ART. XIV.—*The Death of Akbar: A Tercentenary Study.*

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AFTER completing a reign unexampled in the annals of India for prosperity and splendour, Akbar died in October 1605. Consequently in last October fell the Tercentenary of his death, a solemn historical occasion worthy of due celebration. But modern India was, it seems, indifferent to that great name on this occasion, and the date was allowed to pass by without even a thought being given to that great Emperor. In these days when there is so much talk amongst Indians of a united India and of national movements, it is very significant that Indians themselves should have made no movement to celebrate on such an occasion the memory of the illustrious monarch who did so much in his time to unite all Indians and ruled beneficently over all his subjects,—Hindus, Mahomedans, Sikhs, Parsis, Buddhists - and tried to bring them together. Shivaji, it would seem, appealed to some better than Akbar, and there have been celebrations in his honour, not only among the Mahrathas but also among the Bengalis. But with all due deference to the memory of Shivaji, for whom I have the greatest respect which I have shown on many occasions, I would say that after all he was but the hero of only a section of the Indians; while Akbar ought to appeal to all Indians alike, as he worked more than other rulers for the union of all the peoples under his sway.

It would have been in the fitness of things if the present rulers of India, who have succeeded in the course of events by a wise Providence to the heritage of that illustrious mediæval ruler, had celebrated the memory of their most illustrious predecessor. Surely the man was here who would have plunged with his whole heart into the work, who has given unmistakeable proofs that he possesses the historic imagination, to whom the works of Akbar and his descendants, the magnificent Mughals, have throughout his career in India appealed as they had appealed to no other English ruler, who in short was best fitted to do justice to the occasion. But somehow or other Lord Curzon missed the occasion and the Tercentenary of Akbar has been allowed to pass by unremembered, unsung, even unrecorded. People were too busy with the present to bestow thought on the past, even on such a splendid past as the times of Akbar. But that present was indeed worthy

to eclipse even so glorious a past. All India, and particularly all Bombay, was busy preparing to receive the Prince of Wales who is to be the future Akbar of this land. All thoughts and hopes were centered on this heir of the ages, and Akbar may find some consolation that he was forgotten in favour of one who may prove greater than even himself, ruling over a vaster, happier, and more powerful empire. Something also is due to the unsettled state in which Lord Curzon found himself at the end of his rule, and to the circumstances which rendered all his movements, even his departure, uncertain.

But if the State was too much preoccupied with other matters which rightly demanded its attention, at least our learned Asiatic Societies, within whose province this subject specially lies, should have, I venture to think, moved in the matter. I had looked forward to our elder sister of Bengal, the mother of Asiatic Societies in the world, taking the lead in this Tercentenary celebrations. It has indeed done as much as, and probably much more than, any learned body to preserve and illustrate Akbar's name and work in literature. By its scholarly edition in the original Persian of the *Akbar-Nama*, that great monument which Abul Fazl, his *fidus Achates*, has raised to his great patron's name and fame, more lasting than those marble mausolea and palaces by which Akbar expressly desired to comemorate his reign to posterity, and still more by its worthy translations of that great work into the language most widely spoken on this earth, it may be said to have done enough to celebrate the memory of that great monarch. The labours, still unfinished, of that ripe scholar Mr. Beveridge, a past President of that Society, on the purely historical part, and of Colonel Jarrett, and that late prince of Persian scholars, the erudite Henri Blochmann, on the what we may, for want of a better term, call the constitutional part of the singular work of Abul Fazl, have made him speak and write English much better than he writes Persian,* and rendered his work an English classic for all those who care for his great theme, and for many more who do not, but read him for diversion and even amusement. But for some unexplained reason this Society, having its head-quarters in the capital city of India, Calcutta, has missed the occasion. Nor has our Society done anything. At one time I had hoped that we might hold a symposium in honour of the Tercentenary of Akbar, where our members could make their literary offerings in the shape of contributions, illustrative of certain aspects of his life, character, and times. But the change in our Honorary Secretaryship last October and still more the Royal visit,

* "Abul Fazl's style seems, at least to Western eyes, to be quite detestable, being full of circumlocutions, and both turgid and obscure. He is often prolix, and often unduly concise and darkly allusive."—Beveridge, preface to *Akbar-Namah*, tr. Vol. I 1902.

forbade the fulfilment of this hope. Still it is not too late; and we might hold one or more meetings for this object, and even devote a special number of our Journal to papers relating to Akbar.

Meanwhile I offer this paper as a slight contribution to the discussion of a subject intimately connected with Akbar, namely, his death, on which sufficient light has not yet been thrown and which remains as yet obscure and unelucidated. This would appear somewhat strange to anyone who remembers that of Akbar's reign we have more and fuller historical accounts, and those too by contemporaries, than of any other reign in Indian History. There is the great work of Abul Fazl, which, with its lavish details, lays bare before us nearly all aspects of the court and camp of Akbar, and even enlightens us with minute accuracy about his kitchen and stables. There are the elaborate histories of Nizam-ud-din and Abdul Kader Badaoni, which are so important for the different standpoints of their authors to that of Abul Fazl. Then there is the curious composite history of the millennium, the *Tarikh-i-Alfi*, in which both these authors collaborated with others to produce a record of the thousand years of the Hegira which came to a conclusion in Akbar's reign. But all these famous contemporary chronicles were written before the close of Akbar's life and reign, and therefore do not record the very close. Their authors predeceased Akbar by several years, Abul Fazl was murdered in 1602. Badaoni died in 1596 and Nizam-ud-din a year or two earlier still, *circa* 1594. (Blochmann in *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, 1869, Pt. I., p. 143). In these famous writers, therefore, there is necessarily no account of his death.

Failing, therefore, the guidance of such authors, especially the conscientious and sober Nizam-ud-din, we have to fall back upon other contemporaries of inferior worth and reliability among Akbar's countrymen and co-religionists. But we find in these a different account of his death from that given by Europeans, one of whom at least was a contemporary and in India; and it is hard to reconcile these Persian and European accounts of his death.

I shall bring together first the accounts to be found in Persian works. At the head of these stands the elaborate story of Akbar's last days and moments which his son, the Emperor Jehangir, gives in his autobiographical memoirs which go under various names and forms such as "Wakiaat-i-Jehangiri", "Tuzakh-i-Jehangiri" and the like. The Imperial author did not necessarily write these memoirs with his own hand; and it "seems very probable that the Emperor kept two or more memoir-writers to whom he gave directions as to the events they were to record and a general expression of his opinion

on the various subjects to be noticed" (Professor Dowson, in Elliot's History of India, Vol. VI., p. 255). In that form of these memoirs which goes under the name of "Tuzakh-i-Jehangiri", "Tarikh-i-Salim Shahi," and which was translated by Major David Price, a great Orientalist and original member of our Society at its foundation in 1804, Jehangir relates with all the details and circumstances favourable to himself the story of Akbar's end. It is very long, but it will be given here shorn of many details with which we are not here concerned. He introduces his account with these remarks which naturally put us on our guard against implicitly believing everything that he says or has bade another say in his name: "With regard to the circumstances of my father's last illness and the means by which the duplicity and hostile designs of some turbulent ameers became known to me on that occasion, I may remark that the influence of my predominant fortune was finally triumphant, and without the slightest effort of human skill God Almighty placed the Empire of Hindustan at my disposal. The story of the events of which it furnishes the recital are among the extraordinary things of the age in which we live, and the particulars may be learnt with sufficient accuracy in the following relation."

He then proceeds to the main story. "On Monday, the nineteenth of the former month of Jemady of the year 1014 (16th September 1605 A.D.), during a paroxysm of his complaint, the inmates of my father's harem proposed to him, previous to his taking a particular draught—the *Noush-i-jann* or life draught—to eat of some fruit and other delicacies presented to him. The effect of this indulgence was a violent indigestion, and as his anger was at the same to a violent degree excited against Amin-ud-din, whom reproaching in severe terms for his gambling propensities, this combined with the previous malady, produced results so unfavourable that the whole of the ensuing day was passed in complete abstinence, not a morsel passing his lips. This was on the Tuesday. On the next evening, which must have been Wednesday, they administered to him the before-mentioned draught in some broth. Another day he spoke in terms of displeasure to Hakim Ally, one of his physicians, who endeavoured to appease him by assuring him, that things done under the influence of alarm were always unavailing, and that his constant solicitude was the application of such remedies as were best calculated to relieve him. My father, however, not less for the purpose of tranquilising the alarm of his attendants than that of sustaining the remnant of life, consented to eat of some rice and vetches dressed with oil (the Indian dish called *kitchery*). But such was the debilitated state of his bowels, that what he had eaten could not be digested, and a

violent dysentery was the result. Hakim Muzafar, another of the physicians, now pronounced that his brother-physician had grossly erred in his prescriptions, particularly in allowing melon to his patient at the commencement of the attack. From a just repugnance to take away from any man his reputation, and perhaps from a disposition to forgive, I determined that Hakim Ally should not be trodden under foot, at a mere malicious suggestion or an accusation on the part of Muzafar actuated by mere jealousy.

"'If,' thought I, 'God's destiny and the blunders of the medical class did not sometimes concur, we should never die.' This much on a feeling of discretion and kindness, I confessed to Hakim Ally; but in the bottom of my heart all confidence in his skill was extinguished.

"During the last ten days of his illness, I attended my father as usual for two or three quarters of time in the latter part of the day; and this I continued to do until Tuesday, the 14th of the latter Jemadj, when he became so greatly reduced that I remained with him from the time at which his medicine was administered in the morning for the remaining part of the day. While he was yet in a state to discriminate, he advised me on one occasion to keep away from the palace; at all events never to enter unattended by my own guards and retainers: and it now occurred to me that it would be prudent not to neglect such advice; that at such a crisis it behoved me in my intercourse with the palace to employ the most guarded circumspection. One day I entered the citadel accordingly attended by my own retinue. The very next day, without consulting their sovereign, they dared to close the gates of the citadel against me, and actually brought forward the ordnance on the towers. On Thursday, the 16th, perceiving the pretence of alarm under which these men were screening themselves, I discontinued my visit to the palace altogether; and I then received by Mokurret Khan a note from Man Singh expressing on his part the expectation that I would concur in their views. How deeply my feelings were agonised at the thought of being excluded from the sight of my father; during the period in which I thus abstained from entering the castle of Agra, I for some time withheld myself from communicating to any man, resigning myself entirely to the will of God. Having with the advice of my truest friends discontinued my visits to the castle, I sent my son, Parviz, with an apology to my father, stating that I was prevented from attending that day by a severe pain in my head. My father, lifting up his hands in prayer for my health, sent Khwaja Weissy to entreat that if possible I would come to his presence, for that he had no longer any hope of life, particularly under the violent paroxysms of his complaint. 'Alas!'

said he, 'what a time is this that thou hast chosen to be absent from my person, when thou knowest that, on my demise, the succession to the crown is without dispute!'"

Jehangir then describes the intrigues that were going on round the death-bed of Akbar for bringing about the succession of his grandson, his own son, Prince Khosro, to the exclusion of himself. Raja Man Singh, the brother-in-law of Jehangir and maternal uncle of Khosro, and Mirza Azaz Khoka, were the principal persons in these intrigues. The latter asked the sick monarch his wishes about Khosro. To this he replied: "The decree is God's decree and of him alone is the sovereignty. For my part with one mind I retain a thousand hopes. Surely, in giving a loose to such language in my presence you have abandoned me to the jaws of death. Nevertheless it may happen that I have still some portion left in this life. If however the awful crisis be at hand—if the hour of departure be arrived—can I have forgotten the military promptitude, political sagacity and other qualities indispensable to the successful exercise of sovereign power, which at Allahabad I witnessed in Selim Shah? Neither do I find that the love and affection which I have ever borne him has for a moment been diminished. What if, through the misguidings of the Evil One, he should, for an instant, have been led astray from his filial duty, is he not my eldest born, and as such the heir to my throne: to that throne which by the institutes of my race belongs to the eldest son and never descends to him who is in years younger? But the six months, wide territory of Bengal I bestow upon Khosro. Having received these assurances from my father's lip," continues the Royal author, "the specious hypocrites repaired in numerous groups to my presence, in such throngs indeed that people had scarcely room to breathe. The chief intriguers seemed penitent of the part they had taken, and acknowledging their folly cordially resolved on yielding to me, without further opposition, every proof of submission and allegiance. . . My father sent me one of his dresses, with the turban taken from his own brows, and a message, importing that if I were reconciled to live without beholding the countenance of my father, that father, when I was absent, enjoyed neither peace nor repose. The moment I received the message, I clothed myself in the dress and in humble duty proceeded into the castle. On Tuesday, the 8th of the month, my father drew his breath with great difficulty, and his dissolution being evidently at hand he desired that I would despatch someone to summon every ameeer, without exception, to his presence 'for I cannot endure,' said he, 'that any misunderstanding should subsist between you and those who, for so many years, have shared in my toil and been the associates of my glory.

Anxious to comply with his desire, I directed Khwaja Weissy to bring the whole of them to the dying monarch's sick chamber. My father, after wistfully regarding them all around, entreated that they would bury in oblivion all the errors of which he could be justly accused, and proceeded to address them in the following terms, arranged in couplets :—

'Remember the repose and safety which blessed my reign,
The splendour and order which adorned my court, O remember,
Remember the crisis of my repentance, of my oft revolving beads,
The canopy which I prepared for the sanctuary of the Kaabah
Let the tear of affection shed rubies over my dust,
In your morning orisons turn your thoughts to my soul ;
Let your evening invocations irraditate the gloom of night,
Do not forget the anguish of the tear-flowing eye,
When the chill winds shall visit your courts like the autumnal blast,
Think on that cold hand which has so often scattered gold among you.'

"He added the following stanza of four lines :

'Did thou see how the sky shed around its flower-like fascinations ?
My soul is on the wing to escape this rage of darkness,
That bosom, which the world was too narrow to contain,
Has scarcely space enough to inspire but half a breath.'

"Here I perceived that it might indeed be this mighty monarch's latest breath and that the moment was arrived for discharging the last mournful duties of a son. In tears of anguish I approached his couch, and sobbing aloud I placed my head at my father's feet. After I had then passed in solemn sorrow thrice round him, the dying monarch, as a sign auspicious to my fortune, beckoned to me to take his favourite scimitar, Futteh-ul-Mulk (the conquest of empires), and in his presence to gird it round my waist. Having so done and again prostrated myself at his feet, I renewed my protestations of duty. So nearly was I indeed exhausted in these paroxysms of sorrow, that I found at last the utmost difficulty in drawing breath. On the evening of Wednesday, when one watch and four sections of the night were expired, my father's soul took flight to the realms above. He had however previously desired me to send for Miran Sadrjehan, in order to repeat with him the Kalma Shahdat (the Mahomedan formula of faith : there is no God but God, etc.) which he said was his wish to the last moment, still cherishing the hope that the Almighty disposer of life might yet bestow some prolongation. On his arrival I placed Sadrjehan on both knees by my father's side, and he commenced reciting the creed of the faithful. At this crisis my father desiring

me to draw near threw his arms about my neck and addressed me in the following terms :—

"'My dear boy (*baba*) take this my last farewell, for here we never meet again. Beware that thou dost not withdraw thy protecting regards from the secluded in my harem—that thou continue the same allowance for subsistence as was allotted by myself. Although my departure must cast a heavy burden upon thy mind, let not the words that are past be at once forgotten. Many a vow and many a covenant have been exchanged between us—break not the pledge which thou hast given me—forget it not. Beware! Many are the claims which have upon the soul. Be they great or be they small, do not forget them. Call to thy remembrance my deeds of martial glory. Forget not the exertions of that bounty which distributed so many a jewel. My servants and dependants, when I am gone, do not thou forget, nor the afflicted in the hour of need. Ponder word for word on all that I have said—do thou bear all in mind, and again forget me not!'

"After expressing himself as above he directed Sadrjehan once more to repeat the Kalma, and he recited the solemn text himself with a voice equally loud and distinct. He then desired the Sadr to continue repeating by his pillow the Surah Neish and another chapter of the Koran, together with the Adilah prayer, in order that he might be enabled to render up his soul with as little struggle as possible. Accordingly Sadrjehan had finished the Surah Neish, and had the last words of the prayer on his lips, when with no other symptom than a tear drop in the corner of his eye, my noble father resigned his soul into the hands of his Creator. The venerated remains of my father were now laid on those boards equally allotted to the prince and the pauper; whence after being bathed in every description of perfume, camphor, musk, and roses, a shroud for his vestment, a coffin for his chamber, they were conveyed to their last repose. One foot of the bier was supported on my own shoulder, the three others by my three sons, until we passed the gate of the castle. Hence my sons and the principal officers of my household, alternately bearing the coffin on their shoulders, proceeded all the way to Secundra where all that was mortal of the renowned Akbar was consigned to the care of heaven's treasury. Thus it was, and thus it will be, while this lower world continues to exist."

(*Autobiographical Memoirs of the Emperor Jehangir*, Tr. D. Price, 4 to 1 pp. 70-78, London, Oriental Translation. Fund, 1829).

There is another contemporary account of the death of Akbar, which is also pretty minute and confirms the account given by Jehangir. This was written by one who was in the service of Abul Fazl and

later an official of Akbar's Court, a sort of Lord Almoner, Asad Beg, and occurs in his history of the times, "Wakiat Asad Beg." He was dismissed from his service at Court by Jehangir on his accession, but was afterwards favoured by him and honoured with the title of Peshran Khan. He died in 1861. (Elliot and Dowson, Historians of India, Vol. VI, p. 150.) Asad was not present during the last illness of Akbar.

"As I, Asad, wandering in the wood of evil destiny had started for the second time as envoy to the four southern provinces, Bijapur, Golconda, Bidar, and the Carnatic, I was not present when that peerless sovereign departed this life. When the question of my embassy was in agitation, the Emperor was also projecting a combat between the elephants Chanchal and Giranbar. His Majesty now at rest ordered me not to depart till I had seen the elephant fight; but Fate had ordained otherwise and I was not sorry for it, for as I shall relate, His Majesty had cause for severe anger at that elephant fight which came off after my departure. A few days after I had left Agra, His Majesty had been taken somewhat ill, and in a short time was very much broken down. While he was in this condition the combat of the elephant Chanchal with the elephant Giranbar, belonging to the Royal Prince, came off. While the fight was going on, an angry dispute arose between the servants of Prince Selim and Sultan Khusru and both overstepped the bounds of courtesy. When His Majesty heard of it, he became exceedingly angry, vexed, and enraged, and this so much increased his illness, that the chief physician, one of the most skilful of his time in the healing art, could do nothing more. During the Emperor's illness the weight of affairs fell upon the Khan-i-Azam, and when it became evident that the life of that illustrious sovereign was drawing to a close, he consulted with Raja Man Singh, one of the principle nobles, and they agreed to make Sultan Khusru Emperor.

"They were both versed in business and possessed of great power, and determined to seize the Prince (Selim) when he came, according to his daily custom, to pay his respects at Court, thus displaying the nature of their mind, little considering that the sun cannot be smeared with mud, nor the marks of the pen of destiny be erased by the penknife of treachery. He whom the hand of the power of Allah upholds, though he be helpless in himself, is safe from all evil. The next day that chosen one of Allah, not dreaming of the treachery of his foes, went, as was his wont, to pay his respects at Court, and entered a boat with several of his attendants. They had reached the foot of the tower and were about to disembark, when Mir Zian-ul-

Mulk of Kazwin arrived in great agitation and jumped into the boat. He brought word of the hopeless state of the Emperor, and of the treachery and perfidy of those evil men. The boat returned, and His Royal Highness with weeping eyes and a sore heart re-entered his private palace, so that through the endeavours of that faithful friend and sincere well-wisher the arrow of those perfidious enemies missed its mark. When the raw attempt of those wretches had thus been brought to light, and the lofty-flying Phœnix had escaped their treacherous snare, and the curtain which concealed their intentions had been torn, they were obliged to throw off all dissimulation.

"At this time the breath was still in the Emperor's body, and all his servants and officers were assembled in the audience-room in great distress and agitation. The Khan-i-Azam and Raja Man Singh sat down, and calling all the nobles together, began to consult with them and went so far as to say, 'The character of the mighty Prince Sultan Salim is well known, and the Emperor's feelings towards him are notorious, for he by no means wishes him to be his successor. We must all agree to place Sultan Khusru upon the throne.' When this was said, Sayyad Khan, who was one of the great nobles and connected with the Royal house, and descended from an ancient and illustrious Mughal family, cried out, 'Of what do you speak, that in the existence of a Prince like Salim Shah, we should place his son upon the throne! This is contrary to the laws and customs of the Chagatai Tatars and shall never be.' He and Malik Khan, who was also a great chief and well-skilled in business with others of their opinion, rose and left the assembly."

After describing how these machinations were foiled and the accession of Prince Salim was settled, Asad proceeds: "As soon as the Prince was relieved from all anxiety as to the course affairs were taking, he went with the great nobles and Mir Murtaza Khan at their head, without fear, to the fort, and approached the dying Emperor. He was still breathing, as if he had only waited to see that illustrious one. As soon as that most fortunate Prince entered, he bowed himself at the feet of His Majesty. He saw that he was in his last agonies. The Emperor once more opend his eyes and signed to them to invest him with the turban and robes which had been prepared for him, and to gird him with his own dagger. The attendants prostrated themselves and did homage; at the same moment that sovereign, whose sins are forgiven, bowed himself also, and closed his life. A loud lamentation arose on all sides, and groans and cries ascended from the world and race of men, and the voices of the angelic cherubims were heard

saying, 'God created him and to God he has returned.' When the Emperor Akbar died, groans arose from earth to heaven.

"After that sad occurrence the gracious Emperor Jehangir had all his confidential servants and faithful friends perform the obsequies of the deceased sovereign, with all the ceremonies due to his rank. When they had gone through the funeral rites prescribed by religion and tradition, and had arranged the royal corpse in all state, the Emperor, in great pomp with weeping eyes and a sad heart, took the foot of the bier of the deceased king upon his shoulder, and carried it as far as the door of the public reception room; from thence the great nobles, each anxious for the honour, relieving one another in quick succession, carried His Majesty as far as the gate of the fort. Thence the nobles and ministers, and courtiers, and imams and all his servants and troops, followed the bier with heads and feet uncovered."

From this account it seems that Asad Beg must have seen Jehangir's narrative which it follows closely. Jehangir circulated his memoirs among his friends and courtiers, and it is likely that Asad Beg also was among these. He was at first in disgrace with the new monarch, but in the end succeeded in pleasing him so far that a title was conferred on him. In his chronicle he shows that he was anxious to please Jehangir, and it may very likely have been one of the means by which he regained favour. We might, therefore, safely dismiss this account as being merely an echo of the "Wakiat-i-Jehangiri."

There is a third and a short account of Akbar's death in the "Takhmila-i-Akbarnama." This work is, as its name implies, a continuation of the great work of Abul Fazl, who had recorded the history of forty-six years of Akbar's reign when he was murdered. Inayutulla, at the Emperor's command, wrote the account of the last four years, and this is usually found bound up with manuscripts of the Akbarnama of Abul Fazl. (Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VI., p. 103.) In this work Inayatulla says: "On Monday, the 12th Aban, corresponding with the 20th Jumada awwal 1014 Hijra (September 1605), an illness insinuated itself into the frame of the Emperor and he became indisposed. Hakim Ali, who was the most skilful of physicians, was summoned to attend. After considering the symptoms, he refrained for eight days from administering medicine, in the hope that His Majesty's vigour of constitution would overcome the disease. On the ninth day, the debility and symptoms appeared to be aggravated, so the physician resorted to the remedies of his art; but they produced no good effect for ten days. The complaint in the bowels increased, and the limbs lost their power. It then became evident

that recovery was hopeless, and that the collar of the world was in the clutches of the Fates. On the 9th Azur, when the age of His Majesty had reached the period of 65 lunar years, he bade adieu to life in the capital of Agra, and took his departure to the paradise of love. On the following day his sacred remains were borne by men of all ranks in stately and becoming pomp to the grave and were entered in the garden of Bihishtabad." (*Takhmilai-Akbarnama, apud* Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VI., p. 115.)

The great and famous historical work of Ferishta, who was also a contemporary of Akbar, beyond whose reign it does not go very far, as it stops at 1612, touches slightly on this subject and says that the death of Akbar was due to his grief at the death of his favourite son, Prince Daniel. "On the 1st of Zehuj (8th April) Prince Daniel died in the city of Burhampore owing to excess of drinking. His death, and the circumstances connected with it, so much affected the King, who was in a declining state of health, that he every day became worse, till on the 13th of Jemadi Sani, in the year 1014, he died after a reign of 51 years and some months." (fr. Briggs, Vol. II., p. 280.)

These are all the contemporary Mahomedan accounts of Akbar's death that are to be found now. In fact they reduce themselves to one account, namely, that of Jehangir. Now Jehangir in spite of his prolixity of detail and of circumstance, does not mention exactly what disease it was precisely that attacked Akbar. He says that indigestion was the complaint, but that could not have lasted so long, and besides it ought to have been amenable to the skill of the court physicians. And here is another difficulty. Hakim Ali, the physician, seems to have grossly blundered, or worse. And stranger still, Jehangir says he took no notice of it. Here is a royal physician who, when his imperial master is seriously ill, refrains for full eight days from giving him any medicine! And the Emperor's son takes no notice of his incompetence or criminal folly. And the reason Jehangir gives shows that he carried his good nature to excess. "If thought I," says he, "God's destiny and the blunders of the medical class did not sometimes concur we should never die." He actually said so to the physician and pardoned him! There are here many grounds for suspicion. Jehangir evidently was very complacent to the man who nearly killed his father! Mr. Talboys Wheeler indeed suggests that Jehangir actually employed Hakim Ali, the court physician, to poison Akbar, and says that he was capable of such a crime. (History of India, Vol. IV., Pt. I., p. 188 n.). This is too much. Jehangir was an indolent voluptuary, but he was not a determined murderer. He needlessly opposed his father, but it was not in him to go to the length

of murder. Had he the strength of character and determined will of his grandson, Aurangzib, he would have been a parricide like him. But his weak good nature is clearly portrayed in all his actions, and was such as to keep him from so foul a crime.

Moreover, there was no motive for such an unnatural crime on the part of the pleasure-seeking Prince. During his father's last illness there was a formidable intrigue going on for passing him over in the line of succession and putting his son, Khosro, on the throne after Akbar's expected death. Akbar was old, nearing seventy, and in uncertain health after the death of Prince Daniel, Jehangir's brother and rival. Jehangir, if he would have his way to the throne made smooth and clear, would have removed not the dying monarch, whose end was but the question of months, but his own son whom Akbar was known to prefer to him as his successor. At least he would have been more likely to benefit by the death of his son than of his father. But such determined villainy, we think, lay not in him. What he says about his own disposition to forgive his son Khosro seems quite true, and is in conformity with his general character. This son's conduct at a later time during his own reign reminds him of his conduct during his father's illness, and he says: "He refrained through folly and a false sense of shame from recurring to the only remedy by which he could have been saved from ruin. For, as I stand in the presence of God, had the unhappy Khosro at this moment of returning shame and remorse presented himself before me, not only would his offence have been overlooked, but his place in my esteem would have been higher than anything he had previously enjoyed. Of this he had already experienced the strongest proof, when after his implied conduct during the illness of my father, which I must have suspected to have risen from hostile views and motives of the most dangerous nature, yet on his bare expression of repentance and a returning sense of duty I freely banished from my mind every unfavourable impression.' (*Wakiat*, p. 70.) This is true; he forgave the intrigue in favour of Khosro's accession, and not only Khosro but the other intriguers also. Such a man could not have been an accessory to his own father's murder.

What then was Akbar's illness, the course of which his son describes minutely without alluding to the cause? The Mahomedan accounts we have seen throw no light on it. But there are two European accounts which clear up the mystery. Unfortunately of Akbar's court and times we have no contemporary account by any European travellers who have left a full narrative behind them. The full and interesting European accounts of the Mughal Court begin some years

after Akbar's death, with Sir Thomas Roe's narrative of his Embassy to Jehangir's Court. Had we possesed a narrative like Bernier's and Tavernier's, or even like Mandelslo's or Thevenot's for Akbar's reign, we would have a good criterion for judging the Persian historians of that reign, as we possess in these travellers' accounts a criterion for the reigns of the son, grandson and great-grandson of Akbar,—Jehangir, Shah Jehan and Aurangzib. The Catholic priests who were invited by Akbar to his court from time to time had nearly all left before his death, and can therefore tell us nothing about it.

But there is an European account of Akbar's death which was written only a few years after and published in 1631, and which may be said to be almost a contemporary narrative. It was written by Peter van den Broecke, the first President of the Dutch Factory at Surat who came to India ten years after Akbar's death. He became Director of the Dutch trade in the East in 1620 and was an important personage (cf. Foster, *Embassy of Roe*, Vol. II., p. 408). He very likely visited the Mughal court to obtain privileges for his nation when Sir Thomas Roe was there. (Anderson "English in Western India," 1854, p. 19.) He wrote, with the other Dutch factors at Surat, an account of Mughal history from Humayun down to 1628. For the later years this account has the value of a contemporary authority, as the authors were at the time in India. Probably some of the information was supplied by the Mughal's Viceroy at Surat and other high officials with whom the Dutch came into contact. This chronicle was published by the famous Dutch author Johannes De Laët in his Latin work on India called "*De Imperio Magni Mogolis Sive India Vera;* commentarius e varius auctoribus congestus :" published at Leyden in 1631 by the famous printers, the Elzevirs. This dainty volume is excessively rare and therefore not much consulted by modern writers, who have, however, much to glean from it. Sir Roper Lethbridge wrote several years ago about a copy which he had used in these terms : "The fact that it does not appear to have been consulted by any of the modern writers on Indian subjects is to be explained by the difficulty of procuring a copy of the book. The most careful enquiry in England and India has failed to discover a second copy, either in the market or in a library, and consequently I am justified in assuming that the copy used by me is at present practically unique."

I was long hunting for this work of De Laët, and but lately succeeded in procuring a copy of this very scarce book. Probably only a very few copies were printed by the Elzevirs, and this accounts for the great difficulty in procuring one. The copy in my possession is one of the two copies that are said to exist in India. On communication

with Sir Roper Lethbridge, he has kindly requested me to collaborate with him in publishing a translation for the Hakluyt Society. This work deserves to be known for the excellent topographical account that it contains of the Moghal Empire when it was at its zenith. On account of the great rarity of the work, and also on account of the fact that it is in Latin, it is almost unknown.

