	3
Science of War and Works on Military Subjects	8	.....
Natural History, Mineralogy, Geology and Chemistry...	19	3
Botany, Agriculture and Horticulture	21	3
Medicine, Surgery, Physiology, &c.	19	2
Transactions of Learned Societies, Encyclopædias and Periodical Works	22	.....
Dictionaries, Lexicons, Vocabularies and Grammatical Works ... ..	.....	10
Oriental Literature... ..	39	34
Total.....	575	326

SIR RAYMOND WEST MEMORIAL.

There were besides, 218 volumes added to the Library in connection with the Sir Raymond West Memorial. The books ordered for the Memorial were received during the year. These have been placed in a separate case headed the "Sir Raymond West Memorial."

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS.

The Newspapers, Periodicals and Journals of Learned Societies subscribed for, and presented to the Society, during the year were :—

Literary Monthlies	...	...	...	...	13
Illustrated	...	...	...	...	16
Scientific	...	...	...	...	33
General	...	...	...	...	3
Reviews	...	...	...	...	13
English Newspapers	...	...	...	...	17
English and Foreign Registers, Army Lists, Directories, &c.	...	...	...	...	14
Foreign Literary and Scientific Periodicals	...	...	...	...	19
American Literary and Scientific Periodicals	...	...	...	...	12*
Indian Newspapers	...	...	...	...	19
Indian Journals, Reviews, &c.	...	...	...	...	28

At a Meeting of the Society held in November, under Article 20 of the Rules, it was resolved to subscribe to the following Newspapers and Periodicals from the beginning of 1895 :—

Le Museon.
Lady's Pictorial.
Indian Church Directory.

Coin Cabinet.

During the year 78 coins were added to the Society's Cabinet. Of these, 3 were presented by His Highness the Nawab of Cambay; the rest being received from different Governments under the Treasure Trove Act :—

49 from the Bombay Government.
6 from the Punjab Government.
7 from the Bengal Government.
13 from the Government of Assam.

Of the total 78, 1 is gold, 35 silver, 40 copper and 2 of mixed metal.

The following is a detailed descriptive list of the coins :—

Presented by the Bombay Government :—

- 1 silver coin of Shah Jehan, found in the Village of Napa, Taluka Borsad, Kaira District.
- 1 silver coin of Akbar, found in the Village of Napa, Taluka Borsad, Kaira District.
- 1 silver coin of Jehangir, found in the Village of Napa, Taluka Borsad, Kaira District.
- 1 silver coin of Aurangzeb, found in the Poona District.
- 1 silver coin of Aurangzeb, found in the Poona District.
- 1 silver coin of Shah Jehan, found in the Poona District.
- 1 silver coin of Muhammad Shah, found in the Poona District.
- 2 Ahmedabad rupees of mixed metal, found in the Broach District.
- 40 copper coins of the following early Sultans of Delhi (so-called Pathans), found in the Palanpur District :—
 - Ghiyas-ud-din Bulban, 2.
 - Muzz-ud-din Kaiqubad, 2.
 - Jalal-ud-din Firuz, 3.
 - Ala-ud-din Muhammad, 7.
 - Qutb-ud-din Mubarak, 10.
 - Ghiyas-ud-din Taghlag, 12.
 - Muhammad bin Tughlag, 4.

Presented by His Highness the Nawab of Cambay :—

- 3 silver coins of Akbar, found at Cambay.

Presented by the Punjab Government :—

- 2 silver coins of the Moghal Emperor Muhammad Shah, found in the Kangra District.
- 4 silver coins of the Moghal Emperor Muhammad Shah found in the Delhi District.

Presented by the Bengal Government :—

- 1 silver coin of Sikandar Shah bin Ilyas, found in the Jessore District.
- 3 silver coins of the following Moghal Emperors :—
 - Ahmed Shah, 1.
 - Alamgir II., 1.
 - Shah Jehan III., 1.
 Found in the Patna District.

1 gold coin of Chandragupta II., found in the Muzaffargar District.

2 silver coins of Ilyas Shah, found in the Bhagalpur District.

Presented by the Assam Government :—

Moghal Coins :—

7 silver coins of—

Shah Jehan, 1.

Aurangzeb, 1.

Muhammad Shah, 2.

Ahmed Shah, 1.

Alamgir II., 2.

Assam Coins :—

5 silver coins of Rudra Singh.

1 silver Jayantipur.

Found in the Sibsagar District.

Journal.

No. 49 A, an extra number, containing Professor Peterson's Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS. in the Bombay Circle, 1886—92, and No. 50 were issued during the year. No. 50 completes Vol. XVIII. of the Journal. An index, title page and contents of the volume will be supplied with No. 51, which is in the press, and will shortly be ready.

The following is a list of Governments, Societies, Institutions, &c., to which the Journal of the Society is presented :—

Bombay Government; Government of India; Government of Bengal; Government of Madras; Punjab Government; Government, N.-W. Provinces and Oudh; Chief Commissioner, Central Provinces; Chief Commissioner, Coorg; Resident, Hyderabad; Chief Commissioner, Burmah; Geological Survey of India; G. T. Survey of India; Marine Survey of India; Bengal Asiatic Society; Agricultural Society of India; Literary Society of Madras; Provincial Museum; Lucknow; Bombay University; Madras University; Punjab University; R. A. Society, Ceylon Branch; R. A. Society, North China Branch; the Asiatic Society of Japan; Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences.

Strasbourg Library; Geographical Society, Vienna; London Institution of Civil Engineers; Royal Geographical Society, London; Statistical Society, London; Royal Astronomical Society; Literary and Philosophical Society, Manchester; Imperial Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg; Smithsonian Institution, Washington; Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, Copenhagen; Royal Society of Edinburgh; Deutsche Morgenlandische Gesellschaft, Leipzig; Literary and Philosophical Society, Liverpool; British Museum, London; Royal

Society, London; Royal Asiatic Society, Great Britain and Ireland; Academie Real das Sciencia de Lisboa, Lisbon; Societe de Geographie Commerciale de Bordeaux; Societe de Geographie de Lyons; Hungarian Academy of Sciences (Buda Pest); Sociedad Geografica de Madrid; Royal Dublin Society; Societe Geographie de Paris; Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences; United States Survey; Kaiserliche Akademie de Wissenschaften, Vienna; United Service Institution; Minnesota Academy of Natural Science; India Office Library; London Bible Society; Vienna Orientalische Museum; Boston Society of Natural History; Musee Guimet, Lyons; Victoria Institution, London; Royal Institution, Great Britain American Geographical Society; American Oriental Society; Hamilton Association, America.

Accounts.

A statement of Accounts, detailing the items of receipts and expenditure for 1894, accompanies the report. The collection of subscriptions during the year amounts to Rs. 9,768-5-3, including arrears Rs. 30. The amount received in 1893 was Rs. 9,423-5-4. There were also received on account of life subscription from one Resident and one Non-Resident Member, Rs. 620. Of this, Rs. 600 have been duly invested in Government Securities in accordance with Article XVI. of the Rules.

The balance in favour of the Society on the 31st of December 1894 was Rs. 1,016-8-10, and the arrears due on the same date Rs. 270. £42-12-6, due to Messrs. Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., up to 31st December last, have since been remitted.

There was an addition during the year of Rs. 1,600 to the invested funds of the Society, which now amount to Rs. 11,400.

Dr. De Monte proposed that the report be adopted, and thanks voted to the Committee of Management and the Auditors for their services during the past year.

Dr. Balchandra Krishna seconded the proposition.

The Chairman, in putting the proposition before the meeting, said: Gentlemen,—I had hoped before putting this resolution to the meeting to be able to say a few words myself with reference to the work of the Society during the past year, but unfortunately I have been suffering from a sore-throat for the past week and find some difficulty in speaking audibly at all. In the circumstances I fear it would neither be wise for me nor agreeable to yourselves if I were to attempt anything of the kind. I will, therefore, simply put the resolution to the meeting.

The proposition was agreed to unanimously.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Candy proposed that the following gentlemen form the Committee of Management and Auditors for the year 1895:—President—the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Jardine; Vice-Presidents—Dr. P. Peterson, Dr. J. Gonsalves da Cunha, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Candy, and the Hon'ble Mr. W. R. Macdonell; Members—the Hon'ble Mr. J. U. Yajnik, Mr. K. R. Cama, Dr. Atmaram Pandurang, Dr. D. Macdonald, Professor M. Macmillan, Mr. G. A. Kittredge, Rev. R. Scott, Mr. James Macdonald, Rev. R. H. Gray, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Ranade, Mr. N. G. Chandavarkar, Major A. B. Mein, Surgeon-Captain B. B. Grayfoot, the Rev. Dr. D. Mackichan, and Mr. J. T. Hathornthwaite; Honorary Secretary—the Hon'ble Mr. J. U. Yajnik; Joint Honorary Secretary—Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha; Honorary Auditors—Messrs. D.R. Chichgar and H. B. H. Wilkinson.

In moving the above proposition, Mr. Justice Candy said that he very much regretted that the President of the Society had felt it incumbent on him to resign his office. He had continued to be the President to this day, and they must feel the loss of his withdrawal. It was some satisfaction, however, to know that Mr. Justice Jardine would take his place.

Mr. K. R. Cama seconded the proposition.

The Chairman said: Gentlemen,—Before putting this resolution to the meeting, I should like to express my sense of your kindness in electing me to the honourable office of President of this Society a year ago. I feel very sure that you would be willing to place me once more in the office if I myself desired it. But I do not desire it for this simple reason that my official duties keep me out of Bombay for eight months in the year, and during the four months that I am here I find it difficult to attend the monthly meetings of the Society. My continuance in office would, therefore, be unjustifiable; for it would partake of the nature of a sham; whereas what you want is a resident Chairman who will be capable of attending to the duties of the office and devoting to those duties the constant care and attention which they demand if this Society is to maintain its rightful place among the great institutions of this city. It gives me much pleasure to know that, while accepting my resignation, you have chosen as my successor so accomplished a scholar and so zealous an Orientalist as Mr. Justice Jardine, in whose hands the best interests of this Society will always be safe.

The resolution was agreed to unanimously; and the proceedings concluded with the customary compliment to the Chairman.

BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE**Dr. GENERAL STATEMENT of Receipts and Disbursements**

	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Balance of last year (including Rs. 1,000 on account of Life Subscription, and Rs. 952-6-0 on account of Sir Raymond West Testimonial Fund Subscription)... ..	.....	3,162 0 1
Subscription of Resident Members	9,85 13 8	
Do. of Non-Resident Members	652 8 0	
Do. in Arrears	30 0 0	
Do. of Life Members	620 0 0	
Government Contribution	4,200 0 0	
Sale-proceeds of Journal Numbers	278 8 2	
Do. of Waste Papers	13 13 0	
Do. of Catalogues	33 8 0	
Do. of Duplicate Books	52 6 0	
Interest on Society's 4 per cent. Government Paper... ..	567 13 8	
		15,584 8 1
Total...Rs.	.....	18,696 8 2

Examined and found correct.

DARASHA RATTONJI CHICHGAR, }
H. R. H. WILKINSON, } Auditors.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

from 1st January to 31st December 1894.

Cr.

	Rs.	a. p.	Rs.	a. p.
Books purchased in Bombay	2,312	5 10		
Remittances to Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Books (£82-8-11), and English Newspapers and Periodicals (£99-12-0), in all (£182-0-11), equivalent of	2,387	12 8		
Subscriptions to Newspapers paid in India	395	6 0		
Printing	576	10 0		
Binding	588	2 6		
General Charges	483	1 8		
Stationery	106	6 0		
Postage and Receipt Stamps... ..	104	14 6		
Shipping and Landing Charges	45	13 8		
Gas Charges	71	14 4		
Government 4 per cent. Paper purchased	1,600	0 0		
Office Establishment	5,615	12 0		
			14,238	2 4
Printing of Journal—				
Nos. 49 and 50	1,418	15 0		
Contribution towards printing Dr. Peterson's Report on Sanskrit MSS.	400	0 0		
Facsimiles of Inscriptions for Dr. Bhandar- kar's Paper	680	14 0		
			2,499	13 0
Sir Raymond West Testimonial Fund—				
Amount paid to Messrs. Combridge & Co., being the balance due on account of Books for the Memorial ... ..	.....		892	0 0
Balance in Bank of Bombay... ..	963	7 4		
Do. in hand	53	1 6		
			1,016	8 10
Total...Rs.	.....		18,696	8 2
	Rs.	a. p.		
Arrears of Subscription	270	0 0		
*Due to Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., up to end of 31st December 1894	£ 42	12 6		
INVESTED FUNDS.				
Government 4 per cent. Paper of the Society	8,400	0 0		
Premohand Roychand Government 4 per cent. Loan Fund	3,000	0 0		
			11,400	0 0

JAVERILAL U. YAJNIK,

Honorary Secretary.

* The amount has since been remitted.

BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

Patron :

His Excellency the Right Honourable LORD HARRIS, G. C. I. E.,
Governor.

President :

The Hon'ble Justice John Jardine, I. C. S.

Vice-Presidents :

Dr. P. Peterson, M. A.	|	The Hon'ble W. R. Macdonell,
Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha.		M. A.
The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Candy.		

Committee of Management.

The Hon'ble Mr. J. U. Yajnik.	|	Rev. R. M. Gray;
Kharsetji R. Cama, Esq.		The Hon'ble Mr. Justice M. G. Ranade, C. I. E.
Dr. Atmaram Pandurang.		N.G. Chandawarkar, Esq., LL. B.
Dr. D. MacDonald.		Major A. B. Mein.
Prof. M. Macmillan, B. A.		Surgeon-Captain B. B. Grayfoot.
Geo. A. Kittredge, Esq., M. A.		Rev. Dr. D. Mackichan, M. A.
Rev. R. Scott, M. A.		J.T. Hathornthwaite, Esq., M. A.
James MacDonald, Esq.		

Honorary Secretary :

The Hon'ble Mr. Javerilal Umiashankar Yajnik.

Joint Honorary Secretary :

(*Numismatics and Archæology*)

Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha.

Honorary Auditors :

Darāshā Ratttonji Chichgar, Esq.

H. R. H. Wilkinson, Esq.

Assistant Secretary and Librarian :

Mr. Ganpatrao K. Tiwarekar.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

RESIDENT.

Year of Election.		Year of Election.	
1862	Kharsetji Rastanji Cama, Esq. (<i>Life Member</i>).	1874	G. A. Barnett, Esq.
	„ Kharsetji Fardunji Parak, Esq.		„ P. Peterson, Esq.
	„ Hon'ble Mr. H. M. Bridwood.		„ Pirozshah Merwanji Jijibhai, Esq. (<i>Life Member</i>).
1864	Hon'ble Mr. Justice L. H. Bayley.		„ The Hon'ble Mr. Javerilal Umiashankar Yajnik.
	„ G. A. Kittredge, Esq.		„ Grattan Geary, Esq.
	„ Nowroji Maneckji Wadia, Esq.	1875	Sir Jamseji Jijibhai, Bart.
1865	Dr. Atmaram Pandurang.		„ Rev. Dr. D. Mackichan.
1866	Vandravandas Purshotamdas, Esq.	1876	The Right Rev. L. G. Mylne, D. D., Bishop of Bombay (<i>Life Member</i>).
	„ E. B. Carrol, Esq.		„ J. M. Campbell, Esq.
1867	J. Westlake, Esq.	1877	Maneckji Barjorji, Esq.
	„ R. M. A. Branson, Esq.	1878	Darasha Rattonji Chichgar, Esq.
1869	Dr. L. P. De Rozario.		„ Dr. E. H. R. Langley.
1870	Hon'ble Mr. Justice John Jardine.		„ Bezonji Rattonji Kotewal, Esq.
1873	Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha.	1879	Harischandra Krishna Joshi, Esq.
	„ Sir Dinshah Manockji Petit, Bart.		„ Dr. D. MacDonald.
1873	J. MacDonald, Esq.	1880	N. S. Symons, Esq.
1874	H. Conder, Esq.		„ Rustam K. R. Cama, Esq., B. A. (<i>Life Member</i>).
	„ Sir Byramji Nusserwanjivai, Esq. (<i>Life Member</i>).		„ Rev. W. Black.
			„ Vrijbhuckandass Atmaram, Esq.

Year of Election.	Year of Election.
1891 N. A. Moos, Esq.	1892 Rahimtulla Khairaz, Esq.
„ L. J. Robertson, Esq.	„ V. N. Bhagvat, Esq.
„ W. H. Sharp, Esq.	„ Tribhuvandas Varjivands, Esq.
„ J. Y. Munro, Esq.	„ H. R. H. Wilkinson, Esq.
„ Shankar Prasad Hari Prasad, Esq.	„ Cursetji N. Wadia, Esq.
„ W. G. Treacher, Esq.	„ Major A. Hildebrand.
„ Captain J. C. Swann.	„ H. W. Uloth, Esq.
„ Jamsetjee N. Tata, Esq.	„ Karimbhai Ibrahim, Esq.
„ Fakirchand Premchand, Esq.	„ J. L. Symons, Esq.
„ Ibrahim Ahmedi, Esq.	„ Rao Saheb Dalpatram Pranjivanram Khakkhar.
„ Surgeon-Major F. F. MacCartie.	„ R. Gilbert, Esq.
„ Shrimant Narayanrao Govindrao Ghorapaday, Chief of Ichalkaranji (<i>Life Member</i>).	„ T. J. Bennett, Esq.
„ The Hon'ble Justice M. G. Ranade.	„ Sadanand Trimbak Bhandare, Esq. (<i>Life Member</i>).
1892 Kawasji Dadabhoy Dubash, Esq.	„ James Kenyon, Esq.
„ M. C. Turner, Esq.	„ A. H. King, Esq.
„ Prabhuram Jivanram Vaidya, Esq. (<i>Life Member</i>).	„ K. B. Setna, Esq.
„ O. V. Muller, Esq.	„ Burjorji Nowroji Apyakhtair, Esq.
„ Nowroji Byramji Suntook, Esq.	„ A. M. T. Jackson, Esq.
„ Major I. Burne-Murdoch.	„ R. E. Melsheimer, Esq.
„ S. R. Bhandarkar, Esq.	„ John A. Douglas, Esq.
„ R. C. Chapman, Esq.	„ L. R. W. Forrest, Esq.
„ Dadabhoy Merwanji Dallal, Esq.	„ Hormasji Dorabji Padamji, Esq.
„ F. W. Eicke, Esq.	1893 F. T. Rickards, Esq.
	„ Rev. J. Sellar.
	„ Ouchavaram Nanabhai Haridas, Esq.
	„ H. R. Greaves, Esq.
	„ Jijibhoy Edalji Modi, Esq.

Year of Election.		Year of Election.	
1893	Ven'ble Archdeacon Goldwyer-Lewis.	1894	Wasudeva Gopal Bhandarkar, Esq.
,,	Shamrao Vithal, Esq.	,,	Dr. James Arnott.
,,	Shapurji Barjorji Barucha, Esq.	,,	Rev. J. E. Abbott.
,,	Tribhuwandas Mangaldas Nathubhoy, Esq.	,,	Geo. Miller, Esq.
,,	A. Stephen, Esq.	,,	J. C. G. Bowen, Esq.
,,	Rao Saheb Ellapa Ballaram.	,,	J. T. Hathornthwaite, Esq.
,,	Rastamji Nanabhoy Byramji Jijibhoy, Esq. (<i>Life Member</i>).	,,	S. L. Wyatt, Esq.
,,	Tullockchand Maneckchand, Esq.	,,	Major Sir Henry Johnson, Bart.
,,	Hari Sitaram Dixit, Esq.	,,	D. M. Inglis, Esq.
,,	Major A. B. Mein.	,,	C. S. H. Sarl, Esq.
,,	A. Hill, Esq.	,,	W. I. A. Foulkes, Esq.
,,	W. W. Squire, Esq.	,,	Edwin Yeo, Esq.
,,	Surgeon-Col. D. E. Hughes.	,,	Capt. St. J. A. D. Muter, R. A.
,,	A. M. Tod, Esq.	,,	Cecil Richardson, Esq.
,,	Capt. Chandler.	,,	J. G. Covernton, Esq.
,,	R. C. Lees, Esq.	,,	J. W. Orr, Esq.
,,	Robert Pescio, Esq.	,,	R. C. Wroughton, Esq.
,,	Merwanji Dhanjibhoy Jijibhoy, Esq.	,,	Captain Finny.
,,	G. H. Townsend, Esq.	,,	J. L. Jenkins, Esq.
,,	Mir Zulficar Ali, Esq.	,,	Balkrishna Vinayak Wassoodeo, Esq. (<i>Life Member</i>).
,,	Balvantrai Kalianrai, Esq.	,,	Lt. W. C. R. Farmer, R.A.
,,	Geo. A. F. Berends, Esq.	,,	H. Rabe, Esq.
,,	B. H. J. Rastamji, Esq.	,,	R. Whately, Esq.
,,	His Highness Aga Khan.	,,	Major Allan Smith.
,,	Col. Empson, R. A.	,,	N. R. Oliver, Esq.
,,	J. W. Brown, Esq.	,,	Prof. H. M. Bhadkamkar.
,,	E. H. Elsworthy, Esq.	,,	Capt. A. J. Peile, R. A.
		,,	R. S. Brown, Esq.
		,,	Vernon B. F. Bayley, Esq.
		,,	Rev. C. Mayhew.

NON-RESIDENT.

Year of Election.	Year of Election.
1865 Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar.	1883 Rev. J. Bambridge.
1868 G. B. Reid, Esq.	1887. A. W. Crawley-Boevey, Esq.
„ Dr. J. C. Lisboa.	1888 Prabhashankar Gowrishan- kar, Esq.
„ H. H. the Thakore Saheb of Bhavnagar.	„ Syed Ikhal Ali, Esq.
„ H. H. the Jam Saheb of Nawanagar.	„ Syed Ali-Bilgrami, Esq.
„ H. H. Ramchandrao Appa Saheb, Chief of Jam- khandi.	1889 C. G. Dodgson, Esq.
„ Dr. G. Bühler.	„ Aziz Mirza, Esq.
„ H. H. the Thakore Saheb of Morvi.	„ E. M. Pratt, Esq.
1869 J. F. Fleet, Esq.	„ M. H. Nazar, Esq.
„ Bomanji Jamaspji, Esq.	„ Mancharji Pestonji Khare- gat, Esq.
1875 Cowasji Karsetji Jamsetji, Esq.	1890 Raja Murli Manohar Baha- dur.
1876 G. C. Whitworth, Esq.	„ K. B. Pathak, Esq.
„ J. A. Baines, Esq.	1891 Charles E. J. F. Ferriore, Esq.
„ Rev. Thomas Foulkes.	„ Rao Saheb Balwantrao Bhukte.
1878 Sadashiva Vishwanath Dhu- randhar, Esq.	„ H. H. Dhruva, Esq. (<i>Life Member</i>).
1879 Sayad Hassan Bilgrami, Esq.	„ Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Esq.
„ Brigade-Surgeon-Lieut.-Col. C. T. Peters.	„ Vinayakrao Yadhov Vani- kar, Esq.
1882 W. P. Symonds, Esq.	„ Shrimant Aba Saheb, Chief of Visalgad.
„ E. H. Moscardi, Esq.	„ Kharsetji Rustanji Thana- wala, Esq.
„ W. W. Loch, Esq.	„ W. C. Rand, Esq.
1883 Rev. J. H. Mackay.	1892 Sortorio Coelho, Esq. (<i>Life Member</i>).
„ J. R. Greaves, Esq.	

