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(NEW SERIES)

EDITED BY

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MORE ON BIOGRAPHY OF RUZBIHAN AL-BAQLI.

BY W. IVANOW.

In the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1928 (in reality issued only in September 1929), pp. 353-361, I have published a note on a fragment of a biographical Persian work dealing with the life and miracles of the famous Sufic saint of Shiraz, Abū Muḥammad Rūzbihān b. Abī Naṣr al-Baqlī al-Pasā'ī (d. in the beg. of Muḥarram 606 A. H., or mid. July 1209). The fragment which contained only 36 leaves and formed only a small portion of the whole work, was found by me in Shiraz in October 1928. All my search for more portions of the same copy was fruitless. Leaving Shiraz, however, I asked my friends to try more in this direction. Quite recently one of them has sent to me another portion of the same copy, only nine leaves, fortunately belonging to the beginning of the work, and containing much valuable information about it and about its author. I believe it is worth while to publish these details here.

The title of the work is omitted in the copy, though on f. 6 there are two lines left blank in the place in which it should appear, after the words "*wa nām-i-īn kitāb*" Most probably it was something like *Sīrat-nāma-i-Shaykh Rūzbihān*, because the author uses the expression of *sīrat-nāma* in the sense of

'biography,' as on f. 5v, where it is used twice in connection with the Shikh himself.¹

In my preceding paper I have shown that the work could not have been compiled before 678 A.H./1280 A.D. In this fragment, on f. 5v, it is stated plainly that the compiler was asked to write the book 94 years after the death of the Shikh², i.e. in or about 700 A.H./ beg. 1301 A.D.

It was clear that the author was a great-grandson of the Shikh.³ He gives here (f. 5v) his own name as Ibrāhīm b. Rūzbihān. Thus his full name was Ibrāhīm b. Shaykhī'l-Islām Ṣadri'd-dīn Rūzbihān b. Fakhrī'd-dīn Aḥmad b. Rūzbihān.

As may be seen from this fragment, the work had (probably after the usual doxology) an introduction giving a brief mention of different famous Sufis of various parts of the Islamic world; after this there is a page (f. 5v) on the circumstances of the composition of the book, and on the distribution of subjects in it (ff. 6-6v). The seven *bābs*, into which it was divided (besides the conclusion, *khatm*, mentioned in the fragment described in the preceding paper), dealt with:

1. On the Shikh's birth and early career (here is a mistake, and in the margins it is written only: مولود مبارک شیخ)
2. On the great shaykhs who were contemporaries with Ruzbihan⁴ (در ذکر اکابر مشایخ که معاصر او بودند)
3. On his instruction and miracles (ذکر حکایات و کرامات شیخ)
4. On his teachings with regard to *tafsīr*, *ḥadīth*, etc. (در فوائد شیخ از تفسیر و حدیث و غیره)

¹ As he says (f.5v): ... اما ... سیرت نامه معتبر بذکر احوال ... استند تا کردند تا: عزیزش در قلم نیامده ... سیرت نامه شیخ جمع کند ...

² As he says (f.5v): بعد از نود و چهار سال از وفات مبارکش

³ See my preceding paper, pp. 354-355.

⁴ It may be from this chapter of the present work that Jami has derived the biographies of some associates of the Shikh, given in the *Nafahātu'l-uns* (cf. my preceding paper, p. 353).

5. On various instructive matters taught by him to his associates (در فوائد متفرقه بر اصحاب)
6. On children and grandchildren of Ruzbihān, and on some virtues of the (author's) father, Shaykhu'l-Islām Ṣadru'l-millat wa'd-dīn Rūz'bihān ath-thānī ash-Shaykhu-'th-thānī (در ذکر اولاد و اسبظ شیخ و شرطی از فضایل بدر بزرگوار شیخ الاسلام صدرالمله والدین رزبهان الثانی الشیخ الثانی)
7. On Shikh's death (در وفات حضرت شیخ)

Thus the two fragments contain only portions of the first, third, fourth, and seventh chapters.

The present fragment opens with the concluding portion of a note on a shaykh who died in 282 A.H./895 A.D. Then follow shaykhs of Khorasan: Abū Yazīd Bisṭāmī (d. 261/875), with a reference to his pupil, Aḥmad b. Khaḍrūya. Then Abū'l-Qāsim Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad Rabadhī (d. 367/977). On f. 1v is mentioned Abū Ḥafṣ Nishāpūrī (d. 264/877); Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad al-Wāsiṭī, who was really from Marw (d. 320/932); Abū 'Alī Fuḍayl b. 'Iyāḍ (d. 187/803); Ibrāhīm Ad'ham (d. 161/778); Abū Ḥāmid Aḥmad Khaḍrūya Balkhī, mentioned above; the date of his death is wrongly given as 204/819. Abū'l-Qāsim Qushayrī, as the author says (f. 2), is not mentioned in the *Risāla* (whose?), nor in the *Tabaqāt* (whose, Sulamī's or 'Abdu'l-lah Anṣārī's?)¹, for the same reasons as Abū Sa'īd b. Abī'l-Khayr²

¹ The compiler speaks vaguely about some *kutub-i-mashā'ikh* (f. 1), or simply *kutub* (f. 3v) which he perused. About this *Risāla* nothing can be gathered from the present fragment: ذکر ایشان در رساله نفرموده و در طبقات مذکور نگشته.

² It would be interesting to find whether he has in view one of the two biographies of Abū Sa'īd, which are still preserved and have been edited by the late Pr. V. Zhukovski of St. Petersburg, i.e. the *Asrārū't-tawḥīd fī maqāmāt Shaykh Abi Sa'īd* (composed between 553 and 599 A. H., i.e. 1158 and 1203; publ. St. Petersburg, 1899), and another, shorter one, composed much earlier (publ. St. Petersburg, 1899), under the title of *Hālat wa sukhanān-i-Shaykh Abū Sa'īd*.

and Abū'l-Ḥasan Kharqānī¹, i.e. because there were special biographies (*sīrat-nāma*) devoted to them and their associates.

Among the shaykhs of Iraq are mentioned (f.2v) Sirrī, Junayd, Nūri, Ibn 'Aṭā, etc.

Sufis of Fars (f. 3v). They are innumerable; the author only can mention no less than 200 of those who performed miracles, like Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā, Abū'l-'Abbās Shīrāzī, Muḥammad b. Khalīl Shīrāzī, Abū Maṣṣūr Shīrāzī, Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb Shīrāzī, and their associates. Amongst them Abū 'Abdī'l-lah b. Muḥammad b. Khafīf ash-Shīrāzī has produced many works (f. 4); he died in 371/981-2, in Shiraz. Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm Shahrīyār al-Kāzīrūnī has converted to Islamism several thousands of Gabrs; he died in 426/1035. Abū 'Abdī'l-lah Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-Bayṭār (d. 363/973-4). Abū Muḥammad Ja'far al-Ḥadhḍā (d. 360/970-1). Abū'l-Qāsim Ṣaffār of Shīrāz (d. 372/982-3). Abū'l-Ḥasan Sālība (or Sāl-i-bih?) of Bayḍā (d. 300/912-3). After these early Sufis the author immediately mentions his great-grandfather, Ruzbihan, the 'Shaṭṭāḥ-i-Fārs'.

As the portion of the first *bāb* of the book which is preserved in the present fragment is rather interesting and typical of its contents, style and language, it seems useful to give it here *in extenso*.

In the present quotation all the peculiarities of orthography of the original Manuscript are preserved as far as possible, and only obvious *lapsus calami* are corrected without special note. It is remarkable that the *iḍāfa* is very rarely marked both after *a* and *ā*, —such cases are exceptions rather than rule. It is difficult to believe that the *iḍāfa* was usually omitted in pronunciation. Another peculiar feature of this Manuscript is inconsistent use of *dh* instead of *d*. Intervocalic *dh* appears to be not so frequent as *dh* at the end of the final syllable, both after a long or short vowel. Also inconsistent is the use of the forms of the relative

¹ It is difficult to find whether the author alludes to the work, with the title of *Nārū'l-'ulūm*, dealing with the subject, preserved in a defective copy in the British Museum (Or. 249), and recently published with a Russian translation by E. Bertels in *Iran*, vol. III, 1929, pp. 155-224. It is noteworthy that the author mentions nothing about Aḥmad-i-Jām and his biographies which already existed at that time.

pronoun *ki*: *ki* and *kī* are used indiscriminately, and occasionally *k*, in the usual combination *chunānk(i)*. The modal prefix *mī-* is usually written separately from the verb, but *bi-* always together with it. It seems plausible that all these cases of inconsistency are due entirely to the scribe's introducing in the process of transcription different usages, newer than those which were followed in the Manuscript from which he wrote the present copy.

[f. 6v] مولد مبارک شیخ کبیر سیدالقطاب روز بهان قدس
 الله سره در بسا بوده که قصبه از قصبات شیراز است و از قبيله دیالمه
 بود، و این دیالمه قبيله معروف و مشهور است، و ولادت میمونش
 در سنه اثنین و عشرين و خمسمایه^۱ بوده، و عمر عزیزش
 هشتاد و چهار سال بوده، و در محرم سنه ست و ستمایه بعالم
 بقا رحلت کرد و در سراج^۲ قرب ربانی منزل ساخته، و اگر چه
 علو شان او و مرتبت سلطان او بجزبه عنایت ربانی و توفیق
 رعایت سبحانی بود اما در ابتدا حال ریاضت بسیار و مجاهدات
 بی شمار باختیار کشیده، اما مبداء حالش از [f. 7] مصنفات
 مبارکش جنان معلوم شد که شیخ گفت که اتفاق ولادت من
 در میان قومی بود که در غایت ضلالت کانهم حمر مستنفره^۳
 و جهالت بودند و شغل ایشان هم تباہی و مناهای بود، چون
 بسن تمیز^۳ رسیدم داعیه طلب در وجودم پیدا شد، با خود
 میگفتم کی خداوند پروردگار من کجاست، دزان طفلی از
 کوزکان و پهنشینان در مکتب می برسیدم که شما خداوند
 خود را می شناسید، ایشان گفتند می گویند که از جارحه و
 جهات منزله است، ازین سخن مرا وجدی حاصل شد، چون
 بسن بلوغ رسیدم طاعت و خلوت بر من غالب شد، مدتی بدین

¹ 522 A. H./1128 A. D.

² The Coran, Chapt. LXXIV, 51.