The fragment of Mughal History occupies the tenth and last section of the book and forms a large part of the whole. De Laët thus speaks of its authorship: "nostratum observationes, et imprimis insigne illud Historiæ Indicæ fragmentum humaniter nobis communicavit insignis vir Petrus van den Broecke, qui aliquot annis Surattæ hæsit et negotia Societatis Indicæ Orientalis cum fide adminstravit." "The observations of my countrymen and especially the fragment of the history of India, have been communicated to us by the well-known Peter van den Broecke, who was for several years a resident at Surat, and conducted the affairs of our East India Company." This he says in his preface to the very kind reader—præfatio ad humanissimum lectorem. The fragment was originally written in Dutch from which de Laët translated it into Latin. As he says in the separate preface to this section: "Fragmentum nos e Belgico, quod è genuino illis Regni Chronico expressum credimus libere vertisse servata ubique Historiæ fide." "We have translated freely—though everywhere we have preserved faithfulness to historical truth—from the Dutch this fragment which we believe is based on a genuine chronicle of that kingdom." From this we think it very probable that Van den Broecke had access to the original chronicle in Chagatai and Persian which was kept by the Great Mughals of their doings. Manucci, the court physician of Aurangzib, as we shall see presently, had also access to it and embodies information obtained from it in his memoirs in Portuguese. The Persian courtly chroniclers, from whom chiefly our account of Akbar times and those of his immediate successors are derived, suppressed whatever they liked, especially whatever they thought was not flattering to the sovereign. The "Akbar Nama" of Abul Fazl is an illustration of this, who suppresses unscrupulously and without hesitation everything that does not tend to the credit of his patron, and consequently his work is a picture in which there is all light and no shade, and therefore not a trustworthy history. His work, however valuable from other points of view, has not much value for a just estimate of Akbar's reign and character. His object was to present to posterity the most favourable portrait of his imperial patron to whom he owed everything.

But European observers had and could have no motive in suppressing all adverse information. Hence we find them copying from the genuine chronicle everything they found important without regard to its bearing on the King's character. Hence we find in van den Broecke the following account of his death, which is very likely taken from the court chronicle—*e genuino illud Regni Chronico*, as de Laët calls it :—

"Tandem Rex (Akbar) Myrzæ Ghazæ Zianii filio qui Sindæ et Tattæ imperaverat, ob arrogans verbum quod ipse, forte exciderat, iratus, cum veneno e medio tollere decrevit : et in eum finem medico suo mandavit, ut binas ejusdem formæ et molis pillulas pararet et earum alteram veneno infceret : hane Gaziæ dare proposuerat, medicam ipse sumere ; sed insigni errore res in contrarium vertit, nam Rex quum pillulas manu aliquamdiu versasset, Ghaziæ quidem innoxiam pillulam dedit, venenatam vero ipsemet sumsit : Seriusque errore animadverso, quum iam veneni vis venas pervassiset, antidota frustra adhibita fuerunt ; itaque Rex salute nondum desperata, Xa-Selim, invisenti tulbantum quidem suum imposuit, cinxitque illum gladio patris sui Humayonis, sed extra palatium operiri iussit, neque ad se ingredi antequam convaluisset. Obiit autem Rex duodecimo post die anno Mahometano 1014 postquam annos 60 felicissime imperasset." "At length, the king being angry with Mirza Ghazi, the son of Ziani (Jani) who had been Governor of Sind and Tatta, on account of some overbearing words he had accidentally let fall, determined to get him out of the way by poison : and he ordered his physician with this object to have ready two pills of the same shade and size, into one of which poison should be put. He had intended to give this to Ghazi, and to take the harmless pill himself ; but by an extraordinary error things turned out quite in the contrary way, for the King mixed up the two after he had kept them for a time in his hands, gave the harmless pill to the Ghazi, and himself took the poisoned one. Afterwards when the error was found out when already the poison had begun to act on his blood, antidotes were administered but to no purpose. The King, therefore, before all hopes of his recovery were given up, put his own tulbant (turban) on the head of Sha Selim and girded him with the sword of his father Humayun, but he ordered him to be shut out of the palace and not to come near him till he should recover. The King, however, died on the twelfth day after this in the Mahomedan year 1014 (A.H.), having ruled most prosperously for 60 years."

There is evidently a misprint here in de Laët's excellently printed volume : 60 should be 50. Akbar's reign fell short by a few months

of a half century ; though according to the Mahomedan reckoning, which is lunar, a reign for nearly 52 years. Akbar himself had adopted the solar reckoning with the ancient Parsi Calendar in his reign.[*]

This account of van den Broecke as given by de Laët is not generally known, and it is certainly startling. It upsets the common notion that Akbar was a good ruler scorning everything base. That he was such for the greater part of his rule no one who knows his history will question. But those who have fully studied history know, what is not generally known, that in the latter part of his reign Akbar degenerated, and during his last years he was hardly the good and great monarch of his best days. But this is a subject on which we should not like to dwell, especially on the occasion of his Tercentenary. His degeneration is very pathetic and shows that however great as he was, he did not escape for very long the defects of his age and environment. That may be treated on another occasion. As for historical truth it is very necessary that we should know Akbar as he really was at all times and periods, in his zenith as well as nadir. Let it suffice here to say that van den Broecke's account appears to me to be probable, and it is only of probabilities that we can speak ; certainty is out of the question. The Dutch writer was mostly copying from the court chronicle, and he had no reason to invent the story if he did not find it there. He had nothing to do with the politics of the Mughal court and had no side to take, either Jehangir's, or Khosro's; or anybody else's. Moreover, he did not write for the Indian or indeed any public at all. His historical fragment was written for the private information of his employers at home in Holland, and when he came to know that de Laët was writing a description of real India as he called it—" Descriptio Indiæ Veræ " he called his work—he communicated it to him for publication. If he was misled in his account, he was misled in good faith. If the account is invented, it is certainly not by him. How could he have invented such a circumstantial story as this? He must have found it in India. Now there is no Persian source from which he could have taken it, except the court chronicle which he professes to have used, for no Persian history that is known to us contains such an account. The account bears *primâ facie* signs of being true.

That the Mughal court chronicle is the source of Broecke's information, receives confirmation from the fact that Manucci, who had undoubted access to it, has the same story to account for the death of Akbar. Manucci was for forty-eight years at the Mughal court of Shah Jehan and Aurangzib, under the latter of whom he was court

[*] See my article in the *Calcutta Review*, January 1897 : " Akbar and the Parsis" pp 105—126.

physician. He wrote his memoirs in Portuguese, and on these manuscript memoirs Catrou has based his history of the Mughals so important for a right understanding of that period as the only trustworthy European account. For the reign of Akbar it is particularly valuable, as Catrou uses also the accounts written by the Jesuit priests at Akbar's court. Manucci's memoirs are hitherto known only through Catrou's work. But recently Mr. Irvine, late of the Indian Civil Service, has discovered the greater part of these memoirs in the original in two or three libraries in Venice and Paris: and is at present, I learn, engaged in editing them in four volumes for the Indian Government (Buckland, *Dict., Indian Biography*,). He has given a brief account of his interesting discovery before the Royal Asiatic Society in 1903.

Catrou thus gives Manucci's account: "One day when the Mughal was hunting in the environs of Agra, he lost sight of his attendants, and being much fatigued sat himself down at the foot of a tree which afforded a welcome shade. Whilst he was trying to compose himself to sleep, he saw approaching him one of those long caterpillars, of a flame colour, which are to be found only in the Indies. He pierced it through with an arrow, which he drew from his quiver. A little time afterwards, an antelope made its appearance, within bow shot. The Emperor took aim at it, with the same arrow with which he had pierced the caterpillar. Notwithstanding the antelope received the shaft in a part of its body, which was not susceptible of a mortal wound, the animal instantaneously expired. The hunters of the prince, who opened the beast, found the flesh black and corrupted, and all the dogs who ate of it died immediately. The Emperor knew from this circumstance, the extreme venom of the poison of the caterpillar. He commanded one of the officers of his suite to get it conveyed to his palace. It was on this occasion, that the Emperor created the office of poisoner, an office till then unknown to the Mughal Government. By the instrumentality of this new officer, Akbar quietly disposed of the nobles and the Rajas whom he believed to be concerned in the conspiracy of Mustapha. Poisoned pills were compounded for him, which he obliged them to take in his presence. The poison was slow in its operation, but no remedies could obviate its mortal effects. This pernicious invention proved fatal to its author. Akbar carried always about him a gold box, which was divided into three compartments. In one was his betel, in another the cordial pills, which he used after a repast, and in the third were the poisoned pills. One day it happened that he took inadvertently one of the poisoned pills and became himself a victim to its fatal power. He immediately felt himself struck

with death. He, in vain, made trial of all the remedies prescribed for him by the Portuguese physicians. His illness was a lingering one, and he died in the year 1605." (*History of Mughal Dynasty*, pp. 133-4, ed. 1826.)

It is evident that Catrou, who wrote his history in 1715, did not copy from de Laët this account ; but that both took from a common source, the one which they avow, the Mughal court chronicle. Their accounts of Akbar's death supplement each other. Catrou knew of de Laët's work, which he thus mentions in connection with the very source we are discussing : "I had no reason to doubt the existence in the archives of the Mughal Empire, of an exact chronicle, in which the principal events were narrated at length. It is from memoirs drawn from the chronicle, that Jean Laët has composed his notice of the Mughal States. He speaks of it in the following terms : Nos fragmentum e Belgico quod genuino illius Regni Chronico expressum credimus libere vertimus. I had, moreover, the most convincing evidence attainable in such matters, of the veracity of the Mughal chronicle, of which I possessed a translation in the Portuguese tongue. M. Manucci assures us that he has caused it to be translated with great care from the original lodged in the palace written in the Persian language. The Venetian does not appear to have been sparing of expense that he might be enabled to transmit to Europe exact documents of the Empire in which he resided. He has procured portraits to be painted at a great charge, by the artists of the harem, of the Emperors and the eminent men of the Mughal Empire." It is interesting to note that these paintings have been discovered in the Library of St. Mark, at Venice, by Mr. Irvine.

So much, therefore, about the authenticity of the accounts of de Laët and of Manucci as given by Catrou. No reasonable doubt can be thrown on it and on the fact that they are based in the chronicle of the Mughals themselves. The Persian writers have suppressed its narrative of Akbar's death, as they justly thought it to be very damaging to the memory of that great monarch. But historical truth demands that we should know it, however much we may regret the necessity of bringing it into notice. All the accounts of Akbar's death, as Sir R. Lethbridge says, have been derived either from the narrative of Jehangir himself, or from other sources almost equally interested in maintaining the good reputation of the Imperial family. (*Calcutta Review*, Vol. LVII, p. 200.) Nearly all modern accounts, (Elphinstone's, p. 531), Mr. Keene's (*History* of *Hindustan*, p. 59, 1885), Malleson's (*Akbar*, pp. 41-4, 1890), Count de Noer's (Vol. II, p. 425), follow Jehangir's or Asad Beg's story we have given at the

beginning. Only Mr. Talboys Wheeler rejects it and follows Catrou. But not having seen de Laët's account he makes the mistake of supposing that Jehangir caused him to be poisoned. Count de Noer says in a note (Vol. II, p. 425) that Mr. Wheeler should not have given credence to the poison story. But beyond saying that it is "palpably correct," which it certainly is not, he advances no ground for disbelieving it. He, indeed, says "it deserves no refutation." It stands, indeed, in great need of refutation if it can be refuted. But de Noer was a very enthusiastic admirer of Akbar, and he naturally refuses to believe anything derogatory to the consistently high character which he has imagined for his hero. Moreover, the second volume of his work was published posthumously from his papers by his Secretary, Dr. Gustav ven Buchwald, and we must make allowance for this, while finding fault with his beautiful panegyric rather than history. An instance of the want of care in this part of the work is afforded by the fact that Mr. Wheeler's authority for his statement is not Tod, as is said in de Noer's work, but Catrou. Mr. Wheeler refers to Catrou in the passage referred to in the second volume of de Noer.

A third European account of Akbar's death is that by the celebrated English traveller, Sir Thomas Herbert, who came to India and was at Agra in 1628-29. He wrote at almost the same time as van den Broecke, with whose account his very closely agrees.

"Ecbar taking distaste," says Herbert, "against Mirza Ghashaw (the Viceroy of Tutta's son, and formerly high in his favour) for speaking one word which Ecbar ill interpreted, no submission will serve his turn, no less than his life must pay for it. To which end the King's physician was directed to prepare two pills of like shape, but contrary operation; Ghashaw must be trusted with them, and bring them to Ecbar; who (imagining by a private mark he knew the right) bids Ghashaw swallow the other. Ghashaw ignorant of the deceit, by chance light upon the best, so as Ecbar by mistake was poysoned. Too soon the miserable Mogol perceives his errour, and too late repents his choler; but (for shame concealing the cause) after fourteen days' torment and successless trial to expel the poyson yields up the ghost, in the 73rd year of his age, and 52 of his reign; and with all possible solemnity in Tzekander (three course from Agray) in a monument which he had prepared, that great Monarch was buried." (Hebert, *Travels into Africa and Asia the Great*, p. 75, ed. 1665.)

The Mughal court chronicle's account of Akbar's death, as given by de Laët, Mannuci, Catrou and Herbert receives confirmation from another and an independent source. In the chronicles of Rajputs it is stated that Akbar died of poison. Akbar came into great and constant con-

tact with the Rajputs with whose great ruling families he allied himself by marriage. They certainly ought to know the truth about his death. Tod thus relates the story in his chronicles of the Rajputs of Mewar : "If the annalist of the Boondi State can be relied upon, the very act which caused Akbar's death will make us pause ere we subscribe to these testimonies of the worth of departed greatness ; and disregarding the adage of only speaking good of the dead, compel us to institute, in imitation of the ancient Egyptians, a posthumous inquest on the character of the monarch of the Mughals. The Boondi records are well worthy of belief, as diaries of events were kept by her princes, who were of the first importance in this and the succeeding reigns ; and they may be more likely to throw a light upon points of character of a tendency to disgrace the Mughal king than the historians of his court, who had every reason to withhold such. A desire to be rid of the great Raja Man of Amber, to whom he was so much indebted, made the Emperor descend to act the part of the assassin. He prepared a *majoom*, or confection, a part of which contained poison ; but caught in his own snare, he presented the innoxious portion to the Rajput and ate that drugged with death himself. We have a sufficient clue to the motives which influenced Akbar to a deed so unworthy of him, and which was more fully developed in the reign of his successor ; namely, a design on the part of Raja Man to alter the succession, and that Khosro, his nephew, should succeed instead of Selim. With such a motive, the aged Emperor might have admitted with less scruple the advice which prompted an act he dared not openly undertake, without exposing the throne in his latter days to the dangers of civil contention, as Raja Man was too powerful to be openly assaulted." (*Rajasthan*, Vol. I, p. 351—2 ed. 1829.)

This account agrees in the main point with the other accounts ; but differs in the details as to the person who was to be poisoned and why. These were not matters of fact but of opinion, and opinions may vary. But whether Akbar intended to poison Raja Man Singh, his Rajput wife's brother, or any other noble, it is pretty clear that he unwittingly poisoned himself. This, let it be repeated once again, is a very melancholy conclusion to which to come to, and I wish I could avoid coming to it. But I think it cannot be helped. It is melancholy to reflect that Akbar after all did not escape the dangers of his high and irresponsible position as an unconstitutional autocrat.

About the exact date of Akbar's death there is not much doubt. All who chronicle it have given dates which, *inter se*, agree except Jehangir, who puts it ten days later ; but he is evidently mistaken, and his dates throughout are somewhat confused. Inayutulla, in the work

above quoted, "Takmila-i-Akbar Nama," gives the date as 12th of Jemada-i-Akhir or the latter Jemada of 1014 of the Hijra era. Ferishta has the 13th of the same month. This difference of a day does not matter much. Muhamad Amin in his "Anfan-l-Akbar" gives the 12th (Elliot, VI, 248) and agrees with these. Abdul Baki says that Akbar died on 23rd Jemada-i-Auwal or the first Jemada. Here "Auwal" is evidently a mistake for "Akhir." The year 1014 commenced on 9th May 1605 (Sewell and Dikhshit, Indian Calendar, p. CXXXIV, Table XVI), from which the 12th Jemada-i-Akhir would be 12th and 13th October 1605, as the Musalman day commenced at sunset.

The duration of Akbar's reign was from Rabi-ul-Akhir, 963, to Jemad-i-Akhir 1014, that is, 51 years and 2 months. These are lunar years, which are equal to 49 solar years and 7 months. According to English reckoning he reigned from March 1556 to October 1605. (Cf. Table of Akbar's regnal years in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. V, p. 246; Sewell and Dikhshit, op. cit. p. CXXXIII.) Akbar, therefore, missed his Jubilee of half a century by only 5 months. But he might have celebrated his Jubilee according to the original Jewish or Biblical reckoning, and I believe French reckoning too—at the commencement of his fiftieth year, *i.e.*, when he had completed his seven weeks of years, $7 \times 7 = 49$. (Leviticus, XXV. 8.)

Akbar is buried at Secundra, a village five miles from Agra the capital that he had built and so lavishly decorated, in one of the most splendid buildings in which such a soul could love to linger amid the stately piles that he had erected. This mausoleum, this "sculptured sorrow" as Ruskin well called such structures, was designed and partly built by Akbar himself. But it was left incomplete at his death and never finished according to his design. Beautiful as it is, it strikes the practised eye as imperfect and incomplete. And we may fancy, it is better so. It symbolises in a striking manner the incompleteness of his work for India. He was a man of vast designs and noble visions. Many of these he lived to see realised. But many, too, remained mere designs. They were never carried out by him in his later years, and in his successors' times his noble visions were chased away. Well has the great poet of England represented this monarch as dreaming and having a presentiment that his noble work was incomplete and would be rendered still more so by his sons and successors:

> "I dream'd
> That stone by stone I rear'd a sacred fane,
> A temple, neither Pagod, Mosque, nor Church,
> But loftier, simpler, always open door'd

To every breath from heaven, and Truth and Peace,
And Love and Justice came and dwelt therein ;
But while we stood rejoicing, I and thou,
I heard a mocking laugh, 'the new Koran !'
And on the sudden, and with a cry 'Saleem'
Thou, thou, I saw thee falling before me, and then
Me too the black-winged Azrael overcame.
But Death had ears and eyes ; I watch'd my son,
And those that follow'd, loosen stone from stone,
All my fair work."

His son tampered with the design of this mausoleum as he tampered with so many of his father's designs. In another way the last resting place of this great monarch is symbolical of him and his work. Its design is Hindu, rather Buddistic, and not Mahomedan. He seems to have purposely done this to mark his predilection for by far the larger proportion of his subjects. Everything Hindu had a great attraction for him ; he allied himself with Hindu princely families by marrying Rajput wives and encouraged his nobles to do likewise ; he adopted many of the Hindu customs, and almost totally abstained from the flesh of the cow and other such animals ; he borrowed also much from their religion in his new "Ileshi Faith." In fact, he was more a Hindu than a Mahomedan. The Hindus believe Akbar to have been in a former birth a Brahman saint. (*Vide* Sir M. Monier Williams' *Brahmanism and Hinduism*, p. 318, ed. 1891.) It was therefore in the fitness of things that his mortal remains should rest (on this earth) in a building designed after the old Hindu model, more like one of those Buddist *viharas* than any Mahomedan mausoleum. Then also in death, as in life, he showed his disregard for the precepts of the faith of his fathers, and ordered his body to be buried with his face turned towards the rising sun, which he adored in life, following the Hindus and Parsis in this respect, and turned away from Mecca,—a position contrary to that of all Mahomedans.

The historian of Indian architecture, Fergusson, has well described this noble building in a way to give us an idea of its excellence as well as defects :—

"Perhaps the most characteristic of Akbar's buildings is the tomb he commenced to erect for himself at Secundra, near Agra, which is quite unlike any other tomb built in India either before or since, and of a design borrowed, as I believe, from a Hindu or, more correctly, Buddist model. It stands in an extensive garden, still kept up, approached by one noble gateway. In the centre of this garden, on a raised platform, stands the tomb itself, of a pyramidal form. The lower storey measures 320 ft. each way, exclusive of the angle towers.

It is 30 ft. in height, and pierced by ten great arches on each face, and with a larger entrance adorned with a mosaic of marble in the centre.

"On this terrace stands another far more ornate, measuring 186 ft. on each side, and 14 ft. 9 in. in height. A third and a fourth of a similar design, and respectively 15 ft. 2 in. and 14 ft. 6 in. high, stand on this, all these being of red sandstone. Within and above the last is a white marble enclosure 157 ft. each way, or externally just half the length of the lowest terrace, its outer wall entirely composed of marble trellis-work of the most beautiful pattern. Inside it is surrounded by a colonnade or cloister of the same material, in the centre of which, on a raised platform, is the tombstone of the founder, a splendid piece of the most beautiful arabesque tracery. This, however, is not the true burial-place; but the mortal remains of this great king repose under a far plainer tombstone in a vaulted chamber in the basement 35 ft. square, exactly under the simulated tomb that adorns the summit of the mausoleum.

"At first sight it might appear that the design of this curious and exceptional tomb was either a caprice of the monarch who built it, or an importation from abroad. My impression, on the contrary, is that it is a direct imitation of some such building as the old Buddist *viharas* which may have existed, applied to other purposes in Akbar's time. Turning to the representations of the great *rath* at Mahavellipore, it will be seen that the number and proportion of the storeys is the same. The pavilions that adorn the upper storeys of Akbar's tomb appear distinct reminiscences of the cells that stand on the edge of each of the rock-cut example. If the tomb had been crowned by a domical chamber over the tombstone, the likeness would have been so great that no one could mistake it, and my conviction is, that such a chamber was part of the original design. No such royal tomb remains open exposed to the air in any Indian mausoleum; and the raised platform in the centre of the upper cloister, 38 ft. square, looks so like its foundation that I cannot help believing it was intended for that purpose. As the monument now stands, the pyramid has a truncated and unmeaning aspect. The total height of the building now is a little more than 100 ft. to the top of the angle pavilions; and a central dome 30 or 40 ft. higher, which is the proportion that the base gives, seems just what is wanted to make this tomb as beautiful in outline and in proportion as it is in detail. Had it been so completed, it certainly would have ranked next the Taj among Indian mausolea.)"

(Fergusson, Indian and Eastern Architecture, pp. 583—5, ed. 1876.)

To support his theory that this noble structure is unfinished and that it lacks the central dome, which must have been a feature of the original design, Fergusson quotes from the English traveller Finch, whose journal, as given by Purchas in his famous collection, he says he saw after he had formed his theory. Finch resided for several years in Agra at the beginning of Jehangir's reign and saw the mausoleum while it was building, about 1609. "At my last sight thereof there was only overhead a rich tent with a semiane over the tomb. But it is to be *inarched* over with the most curious white and speckled marble and to be seeled all within with pure sheet gold richly inwrought." (Purchas, his Pilgrims, Vol. I, p. 400, ed. 1626.) There is another account contemporary with the above, and written also by an English traveller who saw this mausoleum in course of erection, which Fergusson might have quoted, as it is also given in Purchas' collection.

Fergusson might have quoted the testimony of another traveller who was in India at the end of Jehangir's and the beginning of Shah Jehan's reign, 1627—28, Sir Thomas Herbert, who, too, says that the mausoleum was not completed even more than twenty years after Akbar's death. "At Secundra, three course (or five miles) from Agra, as we go to Lahor, is the mausoleum or burial place of the Great Moguls, the foundation of which was begun by Ecbar, the superstructure continued by Jangheer, his son, and is yet scarce finished, albeit they have already consumed 14 millions of roopees in that Wonder of India."—Travels into Africa and Asia the Great, p. 67, ed. 1665).

Herbert continues his account as follows :—"It well merits a little more in that descr ption. It is called Scander, *i.e.*, Alexander, a place where the greatest of Grecian Kings made his *ne plus* when he made his utmost progress or march into India; which place Ecbar, the most magnifique Prince of Tamerlane's race, selected as the noblest place of burial. 'Tis a mausoleum of four large squares, each side has about three hundred paces; the material is free-stone well polished; at each angle is raised a small tower of party-coloured or chequered marble: ten foot higher than that is another tower, on every side beautified with three towers; the third gallery has two on each side; the fourth, one; the fifth, half; and a small square gallery or tarrass about mounting in the whole to a royal Pyree, resembling not a little that famous *Septizonium Severi Imper.* in ancient Rome which you have represented in sculpture by Laurus, or (but in far less proportion) that famous tower which Semiramis built in Babylon, and dedicated to the memory of Jupiter Belus, her husband's great Ancestor. In this at the very top within is the mummy of Ecbar, bedded in a coffin of gold. The whole structure is built in the midst of a spacious garden, which is surrounded with a wall of red-coloured stone, and in that is a rail mounted by six stairs, which discovers a little garden, but exquisitely beautiful and delightful; so that of this noble fabric I may say,

Ædes est, qualis toto Sol aureus Orbe Vix videt—

Such a monument,

The Sun through all the world sees none more gent,"

(Herbert, Travels, p. 67, ed. 1665.) The name Secundra is derived not, as here fancifully suggested, from Secunder or Alexander the Great, but from Secunder Lodi, the great Afghan ruler of India from 1483—1517.

Captain William Hawkins also saw the tomb of Akbar before completion, while he was at Agra in 1611. His journey thither and residence at the court of Jehangir may be looked upon, says Sir Clement Markham, as the opening scene in the history of the English in India. (Hawkins' Voyages, p. xlv, Hakluyt Soc. Edition). Hawkins, it may be added, was induced by Jehangir to marry the daughter of Mabarik Khan, an Armenian who went to England and died on his voyage home at the Cape in 1613. His description, given by Purchas in 1626 in his "Pilgrims," is as follows :—"After I had written this, there came into my memory another Feast, solemnized at his Father's Funerall, which is kept at his Sepulchre, where likewise himselfe with all his posterity, meane to be buried. Upon this day there is great store of victualls dressed, and much money given to the poore. This Sepulchre may be counted one of the rarest Monuments of the world. It hath beene this fourteene yeares a building, and it is thought it will not be finished these seven yeares more, in ending gates and walls, and other needfull things for the beautifying and setting of it forth. The least that worke there daily, are three thousand people ; but thus much I will say, that one of our workmen will dispatch more than three of them. The Sepulchre is some ¾ of a mile about, made square ; it hath seven heights built, every height narrower than the other, till you come to the top where his Herse is. At the outermost gate before you come to the Sepulchre, there is a most stately Palace building : the compasse of the wall to this gate of the Sepulchre and garding, being within, may be at least three miles. This Sepulchre is some foure miles distant from the citee of Agra." (*Apud* Hawkins' Voyages (Hakluyt Society's ed., 1878, p. 442.)

In this extract from William Hawkins given by Purchas there is also just a reference to Akbar's death without any details. "This Selim Padasha being in rebellion, his father dispossessed him, and proclaimed haire apparent his eldest Sonne Cossero (Khosru), being eldest Sonne to Sehinsha, for his owne Sonnes, younger Brothers to Selim, were all dead in Decan and Guzerat; yet shortly after his Father dyed, who in his death-bed had mercy on Selim, possessing him againe." (*Ibid*, p. 428.) Another European traveller who was in India within three years after Akbar's death, in 1608, at the same time as William Hawkins, to whom he refers, Pyrard de Leval, also slightly alludes to the death in the following passage in his book of travels: "When this prince Achebar died all India was in disquietude and alarm, for the war that was feared would ensue in those parts ; for that king was greatly dreaded and feared of all the other Indian kings. And it can be said with assurance that he is lord of the fairest and best countries and of the most valiant people in the world as the Tartars are. Many of his people, too, are exceedingly rich and cultivated. None speak of the Turk in all the Indies, but only of the great Achebar ; and when his subject-kings themselves speak of him, they bow their heads in token of respect." (Voyage of Pyrard de Leval, Vol. II., pt. I., pp. 252-3, Hakluyt Soc. ed.)

Shortly after William Hawkins and Finch had written their accounts, Edward Terry, who came as a chaplain in Sir Thomas Roe's train to

the Moghul Court, thus described the tomb. Though published in 1655, his account was written somewhat earlier :

"Amongst many very fair piles there dedicated to the remembrance of their dead, the most famous one is at Secundra, a village three miles from Agra ; it was begun by Achabar-sha, the late Mogul's father (who there lies buried), and finished by his son, who since was laid up beside him. The materials of that most stately sepulchre are marble of divers colours, the stones so closely cemented together that it appears to be but one continued stone, built high like a pyramid, with many curiosities about it, and a fair mosque by it ; the garden wherein it stands is very large (as before) and compassed about with a wall of marble. This most sumptuous pile of all the structures that vast monarchy affords, is most admired by strangers. Tom Coryct had a most exact view thereof, and so have many Englishmen ; other Englishmen had ; all which have spoken very great things of it." (*A Voyage to the East Indies*, p. 291-2, ed. 1777.)

The following passage in Jehangir's Autobiographical Memoirs alludes to the fact that the builders had altered the original design. Writing about the events of the third year of his reign (1608) he says : "When I had obtained the good fortune of visiting the tomb, and had examined the building which was erected over it, I did not find it to my liking. My intention was that it should be so exquisite that the travellers of the world could not say they had seen one like it in any part of the inhabited earth. While the work was in progress, in consequence of the rebellious conduct of the unfortunate Khosru, I was obliged to march towards Lahore. The builders had built it according to their own taste, and had altered the original design at their discretion. The whole money had been thus expended, and the work had occupied three or four years. I ordered that clever architects, acting in concert with some intelligent persons, should pull down the objectionable parts which I pointed out. By degrees a very large and magnificent building was raised, with a nice garden round it, entered by a lofty gate, consisting of minarets made of white stone. The total expense of this large building was reported to amount to 50,000 *tomans* of Irak and forty-five *lacs of khanis* of Turan." (*Wakiyat-i-Jehangiri, apud* Elliot and Douson, Vol. VI., pp. 319-20.)

Later in these Memoirs he again mentions the tomb in the following words :—"I considered it a sacred duty to visit the tomb of my father at Secundra, over which the buildings I had long since ordered had been now completed, and, in truth, it exhibited to the view in all its parts an object of infinite gratification and delight. In the first place, it

was surrounded by an enclosure or colonnade, which afforded standing for 8,000 elephants and a proportion of horses, the whole being built on arches, and divided into chambers. The principal gate by which you enter is thirty cubits wide, by as many in height, with a tower erected on four lofty arches, terminating in a circular dome ; the whole one hundred and twenty cubits high, divided into six storeys, and decorated and inlaid with gold and lapis lazuli from roof to basement. This superb portico, as it may be called, has also on each of its four sides (angles, properly) a minaret of hewn stone three storeys or stages in height. From the entrance to the building in which reposes all that is earthly of my royal father, is a distance of nearly a quarter of a *parsany*, the approach being under a colonnade floored with red stone finely polished, five cubits wide. On each side of the colonnade in a garden planted with cypresses, are wild pine, plane and *supary* trees (the betel-nut tree or arek) in great number ; and in the gardens on each side, and at the distance of a bow shot from each other, are reservoirs of water, from each of which issues a fountain or *jet d'eau*, rising to the height of ten cubits, so that from the grand entrance to within a short distance of the shrine we pass between twenty of these fountains. Above the tomb itself is erected a pavilion of seven storeys, gradually lessening to the top, and the seventh terminating in a dome or cupola, which, together with the other buildings connected with it in every part of the enclosure, is all of polished marble throughout ; and all completed, from first to last, at the expense of 180 lakhs of rupees. In addition to this I have provided that a supply of two hundred measures or services of food and two hundred of confectionery should be daily distributed to the poor from the sacred edifice, and that no strangers should ever be required to dress their own meals, though their number should amount to a thousand horse. When I entered on this occasion the fabric which enclosed my father's remains, such were my impressions that I could have affirmed the departed monarch was still alive, and seated on his throne, and that I was come to offer my usual salutation of homage and filial duty. I prostrated myself, however, at the foot of the tomb, and bathed it with the tears of regret and sincerity. On leaving the venerated spot, and in propitiation of the pure spirit which reposed there, I distributed the sum of 50,000 rupees among the resident poor." (*Wakiyat-i-Jehangiri*, pp. 119-20.)