Year of Election.	Year of Election.
1892 T. W. Arnold, Esq.	1893 Sorabji Manekji Cawasji, Esq.
„ C. Biddulph, Esq.	„ Lalubhai Samaldas Desai, Esq.
„ Vithalrao Narayan Natu, Esq.	„ Kumar Shri Baldevji of Dharaupur (<i>Life Member</i>).
„ Kavasji Dadabhai Naigamwala, Esq.	„ H. E. M. James, Esq.
„ Surgeon-Major J. H. Newman.	„ Hari Narayan Apte, Esq.
„ Rao Saheb P. B. Parakh.	„ W. H. Luck, Esq.
„ A. C. Logan, Esq.	1894 Surgeon-Captain B. Basu.
„ W. Doderet, Esq.	„ T. R. Amalnerkar, Esq.
„ Captain T. J. Grier.	

LIFE MEMBERS.

Kharsetji Rastamji Cama, Esq.	Prabhuram Jivanram Vaidya, Esq.
Byramji Naserwanji Sirvai, Esq.	Sadanand Trimbak Bhandare, Esq.
Pirozsha Merwanji Jijibhoy, Esq.	Rastamji Nanabhoy Byramji Jijibhoy, Esq.
The Right Rev. L. G. Mylne, D.D., Bishop of Bombay.	Balkrishna Vinayak Wassudev, Esq.
Rustam K. R. Cama, Esq.	Sortorio Coelho, Esq.
Jehangir K. R. Cama, Esq.	Kumar Shir Baldevji of Dharampur.
Jehangir Nasserwanji Mody, Esq.	H. H. Dhruva, Esq.
Framji Dinshaw Petit, Esq.	
Bomanji Dinshaw Petit, Esq.	
Shrimant Narayenrao Govindrao Ghorepady, Chief of Ichalkaranji.	

HONORARY.

Year of Election.	Year of Election.
1835 A. S. Walne, Esq.	1862 Dr. H. J. Carter.
1845 M. le Marquis de Ferriere de Vayer.	1866 Dr. A. Weber.
1848 M. le Vicomte Eugene de Kerckhove.	„ J. H. Rivara da Cunha, Esq.
1849 B. Hodgson, Esq.	1879 Dr. Oliver Codrington.
	1892 Sir Raymond West, K.C.I.E.

A Meeting of the Society was held on Tuesday, the 12th March 1895.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice John Jardine, President, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Honorary Secretary announced that H. E. Lord Sandhurst had been pleased to do the Society the honour of becoming a member and accepting the office of its Patron.

Mr. M. P. Khareghat read a paper on the interpretation of certain passages in the Panch-Siddhantika of Varahamihira, an old Hindu Astronomical Work.

The Honorary Secretary made remarks on the paper and moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Khareghat for the learned paper he had contributed to the Society.

Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha seconded the motion.

The President with his remarks put the vote to the Meeting and it was carried by acclamation.

A Meeting of the Society was held on Wednesday, the 10th April 1895.

Dr. Atmaram Pandurang in the Chair.

The minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

Mr. R. P. Karkaria read a paper on "Mahmud of Gazni and the Legend of Somnath."

Mr. N. G. Chandawarkar moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Karkaria for the interesting paper he had read. The motion being seconded by Mr. Kennard was carried by acclamation.

A Meeting of the Society was held on Tuesday, the 17th September 1895.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice John Jardine, President, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice M. G. Ranade, read a paper on "Shivaji as a Civil Ruler."

Mr. MacMillan made remarks on the paper and moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Justice Ranade for the interesting paper he had read.

The Honorary Secretary, who seconded the motion, also made a few remarks.

The President with his observations put the vote to the Meeting and it was carried by acclamation.

A Meeting of the Society was held on Tuesday, the 15th October 1895.

Dr. Atmaram Pandurang in the Chair.

The minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

Mr. R. P. Karkaria read a paper on "The Teleology of the Pahlavi Shikand Gumanik Vijar and Cicero's De Natura Deorum."

On the motion of Mr. J. J. Mody, seconded by Mr. K. R. Kama, a vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Karkaria for the interesting paper he had read.

A General Meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 21st November 1895.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Candy, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the Chair.

The following proposals regarding periodicals, newspapers, etc., were placed before the meeting:—

By

N. S. Symon, Esq., Capt. A. J. Peile, R. A., and Surg.-Capt. B. B. Grayfoot.

That "Badminton Magazine" be taken.

Carried.

By

Leslie Hollward, Esq., and F. H. Brown, Esq.

That the "Sketch" be taken.

Carried.

By

Surgeon-Captain B. B. Grayfoot, and H. Kennard, Esq.

That "Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News" be taken.

Proposal withdrawn.

By

N. S. Symon, Esq.

That "Bookman" be discontinued.

Carried.

By

The Honorary Secretary.

That "Indo-Prakash" be discontinued.

Carried.

By

Surgeon-Captain B. B. Grayfoot.

That "Review of Reviews" be discontinued.

Lost.

At the conclusion of the General Meeting, an Ordinary Meeting was held, when Surgeon-Captain B. B. Grayfoot moved the adoption of the following rule to be brought into force from 1896. The new rule to be put in after Article XXXVIII of the Rules of the Society.

All books borrowed are to be returned to the Library in the first week (from the 1st to the 7th inclusive) of December in every year whether the time allowed for reading has expired or not, and there will be no issues of books in that week.

Any member who shall not have returned the books as required under this Article after receiving a call from the Librarian shall not be allowed to take books out from the Library until he sends back all the books standing in his name in the Society's Register on the 30th of November.

Mr. James MacDonald seconded the proposition, which, on being put to the vote, was unanimously carried.

Mr. Jivanji Jamshedji Mody then read a paper on Firdousi's version of the discovery of the Indian Game of Chess.

After a short discussion in which Mr. James MacDonald, Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha and Mr. K. R. Cama took part, a vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Mody for the interesting paper he had read.

A Meeting of the Society was held on Monday, the 9th December 1895.

Dr. P. Peterson, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

Mr. Jivanji Jamshedji Mody read a paper on "Cashmere and the Ancient Persians."

A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Mody for the interesting paper he had read.

A Meeting of the Society was held on Tuesday, the 21st January 1896.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice John Jardine, President, in the chair.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Candy moved that the proposal in the following letter, received from the Anthropological Society of Bombay, be adopted :—

To

THE SECRETARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH
OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,

BOMBAY.

Bombay, 19th November 1895.

Sir,

The Members of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, at their Meeting held on the 18th instant, have resolved that their Museum and Library be presented to you in toto, in consideration of which they request your Society to allow them to hold their meetings in one of your Rooms, and also to give them access to the books and records which they at present possess.

A reply will oblige.

Yours faithfully,

J. GERSON DA CUNHA,

Honorary Secretary.

Dr. L. P. de Rozario seconded the proposition, which, on being put to the vote, was unanimously carried.

Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha read a paper on the "Portuguese in South Kanara."

On the proposition of Mr. G. A. Kittredge, seconded by Mr. Tribhuvandas Manguldas, a vote of thanks was passed to Dr. da Cunha for the interesting paper he had read.

The Annual Meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 30th January 1896.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Jardine, President, in the Chair.

The Honorary Secretary read the following Report :—

ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1895.

MEMBERS.

Resident.—During the year under review 42 Members were elected, 15 Members resigned, 4 died, 6 retired, and 3, having left Bombay, were put on the Non-Resident List. The total number at the end of the year was 262, including 14 Life Members. Of these 47 were absent from India for the whole year or portions of the year.

Non-Resident.—Two Members were elected during the year and 3 were transferred from the list of Resident Members. 2 withdrew, 1 retired, and the names of 6 were struck off the roll for non-payment of subscription. The number at the close of the year was 56. Of these 2 were absent from India.

OBITUARY.

The Society announce with regret the loss by death of the following members :—

Perozsha Merwanji Jeejeebhoy, Esq. (Life Member).

Sitaram Vishnu Sukathankar, Esq.

Framji Dinshaw Petit, Esq. (Life Member).

Lord Colin Campbell.

ORIGINAL COMMUNICATIONS.

The following papers were read before the Society during the year :—

- (1) On the Interpretation of certain Passages in the Panch Siddhāntikā of Varahamihira. By M. P. Kharegat, Esq., I. C. S.

(2) Mahmud of Ghazni and the Legend of Somnath. By R. P. Karkaria, Esq.

(3) The Teleology of Pahlavi Shikand Gumanik Vihar and Cicero's De Natura Deorum. By R. P. Karkaria, Esq.

(4) Firdousi's Version of the Discovery of the Indian Game of Chess. By Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, Esq.

(5) Cashmere and the Ancient Persians. By Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, Esq.

The following was contributed to the Society's Journal :—

(6) Mandu. By J. M. Campbell, Esq., C. I. E.

LIBRARY.

Issues of Books.

The issues of Books during the year under review were 30,754 volumes ; 19,838 of new works, including periodicals, and 10,916 of old books, compared with 26,583 volumes ; 16,300 of new books and 10,283 of the old in the preceding year.

A detailed statement of the monthly issues is subjoined :—

	Old Books.	New Books.
January	1,025	1,494
February	983	1,507
March	895	1,678
April	1,097	1,430
May	866	1,372
June	842	1,944
July	1,037	2,029
August	885	1,851
September	940	1,421
October	861	1,777
November	838	1,781
December	702	1,554
Total ...	10,916	19,838

The volumes of each class of books, new and old, issued during the year are stated in the following table:—

CLASSES.	Volumes.
Periodicals, Magazines, &c.	12,243
Novels, Romances, and Tales	8,282
Miscellaneous and Works on several subjects of the same authors...	1,659
Biography	1,212
Voyages, Travels, Geography, and Topography	689
History, Historical Memoirs and Chronology... ..	864
Oriental Literature and Religion	730
Politics, Political Economy, and Statistics	488
Transactions of Learned Societies, Encyclopædias, and Periodical Works	486
English Poetry and Dramatic Works	478
Natural History, Mineralogy, Geology, and Chemistry	460
Foreign Literature	826
Fine Arts and Architecture	262
Theology and Ecclesiastical History	257
Metaphysics and Moral Philosophy	244
Classics, Translations, and Works illustrative of the Classics	227
Philology, Literary History, and Bibliography	223
Antiquities, Numismatics, Heraldry, and Genealogy... ..	208
Public Records, Statutes, &c.	187
Botany, Agriculture and Horticulture	186
Logic, Rhetoric, and Works relating to Education	181
Science of War and Works on Military Subjects	165
Grammatical Works and Dictionaries	151
Medicine, Surgery, and Physiology	148
Natural Philosophy, Mathematics, Mechanics, and Astronomy	130
Jurisprudence	69
Total...	30,754

Additions to the Library.

The total number of volumes added to the Library during the year was 897, of which 572 were purchased, and 325 presented. The number in the year before was 901, 575 by purchase and 326 by presentation.

The presents of books were, as usual, received from the Bombay Government, the Government of India, the other Local Governments, and the Secretary of State for India, and from individual authors.

The number of volumes of each class of books purchased by and presented to, the Society during the year under report is shown in the following table:—

CLASSES.	Purchased.	Presented
Theology and Ecclesiastical History	16	1
Natural Theology, Metaphysics, and Moral Philosophy	8	...
Logic, Rhetoric, and Works relating to Education	1	...
Classics, Translations and Works illustrative of the Classics	7	...
Philology, Literary History, and Bibliography... ..	15	1
History, Historical Memoirs, and Chronology	19	1
Politics, Political Economy, and Statistics	22	24
Jurisprudence ... ..	...	2
Public Records, Statutes, &c.	22	174
Biography and Personal Narratives	62	...
Antiquities, Numismatics, Heraldry, and Genealogy	2	6
Voyages, Travels, Geography, and Topography	25	10
English Poetry and Dramatic Works	15	...
Novels, Romances, and Tales	173	...
Miscellaneous and Works on several subjects of the same Authors	77	1
Foreign Literature	4	...
Natural Philosophy, Mathematics, Mechanics, and Astronomy	8	6
Fine Arts and Architecture	10	5
Science of War and Works on Military Subjects	12	...
Natural History, Mineralogy, Geology, and Chemistry	12	1
Botany, Agriculture, and Horticulture	7	3
Medicine, Surgery, Physiology, &c.	9	2
Transactions of Learned Societies, Encyclopædias, and Periodical Works	17	47
Dictionaries, Lexicons, Vocabularies, and Grammatical Works	16	1
Oriental Literature	13	40
Total...	572	325

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS.

The newspapers, periodicals, and journals of learned Societies subscribed for and presented to the Society during the year were :—

Literary Monthlies	...	...	...	...	13
Illustrated ...	...	...	...	...	17
Scientific ...	...	...	...	...	37
General ...	...	...	...	...	2
Reviews ...	...	...	...	...	14
English Newspapers	...	...	...	...	17
Foreign Literary and Scientific Periodicals	...				12
English and French Registers, Almanacs, Directories, &c. ...	...	...	...	...	15
Indian Newspapers and Government Gazettes...					19
Indian Journals, Reviews, &c. ...	...	...	...		27
American Literary and Scientific Periodicals ..					12

At a Meeting of the Society held in November under Article 20 of the Rules, it was resolved to subscribe to "Badminton Magazine" and "The Sketch," and to discontinue "Bookman's" and "the Indu-Prakash" from the beginning of 1896.

COIN CABINET.

The number of coins added to the Society's Cabinet during the year was 67. They were received from different Governments, under the Treasure Trove Act.

2 from the Bombay Government.

35 ,, the Bengal Government.

11 ,, the Chief Commissioner, Central Provinces.

18 ,, the Punjab Government.

1 ,, the Chief Commissioner, Burmah.

Of the total 67, 22 were of silver, 33 of copper, 11 of mixed metal, and 1 of impure gold.

A detailed descriptive list of the coins is subjoined:—

Presented by the Bombay Government—

- 1 Silver coin of Aurangzeeb.
- 1 Silver coin of Shah Jehan.
Found in the Peint Taluka, Nasik District.

Presented by the Bengal Government—

- 5 Silver coins of British Mintage, found in the Birbhum District.
- 3 Silver coins of Alamgir II., found in the Burdwan District.
- 27 Copper coins of the Indo-Scythians, probably current in certain parts of ancient India, found in the Puri District.

Presented by the Chief Commissioner, Central Provinces—

- 5 Silver coins of the kind generally known as Gadhia found in the Nagpur District.
- 6 Copper coins of the Sultans of Malwa, found in the Mandla District.

Presented by the Punjab Government—

- 1 Silver coin of Mahamad Shah Durani, King of Afghanistan, found in the Shahpur District.
- 6 Small coins of mixed metal of Mahamad Karlak, found in the Gujranwala District.
- 1 Coin of impure gold, belonging to Class B of the Great Kushans, found in the Rawalpindi District.
- 5 Coins of a mixture of gold and silver, the later Indo-Scythians and Great Kushans, Class B, found in the Jhang District.
- 5 Silver punch-marked coins, found in the Shahpur District.

Presented by the Chief Commissioner, Burmah—

- 1 Silver coin of the East India Company, struck at Arcot.

Journal.

No. 51 of the Journal was issued during the year, as also index, title page and contents of Vol. XVIII., which has been completed. No. 52, containing papers contributed to the Society in 1895, is in the press and will shortly be published.

The following is a list of Governments, Societies, Institutions, &c., to which the Journal of the Society is presented:—

Bombay Government; Government of India; Government of Bengal; Government of Madras; Punjab Government; Government, N.-W. Provinces and Oudh; Chief Commissioner, Central Provinces; Chief Commissioner, Coorg; Resident, Hyderabad; Chief Commissioner, Burmah; Geological Survey of India; G. T. Survey of India; Marine Survey of India; Bengal Asiatic Society; Agricultural Society of India; Literary Society of Madras; Provincial Museum, Lucknow; Bombay University; Madras University; Punjab University; R. A. Society, Ceylon Branch; R. A. Society, North China Branch; the Asiatic Society of Japan; Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences.

Strasbourg Library; Geographical Society, Vienna; London Institution of Civil Engineers; Royal Geographical Society, London; Statistical Society London; Royal Astronomical Society; Literary and Philosophical Society, Manchester; Imperial Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg; Smithsonian Institution, Washington; Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, Copenhagen; Royal Society of Edinburgh; Deutsche Morgenlandische Gesellschaft, Leipzig; Literary and Philosophical Society, Liverpool; British Museum, London; Royal Society, London; Royal Asiatic Society, Great Britain and Ireland; Academie Real das Sciencia de Lisboa, Lisbon; Societe de Geographie Commerciale de Bordeaux; Societe de Geographie de Lyons; Hungarian Academy of Sciences (Buda Pest); Sociedad Geografica de Madrid; Royal Dublin Society; Societe Geographie de Paris; Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences; United States Survey; Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna; United Service Institution; Minnesota Academy of Natural Science; India Office Library; London Bible Society; Vienna Orientalische Museum; Boston Society of Natural History; Musee Guimet, Lyons; Victoria Institution, London; Royal Institution, Great Britain; American Geographical Society; American Oriental Society; Hamilton Association, America; Editor, Journal of Comparative Neurology Granville, Ohio, U. S. A.

New Rule.

The Society at their Meeting on 21st November passed the following rule submitted by the Committee of Management:—

All books borrowed are to be returned to the Library in the first week (from the 1st to the 7th inclusive) of December in every year, whether the time allowed for reading has expired or not, and there will be no issues of books in that week.

Any Member who shall not have returned the books as required under this Article, after receiving a call from the Librarian, shall not be allowed to take books out from the Library, until he sends back all the books standing in his name in the Society's Register, on the 30th of November.

It is to form part of article XXXVIII. of the existing Rules.

Accounts.

A statement giving in detail the items of income and expenditure during 1895 is appended. The collection of subscription during the year amounts to Rs. 10,360-5-4. The amount received in 1894 was Rs. 9,768-5-3.

The balance to the credit of the Society at the end of the year was Rs. 1,015-10-9, and the arrears of subscriptions Rs. 160.

The amount due to Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench Trübner & Co. on 31st December 1895 was £31-10-9½, which has since been remitted.

Mr. Sadanand Trimbak Bhandare moved the adoption of the report, which he said, showed as usual, steady progress in the Literary and the Financial Branches of the Society. He also moved a vote of thanks to the Committee and the office-bearers for their services during the year.

Mr. Tribhowandas Mungaldas seconded the proposition, which was unanimously passed.

Dr. Peterson proposed, and Mr. Damodardas Tapidas seconded, that the following gentlemen form the Committee and the Auditors for 1896. The proposition was unanimously carried:—

President :

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Jardine, I.C.S.

Vice-Presidents :

Dr. P. Peterson, M.A.	|	The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Candy.
Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha.		The Hon'ble W. R. Macdonell, M.A.

Members:

The Hon'ble Mr. J. U. Yajnik.	|	The Hon'ble Mr. Justice M. G. Ranade, C.I.E.
Kharsetji R. Cama, Esq.		N. G. Chandawarkar, Esq., LL.B.
Dr. Atmaram Pandurang.		Major A. B. Mein.
Dr. D. MacDonald.		Surgeon-Captain B. B. Grayfoot.
Geo. A. Kittredge, Esq., M.A.		Rev. Dr. D. Mackichan, M.A.
Rev. R. Scott, M.A.		Prof. J. T. Hathornthwaite, M.A.
James MacDonald, Esq.		F. C. Rimington, Esq.
Rev. R. M. Gray.		Lt. A. J. Peile, R.A.

Honorary Secretary :

The Hon'ble Mr. Javerilal U. Yajnik.

Joint Honorary Secretary :

(Numismatics and Archæology).

Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha.

Honorary Auditors :

D. R. Chichgar, Esq.

H. R. H. Wilkinson, Esq.

BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.
STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS.

BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE

Dr.

GENERAL STATEMENT of Receipts and Disbursements

		Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
	Balance of last year.....	.....	1,016 8 10
	Subscription of Resident Members	9,677 13 4	
	Do. of Non-Resident Members	652 8 0	
	Do. in Arrears	30 0 0	
	Government Contribution	4,200 0 0	
	Sale-proceeds of Waste papers	5 8 0	
	Do. of Journal Numbers	32 0 0	
	Do. of Catalogues	49 0 0	
	Do. of Duplicate Books	27 8 0	
	Interest on Society's Government Paper ...	232 9 0	
			14,906 14 4
	Total...Rs.	.....	15,923 7 2

Examined and found correct.

H. B. H. WILKINSON,
Honorary Auditor.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.*from 1st January to 31st December 1895.***Cr.**

	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Books purchased in Bombay	2,969 12 0	
Remittances to Messrs. Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.—		
Books £ 31 8 10		
English Newspapers and Periodicals... .. £ 138 3 9		
In all (£169-12-7), equivalent of	3,214 7 8	
Subscriptions to Newspapers, paid in India ...	342 3 0	
Printing	474 8 0	
Binding	1,011 5 9	
General Charges	488 3 1	
Stationery	89 2 6	
Postage and Receipt Stamps	63 2 1	
Shipping and Landing Charges	7 10 4	
Gas Charges	86 10 0	
Office Establishment	5,608 14 0	
Printing of Journal No. 51	519 14 0	
Balance in Bank of Bombay	1,015 10 9	14,875 12 5
Do. in hand	32 0 0	1,047 10 9
Total...Rs.		15,923 7 2
<i>Investment in Government Paper.</i>		
The Society's Fund	8,400 0 0	
The Premchand Roychand Fund	3,000 0 0	
		11,400 0 0

JAVERILAL U. YAJNIK,

Honorary Secretary.

BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

Patron :

His Excellency the Right Honourable LORD SANDHURST, G.C.I.E.,
Governor.

President :

The Hon'ble Justice John Jardine, I.C.S.