³ Here تمیز.

طریق میگذرانیدم قرآن را یاد گرفتم و بتحصیل علوم مشغول شدم، چون بسن بیست و پنج سال رسیدم رحشتی عظیم از خلق مرا ظاهر شد، گاه گاهی نسائم قدس بر جانم می وزید [f. 7v] نهی دانستم که جیست، گاه گاهی باقنی از غیب آواز دادی تا شبی در محرابی¹ بودم آوازی شنیدم بغایت خوش جنانچ ازان آواز سوزی عظیم و وجدی بر من غالب شد، از مکان می رفتم تا بسر تلی رسیدم، شخصی را دیدم نیکوزوی بر هیأت صوفیان، سخنی چند در باب توحید تقریر فرمود، تاب آنشم کی بود تا ناکاه از چشم من غایب گشت، سکر بر من غلبه کرد، روز دیگر هر چه داشتم بر انداختم، بدین طریق مدتی می بودم تا روزی بخدمت سیدالاقطاب خضر رسیدم، علیه السلام، سیبی بمن داد بعضی ازان تناول فرموده، گفت این بستان، بستند و تناول کردم بسی نور و صفا ازان یافتم.

و از معتبران منقولست که انواع ریاضات که شیخ کشیده یکی آن بود کی هفت سال در کوه بمو² کی صبری شهر شیرازست [f. 8] بیک خرقه بسر برده جنانچ غسل و وضو در زمستان و تابستان در آن کرده بود، و آن خرقه از کردن بیرون نیاورده، و کس ندید کی او تناولی کرد، جنانک مریدان انواع اطعمه بخدمتش بردندی روز دیگر بر سر کوهها آن طعامها خورش و حوش و طیور بودی، و شیخ فرمودی گاه گاهی که ای کوه بمو بسی انوار تجلی بر تو یافته ام.

جلین منقولست کی چون شیخ از سکر باز آمد در شیراز بقا رباط مبارک فرمود در باب خداش بن منصور رضی الله عنه:

¹ It is interesting that the scribe (or the author), systematically writes double *yy* in such case, cf. f. 0,—*bichārayī*, *qadāyī* (بیکاری، کدایی).

² The range of Bamū is situated to the North-East of Shiraz.

در تاریخ سنه ستمین و خهسمایه^۱ و ذکر آن فرمود که بنا این رباط برای اولیا حق است، و از جمله کرامات شیخ قدس الله روح العزیز در بناء رباط یکی آن بود که در پوشیدن بارگاه رباط که مرقد مبارک شیخ آنجاست جویی بزرگ بر دیوار می نهادند [f.8v] و کوتاه بود چنانکه بدیوار نمی رسیده، در خدمت شیخ عرض داشتند این حکایت، شیخ خود بر سر عمارت آمد و سجاده مبارک خود را بر سر جوب انداخت، چون برداشتند تمام بود و از سر دیوار گذشته بود و خلق در آن متحیر بماندند و درین قضیه منکران مرید شدند، و این حکایت معروف و مشهور است میان اهل شیراز^۲ و از آن جوب قدری مانده است، و هرکی را مرضی یا تبی بیدار می کرد و قدری جوب می سوزاند آن زحمت زایل میشود، و عظیم معجز است، و از شیخ منقولست که فرمود که سر تربت من از اولیای حق خالی نباشد، و انحق جنین یافتم.

شرح ریاضتی که شیخ قدس الله روح در ابتدا حال کشیده بیش از آنست که تعداد آن توان کرد یا در قلم توان آورد از صیام [f. 9] و قیام و انواع ریاضات و اصناف اوراد کی او را بوده است در شبان روزی، از معتبران جذان استماع افتاد کی وقت نماز جاشت شصت رکعت گزاردی، و احیا شب ازو معروف و مشهور بود، و کریم بسیار کردی و آه بی شمار زدی و جندان کریم کرده بود کی از آثار کریم بر روی عزیزش نشانی بود چنانچ وقتی کی ذوقی پیدا شدی و رقتی کردی اشک چشم مبارکش میانه آن نشان فرود آمدی، و گاه گاهی که غلبات شوقش ظاهر گشتی همچون فواره اشک چشمش در افشان گشتی.

July, 1930.

¹ 500 A. H./1164-5 A. D.

² A similar miracle is narrated about an early Chishtī shaykh.

GERALD AUNGIER'S REPORT ON BOMBAY.

With an Introduction and Annotations

By SIR CHARLES FAWCETT.

Introduction.

Administration Reports are a marked feature of officialdom in India, and may indeed be described as the bane of life for those who have the duty of compiling or reviewing them. Against the trouble and expense of their production is, however, to be set off their utility for statistical and many other purposes; and each of them generally contributes something to the stream of information culminating in the Report of the Moral, Material and Economic Progress of India, which must be one of the oldest "Annuals" in existence. In fact the origin of such Administration Reports lies in much greater antiquity than is generally known or suspected.

It may almost be said to be coeval with the introduction of British rule in Bombay, the first English Colony in India, for the Instructions¹ issued in 1662 by King Charles II to Sir Abraham Shipman, as the Governor-Designate of the Island after it was handed over by the Portuguese, included a direction that he should "from time to time, as often as opportunity can be had, give an account to us of the condition of our said Island and of the affairs and inhabitants thereof." In the Public Record Office at London there are extant long letters of Sir Abraham's successors, Humfrey Cooke and Sir Gervase Lucas in 1665 to 1667 regarding the state of Bombay and their administration of its affairs; but it was not till after the transfer of Bombay to the East India Company in 1668 that we find a seasonal regularity in the submission of full and detailed accounts of the Island and its progress, which savours of the modern annual Administration Report.

Sir George Oxenden, the first Governor under the Company, paid a short visit to Bombay in February 1669, and gave his main

¹ Public Record Office, C. O. 77, Vol. 49, folio 131, reprinted in Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan's "Anglo-Portuguese Negotiations" etc. p. 524.

attention to the settlement of the military side of its government, which was then of supreme importance. He died in July 1669. His successor, Gerald Aungier, has been well called the "true founder" of Bombay¹. He spent a month there in the early part of 1670, in the course of which he dealt firmly with the serious dissensions that had broken out during Capt. Young's Deputy Governorship, and laid the foundations of proper Civil and Judicial administration. But he was unable in that short period to carry out his extensive plans for the improvement of conditions on the Island, and his main work was done during his subsequent stay of over three years from June 1672 to September 1675. In the interval between his two visits, the Deputy Governor and his Council had failed to show anything like the energy that characterized Aungier. Their "Consultation-Book" was "very thin"² and the Court of Directors complained of the "very brief and unsatisfactory" reports³ submitted by them. The Court gave orders in March 1672 that "for the future we doe expect and require a full and large Accompt of" all affairs on the Island⁴. Aungier had the pen of a ready writer and needed no stimulus of this kind. He certainly gave the Court no reason to complain of any want of fullness or thoroughness in his reports and proceedings. In December 1672 he sent home a very long letter⁵, which he describes⁶ as "a large Account of your Island Bombay", and introduced the novelty of attaching separate reports by each member of his Council as to his particular "employment" (or portfolio, as we would call it now).

Almost exactly a year later Aungier not only despatched the usual "General Letter" dealing at length with all current affairs affecting the company's trade and welfare in Bombay and the various factories, over which he presided, but also "humbly

¹ Sir William Hunter's "History of British India," Vol. II, p. 214; "Keigwin's Rebellion" by Ray and Oliver Strachey, p. 11.

² Factory Records, Bombay, Vol. 6, p. 38; O. C. 3722, p. 43.

³ Letter Book. Vol. 4, p. 525.

⁴ *Ib.* p. 380.

⁵ O. C. 3722.

⁶ Factory Records, Bombay, Vol. 6, p. 63.

presented" a full statistical and descriptive account¹ of the Island and its inhabitants, fortifications, system of government, trade resources, etc. In effect it is the earliest British Administration Report relating to India.

Though there are no less than three contemporary copies of it in the Records of the India Office, this report was not forthcoming in Bombay when Sir James Campbell prepared his "Materials," Vol. XXVI of the *Bombay Gazetteer*². A transcript of it was, however, among the copies of documents that Miss E. Sainsbury made for the Bombay Government³, and Mr. S. M. Edwards has used it in compiling his *Gazetteer of the Town and Island of Bombay*. Extracts from it (in which some liberties are taken with the actual text⁴) are given at pp. 65—70 of volume II of this work, and those no doubt contain some of the salient and most interesting parts of the Report. But it appears that the whole of it has never been published; and most writers on Bombay in the seventeenth century seem to be unaware of its existence.

There are many good reasons for remedying this omission. It is contemporaneous with the first part of Dr. Fryer's⁵ well-known "New Account of East India and Persia", and is on many points more authoritative. Its publication will enable a comparison to be made between the two accounts of Bombay, which will be useful to historians. The discussion it contains about the advisability of Reclamation from the Sea is of pertinent interest in view of recent developments in Bombay; and though the large part of the Report devoted to Fortifications has lost its old-time importance, it may help to throw further light on the former topography of Bombay and problems such as the history

¹ O. C. 3910. Dr. Da Cunha in *The Origin of Bombay*, B. R. A. S. Journal, 1900 Extra Number, says it resembles the Tombo or report made by Simao Botelho in 1554. A similar, though much shorter, Administration Report was submitted by the Deputy Governor, John Petit, in January 1677 (App. E. to *Keigwin's Rebellion*).

² See Appendix A in Part I.

³ Cf. Home Misc. Vol. 50.

⁴ These are, however, immaterial except in one instance mentioned in note 83 to the Report.

⁵ Dr. Fryer was one of the Company's doctors from 1672 to 1681 and was the medical officer in Bombay in 1673-75.

of the tunnel recently discovered under the site of the main-line terminus of the G. I. P. Railway. The portion which deals with offences against religion and morality, such as "breach of the holy sabbath, prophanesse, swearing, drunkenesse and other licentiousnesse" gives a glimpse of the austerity and vigilance, with which Aungier attempted to reform the English inhabitants of the Island. In short the Report well repays perusal. It is written in the dignified and forcible style that characterizes all his writings; and though Anderson's criticism¹ that he was too fond of religious phrases may be well founded, it must be remembered that this was characteristic of the time in which he lived. His comments have a ring of sincerity and evince the moderation and wisdom, which attracted the esteem of his contemporaries.