The final passage militates against Mr. Wheeler's theory that Jehangir had his father poisoned by the physician Hakin Ali. For if he had really been instrumental in bringing about his father's death, he would assuredly not have written thus. Elsewhere, too, he writes with profound reverence for his deceased father. At the commence-

ment of the account of the third year of his reign he says: "As the magnificent sepulchre of my father was on the road, I thought that if I now went to see it, ignorant people would consider that I went to visit it only because it was on my road. I, therefore, determined that I should proceed direct to the city (Agra), and then as my father, in accordance with his vow respecting my birth, had gone on foot from Agra to Ajmir, in the same manner I would also walk from the city to his splendid sepulchre, a distance of two and-a-half *kos*. Would that I could have gone this distance upon my head! . . . On Thursday, the 17th, I went on foot to see the resplendent sepulchre of my father. If I could I would travel this distance upon my eyelashes or my head. My father, when he made a vow respecting my birth, had gone on foot from Fathpur to Ajmir on a pilgrimage to the shrine of the great Khwaja Murim Din Chisti, a space of 120 *kos*, and it would, therefore, be nothing very great if I were to go this short distance upon my head or eyes" (*apud* Elliot and Douson, Vol. VI., pp. 316—319). Jehangir, if he were really a parricide, must have been dowered with incredible hypocrisy to write in this Pecksniffian vein. Many faults and even crimes must, doubtless, be laid to his charge; but we cannot add this the most repulsive of offences to the catalogue.

Bishop Heber's description of this mausoleum, based upon a visit which he paid to it during his tour in "Upper India" as he calls it, in 1826, is often quoted, and is given here in a note. But, in truth, to describe this as well as other monuments of the magnificent Moghuls at Delhi and Agra, Fathepur, Sikhri and Secundra, worthily, would tax the genius of a master of language as well as of architecture, of a prose poet like Ruskin. I often wonder, indeed, that that great man never came to India considering that his earliest inspiration was drawn from this country and the ancient monuments which are in our close vicinity, as witnessed by his youthful poem on the Elephanta Caves. Had he come here, he would have found in these Moghul buildings materials for a work on, say, the "Stones of Agra," in every way as interesting and abounding in word-pictures as his "Stones of Venice."

Heber writes under date January 21, 1825: "This morning we arrived at Secundra, a ruinous village without a bazaar, but remarkable for the magnificent tomb of Akbar, the most splendid building in its way which I had yet seen in India. It stands in a square area of about forty English acres, enclosed by an embattled wall, with octagonal towers at the angles surmounted by open pavilions and four very noble gateways of red granite, the principal of which is inlaid with white marble, and has four high marble minarets. The space within is planted with trees and divided into green alleys, leading to the central building, which is a sort of solid pyramid surrounded externally with cloisters, galleries, and domes, diminishing gradually on ascending it, till it ends in a square platform of white marble, surrounded by

most elaborate lattice-work of the same material, in the centre of which is a small altar tomb, also of white marble, carved with a delicacy and beauty which do full justice to the material and to the graceful forms of Arabic characters which form its chief ornament. At the bottom of the building, in a small but very lofty vault, is the real tomb of this great monarch, plain and unadorned, but also of white marble. There are many other ruins in the vicinity, some of them apparently handsome, but Akbar's tomb leaves a stranger little time or inclination to look at anything else. Government have granted money for the repair of the tomb, and an officer of engineers is employed on it. A serjeant of artillery is kept in the place, who lives in one of the gateways ; his business is to superintend a plantation of sissoo trees made by Dr. Wallich."—Heber, Narrative, Vol. I., pp. 585-6, 4th ed., 1828.

Elphinstone has noted that this splendid pile served as quarters for an European regiment of dragoons for a year or two after the first conquest of that territory by the British (History of India, p. 531, &c.) in 1803. It lay neglected for a long time, the only attention it received being the white-washing of its marble walls ! (Howell, Agra and the Taj, 1904, p. 96.) But Lord Curzon's recent orders are applicable to this in common with other Moghul buildings, and sincerely do we hope that better care will be taken in future of this the last resting place of the Greatest Moghul.

ART. XV. *The first Englishman in India and his Works, especially his Christian Puran.*

BY J. A. SALDANHA, B.A., LL.B.

Read 1st October 1906.

The earliest record we have of an Englishman having visited India is contained in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (*a*), and the next in William of Malmesbury's Latin Works *De Gestis Regum Anglorum* (*b*) and *De Gestis Pontificum Anglorum* (*b*), according to which it appears that Sighelmus, Bishop of Sherborne, being sent by King Alfred in 883 A.D. with presents to the Pope, proceeded thence to the East Indies to visit with alms the tomb of St. Thomas, the Apostle. Although after reading the recent erudite work (*c*) of Bishop Medlycott on the question of location of the tomb of St. Thomas, one could see little ground for doubting the ancient tradition locating it at Meliapur near Madras, we cannot, in the face of some strong arguments adduced to prove the contrary by a few distinguished writers (*d*), go so far as to maintain as a fact beyond doubt that the tomb of St. Thomas was as early as 883 A.D. known in Europe to be located within what is known at present as India, and that therefore Sighelmus, King Alfred's messenger, ever visited India.

The first Englishman then that we can with certainty assert to have come to India was Thomas Stephens, a priest of the Society of Jesus. He was discovered in Goa in 1583 by the first batch of English commercial adventurers that travelled to India—John Newbery, Ralph Fitch, William Bets and James Story, who were thrown into prison by the Portuguese in that year and were released after a few days, a favour which Newbery and Fitch in the accounts (*e*) of their adventures attribute in grateful terms to the intervention of two good

(*a*) *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle according to several Original Authorities*, edited with a translation by Benjamin Thorpe. (See Vol. II., p. 56).

(*b*) Hakluyt's *Collection of Early Voyages, &c.*, (1810), Vol. II., p. 38.

(*c*) *India and the Apostle Thomas* by A. E. Medlycott.

(*d*) *The Syrian Church in India* by George Milne Rae (1892).

(*e*) Hakluyt's *Collection of Early Voyages, &c.* (1810), Vol. II., pp. 376, 380, 381, 384.

fathers, Thomas Stephens, whom they describe to be an Englishman and a Jesuit born in Wiltshire, and a Fleming priest called Mark.

Of the several letters written by Stephens from Goa only two are preserved and give us some glimpse into his life after he had left Europe : one written to his father on 10th November 1579 after his arrival in Goa, the original of which is preserved in the National Library at Brussels and is printed in the Hakluyt's *Collection of the Early Voyages, &c.*, (*f*) and the second one dated at Goa 24th October 1583 addressed to his brother in Paris, a translation of which is printed in the *Mangalore Magazine* (*g*). The letters which Stephens wrote to his father, apparently then a leading merchant in London, are said to have roused considerable enthusiasm (*h*) in England about the prospects of trade with the East Indies, and thus was laid the foundation of those ambitious projects of trade with India which bore their fruit in the formation of the East India Company. Stephens may therefore be said to be not only the first Englishman that came to India, but the pioneer of the British Indian Empire; though it must be noted that the links of connection between England and India forged by this first Englishman that set his foot in this country were not commercial, or material, but were of a spiritual and literary nature.

The life story (*i*) of Thomas Stephens is briefly told : so little is known of it, a privilege which he shares with his great contemporary Shakespeare. Born in Wiltshire about the year 1549 and educated at New College, Oxford, he narrowly escaped being sent to a life-long prison or put to death, as were many of his companions during the religious persecution of the Catholics. He soon found his way to Rome, where he entered the Society of Jesus. His zeal for the conversion of India was rewarded by his selection as a missionary to proceed to Goa. He left Lisbon in April 1579 and arrived at Goa in October of the same year. He laboured for 40 long years in the peninsula of Salsette and consolidated Christianity among its new converts from the Brahman and other castes. He made himself quite at home amidst the charming cocoanut groves and among the intelligent and zealous converts, obtained a complete mastery over their classical langu-

(*f*) *Ibid.* p. 581.

(*g*) *Mangalore Magazine*, Vol. I., p. 225.

(*h*) *Report on the Old Records of the India Office*, by Sir George Birdwood (1891), p. 197. See also *Encyclopædia Britannica* (9th edition), Vol. XII, p. 798.

(*i*) Hakluyt's *Collection of Voyages, &c.*, (1810), Vol. II., p. 380 (marginal note). Dodds' *Church History*, Vol. II., p. 133. Sir Monier Monier-William's article "Facts of Indian Progress" in *Contemporary Review* (Vol.). *Mangalore Magazine*, Vol. I., pp. 70, 166, 192 and 224.

age Sanskrit and their vernaculars, and composed several works in the vernaculars and in Portuguese for the benefit of the Indian Christians and missionaries. He died at a ripe old age at Rachol in Goa honoured by all as a saint, a poet and a great pandit. No monument marks his grave. The careful researches and enquiries made by myself and my friends have not succeeded in tracing even the place of his burial. But the enduring monuments of his literary genius he has left are destined to make his name famous over the British Empire.

Of his compositions there remain to us only his *Christian Doctrine*, a catechism in Konkani (or Bramana-Canarin as he calls it) ; *Arte de Lingua Canarin* (*j*) (Grammar of the Konkani Language) in Portuguese, the first grammar of the kind of any vernacular in India ; and the *Puran*.

The last one is a remarkable poem in what may be called the old Marathi-Konkani poetical language and in Ovi metre. It consists of 11,018 slokas or strophes divided into two parts, the 1st part called the *Paillea Puranna*, corresponding to the Old Testament of the Bible, and the 2nd part, *Dussrea Puranna*, corresponding to the New Testament, and contains a narration, written in lofty style and charming language, of all the various and complex events as detailed in the Holy Scriptures, or handed down by tradition, that led to the birth of the Christian religion ; in other words, an account of the *Paradise-Lost and Regained* based on a historical sequence of events from the time of the creation of Heaven and Earth to the closing scenes of the Gospel narratives, focussing round the death and resurrection of Jesus, the hero of the poem, with a lucid and exhaustive exposition of His sublime doctrines. In brief, it may be described as an impressive, vivid, and attractive metrical narrative of the birth of Christianity.

The language of the book takes after that of his great predecessors Dnyaneshwar and Namdeo, with a fair sprinkling of the local Konkani or the Bramana-Kanarin language : hence I have spoken of this language as partaking of the old Marathi-Konkani poetry, a view which is supported by the acknowledgments of the poet himself of his indebtedness to both.

The poet sings (*k*)—

P*a*ram*a* xastr*a* z*a*gui pr*a*gh*a*ttaueya
B*a*hutã z*a*nã ph*a*lla sidhy houaueya
Bhassa bandoni M*a*ratthiya
C*a*tha niropily

(*j*) Republished in Nova Goa in 1857 as "*Grammatica da Lingua Concani.*"
(*k*) Part I, Canto I, Stanzas 120—123.

Zaissy harallă mazi ratnaquilla
Qui ratnă mazi hira nilla
Taissy bhassă mazi choqhalla
Bhassa Maratthy

Zaissy puspă mazi puspa mogary
Qui parimallă mazi casturi
Taissy bhassă mazi saziry
Maratthiya

Paqhiă madhĕ maioru
Vruqhiă madhĕ calpataru
Bhassă madhĕ manu thoru
Maratthiyessi

In his Introduction (*l*) to the poem, Stephens writes :—

" Hĕ sarua Maratthiye bhassena lihilĕ ahe. Hea dessincheă bhassă bhitura hy bhassa Paramesuarachea vastu niropunssi yogue aissy dissali mhan-naunu panna sudha Maratthy madhima locassi nacalle deqhunu, hea purannacha phallu bahută zananssi suphallu hounssi, cae quelĕ, maguileă cauesuaranchī bahutequĕ auaghaddĕ utarĕ sand-dunu sampucheyă cauesuaranchiye ritu pramannĕ anniyequĕ sompī Bramhannanche bhassechī utarĕ tthaī tthaī missarita carunu cauitua sompĕ quelĕ ; ya pary Paramesuarache crupestăua udandda locachĕ arata purna hoila, anny ze cauanna yecade vellă puruileă cauituancha srungaru va barauy bhassa adeapī atthauatati te hĕ cauitua vachunu santossu manity anny phaue to phailu bhoguity : că maguileă cauituanchea sthanī anniyeca cauitua dentŏ teyă hounu phallasta suphalla."

The Brahmana Bhassa is evidently the Brahmana Kanarin, of which he wrote his grammar. It is what is called Konkani now-a-days. By the designation Konkani is not meant, as Dr. Wilson (*m*) writes, " the very slight dialectic difference which exists between the Marathi of the British Dekkhan and the corresponding country running between the slopes of the Ghauts and the Indian Ocean, forming the British Konkan, but the language of the country commencing with the Goa territory and extending considerably to the south of Karwar and even Honawar. It is manifestly in the main

(*l*) Printed in *Mangalore Magazine*, Vol. III., p. 277.

(*m*) See his Chapter on " Tribes and Languages " in the *General Report on the Administration of the Bombay Presidency*, 1872-73.

formed on the basis of Sanskrit." Konkani discloses peculiarities that are very striking, as will appear from the following comparative table (*n*) :—

KONKANI.	SANSKRIT.	MARATHI.	GUJERATI.
avuñ	aham	mi	huñ
asañ	aseñ (Prak)	astoñ	chuñ
maka	mahyam	mala	mane
udak	udaka	pani	pani
khaiñ	kva	khute	khyañ
(h) anga	iha	yetheñ	hyañ
dóvór	dhor	tev	darav
apai	avha	bulav	bolav
luvñ	lu	kap	lañ
vómp	vapá	per	vav
lagiñ	samipa	zaval	najik
bhitor	abhyantar	ant	andarnu
chedo	batu	pór	chokro

We also notice a very curious permutation of vowels under certain combinations which are peculiar to Konkani; we find, for instance (*o*), that (i) words beginning with *ká* in Konkani change into *ka* (*à* pronounced as in the English word *but*) in Marathi; (ii) the syllable *vo* in Konkani changes into *o* or *ho* in Marathi, and (iii) nouns ending in *o* in Konkani end in á in Marathi. There are of course exceptions. The following are a few interesting examples :—

KONKANI.	MARATHI.	KONKANI.	MARATHI.
kántalo (disgust)	kantala	vánto (share)	vantá
kápur (camphor)	kapur	dago (deceit)	dagá
kámp (tremor)	kamp	dáryo (sea)	daryá
vojeñ (burden)	ozen	godo (horse)	godá
vónk (vomit)	ónk	ukod (boil)	ukal
vólók (recognition)	ólók	lailáuñ (auction)	lilauñ
vói (yes)	hoi	lip (hide)	lap
vónt (lip)	hónt	fol (fruit)	fal

(*n*) See my brochure on *Konkani* or *Goan Castes*, p. 36.

(*o*) *Ibid*, p. 26.

These striking features Konkani borrows from Sanskrit or Prakrit or from sources other than any known variety of Marathi. The only inference that can be drawn from these facts is that Konkani is not a dialect derived from what is commonly known as Marathi, but that both Konkani and Marathi are sister languages that have grown out side by side from the same stem.

What is to be noted in connection with the point raised as to the exact dialect in which the Puran is written, is that the striking peculiarities of the Konkani at present spoken are noted by Thomas Stephens in his Grammar of the Konkani or Brahmane-Kanarin as he calls it, while these peculiarities are missing in the language of the Puran and make place for the Marathi peculiarities. At the same time it must be admitted that there is in the language of the book a fair sprinkling of the popular Konkani used in Goa, a fact which the author himself admits.

The author also borrows largely, like Dnyaneshwar, from the inexhaustible sources of Sanskrit, which lends itself readily to give correct shape and form to all possible and subtle ideas and shades of ideas of the profound Christian theology and mysticism and the lofty Christian ethics. The language simple, majestic and homely and frequently embellished with Indian imagery and metaphor, always throbbing with life and energy and refreshing, is calculated to appeal to the Indian mind and heart with a force which few Marathi poems can. Each sloka consists of four lines, the first three of which usually of four feet rhyme with one another, and the last one from two to three feet does not rhyme with the other three lines. This metre with the rhythm and euphony of the supremely happy combination of sounds employed by the poet has a magical effect upon the ear, which combined with the charms of language, clothing in an Indian garb the lofty Christian spiritualism and ethics, makes the verses a continuous feast of which one never tires.

Thomas Stephens employed Roman characters for writing his Indian poem, fixing their pronunciation according to the Continental way of pronouncing Latin, except using the italic "*a*" for the sound अ as in "but", the single d, t, l and n for the dentals, and double dd, tt, ll, and nn for their linguals, and the accented vowels for their nasals. The Roman system of transliterating the vernacular sounds instead of the Devanagari had to be used probably because the cultivation of the old Hindu literature was discouraged by the Portuguese polity and thus the use of the Devanagari had been given up in Goa at the time of Stephens. Bearing, however, in mind the

simple method adopted by Stephens in his system of transliteration, the reading of the verses becomes after a slight exertion an easy matter.

The Puran was first printed (*p*) at Rachol in 1616 after receiving the *imprimatur* of the Inquisition, the Archbishop of Goa and the Provincial of the Society of Jesus, a second time in 1649, and the third time in 1654. Yet no printed copy has been traced anywhere, and the only ones available are a few carefully written manuscript copies.

The poem begins with an address to the Almighty God in which the theology of the Nicene Creed about the God-head and the Trinity is explained with the precision and fullness of a theologian and wealth of language which only Sanskrit or Sanskritized Marathi could lend (*q*). We shall quote here the first few strophes :—

Vo *n*amo visu*a*bharita
Deua Bapa s*a*ru*a* s*a*ma*r*atha
P*a*ra*m*esu*a*ra s*a*teu*a*nta.
S*u*ar*g*a pr*a*thuuichea r*a*ch*a*nnara

Tũ ridhy sidhicha dataru
Crupanidhy c*a*runnac*a*ru
Tũ s*a*ru*a* suqhacha sagh*a*ru
Adi *a*ntu natodde

Tũ p*a*ra*m*an*a*ndu s*a*rua su*a*r*u*pu
Visu*a*ueap*a*cu gnean*a* dipu
Tu s*a*ru*a* gunnĩ nirlepu
Nirm*a*llu niruicaru suamiya

Tũ *a*drusttu tu *a*uectu
S*a*m*a* d*a*yallu s*a*ru*a* praptu
S*a*rua gn*a*anu s*a*rua nitiu*a*ntu
Yecuchi Deuo tũ

Tũ saqheat*a* P*a*ra*m*esu*a*ru
Anad*a*ssidhu *a*p*a*ramp*a*ru
Adi *a*nadi *a*uinassu *a*m*a*ru
Tuzẽ st*a*u*a*n*a* triloquĩ

Su*a*rgu srustti tuũ hella matrẽ
Quela ch*a*ndru suryu n*a*qhetrẽ
Tuzeni yeque s*a*bdẽ p*a*uitrẽ
Quely s*a*ru*a* r*a*ch*a*na

(*p*) *Bibliotheca Lusitana. Ensaio Historico da Lingua Concani* by J. H. Da Cunha Riviera (1857).

(*q*) *Part I, Canto I, Stanzas 1-14.*

Tũ anny tuza yecuchi sutu
Anny Spiritu Sanctu
Tegai *zanna* yecuchi *sateuantu*
Deuo zannaua

Teya tuzeya *dayalla* cum*ara*
Crupanidhy *amruta* sagh*ara*
Su*arga* srusttichea su*astacara*
N*amana* mazẽ

N*amo* visuachiye dipty
N*amo* v*aincunttha* s*abheche canty*
Deua Bapacha d*aqhinna* h*astī*
Sihass*anna* tuzẽ

Zari tũ amă m*anī* righaua c*arissy*
T*ari agneana pattalla* pheddissy
Amruta sariqhy ghoddiu*a* dauissy
Prem*abhar*it*a* c*aroni*

Tũ yecuchi sutu P*aramesuaracha*
Tũ s*abdu* ga Bapacha
Bapa Spirita s*auẽ saruacha*
R*achannaru* tũ

N*amo* Spirita p*auitra* pau*ana*
Trindadichea tiss*area zanna*
Tũ apuleya seu*acachea mana*
Pr*acassu cari*

Tũ ziu*ana zharichẽ* pann*ī*
Tũ *agni* moho anny
Ziuichẽ prem*a antacaranni*
Add*aleya* sar*athy*

Tũ s*apta* diuedanacha dataru
Tũ Deuachy angustty sacharu
Duqhiyancha buz*auannaru*
Anath*anathu*

The underlying idea of the poem is the same as that of Milton's *Paradise Lost* combined with the *Paradise Regained;* but unlike Milton, who takes up only the episodes of the first man's fall and Christ's victory over Satan's temptations in the Paradise Lost and Regained, Stephens weaves together all the principal characters and episodes of the Old with those of the New Testament as contained in the Bible or handed down by history round the hero of the poem, Jesus Christ, in one harmonious whole. All principal and complex events of the Old Testament as narrated in the Holy Scriptures or

handed down by tradition, in connection with the creation of the angels,—the rebellion of their prince Satan and his party, their expulsion from Heaven, the creation of the first man and woman, their fall, the career of mankind until the Deluge, the survival of Noe and his family, the election of Abraham and his progeny, the Israelites, to preserve the primitive revelation and worship of the one Almighty Creator and Preserver of the Universe and their successful struggle for centuries to justify their election amidst the deluge of pantheism, polytheism and idolatry which was spread among the nations around them—are all carefully linked together with the events of the New Testament, the birth of the blessed Virgin Mary and St. John Baptist, the Incarnation of the Second Person of the Holy Trinity, the birth, life, the sacred ministry, death and resurrection of Jesus, into one grand sublime action under one single idea—namely, the redemption of mankind from the thraldom of Satan and the establishment of the kingdom of heaven by the atonement offered by the "Word made Flesh." Milton utilizes the episode of the victory of Christ over Satan's wiles as the event which led to the re-establishment of the kingdom of Heaven. Stephens takes up the crowning event of Jesus' earthly life and His passion and death followed by His resurrection as marking His final and most decisive victory. For then Satan gathered all the forces at his disposal—the hatred of the Jewish nation, the infidelity of King Herod, the craven cowardliness of the Roman Governor and the weakness of the Apostles—to crush our Lord. In this final campaign Satan apparently wins. But it was this very passion and death of Jesus, "the precious blood of Christ as of a Lamb unspotted and undefiled" shed for man crowned by this glorious resurrection, that saves mankind from the thraldom of Satan and wins them back the supernatural privileges lost by the disobedience of the first man.

The highest efforts of the poet's genius are concentrated in his most touching description of the passion and death of Jesus Christ and in bringing home to his readers the sublime lessons of self-sacrifice, love and forgiveness taught us by Christ at and after His Last Supper and on the Cross (r); and when after the death of Jesus His body is lowered from the Cross, His blessed mother—her heart pierced with a sword as prophesied before—gives vent to her grief in a lamentation which is most heart-rending and must touch the hardest heart :—

Catta catta mazea cumara
Mea tuza sarupa didhala nara
Tehi maza auasara
Paratila carupu.

(r) Part II, Cantos 45—51.

Mea zivantu didhala teassi
Yeri mrutiu vopila mazassi.
Mea didhala teya bhuzaueyassi.
Niuaranu vigne.

Panna tehi maza quela ghatu
Maze vari rachila acantu.
Tuza maruni caddila samastu.
Anandu maza.

"We shall forbear quoting more of this lamentation and leave it to be read in order to realize how the depth of the grief of the wounded heart of the mother proves the unfathomable love which led her beloved Son (*s*) to sacrifice Himself for His flock."

This is the plot of the birth of Christianity laid out in the Puran with a dramatic fullness, vividness and artistic skill which no poet or historian has ever succeeded in doing. The characters are delineated in all the realities of flesh and blood and soul. The sublimity of Christ's divinity and the reality of His humanity, His joys and sorrows, His likes and dislikes, His gentleness and tenderness of heart, His self-sacrificing love for man, His purity of life and the universality of His personality are brought out with a power and force which no painter, sculptor or poet has ever surpassed. The narrative of events and description of characters are insterspersed at appropriate occasions with clear and well-reasoned disquisitions on Christian mysteries, truths and ethics. Further, the poet's simple and natural description of nature and surroundings provide a background to the characters and events which help to make the drama charmingly attractive and forcibly real.

In illustration of my remarks let me quote the stanzas (*t*) about the Supper at Bethany rendered into English verse, in which the character of Mary Magdalen is so forcibly brought out :—

(*From Father Stephens' Puranna, Part II, Canto* 2, *Stanzas* 79—108.)

1. Wherefore to Simon's house I'll fleet
And lay my head at Jesus' feet :
But— will the guests met there at meat
Deride me in their scorn ?

2. Yet I, alas ! all shame put by,
Not fearing, and in Heaven's own eye,
And in the sight of Saints on high,
Sinned greatly night and morn.

(*s*) *Vide* my essay printed as appendix II to my *Goan or Konkani Castes.*"

(*t*) Part II, Canto 29, Stanzas 79—108, translated by Mr. Joseph Saldanha, who is editing the Puran, and published in the *Mangalore Magazine*, Vol. III, p. 193.

3. Why should, then, shame's false blush be mine,
When 'tis but men will see me pine
For sins, so I obtain a sign,
That Jesus hath forgiv'n?

4. Alack! a very flood, as 'twere,
Of evil done ne'er brought despair
To me: why, then, will I not bear
Shame's drizzle, to be shriv'n?

5. Jesus have I contemplated;
To this resolve my heart is wed:
If He to spurn my prayer be led,
In death I'll still my grief.

6. With mind bent firm on this intent,
At Jesus' feet will I repent;
Tho' loathed, I'll cling till He relent
And grant my soul relief.

7. I'll urge His own disciples do
The pleading, ay, and Simon, too,—
The Pharisee—till what I woo
Is won for sinful me.

8. Then come what may; my heart is sore
With longing, Jesus to implore;
If once He pardon, never more
Shall sin my pleasure be.

9. Thus thinking, and in tears that rained
Their flood on face and bosom stained,
Rose Mary, as she slowly gained
Fresh courage in her plight.

10. Then, furnished with an offering meet
Of ointment precious deemed and sweet,
She, with a heart that eager beat,
To Simon's house went right.

11. As flies a stricken deer to find
What salve she can to heal or bind,
E'en so, to rid her pained mind
Of sin's shaft, Mary hied.

12. The mansion gained, in entered she;
Then fixed her gaze on Jesus; He
Beheld her while the company
His glance intently eyed.

13. But ere grief's storm scarce seemed to rise,
There burst a tear flood from her eyes,
While at his feet in rev'rent wise
She fell with streaming hair.

14. Then, moving backward from the place,
She locked them in a fast embrace,
The waters from her eyes apace
Washing those feet so fair.

15. Next with her hair she wiped them dry,
Then kissed them ere she did apply
The spikenard to them tenderly,
As best became a maid.

16. The hall and mansion soon were filled
With fragrance of that balm distilled
From rarest herb ; the sweetness thrilled
The sense nor seemed to fade.

17. But Simon seeing all, began
To argue with himself: "This man
No prophet is ; else He could scan
This woman's sinful heart ;

18. "And, therefore, would He bid her quit
His feet, and in an instant flit
From off His presence bearing it—
The balm—nor play this part."

19. Thus wrongly thought the Pharisee,
Unweeting all her misery—
"Sinner she was, and sinner she
Must be, and nothing more."

20. Of her repentance still no sign
Was clear to him : how she did pine
Within her heart, and thus incline
To good undreamt before.

21. But He, the all-wise Son, begot
Of God, through whom is wisdom sought,
Knew, in His heart, the secret thought
That sprung in Simon's mind.

22. And calling to the Pharisee,
He saith, "I'll tell a thing to thee,
Which hearken, thou, attentively,
And judge as thou mayst find.

23. "Two men unto a lord became
Debtors : from one the lord could claim
Fifty and 'gainst the other name
Five hundred pence as due.

24. "But neither could his sum afford :
So for remission both implored,
And straight, to mercy moved, the lord
Gave what they came to sue.

25. "Now speak thou, Simon, tell me, pray,
Of those whose debt was scored away,
Which one would grateful love more sway
To him such love did show."

26. Quoth Simon, "Sire, meseems it fair,
He whom the lord was kind to spare
For larger dues, a larger share
Of love and thanks should owe."

27. Then Jesus : "Ay, thou speakest true."
And glancing from the maiden who
Stood there to Simon, "Note thou, do,
This woman's deeds so fair :

28. "As guest I came with thee to eat ;
Thou gav'st no water for my feet,
Yet she with tears hath washed complete,
And wiped them with her hair ;

29. "No oil thou broughtest for my head,
But she with costly balm that spread
All round its odour, hath, instead,
Anointed, here, my feet.

30. "Therefore I say this unto thee,
That she hath shown such love to Me,
Her many sins to her must be
Forgiv'n in measure meet."

The whole poem if rendered in English verse will by itself be an unique treasure in English literature. To every one acquainted with Marathi or Konkani the Puran is certain to be a work of profound interest ; to Britishers all the world over, the noblest poem written by an Englishman in an Asiatic language will appeal with special force ; while to Christians in India the publication of what may be called the national Christian Puran will be a fruitful source of edification and piety. (*v*)

(*v*) Thomas Stephens' Puran is already printed in the Jesuit Press (Cadialbail Press), Mangalore, South Kanara, and will be brought out shortly with suitable introduction and glossary.

ART. XVI.—*The Nāsik (Joghaltembhi) Hoard of Nahapāna's Coins.*

BY REV. H. R. SCOTT, M.A.

(*Communicated.*)

The announcement in the *Times of India* of the 31st May last of the discovery in the Nāsik District of an immense hoard of Nahapāna's coins came as a very welcome piece of news to all who are interested in the ancient coinage of India. The hoard was at first reported to contain about 10,000 coins, and the great significance of this fact will appear when it is remembered that there were probably not a dozen specimens of Nahapāna's coins known to numismatists before this hoard came to light, and those few known specimens were in one very important respect all very imperfect.

I cannot better introduce what I have to say about the coins than by quoting a part of the account of the discovery of the hoard written by the Secretary of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and published in the *Times of India* of May 31st.