Vice-Presidents :

Dr. P. Peterson, M.A.
Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Candy.
The Hon'ble W. R. Macdonell,
M.A.

Committee of Management :

The Hon'ble Mr. J. U. Yajnik.
Kharsetji R. Cama, Esq. .
Dr. Atmaram Pandurang.
Dr. D. MacDonald.
Geo. A. Kittredge, Esq., M.A.
Rev. R. Scott, M.A.
James MacDonald, Esq.
Rev. R. M. Gray.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice M. G.
Ranade, C.I.E.
N. G. Chandawarkar, Esq., LL.B.
Major A. B. Mein.
Surgeon-Captain B. B. Grayfoot.
Rev. Dr. D. Mackichan, M.A.
J. T. Hathornthwaite, Esq., M.A.
F. C. Remington, Esq.
Lt. A. J. Peile, R.A.

Honorary Secretary :

The Hon'ble Mr. Javerilal Umiashankar Yajnik.

Joint Honorary Secretary :

(*Numismatics and Archæology*)

Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha.

Honorary Auditors :

Dáráshá Ratanji Chichgar, Esq.

H. R. H. Wikinson, Esq.

Assistant Secretary and Librarian :

Mr. Ganpatrao K. Tiwarekar.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

On the 31st December, 1895.

RESIDENT.

Year of Election.	Year of Election.
1862 (1) Kharsetji Rastamji Cama, Esq. (<i>Life-Member</i>).	1874 (18) G. A. Barnett, Esq.
„ (2) Kharsetji Fardunji Parak, Esq.	„ (19) P. Peterson, Esq.
„ (3) Hon'ble Mr. H. M. Birdwood	„ (20) The Hon'ble Mr. Javerilal Umiashankar Yajnik.
1864 (4) G. A. Kittredge, Esq.	„ (21) Grattan Geary, Esq.
„ (5) Nowroji Maneckji Wadia, Esq.	1875 (22) Sir Jamsetji Jijibhai, Bart.
1865 (6) Dr. Atmaram Pandurang.	„ (23) Rev. Dr. D. Mackichan.
1866 (7) Vandravandas Purshotamdas, Esq.	1876 (24) The Right Rev. L. G. Mylne, D. D., Bishop of Bombay (<i>Life Member</i>).
„ (8) E. B. Carroll, Esq.	„ (25) J. M. Campbell, Esq.
1867 (9) J. Westlake, Esq.	1877 (26) Maneckji Barjorji, Esq.
„ (10) R. M. A. Branson, Esq.	1878 (27) Darasha Ruttonji Chichgar, Esq.
1869 (11) Dr. L. P. DeRozario.	1878 (28) Dr. E. H. R. Langley.
1870 (12) Hon'ble Mr. Justice John Jardine	„ (29) Bezonji Rattonji Kotewal, Esq.
1873 (13) Dr. J. Gerson daCunha.	1879 (30) Harischandra Krishna Joshi, Esq.
„ (14) Sir Dinshah Manockji Petit, Bart.	„ (31) Dr. D. MacDonald.
„ (15) J. MacDonald, Esq.	1880 (32) N. S. Symons, Esq.
1874 (16) H. Conder, Esq.	„ (33) Rustam K. R. Cama, Esq., B.A. (<i>Life-Member</i>).
„ (17) Byramji Nusserwanji Sirvai, Esq. (<i>Life Member</i>).	„ (34) Vrijbhuckandass Atmaram, Esq.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

Year of Election.	Year of Election.
1880 (35) H.C. Kirkpatrick, Esq.	1886 (59) R. N. Mant, Esq.
1881 (36) M. Macmillan, Esq.	„ (60) Harkissondas Narotamdas, Esq.
„ (37) Lt.-Col. G. Martin.	1887 (61) Dr. D. A. DeMonte.
1882 (38) Louis Penny, Esq.	„ (62) J. Marshall, Esq.
„ (39) A. F. Beaufort, Esq.	1888 (63) Hon'ble Mr. Justice
„ (40) Rev. R. Scott.	H. J. Parsons.
„ (41) E. M. Slater, Esq.	„ (64) Surgeon-Captain
1882 (42) A. Abercrombie, Esq.	M. A. T. Collie.
„ (43) Surgeon-Major K. R. Kirtikar.	„ (65) John Black, Esq.
„ (44) The Hon'ble Justice E. H. Fulton.	„ (66) Murarji Goculdas Dewji, Esq.
1883 (45) Jehangir K. R. Cama, Esq., B.A. (<i>Life-Member</i>).	„ (67) Prince Shri Samat-singji.
„ (46) J. M. Drennan, Esq.	„ (68) G. Cotton, Esq.
„ (47) R. H. Baker, Esq.	„ (69) W. Bullock, Esq.
1884 (48) R. B. Sedgwick, Esq.	„ (70) F. A. Reddie, Esq.
„ (49) Mrs. Pechey-Phipson.	„ (71) W. Murray, Esq.
„ (50) J. Griffiths, Esq.	„ (72) Karsandas Vallabhdas, Esq.
„ (51) Surgeon-Lt.-Col. T. S. Weir.	„ (73) Narondas Purshotamdas, Esq.
„ (52) Hon'ble Sir Charles Farran, Kt.	„ (74) J. H. Symington, Esq.
„ (53) Bhaishankar Nana-bhoy, Esq.	„ (75) Jiwanji Jamshedji Mody, Esq.
„ (54) The Hon'ble Mr. Perozsha Merwanji Mehta.	„ (76) J. Avent, Esq.
„ (55) Goculdas Kahandas, Esq.	„ (77) R. S. Campbell, Esq.
1884 (56) Jehangir Nasserwanji Mody, Esq. (<i>Life-Member</i>).	„ (78) F. C. Remington, Esq.
1885 (57) Dastur Darab Peshotan Sanjana.	„ (79) E. Wimbridge, Esq.
„ (58) Nowroji Pestonji Vakeel, Esq.	„ (80) J. B. K. Macbeth, Esq.
	„ (81) Damodardas Tapidas, Esq.
	„ (82) Dr. K. N. Bahadurji.

Year of Election.	Year of Election.
1888 (83) Bomanji Dinshaw Petit, Esq. (<i>Life-Member</i>).	1889 (105) Surgeon-Captain B. B. Grayfoot.
88 (84) Rev. R. MacOmish.	„ (106) Hon'ble Mr. Justice Candy.
„ (85) A. C. Parmeindes, Esq.	1890 (107) Manmohandas Ramji, Esq.
„ (86) J. P. Phythian, Esq.	„ (108) H. A. Acworth, Esq.
„ (87) The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Badrudin Tyabji.	„ (109) Rev. Dr. W. M. Alexander.
„ (88) Rao Saheb Wasudeva Jagonath Kirtikar.	„ (110) Framji Rastamji Vicaji, Esq.
„ (89) J. Stiven, Esq.	„ (111) Philip B. Savile, Esq.
„ (90) W. Huges, Esq.	„ (112) Lieut. R. T. R. Lawrence, R.E.
„ (91) A. H. Nazar, Esq.	„ (113) Lieut.-Col. R. V. Riddell, R.E.
„ (92) C. H. Armstrong, Esq.	„ (114) Dharamsi Murarji Goculdas, Esq.
„ (93) Veerchand Deepchand, Esq.	1891 (115) Rev. Dr. B. DeMonte.
„ (94) Jagmohandas Vandra- wandas, Esq.	„ (116) Dharamsey Sundardas Mulji, Esq.
„ (95) The Hon'ble Mr. W. R. Macdonell.	„ (117) Arthur Leslie, Esq.
„ (96) Rastomji Pestonji Karkaria, Esq.	„ (118) W. D. McKewan, Esq.
„ (97) G. W. F. Playfair, Esq.	„ (119) The Hon'ble Mr Daji Abaji Khare.
1888 (98) Gowardhandas Goculdas Tejpal, Esq.	„ (120) Dr. Bhalchandra Krishna Bhatawadekar.
„ (99) J. C. E. Branson, Esq.	„ (121) Rev. R. M. Gray.
„ (100) Miss Macdonald.	„ (122) H. Kennard, Esq.
„ (101) Rev. J. F. Gardner.	„ (123) J. H. Sleigh, Esq.
„ (102) Dinshaw Edalji Vacha, Esq.	„ (124) Maneksha J. Talyar- khan, Esq.
„ (103) I. O'Callaghan, Esq.	„ (125) W. Munro, Esq.
„ (104) Narayan Ganesh Chan- dawarkar, Esq.	1891 (126) T. W. Cuffe, Esq.
	„ (127) Vajeshankar Gowri- shankar, Esq.

Year of Election.	Year of Election.
1891 (128) N. A. Moos, Esq.	1892 (149) V. N. Bhagvat, Esq.
„ (129) L. J. Robertson, Esq.	„ (150) Tribhuvandas Varjivandas, Esq.
„ (130) W. H. Sharp, Esq.	„ (151) H. R. H. Wilkinson, Esq.
„ (131) J. Y. Munro, Esq.	„ (152) Cursetji N. Wadia, Esq.
„ (132) Shankar Prasad Hari Prasad, Esq.	„ (153) Major A. Hildebrand.
„ (133) W. G. Treacher, Esq.	„ (154) H. W. Uloth, Esq.
„ (134) Major J. C. Swann.	„ (155) Karimbhai Ibrahim, Esq.
„ (135) Jamsetjee N. Tata, Esq.	„ (156) J. L. Symons, Esq.
„ (136) Fakirchand Premchand, Esq.	„ (157) Rao Saheb Dalpatram Pranjiwauram Khakkhar.
„ (137) Surgeon-Major F. F. MacCartie.	„ (158) R. Gilbert, Esq.
„ (138) Shrimant Narayanrao Govindrao Ghorapaday, Chief of Ichalkaranji (<i>Life-Member</i>).	„ (159) T. J. Bennett, Esq.
„ (139) The Hon'ble Justice M. G. Ranade.	„ (160) Sadanand Trimbak Bhandare, Esq. (<i>Life-Member</i>).
1892 (140) Kawasji Dadabhoy Dubash, Esq.	„ (161) James Kenyon, Esq.
„ (141) M. C. Turner, Esq.	„ (162) A. H. King, Esq.
„ (142) Prabhuram Jivanram Vaidya, Esq. (<i>Life-Member</i>).	„ (163) K. B. Setna, Esq.
„ (143) O. V. Muller, Esq.	„ (164) Burjorji Nowroji Apyakhtiar, Esq.
„ (144) Nowroji Byramji Suntook, Esq.	„ (165) A. M. T. Jackson, Esq.
„ (145) S. R. Bhandarkar, Esq.	„ (166) R. E. Melsheimer, Esq.
„ (146) R. C. Chapman, Esq.	„ (167) John A. Douglas, Esq.
„ (147) Dadabhoy Merwanji Dallal, Esq.	„ (168) L. R. W. Forrest, Esq.
„ (148) F. W. Eicke, Esq.	„ (169) Hormasji Dorabji Padamji, Esq.
	1893 (170) Rev. J. Sellar.
	„ (171) Ouchavaram Nanabhai Haridas, Esq.
	„ (172) H. R. Greaves, Esq.
	„ (173) Jijibhoy Edalji Modi, Esq.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

liii

Year of Election.	Year of Election.
1898 (174) Shamrao Vithal, Esq.	1894 (196) Wasudeva Gopal Bhandarkar, Esq.
„ (175) Shapurji Barjorji Barucha, Esq.	„ (197) Dr. James Arnott.
„ (176) Tribhuwandas Mangaldas Nathubhoy, Esq.	„ (198) Rev. J. E. Abbott.
„ (177) A. Stephen, Esq.	„ (199) Geo. Miller, Esq.
„ (178) Rao Saheb Ellapa Ballaram.	„ (200) J. C. G. Bowen, Esq.
„ (179) Rastamji Nanabhoy, Byramji Jijibhoy, Esq. (<i>Life-Member</i>).	„ (201) J. T. Hathornthwaite, Esq.
„ (180) Tullockchand Maneekchand, Esq.	„ (202) S. L. Wyatt, Esq.
„ (181) Hari Sitaram Dixit, Esq.	„ (203) D. M. Inglis, Esq.
„ (182) Major A. B. Mein.	„ (204) C. S. H. Sarl, Esq.
„ (183) W. W. Squire, Esq.	„ (205) W. I. A. Foulkes, Esq.
„ (184) Surgeon-Col. D. E. Hughes.	„ (206) Edwin Yeo, Esq.
„ (185) A. M. Tod, Esq.	„ (207) Capt. St. J. A. D. Muter, R. A.
„ (186) Capt. Chandler.	„ (208) Cecil Richardson, Esq.
„ (187) R. C. Lees, Esq.	„ (209) J. G. Covernton, Esq.
„ (188) Robert Pescio, Esq.	„ (210) J. W. Orr, Esq.
„ (189) Merwanji Dhanjibhoy. Jijibhoy, Esq.	„ (211) R. C. Wroughton, Esq.
„ (190) G. H. Townsend, Esq.	„ (212) Captain Finny.
„ (191) B. H. J. Rastamji, Esq.	„ (213) J. L. Jenkins, Esq.
„ (192) His Highness Aga Khan.	„ (214) Balkrishna Vinayak Wassoodeo, Esq. (<i>Life-Member</i>).
„ (193) Col. Empson, R. A.	„ (215) Lt. W. C. R. Farmer, R. A.
„ (194) J. W. Brown, Esq.	„ (216) R. Whately, Esq.
„ (195) E. H. Elsworth, Esq.	„ (217) Major Allan Smith.
	„ (218) N. R. Oliver, Esq.
	„ (219) Prof. H. M. Bhadkamkar.
	„ (220) Capt. A. J. Peile, R. A.
	„ (221) R. S. Brown, Esq.

Year of Election.	Year of Election.
1895 (222) Vernon B. F. Bayley, Esq.	1895 (243) C. Trafford, Esq.
„ (223) Rev. C. J. Mayhew.	„ (244) R. H. Vincent, Esq., (Junior).
„ (224) Lt.-Col. Freeman.	„ (245) Framrose Edalji Dinshaw, Esq.
„ (225) Cumrudin Amirudin, Esq.	„ (246) F. H. Brown, Esq.
„ (226) C. I. Nicoud, Esq.	„ (247) Col. A. T. Fraser.
„ (227) F. A. Little, Esq.	„ (248) G. D. Marston, Esq.
„ (228) Miss Parker.	„ (249) C. W. L. Jackson, Esq.
„ (229) A. B. Earle, Esq.	„ (250) J. A. Jeffrey, Esq.
„ (230) R. H. Vincent, Esq., C.I.E.	„ (251) Geo. Service, Esq.
„ (231) G. S. Curtis, Esq.	„ (252) F. A. Prevost, Esq.
„ (232) A. Joly de Lotbimiere, Esq.	„ (253) H. E. E. Procter, Esq.
„ (233) G. N. Sweet, Esq.	„ (254) L. Hallward, Esq.
„ (234) T. A. Savage, Esq.	„ (255) A. J. L. Grimes, Esq.
„ (235) Cecil Gray, Esq.	„ (256) J. Jack, Esq.
„ (236) Khimjibhoy Jairam Naranji, Esq.	„ (257) J. K. Moir, Esq.
„ (237) A. Murray, Esq.	„ (258) Fazalbhaj Visram, Esq.
„ (238) Maganlal L. Shroff, Esq.	(259) His Excellency the Rt. Hon'ble William Baron Sandhurst, G.C.I.E.
„ (239) G. F. Horbury, Esq.	„ (260) Major Block, R. A.
„ (240) Mancharsha Framji Khan, Esq.	„ (261) Frederick Noël Paton, Esq.
„ (241) R. Kennedy, Esq.	„ (262) Lt.-Col. W. A. Wetherall.
„ (242) Miss Benson.	

NON-RESIDENT.

Year of Election.	Year of Election.
1865 (1) Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar.	1888 (22) Syed Ikhal Ali, Esq.
1868 (2) G. B. Reid, Esq.	„ (23) Syed Ali Bilgrami, Esq.
„ (3) Dr. J. C. Lisboa.	1889 (24) C. G. Dodgson, Esq.
„ (4) H. H. the Maharaja Saheb of Bhavnagar.	„ (25) E. M. Pratt, Esq.
„ (5) H. H. the Jam Saheb of Nawanagar	„ (26) M. H. Nazar, Esq.
„ (6) H. H. Ramchandrao Appa Saheb, Chief of Jamkhandi.	„ (27) Mancharji Pestonji Kharegat, Esq.
„ (7) Dr. G. Bühler.	1890 (28) Raja Murli Manohar Bahadur.
„ (8) H. H. the Thakore Saheb of Morvi.	„ (29) K. B. Pathak, Esq.
1869 (9) J. F. Fleet, Esq.	„ (30) Rao Saheb Balwantrao Bhuskute.
„ (10) Bomanji Jamsaji, Esq.	„ (31) H. H. Dhruva, Esq. (<i>Life-Member</i>).
1875 (11) Cowasji Karsetji Jamsetji, Esq.	„ (32) Shrimant Aba Saheb, Chief of Visalgad.
1876 (12) G. C. Whitworth, Esq.	„ (33) Kharsetji Rustamji Thanawala, Esq.
1878 (13) Sadashiva Vishwanath Dhurandhar, Esq.	„ (34) W. C. Rand, Esq.
1879 (14) Sayad Hassan Bilgrami, Esq.	1892 (5) Sortorio Coelho, Esq. (<i>Life-Member</i>).
„ (15) Brigade-Surgeon-Lieut.-Col. C. T. Peters.	„ (36) T. W. Arnold, Esq.
1882 (16) W. P. Symonds, Esq.	„ (37) C. Biddulph, Esq.
„ (17) E. H. Moscardi, Esq.	„ (38) Kavasji Dadabhai Naimgamwala, Esq.
„ (18) The Hon'ble. W. W. Loch.	„ (39) Surgeon-Major J. H. Newman.
1883 (19) Rev. J. H. Mackay.	„ (40) Rao Saheb P. B. Parakh.
„ (20) J. R. Greaves, Esq.	„ (41) A. C. Logan, Esq.
1888 (21) Prabhashankar Gowrishankar, Esq.	„ (42) W. Doderet, Esq.
	„ (43) Captain T. J. Grier.

Year of Election.		Year of Election.	
1893 (44)	Sorabji Manekji Cawasji, Esq.	1894 (51)	T.R. Amalnerkar, Esq.
„ (45)	Lalubhai Samaldas Desai, Esq.	1895 (52)	Dattatraya Balwant Parasnis, Esq.
„ (46)	Kumar Shri Baldevji of Dharampur (<i>Life-Member</i>).	„ (53)	F. X. E. Barreto, Esq.
„ (47)	H. E. M. James, Esq.	„ (54)	B. K. Thakore, Esq. (1893).
„ (48)	Hari Narayan Apte, Esq.	„ (55)	Ibrahim Ahmedi, Esq. (1891).
„ (49)	W. H. Luck, Esq.	„ (56)	F. T. Rickards, Esq. (1893).
1894 (50)	Surgeon-Captain B. Basu,		

LIFE-MEMBERS.

Kharsetji Rastamji Cama, Esq.	Prabhuram Jivanram Vaidia, Esq.
Byramji Naserwanji Sirvai, Esq.	Sadanand Trimbak Bhandare, Esq.
The Right Rev. L. G. Mylne, D. D., Bishop of Bombay.	Rastamji Nanabhoy Byramji Jijibhoy, Esq.
Rustam K. R. Cama, Esq.	Balkrishna Vinayak Wassudev, Esq.
Jehangir K. R. Cama, Esq.	Sortorio Coelho, Esq.
Jehangir Nasserwanji Mody, Esq.	Kumar Shri Baldevji of Dharampur.
Bomanji Dinshaw Petit, Esq.	H. H. Dhruva, Esq.
Shrimant Narayenrao Govindrao Ghorepaday, Chief of Ichalkaranji.	

HONORARY.

Year of Election.		Year of Election.	
1835	A. S. Walne, Esq.	1862	Dr. H. J. Carter.
1845	M. le Marquis de F�erriere de Vayer.	1866	Dr. A. Weber.
1848	M. le Vicomte Eug�ene de Kerckhove.	„	J. H. Rivara da Cunha, Esq.
1849	B. Hodgson, Esq.	1879	Dr. Oliver Codrington.
		1892	Sir Raymond West, K. C. I. E.

A Meeting of the Society was held on Friday, the 26th June 1896.

Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

Mr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi read a paper on the "Antiquity of the Avesta."

Messrs. K. R. Cama and J. MacDonald and Dr. Nishikant of Hyderabad (Deccan) made remarks on the paper.

A vote of thanks was then passed to Mr. J. J. Mody for the interesting paper he had read.

LIST OF PRESENTS TO THE LIBRARY.

(FROM JANUARY TO DECEMBER 1895).

<i>Titles of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
ACTS, Government of India, 1894.	Government of India.
ADMINISTRATION Report, Baluchistan, 1893-94.	Government of India.
_____ Bengal, 1893-94.	Bengal Government.
_____ Bombay Presidency, 1893-94.	Bombay Government.
_____ Burmah, 1893-94.	Chief Commissioner, Burmah.
_____ Central India Agency, 1894-95.	Government of India.
_____ Hyderabad Assigned Districts, 1893-94.	Resident at Hyderabad.
_____ Madras Presidency, 1893-94.	Madras Government.
_____ N.-W. Provinces and Oudh, 1893-94.	Government N.-W. P. and Oudh.
_____ Punjab, 1893-94.	Punjab Government.
_____ P. W. D., Bombay Presidency, 1894-95.	(Irrigation). Bombay Government.
_____ P. W. Department, Bombay Presidency, 1894-95.	Bombay Government.
_____ Rajputana States, 1894-95.	Government of India.
AGRICULTURAL Ledger, 1893 (Nos. 1 to 5 and 15); 1894 (Nos. 3, 7, 12 and 18 to 20); 1895 (Nos. 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 12, 13, 16, 17).	Government of India.
AMERICAN Historical Association, Report, 1891-93.	Smithsonian Institution.
_____ Museum of Natural History, Report, 1892-93.	Smithsonian Institution.
APASTAMBA Grihya Sutra.	Mysore Government.
_____ Paribhasha Sutra.	Mysore Government.