The annexed copy of his Report on Bombay in December 1673 is taken *verbatim* from the transcript of O.C. 3910 contained in Vol. 50 of the Home Miscellaneous series in the India Office except for some slight alterations in the punctuation, made to bring it more into accord with modern usage. It has also been compared with the contemporary copies in any case where a doubt as to a name or other word has arisen.

¹ "The English in Western India," p. 202.

REPORT BY GERALD AUNGIER ON BOMBAY IN
DECEMBER 1673.

(*N.B.*—The references in the foot-notes are to the following books, unless otherwise stated :—

Anderson.—The English in Western India.

Campbell.—Materials, &c., Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. 26.

Douglas.—Bombay and Western India.

Edwardes.—Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island.

Foster.—The English Factories in India, 1668-1669.

Fryer.—A new account of East India and Persia (Hakluyt series, 1909.)

Khan.—The Anglo-Portuguese Negotiations, relating to Bombay, 1660-1677.

Malabari.—Bombay in the Making.

Strachey.—Oxford Historical Studies Vol. 6; Keigwin's Rebellion.

O. C.s, Letter-Books, and F.R.s, refer to records in the India Office).

15th December 1673.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HONOURS,

In this paper we humbly present unto you a scheame and Narrative of your Island Bombay wherein severall particulars wee treat of may seeme improper for a letter, yet they are not altogether unworthy your knowledge.

The Island Bombay lyes in 18d : 40m : north latitude ¹ bounded on the North with the Island Salsett, on the East with the Island Caranjah², and the maine land of Decan, on the South with the high land of Chaul³, on the West with the Ocean. It

¹ The correct latitude is 18° 55' N.

² This island is no doubt specially referred to because of its then notoriety and importance, in view of the dispute between the Company and the Portuguese over the latter's levy of custom dues at Thana and Caranjah on all boats passing there to or from Bombay.

³ This was the nearest Portuguese possession on the coast to the South.

contains about 10 miles¹ in length and near 4 in breadth. By the breaches and overflowings of the sea in severall places it seemes to make four small Islands² in Spring tides, which at low water are passable for man or beast, to wit, one the Colleo³, or Old Woman's Island⁴; the second containing the Cassabem⁵ or Palmero Grove of Bombay, the towne of Mazagon, Parel, Moihem⁶, Sion

¹ Fryer (I, 177) in his description of Bombay gives the length as 8 miles "taking in Old Woman's Island." Similarly, Humfrey Cooke's report of 3rd March 1665 gives the length as 8 miles and the breadth as 5½ (Khan 408). Aungier's estimate is nearer Edwarde's statement of the present dimensions as about 11½ miles long by 3 to 4 miles broad (I, p. 2).

² Ptolemy described Bombay as one of a group of seven islands (Heptanesia). Aungier reduces this number to four, by combining (1) Colaba and Old Woman's Island, and (2) the three Islands containing (a) Bombay, (b) Mazagaon, and (c) Parel, Sion and Dharavi.

³ Now known as Colaba. In 1672 it was acquired by the Company under Aungier's Convention, where it is also styled "Colio." This name was probably derived from the Kolis or fishermen, who lived on it.

⁴ This was the name given to the small island, which was the part of Colaba nearest to Bombay; and it was commonly used to designate the whole of Colaba. "Old Woman" is supposed to be a corruption of the Arabic "Al Omani," meaning the deep-sea fishers.

⁵ This corresponds to the Portuguese "Cazabê" and Marathi "Kasba," i. e. the chief station or headquarters. Later on (p. 16) Aungier translates it into "Shire."

⁶ This should be *Mochem*, which is the spelling of the place in two other copies of this Report in the India Office. It probably corresponds to *Mucher*, which is mentioned in Captain Gary's rent rolls in connection with a ferry (Foster, 69, and the Indian Antiquary, Vol. 54, p. 4) and to *Munchum*, which was ordered to be fortified in June 1672 (F. R. Misc. II, 130) and where a guard-house was erected in 1682 (F. R. Bom. IX, 17; Strachey, 67). The name seems to have disappeared, and its exact situation is uncertain; but it is mentioned later on in Aungier's report (n. 1, p. 27) as adjacent to a ford, similar to those at Sion and Mahim. Again (n. 3, p. 22) mention is made of waste inundated ground bordering on Mochem and Sion, so that it was probably in the neighbourhood of Matunga, between which and Sion there was a large piece of inundated land as shown in old maps of Bombay such as Niebuhr's of 1764 (Edwardes, I, 155), Captain Tate's of 1829 and Murphy's one of 1843 (Edwardes, I, 162; Campbell Pt. III, p. 649). Edwardes, in fact, in his reproduction of this passage of Aungier's report, has boldly substituted *Matunga* for *Mochem* (III, p. 65). Fryer (i, 158 and 159) mentions *Munchumbay* as one of the seven islands in or about Bombay Harbour and as being to its north side. William Crooke says (Fryer, i, 158) that hitherto

and Daravee¹; the third containing the Cassabem or Palmero wood of Mahim; the 4th the Hilly Island of Veroly². The sea by the said breaches hath eaten up about one third³ and that the best and richest part of the Island, which yet by industry, and some charge is recoverable and would prove of great advantage and security to the whole.⁴

The aire according to the severall seasons of the yeare is equal to that of Surat and Broach, which are esteemed the most salubrious places of all India, and exceeds that of the Portuguese Country on the maine⁵.

no satisfactory explanation of *Munchumbay* has been found, but the similarity of name points to its connection with this Mochem or Munchum. A variant of the name was *Mochimbo*, as is shown by an order of 22nd January 1673 that the "passages," or ferrying rights, of Mochimbo and Sion should be auctioned. (F. R. Bom. I, 16). This explains the affix "bay," which Fryer has added to *Munchum*, probably on the analogy of Trombay or Trumbay, which was called *Trumba* by Humfrey Cooke (Khan, 469) and *Turumba* by Simao Botelho (Edwardes, I, 31, n. 3).

Fryer, therefore, probably used the name to denote the northern portion of Bombay, containing Sion and Mahim, as well as Munchum. And is it not possible that *Matunga* is a corruption of *Munchumgaon* (village) by a phonetic substitution of 't' for 'ch'? I put this suggestion forward, as Edwardes says (I, 29) that "no trustworthy origin of the name *Matunga* has yet been discovered."

"Since writing the above, I have come across an entry in a Bombay Account book (Journal) p. 11, dated 1st August 1722, which mentions 'the low grounds about the villages *Mantug*," Sion, Vadala and Cassaby.' The name *Mantugaon* distinctly favours the above suggestion, both by the 'n' preceding the 't' which corresponds to the 'n' of Munchum and by the termination 'gaon' instead of 'ga'.

¹ Dharavi, between Mahim and Riva Fort.

² Worli.

³ Fryer (i, 175) puts the loss of land at 40,000 acres; but this seems an excessive estimate. A survey of 1673 put the loss at about 473 acres (F. R. Misc. II, 87, 88), but this was probably confined to the 'Great Breach.'

⁴ This suggestion is amplified and discussed later on (pp. 22-24).

⁵ The experience of Aungier and his colleagues was necessarily very limited. By "the Portuguese Country on the maine" is meant the neighbouring territories of Bassin, Thana and Bandra, which the Portuguese acquired (with Bombay and Mahim) in 1534.

The monsoon or winds generally ruling are the North East and South West, which divide the years between them. The No. east monsoon raignes from October to the end of March, the So. west from Aprill to the end of September, yet in the month of Aprill and May as also in August and September the winds are very variable, and [there are] often calmes and violent gusts,¹ which renders those months subject to chronicall and dangerous diseases, as well among the Natives as Europeans².

The Seas are navigable ten months in the yeare, to wit, from August to May inclusive; the raines begin often in May but sett not in violently till June and then continue to the end of September with frequent intermission of fair weather; after the intermission of the first raines in May or June and after their total ceasing in October, the aire and water are unwholesome, by reason of the crude pestiferous vapours exhaled by the violent heat of the sun into the aire and vermin created in the wells and tanks, which renders those months most sickly to the Inhabitants, and especially to the Europeans.

The ground though generally stony is by the laborious industry of the Inhabitants made very fertile and would bring forth all sorts of graine which India affords, but the Husbandmen finding their greatest proffit to arise from rice and coconutts have employed as it were all the land therein; it produceth all sorts of trees for timber and fruit, all sorts of plants, roots and vegetables necessary for the use of man for sustenance, health, pleasure or proffit, as successfully and in as great abundance as any part of India, which we have experimented by a garden³ raised this yeare neare the Castle, the produce whereof doth sufficiently evidence the fruitfullnesse of the soile.

¹ Aungier no doubt refers to the sudden storms known as "Elephantas."

² On the other hand Dr. Bird, then Chirurgeon at Bombay, in a report to Aungier in 1673 (O. C. 3730) attributed the great mortality in Bombay mainly to the "irregularity and intemperance" of the Englishmen, coupled with a complete disregard of the commonest precautions in illness.

³ Cf. Fryer's description (i, 165) of the garden attached to the manor-house of the "Lady of the Island," Donna Ignez de Miranda, on the spot where the Arsenal now stands behind the Town Hall.

The water near the Sea is somewhat brackish, but otherwise very sweet, and as wholesome as that of Surrat, or any other part in India.

The Island for better order's sake is divided into two small Shires, to wit, Bombay and Mahim.¹

The Shire of Bombay contains the Island Colleo, the townes of Bombay and Mazagon and Parel, with the severall Parishes of Pallo², Deirao³, Gregon⁴ and Vall⁵ and Mochein⁶. The Shire of Mahim contains the towne of Mahim, Sion, Daravee and Verlee, with the severall parishes of Salvacaon⁷, St. Michæll⁸ &c. Precincts.

The Townes of Bombay and Mahim⁹ are very populous by

¹ Bombay was divided into the same two cazabes in the Portuguese time, but the distribution of villages, etc., differed (see Edwards, Rise of Bombay, p. 72). For instance Parel is here placed in the Bombay Sub-division, whereas it more naturally appears in the Mahim Sub-division in the Portuguese arrangements and in the division of the Island for jurisdictional purposes under the orders of 2nd February 1680, cited by Malabari, p. 146.

² Now known as Apollo. It is also mentioned in Aungier's convention as one of the boundaries of the Island Colio. The derivation of the name is undetermined (Edwards, I, p. 25).