> "The village of Jogaltembhi lies close to the junction of the rivers Godavary and Darna, which uniting into a single stream of narrow compass in the fair season form the boundary between the Niphad and Sinnar talukas; and just outside the village site stands a small hill, more aptly described perhaps as a grassy barrow, around which the children of the village are wont to play. Here indeed they were engaged some few weeks ago in playing an indigenous game, known as Godhe-Kathi, which consists in an attempt to transfix one's adversary's stick, as it lies on the ground, with one's own weapon, each stick being sharpened to a fine point. At the moment when the coins were first discovered, one boy's stick lay just at the foot of the grassy hillock, and his playmate hurled his weapon at it with all the force of his small arm. The stick missed its goal, but impinging squarely on the soil uprooted a small handful of earth and grass, and disclosed something which glittered in the morning sun. Money! Forgotten are the sticks, forgotten the game, when the great fact dawned upon their childish minds. Mother Earth is a hard task mistress to the Deccan ryot; but she has her moments of compassion, and surely this was one.
>
> "The report of her bounty spread through the village; the elders came to the spot, and decided to dig deeper. . . . . Further excavation disclosed an earthen pot, firmly embedded in

the hill side, and filled to overflowing with silver coins, much of which the villagers proceeded in the true commercial spirit to melt down. But the story of the find spread further than the limits of Jogaltembhi, and within a short time the balance of the treasure, about 10,000 coins, found a resting place in the local treasury under the Treasure Trove Act. . . . . .

"The fact that several of the coins are bored near the edges and that their resting place is near the confluence of two rivers, seems to justify the supposition that they once formed part of the treasure buried beneath a Hindu temple. The temple has vanished, nor does local legend preserve the smallest memory of it, but its treasure, veiled for nearly 1,800 years, has at last become articulate and bears its message across the gulf of dead centuries to those who rule the Deccan to-day, and who are themselves foreigners like Nahapāna the Kṣaharāta."

The total number of coins sent to me amounted to about 13,250 and as it is said that a good many were melted down by the villagers who discovered the hoard, it is quite possible that there may have been 14,000 or even 15,000 altogether.

The coins are in an excellent state of preservation, hardly more than a dozen of them being illegible through a deposit of verdigris. Considering the fact that the hoard must have lain very near the surface of the ground for almost 1,800 years, the bright fresh appearance of the coins is very remarkable.

Of the coins that came into my hands about 9,270 are coins of Nahapāna the Kṣaharāta, counter-marked by his conqueror Gotamiputra Śri Sātakarṇi. The remainder, nearly 4,000 coins, are coins of Nahapāna which have not been so counter-stamped. Over 2,000 of the coins are roughly perforated, about two-thirds of the perforated coins being Sātakarṇi's. The perforation was probably made in order to attach the coins to a belt or to the clothes of the owner, or perhaps to make coin necklaces. These coins would not be likely to go into circulation again, and their presence in the hoard lends support to the theory that we have here probably the treasure of a temple, the pierced coins having been torn off the belts and offered on the occasion of the dedication of the temple.

Seven or eight years ago the writer of this paper had the honour of bringing to the notice of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society an extremely interesting find of about 1,200 (twelve hundred)

Kṣatrapa coins which were discovered in the floor of a cave near the Uparkot of Junāgadh. Up to that time no such extensive find of coins of that series had been made, and it was a delightful task to go through the hoard and to discover how rich it was in excellent specimens of the coins of no less than thirteen of the Kṣatrapa rulers, many of them clearly dated, the dates being in several instances new to us. But there was one disappointment in connection with the Uparkot hoard. Although it contained specimens of so many different kings, there was not a single coin there belonging to any king earlier than Rudrasena I, the eighth of the line, whose reign extended from 200 to 220 A.D. This was all the more disappointing from the fact that so few specimens were known of the coins of the Kṣatrapas and Mahākṣatrapas who preceded Rudrasena. The succession as generally received runs thus :—

(1) Nahapāna the Kṣaharāta, 120 A.D.
(2) Caṣṭana, son of Ghsamotika.
(3) Jayadāman, son of Caṣṭana.
(4) Rudradāman, son of Jayadāman.
(5) Dāmajada, son of Rudradāman.
(6) Rudrasiṃha, ,, ,,
(7) Jivadāman, son of Dāmajada.
(8) Rudrasena, son of Rudrasiṃha, etc.

Whilst a fair number of coins of the last five have been discovered, very few were known of any of the first three, until the finding of the present hoard. From coins and inscriptions it has been inferred that Nahapāna was the first of the line of Kṣatrapa and Mahākṣatrapa rulers, but no positive evidence has yet appeared to connect him with Caṣṭana. All we know is that he ruled over territory which afterwards formed part of the Kṣatrapa kingdom, that he was a foreigner who won a kingdom for himself at the expense of the Andhras, that " he is styled Kṣatrapa in an inscription dated 42 (*i.e.*, A.D. 120), ... and appears as Mahākṣatrapa Svāmi in an inscription of his minister Ayama, dated in the year 46." On the other side it is to be remembered that his conqueror the king Sātakarṇi declares in the Nāsik Cave inscription that he had " rooted out the dynasty of Khakharāta," and now we have the pictorial evidence of these coins to show how Sātakarṇi did his best to obliterate the features of Nahapāna from his coins. And we learn from these coins that while Nahapāna's coins bore the symbols of the thunderbolt and arrow, the king Sātakarṇi used as his symbols the well known " Ujjain mark " and the *chaitya*. And it is to be remembered that the *chaitya* is the symbol of the Kṣatrapas

These facts should lead us to suspend our judgment until further light is obtained, and such a discovery as that of the present immense hoard encourages us to hope that there are yet great discoveries to be made in this field. Whether we suppose that this hoard was the treasure of a temple buried at the time of dedication, or a private hoard put away in some time of panic and distress, there is every reason to believe that similar treasure must be waiting in many other places to be unearthed.

With regard to the coins contained in this hoard I shall arrange my observations under the following six heads :—

(1) The Greek inscription on the obverse.
(2) The Kharoṣṭhi inscription on the reverse.
(3) The Brāhmi inscription on the reverse.
(4) The head of the king as represented on the coins.
(5) The counter-struck inscription of Śātakarṇi.
(6) The symbols used by the two kings.

I.—The Greek Inscription on the Obverse.

It is interesting to remember that the signification of the Greek letters found on these coins has furnished a problem with which Indian numismatists have wrestled for more than half a century. The first coin of Nahapāna's to be discovered in our time was obtained more than 50 years ago from Kāthiāwār by Mr. Justice Newton, and its Greek inscription is thus described by him :—" Sufficient remains to show that the letters were purely Greek, although in consequence of original indistinctness, wear or corrosion, not more than a single character here and there can be made out, and these hardly justify me in hazarding a conjecture as to the filling in." . . . . .

In July, 1890, the J.R.A.S. contained an article on the Western Kṣatrapas by Paṇḍit Bhagwānlāl Indrāji, containing his latest views " after a careful and continuous study, extending over 26 years, of the Kṣatrapa coins and inscriptions." In that article all that the learned paṇḍit could say with regard to the Greek inscription on these coins was that " the Greek letters on the obverse can never be read with certainty." . . . . . .

In a note to the Paṇḍit's essay Professor Rapson dissents from the Paṇḍit's opinion that there are traces to be found of the name Liaka Kusuḷa, and gives his own opinion that "the arrangement of the Greek letters seems to be quite fantastic" . . . He says " the letters ΛΑCO seen on some specimens cannot represent the name Liaka unless we suppose these legends to consist partly of Greek

and partly of Roman characters." Now it is a very curious fact, which we owe to the discovery of the present hoard that while Professor Rapson was perfectly right in maintaining that the name Liaka is not represented on the coins, the reason which he advances in support of that opinion is incorrect, for as a matter of fact we find on these coins beyond all possibility of doubt that very mixture of the Greek and Roman characters which he thought impossible. . . . . . In the same paper Professor Rapson says that "Roman denarii rather than Greek hemidrachms seem to have served as the models from which the Kṣatrapa coinage was copied," a remark which may go some length towards explaining the use of the Roman characters alongside the Greek.

In his later paper on "The coinage of the Mahākṣatrapas and Kṣatrapas of Surāṣṭra and Mālava (Western Kṣatrapas) published in the J. R. A. S. April, 1899, Professor Rapson has a very full discussion of the Greek inscriptions found on these coins. He there points out that the letters are clearest during the period when the workmanship was at its best, *i.e.*, approximately from the reign of Dāmajadaśri, son of Rudradāman, to that of Vijayasena, son of Dāmasena, and that in consequence, the coins of that period received most attention. He comes to the conclusion, however, that "at this time (roughly about 90 to 170 of the Kṣatrapa era, *i.e.*, A.D. 168 to 248) this Greek inscription had lost all meaning, and continued to be reproduced mechanically and unintelligently as a sort of ornamental border." He adds that "the best hope of recovering the lost meaning lay evidently in a study of the earliest coins of the class, those of Nahapāna and Caṣṭana, which belonged to a period when these Greek inscriptions possibly still had some significance, but unfortunately all the known specimens of Nahapāna and Caṣṭana were lamentably deficient and fragmentary in this respect."

Professor Rapson goes on to tell how the discovery of a coin of Caṣṭana at last supplied the long missing clue. Its Greek inscription was indeed very incomplete, but what was left contained the word ACTANCA and it was concluded that the Greek letters must be "either translations or transliterations of the Indian inscriptions on the reverse." As there were no traces found of the word BAΣIΛEΩΣ there seemed good reason to conclude that they were transliterations, and this conclusion was confirmed by the discovery of a coin of Nahapāna on which it seemed possible to make out the word PANNIΩ. One further step was taken, with some hesitation, for the evidence was by no means clear. There were, however,

very probable indications that the third word of the Greek inscription must be a transliteration of the word Nahapānasa. The word appeared to be NAA··A··NACC .

This then was all that could be deduced from the data available. An attempt was made to read the second word of the inscription, but the conclusion reached was that " after all allowance for blundering has been made, the letters IATAADCC can scarcely be intended for a transliteration of Kṣaharātasa or Chaharātasa." Professor Rapson was inclined to think that the word might be intended for IATATTACC = kṣatrapasa.

This was the state of the problem when the present hoard of Nahapāna's coins came to light. At one stroke the whole difficulty was removed, and the puzzle of fifty years solved.

In this hoard we have many hundreds of good specimens of the original Greek inscription, from which it can be readily seen that the transliteration was wonderfully accurate, and that not only is the first word PANNIW and the third word NAHATTANAC , but the second word, which had not been made out before, is what might have been expected, IAHAPATAC The full Greek inscription on the best specimens is PANNIW IAHAPATAC NAHATTANAC.

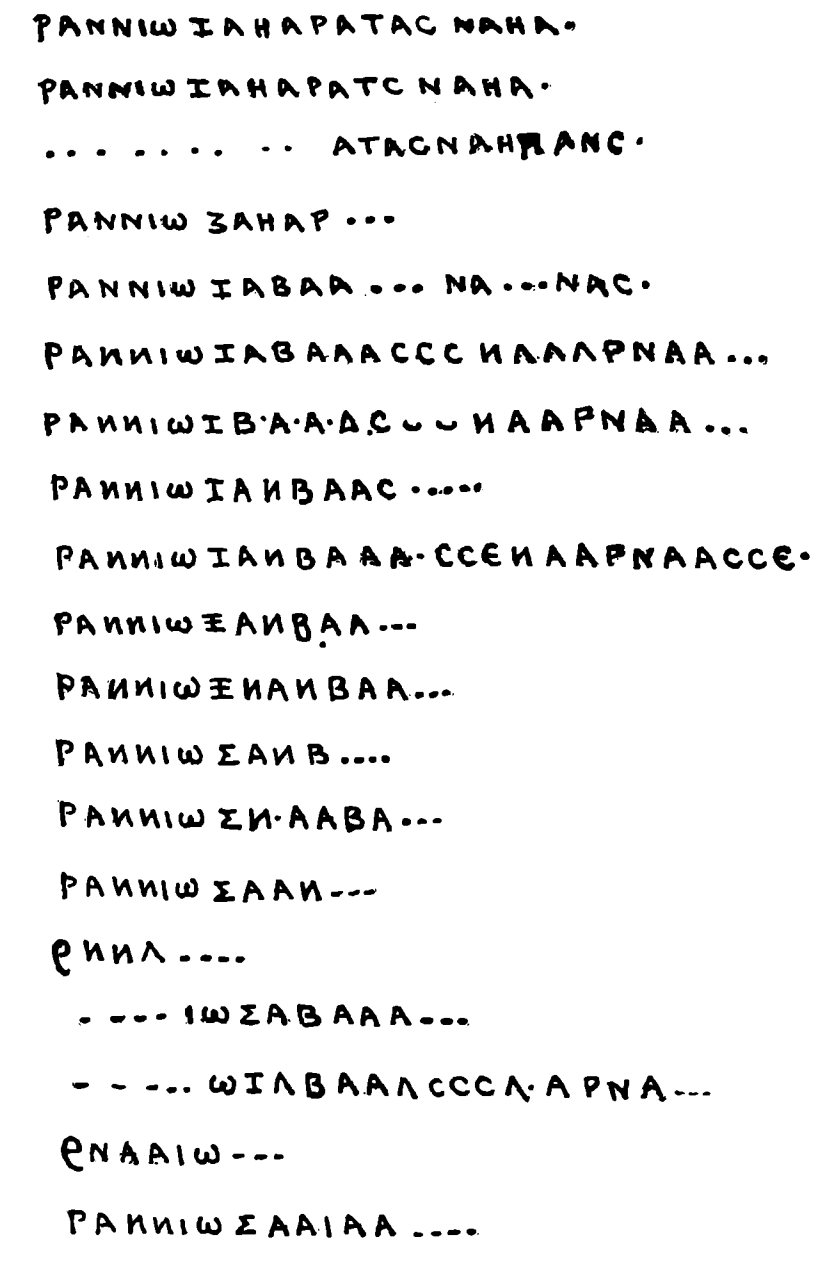
But this hoard not only supplies us with hundreds of specimens of the correct Greek transliteration, but, what is of scarcely less interest, it furnishes thousands of examples of the gradual corruption of the inscription, till apparently in Nahapāna's own time and on his own coins the inscription has changed so much as to be almost unintelligible. Little wonder therefore that the efforts of numismatists to make sense of the inscriptions on the coins of the later reigns proved so entirely fruitless.

A table of actual readings from various specimens arranged in order of faithfulness to the original Greek transliteration will make the matter clear :

PANNIW IAHAPATAC NAHATTANAC·

PANNIW IAHAPATAC NAHATTANA·

PANNIW IAHAPATAC NAHAT·



An examination of these various readings of the Greek legend yields the following results :—

(1) The Greek inscription was originally a correct transliteration of the Brāhmi inscription on the reverse.*

(2) In the best examples the inscription runs thus :

N.B.—There is no instance of A being found after the C in the two genitive forms as one might naturally expect.

(3) The use of the Roman letter H twice in the inscription is remarkable, and as far as I know, these coins supply the only instance of such a combination of the Greek and Roman characters.

(4) The other letters of the inscription in the best examples are correctly shaped Greek (uncial) letters, generally very well formed, the letter  being represented by I.

(5) Changes gradually take place in the inscription which can only be accounted for on the supposition that the later dies were prepared by persons ignorant of the Greek alphabet. In those degenerate instances the letter N is almost invariably written as  ; the letter I has various shapes :  ; the letter H seems to have been early changed to B; and perhaps the most curious change of all is the change of  into P. This seems to indicate a knowledge of the Roman alphabet, and ignorance of the Greek, but on the other hand there is the fact that the Roman R is never found in the place of the Greek P in the first word of the inscription.

* On other grounds it has been conjectured that Caṣṭana and Nahapāna were contemporaries. The evidence of the Greek inscription on the coins points to the same conclusion. Although we have not yet discovered a coin of Caṣṭana's with the Greek inscription perfect enough is known to show that it was probably an accurate transliteration, in which case it is reasonable to infer that it was contemporaneous with Nahapāna's early coins, before the degeneration had set in. On no coin later than Caṣṭana's can any sense be made of the Greek inscription.

A very large proportion of the coins in the hoard have the inscription in the following form :—

ΡΑΝΝΙΩ ΙΑΝΒΑΑΑCCCΝΑΑΡΝΑΑCCϵ.

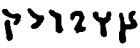
A very curious thing about these latter coins is that though the Greek is so corrupt the Kharoṣṭhi inscription on these specimens is perfect, whereas the coins which have the purest form of the Greek transliteration have as a rule the worst executed Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions.

II.—The Kharosthi Inscription.

Next in interest to the Greek inscription on these coins are the inscriptions on the reverse in the two oldest known alphabets of India, the Kharoṣṭhi and the Brāhmi. Let us consider the Kharoṣṭhi first.

It is hardly necessary for me to explain that the Kharoṣṭhi alphabet is written from right to left; that it is believed to have reached India *via* Afghānistān some three or four centuries before the beginning of the Christian era; that it is clearly derived from the Aramaic alphabet, having been taken over by the Persian kings along with the office establishments of their predecessors, and then carried by them to the confines of their world empire, till the character which was used by the Samaritans in their letter to Artaxerxes as described in the book of Ezra (4; 7) came to be used in the cutcherries of India; that there are rock inscriptions in this character in various parts of India and in Eastern Afghānistān and Central Asia, and also on the coins of the Greek and Scythic invaders of India; and lastly, that the recent explorations in Central Asia have brought to light many records written in this character on strips and wedges of wood.

The Kharoṣṭhi inscription on these coins runs thus :—



: Rāña Chaharatasa Nahapanasa, *i.e.*, of (belonging to) the king Nahapāna the Chaharāta.

Apart from certain variations in the shapes of the letters, which I shall discuss presently, it may be said that almost all the coins, the latest as well as the earliest, contain this inscription in the above form. There are however some of the coins in which the Kharoṣṭhi inscription is found in a degenerate form, somewhat analogous to the degeneration which we have noticed in the Greek inscription, so that

the conclusion is forced on us that the Kharoṣṭhi characters were not as well known as the Brāhmi to those who made those dies. And I have already referred to the curious and decidedly puzzling fact that the worst specimens of the Kharoṣṭhi are found on the coins that have the most perfect Greek, and *vice versa*.

When comparing the letters found on these coins with the Table of the Kharoṣṭhi alphabet given in Bühler's Indische Palæographie, I was at once struck by the superior finish, if I may so express it, of the letters on the coins. There is a shakiness and irregularity in the letters of the Table which we do not find here. This may be due to the fact that Bühler got most of his types from rock inscriptions or much worn coins. On the rock inscriptions the letters would be large and uneven to begin with, and would be worn and rendered more or less indistinct by long exposure to the weather. Whether this conjecture be well founded or not, the letters on these coins are certainly neater looking than the same letters in the Table, and beautifully clear specimens are abundant. Take for instance the letters  and  which always appear on the coins with sharp angles and simple firm lines, and observe the contrast in the Table.

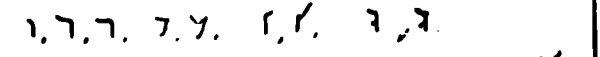
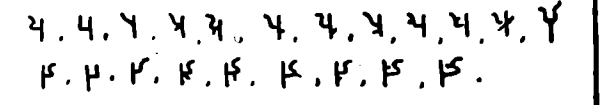
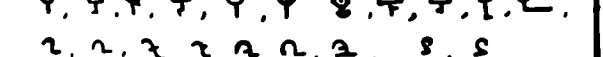
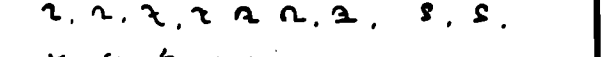
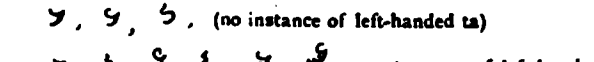
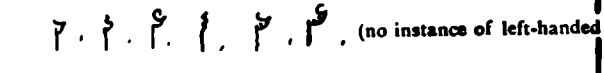
Bühler gives two forms (right-handed and left-handed) of the letter *ña* in his Table,  and , and we find many examples of both on the coins. But in the case of several other letters, of which Bühler gives only single forms, right-handed or left-handed as the case may be, we find two forms on the coins. Thus Bühler gives only one form, right-handed, of the letter *pa* whereas we find two forms  on the coins of this hoard. The latter form is found for the most part on coins which have the purest Greek inscription, and is also generally associated with the left-handed form of *ña*.

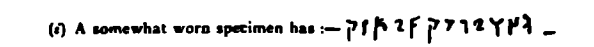
The Kharoṣṭhi legend is frequently abbreviated on the coins for want of space in the circle, and I have noted the following :—

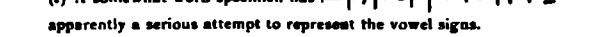
Rano Chaharatasa Nahapana.
Rano Chaharatasa Nahapa.
Rano Chaharatasa Naha.
Rano Chaharatasa Na.
Rano Chaharatasa.

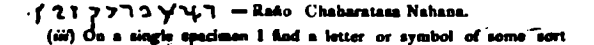
These abbreviations are found only on coins that preserve the most correct form of the Greek legend. The Brāhmi inscription, as far as I have seen, is never abbreviated.

I give below a table showing the varieties in the shape of the Kharoṣṭhi letters which are found on the coins, along with the same letters as figured in Bühler's Table :—

Kharoṣṭhi letters from Bühler's Tables.	The same letters as found on the coins of this hoard.
Ra =	
ña =	
cha =	
ha =	
ta =	 (no instance of left-handed ta)
sa =	 (no instance of left-handed *sa*)
na =	
pa =	

(*i*) A somewhat worn specimen has :—  — apparently a serious attempt to represent the vowel signs.

(*ii*) Another, with King's bust very small, and otherwise peculiar, has  —Rāño Chaharatasa Nahasa.

(*iii*) On a single specimen I find a letter or symbol of some sort following the Kharoṣṭhi legend, *i.e.*, between it and the Brāhmi, thus :  ---- This sign may simply mark off the Brāhmi from the Kharoṣṭhi

The results of my examination of the Kharoṣṭhi inscription may be summarised as follows :—

(1) The letters are in very many cases beautifully formed, and give the impression of being better executed than the letters of Bühler's Table.

(2) The coins supply a number of varieties in the shapes of the letters which are not found in Bühler's Table.

(3) There are also various attempts to express the vowels which appear to be new ; at least I do not find them in Bühler.

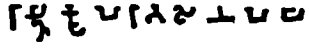
(4) The coins with the most correct form of the Greek inscription have frequently the Kharoṣṭhi legend imperfectly and very badly executed, whilst the best form of the Kharoṣṭhi is found along with a very degenerate form of the Greek.

III.—The Brāhmi Inscription.

With reference to the Brāhmi character it may suffice to say that it is the oldest known Indian alphabet, and the parent of not only the modern Sanscrit character, but of most of the alphabets now in use in India. It is the character used by Asoka in the famous rock-inscriptions which he caused to be engraved over the length and breadth of India more than 250 years before the birth of Christ : it is the character used in the inscriptions found on the caves of Nāsik some centuries later, and it is the same character which is found on the Kṣatrapa coins during the three centuries that that dynasty lasted.

Bühler's Tables give specimens of Brāhmi ranging from 350 B.C. to 350 A.D. The characters on our coins belong to near the middle of that period.

The Brāhmi inscription runs from left to right, and is as follows :—

 = Rājño Kṣaharātasa Nahapānasa, *i.e.*, of (belonging to) the king Nahapāna the Kṣaharāta.

The coins, though not all equally well executed, furnish no notable variety in the shapes of the Brāhmi letters, nor do we ever find the Brāhmi inscription in either an incorrect or an abbreviated form, from which we may conclude that the characters were well known to the many various workmen who prepared the dies, and made such numerous variations in both the Greek transliteration and the Kharoṣṭhi inscription.

The letters on these coins are distinctly of an earlier and purer form than those found on the Kṣatrap coins of two hundred years later, and it is interesting to compare a good specimen of Nahapāna's inscription with one of Viradāman.

IV.—The Bust of Nahapāna.

I have now reached what I cannot help regarding as the most perplexing and difficult part of my task, the representation of the king's head on the coins.

When Paṇḍit Bhagwānlāl Indrāji wrote his final paper on the Kṣatrapa coins he had only four specimens of Nahapāna's coins in his collection—now in the British Museum,—and I do not think he had ever seen any other specimens than those four. From these coins he was able, as we have seen, to read the Kharoṣṭhi and Brāhmi inscriptions, but quite unable to do more than make a mistaken guess as to the Greek inscription. With regard to the bust of the king he wrote, "The face on the obverse of all my coins was so well executed as to fairly indicate the age of the king at the time of striking. The face on one coin seemed to be that of a man about thirty years old. Another specimen . . . has a somewhat older head, perhaps about 45. A third coin . . . has a wrinkled face, with a long wrinkled neck, indicating an age of about 60; while the last specimen . . . bears a still older type of face with wrinkled cheeks and toothless mouth, and represents the king at about the age of seventy." Ever since I first read the Paṇḍit's paper I have been filled with admiration at the marvellous skill possessed by the mint masters of those early days,—a skill which, as far as I am aware, is never emulated in any country, civilised or otherwise, in our time,—and with wonder at the remarkable fact that while only four coins of Nahapāna were preserved over the lapse of nearly 1800 years, those four should be found to be so well distributed over the whole length of his long reign. It will be readily understood how eager an interest I took in comparing the busts of the king given on the 13,000 coins of this hoard.

The first impression that one receives from the coins is that the head of the king is very well executed, the face is possessed of distinction and character and has no appearance of being conventional. The workmanship is far from being equally good on all the coins, but this matter of character and type is evident in all the coins. They give one the impression of being good likenesses. They also undoubtedly represent the king as of various ages, some of the faces being young enough to be twenty years of age, and others old enough looking to be that of a man of seventy.

Was the Paṇḍit then right in his theory? In other words, do the coins really represent the king at all ages from twenty or thirty seventy, and was the likeness varied from year to year?

With this question in my mind I have made a careful study of the coins, and have turned them all over again and again, but whilst I feel the utmost reluctance in disagreeing with so high an authority, and whilst I admit that there is much to be said in support of his view, yet on the whole I do not think that it is possible to establish the Paṇḍit's conclusion. I should say that a certain proportion of the coins, perhaps one-third, might be regarded as witnesses in favour of the Paṇḍit's theory. If these coins were set apart, and if we had no other specimens of Nahapāna's coins, we should have no hesitation in believing that the king was really represented on the coins in all the various stages of his long life. But against this theory we must set the evidence of two-thirds of the coins of the hoard, on which we have indeed faces varying greatly in age, and not in age only, but in every feature. This is the surprise and the mystery of the hoard. If we grant that the die casters of those days were sufficiently skilled in their work to produce portraits of the king at various ages, and I am quite prepared to grant that, then I think we are forced to the conclusion that it is not one face that is represented on these coins but many. I hope that the coins shown on the Plates will make this clear.

We are thus face to face with a very curious problem. The inscriptions are all the inscriptions of Nahapāna, whose are the faces? If they were really intended to represent one person, then we must not only accept the Paṇḍit's theory as to the different ages, but we must conclude that the striking differences shown on the coins are due to the great variety of artists employed, and to their very varied powers of portraiture. If on the other hand we feel constrained to conclude that all these various types,—short-necked and long-necked, straight-nosed and hook-nosed, low forehead and high forehead, stern visaged and pleasant faced, lean face and fat face,—cannot possibly represent the same person, then whom do they represent? Before giving my own opinion on this matter I wish to draw attention to some points which I have noticed in examining the coins. In the first place I have noticed that only a comparatively small proportion of the coins of this hoard have the Greek letters in their most correct form and the transliteration in its incorrupt reading. One would naturally expect to find on these coins a youthful representation of the king. But this is not the case. I might almost say that the very opposite is the case, but as a matter of fact there are a very few coins with perfect Greek which show a youthful face. The great majority, however, of the coins with the best Greek have a very old type of face. Again, it seems to me that even among the coins with the Greek legend pure there are sufficiently dis-

tinct types of face to render it extremely doubtful that they could stand for one and the same person. Further, a very large number of coins in the hoard which have the Greek legend in a corrupt form, have quite a youthful representation of the king. And lastly, it seems to me that the differences are so pronounced that we are forced to seek some other explanation than that of Paṇḍit Bhagwānlāl Indrāji, and to consider the possibility at least of there being here the faces of different persons.

But for one significant fact, I should have been inclined to suggest that we may have here the coins not of a single king, but of a series of kings, sons and grandsons perhaps of Nahapāna, who retained on their coins the name of their great ancestor as a title of honour, and for some strange reason caused their features to be portrayed on their coins, whilst refusing to record their personal names. I should also have been inclined to believe that the coins in this hoard might well cover a period of a century or two. But right in the way of any such theory lies the stubborn fact that almost if not quite all of the various types of Nahapāna's coins are found among the coins which were counter stamped by Nahapāna's conqueror, Sātakarṇi. One of the types I have not been able to trace, a youthful face with the Greek legend in correct form, and another type of youthful face with a very corrupt form of the legend in very small letters is extremely rare. But I have not been able to make an exhaustive search for these types, and the fact is unquestionable that among the coins stamped by Sātakarṇi are specimens of practically all the various types found among the coins that are not counter stamped.

It seems to me that a possible solution of the problem may be found in the expression used by Sātakarṇi in his Nāsik cave inscription, where he claims to have "rooted out the dynasty of the Khakharāta." This may be taken to mean either a line of Kṣaharātas or a number of members of the Kṣaharāta family, ruling over various parts of the country at the same time. If we suppose that such was the case, then it may be possible that various members of the family caused their own likenesses to be engraved on the coins, whilst keeping the inscription of Nahapāna unchanged as he was the founder of the dynasty. The explanation is, I admit, a somewhat far fetched one, but I give it for what it is worth, and it may be allowed to stand till some further evidence is available.

Before leaving this part of the subject I want to point out that the shape of the hat worn by the king, and the style in which the hair is represented are both characteristic, and appear the same on all the

different types of coins. This is the more important as the busts of the Kṣatrapas all differ from Nahapāna's in these particulars.

Nahapāna's head dress is a kind of square flat cap, without a brim, intersected by a number of upright strokes giving the appearance of a crown in some cases, and having a sort of little knot projecting behind. The Kṣatrapa's head dress on the other hand is round and smooth as if it were of metal, always shows a distinct brim, has no lines or marks of any kind, or any knot behind.

The style in which the hair is dressed is equally characteristic. Nahapāna's hair is gathered up in a kind of bobwig style close under the hat, and extending only to the ear ; whilst all the Kṣatrapas wore the hair long, extending down far behind the ear, and showing voluminous curls on the neck.

Another point on which all Nahapāna's coins agree is in showing the king without a moustache, whereas the Kṣátrapa kings invariably have moustaches.

V.—The Counter-struck Inscription of Sātakarṇi I.

As I have stated in the early part of my paper more than two-thirds of the coins of this hoard have been counter-struck by Nahapāna's conqueror, the king Gotamiputra Śri Sātakarṇi.