- ARCHEOLOGICAL** Survey of India. New Series. Vol. XVIII., Part, I.
(Mogul Architecture of Fatepur Sikri).
Government of India.
- ART** Manufacture of India.
Government of India.
- BOMBAY** Gazetteer, Bombay Town and Island, Part III.
Bombay Government.
- University Calendar, 1895-96.
The University.
- BOWEN** Manuscript, Part II. Fasc. II.
Government of India.
- BRIEF** Sketch, Meteorology, Bombay Presidency, 1894-95.
Bombay Government.
- CATALOGUE**, Arabic MSS., Berlin Library.
The Library.
- of Coins, Indian Museum, Part II.
Trustees of the Museum.
- Lahore Museum, Part II.
Government of Punjab.
- Sanskrit MSS., Calcutta Sanskrit College Library.
Government of India.
- India Office Library, Part IV.
Secretary of State for India.
- Library of H. H. the Maharaja of Ulwar.
Dr. P. Peterson.
- of the Library, Institution of Civil Engineers.
The Institution.
- CENSUS** of India, 1891. His Highness the Nizam's Dominions.
Bombay Government.
- Mysore, Parts III. and IV.
Bombay Government.
- CHERAGE** Daneh.
Dastur Darab P. Sanjana.
- CIVILISATION** of the Eastern Iranians.
Framji Hormusji Setna, Esq.
- COMMON** Crow of the United States.
U. S. Department of Agriculture.
- CROP** Experiments, Bombay Presidency, 1893-94.
Director of Land Records.
- DAKSHINAMURTI** Stotra of Sri Sankaracharya.
Mysore Government.
- DEMONSTRATIONS** in the modes of handling and examining the horse.
By N. D. Dhakmarvala.
The Author.

- DICTIONARY, Konkani and Portuguese.** By Rev. S. R. Dalgado.
The Author.
- DIE Alttür Kischen Inschriften der Mongoleé.**
Academie des Sciences de St. Petersburg.
- DINA-i-Mainu i Khrat.**
Dastur Darab P. Sanjana.
Framji Hormusji Setna, Esq.
- EARLY History of the Deccan.** 2nd Ed. By Dr. R. G. Bhandarker.
The Author.
- EAST INDIA (Accounts and Estimates) Explanatory Memo.**
Secretary of State for India.
- (Cantonment Acts), 1895.
Secretary of State for India.
- Correspondence relating to Chitral.
Secretary of State for India.
- (Cotton Manufactures) Import Duties.
Secretary of State for India.
- (Estimate).
Secretary of State for India.
- (Financial Statement, 1895-96).
Secretary of State for India.
- (Government of India).
Secretary of State for India.
- (Home Accounts).
Secretary of State for India.
- (Indian Tariff Act and the Cotton Duties).
Secretary of State for India.
- (Income and Expenditure), 1884 85 to 1893-94.
Secretary of State for India.
- (Loans Raised in England).
Secretary of State for India.
- (India).
Secretary of State for India.
- Military Expenditure beyond the Frontier.
Secretary of State for India.
- Gilgit, &c.
Secretary of State for India.
- (Progress and Condition), 1893-94.
Secretary of State for India.
- (Staff Corps Officers).
Secretary of State for India.
- ENGRAVED Gems.** By Professor M. Somerville.
The Author.

- ESSAYS in English History.** By R. P. Karkaria.
The Author.
- FATH-al-Zarib.** La Revelation de l' Omniprésent.
The Governor-General, Netherlands, India.
- FINAL Report,** Royal Commission on Opium.
Secretary of State for India.
- FINANCE and Revenue Accounts,** Government of India, 1893-94.
Government of India.
- FINANCIAL and Commercial Statistics,** British India, 1894.
Government of India.
- GANJESHAYAGAN.**
Framji Hormusji Setna, Esq.
- HISTORY of the Parsis.**
Framji Hormusji Setna, Esq.
- Tower Bridge.
The Bridge Estates Committee, Corporation, City of London.
- ILLUSTRATIONS of Indian Architectural Decorative Work.** Plates 1-14.
Government of India.
- INCOME Tax Reports,** Bombay Presidency, 1893-94.
Bombay Government.
- INDEX of Manuscripts,** Government Oriental MSS. Library, Madras.
Madras Government.
- INDIAN Meteorological Memoirs,** Vol. V., Part 6.
Government of India.
- Vol. V., Parts 7, 8, 9.
Government of India.
- Vol. VII., Parts 1-4.
Government of India.
- Textile Journal Directory, 1895.
The Proprietor Indian Textile Journal.
- Weather Review, 1894.
Government of India.
- INSTRUCTIONS to Observers,** Indian Meteorological Department.
Government of India.
- INTERNAL Trade,** Punjab, 1894-95.
Punjab Government.
- IRRIGATION Revenue Report,** Bombay Presidency, 1893-94.
Bombay Government.
- Sind, 1893-94.
Bombay Government.
- JOURNEY through Mongolia and Tibet.** By W. W. Rockhill.
The Smithsonian Institution.
- JUDAISM at the World's Parliament of Religions.**
The Union of the American Hebrew Congregation.

REPORT, Mofussil, Civil Hospitals and Dispensaries.

- Bombay Government.
 Meteorological Department, Government of India, 1894-95.
 Government of India.
- Madras Government, Central Museum, 1894-95.
 Madras Government.
- Municipalities, Punjab, 1893-94.
 Punjab Government.
- Municipal Taxation and Expenditure, Bombay Presidency,
 1893-94.
 Bombay Government.
- Northern India, Salt Revenue Department, 1894-95.
 Commissioner, N. I., Salt Revenue.
- Opium Department, Bombay Presidency, 1893-94.
 Bombay Government.
- on Forest Management.
 Government of India.
- on Publications, British India, 1894.
 Government of India.
- on Sanskrit MSS., Bombay Presidency, 1884-85 and 1886-87.
 Bombay Government.
- Police, Bombay, 1894.
 Bombay Government.
- Public Instruction, Punjab, 1893-94.
 Punjab Government.
- Rail and Road-borne Trade, Bombay Presidency, 1894-95.
 Bombay Government.
- Railways in India, 1893-94.
 Secretary of State for India.
- Railway Department, Bombay Presidency, 1894-95.
 Bombay Government.
- Registration Department, Bombay Presidency, 1894-95.
 Bombay Government.
- ————— Punjab, 1894-95.
 Punjab Government.
- Rail, Road and River-borne Traffic, Sind, 1894-95.
 Bombay Government.
- Reformatory School, Yerrowda, 1894.
 Bombay Government.
- Sanitary Administration, Punjab, 1894.
 Punjab Government.
- Salt and Continental Customs Department, 1893-94.
 Bombay Government.

- REPORT, Sanskrit MSS. Southern India, No. I.**
 _____ Madras Government.
 _____ Stamp Department, Bombay, 1894-95. Bombay Government.
 _____ Punjab, 1894-95. Punjab Government.
 _____ Survey of India Departments, 1893-94. Government of India.
 _____ Trade and Navigation, Sind, 1894-95. Bombay Government.
 _____ Talukdari, Settlement Officer, 1893-94. Bombay Government.
 _____ Vaccination, Bombay Presidency, 1894-95. Bombay Government.
 _____ Vaccination, Punjab, 1894-95. Punjab Government.
 _____ Rail and River-borne Traffic, Sind, 1893-94. Bombay Government.
- RESEARCHES Sur le Bouddhisme.**
 Musee Guimet.
- RETURNS, Rail and River-borne Traffic, Sind, 1893-94 and 1894-95.**
 Bombay Government.
- REVIEW, Trade of India, 1894-95.**
 Government of India.
- REVISION Survey Settlement, Shahpur District, Punjab, 1887-94.**
 Punjab Government.
- _____ Alibag Taluka, Kolaba. Bombay Government.
 _____ Haliyal Taluka, Kanara. Bombay Government.
 _____ Javali Taluka, Satara. Bombay Government.
 _____ Mehamadabad Taluka, Kaira. Bombay Government.
 _____ Peint Taluka, Nasik. Bombay Government.
 _____ Anand Taluka, Kaira. Bombay Government.
 _____ Dhandhuka Taluka, Ahmedabad. Bombay Government.
 _____ Gokak Taluka, Belgaum. Bombay Government.

REPORT, Mofussil, Civil Hospitals and Dispensaries.

- Meteorological Department, Government of India, 1894-95. Bombay Government.
- Madras Government, Central Museum, 1894-95. Government of India.
- Municipalities, Punjab, 1893-94. Madras Government.
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- Northern India, Salt Revenue Department, 1894-95. Bombay Presidency,
- Commissioner, N. I., Salt Revenue.
- Opium Department, Bombay Presidency, 1893-94. Bombay Government.
- on Forest Management. Bombay Government.
- on Publications, British India, 1894. Government of India.
- on Sanskrit MSS., Bombay Presidency, 1884-85 and 1886-87. Government of India.
- Police, Bombay, 1894. Bombay Government.
- Public Instruction, Punjab, 1893-94. Bombay Government.
- Rail and Road-borne Trade, Bombay Presidency, 1894-95. Punjab Government.
- Railways in India, 1893-94. Bombay Government.
- Secretary of State for India.
- Railway Department, Bombay Presidency, 1894-95. Bombay Government.
- Registration Department, Bombay Presidency, 1894-95. Bombay Government.
- Punjab, 1894-95. Bombay Government.
- Rail, Road and River-borne Traffic, Sind, 1894-95. Punjab Government.
- Reformatory School, Yerrowda, 1894. Bombay Government.
- Sanitary Administration, Punjab, 1894. Bombay Government.
- Salt and Continental Customs Department, 1893-94. Punjab Government.
- Bombay (over)

- REPORT, Sanskrit MSS. Southern India, No. I.**
 ———— Stamp Department, Bombay, 1894-95. Madras Government.
 ———— ————— Punjab, 1894-95. Bombay Government.
 ———— Survey of India Departments, 1893-94. Punjab Government.
 ———— Trade and Navigation, Sind, 1894-95. Government of India.
 ———— Talukdari, Settlement Officer, 1893-94. Bombay Government.
 ———— Vaccination, Bombay Presidency, 1894-95. Bombay Government.
 ———— Vaccination, Punjab, 1894-95. Bombay Government.
 ———— Rail and River-borne Traffic, Sind, 1893-94. Punjab Government.
 ———— —————. Bombay Government.
- RESEARCHES Sur le Bouddhisme.**
 Musee Guimet.
- RETURNS, Rail and River-borne Traffic, Sind, 1893-94 and 1894-95.**
 Bombay Government.
- REVIEW, Trade of India, 1894-95.**
 Government of India.
- REVISION Survey Settlement, Shahpur District, Punjab, 1887-94.**
 Punjab Government.
- Alibag Taluka, Kolaba.
 Bombay Government.
- Haliyal Taluka, Kanara.
 Bombay Government.
- Javali Taluka, Satara.
 Bombay Government.
- Mehamadabad Taluka, Kaira.
 Bombay Government.
- Peint Taluka, Nasik.
 Bombay Government.
- Anand Taluka, Kaira.
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- Dhandhuka Taluka, Ahmedabad.
 Bombay Government.
- Gokak Taluka, Belgaum.
 Bombay Government.

- REVISION Survey Settlement, Kalyan Taluka, Thana, 1895.**
 Bombay Government.
 _____ **Koregaum Taluka, Satara.**
 Bombay Government.
 _____ **Karad Taluka, Satara.**
 Bombay Government.
 _____ **Murbad Taluka, Thana.**
 Bombay Government.
 _____ **Nadiad Taluka, Kaira.**
 Bombay Government.
 _____ **Patan Taluka, Satara.**
 Bombay Government.
 _____ **Pen Taluka, Colaba.**
 Bombay Government.
- SANGEETADITYA.** By Lakhmidas Aditram.
 The Author.
- SANITARY Measures in India, 1893-94.**
 Bombay Government.
- SELECTIONS from the Upanishads.**
 Christian Literary Society, Madras.
- SMITHSONIAN Report, 1890-92-93.**
 Smithsonian Institution.
 _____ **Institution, Bureau of Ethnology, Report, 1885-88.**
 Smithsonian Institution.
 _____ **Miscellaneous Collection, 1893.**
 Smithsonian Institution.
- SOME Account of Silk in India.**
 Government of India.
- SOUTH Australia.**
 Bombay Government.
- SOUTH African Republic ; Papers relating to Grievances of Her Majesty's Indian subjects.**
 Secretary of State for India.
- STATEMENT, Trade and Navigation, British India, 1892-93-94.**
 (Appendices).
 Government of India.
 _____ **1894-95, 2 Vols.**
 Government of India.
- STATISTICAL Abstract, British India, 1884-85 to 1893-94.**
 Secretary of State for India.
- SURVEY Settlement Report, Kaldhan Village, Khatava Taluka, Satara.**
 Bombay Government.
- SYNOPSIS of Operations, G. T. Survey of India, Vol. 34.**
 Government of India.

- TAITTIRIYA Samhita, Krishna Yajurveda, Vols. 2 and 3.**
 Mysore Government.
- TELEGRAPH Map of India, 1894.**
 The Superintendent, G. T. Survey.
- TEXT Book of Sanitary Science.**
 Government of India.
- THIRD Report, Curator of Ancient Monuments.**
 Government of India.
- TIDE Tables, Indian Ports, 1895.**
 Government of India.
- TRADE, British India, 1889-90 to 1893-94.**
 Secretary of State for India.
- and Navigation Accounts, Bombay Presidency, 1894-95.
 Bombay Government.
- British India, Monthly Accounts, 1894-95.
 Government of India.
- Returns, Aden, 1894-95.
 Bombay Government.
- TRANSLITERATION of Oriental Alphabets. By J. Burgess.**
 The Author.
- UNITED STATES, GEOGRAPHICAL and Geological Survey Report,
 Vols. VII. and IX.**
 Smithsonian Institution.
- Geological Survey Reports, 1889-93.
 Smithsonian Institution.
- Geological Survey, Monographs, Vols. 17-22.
 Smithsonian Institution.
- VISHNU Purana, Abridgment from English Translation**
 Christian Literary Society, Madras.
- WRECKS and Casualties in Indian Waters, 1894.**
 Government of India.

LIST OF PRESENTS.

FROM JANUARY TO JUNE 1896.

<i>Titles of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
ACTS, Government of India, 1895.	Government of India.
AGRICULTURAL Ledger, No. 16, 1894.	Government of India.
————— Nos. 11, 14, 15, 19, 23, 1895.	Government of India.
ANNALS, Botanical Garden, Calcutta, Vol. V.	Superintendent, Botanical Garden.
ADMINISTRATION Report, Bombay Presidency, 1894-95.	Bombay Government.
————— Baluchistan, 1894-95.	Government of India.
————— N.-W. Provinces and Oudh, 1894-95.	Government, N.-W. P.
————— Madras Presidency, 1894-95.	Madras Government.
————— Hyderabad Assigned District, 1894-95.	Resident, Hyderabad.
————— Bengal, 1894-95.	Bengal Government.
————— Burma, 1894-95.	Chief Commissioner, Burma.
————— Punjab, 1894-95.	Punjab Government.
BOMBAY Code, 2nd Edition, Vol. II.	Government of India.
CATALOGUE, Persian Books, Asiatic Society, Bengal.	Asiatic Society.
CROP Experiments, Bombay Presidency, 1894-95.	Bombay Government.
ENGLISH-Persian Dictionary. By Wollaston.	Secretary of State for India.
FINANCE and Revenue, Accounts, Government of India, 1894-95.	Government of India.
INCOME Tax Report, Bombay Presidency, 1894-95.	Bombay Government.
INDIAN Meteorological Memoirs, Vol. VII., Part 5; Vol. VIII., Part 1; Vol. IX., Parts 2 & 3.	Government of India.

- IRRIGATION Revenue Report, Bombay Presidency, 1894-95.
Bombay Government
- JACK Rabbits, United States.
U. S. Dept. of Agriculture.
- K. T. TELANG. By R. P. Karkaria.
The Author.
- LIFE and Exploits of Alexander the Great.
Lady Meux.
- LIST of Ancient Monuments in Bengal.
Bengal Government.
- MAGNETICAL and Meteorological Observations, Bombay, 1894.
Bombay Government.
- NOTICES, Sanskrit MSS., Bengal, Vol. XI.
Asiatic Society, Bengal.
- Original Survey Settlement, *Gujnal*, Gokak, Belgaum.
Bombay Government.
- *Guti*, Belgaum.
Bombay Government.
- PARLIAMENTARY Papers:—
- France (No. 2) 1896; Settlement of the Siamese and other
Questions.
Declaration between Great Britain and France, with regard to Siam.
East India (Opium), correspondence regarding the Report.
Statement Trade of British India, 1890-91 to 1894-95. Report,
Railways in India, 1894-95.
Secretary of State for India.
- POLICE Administration, Punjab, 1894-95.
Punjab Government.
- POLICE Reports, Bombay Presidency, 1894-95.
Bombay Government.
- PROCEEDINGS, Legislative Council, Bombay, 1894.
Bombay Government.
- RAJAPUTANA, Sanitary, Vaccination, Dispensary and Jail Report,
1894.
Government of India.
- REPORT, Archæological Survey, N.-W. Provinces and Oudh, 1894-95.
Government, N.-W. P.
- Western India, 1894-95.
Bombay Government.
- Chemical Analyser to Government, Bombay, 1895.
Bombay Government.
- Criminal Justice, Punjab, 1894.
Punjab Government.

- REPORT, Customs Administration, Bombay, 1894-95.
Bombay Government.
- Civil Justice, Punjab, 1894.
Punjab Government.
- Civil Veterinary Department, Bombay Presidency, 1894-95.
Bombay Government.
- Director of Public Instruction, Bombay Presidency, 1894-95.
Director of Public Instruction.
- Land Records and Agriculture, Bombay Presidency, 1894-95.
Bombay Government.
- on Municipalities, Punjab, 1894-95.
Punjab Government.
- Public Instruction, Punjab 1894-95.
Punjab Government.
- Railways in India, 1894-95, Part II.
Government of India.
- Slat, and Continental Customs Depts., Bombay Presidency.
1894-95.
Bombay Government.
- Salt Department, Sind, 1894-95.
Bombay Government.
- Sea Customs Department, Sind, 1894-95.
Bombay Government.
- Talukdari Settlement Officer, Bombay Presidency, 1894-95.
Bombay Government.
- Revision Survey Settlement, Talukdari Villages, *Sunand*, Ahmedabad.
Bombay Government.
- *Karjat*, Thana.
Bombay Government.
- *Kapadvanj*.
Bombay Government.
- *Borsad*, Kaira.
Bombay Government.
- TRADE and Navigation Accounts, British India, Nos. 6, 8, 7, 9, 10
1895-96.
Government of India.
- TIDE Tables, Indian Ports, 1896.
Government of India.
- VENDIDAD. Ed. Darab P. Sanjana.
The Editor.
- VOYAGE dans Le Laos.
Musée Guimet.
- VOYAGES of Pedro S. de Gamboa. (Hakluyt Society).
Bombay Government.

**PROCEEDINGS OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.**

(FROM JULY 1896 TO JUNE 1897.)

A Meeting of the Society was held on Saturday, the 8th August 1896.

Mr. J. MacDonald, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

Mr. R. P. Karkaria read a paper on "The Emperor Akbar and the Parsees."

Dr. Pollen made remarks on the paper, and moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Karkaria for the interesting paper he had read.

The motion, on being put to the vote, was carried by acclamation.

A Meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 13th August 1896.

Dr. P. Peterson, President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

Dr. Nishikant read a paper on Mrichchakatika, a Sanskrit Drama by Sudraka.

The Honorary Secretary made remarks on the paper, and moved a vote of thanks to Dr. Nishikant for the interesting paper he had read.

The President, with his observations, put the vote to the Meeting, and it was carried by acclamation.

A Meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 24th September 1896.

Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha, Vice-President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Honorary Secretary informed the Meeting that Mr. J. V. Vaz, Veterinary Overseer, N.-W. P., a non-resident Member of the Society, had sent from Babugarh a snake in a bottle. Mr. Vaz writes that the natives know it as 'Dhawan.' It is very poisonous, and is believed to be the fastest runner among snakes. When irritated or about to make an attack, it lays hold of any thing by the mouth, and lashes its tail to and fro like a horse-whip forcibly used.

Mr. Mahadeva Rajaram Bodas read a paper on a Historical Sketch of Indian Logic.

The Honorary Secretary made remarks on the paper, and moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Bodas, which was carried by acclamation.

A General Meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the November 1896.

Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the Chair. The following proposals about periodicals, newspapers, &c., referred to by the Members, were placed before the Meeting:—

By The Hon'ble A. F. Beaufort,
The Rev. A. H. Bowman, and
Lt.-Col. T. A. Freeman—

That the following be taken in—

The "Churchman," a Monthly Magazine.—*Carried.*
The "Record," Weekly Newspaper.—*Carried.*

By F. H. Brown, Esq.—

That the weekly edition of the "London Times" be taken in.—
Carried.

By M. R. Bodas, Esq.—

That the following be subscribed for—

The "Hindu" (Madras), Weekly.—*Carried.*
The "Amrit Bazar Patrika," Daily or Weekly.—*Carried.*
The "Madras Review."—*Proposal withdrawn.*
The "Bramha Vadan."—*Do.*

A Meeting of the Society was held on Friday, the 27th Nov 1896.

Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the Chair. The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Rev. J. E. Abbott read a paper on an Inscription on the Gateways at Ahmedabad.

The Honorary Secretary and Diwan Bahadur Manibhai made some remarks on the paper.

A vote of thanks was then moved to the Rev. Mr. Abbott for the paper he had read, and it was carried by acclamation.

A Meeting of the Society was held on Monday, the 21st Dec 1896.

Dr. P. Peterson, President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

Mr. Rajaram Shastri Bhagwat read a paper on a Chapter from the Tandy Brahmana of the Sam Veda and the Latyayana Sutra regarding the admission of the non-Aryans into Aryan Society in the Vedas.

On the motion of the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Ranade, a vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Rajaram Shastri for the interesting paper he had read.

The annual meeting of the Society was held on Thursday the 18th February 1897.

Present.

Mr. James MacDonald.

One of the Vice-Presidents in the Chair.

The Joint Honorary Secretary read the following Report:—

ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1896.

MEMBERS.

Resident.—44 Members were elected during the year, and 1 Non-Resident Member came to Bombay, 22 withdrew, 7 retired, 5 died, and 1 having left Bombay was put on the Non-Resident list. The total number of Members at the close of 1896 was 272 against 262 at the end of the preceding year.

Non-Resident.—5 Members were elected during 1896 and 1 was transferred from the list of Resident Members; 6 resigned, 1 retired, 1 was added to the Resident list, and 2 died. The number at the end of the year was 52 against 56 at the close of 1895.

OBITUARY.

The Society have to record with regret the loss by death of the following Members:—

RESIDENT.

Khassetji Fardoonji Parakh, Esq.

N. S. Symons, Esq.

J. P. Phythian, Esq.

Rev. J. F. Gardner.