³ This may be identical with *Derong*, which is mentioned by Burnell, who commanded Dongri, Fort and wrote in 1710.

⁴ Girgaon.

⁵ This is probably Cavel (spelt Cavell or Cavall by Burnell), one of the original settlements of Koli fishermen, who were converted to Christianity during the era of Portuguese rule (Edwards, I, p. 38).

⁶ This is probably a mistake for Mochem, which is the way in which the name is written in one of the three copies in the India Office. The fact that it is given as a parish of Parel supports the suggestion in foot-note 8 that it was in the neighbourhood of Matunga. Gary's Rent-rolls (Foster, 69) also placed "Mucher" between Matunga and Parel.

⁷ This was named after the Church of Nossa Senhora da Salvaçao at Dadar, which was built in 1500 and repaired in 1858 (Edwards, III, p. 250).

⁸ The church of St. Michael in Mahim also still exists and is said to have been built about 1540 (Edwards, II, p. 36).

⁹ Mahim is said to have been formerly the name of the whole Island and the place where the King's Court was kept in the time of its Mahomedan rule (see Khan p. 531). A custom-house was established there both under Portuguese and English rule.

Merchants, tradesmen and artificers of all sorts, being the chiefe ports of Trade, which by the conflux of Inhabitants and Strangers sensibly encreaseth through God's great blessing, notwithstanding the notable discouragement of the warr¹; the other townes and Parishes are well inhabited but not populous as the former.

The people and Inhabitants on the Island may be reduced to the following heads, to wit, Christians, Moors,² Gentues.³ Under the Christian name are contained Catholics of the English church, and catholics of the Roman church, the former in the true light, free use and enjoyment of the evangelicall blessing, if their lives and practice were answerable thereunto; of these there are very few insomuch that their number is even despicable, but we hope that God will encourage your hearts to plant and strengthen your hopefull Island with a more plentifull Colony of English, for its greater security, increase of Trade and promoting of the true religion; the latter though very numerous, yet most of them blacks, unhappy in the blindness wherewith their Priests enchant them, poore yet contented in their way. The English are employed in Trade and the Militia, the other Christians are occupyed chiefly in planting of the ground; some few in trade and too many of them as Souldiers in your garrison, for pure want of English protestants, to keep watch and defend the Island, to our noe mean trouble continuall care and insecurity. The romish Christians have fine faire churches on the Island, the English not one as yet, but we are intended by God's blessing to build one soe soon as we have your order, and soe soon as the warr will give us leave.⁴

¹ Aungier must here refer to the war between Aurangzebe and Shivaji rather than the Dutch war of 1672-4. The latter only affected the "conflux of inhabitants" on rare occasions like that of the threatened attack of a Dutch fleet in February 1673.

² Mahommedans. The term came from the Portuguese, whose contact in the Peninsula had been with the Musulmans of Mauritania, and consequently called all Mahommedans *Mouros* (Hobson-Jobson, 581).

³ Hindus. The word is a corruption of the Portuguese *Gentio*, a Gentile or heathen, which they applied to the Hindus in contra-distinction to the Mouros or Moors (Hobson-Jobson, 367).

⁴ The foundations of this Church, which is the present Cathedral, were laid under Aungier's directions, but for want of sufficient funds the building was not completed till 1718. For a detailed account see App. D to *Keigwin's Rebellion*.

Among the Moors are severall Sects and Casts, differing according to their Nation from whence they come ; they are not very numerous as yet but sensibly increased. Some few old Inhabitants are employed in the lands and others doe buy possessions ; most are employed in Trade, supplying the Island with provisions, going to Sea in ships and other vessells as lascars or marines, haberdashers of small wares, weavers, taylors, bakers, smiths, and other handycrafts, very useful and indispensably necessary to the Island. The Moors have two places of their worship, one at Bombay,¹ the other at Mahim,² which latter is the tomb of one of their famous Peers or Saints there buried, much frequented in the month of October by pilgrimages made thereunto, as well by the natives as by all the Inhabitants of the neighbouring parts, who come thither without armes, or if they bring any, they are secured during their stay, being five days, when a publique faire is kept at Mahim to the improvement of trade, during which time strict guards are kept at said place. Under the name of Gentues are severall casts, to wit, Banyans, Brahmains, Purvoos,³ Sinays,⁴ Bandareens,⁵ Corumbeens,⁶ Coolys,⁷ &c. These are very numerous in their respective casts and increase dayly in respect of the liberty they have in the exercise of their persuasions (either totally denied or much restrained in other parts). Of these the Brahmains are employed in the offices of the Gentue Idolatry and some of them in Trade ; the Pourvoos are farmers of lands and receivers of rents ; the Banyans are solely taken up with trade, either for themselves or Brokers for others ; the Sinays employ

¹ This was probably the original Jama Mosque of Bombay, which was situated near Dongri Fort (Edwardes, III, p. 311).

² This is the well-known shrine of the Muhammadan Saint Makhtum Fakih Ali Paru, who died in 1431. The annual fair is still as frequented as it was in Aungier's time. It is held from the 13th to the 22nd of the Musalman month of Madar, and though originally fixed in the cold season passes through the various months of the year (Edwardes, III, p. 303).

³ Prabhus.

⁴ Shenvis.

⁵ Bhandaria.

⁶ Kumbis.

⁷ Kolis. The term *Cooly* appear to be derived from this race or caste in Western India (Hobson-Jobson 249).

themselves in lands and also in trade ; the Corumbeens are tillers and movers of lands as well the rice as the Coconuts ; the Bandareens are occupied about the Toddy trees,¹ selling toddy [and] distilling Arrack, called Phool rack,² which yields the Company a considerable revenue ; they are also good soldiers,³ stout, faithfull and lovers of the English. The Coolys are the generall fishermen of the Island, yielding a good revenue to the Company, and other useful and indispensable services ; these are as it were the Company's slaves, hardy unwearied labourers and lovers of the English, the better sort of them employing themselves in trade and growing rich thereby. Of the Gentue cast are many handieraftmen, goldsmiths, coppersmiths, blacksmiths, carpenters, turners, weavers, bakers, &c., of whome the greater plenty there is the more will the Island flourish. The Gentues have three places of their worship, one at Bombay,⁴ one at Mahim,⁵ the other at Balkaser⁶ whither they goe to Pilgrimages and wash on certein solemn dayes but not often. There is also another cast of people called Percees,⁷ which are those who flicing the cruelty of their⁸ first promoteers (of) the Mahometen religion in Persia,

¹ Palmyra or Palm trees.

² Edwardes (Gazetteer, II, 66) translates this as Mhowra spirit ; but did mhowra trees grow in Bombay then any more than now ? It seems more probable that it is the strongest distillation from toddy mentioned under its corruption " Fool's Rack " in Hobson-Jobson, 356.

³ The Commissioners who took over Bombay from Captain Young in 1669 stated that there were 38 Bhandaris, " each paying one seraphin per mensem and obliged to serve as armed soldiers at their own costs and charges." (Foster, 246). Again Aungier in his General letter of 21st December 1672 (O. C. 3722) wrote that " their duty is that 30 of them daylio are to waite at the Fort to attend armed at your Governor or Deputy Governor's order," the only cost being " one Conte of Perpetuannas yearly for each man."

⁴ This was probably the original shrine of Mumba Devi, from which Bombay is believed to take its name, and which is known to have stood near the Phansi Talao or Gallows Pond, a site now included in the enclosure of the Victoria Station (Edwardes, I, p. 21 and III, p. 357).

⁵ There is no information as to the identity of this shrine.

⁶ The temple of Walkeshwar, the " Sand Lord," built about 1000 A. D. (Edwardes, III, p. 359).

⁷ Parsis.

⁸ *Sic.* In the other two copies the words are more correctly given as the first promoters of."

settle themselves in India, where they enjoy their old rights and customs unmolested, their religion being very ancient left them by their great prophet Zertusht,¹ differing from all others in these parts of the world. They are an industrious people and ingenious in trade, therein they totally employ themselves; there are at present but few of them, but we expect a greater number having gratified them in their desire to build a burying place for their dead on the Island.²

All provisions and sustenance necessary for life are procureable at Bombay, to wit, all sorts of corne and graine for man and beast; there is beife, mutton, veal, lamb, porke, henns, ducks, geese, fish, &c., very good in their kind and sufficient quantitys to be gott; but not all the produce of the Island itselfe, the greatest part being brought in from the neighbouring maine and Islands, for the people are soe much increased since the English settled thereon that its owne product doth not feed halfe the inhabitants; and indeed what Colony, Plantation, Citty or mart of trade is there in the world that more or less doth not need the assistance and commerce with forraigne parts for its supply, even in necessarys for life, as well as those for pleasure, pride or luxury. The famous and plentiful Cittys of London and Amsterdam, cannot well maintain themselves without it, much less the poore and narrow limited Island Bombay, yet as poore and narrow limited as it is, we are bold to affirme that if all the wast over flowen grounds were recovered (which is certainly feasible) and well manured, there would in few years by God's blessing be rice and other graine, sufficient to maintaine the Inhabitants, were they double the number they now are, and that without helpe from forraigne parts; and for other provisions there will never be want soe long as we have peace with our neighbours. Only this is observable, and not to be wondered at, that as the people encrease soe provisions grow proportionable deare, which we find by daily experience, all sorts of provisions being double the price they were formerly, and will yet grow dearer

¹ Zoroaster.

² On the 3rd October 1673 Aungier and his Council granted a petition of the Parsi inhabitants of the Island to be given a piece of ground on Malabar Hill, on which to build a tomb (F. R. Bombay Vol. I, 94). This is presumably the oldest of the seven Towers of Silence or *dakhmas*, cf. Edwardes, III, 369.

and dearer every yeare as the Island increaseth in trade,¹ which we pray may not be displeasing unto your Honours, for though you will find the expense of house keeping great in your bookes, yet we hope also that you will find your publick Revenue and trade increased to a greater proportion and advantage.