In very many cases the counterstamp is such as to completely obliterate the inscriptions and symbols of Nahapāna. In other cases not much damage has been done and there is no difficulty in reading the original legends. My first idea was that the die used for the purpose of counter stamping the coins was brought to a white heat and then used until too cool to make an impression. The first coins stamped would therefore have their original inscriptions completely effaced, and the later ones would be scarcely affected. It has, however, been explained to me by my friend H. Cousens, Esq., of the Archæological Survey that such a thing as using a hot die is unknown, and that the true explanation of the varying effect of the blow given to the counterstamped coin lies in the workman and not in the tool. A strong sledge hammer blow would efface the original stamp, but as the workman grew tired and struck less vigorously the effect would be less.

In Bhāṇḍārkar's History of the Deccan (p. 167) there is a reference to a counterstamped coin. "One of the Kolhāpur coins figured by Pandit Bhagwānlāl Indrāji bears the names of both Gotamiputra and Madhariputra, showing that the piece originally bearing

the name of one of them was restamped with the name of the other. Mr. Thomas thinks it was originally Madhariputra's coin. I think it was Gotamiputra's; for if we see the other figured coins we shall find that they are so stamped as to leave some space between the rim and the legend. This in the present case is utilized, and the name of Madhariputra stamped close to the rim, which shows that the thing was done later. Madhariputra Sakasena, therefore, must have been a successor of Gotamiputra Yajna Śri Sātakarṇi."

It is noteworthy that there is not a single coin in the whole collection which was not originally Nahapāna's. This raises the question whether Sātakarṇi I. ever issued coins of his own, and the testimony of the coins of this hoard points to the conclusion that he probably did not.

As far as I know the coins of this hoard are the first of Sātakarṇi's coins to be brought to light, and so they are of very special interest.

Much has been learnt about this king Sātakarṇi I. from the cave inscriptions at Nāsik. The most important of the many inscriptions found in the caves is that of Queen Gautami Bālās'ri, in which the merits of her son, the illustrious Sātakarṇi Gautamiputra, are very fully described. If this account is to be relied on he must have been a very mighty king indeed. He is called "King of kings", and the list is given of the countries over which he ruled, showing that his kingdom stretched from Mālwa in the north to Malabar in the south, and apparently embraced all Rajputānā, Gujarāt, Kāthiāwār, and the Deccan. He "humbled the conceit and vanity of the Kṣatriyas;" "destroyed the Śakas, Yavanas and Palhavas," *i.e.*, the Scythians, Greeks and Persians,—all northern invaders;—"fostered the Brahmans;" "established the glory of the Satavahana family;" "stopped the admixture of the four castes;" was a great warrior, ever victorious, a descendant of illustrious kings; and, what is of chief interest to us just now, "rooted out the dynasty of the Khakharāta." The name of Nahapāna does not occur in the inscription, but there seems no doubt that the description of Sātakarṇi as the conqueror of Nahapāna is correct.

It is curious and interesting to find that the famous Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman in his inscription at Girnār claims to be just such another king as Sātakarṇi is here described, and to have ruled over practically the same immense district. Rudradāman also claims to have twice conquered Sātakarṇi, the lord of the Deccan, and to have refrained from destroying him only on account of his being a near

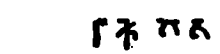
relative. It is probable that the Sātakarṇi who was defeated by Rudradāman was a grandson of the Sātakarṇi of these coins.

Rudradāman was reigning, as we know, in the year 150 A.D. It is therefore not improbable that our King Sātakarṇi may have conquered Nahapāna (or should we say the dynasty of the Kṣaharāta ?) and counter-struck his coins about the years 125-130 A.D.

Judging from the condition of the coins I should say that they must have been a very long time in circulation, and that both before and after being counter-struck. Many of the perforated coins are worn smooth and it would take years to do that. This raises another interesting question, for if we argue from the condition of the coins that they could not have been buried earlier than 20 years after Sātakarṇi's victory, and it is hard to believe that any less period would suffice to wear the coins as we find them, that would bring us down to about 150 A. D., the date of the Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman, and of his victory over Sātakarṇi II., and the question arises, why do we not find in the hoard coins of any of the Andhra kings who followed Sātakarṇi I.? We know that Sātakarṇi II. issued coins in his own name, for two such coins have been found, and they are "similar in fabric and style to the Kṣatrapa coins" (Rapson's Indian Coins, section 87). On the other hand it may be simply an accident that no specimens of other kings' coins were in the hoard. There was evidently a vast supply of Nahapāna's coins (with and without Sātakarṇi's counter impression) available, and so the other kings may have coined little. It may well be that the state of war which existed as we have seen in or about the year 150 A. D. when Rudradāman was depriving Sātakarṇi of his territories, supplies as good a reason as we are likely to find for the secretion and subsequent abandonment of the hoard.

The counter stamping was made on both sides, the obverse having a *chaitya* in the centre, surrounded by the inscription, whilst the reverse has the "Ujjain symbol" without any inscription. There was clearly no attempt made to preserve any rule in the stamping of the coins, as the obverse counter stamp is found as often on the reverse as on the obverse of Nahapāna's coins. The coins have no dates.

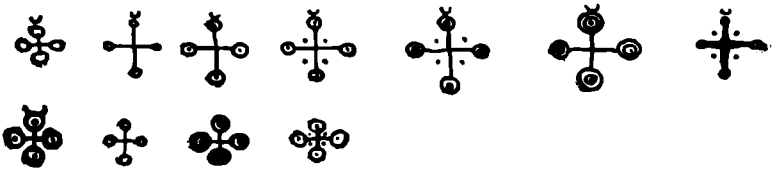
Sātakarṇi's inscription is in the Brāhmi character clearly of the same period as the inscription on the cave at Nāsik. It is as follows :

 = Rāño Gotamiputasa Siri Sātakanisa=of the King Śri Sātakarṇi, the son of Gotami.

The great variety of dies used in making the counter impression is as noticeable as the variety in the case of Nahapāna's coins to which I have drawn attention. The work was evidently done by many different workmen, of very different abilities, and probably at many different places. The letters on some coins are very clear and well formed and regular, on others they are large and irregular.

The symbols also vary in a remarkable way. Thus we find the following varieties in the shape of the *chaitya* :—

The " Ujjain symbol " appears in the following varieties



VI.—The Symbols on the Coins.

The last subject which I proposed to discuss in this paper is the meaning of the various symbols which are found on Nahapāna's and Sātakarṇi's coins. All I can do however is to direct attention to the matter, and state the facts as we find them, in the hope that the subject may be taken up and exhaustively treated by more competent hands than mine. For there is no doubt a most interesting and unexplored line of research here waiting for a scholar with leisure and opportunity to trace these different and distinct symbols back to their origin and thence down through all their vicissitudes, to their final disappearance from the coinage of India.

(*a*) Nahapāna's coins display his head on the obverse, and a thunderbolt and arrow on the reverse. There is always a small dot found between the thunderbolt and the arrow, which may stand for the sun, but is hardly imposing enough.

Nahapāna had the examples of Greek and Roman coins before him for the use of his own effigies on his coins, but I have found no instance of any previous Indian or Bactrian king making use of the thunderbolt and arrow on his coins, nor do I know of any subsequent king using these symbols. The Kṣatrapas who have been regarded as Nahapāna's successors never appear to have used the thunderbolt

and arrow, their symbols being the *chaitya* with sun and moon, and on their copper coinage an elephant or an Indian bull.

That all the symbols used had a religious signification is, I think, very probable, but there was so much eclecticism at that period of Indian history that it is impossible to draw hard and fast lines. I would merely suggest that the thunderbolt and arrow may be emblems of Vishṇu, the wielder of lightning and thunder, and therefore, these symbols may be connected with Hinduism proper, whilst the *chaitya* and the "Ujjain symbol" may be connected with Buddhism.

(*b*) Sātakarṇi's symbols are, as we have seen, the *chaitya* and the "Ujjain mark." They were not new to Indian coinage as they are both found on some of the very earliest of the Indian coins, *e.g.*, the *chaitya* on the Taxila coins of about 200 B.C., and the "Ujjain mark" on coins of a similar early date.

The Kṣatrapa king Caṣṭana was probably a contemporary of Nahapāna, and he used the *chaitya* with sun and moon, as his symbol and that became the recognised symbol of the whole Kṣatrapa line during the three or four centuries that they continued to rule. None of the Kṣatrapas, however, appears to have ever used the "Ujjain symbol." Both the *chaitya* and the "Ujjain mark" are found, not on different sides of the coin, but close together, on the reverse of a coin of Sātakarṇi II. We should probably not be wrong in regarding these two as combining to form the Andhra symbol. Then we find that the Kṣatrapas used the *chaitya* without the "Ujjain mark," and it is interesting to remember that the Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman claimed kinship with Sātakarṇi, and gave that as a reason for sparing him. The common use of the *chaitya* as a symbol may well be connected with that fact of relationship, a sort of heraldic quartering of their royal coats of arms.

I have only in conclusion to refer my readers to the excellent series of plates which have been very kindly prepared by Henry Cousens, Esq., from which the many points of interest to which I have drawn attention in my paper will be easily understood, and in the case of the diverse representations of the personal appearance of king Nahapāna, will be better realised than from any verbal description.

NAHAPĀNA'S COINS.

Obverse: Head of king facing to right: inscription in Greek and Roman characters: ΡΑΝΝΙΩ ΙΑΗΑΡΑΤΑϹ ΝΑΗΑΠΑΝΑϹ. No date.

Reverse: Thunderbolt and arrow: *Rajño Kṣaharatasa Nahapanasa* in Brāhmi characters; *Raño Chaharatasa Nahapanasa* in Kharoshṭhi characters.

Æ. Weight 29 to 32 grains.

SĀTAKARNI'S COINS.

Obverse: Rāño Gotamiputasa Siri Satakanisa in Brāhmi characters: *chaitya*: no date.

Reverse.—Ujjain symbol.

Counterstruck on Nahapāna's coins.

EXPLANATION OF THE PLATES.

Plate I.—First Row : Coins showing Greek transliteration in its correct form.

Second Row : Coins showing Brāhmi inscription.

Third Row : Coins showing Kharoṣṭhi inscription.

Fourth Row : Coins showing Greek transliteration in degenerate forms.

Fifty Row : Coins showing Kharoṣṭhi inscription in degenerate forms.

Sixty Row : Coins of Satakarni I, with his inscription complete.

Plate II.—Greek legend in pure form, varieties of bust.

Plate III.—Greek logend in degenerate form, varieties of bust.

Plate IV.—Specimens of counterstruck coins.

PLATE I.

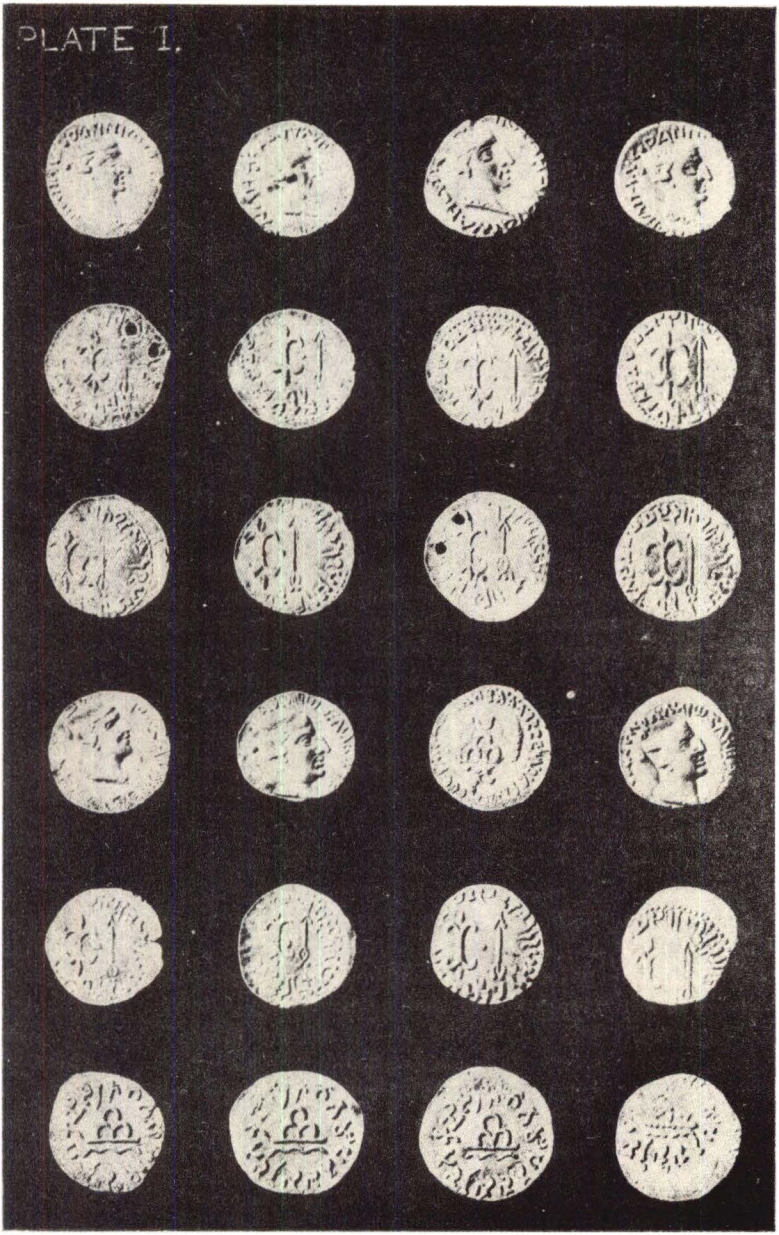



PLATE II.

PLATE III.

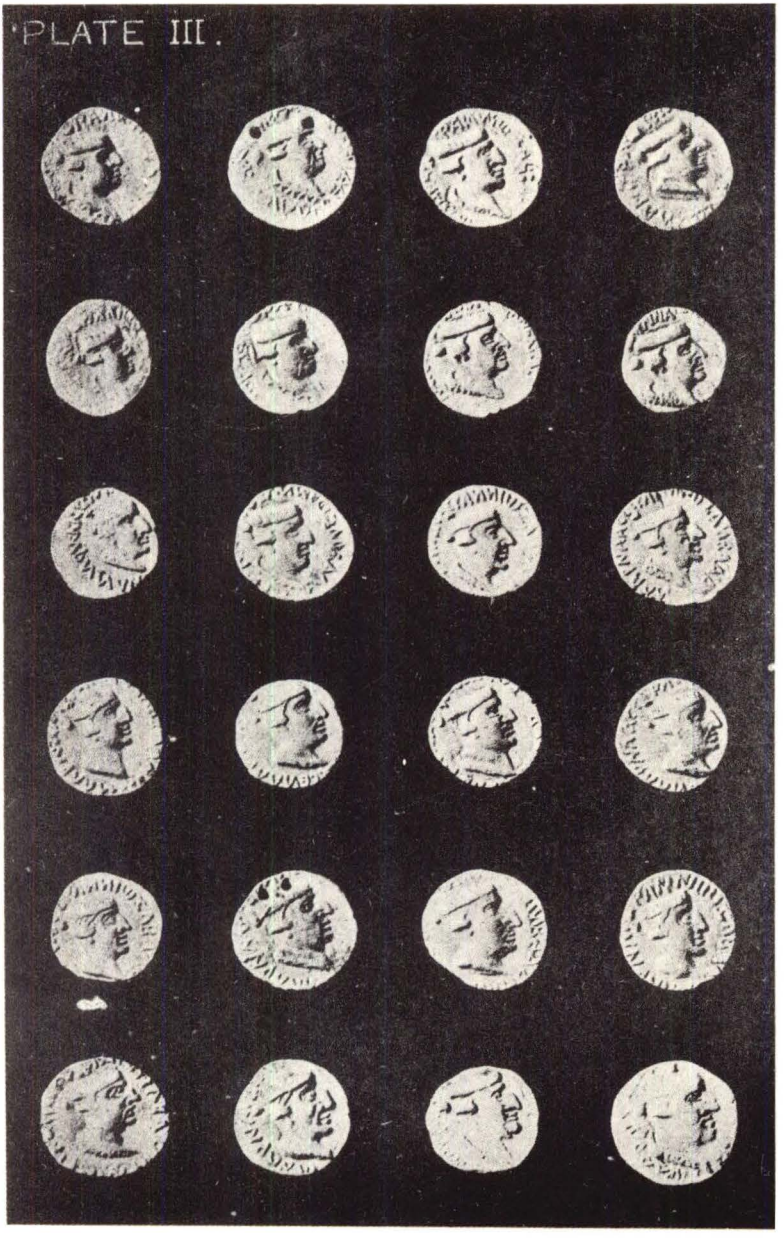
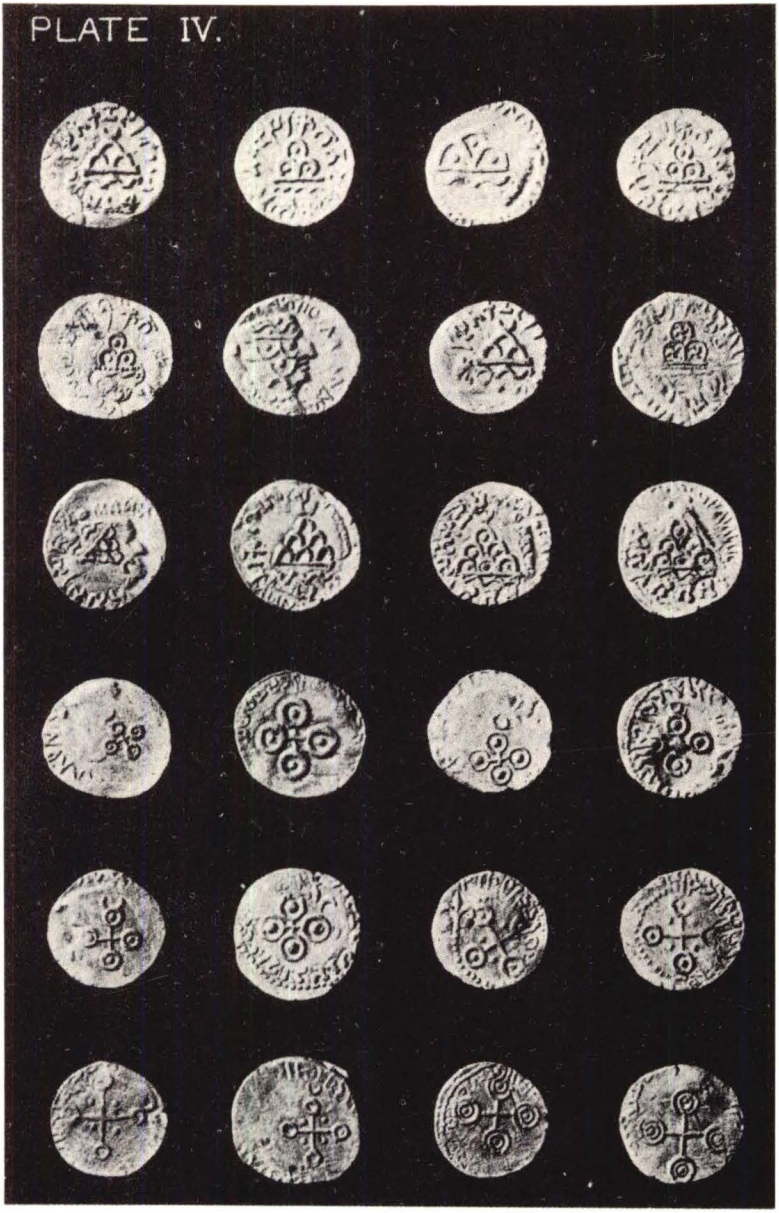


PLATE IV.



ART. XVII.—*The Coins of Sūrat.*

BY THE REV. GEO. P. TAYLOR, M.A., D.D., AHMADĀBĀD.

(*Communicated*)

Much that is doubtful has gathered round the story of the founding of the city of Sūrat. Tradition links its prosperity as a modern city with the name of Gopī, a rich Hindū trader, who settled on its present site early in the sixteenth century. One of the city-wards is still called after him Gopīparā, and a large reservoir, long since waterless, is still known as the Gopī Talāv. For a while the town, or perhaps we should rather say the suburb, so quickly rising under his fostering care, was termed simply the "new place"; but ere long certain astrologers, at a meeting convened by Gopī, suggested it might well be called Sūraj or Sūryapur, 'the City of the Sun.' Forthwith petition was made to the Sulṭān Muẓaffar Karīm, as overlord of the district, that formal sanction might be given for the adoption of this name. Now Muẓaffar was a staunchly orthodox adherent of the Muslim faith, and it could not have been quite to his liking that a new town in his dominions should thus be accorded a purely Hindū name; yet his naturally amiable disposition inclined him to accede, as far as might be, to the simple request. So, changing just the final letter of the word Sūraj, he decreed that the city should be called Sūrat (Persian سورت for Arabic سورة), a term surely free from all objection, since identical with the word employed to designate each chapter of the "glorious Qōr'ān."

In his Gujarātī account of Sūrat, Narmadāśaṅkar gives the date of this naming of the city as A.D. 1520. But in this detail he has evidently been overprecise: for six years before 1520 the Portuguese traveller Duarte Barbosa visited "a city called Surat at the mouth of a river," and even thus early it was "a city of very great trade in all classes of merchandise." Barbosa further relates that "Many ships of Malabar and all other parts sail thither continually, and discharge and take in goods, because this is a very important seaport, and there are in it very vast quantities of merchandise. Moors, Gentiles, and all sorts of people live in this city. Its custom-house, which they call Divana, produces a very large revenue for the King of Guzarat, and

until now Malaguioy, a Gentile, commands it, and governs it, as lord of it."[1]

This so circumstantial reference to the prosperity of the city in the year 1514 renders inevitable the conclusion that Sūrat dates back considerably before the days of the merchant-prince Gopī. We may with probability infer that on the site of an ancient Hindū town called Sūryapur the present city was built, and that simultaneously with a phenomenal development of its trade in the first quarter of the sixteenth century the city's name was changed from Sūryapur to Sūrat.[2]

Owing both to its wealth and to its importance as a naval station, Sūrat early became an object of desire to the Portuguese, who on three several occasions assaulted and sacked the city—once in 1512, again in 1530, and yet again in 1531. Of the 1530 expedition Danvers concisely records that "Antonio da Silveira proceeded up the Tapti river, and burnt the city of Sūrat and the ships in the arsenal there, killing everything that had life within it, and taking away everything of value."[3] The fort that had been built after the first invasion proving insufficient, the Sulṭān Maḥmūd (III) bin Laṭīf gave orders for the erection of the much stronger castle that still dominates the river.

In the latter part of the year 1572 (A. H. 980) the Emperor Akbar, gladly responding to an invitation from the disaffected noble Ḳ'timād Khān, swooped down with his army upon the province of Gujarāt, and in six short months had annexed it to his dominions. The recalcitrant Mirzās, who had found an asylum with Changīz Khān of Broach, and whose presence in Gujarāt had supplied Akbar a specious pretext for invasion, early in 1573 gained possession of Sūrat, and entrenched themselves within the Castle. Akbar, however, followed close on the rebels, and after a seven-weeks' siege took the city (24 Shawwāl 980; 27 Feb. 1573). Henceforward Sūrat, in common with the rest of the province, became an integral part of the Mughal Empire, and for the next two centuries shared in its vicissitudes.

[1] Stanley's Edition of Barbosa's "Description of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar," printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1866, pages 67, 68.

[2] Notwithstanding the contrary opinion maintained by Elliot and Dowson, it is well definitely to dissociate the name of the city Sūrat (Guj. સુરત) from that of the province Soraṭh (Guj. સોરઠ). This latter name is the Prakritized form of the Sanskrit Saurāṣṭra (सौराष्ट्र), which originally denoted the whole of the Kaṭhiawaḍ Peninsula. It is, however, in its present application, limited to the *prant*, or district, in that Peninsula which borders the sea on the South and South-West. With an area of 5220 square miles, it includes the Native States of Junagarh, Jafarabad, Porbandar, Bantva, and Jetpur.

[3] F. C. Danvers: "The Portuguese in India," Vol. I, page 399.

I. The period of Local Mughal Currency: A. H. 985—1027; A. D. 1577—1618. It was within the first decade subsequent to its subjugation by Akbar that Sūrat for the first time issued coins from a mint of its own. Prior to this period its currency had consisted of the gold and silver and copper coins struck by the Gujarāt Sulṭāns for the most part at their capital city of Aḥmadābād. This Aḥmadābād mint, which in the early months of H. 980 had been producing coins for the ill-fated Sulṭān Muẓaffar III, was ere the close of that year impressed into service for the issue of imperial rupees, bearing the more illustrious name of Jalāl-al-dīn Akbar Pādshāh. But Sūrat in the year of its conquest possessed no mint that could be requisitioned for imperial coinage. So far as we can learn, it was in the year H. 985 (A. D. 1577-78) that Sūrat made its first contribution to the currency, and the coins then issued were of a type distinctly inferior both in workmanship and in weight to the rupees struck at Aḥmadābād and other of the Imperial Mints. Here, for instance, is Mandelslo's account of the coins that were current at his time (A. D. 1638) in the province of Gujarāt :—

> "They have also two sorts of money, to wit, the Mamoudies "and the Ropias. The Mamoudis are made at Surat, of silver "of a very base alley, and are worth about twelve pence sterling, "and they go only at Surat, Brodra, Broitchia, Cambaya, and "those parts. Over all the Kingdom besides, as at Amadabath "and elsewhere, they have Ropias Chagam, which are very good "silver, and worth half a Crown French money."[1]

These "Sūrat Maḥmūdīs," we may confidently affirm, are identical with the silver coins which Stanley Lane-Poole has designated in the British Museum Catalogue "Coins of Gujarāt Fabric." They are known only in silver, and are of two denominations corresponding in weight to the half and the quarter rupee. They are round coins, the larger ones having a diameter of six-tenths of an inch and the smaller of half an inch. The dates on the specimens known to me range from H. 985[2] to H. 1027. Then comes a blank for nearly two centuries, after which precisely the same type of coin reappears, but now with the dates H. 1215 and 1217 (A. D. 1800 and 1802).

The legend, which on all these Maḥmūdīs is the same, reads as follows :—(*see* Fig. 1).

[1] J. Albert de Mandelslo: "Voyages and Travels:" rendered into English by John Davies, Edition of 1662, p. 85.

[2] I had here and in the preceding paragraph originally written H. 989, but my friend, Mr. Framji J. Thanawala, after reading this article, sent him in MS. form, most kindly resented me two beautiful Maḥmūdīs—one dated H. 985 and the other H. 988.

Obverse.—In a square area bounded by double lines with dots between :

بادشاہ
اکبر غازی
محمد
جلال الدین

Margins illegible.

Reverse.—In similar area :

لا الہ الا اللہ
محمد
رسول اللہ

Margins illegible.

The figures denoting the Hijrī years are entered near the right-hand lower corner of the square area of the *Obverse*—over the *jīm* of جلال In the coin dated H. 985 the figures are upright, but on all specimens known to me of a later date they appear as though lying on their faces, having suffered rotation from the upright position through one quadrant to the left. It is worthy of special note that, though Akbar died in H. 1014, his name is retained unchanged on the coins struck subsequent to that date, whether in Jahāngīr's reign or even two hundred years later.[1]

II. The Period of Imperial Mughal Currency : A. H. 1030—1215 ; A.D. 1620—1800.

In order to meet the demand for a purely local currency, the Sūrat Mint continued to issue its comparatively insignificant Maḥmūdī silverlings for a period of more than forty years, say, H. 985—1027, with a slight added margin for either limit. But at the close of that period this Mint seems to have been promoted to the grade of an Imperial Mint, and its thenceforward increased activity was evidenced by the production, and in considerable numbers, of all the different standard coins of the realm, the gold muhr, the silver rupee, and the copper fulūs. The following table shows for each of the Mughal Emperors (or Claimants to the throne) the metals in which coins from the Sūrat Mint are known to us to-day. It will be seen that, with the exception of five claimants (Dāwar Bakhsh, Shujā', Kām Bakhsh, Nikū-siyar and

[1] In the account here given of the Sūrat Maḥmūdis, now more commonly called the coins of Gujarāt Fabric, I have availed myself of the conclusions established in two articles published in the Numismatic Supplement II from the Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. LXXIII, Part I, No. 2, 1904, and the Numismatic Supplement VI from the Journal and Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bengal (New Series), Vol. I, No. 10, 1905.

Ibrāhīm) every ruler from Jahāngīr to Shāh ʿĀlam II is represented by at least his silver pieces :—

Sūrat Mint.					Sūrat Mint.				
No.	Emperor or Claimant.	Metal. G.	S.	C.	No.	Emperor or Claimant.	Metal. G.	S.	C.
1	Jahāngīr ...	...	S	C	11	Farrukh-siyar ...	...	S	C
	Jahāngīr and Nūr Jahān ...	G	S	...	12	Rafīʿal darajāt ...	...	S	C
2	Dāwar Bakhsh ...	...	...	...	13	Shāh Jahān II. ...	G	S	...
3	Shāh Jahān I. ...	G	S	C	14	Nikū-siyar ...	...	...	...
4	Shujāʿ ...	...	...	...	15	Ibrāhīm ...	...	...	...
5	Murād Bakhsh ...	...	S	C	16	Muḥammad ...	G	S	C
6	Aurangzeb ...	G	S	C	17	Aḥmad Shāh ...	...	S	...
7	Aʿẓam Shāh ...	...	S	...	18	ʿĀlamgīr II. ...	...	S	...
8	Kām Bakhsh ...	...	...	...	19	Shāh Jahān III....	...	S	...
9	Shāh ʿĀlam I. ...	G	S	C	20	Shāh ʿĀlam II. ...	G	S	...
10	Jahāndār ...	G	S	C					

We have already seen that the latest known Sūrat Maḥmūdī is dated H. 1027. The earliest known Sūrat rupee—a rupee in the possession of my friend Mr. Framji Jamaspji Thanawala—is of the first month of the Hijrī year 1030[1], and from that date right on till H. 1215, or even a few years later, the Sūrat mint was more or less active. As the year H. 1215, however, witnessed both the resumption of the coinage of silver Maḥmūdīs and also the production of Sūrat muhrs and rupees by the Bombay mint of the East India Company, the issue of exclusively Imperial Mughal coins may be assigned to the 185 (lunar) years from A. H. 1030 till A. H. 1215. Accordingly we now proceed to register in their chronological order the legends on the different types of coins struck at the Sūrat mint during this period.

[1] Entry is made in the Lāhor Mus. Catal. (p. 70, No. 137) of an Akbarī rupee struck at Sūrat (صورت) in the month Jān. (جان) of the Ilahī year 38. This strange rupee, however, did not, we may confidently affirm, issue from the Sūrat (سورت) Mint.

JAHĀNGĪR : A. H. 1014—1037 ; A. D. 1605—1627.

A. From A. H. 1030—x (regnal year) till A. H. 1033—18. Rupee (*see* Fig. 2) and half-rupee.

Obv.

نورالدین
جہا
بادشاہ
نکیر
۱۰۳۱

Rev.