Vinayak Narayan Bhagvat, Esq.

NON-RESIDENT.

H. H. The Maharaja of Bhownagar.

H. H. Dhruva, Esq.

ORIGINAL COMMUNICATIONS.

The following papers were read before the Society during the year :—

(1) The Portuguese in South Kanara. By Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha.

(2) On the Antiquity of the Avesta. By Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, Esq.

(3) The Emperor Akbar and the Parsees. By R. P. Karkaria, Esq.

(4) On Mrichhakatikam or the Toy Cart : a Sanskrit Drama. By Dr. Nishikant Chattopadhyaya.

(5) A Historical Sketch of Indian Logic. By Mahadeo Rajaram Bodas, Esq.

(6) An Inscription on the Three Gateways at Ahmedabad. By Rev. J. E. Abbott.

(7) A Chapter from the Tandya Brahman of the Samveda and the Lutyayana Sutras on the admission of the non-Aryans into Aryan Society in the Vedic Age. By Rajaram Shastri Bhagvat, Esq.

LIBRARY.

Issues of Books.

The issues of Books during the year were 29,362 volumes ; 19,954 of new books, including periodicals, and 9,968 of old books. The issues in the year before were 30,754 volumes ; 19,838 of new books and 10,916 of the old.

OFFICIAL, LITERARY, AND SCIENTIFIC.

121

The following is a detailed statement of the monthly issues :—

	Old Books.	New Books.
January	816	1,688
February	839	1,913
March	985	1,796
April	901	1,630
May	702	1,190
June	734	1,825
July	811	1,981
August	978	1,933
September	852	1,484
October	859	1,806
November	696	1,413
December	795	1,008
Total ...	9,968	19,594

The volumes of issues arranged according to classes are given in the following table :—

CLASSES.	Volumes.
Novels, Romances, and Tales	9,260
Miscellaneous and Works on several subjects of the same authors...	1,564
Biography and Personal Narrative	1,467
Voyages, Travels, Geography, and Topography	892
History, Historical Memoirs and Chronology	790
Politics, Political Economy, &c.	506
English Poetry and Dramatic Works	549
Oriental Literature and Religion	537
Theology and Ecclesiastical History	330
Transactions of Learned Societies, Encyclopædias, &c.	314
Foreign Literature	278
Natural History, Mineralogy, Geology, and Chemistry	269
Natural Philosophy, Mathematics, Mechanics, Astronomy, &c.	223
Grammatical Works, Dictionaries, &c.	187
Works on Military Subjects	181
Philology, Literary History, and Bibliography	180
Metaphysics and Moral Philosophy	179
Fine Arts and Architecture	154
Medicine, Surgery, and Physiology	179
Antiquities, Numismatics, Heraldry, and Genealogy	138
Logic, Rhetoric, and Works relating to Education	121
Public Records, Government Publications, &c.	102
Classics	89
Jurisprudence	68
Botany, Agriculture, &c.	48
	18,698
The issues of Periodicals during 1896, were	10,864
Total...	29,559

It will appear from the table showing the number of volumes of different classes issued during the year that works of fiction find most favour with the Members of the Society. Next to fiction in popularity are works of standard authors, books of biography, travel and history. After these come politics, political economy, poetry and drama and oriental literature. These are followed by the classes 'Religion,' 'Foreign' Literature, 'Science,' 'Philology' 'Fine Arts,' and 'Architecture,' 'Antiquities,' 'Logic,' 'Classics,' &c.

ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

The total number of volumes or parts of volumes added to the Library during the year was 998. Of these 653 were purchased, and 345 presented. The number in the preceding year was 897; 572 being acquired by purchase, and 325 by presentation.

The presents of books were chiefly received from the Bombay Government, the Government of India, the other Local Governments, and the Secretary of State for India, and a few from individual authors and other donors.

Among the books presented special mention must be made of a very valuable work, "Report on the Scientific Results of the Voyage of H. M. S. *Challenger*, during 1872-76," in 50 volumes, which the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury were pleased to present to the Society. There was also another important book, the "Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great, being a Series of Ethiopic texts, with English Translation by E. A. W. Budge," received by the Society from Lady Meux.

The volumes of each class of books purchased by, and presented to, the Society during 1896 are shown in the following table:—

CLASSES.	Purchased.	Presented.
Theology and Ecclesiastical History	20	...
Natural Theology, Metaphysics, and Moral Philosophy	12	...
Logic, Rhetoric, and Works relating to Education ...	1	...
Classics, Translations and Works illustrative of the Classics	8	...
Philology, Literary History, and Bibliography... ..	17	...
History, Historical Memoirs, and Chronology	48	8
Politics, Political Economy, and Statistics	28	32
Jurisprudence	4	182
Public Records, Statutes, &c.	8	4
Biography and Personal Narratives	79	4
Antiquities, Numismatics, Heraldry, and Genealogy ...	5	5
Voyages, Travels, Geography, and Topography	35	...
English Poetry and Dramatic Works	45	...
Novels, Romances, and Tales	184	...
Miscellaneous and Works on several subjects of the same Authors	61	...
Foreign Literature	2	...
Natural Philosophy, Mathematics, Mechanics, and Astronomy... ..	5	5
Fine Arts and Architecture	12	...
Science of War and Works on Military Subjects	9	...
Natural History, Mineralogy, Geology, and Chemistry	15	57
Botany, Agriculture, and Horticulture	1	6
Medicine, Surgery, Physiology, &c.	10	...
Transactions of Learned Societies, Encyclopædias, and Periodical Works... ..	15	19
Dictionaries, Lexicons, Vocabularies, and Grammatical Works	8	2
Oriental Literature	21	24
Total...	653	345

A Catalogue of books added to the Library during the year with an Index of subject, is being compiled by the Librarian, and will be supplied to members as soon as it is printed.

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS.

The newspapers, periodicals, and journals of learned Societies subscribed for and presented to the Society during the year were—

Literary Monthlies	...	...	...	...	13
Illustrated ...	...	...	...	...	18
Scientific and Philosophical Journals, Transactions of learned Societies, &c.	...	...	...	...	39
Reviews	...	...	...	...	13
English Newspapers	...	...	...	...	17
English and French Registers, Almanacs, Directories, &c.	...	...	...	...	15
Foreign Literary and Scientific Periodicals	...	...	...	...	12
American Literary and Scientific Periodicals	..	...	...	...	12
Indian Newspapers and Government Gazettes	...	...	...	...	19
Indian Journals, Reviews, &c.	...	...	...	...	27

At a Meeting of the Society held in November under Article 20 of the Rules, it was decided to subscribe to the "Churchman," the "Record," and the weekly edition of the "London Times," and of the "Hindu" (Madras), from the commencement of 1897.

COIN CABINET.

54 Coins were added to the Society's Cabinet during the year. Of these 5 were presented by the Nawab of Balsinor, through the Political Agent, Rewa Kanta; 8 by Lieut.-Colonel W. P. Kennedy, Administrator, Jamnaggar State; and 6 by the State Karbhari, Akalkote. The rest were received from different Governments under the Treasure Trove Act—

24 from the Punjab Government.

8 ,, Madras ,,

3 ,, Bombay ,,

Of the 54 coins received 48 were of silver, and 6 of copper.

A detailed descriptive list of the coins is subjoined :—

Presented by the Nawab of Balsinor—

5 Silver coins of Mahomedan Kings of Gujarat.

Presented by the Administrator of Jamnagar—

8 Silver, Later Guptas.

Found in the Jamnagar State.

Presented by the State Karbhari of Akalkote—

4 Hindu copper coins of the Deccan bearing the image of Hanuman.

2 Copper coins of the Bahamani Dynasty of Gulbarga.

Found in a village in the Akalkote State.

Presented by the Punjab Government—

17 Silver coins of Aurangzeeb.

1 „ coin of Shah Alam.

2 „ coins of Bahadur Shah.

4 „ „ of Shah Jehan.

Found in the Delhi District.

Presented by the Madras Government—

8 Silver punch marked coins.

Found in the Bimlipatam Taluka, Vizagapatam District.

Presented by the Bombay Government—

1 Silver coin of Timurshah.

1 „ „ Aurangzeeb.

1 „ „ Shah Jehan.

Found in the Shikarpur District.

Journal.

No. 52 of the Journal containing papers contributed to the Society from March 1895 to June 1896 was published in the year. No. 53 containing papers received since June 1896 will shortly be put into printer's hands.

The following is a list of Governments, Societies, Institutions, &c., to which the Journal of the Society is presented:—

Bombay Government; Government of India; Government of Bengal; Government of Madras; Punjab Government; Government, N.-W. Provinces and Oudh; Chief Commissioner, Central Provinces; Chief Commissioner, Coorg; Resident, Hyderabad; Chief Commissioner, Burmah; Geological Survey of India; G. T. Survey of India; Marine Survey of India; Bengal Asiatic Society; Agricultural Society of India; Literary Society of Madras; Provincial Museum, Lucknow; Bombay University; Madras University; Punjab University; R. A. Society, Ceylon Branch; R. A. Society, North China Branch; the Asiatic Society of Japan; Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences.

Strasbourg Library; Geographical Society, Vienna; London Institution of Civil Engineers; Royal Geographical Society, London; Statistical Society London; Royal Astronomical Society; Literary and Philosophical Society, Manchester; Imperial Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg; Smithsonian Institution, Washington; Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, Copenhagen; Royal Society of Edinburgh; Deutsche Morgenlandische Gesellschaft, Leipzig; Literary and Philosophical Society, Liverpool; British Museum, London; Royal Society, London; Royal Asiatic Society, Great Britain and Ireland; Academie Real das Sciencia de Lisboa, Lisbon; Société de Géographie Commerciale de Bordeaux; Société de Géographie de Lyons; Hungarian Academy of Sciences (Buda Pest); Sociedad Geografica de Madrid; Royal Dublin Society; Société Géographie de Paris; Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences; United States Survey; Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna; United Service Institution; Minnesota Academy of Natural Science; India Office Library; London Bible Society; Vienna Orientalische Museum; Boston Society of Natural History; Musée Guimet, Lyons; Victoria Institution, London; Royal Institution, Great Britain; American Geographical Society; American Oriental Society; Hamilton Association, America; Editor, Journal of Comparative Neurology Granville, Ohio, U. S. A.; American Museum of Natural History; Société Asiatique, Paris; Geological Society, London; Royal Academy of Sciences, Amsterdam; American Philological Association, Cambridge; Royal University Upsala (Sweden).

THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF BOMBAY.

The Society received the following proposal from the Anthropological Society about the beginning of the year :—

“ The Members of the Anthropological Society of Bombay at their meeting held on the 18th November 1895 have resolved that their Museum and Library be presented to you *in toto*, in consideration of which they request your Society to allow them to hold their meetings in one of your Rooms, and also to give them access to the books and records which they at present possess.

The Committee of Management accepted the proposal and recommended it for approval of the Members of the Society. This was done at a meeting of Members held on January 21st when the recommendation of the Committee was finally adopted.

Since then the Museum and the Library of the Anthropological Society have been located in the Society's Rooms and its meetings have been held in the Meeting Room of the Asiatic.

Accounts.

A statement detailing the items of receipts and disbursements for 1896 accompanies the report. The total amount of subscriptions received during the year, including arrears Rs. 50, was Rs. 9,964. Subscriptions in 1895 amounted to Rs. 10,360-5-4. There was also received on account of Life Subscription from one Non-Resident Member the sum of Rs. 120. Of this Rs. 100 have been duly invested in Government Securities in accordance with Article XVI of the Rules.

The balance to the credit of the Society at the end of the year was Rs. 1,124-13-2 and the arrears of subscriptions Rs. 275.

The invested Funds of the Society amount to Rs.11,500. On the motion of Mr. H. R. H. Wilkinson, seconded by Mr. S. T. Bhandare, the report and accounts for 1896 were unanimously adopted.

Mr. James MacDonald then proposed and Surgeon-Captain B. B. Grayfoot seconded that the following gentlemen form the Committee of Management and the Auditors for 1897. The proposition was unanimously carried :—

President.

Dr. P. Peterson, M.A.

Vice-Presidents.

Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha.
James MacDonald, Esq.

K. R. Cama, Esq.
The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Candy.

Members.

The Hon'ble Javerilal U. Yajnik.	Surgeon-Captain B. B. Grayfoot.
Dr. Atmaram Pandurang.	The Rev. Dr. D. Mackichan, M. A.
Dr. D. MacDonald.	J. T. Hathornthwaite, Esq., M. A.
Prof. M. MacMillan, B. A.	Lieut. A. J. Peile, R. A.
Rev. R. Scott, M. A.	F. C. Rimington, Esq.
The Hon'ble Mr. Justice M. G. Ranade, C. I. E.	T. J. Bennett, Esq.
N. G. Chandawarkar, Esq., B. A., LL. B.	Dr. J. Pollen, I.C.S.

Honorary Secretary.

The Hon'ble Javerilal U. Yajnik.

Joint Honorary Secretary.

Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha.

Honorary Auditors.

Darasha Ratanji Chichgar, Esq.

H. R. H. Wilkinson, Esq.

BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.
STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS.

BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE**Dr. GENERAL STATEMENT of Receipts and Disbursements**

	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Balance of last year.....	.....	1,047 10 9
Subscription of Resident Members	9,232 15 1	
Do. of Non-Resident Members	682 0 0	
Do. in Arrears	50 0 0	
Do. of Non-Resident Life Member	120 0 0	
Government Contribution	4,200 0 0	
Sale-proceeds of Waste papers	13 8 0	
Do. of Journal Numbers	31 12 0	
Do. of Catalogues	41 0 0	
Do. of Duplicate Copies of Books	35 11 0	
Interest on Society's Government Paper ..	667 6 4	
		15,074 4 5
Total...Rs.	.....	16,121 15 2

Examined and found correct.
D. R. CHICHGAR,
H. B. H. WILKINSON,
Auditors.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

from 1st January to 31st December 1896.

Cr.

	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Books purchased in Bombay	2,836 14 9	
Remittances to Messrs. Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.—		
Books £35 16 4		
English Newspapers and Periodicals £136 2 7		
In all (£171-18-11), equivalent of ...	2,932 3 10	
Subscription to Newspapers, paid in India ...	321 8 0	
Printing	684 1 0	
Binding	665 1 6	
General Charges	307 5 5	
Stationery	98 4 6	
Postage and Receipt Stamps	78 9 7	
Shipping and Landing Charges	42 8 3	
Office Establishment	5,684 0 0	
Gas Charges	85 12 0	
Printing of Journal	862 6 0	
Insurance Charges	281 4 0	
Government Paper purchased	100 0 0	
Balance in Bank of Bombay	1,079 3 2	14,977 14 10
Do. in hand	64 13 2	1,144 0 4
		<hr/>
Total ..Rs.	.....	16,121 15 2
<i>Investment in Government Paper.</i>		
The Society's Fund	8,500 0 0	
The Premchand Roychand Fund	3,000 0 0	
		<hr/>
		11,500 0 0

J. GERSON DA CUNHA,

Joint Honorary Secretary.

BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

Patron :

His Excellency the Right Honourable LORD SANDHURST, G.C.I.E.,
Governor.

President :

Dr. P. Peterson, M.A.

Vice-Presidents :

Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha.	K. R. Cama, Esq.
James MacDonald, Esq.	The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Candy.

Committee Members :

The Hon'ble Mr. J. U. Yajnik.	Surgeon-Captain B. B. Grayfoot.
Dr. Atmaram Pandurang.	Rev. Dr. D. Mackichan, M. A.
Dr. D. MacDonald.	J. T. Hathornthwaite, Esq., M. A.
Prof. M. Macmillan, B.A.	Lieut. A. J. Peile, R. A.
Rev. R. Scott, M.A.	F. C. Rimington, Esq.
The Hon'ble Mr. Justice M. G.	T. J. Bennett, Esq.
Ranade, C. I. E.	Dr. J. Pollen, I. C. S.
N. G. Chandawarkar, Esq., LL.B.	

Honorary Secretary :

The Hon'ble Mr. Javerilal Umiashankar Yajnik.

Joint Honorary Secretary :

(*Numismatics and Archæology*)

Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha.

Honorary Auditors :

Darasha Ratanji Chichgar, Esq.

H. R. H. Wilkinson, Esq.

Assistant Secretary and Librarian :

Mr. Ganpatrao K. Tiwarekar.

LIST OF MEMBERS

On the 31st December 1896.

RESIDENT.

Year of Election.	Year of Election.
1862 (1) Kharsetji Rastamji Cama, Esq. (<i>Life Member</i>).	1874 (19) Grattan Geary, Esq.
„ (2) Hon'ble Mr. H. M. Birdwood.	1875 (20) Sir Jamsetji Jijibhai, Bart.
1864 (3) G. A. Kittredge, Esq.	„ (21) Rev. Dr. D. Mackichan.
„ (4) Nowroji Maneckji Wadia, Esq.	1876 (22) The Right Rev. L. G. Mylne, D. D., Bishop of Bombay (<i>Life Member</i>).
1865 (5) Dr. Atmaram Pandurang.	„ (23) J. M. Campbell, Esq.
1866 (6) Vandravandas Purshotamdas, Esq.	1877 (24) Maneckji Barjorji, Esq.
1867 (7) J. Westlake, Esq.	1878 (25) Darasha Ruttonji Chichgar, Esq.
„ (8) R. M. A. Branson, Esq.	„ (26) Dr. E. H. R. Langley.
1869 (9) Dr. L. P. DeRozario.	„ (27) Bezouji Rattonji Koteval, Esq.
1870 (10) Hon'ble Mr. Justice John Jardine.	1879 (28) Harichandra Krishna Joshi, Esq.
1873 (11) Dr. J. Gerson daCunha.	„ (29) Dr. D. MacDonald.
„ (12) Sir Dinshah Manockji Petit, Bart.	1880 (30) Rustam K. R. Cama, Esq., B. A. (<i>Life Member</i>).
„ (13) J. MacDonald, Esq.	„ (31) Vrijbhuckandass Atmaram, Esq.
1874 (14) H. Conder, Esq.	„ (32) H. C. Kirkpatrick, Esq.
„ (15) Byramji Nusserwanji Sirvai, Esq. (<i>Life Member</i>).	1881 (33) M. Macmillan, Esq.
„ (16) G. A. Barnett, Esq.	„ (34) Lt.-Col. G. Martin.
„ (17) P. Peterson, Esq.	1882 (35) Louis Penny, Esq.
„ (18) The Hon'ble Mr. Javerilal Umiasankar Yajnik.	

Year of Election.	Year of Election.
1882 (36) A. F. Beaufort, Esq.	1888 (59) Hon'ble Mr. Justice H. J. Parsons.
„ (37) Rev. R. Scott.	„ (60) John Black, Esq.
„ (38) E. M. Slater, Esq.	„ (61) Murarji Goculdas Dewji, Esq.
„ (39) A. Abercrombie, Esq.	„ (62) Prince Shri Samat-singji.
„ (40) Surgeon Lieut. Col. K. R. Kirtikar.	„ (63) G. Cotton, Esq.
„ (41) The Hon'ble Mr. Justice E. H. Fulton.	„ (64) W. Bullock, Esq.
1883 (42) Jehangir K. R. Cama' Esq. (<i>Life Member</i>).	„ (65) F. A. Reddie, Esq.
„ (43) J. M. Drennan, Esq.	„ (66) W. Murray, Esq.
„ (44) R. H. Baker, Esq.	„ (67) Karsandas Vallabhdas, Esq.
1884 (45) R. B. Sedgwick, Esq.	„ (68) Narondas Purshotamdas, Esq.
„ (46) Mrs. Peehey-Phipson.	„ (69) J. H. Symington, Esq.
„ (47) J. Griffiths, Esq.	„ (70) Jivanji Jamshedji Mody, Esq.
„ (48) Surgeon-Lt.-Col. T. S. Weir.	„ (71) J. Avent, Esq.
„ (49) Hon'ble Sir Charles Farran, Kt.	„ (72) F. C. Rimmington, Esq.
„ (50) Bhaishankar Nana-bhoy, Esq.	„ (73) E. Wimbridge, Esq.
„ (51) The Hon'ble Mr. Perozsha Merwanji Mehta.	„ (74) Damodardas Tapidas, Esq.
„ (52) Goculdas Kahandas, Esq.	„ (75) Dr. K. N. Bahadurji.
„ (53) Jehangir Nasserwanji Mody, Esq. (<i>Life Member</i>).	„ (76) Bomanji Dinshaw Petit, Esq. (<i>Life Member</i>).
1885 (54) Dastur Darab Peshotan Sanjana.	„ (77) Rev. R. MacOmish.
„ (55) Nowroji Pestonji Vakeel, Esq.	„ (78) A. C. Parneindes, Esq.
1886 (56) R. N. Mant, Esq.	„ (79) The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Badrudin Tyabji.
1887 (57) Dr. D. A. DeMonte.	„ (80) Rao Sahab Wasudeva Jagonath Kirtikar.
(58) J. Marshall Esq.	„ (81) W. Nughes, Esq.

Year of Election.	Year of Election.
1888 (82) A. H. Nazar, Esq.	1891 (102) Dharamsey Sundardas Mulji, Esq.
„ (83) C. H. Armstrong, Esq.	„ (103) Arthur Leslie, Esq.
„ (84) Veerchand Deepchand, Esq.	„ (104) W. D. McKewan, Esq.
„ (85) Jagmohandas Vandra-wandas, Esq.	„ (105) The Hon'ble Mr. Daji Abaji Khare.
„ (86) Rastomji Pestonji Karkaria, Esq.	„ (106) Dr. Bhalchandra Krishna Bhatawadekar.
„ (87) G. W. F. Playfair, Esq.	„ (107) Rev. R. M. Gray.
„ (88) Gowardhandas Goculdas Tejpal, Esq.	„ (108) H. Kennard, Esq.
„ (89) Miss Macdonald.	„ (109) J. H. Sleight, Esq.
„ (90) Dinshaw Edalji Vacha, Esq.	„ (110) Maneksha J. Talyarkhan, Esq.
„ (91) I. O'Callaghan, Esq.	„ (111) W. Munro, Esq.
„ (92) Narayan Ganesh Chandawarkar. Esq.	„ (112) T. W. Cuffe, Esq.
1889 (93) Surgeon-Captain B. B. Grayfoot.	„ (113) Vajeshankar Gowrishankar, Esq.
„ (94) Hon'ble Mr. Justice Candy.	„ (114) N. A. Moos, Esq.
1890 (95) Rev. Dr. W. M. Alexander.	„ (115) L. J. Robertson, Esq.
„ (96) Framji Rastamji Vicaji, Esq.	„ (116) W. H. Sharp, Esq.
„ (97) Philip B. Savile, Esq.	„ (117) J. Y. Munro, Esq.
„ (98) Lieut. R. T. R. Lawrence, R.E.	„ (118) W. G. Treacher, Esq.
„ (99) Lieut.-Col. R. V. Riddell, R.E.	„ (119) Major J. C. Swann.
„ (100) Dharamsi Murarji Goculdas, Esq.	„ (120) Jamsetjee N. Tata, Esq.
1891 (101) Rev. Dr. B. DeMonte.	„ (121) Fakirchand Premchand, Esq.
	„ (122) Surgeon-Major F. F. MacCartie.
	„ (123) Shrimant Narayanrao Govindrao Ghorapaday, Chief of Ichalkaranji (<i>Life Member</i>).
	„ (124) The Hon'ble Justice M. G. Ranade.