Now as to the said wast grounds above mentioned, it is necessary that your Honours be satisfied, where they lye, what extent of ground there is, what probability there is of recovering them, what the charges thereof will amount to, what proffitt will accrew thereby. These wast grounds lye in severall places by means of three breaches, which the Sea hath made in the Island; whereof one very large the other two smaller. Your Surveyor Colonel Herman Bake² hath drawn a large map of your Island with great paines, care and ingenuity, wherein you will find the said places marked and measured for your greater satisfaction.³ The greatest breach is marked with _____ and lyes between the point of Gregon or Balkasser hill, and the southermost point of Veroly,⁴ containing about 750 geometrical paces in breadth at the place where the sea enters between the two hills;⁵ the ground

¹ This prophecy has been amply fulfilled; and even as early as 1683 Captain Keigwin complained of the great rise in prices of provisions, see *Keigwin's Rebellion*, 74, 75.

² Col. Bake was a German, who was granted a passage in one of the Company's ships to Surat in 1670 (Court Minutes of Jan. 11th, 1670). In 1671 Aungier appointed him Engineer and Surveyor for Bombay. He married an Englishwoman on the Island (O.C. 3760). He was personally heard by the Court regarding the feasibility of Reclamation in Bombay in 1675 (Letter-Book, Vol. 5, 262). He died suddenly in 1676 after his return to India.

³ It was explained in a subsequent letter that, owing to Col. Bake having fallen ill, this map was not ready. (O.C. 3910). This also explains the blanks in this part of the Report.

⁴ Between Girgaon or Walkeshwar Hill and the southern point of Worli Island, i.e., at Mahalakshmi. The great extent of this breach can be seen from the Plan at p. 78 of *Keigwin's Rebellion*.

⁵ The blocking of this breach was first suggested by Sir George Oxenden in November 1668 (Foster, 78); but the reclamation was not carried out until the Hornby Vellard was constructed. Edwardes' *Gazetteer* (II, p. 121) says this was during the administration of Governor Hornby (1771-84), but according to Douglas (*Bombay and Western India*, i, 140) it was built about 1752, some twenty years before Hornby's time. The work was in

overflowen and swallowed up by this breach contains
 The second breach is marked _____ and lyes between the
 norther point of Veroly hill and Mahim, &c., paces in breadth ;
 the ground overflowen by this breach contains _____. The
 third breach is marked _____ and lyes between Mahim and
 Daravee, &c., paces in breadth ; the ground overflowen by this
 breach _____ ; all which you may please to observe in the
 said map, where they are exactly layd downe. Now as to the
 probability of recovering this ground and stopping all said breaches,
 we never yet heard or observed it to be doubted by any but that
 it may be by industry effected, but as to the computation of the
 charge and the proffitts thereby to accrew, the opinions have been
 various, as generally it happens in such cases according to the
 different sentiments and projections of those who pretend to
 knowledge in such publick works. Wherefore to search and examine
 the matter more exactly and to the end your Honours may have
 a more ample account from the union and concurrence of many
 judgments, your President hath thought good to appoint 15 Com-
 missioners, consisting of all the members of your Councill and
 others the most able and intelligent persons in your service, to
 serveigh the said breaches, to drawe an account of what charge
 must be laid out in daming them up, and also to calculate what
 (the) proffitt and Revenue of said lands will amount to when fully
 recovered in order to ansvere and restore the said charge, what
 benefitt will arise to the publick good thereby, together with what
 damage or prejudice may succeed to other parts of the Island where
 the Sea may probably make a new breach ;¹ touching all which
 particulars wee humbly referr your Honours to the report of the
 said Commissions accompanying these ;² where also you will
 read there since touching another parcell of wast overflowen ground
 bordering upon Mochem³ and Sion, which is also recoverable with

fact going on for very many years before its completion, and Campbell gives the long period of 1680-1780 for its building (Bom. Gaz., Vol. 26, Pt. III, 648).

¹ This must have been the first of the numerous Committees assembled in Bombay to consider the subject of Reclamation.

² This was in fact not forwarded, as it was delayed by Col. Bako's illness (O.C. 3910).

³ See foot-note 6, page 13.

like expence ; and when you have thoroughly weighed the charge and profits of the whole, we humbly refer it to your wisdom to resolve and to strengthen us with your orders touching the following particulars—

1st.—Whether the designs be worth undertaking or noe.

2nd.—If to be undertaking (as we hope it will appere) whether you will please to engage them and be at the whole charge thereof yourselves, or whether you will leave it to another, whether your servants or freemen or inhabitants who may be willing to raise a common stocke at their owne charge (and) Risigo¹ to carry on said designe, they enjoying the whole profit thereof, paying only quit rent to the Company.

If your Honours demand our opinion touching these motions we humbly answer to the first, that we judge the designe as feasible, and worth the undertaking, for whereas we observed that the people by reason of the warr were disheartened and thinking of securing their Estates abroad, your President,² Mr. Gray³ and Capt. Shaxton,⁴ out of their zeale to the public good, and to let the people see how little we concerne ourselves for any attempt from the Enemy, were determined to undertake the recovery of a parcell of about 500 acres, as you will finde in our Consultation books ; and its also marked in the map before mentioned, but the Siddy's fleet falling just at the time into Negotan⁵ Bay, from whence the labourers were to come, hindered the designe ; nor shall we now

¹ Italian for risk. The more usual form of the word in English was *risgo*.

² Gerald Aungier.

³ Matthew Gray. He was Secretary to the Council at Surat from 1659 to 1669, and Deputy Governor of Bombay for about six months in 1670. Since then he had been serving as a Member of the Surat Council.

⁴ Capt. John Shaxton was sent out by the Company in 1671 to command the garrison troops at Bombay, and became Deputy Governor of Bombay in December 1672. In August 1674 he was suspended on a charge of fomenting mutiny among the troops, and was convicted of some of the charges against him at a trial held in November 1674. He was then sent home, but died shortly after his arrival.

⁵ Nagothna. Aungier in October 1673 had reported to the Company that the Siddi designed to build a Fort on a little island in the Nagothna River to harrass Bombay (O.C. 3872).

enter upon it till we know your pleasure, for the tearmes are somewhat to hard, in respect of the quarter part payable at the end of 40 years.

To the Second we answered that, if the designe be profitable, why should not the Company undertake it rather then others, for 'tis certain that except the honourable Company doe undertake and be at the charge either for the whole or the greatest part themselves, the great and maine breaches will never be made up; for none in India are able, or will be willing to deposit soe great a summe of money to be laid out for such a worke; but if it be left to freemen or inhabitants, &c., they will only undertake to recover some few small parcells, which will not cost much charge, leaving the maine designe totally unaffected. These are our present thoughts of the whole matter, and we pray God direct your Honours in your Councells and determinations thereon.¹

As to the trade of Bombay, though our generall letter treats somewhat of it, yet we shall here also discourse thereon, what it was, what it is at present, and what hopes we have of its improvement hereafter.

The Trade of Bombay before the English settlement was very inconsiderable, consisting only of coconuts and cairo,² which then yielded very little, during the time 'twas managed by the King's Governor it increased not much, but when your Honours happy Government was established trade began to take root and spring out, and spread its branches to forreigne parts. At present a very industrious and gainfull trade is driven by the Country merchants to Surat, Broach, Cambaya and Gogo, as also to Dabull,³ Kelsey,⁴ Rajapore⁵ and Goa, to Mocha, Persia, Scinda⁶ Bussora,

¹ Aungier's advice was well founded, as shown by the history of Reclamation in Bombay. But the Company was naturally disinclined to embark on the large expenditure involved, and in 1675 and 1676 they merely authorized private persons undertaking the work (Letter Book, Vol. 5, pp. 259, 262.)

² Coir.

³ Dābhol, a port in the Ratnagiri District.

⁴ Kelshi, about 15 miles north of Dābhol.

⁵ Rajapur in the Ratnagiri District. A factory was established here, but was given up prior to 1671 and was not re-established till after the treaty with Shivaji in 1674 (Anderson, 164, 5).

⁶ Sind. There had for a long time been considerable trade with Sind, and there was a factory at Tutta for about 30 years till 1602.

with salt, coconuts, cairo, beetlnut, rice, elephant's teeth¹ bought from Mosambique, broad cloth, lead, sword blades and some other Europe goods, of which latter there is greater consumption then formerly ; of Europe goods were disposed last year in Bombay 600 peeces of broad cloth, 3000 maunds lead, all the Perputuanes² and serges, all the sword blades ; which goods though they yield little or noe profit, yet 'tis a good beginning and foundation laid for a future profitable Trade. This yeare we hope to put off yet greater quantity of Europe goods, if we are not disturbed by the warr with the Dutch, and more by continued disiention between the Mogull and Sevagee, who (though prosecuted by Sea and Land) by his policy and courage maintaines himsef valiantly and grows dayly more and more powerfull ; but in the meantime all trade is in a manner obstructed both by Sea and Land by reason of the Armyes and Fleets abroad on both sides, so that though we labour with great difficultyes, yet blessed be God your Island increaseth by little and little. Now the great hope we have of improvement of this trade hereafter is in respect to a greater consumption of Europe goods and the procureing of considerable quantitys of goods and druggs proper for the Europe markets, to effect which we are endeavouring all wayes possible to open a secure way of trade to the Island (from) Cittyes of Decan, to wit, Juneer,³ Orungabad,⁴ Raybag,⁵ Hubily,⁶ Vizapore,⁷ which when we shall bring to effect (for we trust God's blessing will in time assist us therein) we doubt not but to put of near as great a quantity of Europe commoditys in Bombay and the neighbouring parts as we

¹ This was then a common expression for ivory, and corresponds to the Sanskrit *ibha-danta* and Hebrew *shen-habbin*, appearing in the passage in I Kings, X, 22, about Solomon getting "ivory and apes and peacocks" from Ophir.

² A kind of woollen twilled cloth much exported from England to the East in the seventeenth century (*Hobson-Jobson*, 699.)

³ Junnar in the Poona District.

⁴ Aurangabad.

⁵ A village now in the Kolhapur State. It was formerly a trade-centre for pepper (cf. Foster's *English Factories in India*, 1655-60, pp. 234, 246).

⁶ Hubli.

⁷ Bijapur.

doe in Surat, and that without interfering with or lessening the consumption of said goods in Surrat ; and also to procure from said places sufficient quantitys of cloth and drugs proper for Europe as will lude 3 or 4 good ships a yeare. We also designe when we have peace to drive a good trade to Mocha, Persia, Bussora, Sinda¹ and Patan,² and the Maldivaes and Mulabar Coast, from whence we shall be supplied with mirrh, aloes, olibanum,³ coho⁴ seed, tinkall,⁵ sena,⁶ red earth,⁷ carmania⁸ wool, putchock,⁹ skines, corryes,¹⁰ pepper and Cordamons¹¹ and other goods proper for Europe and the South Seas, and that at as cheape and rather cheaper rates then they cost you in Surrat ; but this will be a work of time, patience and industry, assisted by the divine blessing, which we pray may never faile our just and upright endeavours and cares in your service.