ماہ فروردي الہي
سنہ ۱۷
سورت
ضرب

On two rupees of this type in the Lāhor Museum (Catalogue Nos. 143 and 179) the tail of the *ye* in the word الہي is retracted across the face of the coin, and in one the word سنہ is wanting. Thus on these rupees the Reverse legends read as follow :—

ماہ بہمن الہے
سنہ
سورت
ضرب

and

ماہ ابان الہے
۱۷ سورت
[ضرب]

B. From A. H. 1033–19 till A. H. 1037–22.

One muhr (Br. Mus. Catal. No. 513), several rupees (*see* Fig. 3), and a few half-rupees of this period are known, bearing on the Obverse the name of Jahāngīr and on the Reverse that of his Queen-consort Nūr Jahān.

Obv.

جہانگیر
زحکم شاہ
صدزیور
یافت
سورت
ضرب

Rev.

شاه
باد
جهان
بنام نور زر
بیگم
۱۹ سنه ۱۰۳۳

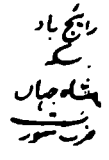
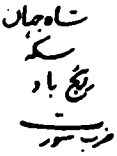
Thus the legend, covering both the Obverse and the Reverse, runs

زحکم شاه جهانگیر یافت صد زیور
بنام نور جهان بادشاه بیگم زر

By order of Shāh Jahāngīr money gained a hundred beauties
Through the name of Nūr Jahān Pādshāh Begam.

SHĀH JAHĀN I. : A. H. 1037-1069 ; A. D. 1628-1659.

A. A. H. 1037-1
Rupee.

1. *Obv.*  or the variant (*see* Fig. 4) 

Rev.

لا اله الا الله
محمد
رسول الله
سنه
۱۰۳۷

2. (*See* Fig. 5) *Obv.*

غازے
جهان پادشاه
شـــاه
صاحبقران ثاني
سنه
محـمـــد
شهاب الدین

Rev. لا الہ الا اللہ
محمد
رسول اللہ
ضرب ۱۰۳۷
سورت

B. From *Hijrī* 1037—احد | till *Hijrī* 1042-x.

Rupee (*see* Fig. 6) and half-rupee.

Both on Obverse and on Reverse the legend is bounded by two concentric linear circles between which comes a circle of dots.

Obv. پادشاہ غازے
شاہجہان سنہ احد
محمد
شہاب الدین
نے
صاحب قران ثا

Rev. لا الہ الا اللہ
محمد
رسول اللہ
ضرب
سورت
سے
سنہ ۱۰۳۷ ھجر

It was in this year 1037 that the term Hijrī (هجري) was for the first time entered on the coins of Sūrat.

From some specimens of rupees of this period in the cabinet of the Bombay Asiatic Society it would seem that the entry of the regnal year was occasionally omitted altogether.

C. From A. H. x—Ilahī 4 (1) till A. H. x—Ilahī 5 (12).[1]

Only two coins of this type have been published, and both are muhrs : one is in the British Museum and the other at Lāhor.

Obv. Same as B.

[1] The bracketed figure indicates the month : thus Ilahī 4 (1) means the first month—Farwardīn—of the Ilahī year 4 ; and similarly Ilahī 5 (12) the twelfth month—Isfandārmuz—of the Ilahī year 5.

Rev.

لا اله الا الله
محمد
رسول الله
ضرب
سنه ۴ سورت الهے
ماه فروردے

D. From A. H. x—6 till A. H. 1046—9.
Rupee (*see* Fig. 7).

Obv. In square area with knotted corners.

بادشاه غازے
شاه جهان

Margin : upper : شهاب الدين
: right : محمد صاحب
: lower : قران ثاني
: left : ضرب سورت

Rev. In square area with knotted corners.

لا اله الا الله
محمد
رسول الله ۹

Margin : lower : بصدق ابي بكر
: left : وعدل ۱۰۴۶ عمر
: upper : بازرم عثمان
: right : وعلم علي

It will be observed that on the rupees of this type both the Hijrī and the regnal year are entered on the Reverse, the former in the left margin and the latter in the left lower corner of the area. The two dates are thus brought fairly close together.

A gold coin of the year H. 1047, now in the Bombay Asiatic Society's cabinet, bears the regnal year both on the Reverse as in type D and also on the Obverse as in type E. This interesting muhr thus serves as a link connecting both those types.

E. From A. H. 1048—12 till A. H. 1051—14.
Rupee.
Obv. } Same as in D,
Rev. }
but the regnal year is now removed from the Reverse area, and is entered instead in the right-hand margin of the Obverse. Thus

محمد صاحب (*See* Fig. 8) or, more commonly, محمد صاحب

F. From A. H. 1052—16 till A. H. 1067—30 (but note G below).
Rupee.
Obv. } Same as in D,
Rev. }
but the regnal year is now entered not on the Reverse, but in the right-hand lower corner of the Obverse area (*see* Fig. 9). The Shāh Jahānī Sūrat rupees most in evidence are of this type. One specimen in my possession is square (*see* Fig. 10), measuring ·7 inch, and weighing 178 grains.[1] Its Hijrī year is indistinct, but seems to be either 1055 or 1059, and its regnal year is wanting.

G. A. H. 1057—20 and A. H. 1057—21.
Rupee (*see* Fig. 11) and half-rupee.
Obv. In area enclosed by a wavy diamond border.

بادشاہ غازے
شاہ جہان
۲۱

Margin : left upper : شہاب الدین
: right upper : محمد صاحب
: right lower : قران ثاني
: left lower : ضرب سورت

[1] The late Pandit Bhagvānlāl Indrajī, in his article on "Antiquarian Remains at Sopārā and Padana," contributed to the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XV, No. XL, tells of his obtaining at Sopārā about ten coins of white metal, all of them square, and all bearing the legend of Shāh Jahān. He adds (p. 279), "I believe these coins were perhaps struck at Sōpārā to replace the Portuguese white metal coins, which were current in this part of the country. I may mention that, except here, I have never found a white metal Moghal coin." Now Sopārā is otherwise unknown as a mint town, and it is extremely improbable that at this long since decayed emporium of trade a mint should have been opened by the Mughals solely for the production of white metal coins. Through the generosity of my kind friend Mr. Frāmjī Jāmaspji Thānāwālā four of these tutenag coins are now in my possession, and though on none of them can the place of mintage be deciphered, still the coins themselves resemble so closely the square rupee mentioned as type F that I incline to assign both to one and the same mint. But the rupee distinctly bears the name of its mint-town Sūrat, and hence we may with probability infer that it was from Sūrat these rare tutenag coins issued.

Rev. In similar area :

لا اله الا الله
محمد
رسول الله

Margin : right lower : بصدق ابي بكر
: left lower : وعدل ١٠٥٧ عمر
: left upper : بازرم عثمان
: right upper : وعلم علي

H. A. H. 1067—31 and A. H. 1068—31.
Rupee (*see* Fig. 12).

Obv. In circular area :

پادشاه غازے
شاه ٣١ جهان

The marginal legend, starting from the left upper portion, reads consecutively :—

شهاب الدين محمد صاحب قران ثاني ضرب سورت

Rev. In similar area :

لا اله الا الله
محمد
رسول الله

The marginal legend, starting from the left upper portion, reads consecutively.

بصدق ١٠٦٧ ابي بكر وعدل عمر بازرم عثمان وعلم علي

In one of my specimens the year ١٠٦٧ is by a freak written ١٠٢٧

In the rupee of the year A. H. 1068—31 the marginal legend on the Reverse begins not at the left upper but at the right lower portion.

J. A. H. 1068—31.

The Indian (Calcutta) Museum Catalogue registers a rupee (No. 13149 on page 35) as follows :—

Obv. In square.

پادشاه غازے
شاه جهان
٣١ (31st year) under شاه

Margins as in Obverse of D.

Rev. Kalima in a circle ; margins as usual ; and date ١٠٦٨

K. A. H. 1069—32.

Obv. } Same as in D,
Rev. }

but with the regnal year entered not on the Reverse, but over the word شاہ in the lower line of the square area on the Obverse. The legend in this area thus reads :—

بادشاہ غازی
صاحبقران

My cabinet contains two *Copper* coins of Shāh Jahān from the Sūrat Mint. These are dated A. H. x—29 and A. H. 1077 (? 1067)—30. Their legends are alike, and read as follows :—

Obv. شاہجہانے
جلوس ۳۰

Rev. سورت
سنہ ۳۰
۱۰۶۷

MURĀD BAKHSH : A. H. 1068; A. D. 1657-58.

A. A. H. 1068. Rupee (*see* Fig. 13) and half-rupee.

مراد شاہ غازے
محمد سکندر ثانے
زصاحبقران جہانے
گرفت
ارث احد
سنہ

Muḥammad Murād, the victorious King, the Second Alexander,
Took the heritage from (Shāh) Jahān, the "Lord of the Conjunction."

Rev. لا الہ الا اللہ
محمد
رسول اللہ
ضرب
سورت
۱۰۶۸

B. A. H. 1068. Rupee (*see* Fig. 14) and half-rupee.

Obv. In square area with knotted corners.

بادشاه غازے
محمد مراد بخش

Margin : right : ابوالمظفر
: lower : مزوج الدين "Wedded to the Faith."
: left : ضرب سورت
: upper : باالهي سنه احد

Rev. In similar area :

لا اله الا الله
محمد
رسول الله

Margin : right : بصدق ابي بكر
: lower : و عدل عمر
: left : بازرم عثمان
١٠٦٨
: upper : و علم علي

A Fulūs of Murād Bakhsh is described, and figured, in the Numismatic Supplement I of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Vol. LXXIII, Part I, No. 1, 1904). Its legends are very simple :—

Obv.

مراد شاهي
فلوس

Rev.

سورت
سنه
ضرب

AURANGZEB : A. H. 1069—1118 ; A. D. 1659—1707.

A. A. H. 1070— احد Rupee (*see* Fig. 15) and half-rupee.

Obv.

عالم گير
اورنگ زيب
شاه
زد چو بدرمنير
سكه
درجهان ١٠٧٠

Rev. بندر مبارک سورت
ضرب
میمنت مانوس
جلوس احد

This interesting rupee supplies us the only "honorific epithet" assigned on the Mughal Coins to the city of Sūrat, which is here styled "Bandar mubārak," the blessed Port. The origin of this title is doubtless to be found in the fact that Sūrat was the chief port of embarkation for Indian Muslims on pilgrimage to Makka. For this same reason the city is also sometimes designated (though not on coins) the Bāb al Ḥajj, or Gate of Pilgrimage. Terry in his "Voyage to East India" refers[1] in the following terms to the pilgrim-traffic from Sūrat in the second decade of the seventeenth century :—

"The ship, or junk, for so it is called, that usually goes from "Sūrat to Moha, is of an exceeding great burden, some of them, "I believe, fourteen or fifteen hundred tons, or more, but these "huge vessels are very ill built, like an over-grown lighter, broad "and short, but made exceeding big, on purpose to waft passengers "forward and backward; which are Mahometans, who go on "purpose to visit Mahomet's sepulchre at Medina, near Mecca, "but many miles beyond Moha. The passengers, and others, "in that most capacious vessel that went and returned that year I "left India, (as we were credibly told) amounted to the number "of seventeen hundred. Those Mahometans that have visited "Mahomet's sepulchre are after called Hoggees[2], or holy men."

Another, but distinctly less probable, explanation of the origin of the epithet Bandar mubārak is given in the Bombay Gazetteer from a local history written by Bakhshi Mia walad Shāh Aḥmad. It is there recorded that, when orders were issued (cir. A. D. 1540) by the Sulṭān Maḥmūd (III) bin Laṭīf for the erection of the Castle at Sūrat, the Turk Ṣafī Āghā, to whom the work had been entrusted, submitted three plans. "The King chose the one that placed the Castle on the bank of the river, and under this plan wrote the word *mubārak*, or 'the prosperous.' Hence the city up to this day is called *Sūrat bandar mubārak.*"[3]

[1] Edward Terry : "A Voyage to East India" : reprinted (in 1777) from the edition of 1655, pages 130, 131.

[2] حاجي Ḥājī (for Ḥājjī), 'one who has performed the pilgrimage to Mecca.'

[3] Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. II (Surat and Broach), page 72, note 1.

B. A. H. 1071--3 *and* A. H. 1078--10 till 1080—12.
Rupee (*see* Fig. 16) and half-rupee.

Obv.
عالم گیر
اورنگ زیب
شـــاه
زد چو بدر منیر
ســـکه ۱۰۷۱
در جهان

Rev.
سنه ۳ جلوس
میمنت
مانوس
ضرب
سورت

C. From A. H. 1075—x till A. H. 1089—22 (but see B).
Muhr (B. M. Catal. No. 707), rupee (*see* Fig. 17) and half-rupee.

Obv. Same as in B.

Rev.
سنه ۸ جلوس
میمنت
مانوس
سورت
ضرب

Of rupees dated 1079—11 and 1080—12 the Reverse in some specimens follows type B, and in others type C.

D. A. H. 1089—22. Rupee (*see* Fig. 18) and half-rupee.

Obv.
عالم گیر
اورنگ زیب
۱۰۸۹
شـــاه
د چو بدر منیر
ســـکه
در جهان

Rev. Same as in C.

E. From A. H. 1090—22 till A. H. 1118—51.

Muhr (probably of this type in Indian Museum A. H. x—29; A. H. x—30; A. H. x—42); rupee (*see* Fig. 19) and half-rupee.

Obv

عالم گیر
۱۱۰۴
اورنگ زیب
شاه
زد چو بدرمنیر
سکه
در جهان

Rev.

مانوس
میمنت
سنه ۳۶ جلوس
ضرب
سورت

This is quite the most common of all the types of coins struck at Sūrat in the reign of Aurangzeb.

The Brit. Mus. rupees, Nos. 796, 796a, dated A. H. 1105—37, have the Reverse "counterstruck with galloping horseman."

The arrangement here shown of the words of the Reverse legend is worthy of special note, since adopted on all the gold and silver coins struck at Sūrat in or after the reign of Jahāndār (A. H. 1124).

Of the *Copper* coins of Aurangzeb from the Sūrat mint two distinct types are known.

A. From A. H. x—4 till A. H. x—11.

Obv.

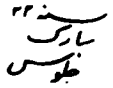
اورنگ زیب
فلوس شد

Rev

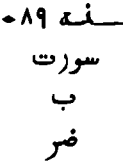
ت
سور ۴
سنه
ضرب

B. From A. H. 1080—13 till A. H. 1119—x (*see* Fig. 20).

Obv.



Rev.



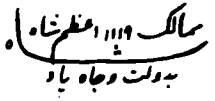
The exaggerated elongation of the upper stroke of the letters alif, kāf, and lām on the Obverse is also found on Aurangzeb's copper coins struck at Lāhor and Akbarābād. *See* Lāhor Museum Catalogue, page 195, Nos. 18 and 20.

Fulūs of this curious type are not infrequently to be found in the Aḥmadābād bazar, but a specimen in good condition is rare indeed.

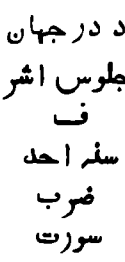
A'ẒAM SHĀH : A. H. 1118—19 ; A. D. 1707.

A. A. H. 1119—احد | Rupee (*see* Fig. 21).

Obv.



Rev.



This is an exceedingly rare coin.

SHĀH 'ĀLAM I : A. H. 1119—1124 ; A.D. 1707—1712.

A. From A. H. x— احد | till A. H. 1123—6.

Muhr (Ind. Mus. Catal., p. 50, No. 10909), rupee (*see* Fig. 22) and half-rupee.

Obv.

۱۱۲۲ غازے
پادشاہ
بہـــادر
شاہ عالم
ک
سکہ مبار

Rev.

۴ مانو
سنہ جلوس س
میمنت
ضرب
سورت

JAHĀNDĀR : A. H. 1124 ; A.D. 1712—13.

A. A. H. 1124—حد

Rupee (*see* Fig. 23) and half-rupee.

Obv.

پادشاہ
جہاندار شہ
جہـــان
چو صاحب قران
ســـکہ
بزد برزر ۱۱۲۴

Rev. Same as the E type of Aurangzeb.

B. A. H. 1124—حد

Rupee (*see* Fig. 24).

Obv. Same as in A, but with مر substituted for زر in the lowest line, which thus reads :—

بزد برمر ۱۱۲۴

Rev. Same as the E type of Aurangzeb.

C. A. H. 1124—احد.

Muhr (B. M. Catal., No. 879) and rupee (*see* Fig. 25).

Obv. ابوالفتح غازي جهاندار
شـــــاه
چون مهر و ماه
ســـکه ۱۱۲۴
در افاق زد

Rev. Same as the E type of Aurangzeb.

A *Copper* coin of Jahāndār struck at Sūrat, and now in my possession, reads as follows :—

Ac. Date wanting.

Obv. جاندار
شاه
فلوس بادشاه

Rev. .....
سنه احد جلوس
ضرب
سور .....

The Reverse legend seems from the above fragment to have been identical with that of the E type of Aurangzeb.

FARRUKH-SIYAR : A. H. 1124—1131 ; A.D. 1713—1719.

A. From A. H. x—2 till A. H. [11]31—8.

Rupee (*see* Fig. 26) and half-rupee.

Obv. بحر و بر زد سکه
از فضل حق باد
شاه
سکه ۱۱۲۸
زد بر سیم و زر

Rev. Same as the E type of Aurangzeb.

Mr. Frāmji Jāmaspji Thānāwālā possesses an undated *Copper* coin struck at Sūrat in the reign of Farrukh-siyar. From drawings that

he has been so kind as to send me it is evident that this Fulūs bears portions of the following legends :—

Obv. فرخ سیر
شـــاه
فلوس باد

Rev. Same as the E type of Aurangzeb.

Compare also the copper coin of Farrukh-siyar, No. 36, in King and Vost's "Some Novelties in Moghal Coins" (Num. Chron., Vol. XVI, Third Series).

RAFĪ'AL DARAJĀT : A. H. 1131 ; A.D. 1719.

A. A. H. 1131—احد | Rupee (*see* Fig. 27).

Obv. ۱۱۳۱ رفیع الدرجا
ت
برکا شاهنشه بحروبر
ت
زد باهزاران
سکه بهند

Rev. Same as the E type of Aurangzeb.

A *Copper* coin in my collection bears only the following fragmentary inscription :—

Obv. رفیع الدرجا
ت

Rev. ....
سنه احد جلوس
ضرب
سورت

SHĀH JAHĀN II : A. H. 1131 ; A. D. 1719.

A. A. H. 1131—احد | Muhr and Rupee (*see* Fig. 28) and half-rupee

Obv. شاه جهان
ے
بادشاه غاز
ك
سکه مبار ۱۱۳۱

Rev. Same as the E type of Aurangzeb.

MUḤAMMAD SḤĀH : A. H. 1131—1161 ; A. D. 1719—1748.

A. A. H. 1131—حد | -and —1132 حد |

Muhr (B. M. Catal, No. 953) and Rupee (*see* Fig. 29).

Obv. بلطف الہ محمد

شـــاہ

پادشاہ زمان

سـکہ

زد در جہان ۱۱۳۱

Rev. Same as the E type of Aurangzeb.

The few coins known of this type were till recently attributed to Nikū-siyar, that unfortunate prince—a grandson of Aurangzeb—who, having suffered imprisonment for forty years, was suddenly raised to the Imperial throne, and after but 105 days of regal splendour was again consigned to the dungeon in the fort at Āgra. However we can now with confidence affirm that no coins issued in Nikū-siyar's name from the Sūrat mint. In the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for April, 1899 (pages 55, 56), Mr. Irvine supplied the translation of an interesting passage from the Mir'āt-i-Aḥmadī, in which it is distinctly recorded that, on receipt at Sūrat of the tidings of Muḥammad Sḥāh's elevation to the throne, an official assembly was convened, at which the accession was proclaimed by beat of drum, and the royal prayer (khuṭba) was recited. Forthwith coins were struck at Sūrat, bearing, according to the express statement of the Mir'āt-i-Aḥmadī, the very legend that distinguishes the type now under discussion.

Muḥammad Sḥāh began to reign only some six weeks before the close of the year 1131 Hijrī, and coins of this rare "Pādsḥāh Zamān" type are known dated that year and the following. Before the close, however, of the first year of Muḥammad Sḥāh's reign the new-fangled legend, which had nowhere indeed won acceptance save at the Sūrat mint, was abandoned, and thereupon Sūrat, falling into line with the other imperial mints, began to issue coins bearing that "Pādsḥāh Ghāzī" inscription which remained till the close of Muḥammad's reign, some thirty years later, the norm for the imperial currency. Thus the

coins—muhrs and rupees—struck at Sūrat during Muḥammad Shāh's first regnal year fall into three classes :—

(*a*) Those dated 1131 H., and bearing the "Pādshāh Zamān" legend;
(*b*) those dated 1132 H., and bearing the same rare legend ;
(*c*) those dated 1132 H., and bearing the normal "Pādshāh Ghāzī" legend.

B. From A. H. 1131—جلوس—till A. H. 1155—25.

Muhr (Br. Mus. Catal., No. 967*a*) and rupee (*see* Fig. 30).

Obv. محمد شاه ۱۱۳۳

ے

پادشاه غاز

ك

سکه مبار

Rev. Same as the E type of Aurangzeb.

Two types are known of Muḥammad Shāh's *Copper* coins of Sūrat.

Ac. *Obv.* محمد شاه

شـــاه

فلوس پاد ۱۱۳۲

Rev. Same as the E type of Aurangzeb.

Bc. *Obv.* محمد شاه غاز

ے

فلوس.....

Rev. Same as the E type of Aurangzeb.

AḤMAD SHAH : A. H. 1161–1167 ; A. D. 1748–1754.

A. A. H. x—جلوس and A. H. x—2.

Rupee (*see* Fig. 31).

Obv. احمد شاه بهادر

ے

پادشاه غاز

ك

سکه مبار

Rev. Same as the E type of Aurangzeb.

'ĀLAMGĪR II. : A. H. 1167—1173 ; A. D. 1754—1759.

A. From A. H. 11 x x—2 till A. H. x—5.

Double rupee [1] (*see* Fig. 32) and rupee.

Obv. ...۱۱ عالم گیر

ے

پادشاہ غاز

ك

سکہ مبار

Rev. Same as the E type of Aurangzeb.

SHĀH JAHĀN III. : A. H. 1173—1174 ; A. D. 1759—1760.

A. A. H. 117 x—احد ; [11]75—احد ; 1178—احد ; 118 x—احد

Rupee (*see* Fig. 33) and half-rupee.

Obv. ...۱۱۷

شاہ جہان

ے

پادشاہ غاز

ك

سکہ مبار

Rev. Same as the E type of Aurangzeb.

As Shāh Jahān was deposed on the 29th of Ṣafar, A. H. 1174[2], it is difficult to account satisfactorily for the dates [11]75, 1178, and 118 x, all coupled with the regnal year احد. That other claimants bearing the name of Shāh Jahān arose in these years to contest the crown with Shāh 'Ālam is not, so far as I can discover, recorded in any history of India. May we venture to assume that the workmen at the Sūrat mint had grown careless, and that these years find a place on the coins through mistake ?

[1] For a description and illustration of this Double Rupee *see* Mr. Nelson Wright's articles in Numismatic Supplement V, Journal and Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bengal (New Series), Vol. I., No. 10, 1905.

[2] *See* Dowson and Elliot's: "History of India," Vol. VIII., p. 278.

SHĀH 'ĀLAM II. : A.H. 1173–1221 ; A.D. 1759–1806.

A. H. x—4 ; A. H. x—5 ; A. H. x—6 ; also from A. H. 1197—24 till A.H. x—49.

Double rupee [1], rupee (*see* Fig. 34), half-rupee, and 2-anna piece.

Obv.

۱۱۹۷
شاہ عالم
ے
بادشاہ غاز
ك
سکہ مبارک

Rev. Same as the E type of Aurangzeb.

In A. H. 1215 (A. D. 1800), if not indeed earlier, the East India Company's mint at Bombay struck "Sūrat" muhrs and rupees : but the evidence from coins still occasionally to be obtained in the bazars precludes the inference that in that year the Mughal coinage ceased to issue from the Sūrat mint. It would seem to have lingered on for a few more years, though, doubtless, the output was small. My cabinet contains a rupee of the regnal year 46 of make quite different from the familiar "46 san rupee" issued by the H. E. I. Company; also another rupee of distinctly native workmanship yet bearing as its date so late a regnal year as 49, the very last year of Shāh 'Ālam's reign.

III. The period of the East India Company's Currency : A. H. 1215—1251 ; A.D. 1800—1835[2].

The year H. 1215 witnessed a revival of the old Sūrat Maḥmūdī coinage, bearing the name of the Emperor Akbar, deceased nearly two centuries, a revival that continued seemingly for just two years. What circumstances led up to the issue of so old a type of coin, and, further, what occasioned its final withdrawal, are questions that still await a satisfactory answer. Can these coins have been struck by

[1] On this double rupee, dated A. H x—4, in the possession of Mr. R. F. Malabārwālā of Bombay, *see* the article by Mr. Nelson Wright in the Numismatic Supplement V. Compare also Note 13.

[2] In the Indian Museum Catalogue, page 99*f*, all the Sūrat coins of the East India Company are entered as dated either H. 1205 or H. 1210. If these readings be correct, the figures are probably in both cases due to faulty workmanship in the engraving of the dies, thus ۱۲۰۵ for ۱۲۱۵ and ۱۲۱۰ also for ۱۲۱۵.

way of protest against the imperious action of the H. E. I. Company in issuing its "Sūrat" rupees in that same year H. 1215? And was the so early disappearance of these Maḥmūdīs in H. 1217 an indirect consequence of that year's treaty at Bassein, whereby sole and undisputed control over the district became vested in the English? These problems we must, I fancy, be content to leave for the present unsolved.

If the East India Company struck any "Sūrat" coins, whether in that city or in Bombay, prior to H. 1215, they are undistinguishable from the Mughal coins. The Company's muhrs and rupees, which, according to Prinsep, the Bombay Mint[1] recommenced issuing in A.D. 1800 (A.H. 1214-15), were all struck in the name of the Emperor Shāh'Ālam, and on all were inscribed the same Obv. and Rev. legends as had for forty years obtained on his coins.

Thus : *Obv.*

شاہ عالم

بادشاہ غاز

سکہ مبارک

Rev.—Same as in the E type of Aurangzeb.

As to their fabric, however, the Company's coins struck at Sūrat readily fall into two classes—those of native fabric or hand-made, and those of English fabric or machine-made.

A. The H. E. I. Company's "Sūrat" Coins of Native Fabric were issued in both gold and silver. Of these four sub-classes may be distinguished :—

(*a*) On the Obverse over the شا of بادشاہ comes an oval label, bearing the figures of the Christian year 1802. Also on the Reverse the و of جلوس is superscribed by a crowned head. *See* Brit. Mus. Catal., page 281, No. 81.

(*b*) On the Obverse for the uppermost of the dots over شا of بادشاہ a small crown is substituted. On the Reverse the regnal year is 46. *See* Brit. Mus. Catal., page 281, No. 82.

[1] One coin—a quarter-rupee—is, entered in the British Museum Catalogue (p. 283, No. 80) as having been struck at the mint "Mumbai-Sūrat." This is, however, a curious error, for the coin really issued from the mint at Mahīsūr (Mysore). *See* Numismatic Supplement V, Journal and Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bengal (New Series), Vol. I, No. 4, 1905.

(*c*) The coins of this sub-class are identical with those of 

save that the distinctive crown is absent. These coins are thus in appearance virtually the same as the *Mughal* coins struck in the regnal year 46. *See* Brit. Mus. Catal., page 282, No. 87.

(*d*) The Obverse and the Reverse are the same as in  ,

but the silver coins of this sub-class bear the figures 1825 incused on a raised label on the Reverse over the ر of جلوس (*See* Fig. 35). *See* Brit. Mus. Catal., page 282, No. 85.

B. The H. E. I. Company's Sūrat coins, in gold and silver, of English Fabric. Of these are the following three sub-classes :—

(*a*) Edge milled with straight milling ≡, and both on Obverse and on Reverse linear circle round rim (*see* Fig. 36).

(*b*) Plain edge, and both on Obverse and on Reverse serrated rim (*see* Fig. 37).

(*c*) Plain edge, and both on Obverse and on Reverse raised plain rim (*see* Fig. 38).

All the "Sūrat" coins of English Fabric bear, as their date, above the top line of the Obverse the Hijrī year ۱۲۱۵ and (with, perhaps, the sole exception of the 1802 muhrs) all the Company's "Sūrat" coins, whether of Native or of English Fabric, have, as a fixed date, the regnal year 46.

The machine-made coins of the H. E. I. Company continued in circulation till A. D. 1835 (A. H. 1250-51), and, finally, that year witnessed the introduction of the uniform Imperial Coinage which still constitutes the standard currency for all British India.

AḤMADĀBĀD,

12th May, 1906.

The chief interest of this article certainly attaches to the three Plates that illustrate it. These have been prepared from beautiful photographs of the original coins taken by my kind friend, Mr. Henry Cousens, M.R.A.S., the accomplished Superintendent of the

Archæological Survey of India, Western Circle, who, as on previous occasions, so now again, has thus placed the readers of this *Journal* under a debt of obligation.

G. P. T.

PLATE I.

No.	Emperor.	Year.		Metal.	Weight in Grains.	Typical of Hijrī Period.
		Hijrī.	Regnal.			
1	Akbar	994	...	Silver.	86	Cir. 985—1027 and 1215—1217 H.
2	Jahāngīr ...	1031	17	S	175	1030—1033 H.
3	Jahāngīr and Nūr Jahān ...	1033	19	S	176	1033—1037 H.
4	Shāh Jahān I. ...	1037	1	S	175	1037 H.
5	,, ...	1037	1	S	175	1037 H.
6	,, ...	1037	1	S	174	1037 *Hijri* (written).
7	,, ...	1046	9	S	171	1043—1046 H.
°8	,, ...	...	12	S	176	1048—1051 H.
°9	,, ...	...	29	S	174	1052—1067 H.
10	,, ...	?	?	S	177	?—square.
11	,, ...	1057	21	S	176	1057 H.

PLATE II.

No.	Emperor.	Year.		Metal.	Weight in Grains.	Typical of Hijri Period.
		Hijrī.	Regnal.			
12	Shāh Jahān I. ...	1067	31	Silver.	176	1067-1068 H.
13	Murād Bakhsh ...	1068	1	S	176	1068 H.
14	,, ...	1068	1	S	176	1068 H.
*15	Aurangzeb ...	1070	1	S	175	1070 H.
16	,, ...	1071	3	S	174	1071—1078 H.
†17	,, ...	...	8	S	176	1075—1089 H.
‡18	,, ...	1089	...	S	176	1089 H.
19	,, ...	1104	36	S	175	1090—1118 H.
20	,, ...	1089	22	Copper.	212	1089—1119 H.
21	A'ẓam Shāh ...	1119	1	S	170	1118—1119 H.
22	Shāh 'Ālam I. ...	1122	4	S	177	1119—1123 H.

* On this rupee Sūrat bears the epithet *Bandar mubāra* .

† Reverse only is shown on the Plate.

‡ Obverse only is shown on the Plate.

PLATE III.