Year of Election.		Year of Election.	
1892 (125)	Kawasji Dadabhoy Dubash, Esq.	1892 (146)	A. M. T. Jackson, Esq.
„ (126)	M. C. Turner, Esq.	„ (147)	R. E. Melsheimer, Esq.
„ (127)	Prabhuram Jivanram Vaidya, Esq. (<i>Life Member</i>).	„ (148)	John A. Douglas, Esq.
„ (128)	O. V. Müller, Esq.	„ (149)	L. R. W. Forrest, Esq.
„ (129)	Nowroji Byramji Suntook, Esq.	„ (150)	Hormasji Dorabji Padamji, Esq.
„ (130)	S. R. Bhandarkar, Esq.	„ (151)	Rev. J. Sellar.
„ (131)	R. C. Chapman, Esq.	„ (152)	Ouchavaram Nanabhai Haridas, Esq.
„ (132)	Dadabhoy Merwanji Dallal, Esq.	„ (153)	H. R. Greaves, Esq.
„ (133)	F. W. Eicke, Esq.	„ (154)	Jijibhoy Edalji Modi, Esq.
„ (134)	H. R. H. Wilkinson, Esq.	„ (155)	Shamrao Vithal, Esq.
„ (135)	Cursetji N. Wadia, Esq.	„ (156)	Shapurji Barjorji Barucha, Esq.
„ (136)	H. W. Uloth, Esq.	„ (157)	Tribhuvandas Mangaldas Nathubhoy, Esq.
„ (137)	Karimbhai Ibrahim, Esq.	„ (158)	A. Stephen, Esq.
„ (138)	J. L. Symons, Esq.	„ (159)	Rastamji Nanabhoy Byramji Jijibhoy, Esq. (<i>Life Member</i>).
„ (139)	Rao Saheb Dalpatram Pranjiwanram Khakkhar.	„ (160)	Tullockchand Maneckchand, Esq.
„ (140)	R. Gilbert, Esq.	„ (161)	Lt.-Col. A. B. Mein.
„ (141)	T. J. Bennett, Esq.	„ (162)	W. W. Squire, Esq.
„ (142)	Sadanand Trimbak Bhandare, Esq. (<i>Life Member</i>).	1893 (163)	Surgeon-Col. D. E. Hughes
„ (143)	James Kenyon, Esq.	„ (164)	A. M. Tod, Esq.
„ (144)	K. B. Setna, Esq.	„ (165)	Capt. Chandler.
„ (145)	Burjorji Nowroji Ap-yakhtiar, Esq.	„ (166)	R. C. Lees, Esq.
		„ (167)	Robert Pescio, Esq.
		„ (168)	Merwanji Dhanjibhoy Jijibhoy, Esq.

Year of Election.	Year of Election.
1893 (169) G. H. Townsend, Esq.	1894 (193) Prof. H. M. Bhadkamkar.
„ (170) B. H. J. Rastamji, Esq.	„ (194) Lieut. A. J. Peile, R. A.
„ (171) His Highness Aga Khan.	„ (195) R. S. Brown, Esq.
„ (172) Col. Empson, R. A.	1895 (196) Vernon B. F. Bayley, Esq.
„ (173) J. W. Brown, Esq.	„ (197) Rev. C. J. Mayhew.
„ (174) E. H. Elsworthy, Esq.	„ (198) Lt.-Col. Freeman.
1894 (175) Wasudeva Gopal Bhandarkar, Esq.	„ (199) Cumrudin Amirudin, Esq.
„ (176) Dr. James Arnott.	„ (200) C. I. Nicoud, Esq.
„ (177) Rev. J. E. Abbott.	„ (201) F. A. Little, Esq.
„ (178) Geo. Miller, Esq.	„ (202) Miss Parker.
„ (179) J. T. Hathornthwaite, Esq.	„ (203) A. B. Earle, Esq.
„ (180) S. L. Wyatt, Esq.	„ (204) R. H. Vincent, Esq., C. I. E.
„ (181) D. M. Inglis, Esq.	„ (205) G. S. Curtis, Esq.
„ (182) C. S. H. Sarl, Esq.	„ (206) A. Joly de Lotbiniere, Esq.
„ (183) W. I. A. Foulkes, Esq.	„ (207) G. N. Sweet, Esq.
„ (184) Edwin Yeo, Esq.	„ (208) T. A. Savage, Esq.
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HONORARY.

Year of Election.	Year of Election.
1879 Dr. Oliver Codrington.	1892 Sir Raymond West, K. C. I. E.

A Meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 8th April 1897.

Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

Mr. R. P. Karkaria read a paper on the "Zoroastrian Religion and Comte's Religion of Humanity."

On the motion of Mr. K. R. Cama, a vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Karkaria for the interesting paper he had read.

A Meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 17th June 1897.

Dr. P. Peterson, President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

Mr. K. R. Cama moved the following Resolution:—

That the Society place on record their sense of the loss they have incurred in the death of their Honorary Secretary, the late Hon'ble Mr. Javerilal U. Yajnik.

Mr. N. G. Chandawakar seconded the proposition, and Dr. Atmaram Pandurang supported it.

The President with a few remarks put the proposition to the vote, and it was carried unanimously.

Mr. Jivanji Jamshedji Mody then read a paper on "The Belief about the Future of the Soul among the Ancient Egyptians and Zoroastrians."

On the proposition of Mr. K. R. Cama, a vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Mody for the paper he had read.

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ACCOUNTS, Trade, by Rail and River, in India, 1894-95.	Government of India.
ADMINISTRATION Report, Ajmere Merwara, 1894-95.	Government of India.
————— P. W. Dept., Bombay Presidency, 1895-96.	Bombay Government.
————— P. W. Dept. (Irrigation), Bombay Presidency, 1895-96.	Bombay Government.
————— Rajputana, 1895-96.	Government of India.
AGRICULTURAL Ledger, 1895-1896.	Government of India.
————— Statistics, British India, 1890-91 to 1894-95.	Government of India.
ANNALS, Royal Botanical Garden, Calcutta, Vol. V. Part 2; Vol. II. Part I., Vol. VII. and Vol. VI., Part I, and Vol. VII.	Superintendent, Royal Botanical Garden.
ANNUAL Statement, Trade and Navigation, British India, 1895-96, Vol. II.	Government of India.
ARCHÆOLOGICAL Studies among the Ancient Cities of Mexico.	The Smithsonian Institution.
————— Survey of India. Mogul Architecture of Fathpur, Sikri, Part II.	Government of India.
AUTHENTIC Letters of Columbus.	The Smithsonian Institution.
AVESTA. Ed. K. F. Geldner, 3 Parts.	Secretary of State for India.
BHAGAVADGITA.	Mysore Government.
BOMBAY University Calendar, 1896-97.	Bombay University.
BRIEF Sketch Meteorology, Bombay Presidency, 1895-96.	Bombay Government.
BULLETIN, American Museum of Natural History, 1895.	The Smithsonian Institution.

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CATALOGUE of Sanskrit MSS., India Office Library, Part 5.	Secretary of State for India.
CATALOGUES , Hebrew and Abyssinian MSS., Berlin Library.	The Berlin Library.
EAST India , Accounts and Estimates, 1896-97.	Secretary of State for India.
———— (Expenses of Troops despatched to Africa).	Secretary of State for India.
———— (Financial Statement, 1896-97).	Secretary of State for India.
———— (Kafiristan).	Secretary of State for India.
———— (Kythal).	Secretary of State for India.
———— (Leave and Pension Rules, Civil Uncovenanted Service).	Secretary of State for India.
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———— (Maharaja Rana of Jhalawar).	Secretary of State for India.
———— (Occupation of Chitral).	Secretary of State for India.
———— (Offices of Presidency Magistrate and Presidency Small Cause Court Judge).	Bombay Government.
———— (Progress and Condition, 1894-95).	Secretary of State for India.
———— (Suakim Expedition).	Secretary of State for India.
FACTORY Report, Bombay, 1895.	Bombay Government.
FINANCIAL and Commercial Statistics, British India, 3rd Issue.	Government of India.
FLOEA of Virginia.	The Smithsonian Institution.
———— Yucatan.	The Smithsonian Institution.
HANDBOOK and Catalogue of Meteorite Collection, Field Columbian Museum.	The Smithsonian Institution.
HISTORY and Description of Africa.	Bombay Government.

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INDIAN Cotton Duties, Report for the Bombay Presidency, 1895-96.	Bombay Government.
—— Meteorological Memoirs, Vol. IV., Part III.	Government of India.
————— Vol. IX., Parts 4-7.	Government of India.
JAPANESE MSS., University Library, Leyde.	The University of Leyde.
KĀRNĀME i Artakhshir i Pāpakan. Ed. Darab P. Sanjana.	The Editor.
MADRAS University Calendar, 1896-97.	Madras University.
MAHABHARAT, English Translation, Parts 96-98.	Director of Public Instruction, Bombay
MANDALA Brahmanopanishad.	Mysore Government.
MISSION Geological Survey Report, Vol. 47.	The Smithsonian Institution.
MONTHLY Trade and Navigation Accounts. No. 6 (1896-97).	Government of India.
NOTE, Rail and River-borne Trade, Punjab, 1896.	Punjab Government.
ORIGINAL Survey Settlement, Pangurna Village, Peint, Nasik District.	Bombay Government.
PAPERS relating to arrangement with Messrs. Cook & Sons on conduct of Pilgrim Traffic, 1884-95.	Government of India.
POEMS in Gujerathi. By J. N. Patel.	J. F. Patel, Esq.
PUNJAB University Calendar, 1896-97.	The University.
REPORT, American Museum of Natural History, 1894.	Historical Association.
——— Archæological Survey, N.-W. P. and Oudh, 1895-96.	Government, N.-W. P. and Oudh.
——— Australasian Association for Advancement of Science, 1895.	The Association.
——— Bombay Jail Dept., 1895.	Bombay Government.

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————— Port Trust, 1895-96.	Chairman, Port Trust.
————— Veterinary College, 1895-96.	Bombay Government.
————— Civil Justice, Punjab, 1895.	Punjab Government.
————— Medical Institutions, City of Bombay, 1895.	Bombay Government.
————— Dispensaries, Punjab, 1895.	Punjab Government.
————— Experimental Farm, Poona, 1895-96.	Bombay Government.
• ————— External Land Trade, Punjab, 1895-96.	Punjab Government.
————— Forest Dept., Bombay Presidency, 1894-95.	Bombay Government.
————— Government Experimental Farm, Poona, 1895-96.	Bombay Government.
————— Income Tax, Punjab, 1895-96.	Punjab Government.
————— Indian Expenditure Commission.	Secretary of State for India.
————— Internal Land Trade, Punjab, 1895-96.	Punjab Government.
————— Local Boards, Bombay Presidency, 1894-95.	Bombay Government.
————— Madras Government Museum, 1895-96.	Madras Government.
————— Meteorological Dept., Government of India, 1895-96.	Government of India.
————— Municipal Commissioner, Bombay, 1895-96.	The Municipal Commissioner,
————— Taxation and Expenditure, Bombay Presidency, 1894-95.	Bombay Government.
————— Northern India, Salt Revenue Dept., 1895-96.	Government, N.-W. P. and Oudh.
————— Police of the Town and Island of Bombay, 1895.	Bombay Government.
————— Political Administration, Central India Agency, 1895-96.	Government of India.

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————— Railway Dept., Bombay, 1895-96.	Punjab Government.
————— Registration Dept., Bombay Presidency, 1895-96.	Bombay Government.
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————— Rail and Road-borne Trade, Bombay Presidency, 1895-96.	Government of India.
————— Reformatory School, Yerrowda, 1895.	Bombay Government.
————— Registration Dept., Punjab, 1893-94 to 1895-96.	Punjab Government.
————— on Researches into the Mohamedan Libraries of Lucknow.	Government of India.
————— Sanitary Administration, Punjab, 1895.	Bombay Government.
————— Commissioner, Bombay Government, 1895.	Bombay Government.
————— Measures, India, 1894-95.	Secretary of State for India.
————— Sanskrit MSS., Bombay Circle, 1892-95.	The Director of Public Instruction, Bombay.
————— Survey of India Dept., 1894-95.	Government of India.
————— on the Scientific Results of the Voyage of H. M. S. "Challenger," 1872-76.	The Lords, Commissioners, Her Majesty's Treasury.
————— Stamp Dept., Bombay, 1895-96.	Bombay Government.
————— Punjab, 1893-96.	Punjab Government.
————— Trade and Navigation Returns, Aden, 1895-96.	Bombay Government.
————— Thagi and Dakaiti Dept., 1895.	Government of India.
————— Vaccination, Bombay Presidency, 1895-96.	Bombay Government.
————— Vaccination, Punjab, 1895-96.	Punjab Government.
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————— two Talukdari Villages. Meitar, Kaira.	Bombay Government.
————— Valwa, Satara.	Bombay Government.
————— 88 Villages, Peint Taluka, Nasik.	Bombay Government.
REVIEW of Trade of India, 1895-96.	Government of India.
SAUNDARYALAHARI.	Mysore Government.
SETTLEMENT Report, Sialkot District, Punjab.	Punjab Government.
STATEMENT , Trade and Navigation, Bombay Presidency, 1895-96.	Bombay Government.
————— and Navigation, British India, 1895-96, Vol. I.	Government of India.
STATISTICAL Atlas of India, 2nd Ed., 1895.	Government of India.
TAITTIRIYA Samhita, Krishna Yajurveda, Vol. IV.	Mysore Government.
UNITED States, Bureau of Ethnology, Report, 1891-92.	The Smithsonian Institution.
————— Geographical Atlas.	The Smithsonian Institution.
————— Survey, Monographs, Vols. 23 and 24.	The Smithsonian Institution.
————— Reports, 1892-93—1894-95.	The Smithsonian Institution.
WRITINGS and Speeches of the late Hon. Rao Saheb V. N. Mandlik, Ed. N. V. Mandlik.	The Editor.
ZOROASTER and Christ.	Lt.-Col. Freeman.

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————— Persian Gulf Political Residency, 1895-96.	Government of India.
————— Punjab, 1895-96.	Punjab Government.
AGRICULTURAL Ledger, 8 Nos.	Government of India.
————— Statistics, British India, 1891-92 to 1895-96.	Government of India.
ARCHÆOLOGICAL Survey of India :— <i>Chalukyan Architecture.</i>	Government of India.
————— of Western India, Vol. VI. :— <i>Mahomedan Architecture in Gujerat.</i>	Government of India.
ARMY (Average Numbers at Home and Abroad.)	Secretary of State for India.
BOMBAY Gazetteer, Vols. I. and II.	Bombay Government.
CATALOGUE of Coins : Indian Muscum. Parts 3 and 4.	Trustees, Indian Museum.
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CROP Experiments, Bombay Presidency, 1895-96.	Bombay Government.
DESCRIPTION , Geologique de Java et Madoura.	Government, Netherlands India.
DISCOVERY and Conquest of Guiana. Vol. I. (Hak. Soc.).	Bombay Government.
EAST INDIA (Contagious Diseases): Representations from the Royal College of Surgeons and the Royal College of Physicians relative to the prevalence of Venereal Diseases among British Troops in India.	Secretary of State for India.
————— Estimate of Revenue and Expenditure, Government of India, 1896-97.	Secretary of State for India.
————— (Home Accounts), Government of India, 1895-96 and 1898-97.	Secretary of State for India.
————— (Extension of Railways by Private Agency).	Secretary of State for India.
————— (Financial Statement, 1895-96).	Secretary of State for India.
————— Income and Expenditure, 1885-86 to 1895-96.	Secretary of State for India.
————— Opium Returns, showing Acreage under Poppy in India.	Secretary of State for India.
EXACT Description of the Outward Religious Rites, Ceremonies, and Customs of all the Peoples of the World. With Illustrations. (Dutch).	Fakirchand Premchand, Esq
FAMINE and the Relief Operations in India, 1896-97.	Secretary of State for India.
FINANCE and Revenue Accounts, Government of India, 1895-96.	Government of India.
FINANCIAL and Commercial Statistics, British India. 4th Issue.	Government of India.
FURTHER Papers, Famine and Relief Operations in India, 1896-97.	Secretary of State for India.
INDIAN Meteorological Memoirs, Vol. VII., Part VI.; Vol. VIII., Part II.	Government of India.
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IRRIGATION Revenue Report, Bombay Presidency, 1895-96.	Government of India.
———— Revenue Report, Sind, 1895-96.	Bombay Government.
JOHN Heminge and H. Condell, Friends and Fellow Actors of Shakespeare, by C. Walker.	Bombay Government.
	The Executors of the late Mr. C. C. Walker.
JUDICIAL and Administrative Statistics, British India, 1895-96.	Government of India.
LETTERS received by the East India Company from its Servants in the East, Vol. I.	Secretary of State for India.
LIST of Inscriptions on Tombs or Monuments in Bengal.	Bombay Government.
LOCAL Rules and Orders made under Enactments applying to Bombay, Vol. I.	Bombay Government.
MAGNETICAL and Meteorological Observation, Bombay, 1895.	Bombay Government.
MONTHLY Trade and Navigation Accounts, British India.	Government of India.
NORWEGIAN, North Atlantic Expedition, Report, Part XXIV. (Botany).	Editorial Committee of the Expedition.
———— North Atlantic Expedition, 1876-78: Part XXIII. Zoology.	Editorial Committee of the Expedition.
ORIENTAL Studies.	Oriental Club, Philadelphia.
ORIGINAL Survey Settlement, Talukdari Villages of the Mehrol Estate. Godhra, Punch Mahals.	Bombay Government.
PAPERS relating to Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act.	Government of India.
———— relating to Outbreak of Bubonic Plague in India.	Secretary of State for India.
———— relating to Revision Survey Settlement, Chandore Taluka, Nasik.	Bombay Government.
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———— relating to Treatment of Leprosy in India, 1887-95.	Government of India.

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PRISON-MADE Goods (India).	Secretary of State for India.
PROCEEDINGS, Legislative Council, Bombay, 1895.	Bombay Government.
RECORDS, Botanical Survey of India, Vol. I., Nos. 7 and 8.	Government of India.
REPORT, Abkari Department, Bombay Presidency, 1895-96.	Bombay Government.
— — — Agricultural Chemist to Government of India, 1895-96.	Government of India.
— — — American Museum of Natural History, 1895.	The Trustees of the Museum.
— — — Archæological Survey, Western India, 1895-96.	Bombay Government.
— — — Bombay Chamber of Commerce, 1896.	The Chamber of Commerce.
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— — — Customs Administration, Kurrachee, 1895-96.	Government of India.
— — — Director of Public Instruction, Bombay Presidency, 1895-96.	Director of Public Instruction.
— — — Forest Administration, Punjab, 1894-95.	Punjab Government.
— — — Forest Administration, Punjab, 1895-96.	Punjab Government.
— — — Forest Department, Bombay Presidency, 1895-96.	Bombay Government.
— — — Forest Department, Madras Presidency, 1895-96.	Madras Government.
— — — Income Tax Operations, Bombay Presidency, 1895-96.	Bombay Government.
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— — — Internal Trade, Punjab, 1895-96.	Punjab Government.

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———— Land Records and Agriculture, Punjab, 1895-96.	Punjab Government.
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———— Municipal Taxation and Expenditure, Bombay Presidency, 1895-96.	Bombay Government.
———— Municipalities, Punjab, 1895.	Punjab Government.
———— of Chemical Analyser to Government, Bombay, 1896.	Bombay Government.
———— on Excise Administration, Punjab, 1895-96.	Punjab Government.
———— on Publications, British India, 1895.	Government of India.
———— on Railways in India, 1895-96.	Secretary of State for India.
———— on Sanskrit MSS., Southern India, No. II.	Madras Government.
———— Opium Department, Bombay Presidency, 1895-96.	Bombay Government.
———— Police Administration, Punjab, 1895.	Punjab Government.
———— Public Instruction (Punjab), 1895-96.	Punjab Government.
———— Rail, River and Road-borne Traffic, Sind, 1895-96.	Bombay Government.
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INDEX TO VOLUME XIX.

- Abbott (Rev. J. E.), Inscription on the Three Gateways, Ahmedabad, 348-356.
- Abaji Soudeo, 209.
- Abd-er-Ruzzak, 251.
- Abdul Káder, 169.
- Abdul Karim, 184.
- Abdullah Khan Uzbák, 179.
- Adar-pad, 270.
- Abul Fazl, 289, 290, 293, 294.
- Adham Khán Atkah, 182.
- Adirfrobag, 223.
- Æas, Cycle of, 113.
- Aetpoor, 27.
- Afarg, 9.
- Afrasiab, 233, 278.
- Afrigan-i-Dahman, 1.
- Afrin-i-Rapithavan, 264.
- Afshin, 218.
- Afzulkhan, 204.
- Ahmed, 163.
- Ahmedabad, Inscription on the Three Gateways at, 348-356.
- Ahurmazdad, 220.
- Aihole Inscription, 42.
- Airavati, 237.
- Airpatastán, 1, 6, 7, 10.
- Aitareya Brahmana, 83.
- Akalamkadeva, 48.
- Akbar's visit to, and stay at, Mandu, 180-181.
- Akesines, 237.
- Alam Lodi, 177.
- Albiruni, 143.
- Albuquerque, 251-253.
- Akbar and the Parsees, 289-305.
- Akbar Nama, 293.
- Akbar, Remarks on the influence of the Parsee religion upon, 300-305.
- Akbar, assemblies of representatives of different sects and creeds, for discussing religious questions, organised by, 289-292.
- Akbar's change of the old era and introduction of his Ilahí or Divine era after the Parsee model, in A. H. 992, 302.
- Akbar's measures for getting acquainted with the Parsee religion and his attitude towards it, considerations of questions relating to, 292-305.
- Akbar's relation to Parsees, historical sources about, 294-297.
- Albuquerque, Mathias de, 259.
- Alexander the Great, destruction by, of a copy of the Grand Avesta in the archives of Istakhar, 264, 272.
- Alexander the Great, invasion and conquest of Persia, by the Greeks under, 215.
- Alexandria, 112.
- Alhanadeva, 32, 33, 34.