In the next place we shall treat of the natural strength or weakness of the Island in respect of its defence and security against a forreigne enemy.

The Island Bombay lying low and the Sea having made many Bays and inlets there into, renders it open and insecure to the

¹ Sind ; see note 6, page 24.

² This may be Patan in the Baroda State, but the context makes it more probable it was outside India. Possibly it refers to Patani in Java where the Company had a factory till 1623, or more probably to Patani in the Malay Peninsular on the Gulf of Siam, which was then a "staple port for Surat shipping" (Capt. Hamilton's "New Account of the East Indies," Argonaut Press edition of 1930, Vol. II, 84).

³ An aromatic gum resin, formerly used as a medicine, but now chiefly as incense.

⁴ Coffee. Fryer also calls it Coho or Cohoi.

⁵ Borax from Persian *tinkar* (*Hobson-Jobson*, 923).

⁶ Senna.

⁷ Red ochre.

⁸ Carmania was the name of an ancient province on the Persian Gulf.

⁹ The fragrant root of the plant *Costus*, a product of the Himalayas in the vicinity of Kashmir (*Hobson-Jobson*, 744).

¹⁰ Cowries. These were at one time imported into England in considerable quantities for use in the African slave trade (*Hobson-Jobson*, 270)

¹¹ Cardamoms.

invasion and assaults of any forreigne enemy, that can by his power make himselfe master of the Sea ; besides which there are three much more dangerous places, to wit, fords or shoales in the river or arm of the Sea which encompasseth the Island, by which horse and men may passe to the Island on foote at low water. One of these places is at Mochem,¹ the second at Sion, the third at Mahim ; those of Mochem and Mahim are more difficult and dangerous to be passed, the river being there large and wide and full of mud, but that at Sion is easily fordable, being sandy and a little distance over, which is the reason that a small watch is constantly kept there to prevent the souldiers or other male contents² and fugitives from running away, notwithstanding which, we cannot totally prevent it. Now your Honours may please to remember that some proposalls have bin formerly made you, that all the said inlets and landing places, which are about 12 in number, might be fortified in order to render the Island more secure ; but we give no such advise, for having viewed and seriously considered all the said places, round the Island, we judge such a designe unnecessary being of a vast charge, and when done would require more souldiers, gunns and ammunition to maintaine then ever we shall be able to spare ; and in such case the places soe fortified would prove more advantageous to an enemy then to us, so that we have totally laid aside those thoughts ; only at Mahim and Sion we judge it highly necessary that small platforms be raised of earth,³ with a line or parapet and guard houses to shelter our men, which will be finished with no great charge, nor will require much expence of men or ammunition to maintain. We intend alsoe in the river or fords of Mahim and Sion to sinke some quantityes of sharpe craged stones, some pieces of old timber stuck with spikes and nailes, and to have a good number of crows feet and spik balls in readiness to gall either horse or foot that shall endeavour to pass those fords, which together with your small frigatts and boats well manned, will we trust be sufficient to prevent the sudden surprize of any enemy's

¹ See note 6, page 13.

² Malcontents.

³ Edwardes in his extracts from the Report (Gazetteer, II, p. 67) wrongly turns this into "platforms . . . have been raised."

landing in said places.¹ Now we have greater apprehension of danger from an Europe enemy then from any of our Indian neighbours. As to the latter we resolve never to quarrel with them, but rather to endeavour an universall peace with all the princes of India, for soe your policy and interest requires for the better carrying on of your Trade; and though many times by meanes of violent seizures, confiscations, plunderings and depredations of your Estate, and unjust obstruction of your landable commerce, we may have occasion of controversy with some of our neighbours, yet we hold it greater prudence to accomode such differences peacably if possible rather than to fall into an open warr or hostility; and as to an Europe enemy we will endeavour to strengthen ourselves the best we can and trust that God's good providence will protect us and that you will please in your great wisdome to supply us with men and arms sufficient to oppose them.

The Castle of Bombay when finished will be of great strength and security to the Towne and to the whole Island. It lies upon a neck of land conveniently laid between two Bays; it is a quadrangular fort, whereof three points command the port, and the two small Bays; the fourth with two of the others commands the Towne, and the plaine before the Castle. It is of a small circumference and irregularly built, through the ignorance of the Engineers who drew the line and laid the foundation at first, the longest curtaine to landward being not above 58 paces, but it is very strong and being small will require fewer men to maintaine it. The wall in height to landward is 27 feet, in breadth 25 feet, consisting of an outward and inward wall of stone and a terepheene² of earth; the two curtaines or platforms to seaward are in height about 20 feet, in breadth 42 feet, on which may be mounted about 36 pieces of ordnance, besides those on Bastions. Three Bastions are already finished, sufficiently strong and capacious, on which are mounted 50 pieces of ordnance, in compleat and well made carriages

¹ It was off Mahim that the Dutch fleet in February 1673 threatened a landing (O.C. 3700) and precautions there were naturally thought advisable. Five other guard-houses were erected in 1681-82. (*Keigwin's Rebellion*, 67).

² Terreplein. This denoted the upward surface of a rampart behind the parapet, on which the guns are mounted.

besides those on the platformes; the other Bastion to seaward will not be finished till next yeare for want of materialls, soe that when the Fort is compleated there will be 40 gunns ready mounted thereon.¹ Within the fort there are powder roomes sufficient to containe 2,000 barrells of powder with shott and other ammunition necessary, together with convenient Armorys, Granarys for corne, flesh, fish, bisquet and other stores necessary for life. About the middle or centre of the Fort is the Governor's house, built formerly by the Portugalls but was burned by the Arabs of Muscat when they surprized and tooke the Island from the Portugese in anno 1661;² soe that when the English tooke possession of the Island there was little more than the Walls left,³ but since it came into the Company's hands it hath bin much repaired. The front is faire and beautifull enough, but the roomes within are not soe well contrived as we could wish either for lodging or other accommodation, yet by degrees we are endeavouring to render it more and more capacious, for roome is much wanted in it for many necessaries which time will supply.⁴ Under the Walls are raised lodgings for the souldiers with Corps d'uguard, &c. One grosse error committed by the Engineers who drew the first line of the Fort, was in not taking in the faire and large tanke or spring of fresh water now without the wall about 100 paces, which easily might have been taken in, with the same or rather less charge then now the Fort will stand in; besides which they damed up a good spring of water, now closed and covered under one of the Bastions, which evill they remedied by making a large tanke or cesterne for raine water at no small charge; which though capacious enough and yearly filled by the raines, yet must not wholly be relyed on in regard it

¹ Fryer's account, which was later, gives 120 pieces of ordnance as mounted on the Fort, besides 60 fieldpieces on carriages, ready for use outside (i, 170).

² The "Great House" as it was styled, was also burnt in the attack on Bombay by an Anglo-Dutch fleet in October 1626 (Foster, 1624-29, p. 143).

³ In his General Letter to the Company, dated 15th December 1673 (O. C. 3907), Aungier describes Bombay, when the Company took possession, as "a wild despicable place without Fort, house, ground or any conveniency, lodging or accommodation for the necessaries of life, much lesse for defence or merchandize".

⁴ Fryer also makes the same complaint (i, 171).

may be spoiled and broke by Granadoes,¹ soe that except we can find another spring which we are not totally out of hopes to effect, there will be a necessity of making some other cisternes to hold raine water within the Fort in case of a siege. Another grosse error committed by the first builders was in not sinking a ditch or mote about the Fort when they first raised the wall ; from which ditch they would have been supplied with stone sulicient to build the outward and inner wall, and with earth to fill the terrapheene² between, whereas they were constrained to bring the stone and earth from a far greater distance at vast expence of money and time and renders the making of the ditch or mote a double charge to the Company.³ Without the Castle are raised a fause bray⁴ 20 foot from the wall, and two horne workes ;⁵ the parapet of the fause bray is 6 foot high and 3 foot broad ; one of the horne workes is run out from the north-west curtaine and will be 16 foot high and 14 foot broad and encloseth the tanke or spring of fresh water above mentioned ; the other horne worke is carried out from the south-west curtaine of the same height and breadth, both which will be of great strength and security to the Fort, and will keepe an enemy at such distance that their Granadoes will not doe much mischief soe long as we can maintaine them. Those workes of the fause bray and horne workes are but new begun ; for quicker dispatch and to save charge they are made only of earth and to be covered with turfe, which the raines will in time settle and

¹ Hand-grenades. *Granado* is the Spanish form of the missile, so named from its likeness to a pomegranate, being filled with combustibles as that is with seeds (*Skeat's Etymological Dictionary*, 183).

² See note 2, page 28.

³ Aungier and his Council on 23rd April 1675 sanctioned an attempt by one John Grantham to blast away the rock with gunpowder in order to make a mote round the Fort. (F. R. Bombay, Vol. II, p. 50). But according to Burnell, though the work was begun, it was subsequently abandoned.

⁴ A small earthen mound, derived from French *fausse*, false, and *braie*, an outer wall or screen (literally a child's diaper).

⁵ A "horn-work" is defined in the Oxford Dictionary as a "single-fronted outwork, the head of which consists of two demi-bastions connected by a curtain and joined to the main body of the work by two parallel wings. It is thrown out to occupy advantageous ground which it would have been inconvenient to include in the original enceinte."

render as strong against any battery as the wall of the Fort itself.¹ A ditch also is sunke without the said horne workes, out of which the earth is taken to raise them, which will render them the less chargeable; these two horne workes will defend the two Bays on each side of the Fort, and hinder an enemy from landing their men. Before we had news of the Dutch Fleete coming against the Island the last yeare, we had begun another outworke of earth, cannon prooffe, containing one large Bastion and two halfe bastions, with a ditch without it, out of which the earth was taken to raise the worke, the line was drawne paces from the Fort. The chiefe designe therein was that we might have roome to shelter and protect the merchants and inhabitants of the Towne with their goods in case of any suddain surprize from an Enemy; wherein also warehouses and storehouses for corne and provisions might have bin built, as well for the Companys as for the merchants, in regard the Fort is soe narrow and streight limited, that it hardly containes roome enough for the Garrison souldiers, with ammunition and stores necessary; but being but newly begun, the certein information of the powerfull Dutch fleet coming against us, caused us to demolish it, and to bring our worke into a narrower compasse, the coconut trees used thereon being employed to raise the horne workes before mentioned; but we doe not totally lay aside that good designe,² for some care must be taken of the merchants security, otherwise upon every noise of war they will forsake the Island.³

¹ On the other hand Fryer says (i, 304) that Capt. Shaxton quarrelled with Aungier over their utility, and describes them as "Pallisaddes in mud, so contrived that they were rather a means to take than to defend it (the Fort), which afterwards were all washed away by the Rains."