No.	Emperor.	Year. Hijrī.	Year. Regnal.	Metal.	Weight in Grains.	Typical of Hijrī Period.
*23	Jahāndār ...	1124	...	Silver.	176	1124 H.
*24	,, ...	1124	...	S	176	1124 H.
*25	,, ...	1124	...	S	177	1124 H.
*26	Farrukh-siyar ...	1128	...	S	177	1125—1131 H.
*27	Rafī 'al darajāt ...	1131	...	S	177	1131 H.
*28	Shāh Jahān II ...	1131	...	S	177	1131 H.
*29	Muḥammad Shāh.	1131	...	S	177	1131—1132 H.
*30	,, ...	1133	...	S	177	1131—1155 H.
*31	Aḥmad Shāh ...	...	...	S	174	1161—1162 H.
†32	'Ālamgīr II ...	...	5	S	357	1171 H.
*33	Shāh Jahān III ...	117 x	...	S	176	117 x—118 x H.
*34	Shāh 'Ālam II	1197	...	S	165	1177—1221 H.
35	Shāh 'Ālam II ...	1825 A.D.	...	S	180	Struck by the H. E. I. Company.
36	,, ...	1215 H.	...	S	177	
*37	,, ...	1215 H.	...	S	179	
‡38	,, ...	...	46	S	83	

* Obverse only is shown on the Plate.

† This is a Double Rupee.

‡ The Reverse only of this Half Rupee is shown on the Plate.

PLATE I.

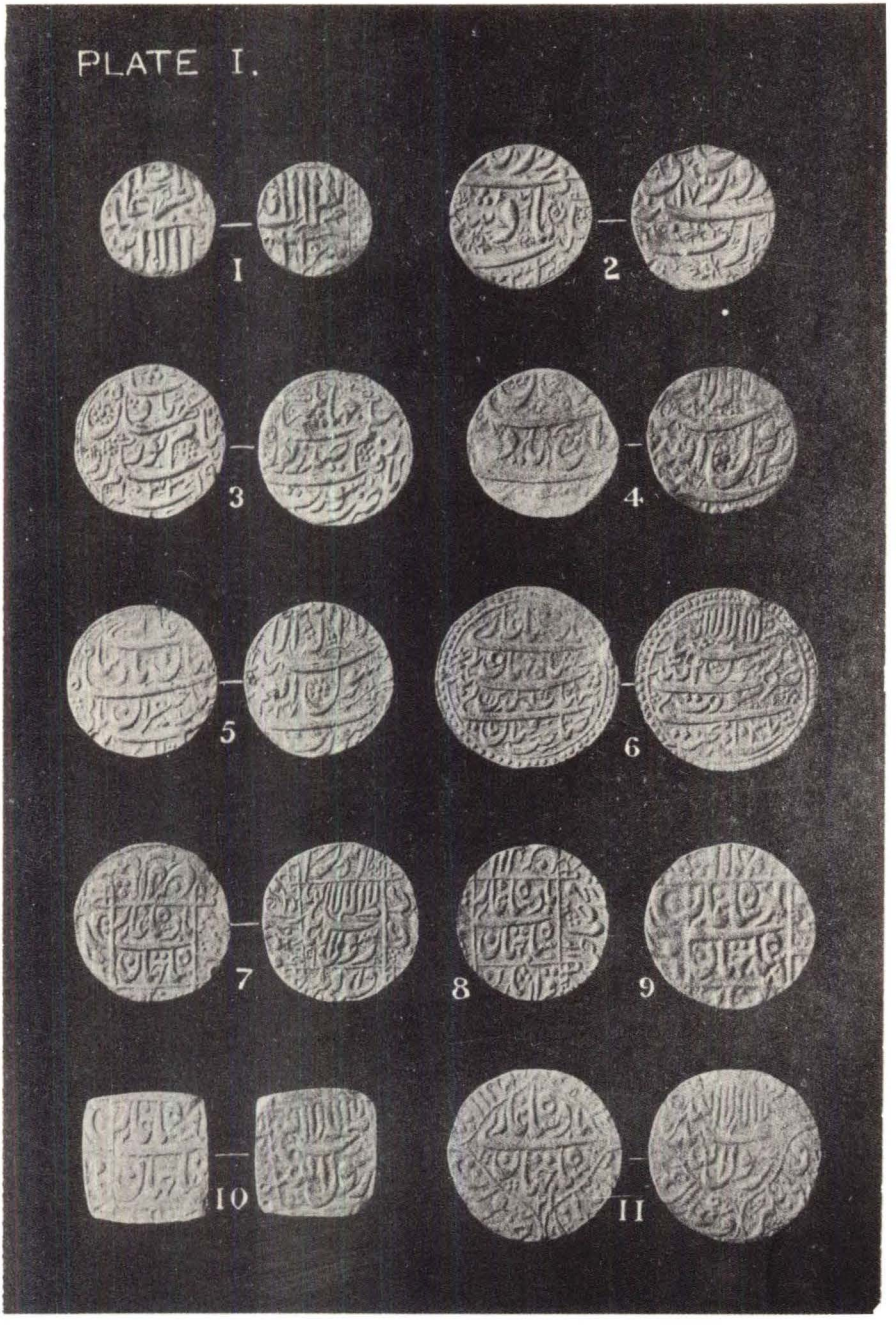
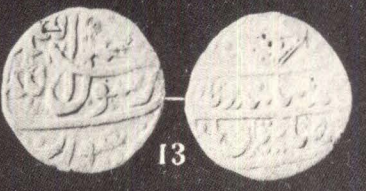


PLATE II.


12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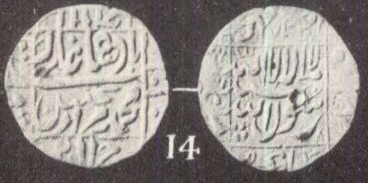
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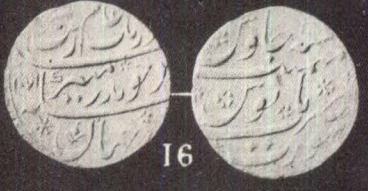
15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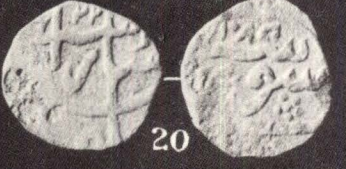
18 17


19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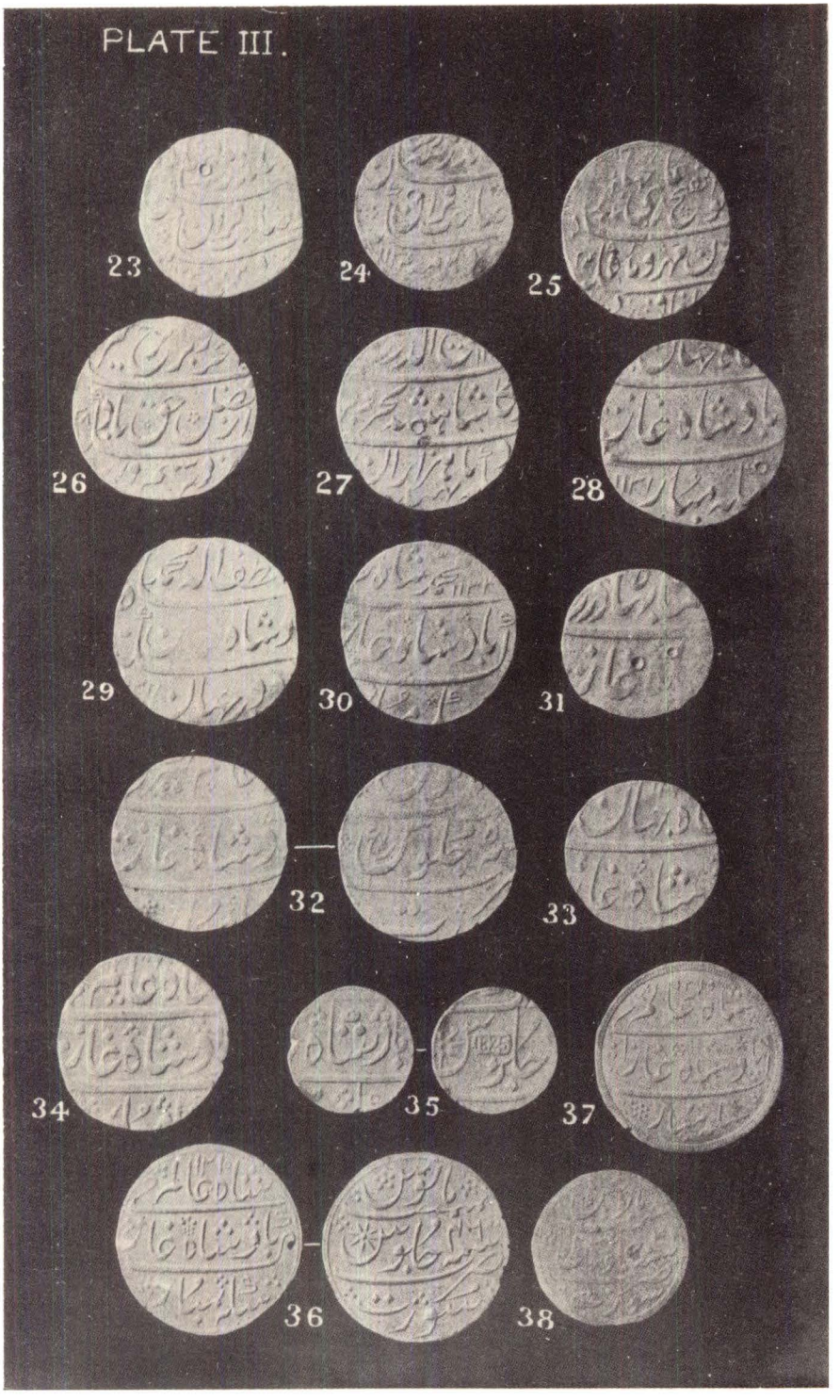
21


22

PLATE III.



ART. XVIII.—*Bombay, as seen by Dr. Edward Ives in the year 1754 A.D.*

BY JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, B.A.

(*Read 12th October* 1906.)

Dr. Edward Ives was a Surgeon in His Majesty's Navy and served in the Mediterranean from 1744 to 1746. Then he served for some years in England. From 1753 to 1757 he was Surgeon of the "Kent," bearing the flag of Vice-Admiral Charles Watson, Commander-in-Chief in the East Indies. On the Admiral's death in 1757, he retired from service in India and returned home *via* Persian Gulf. He reached England in 1759. He continued on half pay till 1777. He was then superannuated in 1777. He died in 1786. It was in 1773 that he published his book of Travels.[1] The title of the book is rather a very long one. It runs thus :

"A
Voyage from
England to India
In the year MDCCLIV.
And an
Historical Narative
of
The Operations of the Squadron and Army in India, under the Command of Vice-Admiral Watson and Colonel Clive, in the years 1755, 1756, 1757 ; including a Correspondence between the Admiral and the Nabob Serajah Dowlah.
Interspersed with
Some interesting passages relating to the manners, customs, &c., of several nations in Indostan
Also, a
Journey from Persia to England
By an unusual route
With
An Appendix
Containing an account of the diseases prevalent in Admiral Watson's squadron ; a description of most of the trees, shrubs, and

[1] *Vide* Dictionary of National Biography, edited by Sidney Lee, Vol. XXIX (1892), p. 79.

plants of India, with their real, or supposed, medicinal virtues: Also a copy of a letter written by a late ingenious physician, on the disorders incidental to Europeans at Gombroon in the Gulf of Persia,

Illustrated with a Chart, Maps and other Copper-plates

By Edward Ives, Esq.,

Formerly Surgeon of Admiral Watson's ship and of His Majesty's Hospital in the East Indies.

London.

Printed for Edward and Charles Dilly.

MDCCLXXIII."

I find this book mentioned in the Catalogue of the books of the library of our Society printed in 1875, as "Ives (Edward).—Voyage from England to India, also a Journey from Persia to England, 4to. Lond., 1773." It is marked as AA-a-17. But its name bears an asterisk in the printed catalogue, which means that in 1775 the book was either "damaged or missing." I find on inquiry from our librarian that it is missing.

The late Dr. Gerson DaGunha has given us an excellent paper entitled "The Origin of Bombay." It is published in 1900 as an extra number of the Journal of our Society. Therein, Dr. Ives's book is not referred to. The Bombay Gazetteer[1] refers to this book especially in its account of the Ângriâs.[2] Therein, Dr. Ives's account of the taking of Gheria by Admiral Watson is interpolated in the larger account[3] from Robert Orme.[4] I am not sure if the writer of the Gazetteer has quoted directly from Dr. Ives's book, as I find some discrepancies in the references given.[5] Again Dr. Ives's book is referred to in the Bombay Quarterly Review of 1857.[6] But, I find that, as far as I know, Dr. Ives's short account of Bombay is not referred to at any length by any writer, at least on this side of the country. So, the object of this paper is to give a short account of Bombay as seen by Dr. Ives in 1754.

[1] Vol. I, Part II., pp. 88, 93, 94. Vol. X, pp. 381, 382. Vol. XIII, p. 499.

[2] Vol. I, Part II, pp. 87—96.

[3] A History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan from the year 1745, Vol. I, (Fourth Edition of 1799), pp. 407—417.

[4] For the life of this author, *vide* "Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire, of the Marattoes, and of the English concerns in Indostan, from the year 1659," by Robert Orme (1805,) pp. V—LXVII.

[5] For example (*a*) the Gazetteer, Vol. I, Part II, p. 93, n.2. There, the p. 82 referred to in the note does not refer to the matter spoken of. (*b*) The page referred to as p. 82 of Ives on p. 94 of the Gazetteer must be p. 85.

[6] The Bombay Quarterly Review, Vol. V, January and April, 1857, p. 162. Article entitled "An Age of Progress in Bombay."

From his title page, we learn that, though the year of our author's principal visit of Bombay was 1754, the book was published in 1773, *i.e.*, about 19 years afterwards. It was dedicated to Sir Charles Watson, Bart., the son of the Admiral in whose fleet Dr. Ives had served and visited India. The dedication is interesting, as it aims thereby to set before a son, for his improvement, the example of a worthy father. It says: "If what I have written of your excellent Father . . . . shall contribute to your improvement, and set you forward in the paths of virtue, I then shall be beyond measure happy."

Our author thus describes the occasion of his voyage.

"Immediately after the peace of Aix la Chapelle, or as soon as our sea and land forces under the command of Admiral Boscawen had left the Indies and were on their return to England, Mons. Dupleix, Governor of Pondicherry, began by his intrigues to sow the seeds of dissention among the country princes; and when he had so far succeeded as to set them at variance with one another, he sent a body of European troops into the field, as auxiliaries to those Nabobs who espoused the French interest, and who, by dint of this supply, gained several successive advantages over the other princes who were friends to our East India Company. Mustapha-Jing, a powerful prince, and Chunda-Saeb, an enterprising general, were those with whom he was principally connected, and whom he made use of as instruments for bringing out his ambitious designs—Designs no less extensive, than of acquiring for his nation an absolute ascendancy over the whole Carnatic and Deccan, and for himself, immortal honour and immense riches. The English presidency were possessed of such convincing proofs of his insatiable avarice, and thirst for power, that they prudently and resolutely determined to exert their utmost abilities in putting a stop to his violent, and hitherto rapid proceedings; for that purpose, they, under the character of allies, joined their forces with the armies of a prince called Nazir-Jing, and of the Nabob of Arcot named Mahomed-Aly, against whom their enemies were now taking the field[1]."

Admiral Watson's flag ship "Kent," of which our author was the medical officer, left Spithead for Plymouth, the rendezvous of the fleet, on 22nd February 1754. They left Portsmouth on 9th March and sailed for Cork in Ireland, to take on board from there, the king's troops under command of Col. Adlercron. While sailing to that port they were overtaken by a storm and so

[1] "Ives's Voyage," pp. 1—2.

had to anchor at Kingsale on 12th March. From there he wrote to Col. Adlercron to march to that town with his troops. On the 19th the raging storm disabled two ships of his small fleet of 6 ships, the whole strength of which was altogether 226 guns. The Admiral sailed from Kingsale on the 24th March with only four ships and taking as many troops as he could accommodate. The two disabled ships were ordered to proceed to Plymouth with some more troops who were to proceed to India in some other ships that the Admiralty may prepare to replace the disabled ships. On 6th April, they anchored at Fonchial road off the island of Madeira, "a place," according to our author, "famous for supplying not only Europe, but all our settlements in both the Indies, with a most excellent wine." We know that the town has not as yet lost the fame, and the "Madeira wine" is still well-known. The price of the wine, at that time, says our author, was from £ 20 to 22 for a pipe (*i.e.*, a cask containing two hogsheads or 126 gallons).

The following opinion of our author, regarding the zeal of the Portuguese to observe their holidays, is worth noting, to enable those who are interested in these people to judge if matters have changed. Our author says :—

"Whilst we continued at Madeira, we met with many disagreeable delays in supplying our squadron with wine and other refreshments, on account of the Passion-week, and the carnival that followed it, at which season all business there is at a stand and strangers are sure to be entertained with much gaudy, superstitious mummery. The custom indeed of celebrating this festival with a great deal of religious pageantry, is observed in all Popish countries, but probably nowhere carried to so great an height as among the Portuguese, who are the most bigotted to the fopperies of their religion of any nation under the Sun."[1]

The fleet left Madeira on 19th April at 10 A.M., saw the island of Palma, one of the Canaries, on the 23rd, "got into the trade winds" on the 25th, "were in sight of the Bonavista, one of the Cape de Verd Islands," on the 26th or 27th. In the middle of May, the "ship being too much crowded with stores and men and consequently very hot between decks, the crew became so sickly" that in 6 days they buried 7 men and 160 were on the sick list suffering from "putrid fevers." This fever was the result of eating the stock-fish, a part of their tinned provision getting putrid.

[1] "Ives's Voyage," p. 4.

In their voyage they shot off the Cape of Good Hope an "albatrose," a sea fowl "which measured 17½ feet from wing to wing." A shark also was caught "which had the horns, skin, and many bones of a bullock in the belly. After it was dead and dried, a very large man passed through its jaws."[1]

They arrived at Madagascar on 17th July. Madagascar was then governed by 4 or 5 kings who were frequently at war with each other. The beef of Madagascar was then well known. The bullocks of the Island weighed from 600 to 700 pounds. The chiefs of the King's court "prided themselves in being called by English names. And the King's own family likewise, in imitation of the courtiof England, is not without a Prince of Wales, a Duke of Cumberland, a Prince Augustus, and Princesses, distinguished by English names. All the great men abovementioned, came on board naked, except a covering over their hips, and another over their shoulders."

The fleet touched the shore of India at the Fort of St. David near Madras on the 10th of September 1754.

Dr. Ives left Fort St. David on 11th October and his ship, Salisbury,[2] anchored in what he called "Bombay Road" on the 13th of November 1754. He gives the following description of Bombay[3]: —

"Bombay is a small island, but for its size, perhaps the most flourishing of any this day in the universe. Though the soil is so barren as not to produce any one thing worth mentioning, yet the convenience of its situation will always more than make up for that defect. It may justly be styled 'the grand storehouse of all the Arabian and Persian commerce.' When this island was first surrendered to us by the Portuguese, we hardly thought it worth notice; but, in a very few years afterwards, we experimentally found the value of it, and it is now become our chief settlement of the Malabar Coast."

Speaking of the natives of this island, he says that, though shorter, they are stronger than the people of the Coromandel Coast. He got this idea of their strength from the number of men that carried

[1] "Ives's Voyage," p. 5.

[2] It was in this ship that the late Mr. Nowrojee Rustomji Seth, the first Parsee to visit England, had sailed from here in 1723. (Parsee Prakâsh, Vol. I., p. 24).

[3] Ives's Voyage, p. 31. His description of Bombay, is referred to in the "Bombay Quarterly Review," Vol. V, January and April 1857, pp. 161-162, in the article entitled "An Age of Progress in Bombay, 1740-1762."

the palanquin, which was one of the principal kinds of conveyances here up to about 50 or 60 years ago. He says four coolies carried a palanquin here, while six were required at Madras. "The people of this island were," he says, "made up of every nation in Asia."

I will quote here at full length what he says of my own co-religionists, the Parsees. He says :—

"We met with several Persees, who, like their forefathers, the ancient Persians, are followers of Zoroaster, who is said to have modelled and reduced into order the religion of the ancient Magi, the fundamental maxim of which was the worshipping only one God under the symbol of light. They adore the sun, and particularly the rising sun, with the profoundest reverence and veneration ; and by a natural consequence of the worship they pay the sun, they likewise pay a particular veneration to fire.

"I met with a very remarkable instance of this while I was at Bombay ; one day passing through the street, I heard a very uncommon noise, and seeing at the same time a large fire in one of the houses, curiosity led me a little closer to it : in the middle of the house was set a large brass pan with a fire in it : before this fire, or rather on each side of it, two men were kneeling at their devotions, which they hurried over with great rapidity. I looked on for a considerable time with great attention, and afterwards learned from a servant of the admirals, who was of this *cast*, that one of them was a priest, then on a visit to another priest in a fit of sickness. This servant likewise told me, that the Persees have such a veneration for fire, that they never put it out, or so much as breathe upon it ; and I took particular notice, that while these priests were at prayers over the pan of coals, they had a kind of little white bib over their mouth, as I imagined, to prevent their breathing on their favourite element. The prayers appeared to me, to be only a repetition of the same set of words, from the similarity of their sounds. The visiting priest used many gestures with his hands over the fire, and afterwards stroked down the face of the sick priest, which I looked upon as the final benediction, for presently afterward the ceremony ended. This instance strongly corroborates Prideaux's observation [1] concerning their usage at public worship. 'The priests themselves never approach this fire in their temples but with a cloth over their mouths, that they might not breathe thereon : and this they did not only when

[1] The reference is to Dr. Humphrey Prideaux's "The Old and New Testaments connected in the History of the Jews and neighbouring nations." Part I, Bk. IV (17th Edition of 1815), Vol. I, p. 269.

they tended the fire to lay on more wood, or do any other service about it, but also when they approached to read the daily offices of their liturgy before it. So that they mumbled over their prayers, rather than spoke them, in the same manner as the Romish priests do their masses, without letting the people present articulately hear one word of what they said.' " [1]

I will make a few observations on some of the statements of Dr. Ives in the above passage.

The prayer referred to above as being recited by the visiting priest over the sick priest seems to be the Ardibehesht Yasht (Yasht 3). There are two points in our author's statements which point to that identification.

1. The first is that the visiting priest used many gestures with his hands over the fire and afterwards stroked down the face of the sick priest.

2. The second is that the prayer seemed to him "to be only a repetition of the same set of words from the similarity of their sounds."

Ardibehesht is the third of the seven Ameshâspends or archangels of the Parsees. His Avesta name is Asha Vahishta, *i.e.*, the best purity. In the word 'Asha' or purity, both physical and mental purities are included. So, this archangel is believed to preside over the best purity. Health both physical and mental or spiritual, gives purity. So, Asha Vahishta prssides over health also. He is therefore invoked in case of illness. The Hûspâram *nask*, as described in the Dînkard, says :

"Where it is the healing of the sick, the spiritual debt is unto the archangel Asha Vahisht, and that which is worldly unto the physician's anteroom (drugs)." [2] What is meant is this: When a man recovers from illness, we are indebted to two sources for his recovery—one, the Divine power, as represented by the Ameshâspend, Asha Vahishta, and the other, the human power as representedby the medical man who treats the sick man. As Prof. Darmesteter points out, this reminds us of the words of the eminent French physician Ambroise Paré, who is known in France as the Father of Surgery. He used to say : "Je panse et Dieu guérit," *i.e.*, "I dress (the wounds) and God cures." He meant to say that the medical men only dress the wounds, to cure a patient, but

[1] Ives's Voyages, pp. 31-32.

[2] S. B. E. XXXVII, p. 115, Dinkard, Bk. VIII, Chap. XXXVII, 14. *Vide* Le Zend Avesta, par Darmesteter, Vol. II, p. 115.

it is God who really cures him. In the Ardibehesht Yasht itself, of all the remedies for a sick man's illness, the best is considered to be that of the Holy Word, *i.e.*, that which strengthens and influences his mind. This being the case, the recital of the Ardibehesht Yasht, before sick persons, was often resorted to even up to the last century, and it is not unknown even now.

"The stroking down the face" of the sick patient while reciting the Ardibehesht Yasht consists now-a-days in making a few passes over the body with a handkerchief, or with the hand, and then clapping the fingers of the hand. This process is now known as "Ardibehesht Yasht ni pichi."

Fire, as the refulgent symbol of the Glory of God and the visible form of heat that pervades and purifies the whole earth is a symbol of purity. So, Asha Vahishta or Ardibehesht presides over fire also. Hence it is that, as Dr. Ives describes, the fire was placed before the sick patient while the Yasht was recited. But one can recite that Yasht even without the fire.

Now Dr. Ives says that the prayer seemed to him "to be the repetition of the same set of words from the similarity of their sounds." That statement also proves the fact that the prayer recited by the priest and heard by him was the Ardibehesht Yasht, because of all the Avesta writings, the Ardibehesht Yasht is one where there is a good deal of repetition with a slight change of words.

The "little white bib" which, according to Dr. Ives, was put on by the priest while reciting the prayer before fire was the *padân* or *paitidâna*, put on, even now, by Parsee priests.

Dr. Ives thinks that what he saw, *viz.*, the priests reciting their prayers with a piece of cloth over their mouths, corroborated Prideaux's observation that the Parsee priests mumbled over their prayers like Romish priests. That is not always the case. The present prayer book of the Parsees contains writings both in the ancient Avesta language and the later Pazend. So, whenever they have to recite the Pazend portion in the midst of the Avesta scriptures, they do so with a suppressed tone, which is technically known among them as reciting in *báj* and which Firdousi refers to, as reciting in *zamzame* زمزمه

Then Dr. Ives thus refers to the Parsee custom of the disposal of their dead and of their places of disposal now known as the Towers-of-Silence.

"As the Gentoos burn their dead, one would think that the Parsees, who are so fond of worshipping their deity under the representation of fire, should be desirous of having their dead bodies committed to that element, wherein they suppose their creator principally to reside. But contrary to this, and to the custom of all other nations in the world, they neither burn nor bury their dead, but cast them out in the open air, to be exposed to the several elements, where they are soon devoured by eagles, vultures, and other birds of prey. The principle they go upon is, that a living man being compounded of all the elements, it is but reasonable, after he is dead, that every particular element should receive its own again. On the top of Malabar-hill, in this island of Bombay, are two round buildings, on purpose for receiving the dead bodies of the Persees, which are placed and remain there till the bones are clean picked by the birds. A guard constantly stands within a small distance of the place, who is very much displeased if you offer to approach the buildings; and for this reason, lest by your going too near, you disturb the vultures in their preying upon the dead bodies. One afternoon, however, I resolved to satisfy my curiosity so far as to peep into one of these edifices. I perceived several dead bodies, but there was little flesh left upon the bones; and that little was so parched up by the excessive heat of the sun, that it did not emit those stinking effluvia which there was reason to expect. It was owing probably to the same cause, that the bones were rendered quite black." [1]

The pictures of the towers that he gives seems to be imaginary, because the two towers that he refers to, still exist, and one can see at once, that his sketches differ. First of all, he has shown them to be of the same size, which, as a matter of fact, they are not. Again the outward appearances also differ.

We note that our author does not speak of the places serving as receptacles of the bodies, as towers, but only as "round buildings."

The word Towers has latterly come into use. There was some discussion, about a year ago[2], as to who first brought the words "Tower-of-Silence" into use. Sir George Birdwood said that it was the late Mr. Robert Zavier Murphy who first used the term. I supported his statement, and said that it was in 1832, that the term was first used in a card printed in the *Bombay Gazette* by the late Mr. Framji Cowasji when he built the "Tower-of-Silence" which is

[1] Ives' Voyage, pp. 32 and 33.

[2] *Vide* Sir George Birdwood's letter to the *London Times* of 8th August 1905. *Vide* that letter quoted in the *Times of India* of 29th August 1905. *Vide* my letter to the *Times of India* of 3rd October 1905.

known by his name. The late Mr. Murphy, who was latterly the Editor of the *Bombay Gazette*, had, at the time of the publication of that card in the *Bombay Gazette* of 28th March 1832, some connection with the paper. So, it appears that, when Mr Framjee Cowasji asked the *Bombay Gazette* to print his card or general invitation to Europeans and other non-Zorastrians to come and see the round building he had built for the disposal of the dead of his community, Mr. Murphy, who must have been connected with the *Gazette* in some capacity before he became its editor, coined this new phrase "Tower-of-Silence" for the first time.

Sir George Birdwood in his letter to the *London Times* above referred to, calls the phrase "Tower-of-Silence" "a fine figure of speech." I will take this opportunity to say, what must have suggested this fine figure of speech to Mr. Murphy. He was an Oriental Scholar and was at one time Oriental Translator to Government. As such, he was versed in Oriental literature and among that, in Persian and Hindustani literature. Now in Persian the word for "Silence" or for "the Silent" is *khámush* خاموش. This word *khámush* is also figuratively used for the "dead." Dr. Steingass gives both these meanings for this word khámush.[1] Then, as to the word 'Tower', it is natural that the structure being round, the word Tower at once struck Mr. Murphy as an appropriate word.

So it seems that the Persian word *khámush*, meaning 'Silence' or 'Silent' as well as 'dead', suggested to Mr. Murphy the phrase "Tower-of-Silence."

A few Hindustani quotations, wherein the word *khámush* is used for the dead, have been kindly supplied to me by my friend Munshi Khan Saheb Farrudin. I am indebted to him for this suggestion as to the possible way which may have suggested to Mr. Murphy this figure of speech.

(ناسخ)

عیش تنہائي ہوا مردون کي کثرت سے محال
جاؤن اب یارب کہان شـــہر خموشـــان چھوڑکر

Translation—(The complaint of a departed soul)—

"The solitary enjoyment has become impossible owing to the infinite number of the dead. Oh God! where am I to go leaving the City of Silence, *i.e.*, the cemetery."

[1] *Vide* his Persian-English Dictionary, p. 443, the word *Khamush* خاموش

ایضاً

گذر ناگاہ جو میرا ہوا شہر خموشان مین
عجب نقشہ نظر وہان شاہانِ عالم کا
کہین آئینہ زانوي سکندر کا شکستہ تہا
کسي جانب پڑا تہا کاسۂ سر خاک مین جم کا

Translation—(A living man draws a picture of the unstability of the worldly greatness.)

"I happened to go once in the City of Silence (*i.e.*, to the cemetery), where a wonderful sight of the state of the kings of the world, came to my vision. On one side was lying the knee of Alexander and on the other the skull of Jam (shed)."

استعمال شہر خموشان

(از آباد لکھنوی)

دیکھکر آئینۂ رخ اوس کا سکتہ ہوگیا
جیتےجي ہم داخلِ شہر خموشان ہوگئے

"We were so much affected that we remained motionless (literally smitten with apoplexy) on seeing her (beloved's) mirror-like face. We felt like entering alive the City of Silence."