- Alhanadeva, Inscription of, found at Nadole, 26-34.
- Ali, 198.
- Ali Taki, 198.
- Allaudin, 27.
- Aloka, 341.
- Alpkhan, son of Diláwar Khan, took the title of Sultan Hoshang in A.D. 1405, and moved the capital from Dhar to Mandu, 162.
- Al Utbi, 143, 150.
- Amarasimha, 36.
- Ameshaspand, 1.
- Amir Fathu'llah Shirazi, 303.
- Amoghavarsha, 42.
- Anandrao Pavar, 199.
- Anandrav Gáyakawád, 351, 352, 353.
- Anandajñána, 54, 55, 56.
- Anatolius, Cycle of, 113.
- Anchabarpúr (Akbarpúr), 189.
- Andrew of Byzantium, Cycles of, 113.
- Anhila, 29, 32, 34.
- Annambhatta, 342.
- Anne, 144.
- Annubis, 371.
- Añshirawán, 9.
- Ansuri, 143.
- Anushirawan, 72.
- Aogamadachá, 1.
- Apastamba, 325, 326, 363.
- Ardvan, 216.
- Ardeshir Babijan's exertions to recover the lost books of the Avesta, 215, 216, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 272, 274, 281.
- Ardeshir, a priest of Kerman, took prominent part in leading Akbar to Parseeism, 295-296.
- Ardvicura, 247.
- Areimanios, 281.
- Aristotle, 272.
- Aristotle, 345.
- Armenián Era, 138.
- Artakhshater, 266, 270.
- Artaxes, 138.
- Aryabhata, a great Hindu Astronomer, 41-42, 130, 133, 134, 135, 136.
- Aryabhatiyam, 130.
- Aryan group of languages, occupying India, Afghanistan, Baluchistan and part of Ceylon, 92.
- Aryan languages, on the life and growth of, 89-91.
- Aryan conquests in Medieval times extended beyond India and embraced Java, Sumatra, Kamboja, &c., 93.
- Aryan Speech, progress and development of the, 76-108.
- Aryan Society, on the admission of the non-Aryans into, in the Vedic Age, 357-364.
- Asafkhan, 188.
- Asaphjáh Nizám-ul-Mulk, 199.
- Asâraja, 32, 34.
- Ascoli, 85, 100.
- Asfandiar, 274.
- Asikani, 237.
- Asta Pradhan or cabinet of eight heads of departments, organised by Shivaji, 207.

- Ashvaláyana, 363.**
Astád, 371.
Aśvaghosha, 43.
Atar-pat, 9.
Atar-Auharmazd, 9.
Atash, 1.
Athene, 94.
Athaide, D. Luis de, 259.
Augustus, 143.
Auharmazd, 1, 282.
Aulukya, 323.
Aván, 1.
Avanti, 112.
Avesta, the antiquity of the, 263-287.
Avesta, history of the collection of the, as given in the Dinkard, 264-270.
Avesta Literature, extant, generally supposed to be a faithful remnant of the Grand Avesta of the Achemenian times, Dr. Darmesteter's opinion on the point, 263.
Avesta, names of eminent Dasturs, who made comments on the, 270.
Avesta, on the supposed Buddhist and Jewish elements in the, 286-287.
Avesta, on the Greek influence upon the, 281-286.
Avesta-Pahlavi text, on the age of, 8, 9.
Avijeh Din, 6.
Azer Goushasp, a celebrated fire temple of ancient Iran, 63.
Azer Kaivan, 295.
- Azi Dahák, 277, 278.**

Babiru, 278.
Badi-nd-din, 242.
Bádaráyanás, Bramha Sutras, 317, 320, 323, 324, 326.
Badaoni, 293, 294.
Baglan, 203.
Bahdur Sháh, 176, 177, 198.
Bahadur Sháh of Gujerat, captures Mandu, defeats Mehmud II. and incorporates Malwa with Gujerat, 176-177.
Bahlol Lodi, 171.
Bahman, 241, 242.
Bahman Yasht, 10.
Baji Parbhu, 204.
Bajirao I., 208.
Bajirao Peshwa, 351, 352.
Bajirao Peshwa, appointed Governor of Malwa (A.D. 1720-1740), 199.
Báláditya, 41.
Balaji Bajirao, 208, 210.
Balaji Vishwanath, 208.
Bálaprasáda, 32, 34.
Balirája, 32, 34.
Bána, 42, 43.
Bánswára, 176.
Bapuji Govind, 351.
Barkur, 250.
Barkur, on the Kanara Coast, attack by the Portuguese on the town of, 254.
Barras, Lopo, 258.
Baroshani-i-Auharmazd, 9.

- Bas-relief of Beharám-gour at Naksh-i-Rustam and his marriage with an Indian Princess, 58-75.
- Bauddha-dhikkára, 337.
- Baudháyana, 326.
- Bawri, 278.
- Báz Bahádur, the last Sultan of Malwa, 155, 159, 179, 181, 182.
- Beames, 82, 83.
- Bednur, 203, 251.
- Behráam, 1, 371.
- Behráam-gour, 240.
- Behráam-gour, bas-relief of, at Naksh-i-Rustam and his marriage with an Indian Princess, 58-75.
- Behráam-gour's bas relief at Naksh-i-Rustam, stories in connection with, 59-63.
- Behráam-gour, device and characters on a coin of, corresponding with those on his bas-relief, Naksh-i-Rustam, 63; explanation of, 63-64.
- Behráam-gour's visit to India and his marriage with Sepinad, an Indian Princess, Firdousi's account of, 65-69.
- Behram-gour's visit to India supported by impressions on Gudhia coins and by scenes in some of the Ajanta paintings, 74-75.
- Bell, Prof. Melville, 80.
- Benfey, 85.
- Bhímadeva I., 29.
- Bhámati, 337.
- Bhandarkar, Dr. R. G., 76, 82.
- Bháshá-Parichheda, 342.
- Bhúpat Rai, 177.
- Bikramajit, 184.
- Billawal (Verawal), 145.
- Bir Bal, 289, 301.
- Biyá, 237.
- Bodas (Mahadeva Rajaram); A historical sketch of Indian Logic, 306-347.
- Bopp, Prof. F., 78, 85, 106.
- Braganza, D. Constantino de, 256.
- Brahma, 245.
- Brahmadeva, 95.
- Brahmanism of to-day & of the Vedic times, 362.
- Brihadáranayakavártika, 54.
- Brugmann, 85.
- Bryne, 85, 86.
- Budágh Khan, 180.
- Buddhacharita, 43.
- Buddhagupta, 38.
- Buddhist relic mounds in Sindh, 44-45.
- Buddhist tower in Kahu, near Mirpur Khás, Sindh, note on brick figures found in a, 44-46.
- Bundahesh, 4.
- Burnell, Dr., 83.
- Burnouf, 85.
- Buzarjameher, 233.
- Bydaspes, 238.
- Caldwell, 82, 88.
- Cambyses, 140.
- Campbell (J. M.), Introduction to Mr. Woodburn's note on

- brick figure found in a Buddhist tower in Kahu, near Mirpur Khás, Sindh, 44-45.
- Campbell (J. M.), Mandu, 154-201.
- Carnatic, 203.
- Carnac (Captain James Rivett), 351, 352.
- Cashmere, a legend about the drying of the valley of, 245; its probable connection with a similar story in the Shahnamah, 245.
- Cashmere, ancient tradition relating to the country, being at first a vast lake called Satisaras, 245.
- Cashmere, expedition of Darius Hystaspes to, for exploring the region watered by the Indus, 244.
- Cashmere, geographical notices of, in the ancient Iranian literature, and allusions to, in Sháhuámeh, 237-241.
- Cashmere, on the relation of the ancient Persians to, 241-248.
- Cashmere, Punjab and Scinde, included in the times of the Avesta in the region known as Hapta Hindu (Sapta Sindhu), 237.
- Cashmere and the ancient Persian, 237-248.
- Caspatyrus of Herodotus, the same as Cashmere, 244.
- Catpan Bhanu, 241.
- Ceylon, colonisation of, attributed to Bengal, Behar, Orissa and Gujerat, 93, 94.
- Cháhumána kings, genealogy of, 34.
- Chaitanya, 338, 340, 341.
- Chanda, 84.
- Chándakhan, 176.
- Chándogya Upanishad, 83.
- Chandrabhága, 237.
- Chandragupta, 35.
- Chandra-vyákarana, 48.
- Charaka, 324.
- Chenaub, 237.
- Chess, account of the origin and discovery as given by Caxton and Sir W. Jones, of the game of, 234-236.
- Chess, Firdousi on the Indian origin of the game of, 224-236.
- Chess, Firdousi's account of the introduction into Persia from India of the game of, 231-233.
- Chess, Firdousi's description of the Indian method of playing the game of, 228-230.
- Chess, Firdousi's version about the invention in India of the game of, 225-233.
- Chess, on the modern Indian name of the game of, 233-234.
- Chess, testimony as to the Indian origin of, 224.
- Chidé-Avista-i gasani, 1.
- Chimnaji Pandit, 199.
- Chimnaji Raghunath, 351-352.
- Ching-kwong, 39.

- Chosroes I., 224.
 Cicero's De Natura Deorum and the Pahlavi Shikand Gumanik Vijar, 215-223.
 Coins, known in Gujerat, as Gadhia-ka-paisá, 73.
 Corryat's stay at Mandu, and his account of Emperor Jehangir when residing there, 194.
 Cosmas Indikopleustes, 39.
 Cunha (Dr. J. Gerson da); The Portuguese in South Kanara, 249-262.
 Curtius, 85-107.
 Cypress Tree planted by Gushtāsp, King of Persia, before his fire-temple, tradition relating to, 248.
- Dabistan, 293, 294, 295.
 Dādastán-i-Díní, 7, 9, 10.
 Dād-Aúharmazd, 9.
 Dād-farúkh, 9.
 Dād-farrok, 270.
 Dair-i-Parikán, 247.
 Damaji Gaikawad, 212.
 Dambar, 225.
 Dáráb, 242.
 Darsúnasára, 338.
 Darius, 140.
 Darmesteter's opinion about the extant Avesta not being a faithful reproduction from the Grand Avestá of the Achemenian times, 263. Examination of some of the points dwelt upon by Darmesteter in support of his theory bringing down the antiquity of the Avesta to about the third century after Christ, 263-287.
- Dasā-Lakshani, 342.
 Datto Annaji, 209.
 Dayananda Sarasvati Swami, 85.
 Debi, 290.
 De Natura Deorum, Cicero's, and the Pahlavi Shikand Gumanik Vijar, 215-223.
 De Natura Deorum, Cicero's, outline of the contents of, 221-222.
 Delitzsch, 101.
 Della Valle, 197, 259.
 Depar ruins, in Sindh, 46.
 Dharmakirti, 48, 54, 55, 56, 57, 333, 334.
 Dharnidhara, 27.
 Dharnidhra, 33.
 Dharmottara, 47, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 57, 333, 336.
 Dharwar, 203.
 Dhruva (H. H.); Pàraskara Grihya Sūtras and the Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXIX. 24, 25.
 Dhruva (H. H.); The Nadole Inscription of King Āhanadeva, 26, 34.
 Dhruva (H. H.); The Progress and Development of the Aryan Speech, 76-108.
 Diā Bahadur, 199.
 Didhiti, 431.
 Dignāga, 42, 50, 52, 54, 332, 333, 334.
 Dignāgācharya, 48, 50, 52, 53, 54, 57.

- Dilāwar Khan, the founder of
 Musalman Mandu, 155, 161,
 162.
 Dinkard, 10.
 Diodorus Siculus, 118, 140.
 Dyaushpita, 95.
- Ebn-Athir, 69.
 Egyptians and Iranians, ancient,
 Belief about the future of the
 soul among the, 365-374.
 Ephthalites or Huns, Sir A.
 Cunningham's paper on,
 40-41.
 Eratosthenes, 134.
 Ereziphva, Mount, 247.
 Euclid, 345.
 Excercises, 234.
- Faizi, 289.
 Farhang-i'om-Aevak, 1.
 Faridoon, 245.
 Farukh, 9.
 Fatesingh Gayakawad, 351, 353.
 Fidaikhān, 187.
 Firdousi, 143.
 Firdousi, on the Indian origin of
 the game of Chess, 224-236.
 Framroz, 239.
- Gadadhara, 341, 342.
 Gadhārupa of Indian History,
 the same as Behrām Gour of
 Persian History, 69-71.
 Gadhendra-puri, 71.
- Gahambar, 1.
 Gāindhāra, 39, 40, 41.
 Gandhāras, account of the peo-
 ple, known as, 243.
 Gangadāhar Shastri, 351,
 353.
 Gangeśa, 339, 340, 341.
 Gangeśopādhyāya, 339, 340.
 Gardabhinās, the dynasty of,
 probably that of the descend-
 ants of Behrām Gour in Persia,
 72-73.
 Gā-gya, 84.
 Gaspar Correa, 252.
 Gāthā, 1.
 Gau, 225.
 Gaudavaho, 42.
 Gauranga, 340.
 Ghāzni Khān, 165.
 Ghias-ud-din's rule at Mandu,
 the buildings erected during
 his time, and account of his
 pleasure city, 169, 172.
 Girdhar Bahadur, 199.
 Gogoshasp, 9, 270.
 Goilas, 39, 40.
 Gopathī Brāhmana of the Athar-
 va Veda, 83.
 Goshera, 71.
 Gotama, the Nyaya system of,
 310-311; on the age of the
 Sutras of Gotama and Kaṇāda,
 316-329.
 Gottama-Sutra-Vritti, 342.
 Goshtasp, 274, 279.
 Grierson, 82, 88.
 Grihya Sutras, account of a MS.
 of, found at Lathi in Kathia-
 wad, 24-25.

- Grihya Sutras and the sacred books of the East, Vol. XXIX., 24-25.
- Grimm, 85.
- Gujarat trade extended in mediæval times, as far as Java, 93.
- Gushtasp, 248.
- Hādokht-Nask, 1.
- Haji Khan, 178.
- Hambirrao Mohite, 208, 209.
- Hapta Hindu, the region known by the name of, 237.
- Harimisra, 340.
- Harirāma Tarkālakara, 341.
- Harshacharita, 42.
- Harun Al Rashid, 143.
- Haveli Gūyakawad, the name of a citadel near Ahmedabad, 356.
- Hemabhai, 356.
- Hemachandra, 84.
- Herbert's description of Mandu, 197-198.
- Hermippa, 215.
- Hermippos of Alexandria, translated into Greek, 20,000 verses of the writings of Zoroaster, 264, 284, 285.
- Hesydrus, 237.
- Hill-forts in the occupation of Shivaji, their importance as points of resistance against attack, and their management, 203-204.
- Hindu character as depicted by the Greek writers, Megasthenes and Arrian, 142.
- Hindu months, names of, with the length in days, ghatīs and pāls, 123.
- Hoernle, Dr., 82, 88.
- Homai, 242.
- Honore, 251.
- Horus, 371.
- Hoshangsha Ghori's rule at Mandu, 162-164.
- Hoshangshah Ghori, 156, 162, 164, 165.
- Humayun's capture of Maudu, 176-177.
- Humboldt, 107.
- Human Races, classification of according to Mr. Cust, Mr. Haeckel and Mr. Bryue, 94, 97.
- Huna kings, ruling in Northern India, 36, 40.
- Huns, White, Sir A. Cunningham's paper on, 40, 41.
- Húsparam Nask, 5, 6, 9, 10.
- Hydraortes, 237.
- Hydaspes, 237, 238.
- Hyphasis, 237.
- Hysiris, 371.
- Ibn Asir, 149.
- ibn Kalikan, 150.
- India, change in the condition and the character of the people of, caused by the Mohamedau conquest of the country and their rule, 142-143.
- India, on the evidence of the existence of pre-Aryan and non-Aryan races in, 90-92.

<i>Titles of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
PAPERS relating to Village Sanitation in India, 1888-95.	Government of India.
PITRA Medha Sutras.	German Oriental Society.
POLICE REPORTS, Bombay Presidency, 1895.	Bombay Government.
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—— American Museum of Natural History, 1895.	The Trustees of the Museum.
—— Archæological Survey, Western India, 1895-96.	Bombay Government.
—— Bombay Chamber of Commerce, 1896.	The Chamber of Commerce.
—— Criminal Justice, Punjab, 1895.	Punjab Government.
—— Customs Administration, Bombay, 1895-96.	Bombay Government.
—— Customs Administration, Kurrachee, 1895-96.	Government of India.
—— Director of Public Instruction, Bombay Presidency, 1895-96.	Director of Public Instruction.
—— Forest Administration, Punjab, 1894-95.	Punjab Government.
—— Forest Administration, Punjab, 1895-96.	Punjab Government.
—— Forest Department, Bombay Presidency, 1895-96.	Bombay Government.
—— Forest Department, Madras Presidency, 1895-96.	Madras Government.
—— Income Tax Operations, Bombay Presidency, 1895-96.	Bombay Government.
—— Inspection of Mines in India, 1894-95.	Government of India.
—— Internal Trade, Punjab, 1895-96.	Punjab Government.

- Grihya Sutras and the sacred books of the East, Vol. XXIX., 24-25.
- Grimm, 85.
- Gujarat trade extended in mediæval times, as far as Java, 93.
- Gushtasp, 248.
- Hádokht-Nask, 1.
- Haji Khan, 178.
- Hambirrao Mohite, 208, 209.
- Hapta Hindu, the region known by the name of, 237.
- Harimisra, 340.
- Harirâma Tarkilankara, 341.
- Harshacharita, 42.
- Harun Al Rashid, 143.
- Haveli Gàyakawad, the name of a citadel near Ahmedabad, 356.
- Hemabhai, 356.
- Hemachandra, 84.
- Herbert's description of Mandu, 197-198.
- Hermippa, 215.
- Hermippos of Alexandria, translated into Greek, 20,000 verses of the writings of Zoroaster, 264, 284, 285.
- Hesydrus, 237.
- Hill-forts in the occupation of Shivaji, their importance as points of resistance against attack, and their management, 203-204.
- Hindu character as depicted by the Greek writers, Megasthenes and Arrian, 142.
- Hindu months, names of, with the length in days, ghatis and pals, 123.
- Hoernle, Dr., 82, 88.
- Homai, 242.
- Honore, 251.
- Horus, 371.
- Hoshangsha Ghori's rule at Mandu, 162-164.
- Hoshangshah Ghori, 156, 162, 164, 165.
- Humayun's capture of Mandu, 176-177.
- Humboldt, 107.
- Human Races, classification of according to Mr. Cust, Mr. Haeckel and Mr. Bryne, 94, 97.
- Huna kings, ruling in Northern India, 36, 40.
- Huns, White, Sir A. Cunningham's paper on, 40, 41.
- Húsparam Nask, 5, 6, 9, 10.
- Hydraortes, 237.
- Hydaspes, 237, 238.
- Hyphasis, 237.
- Hysiris, 371.
- Ibn Asir, 149.
- ibn Kalikan, 150.
- India, change in the condition and the character of the people of, caused by the Mohamedan conquest of the country and their rule, 142-143.
- India, on the evidence of the existence of pre-Aryan and non-Aryan races in, 90-92.

- India** account of the writers on the philosophical systems of, and their works, 315-343.
- India**, sciences and arts in, originating from sacrificial necessities, 327-328.
- India**, the original home of the game of chess, 224.
- India**, works of Mohamedan Historians of, greatly influenced by religious bias and unscrupulousness 144-145.
- Indian** logic, Historical sketch of, 306-347.
- Indian** philosophy, erroneous notions about, 307.
- Indian** philosophy, religious motive, underlying all the systems of, 313-314.
- Indian** philosophy, the task of writing the history of, beset with innumerable difficulties, 307-308.
- Indian** philosophical systems, the Nyaya and Vaiseshika, survey of the literature of, 315-343.
- Indian** philosophy, including Indian logic, a home-grown product, created by the natural genius of the people, 306-307.
- Indian** philosophy, Nyaya and Vaiseshika occupying a unique position among the systems of, 309; their history dating from the 4th or 5th century B. C. 315.
- Indian** philosophy, on determining the chronological order of the several systems of, 319-325.
- Indian** philosophy, on the doctrines of, the different systems of, 343-344.
- Indian** Society, the capacity of expansion of, 357.
- Indra**, 82.
- Indus**, 237.
- Indus**, the names of the seven tributaries of the, 237.
- Inscription** on the Three Gateways, Ahmedabad, 343-356, the text and translation of the Inscription, 349-351; the places and the persons mentioned in the Inscription, 351-352; brief notices of the persons, 352-354.
- Inscription**, Nadole, of King Alhanadeva, 20-34.
- Iranians** and Egyptians, Ancient, Belief about the future of the soul among the, 365-374.
- Isfendiar**, 241.
- Istakbar** (Persepolis), 264.
- Jagadisa**, 341.
- Jaimini**, 320, 326, 327, 328.
- Jaisingh** Deva, 184, 199.
- Jál**, 240.
- Jaladeo**, 245.
- Jaloka**, 242.
- Jamasp** Hakim Vilayati, 299.
- Jámásp** Viláyati, Dastur, 2, 6.
- Jamhour**, 225, 240.
- Janaka**, 242.