² According to Burnell, some works including "a large angular covered way with banquetts" were subsequently raised on the land-side of the Fort, and it has been surmised that the old tunnel recently discovered on the site of the present main-line terminus of the G. I. P. Railway formed part of them.

³ Thus Aungier in March 1673 (O. C. 3780) wrote to the Company: "The common people upon the noise of the Dutch fleete generally fledd away into the neighbouring partes, insomuch that the Island was left quite naked, and of neer 4,000 Christians which were numbered on this Island there remayned few more than 200, and those miserable followers kept against their will."

The Island is happy in severall Bays and Havens for shipping, for their security against the violence of the Sea and weather, as also in Docks to hale¹ them ashore, to clean and repaire them, together with very convenient places to build and launch shippes and vessells from 400 to 40 tons burthen. The great Bay or Port is certainly the fairest, largest and securest in all these parts of India, where 100 saile of tall shippes may ride all the yeare safe, with good morage, the Bay being land locked against all winds but the South, and by west, and So. West, which though it blows violently in the raine times, yet for these two yeares past ships of 400 tons have wintered, one against the Fort continuing afloat all the raines. In the small Bay to the northward of the Castle ships of 400 tons have bin haled ashore to repaire, there being 15 foot water at the Springs, but this Bay hath bin almost spoiled by the improvidence of those who first began to build the Fort, who broke the rocks which kept of the violence of the Sea, and carried away the stones to the Fort,² whereas they might have had them cheaper out of the ditch and mote; this evill we are endeavouring to remedy by casting more stones there to keep of the Sea, and secure the ships, which will be a worke of time. In the lesser Bay to the northward of the Fort ships of 300 tons may be haled ashore, to repaire and lye dry. At Mazagon ships of 200 tuns may be haled ashore, also at a place called Drungo³ there is an excellent Bay where 50 saile of 200 tuns a peece may winter and repaire very

¹ Haul.

² On the other hand the Commissioners who took over the government of the Island from Capt. Young on the 13th November, 1669, declared that "many rockes in the mouth of the small bay being broken, the entrance thereunto is much cleared." (*Foster*, 246).

³ This is possibly a corruption of Trombay or Trumbay, as it was sometimes spelt. The substitution of D for T is easily explicable; thus Salsette was sometimes spelt "Salzede" (*Khan*, 518). The termination "go" instead of "bay" may be due to the fact that Trombay was then also known as "Baragnon" or "Baragone" (*ib.* 481, 519, 530), so Trongo or Drungo may have been a composite variation. This suggestion is supported by Fryer's Map of Bombay, which shows "the Riding Place for Winter" near Trombay.

safely. For small frigatts,¹ Gorabs² and other vessells there are very many places, insomuch that if there were 500 saile or more of them, there would be roome enough for them to ride either afloat or hale ashore with safety, soe that the Island (is) as it were by Providence appointed a mart for trade and shipping to which we pray God grant increase.

The Government of the Island now established is managed in this following order, as it respects religion, the civill authority, administration of justice and the Militia. Religion³ is observed and promoted by all the English in the purity and freedome of the Evangelicall doctrine used in England. The Lord's days are strictly observed in the pious exercise of morning and evening prayer, and preaching of the word, which for want of a church⁴ is performed in the Gallery of the Governor's house at the Fort. Churchwardens are appointed chosen yearly, for examination of the lives and conversation of the people, taking notice of all disorders in religion, breach of the holy sabbath, prophanesse, swearing, drunkennesse and other licentiousnesse, the offenders wherein are cited and warned in every Session,⁵ and when found guilty are severely punished according to the nature of their crimes.⁶ In the week dayes morning and evening prayers are duly performed ; at solemne times the Holy sacraments are administred, and

¹ This word originally meant a light and swift galley for river work, and was extended later to larger vessels.

² More generally called "Grabs". They were small vessels much used by corsairs. The name is said to be derived from Arab. ghorāb, a raven (*Hobson-Jobson*, 391).

³ Great stress was laid by the Company on the performance of religious worship by all their Factors, etc., and this passage agrees with the contemporaneous account of the Surat factory given by Streyntsham Master, which is quoted in full in Yule's *Hedge's Diary*, Vol. ii, p. cccli, and partly in Rawlinson's *British Beginnings in Western India*, p. 124.

⁴ See note 4, page 17.

⁵ The Judge of the Court of Judicature, George Wilcox, in a report dated 15th January 1674, similarly writes: "Wee hold a Sessions every monthSabbth breakers, common swearers, common drunkards and uncleannesse we proceed (against) by information of the churchwardens, constables and other officers who attend there with their presentments." (O. C. 3930)

⁶ Wilcox says that the general punishment was by fines.

according to the emergency of affaires, dayes of publick fast and humiliation and of thanksgiving¹ are set apart by authority and reverently performed by the Congregation.

The chiefe authority resides in the President and Councill of Surrat, and in their absence in the Deputy Governor and Councill for the Island Bombay. The President being now on Bombay, the offices of Government are thus administered; the President employs his time in an universall care and provident oversight over all the Island, strictly observing the proceedings of all officers and offices under him, as well military as civill, keeping them to their respective dutys and execution of charges, without interfering or litigious clashing or intrenching the one upon the other to avoide confusion. He is also so seriously circumspect in endeavouring to keep peace, love and amity among the English themselves (which is his most difficult labour considering the turbulency and uncharitableness of some tempers)² as also between the English and the Inhabitants among themselves, divided in their severall casts and interests. He also takes care to prevent all violence or disorders offered to the people in generall from the English or Portuguese souldiers, to receive and answer petitions, seeing right and justice impartially administered to all. He also holds a constant laborious correspondence with all the neighbours Governments, to wit, the Moors, Sevagee and the Portuguese, whose Countrys enclosing and as it were shutting the Island Bombay, we are forced to keepe a faire yet troublesome understanding with them in their severall languages; but the Portuguese give him

¹ Thus a Thanksgiving Day was appointed on St. Stephen's day, 1672, to celebrate a victory of the English Fleet over the Dutch. Aungier's description of the Procession held on that occasion is reproduced in *Edwardes' Gazetteer*, II, 62.

² Great trouble had been caused by dissentions among the English on the Island, and in a later letter (O. C. 4051) Aungier inveighed against those "turbulent spirits, who take delight to doe mischief, partly for the love of dissention, and partly of vaine glory, to be esteemed subtle, politick, hectoring fellows, who give their tongues the liberty of such foule language against your President and the Ministers of your Government that modest men blush to hear it." Aungier dealt with them with a strong hand, and Fryor (i, 170) praises him for having knit "a disaffected and incongruous Council" into "a bond of at least seeming friendship".

the greatest disturbances, among whom every *fidalgo*¹ or Lord of one Towne is a petty Prince, and requires as much state and cernony as the Vice Roy of Goa. Besides all which your President supervises your trade in generall over all your Factorys in the Presidency, issuing out orders for the sale of your goods received, and providing commoditys for Europe, the paines wherein will be better knowne in our Consultation Booke and Cobby Bookes of letters then can be here discribed. Your Deputy Governor Captain Shaxton² hath charge of your Treasury, receiving and paying all moneys due and keeping strict account thereof; to him also is committed the care of the Militia, and Garrison souldiers, seeing them daily exercised and good watches kept in all convenient places on the Island, which requires his constant paines and vigelance; he also overseas the workes and labours within and without the Fort, hastening them what possible and preventing any extraordinary charge.

Your Accountant Mr. Child³ hath a laborious charge in setting all your accounts, which by his paines are now reduced to a good order and method, examining and auditing the generall disbursements of the Garrison, Fortifications, Shipping, Bunder Building, Housekeeping and other publick expences, all which we endeavour to retrench and reduce to as narrow a compasse as we can; to him is also recommended the oversight of all the armes, powder, ammunition and other stores belonging to the Island, to prevent all embezlement and unnecessary wast. Your Attorney at Law Mr. James Addames⁴ is employed in the Revenues and

¹ The Portuguese form of *Hidalgo*, the lowest order of nobility. It is said to be derived from *filho de algo*, "son of someone".

² See note 4, page 23.

³ John Child, a factor who became President and Governor in 1682. He married a daughter of Capt. Shaxton in 1672.

⁴ He was a factor, who had come out in 1668, and was Customs-officer for Bombay and a Member of Council during Capt. Young's Deputy-Governorship in 1669. There were quarrels between the two, and he subsequently charged Capt. Young with the murder of his wife. An inquiry was held in January 1670 by Aungier and a special Council, who held the charge was not made out. Both Young and Adams were sent home with a view to further proceedings there; but none were taken and Adams returned to Bombay in 1671 (Foster, 252, 253). The next year on the opening of the Court of Judicature, he was appointed Attorney-at-Law to look after the Company's Land Revenue interests, as mentioned in this passage.

Lands due to the Company on the Island, to see the Company be not wronged in the rights and priviledges belonging unto them ; and in case any doubt or scruple doth arise between the Company and the people in respect of right or title, his office is to hold, plead, defend and claime your right in a legal way in your Court of Judicature ; he also searcheth the ships for the preventing and discovery of private Trade, and to his charge is committed the supplying your Garrison with all manner of provision and victualls necessary to keepe by, as stores in case of necessity.

Your Warehouse keeper Mr. Ustick¹ takes care of all goods received and sould, as also of all commoditys bought and made here for Europe, keeping an account of their quantitys and qualitys, weight and dementions, whose duty is to procure the expence of Europe manufactures and to increase the quantitys of goods and manufactures made and procurable on your Island.

The Judge of your Court of Judicature Mr. Wilcox² hath a full and laborious employment in that office, as we have last yeare advised,³ and to his care is also committed the register for probate of wills, and inventorys of dead men's Estates, whioh with other dutys necessary attending his place doth fully take up his time.