(از ناسخ لکھنوی)

جس جگہہ تھے قصر و منظر بن گئین گورین تمام
شہر جو آباد تھے شہر خموشان ہوگئے

"The spot which had lofty palaces and beautiful sights is now full of graves.

The cities which were once populous have now become cities of silence, *i.e.*, grave-yards."

I have come across an old document in the records of the Parsee Panchayet, which shows that the Portugese used the word 'well' for the Tower. In a document dated 1st May 1796 we find the following words : "Poiço dos Parcois aon dc passraõ seus defuntos",

i.e., the Parsees' well, through which their dead bodies pass. The document is a deed of sale of a hill, named Ragi, by one Krishnoba to Mr. Dady Nusserwanjee. Some Portuguese documents of the years 1710 to 1739 speak of the Towers as cemeteries or sepulchres. (*Vide* the Zartoshti of month Farvardin 1276 Yazdezardi, Vol. IV., No. 1.)

There is one statement in the above description of Dr. Ives which appears to me to be useful in determining the date of the construction of one of the old Parsi Towers-of-Silence in Bombay. He speaks of having seen "two round buildings" or towers. Unfortunately, these two towers, the two oldest of the five public towers standing in the Parsee ground, known as Doongarwadi among the Parsees, have no tablets to give the dates of their construction. But, fortunately, it is three old European travellers that have come to our help, in determining, at least approximately, the dates of these two old towers.

The first or the oldest of the two towers referred to by Dr. Ives is that known as Modi's tower. As said above, there is no tablet over it. Again there are no family records to determine the date of its foundation. But, as pointed out by Khan Bahadur Bomanji Byramji Patel[1], Dr. John Fryer[2] refers to this oldest tower in his book of travels entitled "A New Account of East-India and Persia, in Eight Letters, being nine years travels, begun 1672 and finished 1681." Therein he says: "On the other side of the great Inlet, to the Sea, is a great point abutting against Old Woman's Island[3] and is called Malabar-hill, a rocky woody mountain, yet sends forth long grass. A-top of all is a Parsy Tomb lately reared.[4]"

Fryer's book was published in 1698. He left England for India on 9th December 1672.[5] He arrived in Bombay on 9th December 1673.[6] His letter, wherein he refers to the tower (Modi's Tower), is dated Surat, 15th January 1675 (old system 1674).[7] So, it is clear, that the first Parsi Tower-of-Silence was built some time before the year 1675 when he wrote the letter containing the above passage. He says it was "lately reared." The words "lately reared" are rather indefinite. It may be two or three years before the year when he wrote the above.

[1] *Parsi Prakash*, I, p. 17.

[2] Dr. Fryer left England on 9th December 1672. He landed in Bombay on 9th December 1673. His letter from Surat wherein he refers to the first tower is dated 15th January 1675.

[3] Colaba was then known by this name.

[4] Dr. Fryer's Travels, p. 67.

[5] *Vide* his New Account of East India and Persia in eight letters from 1672-1681, p. 1.

[6] *Ibid*, p. 59.

[7] *Ibid*, p. 89.

Now, there is another traveller whose book helps us in determining the value or the meaning of Dr. Fryer's words "lately reared." This traveller was Mr. (afterwards Sir) Streynsham Master who was in India from 1656 to 1682. In an interval during the period he had gone once to England.[1]

As he has not been referred to in the Gazetteer and in the *Parsi Prakash*, his notes having come to light lately, I will here make use of his reference and try to determine the date of the first tower.

It is in a letter dated "Bombay, January 18, 1671, (*i.e.*, New System, 1672) that he refers to the tower. The letter is headed "a letter from Suratt in India giving an acco^{tt}: of y^{e}: Manners of y^{e}: English factories, &ca., their way of Civill Converse and Pious Comportment and Behaviour in these Partes.' It is an unusually long document to be called a letter. Therein, while giving a short description of Bombay, and speaking of its different "nations or sects of people" he thus speaks of the Parsees:

[1] The following particulars about this traveller are collected from Col. Henry Yule's Account of his life. *Vide* the Diary of William Hedges, Esq., by Col. Henry Yule, printed for the Hakluyt Society in 1888, Vol. II, p. CCXXIII.

Sir Streynsham Master was born on 28th October 1640. He left London on 4th April 1656 to go to India with his uncle and god-father George Oxenden. They arrived at Surat in November 1656. Mr. Oxenden returned to Europe but Master remained at Surat in charge of George Oxenden's brother Cristopher Oxenden who was "then second in council of the Company's factory at Surat." Mr. Master then went out as Cape-Merchant and supercargo on a vessel bound for Persian Gulf. He returned to Surat in December 1659. He was taken into the Company's service in January 1659-60. Till 1686, he was employed at Surat and Ahmedabad. During the interval, *i.e.*, in 1662, his uncle had returned to Surat as Sir George Oxenden and as President of Surat. In 1668 he was one of the Council at Surat. In the month of September of that year "he was associated with Mr. Goodyer (Governor-designate,) Captain Young, and Mr. Cotes, to go to Bombay and receive over charge of the Island from the King's officers." [2] When Surat was attacked by the Mahrattas in 1664 he took part in the defence of the factory and Company's property. When the Mahrattas pillaged Surat for the second time under Sivaji in October 1670, the Council was temporarily located at Swally (known among the people there as Soomari સુમારી). So, Mr Master was asked to come down from that place to Surat to hold the factory against the invaders. This he did "with much gallantry and tact." The Court of Directors in London voted him on 20th July 1671-2 a gold medal in recognition of his services. It was presented to him in 1672 when he went home. Gerald Aungier was the Governor at the time of Sivaji's above invasion. He was at Swally. Master returned to England in June 1672 and married in 1674. In September 1675 he was nominated the Governor of Fort St. George. He arrived at Fort St. George on 7th July 1676. He then went to Bengal on inspection duty and took charge of his appointment as Governor of Madras in 1677, when Sir William Langhorne went home. He fell in the disfavour of the Court of Directors; he was recalled by a letter, dated 5th January 1680-81. He gave over charge of his office to Mr. W. Gyfford on 3rd July 1681 and then went to England.

[2] The Diary of William Hedges, Esq., by Col. Henry Yule, Vol. II, Printed for the Hakluyt Society in 1888, p. CCXXV. [3] *Ibid*, p. CCCV.

"The Parsees are the antient inhabitants of Persia, from whence those that now inhabit hereabouts fled, at such time as the Mahometan Religion was by Violence planted in that Country, which was about 900 years since. Then severall of those Parsees resolving to so suffer and undergoe any hardship rather than submitt to Mahomett and his followers imbarged themselves and their familys in a few slight built vessels of that Country and Committed themselves to the Mercy of the Wind and the Seas, not knowing whether they would [fare] (a most desperate undertaking), and at length it pleased God they were cast upon the Coast of India between Surratt and Daman about 12 or 13 miles from Surratt, near the same place where the first English Ship that arrived in India was allsoe cast away, where escapeing to the Shoare with life, the Indians not used to such guests, yet being as obliging People to strangers as any nation under heaven (as the English found them when the Sun, the first Ship we had in these parts was cast away at or near the same place) tooke yet this advantage upon them (if it may be soe tearmed) that they should live and inhabit with them if they would swear to them that they would not kill Cows or any of that Sort of Cattell, and observe their Ceremonies of Marryage, that is to Marry their children young at 6 or 7 years old or thereabouts, to which the Poore Parsees soone agreed, and there seated themselves, the Towne being called Nausarree, or by the English Nunsaree, where since they have spread themselves about these parts of the Country, about 30 or 40 miles about Surratt, but there are very few farther in the Country, yet some, for they say a Parsee was raised to great honour in the Court by Jangier this Mogull's grandfather. At the said place of Nausaree thear chief priests reside, where tis said they have their Holy fire which they brought [with] them from their owne Country, and is never to goe out. They keepe it soe constantly supplyed; they had a Church in Surratt; but the Tumultuous Rabble of the Zelott Moors destroyed and tooke it from them when they were furious on the Hindooes. They have severall buryall Places hereabouts, which are built of Stone in the wide fields, wherein they lay the dead Bodys exposed to the open air soe that the Ravenous fowles may and doe feed upon them.

"These People are of a different Shape and Complection from all other People that ever I sawe in the World; they are of all Professions, except Seamen, for they have hitherto held it unlawfull for them to goe to Sea, because they must then Pollute the Element of Water which they esteem holy, as they doe fire. But of late some few of them had adventured to transgress that ceremony. They have a great Reverence for fire, and many of them will not put it out, but let

it extinguish for want of matter ; they worship and acknowledge one God Allmighty and noe Images or Representations. But only the Sun they doe adore, and they give this reason for it ; that God Allmighty told them by their first Prophet that they should worship only one thing beside Himselfe and that thing should be that which was most like unto Him. Now they say there is noe one thing in the world soe much like unto God as the Sun, for it hath its light and heat in itselfe, which it disperseth and infuseth into all parts and Creatures in the World, soe that it gives them life and light ; therefore they say they worship it.

" President Aungier, one of the most ingenious men of our Nation that ever was in these parts, hath been somewhat Curious in his Enquiry into the Religion of these People, and according to the account they have of the history of the World, he is of opinion they had it from the Hebrews, it differing not much from Moses. They say according to these prophesys the World will not last many hundreds of years longer, but that their Kingdom and Country will be restored to them, and all Nations shall be of their Religion ere the World be ended."

Then, while speaking of the island of Bombay, Master says of the Parsees of this city :—

" Here is allsoe some Parsees, but they are lately come since the English had the Island, and are most of them weavers, and have not yet any place to doe their devotion in or to bury their dead." [1]

This last statement of Sir Streynsham Master, made on 18th January 1672, shows, that on that day, the Parsees had no Tower-of-Silence. So, the statement of Dr. Fryer on the one hand, and that of Sir S. Master on the other, gives two dates between which the first Parsee Tower-of-Silence was built in Bombay. They decide that it was built at some time during the three years between the 18th of January 1672, the date given by Master, and 15th of January 1675, the date given by Fryer. This period of three years can still be reduced to a narrower period, because though Fryer wrote his letter from Surat on 15th January 1675, he narrates therein what he saw at Bombay during the preceding year. At the end of the monsoons of 1674 he had left Bombay for Surat.[2] His observations about Bombay itself must have been for the months of January or February 1674, because we learn from his book that before the end of the hot season he had left Bombay for Bassein. Before this, he had been visiting some of the coast towns near Bombay. So, his account of Bombay refers to the early

[1] The Diary of William Hedges, Esq., by Col. Henry Yule, Vol. II, printed for the Hakluyt Society in 1888, p. CCCXVI.

[2] Fryer's Travels, p. 82.

part of the year 1674. So, we can safely say, that the tower referred to by Fryer as "lately raised," was built some time after 18th January 1672 and before January or February 1674. It was built in the latter end of 1672 or at some time in 1673.

Now, just as the writings of the abovementioned two travellers have helped us in determining approximately the date of the construction of the first tower, the book of Dr. Ives helps us in determining the date of the second old tower—which is now known as the Manockji Seth's Tower.

The Parsee population at the time of our author's visit must be much below 10,000. Sir James Campbell's Gazetteer has given "the chief available details of the strength of the Parsees at different times since the beginning of the (19th) century." But the Journal of our own Society seems to have escaped his notice. In the very first volume of the Journal of our ociety, then known as the Literary Society, we have a note latterly attached to the " Preliminary Discourse " delivered by Sir James Mackintosh, the founder of the Society. In that note we find the following figures of Parsee population in 1811 :—

Men from 20 to 80 years of age	3,644
Women ,, ,, ,, ...	3,333
Boys from 20 down to infant children	1,799
Girls ,, ,, ,, ...	1,266
Total ...	10,042

This was in 1811. So in the middle of the 18th century it may be about 5,000. Whatever it may be, it was thought some time before 1748, that there was a demand for a second and a larger tower. The fact is inferred from the Will of the first Mr. Manockji Nowroji Seth, who died in 1748, and from whose father's name our Nowroji Hill derives its name. This Manockji Seth was the grandson of Rustom Manock, from whose name Rustompora in Surat derives its name, and who was the broker of the English Factory at Surat in the middle of the 17th century, and had gone in 1660 to the Court of the Mogul Emperor at Delhi to bring about a settlement of some points of dispute that had arisen between the abob of Surat and the English Factory at Surat. His father Nowroji Seth was the first Parsee to go to England in 1724. He went there to lay his grievances personally before the Court of Directors in the matter of some money dispute that had arisen between him and the English Factors at Surat.

Now, it appears from the last Will[1] of the above Manockji Seth that, some time before 1748, the date of the death of the Testator, the Parsee community had raised a fund to build a second and a larger tower. Mr. Manockji Seth's subscription was Rs. 2,000, but it was not collected, perhaps, because the money subscribed by the community was not found sufficient. So, he mentions the subscription in his Will and directs that instead of Rs. 2,000, a sum of Rs. 2,500 may be given to the fund. The whole amount of the subscriptions not being found sufficient, the heirs of the late Mr. Manockji offered to make up all the deficiency, and the tower was built and named after the principa donor, as Manockji Seth's Tower.

Now the question is : When was that tower built? This tower also bears no date. Mr. Manockji had built a tower in his lifetime, a year before his death (*i.e.*, in 1747), at Naosari. That tower bears a date in Persian.[2] But the tower built in Bombay several years later does not bear any date.

Mr. Ruttonji Framji Vachha in his *Mumbai-no-Bâhâr*, *i.e.*, "the Spring or the Rise of Bombay" published in 1874, says that the tower of Manockji Seth was built in 1128, Yazdazardi, *i.e.*, in 1759 A.D. Khan Bahadur Bomanji Byramji Patel gives the date as 1756.[4] He says that he was given that date by the late Mr. Heerjeebhoy Hormusji Sethna, a member of Seth Khândân family. There seems to be no documentary evidence about it. I wrote to three members of the Seth Khândân family, to inquire, if they had any documents or written notes in the family, to show that the tower was built in 1756. They have replied that they have none.

Now the work of our author, Dr. Ives, shows us, that the second tower, namely, the Manockji Seth's Tower was built some years before 1756, the date given by Khan Bahadur Patel. Dr. Ives says that in 1754 he saw two towers. So, it appears, that the Manockji Seth's Tower was built not in 1756 but some time before 1754. Manockji Seth having died in 1748 and provided for that tower in 1748, it must have been built at some time between 1748 and 1754. This period of interval can still be reduced, because the Bombay Parsees wrote a letter in February 1750 to the Naosari An uman asking them to send two priests to perform the ceremony of laying the foundation. The letter was signed, among others, by the two wives of Manockjee Seth.[5] So.

[1] This Will, and what we may now call its codicils, have been published in the શેઠ ખાનદાન કુટુંબની વંશાવલી તથા ટુંક અહેવાલ, *i.e.*, the Genealogy and a short Account of the Seth family, published in 1900 by Mr. Jalbhoy Ardeshir Seth (pp. 77-84). It is also partly published in the Parsee Prakash.

[2] Parsee Prakash, I, p. 36.

[3] મુંબઈનો બાહાર, p. 445.

[4] Parsee Prakash, I, p. 42.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 38.

the tower must have been built sometime between 1750 and 1754, probably not long after the above letter, *i.e.*, in or about 1751.

We will now proceed to consider a few other points about Bombay referred to by our author.

It appears that a term "toddy-headed" was used at that time for the weak-headed from the fact that toddy intoxicated men. We do not find the term used now.

The rind of the cocoanut fruit was at that time used for a kind of cloth for the poorer class of people. I think that that has altogether gone out of use now.

The Abkari tax for tapping each cocoanut tree was then 20 shillings.

The meaning of the word Bombay is often discussed. Our author understands its name to convey "an idea of a safe retreat in foul weather" (Bon or good bay). Bombay is said to have had "a very good dock" at the time for small ships. It was "the most convenient place among all our settlements in the East Indies for careening and heaving down large ships" (p. 33).

Among the little forts and batteries of this little island, Dr. Ives names, "Dungaree, Massegon, Mahee, Mendham's Point and Sion-hill." Of these Dungaree and Sion-hill are familiar names to us even now. Massegon is our modern Mazagon. Dr. Jerson daCunha[1] suggests four meanings of the name.

1 मच्छ गांव (machchgâv), *i.e.*, fishing village.

2 महिष गांव (mahishgâv), *i.e.*, a buffalo village.

3 माजगांव (mâzagâv), *i.e.*, central village.

Of these three, he thinks the first to be "most acceptable." The form Massegon given by our author seems to support this meaning.

Mahee seems to be Mahim where we have still an old fort. Mendham's Point is a name unknown to us now. Colaba, which was formerly considered to be an island separate from Bombay, was then known as the Old Woman's Island. Before it was connected with Bombay itself in 1838, the southern extremity of Bombay, where the Soldiers' Home stands at present, was known as Mendham's Point. It is said that the first English cemetery was there and the first person buried there was one Mendham. Hence the Point was named after him.[2]

[1] The Origin of Bombay, p. 59. The Extra Number of the Journal of the B. B. R. Asiatic Society, 1900.

[2] Dr. Jerson da Cunha's Origin of Bombay, p. 339.

All these forts were defended by guns at the time of our author's visit. The principal fort had more than 100 guns.

The renovation of the Cathedral has been much discussed lately. Of this cathedral our author says: "The Church also is not less substantial than the fort; it is a very handsome, large edifice, and in comparison of those which are to be met with in the other settlements, it looks like one of our cathedrals." It was built by voluntary subscriptions. Rev. Mr. Cobbe, father of Mr. Richard Cobbe, Admiral Watson's chaplain, was the chief promoter of the work of building the church. Rev. Cobbe was at one time a chaplain of the Bombay factory.

Tank-house was the family residence of the Admiral. Our author does not say where it was, but I think it is the house at Gowalia Tank, now known as Tanka-ville. It was so called from the large tank near it. The Admiral was allowed five pagodas [1] a day for "a part of the expenses of his table." The Company allowed him and his principal attendants the use of palanquins. The horses being of little value and being also very scarce, they generally used oxen. These oxen travelled fast at the rate of 7 or 8 miles an hour. The Admiral had a chaise and a pair of oxen allowed him by the Company. It was in this chaise that the Admiral went "for an afternoon's airing" to Malabar Hill, Old Woman's Island (Colaba) and to Marmulla. By Marmulla, our author perhaps means Breach Candy.

The Hindu burning ground was at that time "near the water's edge under Malabar hill."

The following account of our author's interview with a *Jogee* is interesting:—

"During my stay at this place, I hired by the month, a chaise drawn by a pair of bullocks. In the several excursions I made in this carriage, I had frequently passed by one of those religious persons, or anchorets, who in India are called *Joogees*; and who, in consequence of a vow made by their parents, and during their mother's pregnancy with them, are devoted to the service of heaven. One evening, I and a companion had an inclination to pay a short visit to this *Joogee*, who always sat in one posture on the ground in a shady cocoanut plantation, with his body covered over with ashes, and his long black hair clotted, and in the greatest disorder. As we approached him, we made our salutation, which he respectfully returned; and then, with the assistance of our Indian driver, who could speak English, we began a conversation with him, that principally turned on the wonderful efficacy of his prayers, and which he pretended had

[1] According to Webster, its value varied at different places. It was about 7*s.* 4*d*

given health to the sick, strength to the lame, sight to the blind, and fecundity to women who for their whole lives had been deemed barren. When we were about to take our leave of him, I offered him a present of two rupees, which he bade me to throw on the ground, and then directed his servant, who was standing by, to take them up, which he did with a pair of iron-pincers, throwing the rupees at the same time into a pot of vinegar. After they had lain there a little while, the same servant took them out, wiped them carefully, and at last delivered them to his master, who soon afterwards, by way of return, presented us with a few cakes of his insipid pastry. I then requested of him, that in his next prayers he would petition for an increase of my happiness, to which with great complacency in his countenance, he replied: 'I hardly know what to ask for you; I 'have seen you often and you have always appeared to me to enjoy 'perfect health; you ride in your chaise at your ease; are often ac-'companied with a very pretty lady; you are ever well clothed, and 'are likewise fat; so that you seem to me to be in possession of every 'thing that can be any way necessary to happiness. I believe there-'fore, when I pray for you, it must be in this strain, that God would 'give you grace to deserve, and to be thankful for those many 'blessings which he has already bestowed upon you.' I told him that I was thoroughly satisfied with the mode of his intended supplication for me; and with a mutual exchange of smiles and compliments we parted."[2]

It is only last month, that our Governor Lord Lamington laid the foundation of a building, which was understood to be the first building in a scheme of thoroughly re-building the whole of the Sir Jamsetjee Hospital. The foundation of this hospital was laid in 1843 and it was opened in 1845. But it seems that a Government Hospital existed in Bombay as early as 1773. It was intended only "for the sick and hurt of the squadron of His Majesty." Our author says of this hospital:—

"Our hospital at Bombay was without the town-wall; and in order to make my attendance on it the more convenient, Mr. Délâguarde (a factor in the Company's service) was so obliging as to give me the use of a very commodious house, which lay near the hospital, and belonged to him as superintendent of the powder-works."

From the reference to the powder-works, and from the statement that the hospital was out of the Fort, we are led to think that it was somewhere at Mazagon, where a place is still known as Darukhâneh. It appears that the hospital was attended to by any medical

[1] From Ives's Voyages, p. 35. [2] Ibid, p. 18.

officer that happened to be in Bombay. During his first visit, our author was in Bombay only for about one month from 13th November to 15th December 1754.[1]

While on the subject of the hospital I would draw the attention of medical men to the drugs used at the time. Our author [2] gives a list of the drugs as given to him by a Portuguese Physician of Bombay named Diego.

The next interesting thing in our author's book are the tables of the daily rainfall of Bombay for the monsoon of the year 1756. He gives the daily rainfall as measured by his friend Dr. Thomas who supplied it to him afterwards. The total rainfall of that year from May to October was 110 inches and 3 tenths. He also describes the rain-gauge then used.

Among the Bombay curiosities of the time our author mentions the following[3] :—

1. A terapin (a large beetle) kept at the Governor's [4] house ; its age was said to be "upward of 200 years."
2. Large frogs, some measuring about 22 inches from the extremities of the fore and hind feet when extended and weighing about 4 or lbs.
3. Beautiful shells on the sea shore much estimated by the ladies of that time and known as Ventletraps or Wendletraps. One of such shells was sold for several pounds.

He names the following species of Bombay snakes known at the time :—

1. The Covra (Cobra) Capella, from 4 to 8 or 9 feet long.
2. The Covra Manilla, of the size of a man's little finger and about a foot long.
3. The Palmira, about 4 feet long, "not much larger than a swan's quill."
4. The Green Snake.
5. The Sand Snake.
6. The Covra dé Aurellia, which is like an earth-worm about 6 inches long. It "kills by getting into the ear and causing madness." This seems to be what is now known here as the કાનખજુરો (a centepede).
7. The Manilla Bombo.

[1] Ibid, p. 36. [2] Ibid, p. 44. [3] Ibid, p. 42.

[4] Richard Bourchier was Governor of Bombay from 17th November 1750 to 28th February 1760.

During his short stay of one month, our author saw two fleets of country vessels in the harbour. "One of them belonged to the Nanna or Prince of the Maharattas, the other to Monajee Angria, the brother of Angria the pirate." These vessels carried two guns in their bow. The music of these fleets "was a plain brass tube, shaped like a trumpet at both ends and about 10 feet in length, and a kind of drum called a tomtom. Each fleet consisted of about 30 sails."[1]

The following table gives the exchange as then prevalent :—

"A 36-shilling piece exchanges for 16½ rupees.

A guinea	,,	,,	9 ,,
An English crown		,,	2 rupees and 6 double pice.
A Spanish dollar		,,	2 ,, ,, 3 ,, ,, "

Eighty pice made a rupee.

The description of the Elephanta Caves given by our author on the authority of his friend Dr. Thomas will interest archæologists to enable them to know what parts have been latterly further destroyed. He gives a plan of the caves.

This finishes our author's account of Bombay during his first visit (13th November to 15th December 1754). He then went with his Admiral to Madras and the adjoining towns and returned to Bombay again on 11th November 1755.

On his second visit to Bombay, we find that the fleet, to which our author was attached, was engaged in a naval fight[2] with the Angria. The family of Angria were more or less pirates on our Western shores. The Angria at this time (1755) was Tulaji.[3]

[1] Ives' Voyage p. 43.

[2] For an account of the Angrias and of this naval battle, *vide* the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I., Part II, pp. 86-96. *Vide* also History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan from the year 1745, (by Orme), pp. 497-17.

[3] The following tree shows his descent :—

Tukajee.

Kanhoji (who had distinguished himself in Shivaji's fleet, and who "in the unsettled days of Shivaji's successors, Sambhaji and Shâhu," became independent in 1713. Died in 1729).

Sakhoji (died early).	Sambhaji (Died about 1748). He was succeeded by his half-brother Tulaji.	Manaji.	Yesaji.	Tulaji (half-brother of Sambhaji.)

Lieut.-Col. Robert Clive, afterwards Lord Clive, was at that time in Bombay. He had already, by this time, made his name as a good soldier. He "had lately landed on the island with three companies of the King's Artillery from England. He was sent out with a design of acting in conjunction with the Maharattas against the French in the Carnatic and Deccan ; but finding that a truce had been agreed upon with that nation, and perhaps partly excited by Mr. James's late success, it was judged proper by Admiral Watson, Mr. Bourchier Governor of Bombay, Colonel Clive, &c., that the sea and land forces united with the Maharattas should attempt the destroying Angria's piratical state, which was becoming exceedingly formidable, troublesome, and dangerous, not only to the Maharattas, who were his neighbours, but also to our East India Company, and the whole Malabar Coast." [1]

Gheria was the stronghold of Angria at that time, and so, it was this fort that was intended to be taken after a naval fight. It was situated in the Province of Beejapur and was "called Gheria by Mussulmans, but Viziadroog by Hindoos." [2]

In our author's description of the preliminary arrangements before the naval battle, we find an interesting account about the question of the division of booty, or prize-money as they called it, acquired in war, a question, which, it seems, they settled beforehand to avoid disputes later on.

Our author says—

"All things being at last in readiness for putting to sea, a council was held, at Mr. Watson's particular desire, between the sea and land officers, both of His Majesty's forces, and those of the East India Company, with a view of obviating any difficulties that might arise in regard to the proper distribution of prize-money, should the intended expedition be crowned with success. It was settled at this council, that Admiral Watson, as Commander-in-Chief of the King's Squadron, should have two-thirds of one-eighth of the whole ; and Rear-admiral Pocock, one-third of one-eighth. Lieutenant-Colonel Clive and Major Chambers were to share equally with the captains of the King's ships. The captains of the Company's ships, and armed vessels, and captains of the army, were to have an equal share with the lieutenants of the men-of-war. The subaltern officers of the army, and Lieutenants of the company's armed ships and vessels, were to have the same distribution as the warrant-officers of the navy, &c.

[1] Ives' Travels, p. 79.

[2] The *Bombay Quarterly Review*, Vol. III, p. 56.

"These articles, however, had scarcely been agreed upon in council, before Colonel Clive, who Commanded-in-Chief on shore, paid a visit to Mr. Watson, and acquainted him, that the Army was not satisfied with the terms on which he, as their Commander-in-Chief, was to share; and that to make those gentlemen easy, who were to serve under him, he found himself under the disagreeable necessity of remonstrating and requiring that, as Commander of the Army he might be entitled to a more honorable division. The argument the Gentlemen of the Army went upon, was, that Mr. Clive, by virtue of the Commission he bore in common of Lieutenant-Colonel, could claim but an equal share with a Captain in the Navy; yet on this occasion, being Commander-in-Chief of the Army, he ought certainly to be particularly distinguished, and be admitted, at least, to share with Mr. Pocock, the Second Sea-Officer, who was a Rear-Admiral. Mr. Watson replied, that it was impossible for him to make any alterations in the articles agreed upon in council; neither indeed would his doing it be at all consistent either with custom or the different ranks which Admiral Pocock and Colonel Clive bore in the respective services. He told the Colonel, however, that to satisfy the wishes of the Army, which in the present situation of affairs, he deemed to be a point of the utmost consequence, he would give security under his own hand, to make good the deficiency, out of any monies he himself might be entitled to, so as to make the share of the Commander-in-Chief of the army and that of Mr. Pocock exactly alike. The Colonel, sensibly struck with Mr. Watson's disinterestedness, answered, that provided his officers were satisfied with the proposal, he for his own part should come into it with great cheerfulness. He accordingly took the first opportunity of making those gentlemen acquainted with the Admiral's declaration, who were so much pleased therewith that from that moment all discontent ceased, and the expedition went on with the greatest unanimity." [1]

Our author adds a footnote about the result of the above stipulation, showing a great self-denial on the part of Clive.

Dr. George Smith, in his Memoirs of the life of Lord Clive, in the Encyclopædia Brittanica, [2] calls this "no little self-denial" on the part of Clive. It seems really to be so, and draws our admiration, especially when we know that, according to his biographers, the pecuniary affairs of Clive were not satisfactory at that time. As Lord Macaulay points out in his Essay of Lord Clive, [3] based on "Sir John Malcolm's Life of Lord Robert Clive," Clive had spent away, while in England,

[1] Ives' Voyages, pp. 81 and 82.

[2] Vol. VI, p. 9.

[3] Macaulay, Critical and Historical Essays, Part II.

the whole of his moderate fortune that he had carried from the Madras side. He had extricated "his father from pecuniary difficulties" and "redeemed the family estate. The remainder he appears to have dissipated in the course of about two years. He lived splendidly, dressed gaily even for those times, kept a carriage and saddle horses, and, not content with these ways of getting rid of his money, resorted to the most speedy and effectual of all modes of evacuation, a contested election followed by a petition."[1]

Looking to this condition of Clive's pecuniary state of affairs, it was really "no little self-denial" on his part to have refused politely a sum of £ 1,000 offered by Admiral Watson.

Dr. Ives gives two fine sketches—one of the views of the Gheria fort itself and the other of a view of the river from it. His account of the interview of Admiral Watson with the weeping family of Angria is really very touching. The interview brought about tears in the eyes of the Admiral. When the mother of the Angria bemoaned the flight of her son and said, "that the people had no king, she no son, her daughters no husband, the children no father," the Admiral consoled her by saying "that from henceforward they must look upon him as their father and friend." On hearing this, a boy, of about six years, sobbing said, "then you shall be my father." This reminds us of what we often hear of old *topeewallas* being considered the real *mâbâps* of the people.

At the close of the battle the fleet returned to Bombay on the 17th March and then left it on the 27th of April 1756. Our author then went with the Admiral to Calcutta, where the affairs of the Black Hole had attracted all available military and naval force. On his return homeward *via* Persian Gulf in 1758, on the death of Admiral Watson, his ship touched Bombay on 24th January 1758. He finally embarked from here on 8th February 1758.

[1] Lord Macaulay's Essay on Clive. "Critical and Historical Essays contributed to the EDINBURGH REVIEW" in 3 Volumes (1843), Vol. III., p. 138.