- Javerilal U. Yajnik, Hon'ble Mr., Honorary Secretary of the Society, placing on record the sense of the Society's loss at the death of, XCV.
- Jayadeva, 340, 341.
- Jen iraraja, 23, 32, 34.
- Jhelum, 237.
- Jivanji Jamshedji Modi : Belief about the future of the soul among the Ancient Egyptians and Iranians, 365-374.
- Jivanji Jamshedji Modi ; Cashmere and the Ancient Persians. 237-248.
- Jivanji Jamshedji Modi ; Firdousi on the Indian Origin of the Game of Chess, 224-236.
- Jivanji Jamshedji Modi ; The Antiquity of the Avesta, 263-287.
- Jivanji Jamshedji Modi : The Bas-relief of Behram Gour at Naksh-i-Rustam and his Marriage with an Indian Princess, 58-75.
- Jina, 32.
- Jinasena, 42.
- Jojjalla, 32, 34.
- Junaid Khan, 178.
- Junnar, 203.
- Kacchâyana, 84.
- Kacyapa, 245.
- Kacyapupura, name of the Country of Cashmere, 245.
- Kadir Shah, 177.
- Kahu near Mirpur Khas, Sindh, note on brick figures found in a Buddhist tower in, 44-46.
- Kaikhoshroo, 239.
- Kalhana, 38.
- Kalidása, on the date of, 35-43.
- Kalidása, references in Indian Literature to, 42-43.
- Kanáda, 312, 313, 315, 323.
- Kanáda, on the age of the *Sutras* of, 316-317, 324, 331.
- Kanara, account of the doings of the Portuguese, on the Coast of, 251-262.
- Kanara, South. extinction of the last remnant of the Portuguese rule and trade in, 261.
- Kanara, general aspect of, and account of the principal towns of the district of, 249-250.
- Kanara Coast, at one time studded with Portuguese Factories and Forts, 252.
- Kanara, references to, in the works of Portuguese Historians, 249.
- Kanara South, the Portuguese in, 249-262.
- Kangdez, 239.
- Kanoj, the capital of Northern India (A.D. 417-438), 65.
- Kamilu-t-Tawarikh, 150.
- Karad, 203.
- Karji Ghát, 176.
- Karkal, 250.
- Karkaria (R. P.) ; Akbar and the Parsees, 289-305.
- Karkaria (R. P.) ; Mahmud of Ghazni and the Legend of Somnath, 142-153.

- Karkaria (R. P.) ; Teleology of the Pahlavi Shikand Gumanik Vijar and Cicero's De Natura Deorum, 215-223.
 Karra Bahádur Khán, 180.
 Kasháf river, 245.
 Kashmar, confounded with Cashmere, 247.
 Kásikávritti, 48.
 Kátyáyana, 84, 324, 325.
 Káus, 247.
 Keladi Basappa Naik, King of Kanara, 261.
 Kellogg, 82, 88.
 Kesirája, 43.
 Khafikhan, 305.
 Khan Jehán, 179, 197.
 Khanda Khádyaka, 130.
 Kharegat (M. P.) ; On the Interpretation of certain passages in the Punch Siddhantika of Varáhamihira, an old Astronomical work, 109-141.
 Khed, 203.
 Khooshro Parviz, 72.
 Khoshtanbujid, 270.
 Khúrshed, 1.
 Khushálchand, 355.
 Khusro Noshirwan, 9.
 Kiranávali, 336, 340.
 Kóbád, 9, 72, 137.
 Kolaba Fort, 204.
 Kolhapur, 203.
 Kolhar, 203.
 Konkan, 203.
 Kopphen, 237.
 Kramadisvara, 84.
 Krishnánanda, 341.
 Krishnarája III., 43.
 Kshirasvámin, 42.
 Kubera, 36.
 Kubhá, 237.
 Kundapur, 250.
 Kumára Fála, 29.
 Kumára Pála, Inscription of, dated, A.D. 1157, 29.
 Kumárasambhava, 43.
 Kumáradása, King of Ceylon, 42.
 Kumánila, 42, 48, 323, 333, 336.
 Kurumchand, 27.
 Kushtan-bujid, 9.
 Kusumanjali, 337.
 Kutb-ud-din Shah, 168.

 Lae-lie, 39, 40.
 Lae-lih, 40.
 Lakha, 27, 28.
 Lakshmana, 27, 28, 32, 34.
 Lakhim, 27.
 Lakshmidhara, 27, 33.
 Lakhun, 27, 28.
 Lalitá-litya, 244.
 Language, character of, modified by surroundings, 99.
 Language, Greek and Indian Myths about the birth of, 94, 95.
 Language, gesture, voice and graphic, remarks on, 81-82.
 Language periods and language chronology, researches in connection with, 100-102.
 Language, science of, a historico-comparative science, 81.

- Languages, human and Aryan,**
 chronology of the development
 of, arranged in six periods,
 with critical remarks, 103-108.
Languages of the East Indies,
 divided into 8 groups, 92
Látyáyana Sutra, reference to
 the description of the Vrátya-
 Stoma, in the, 357-359
Lilavati, 336, 340.
Linga of Mahadeva, legend re-
 garding, 151-152.
Literature, Pahlavi, classed under
 three heads, 1.
Logic, Indian and Greek, simi-
 larity of ideas and modes of
 thought between, 344-345.
Logic, Indian, historical sketch
 of, 306-347.
Logic, the foundation of, as a
 science according to Ueberweg,
 a work of the Greek mind, 306.
Lohiyá, 29, 32, 34.
Ludwig, 101.
- Madhaváchárya,** 327.
Magupat Jamásp Asa, 6.
Mahábatkhán, 187.
Mahadji Shinde, 211, 212.
Mahgóshasp, 9.
Mahmud of Ghazni, the character
 of, 143-144.
Mahávira, 26.
Maháviradeva, 33.
Mahendradeva, 32, 34.
**Mahmud of Ghazni and the Le-
 gend of Somnath,** 142-153.
- Mahuli Fort,** 204.
Máh Yashts, 1,
Mái, 225.
Maitapata, 33.
Malhárao Holkar, 199.
Malik Báyzid, 179.
Malik Mughis, 164.
Mallinátha, 36, 42, 339.
Mallu Khan, 177.
Málava Era, current in Central
 India, 35, 43.
Malwan Fort, 204.
**Man, Prof. Haeckel's View of the
 races of,** 94.
Mándan, 185.
Mandana, 333, 336.
Mandu, 154-201.
**Mandu, Abul Fazl's and Farish-
 tah's descriptions of,** 182-
 183.
**Mandu, Akbar's visit to, and re-
 sidence at,** 180-181.
**Mandu, Col. Brigg's, Mr.
 Ferguson's, and Captain
 Eastwick's accounts of the
 deserted capital of,** 199-
 200.
**Mandu, early Hindu period of
 the history of,** 160.
**Mandu, Herbert's description of,
 197-198.**
**Mandu, historical account of,
 160-201.**
**Mandu. Inscription on a building
 known as Nilkanth at;
 180-181.**
**Mandu, Emperor Jehangir's re-
 sidence at, and his description
 of,** 183-191.

- Mandu, Jehangir's stay at, referred to by Sir T. Roe and Rev. E. Terry, 189-198.
 Mandu, passing into the hands of the Marathas, 199.
 Mandu, Sir T. Roe's account of Prince Khurram's (Shah-Jehan) visit to, 195-196.
 Mandu, Sir T. Roe's accounts of Emperor Jehangir's camp at, 190-193.
 Mandu, the holy places at, 199.
 Mandu, the old palaces, mosques, tombs, &c., at 155-160.
 Mandu, the situation of, with descriptive account, 154-160.
 Mandu, Tom Corryat's stay at, 193.
 Mangalore, Della Valle's visit to, in 1623 and his opinion of the Portuguese of those days, 259-260.
 Mangalore, on the Kanara Coast, attack by the Portuguese on the town of, 256, 257, 258, 259.
 Manik Rae, 27.
 Mankoji Dahatonde, 208.
 Marcus Aurelius, 216.
 Manoratha, 27, 33.
 Manushchihir, 9, 10.
 Manyáloka, 340.
 Manzar, 62.
 Mard-búd, 9.
 Mardan-farukh, author of *Shikand Gumanik Vijar*, 220.
 Marichi, 245.
 Mascarenhas, D. Francisco, 258.
 Mathuránátha, 341.
 Mawal, 203.
 Mazdak, 9.
 Medani Rai, 174.
 Médyo-mah, 9.
 Meghaduta, 42.
 Mehmud Khán, 164.
 Mehmud Khilji, 165.
 Mehmúd Khilji's rule at Mandu, buildings erected during, 165-169.
 Mehmud Khilji's Tower of Victory at Mandu, account of, 167-168.
 Mehmud II.'s rule at Mandu, 174-176.
 Mehmud Tughlak, 162.
 Mehrjee Rana, a Parsi Priest, called from Navsari, by Akbar, to give instruction in the Parsi religion, 292-293, 296, 297; tradition relating to the circumstances under which he was called to Akbar's court, 292.
 Menezes, Vasco Fernandes Cezar, de, 261.
 Mihircule, 242, 243.
 Mihiragula, 39.
 Mihirakula, a most powerful king of the Huna dynasty, 37, 38-39, 40, 41, 42.
 Minerva, 94.
 Minocheher, 245.
 Mir Rukhu ruins in Sindh, 45.
 Mirán Muhammad Fáruki, 177.
 Mirkhol, 242.
 Mirkhond, 69.
 Mirpur Khás, Sindh, note on brick figures found in a Buddhist tower in Kahu, near, 44-46.

- Mirza Ghias Beg, 188.
 Mirza Mirán Mubárak Khan, 180.
 Minah Bai, 199.
 Mitchell, Rev. Dr. J. M., 88.
 Mithra or Meher, 371.
 M.ohamad, 27, 28, 29.
 Mohsan Fani, 248.
 Moropant Pingle, 208.
 Motassim Caliph, 218.
 Mudabidri, 250.
 Mugdhavabodha Auktika, 84.
 Muháfiz Khán, 174.
 Muhammad Akbar II., 351, 352.
 Muhammad (hori), 165.
 Muhammad Khan, 180.
 Muhammaddkhan Bangash, 199.
 Mulla Firuz, 6.
 Muller, Prof. Max, 73, 82, 83, 85.
 Munisundara, 57.
 Musa Razá, 198.
 Muzaffar Sháh, 162.
 Muzaffur, III., 181.
 Mysore, 203.

 Nadúla, 32, 33.
 Naálchah, near Mandu, account of, 184.
 Nabonassar, era of, 137.
 Nadole, Inscription of king Alhanadeva, 26-34.
 Nagar Sheth, the office of, at Ahmedabad, 353; genealogy of the family of, 354; history of the family, 355-356.
 Naigmas, 27.
 Naksh-i-Rastam, the Bas-relief of Beharám Gour at, and his marriage with an Indian princess, 58-75.

 Nana Faranavis, 211, 212.
 Nanda, 324.
 Nard, the game of, similar to the game of draughts, 233.
 Narasinha, 253.
 Narsih, 9.
 Nariman, 245.
 Nariman Hoshang, 6.
 Nasik, 203.
 Nasir-ud-din's rule at Mandu, 173-174.
 Nasrat, 163.
 Navalkar, Rev. Mr., 88.
 Neeraji Raoji, 209.
 Netaji Palkar, 208, 209.
 Nirangistán, 1.
 Nirangistán, account of the different MSS. of, 2-7.
 Nirangistan Pahlavi, Extant Codices of, 1-23.
 Nisháhpáhar, 9.
 Nizam-ud-din, 293.
 Noronha, D. Antao de, 258.
 Noronha, D. Paio de, 256.
 Noshirvan, 137.
 Noushiraván, 224, 231, 240.
 Nuddea school of text writers and commentators, on Indian philosophy, 339.
 Nur Jehan, 185, 188.
 Nyaya and Vaiseshika systems of philosophy, resume of the literature of, 315-345; objection advanced against their heterogeneous character detracting from their value as system of pure logic, 346.
 Nyaya-Bindu, 334.

- Nyāyabindu, on the authorship of the, 47-57.
 Nyāyabindutskā, 47.
 Nyaya-Kandali, 336.
 Nyaya-Lilavati, 338.
 Nyāya philosophy, general view of the doctrines of, 310-311.
 Nyayesh-i-Khurshed, 1.
- Olala, the queen of, the ruler of Mangalore and other ports on the Kanara Coast, 257, 259.
 Oromosdes, 281.
 Osiris, 371.
- Pactyice, 244.
 Pādārtha-Khandana, 341.
 Padmashāh, 354.
 Pahlavi Language, on the origin and antiquity of, 217.
 Pahlavi Nirangistan, Extant Codices of, 1-23.
 Pahlavi treatises, written under the Sassanides, subjects treated in the, 219.
 Pakshadhara Misra, 340.
 Pakshila-Swāmi, 332.
 Pancha Lakshani, 342.
 Pañchadarśanasvarūpa, 57.
 Pancha Siddhāntikā of Varāhamihira, on the interpretation of certain passages in, 109-141.
 Pāncha Siddhantika, one of the oldest Hindu works on astronomy written about the middle of the 6th century after Christ, 109.
 Panhala, 203.
- Panhala Fort, 204.
 Panini, 82, 84.
 Pāpak, 266.
 Pāraskarāchārya, 24.
 Pāraskarā Grihya Sutras and the Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXIX., 24-25.
 Parik, 9.
 Parsees of Naosari and other parts of Gujerat, the state of, in the sixteenth century, 297-300.
 Pārsvabnyudaya, 42.
 Parushani, 237.
 Pātaliputra, 41.
 Patanjali, 84, 324.
 Pathak (K. B.): On the authorship of the Nyayabindu, 47-57.
 Pathak (K. B.): On the date of Kālidāsa, 35-43.
 Peile, Mr. John, 78, 105.
 Pereira, D. Antonio, 258.
 Pericles, 143.
 Peterson, Dr. P., 77.
 Peixoto, João, 258.
 Persian Calendar, note on the, 136-141.
 Pesyansai, 239.
 Pezzi, 86.
 Philological research in the West, workers in the field of, 84, 85-86.
 Philologists, Indian, names of, 82-84.
 Philo Judæus, 283.
 Philology, comparative, remarks on the science of, 78-81.
 Philology Indian, history of, 82-85.

- Shikand Gumanik Vijar Pahlavi and Cicero's De Natura Deorum, 215-223.
- Shikand Gumanik Vijar, account of the work, its subject, author, &c., 219-221 ; points of resemblance between it and Cicero's De Natura Deorum, 221-223.
- Shirooyeh, 72.
- Shivaji, as a Civil Ruler, 202-214.
- Shivaji, the civil territory held by, divided into 18 prants or districts, 203.
- Shivaji's civil organization, 207-208.
- Shivaji's division of the country under him for revenue management, 205-206.
- Shivaji's Hill Forts, 203-204.
- Shivaji's regulations relating to Infantry and Cavalry, 205, 206.
- Shivaji's system of charities, his Daxina system for encouragement of learning, &c., 209 ; his system of Civil Government discussed, 210-214 ; his arrangement about the direct management of land revenue, discussed, 213 ; military profession not monopolised by the Marhattas in his time, 213-214.
- Shivaneri Fort, 204.
- Shivappa Naik, a Bednur Chief, subjugating Kanara and the surrounding country, between 1648 and 1670, 260-261.
- Shrirangpatam, 203.
- Shujaát Khan, 172.
- Shujaát Khan's rule at Mandu, 178, 179.
- Siddhánta-Muktárali, 342.
- Sidharaja Jayasinha, 29.
- Sikhî, the second Buddha, 44.
- Silva, D. Luiz de'Mello da, 256.
- Silveira, Diogo da, 256.
- Simha, 38.
- Siindhū, 237.
- Siñghana, 338.
- Siñhggad, 204.
- Siromani, 341.
- Siruzé, 1.
- Siváchárya, 336.
- Siváditya, 336, 338, 339.
- Skandagupta, 38, 39.
- Socrates, 345.
- Sohiya, 29, 34.
- Somnath, the Legend of, and Mahmud of Ghazni, 142-153.
- Somnáth, account of the temple, sacked by Mahamud, and the breaking of the idol, as given by old Mahomedan Historians, 149-151.
- Somnath, Col., Dow's, and other Historians' account of the breaking of the idol of, 146-148.
- Somnath, the legend relating to immense wealth concealed in the belly of the idol of, and the proffered ransom of the Brahmans, to Muhamud, purely fictitious, 152.
- Somnath, the myth connected with the sandal-wood gates of, 153.

- Somnath, Tod's description of the site of, 145.
 Songad, the citadel of Mandu, 155, 176.
 Sôshyans, 9.
 Soul, belief about the future of the, among ancient Egyptians and Iranians, 365-374.
 Soul, points of similarity in regard to the belief about the future of the, among the ancient Egyptians and Persians, examined, 365-374.
 Soul, spiritual constituents of the, according to ancient Egyptians and Persians, 365-366.
 Souza Faria E., 259.
 Speech, communicated from man to man by gesture language, voice language, and graphic language, 81-82.
 Sraosha, 371.
 Srauta-Sutra, 24.
 Sricharana, 331.
 Sridhara, 27, 33, 330, 333, 336.
 Srósh (Hádokht), 1.
 Subandhu, 332.
 Sukaramá, 27, 33.
 Sumativijaya, 37.
 Sung-Yun, 39, 40.
 Surendra, king of Cashmere, 241.
 Surésvara, 48, 53, 54, 55, 56.
 Sureshwara, 336.
 Surya Siddhánta, 109, 110, 130, 131, 133, 135, 136.
 Suttlej, 237.
 Tabakat-i-Akbari, 293.
 Tabari, 62, 68, 69.
 Taittiriya Samhita, 83.
 Taittiriya Upanishad, 83.
 Talhend, 225.
 Tamra-Sena, 69.
 Tanaji Malusare, 204.
 Tando in Sindh, ruins at, 46.
 Tandy Brahmana of the Sáma Veda, 83.
 Tandy Brahmana of the Sáma Veda, reference to the description of the Vratyastoma in the, 357-359.
 Tanjore, 203.
 Tansar, who edited and revised the Avesta, 216, 263, 264, 266, 267, 272, 281.
 Taosar, 264.
 Tarauatha, 48.
 Tárikh-i-Alfi, 149.
 Tarik-i-Hind, 151.
 Tarka Dipiká, 342.
 Tarka Kanmudi, 338.
 Tarka Siromani, 341.
 Tarkámrita, 338, 342.
 Tarka Sangraha, 338, 342.
 Tátparya Parisuddhi, 337.
 Tatwa Chintamani, 339, 340, 341.
 Taylor, Rev. Mr., 88.
 TáZ, 277.
 Telang, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice, 88.
 Teleology of the Pahlavi Shikand Gumanik Vijar and Cicero's De Natura Deorum, 215-223.
 Terry's (Rev. A.) visit to Mandu, 189.
 Thana, 203.
 Theopompus, 281, 282, 284, 285.

- Thoth, 371.
 Tin Darwaja, Three Gateways,
 one of the most prominent
 architectural objects at Ahme-
 dabad, 348.
 Tirellah, 199.
 Tiridates, 266.
 Todar Mal, 290.
 Toramána, a most powerful king
 of the Huna dynasty, 37, 38,
 39, 40.
 Torana Fort, 204.
 Toshar or Tansar, one of the
 most learned Dasturs of Arde-
 shir Babigoru, 216, 264, 267,
 272, 273.
 Tosar, 266.
 Tree Blossomed : Shivaji as a
 Civil Ruler, 202-214.
 Trimbak, 203.
 Trumpp, 82, 88.
 Tubbah Abu Kurrub, 279.

 Udaji Pavár, 198, 199.
 Udayana, 332, 336, 337, 338,
 339.
 Udupi, 250.
 Udyotsakara, 323, 332, 333, 337.
 Ulluka, 323.
 Upanagupta, 44.
 Upanakara, 342.
 Upanvarhan, 324, 325.

 Upanishads, 332, 336, 337, 340.
 Vaisheshika and Nyaya systems of
 philosophy, resume of the lite-
 rature of, 315-343.
 Vaisheshika system of philosophy,
 general view of, 312, 313.
 Vakhshápur, 270.
 Valgash, 9.
 Valkhash, 264, 265, 266, 272,
 274, 284.
 Vallabha, 37, 336, 338, 339.
 Varadarája, 339.
 Varahamihira, 42.
 Varáhamihira, on the interpreta-
 tion of certain passages in the
 Pancha Siddhantiká of, 109-141.
 Vararuchi, the Buddhist gram-
 marian, 48, 84.
 Vardhamána, 340.
 Vartika-Tátparya-Tika, 337.
 Vásal, 27, 33.
 Vasco da Gama, 250, 252, 253.
 Vásudeva, 340, 341.
 Vatsa, 336.
 Vátsyayana, 315, 322, 327, 332,
 333.
 Vazarkard-i-Diní, 1.
 Vedas, and their languages, the
 date of, fixed about 2,000 B.C.,
 100.
 Vedas, not only the earliest of
 Aryan records, but bear the
 type of high antiquity, 87.
 Vedic Age, on the admission of
 the Non-Aryans into Aryan
 Society in the, 357-364.
 Véh-dost, 9.
 Vellor, 203.
 Vendidad, 1, 9.
 Vernaculars, modern, of India,
 the Philological research relat-
 ing to, 87-88.
 Vesudhva, 240.

- Vidyānanda, 54, 56.
 Vighrahapāla, 32, 34.
 Vijaya, the son of Asoka, 93, 94.
 Vijayanagar, a most powerful kingdom in Southern India, 251-252.
 Vikram, a powerful king of the Western Provinces of India, 73.
 Vikramaditya, 69, 73.
 Vikramaditya or Vikrama, the era of, 35, 43.
 Vikramaditya, son of Gandharva and Yesdejird, son of Behram Gour, facts of similarity in Indian and Persian stories of, 69-73.
 Vikramorvasi, 42.
 Vinaśvaranandi, 48.
 Vipasa, 237.
 Vira Ballāla Deva, 43.
 Visāldeva, 29.
 Viśtāsp yasht, 1.
 Vishvanātha, 342.
 Visparad, 1.
 Vitasta, 237, 238.
 Vologeses, 9, 264.
 Vrajalāla Kalidāsa, 82, 84.
 Vratya, originally denoting barbarious, came to be applied in course of time to degenerate Aryans, 362; the present meaning of the word, 364.
 Vratya-Stoma, or prayer for the Vratyas (out-casts), a brief summary of the description of, 351-359; description of the different kinds of, 359-360; remarks and observations on, 359-364.
- Vyomarati, 336.
 Vyāsa Prānjivān Sakhārām, 351.
 Vyāsa, 231.
- Wai, 203.
 Wakhatchand Khushalchand, 351, 353, 355.
 Wanagad, 203.
 Whitney, Prof., 78, 85.
 Wilson, (Rev. J.), 76.
 Wilson's Philological Lectures (1894) Lecture, I.; Progress and Development of the Aryan speech, 76-108.
 Wiltkowski, 104.
 Woodburn (A); Note on brick figures found in a Buddhist tower in Kahu, near Mirpur Khās, Sind, 44-46.
 World, the Avestaic doctrine about the period of the duration of the, 281-282.
- Xavier, St. Francis, 251.
 Xerxes, the ancient Persian Nation under, 215.
- Yāska, 82, 84, 105.
 Yasna, 1, 9.
 Yasodharman, 38, 39, 41.
 Yesdejird bin Shapur, 121, 140.
 Yesdegird, son of Behrām Gour, and Vikramaditya, son of Gandharva, facts of similarity, in Indian and Persian stories of, 69-73.
 Yesdegird Shahriar, 121, 138.