These are all of Councill to your President, with whome he meets in councell 3 dayes in each weeke except sicknesse or other accidents prevent, to wit, Munday, Wednesday and Fryday from 8 till 12 in the morning at the toll of the Castle bell, to consult of the generall affaires of the Government and other necessary affaires, wherein all matters as well of Government as trade are

¹ Mr. Stephen Ustick, a factor and Lieutenant of one of the Garrison Companies.

² Mr. George Wilcox and some other factors had been selected by the Company in 1670 on account of their legal experience, and he mentions in his Report of December 1672 that he had been a clerk in the office of the Prerogative Court. He was selected by Aungier to be Judge of the Court of Judicature that was established on 8th August 1672 (Khan, 404, 5.)

³ This was in his long General letter of 21st December 1672 (O. C. 375 1) with which was sent Mr. Wilcox's first Report (or " Remonstrance " as it was then styled) which is reproduced in Khan's *Anglo-Portuguese Negotiations*, pp. 490-500.

publicly translated¹ and registered in the Councell Booke by your industrious Secretary Francis Day².

The administration of justice and common right is managed in your Court of Judicature, now held in a roome neer the Fort,³ till a more convenient place can be built for civill causes, one or two dayes every week, to witt, Tuesdays and Thursdays and for criminall once every month, where your said judge Mr. Willcox assisted by four justices of the peace, whereof two are of Councell,⁴ doe assist⁵ to heare and determine all causes civill and criminall. Wherein all the natives and inhabitants are highly satisfied, except the Portugese, who out of affection to their own religion and nation, and disinclination to your Government, will never be satisfied though they enjoy never soe great priviledges, but still hanker after their old way of Government though it was most arbitrary and tyrannicall,⁶ but we doubt not time and better experience will open their eyes and convince them into a better reason.

The Militia, as we before acquainted you, is committed to Captain Shaxton's oversight; the two Garrison Companys during this time of war are raised to 200 men in each Company, whereof about 100 are alwayes employed in your Frigatts; the rest divided into four divisions keepe constant watch in their turnes at the Castle, the Guard being relieved every morning, and the Guard dismounting are duly exercised every morning, which renders them good fine men; besides which there are three other

¹ *Sic.* It is a mistake for *transacted*, which appears in the other two copies.

² He was a factor, who had come out with George Wilcox in 1671.

³ This was the Customs-house, known as the "Guild-hall" (O. C. 3930). The Court sat there till 1675, and a year later it was moved to the building known as "Mapla Por," which still exists in Bombay, see Edwardes' *Gazetteer*, II, 212.

⁴ In June 1672 Bombay was divided into four "hundreds" of Bombay, Mahim, Mazagaon and Sion; and five English Justices were appointed, of which two were for Bombay. Capt. Shaxton and Mr. Adams were the two members of Council (F.R. Misc. II, 139.)

⁵ *Sic.* ? sit.

⁶ As to the Portugese administration of justice, see Malabari's *Bombay in the Making*, pp. 24-38.

Companys of Militia on the Island, to wit, one at Bombay, one at Mahim and one at Mazagon, consisting of Portuguese black christians the Officers whereof are kept in pay, being most English, for the better instructing and initiating the people in the use of their armes, wherein they are very ignorant and as yet averse unto. These three Companys will make in all about 400 fire armes, besides lances, but they will serve only to make a shew, for we have already proved that noe trust is to be given them when we come to service,¹ for we can put greater confidence in the Moors, Bandareens² and Gentue souldiers then in them not only for their courage, but for their affection and good will to the English Government. These severall Companys are exercised once every month at least, and the Officers keepe constant watches every night in their severall precincts, for the preventing surprises and robberyes, where unto by reason of our neighbourhood to the Portuguese Country this Island is very much exposed.

The publick revenues of the Island though increased much of what they were yet doe not answer the publick charge in respect to the warr. The whole amounts to neer 70,000 Xeraphins,³ the particulars whereof your Honours will find at large expressed in your generall books of which the Colliarys⁴ or right of fishing in the open Bays of Bombay, Mazagon, Veroly⁵ and Parell are still pretended to by the Portuguese, who formerly enjoyed it as a right belonging to them; but we shall not part with anything therein till we have full orders from you. We are in hopes of

¹ Aungier refers to the visit of a Dutch fleet in February 1673. In a letter about it to the Company (O. C. 3760) he wrote: "Nor can we put any the least confidence in the Portuguese inhabitants of this Island, whose timorousness and disloyalty to the English Government was much apparant, some saying they could not, others they would not fight for us."

² Bhandaris.

³ Zeraphin or Xeraphin was originally the name of a silver coin, formerly current in Goa and other Eastern parts. At this time (1673) in Bombay 13 Xeraphins were worth about Rs. 10 (Foster, 52n.)

⁴ This word is obviously derived from Koli. In Capt. Gary's rent-rolls for Bombay the "Colouria or fishermen's tribute" is mentioned, and this was presumably a tax levied on the Kolis for permission to fish in the waters round the Island (Foster, 68). Aungier successfully thwarted the Portuguese pretensions.

⁵ Worli.

increasing the Revenue in your customes, stanke¹ or farme of tobacco, Arrack and wine licence, as also by the mint,² as we have formerly advised when it is thoroughly settled, and when we are well supplied with silver, copper and Tinn from England to carry it on.

The publick charge of the Island now in this time of warr, for Garrison charges, fortification, the Militia Officers, shipping, &c., is excessive, as before we have hinted. You will find the particulars at large described in your Bombay Books of accounts. Our care is most seriously and conscientiously employed in retrenching and lessening the said charge what possibly we can; when it shall please God to bless us with peace we doubt not to bring them within the publick revenue, but till then it cannot be expected, considering the weak condition of the Island at present, and great power of the enemy.³

We have advised your Honours in our letter of the 23rd October of our treaty and conclusion of peace of Sevagee which tho' fully agreed on between his Envoy and us, is not yet signed and confermed by Sevagee himselfe, in regard he has bin absent, neer three months from his country, being gon with an army of 25,000 men into the King of Vizapore's Country, where he hath robbed and plundered many rich townes, and 'tis said he is fallen into the Country of Carvaek⁴ or Canara to get more plunder in those rich townes to beare the charge of his army. At his returne we shall proceed to have the said treaty confirmed, which we noe wayes doubt but he will doe.⁵ Our whole proceedings in this affaire are at large expressed in a narrative apart, sent in double coppys

¹ Portuguese *estaque*, a monopoly. The same word appears as, "stanck" in Capt. Gary's rent-rolls (*ib.*)

² Capt. Gary first proposed the minting of coins at Bombay in 1668, and a mint was established four years later (Foster, 52).

³ In his General Letter to the Company of 15th December 1673 and a "personal memorial" in January 1674, Aungier explained in detail the necessity for the excess expenditure and the advantages the Island had gained by it (O.C. 3007 and 3020); but this did not prevent his being censured for extravagance and accused of a desire for "grandeur" (L. B. Vol. 5, p. 165), a charge which he repudiated in pathetic and dignified language (O. C. 4163). Cf. *Annesley of Surat and His Times*, pp. 55-58.

⁴ ? Kurwar.

⁵ It was confirmed by Shivaji at Raigarh in April 1674. (Anderson, 164).

by these ships, whereunto we humbly referr you (as to) what satisfaction he hath promised to give us for all that he robbed at Rajapore,¹ as well from the Company as from particular men ; wherefore we intreat your order how it shall be proportioned when we doe receive the sum agreed on, out of which we shall deduce and make good unto your account what expences we have bin at for manadging and concluding said treaty. The remainder is to be proportioned between yourselves and the persons concerned in said losse. We have already advised that in plundering City of Hubily, he hath robbed about 8,000 pagodas² of your Estate there also, but he will acknowledge noe such thing, and will not make satisfaction for it, in regard there were noe English there to own and protect said goods ; yet we hope in time to bring him to some composition and allowance for that also, for he is much a friend to our nation, if to any, and exceedingly desires our trade againe in his ports. And in truth his Ports of Rajapore, Dabull, Kelcy, &c., are of exceeding and indispensible necessity for the trade of Bombay, for they will in time when your Factorys are well settled there, yield great quantitys of goods of all sorts proper for Europe, cheaper then we have them at Surrat or other places ; whereof we have now sent some musters³ for your perusal, the prizes⁴ whereof are charged as they will stand in brought to Bombay, being about 25 per cent. dearer then they may be had at Rajapore. Besides we have hopes that the trade into Sevagees Country will consume quantitys of Europe commoditys and particularly be usefull for consumption of copper pice, and Tinnys or Tinn Budgrookes⁵ in great quantitys, which will prove of noe meane benefit and advantage to your mint, and (save ?)

¹ The Mahrattas had raided Hubli and Rajapur and destroyed property in the Company's factories at those places, but it was not till 1684 that Capt. Keigwin succeeded in arranging a treaty with Sambhaji under which he agreed to pay damages (*Keigwin's Rebellion*, 98, 9).

² For the history of this word see *Hobson-Jobson*, 652. Fryer (ii, 129) gives the value as equivalent to 3½ Rupees.

³ This means " samples ", cf. Fryer, i 215.

⁴ Prices.

⁵ Portuguese *bazarucco*. These were among the coins current in Bombay then, and 16 budgorooks went to one pice (Foster, 52). For further details see *Keigwin's Rebellion*, 32, and *Hobson-Jobson*, 121.

expence of the manufactures of tim. Moreover Sevagee promises himselfe to setle a wearhouse of his merchants in Bombay for the putting of great quantitys of goods which he hath lying by him, which will also increase the trade of your port and your Revenue in customes of said goods. These and many other considerations for brevity's sake omitted caused us the sooner to hasten our treaty of Peace with him, which we trust your Honours will confirme and well approve of, accepting it as a well pleasing and advantagious service to you. Had we continued to embargue¹ his merchant-vessells, probably we might have got more from them to pay for your losse; but such violent proceedings are not pleasing to God, nor to you, nor have we any order from you as yet to take that course; nor is it consistent with your honour or interest to right yourselves that way, except when absolute necessity requires, when justice is utterly denied, and your estate totally preyed upon and consumed without hopes of restitution. In such case we as formerly advised doe humbly beg your order to doe you right by force and not otherwise; but in this your Honours may glory that you have brought Sevagee to tearmes of restitution for his robbery of your Estate, which neither the great Mogull nor the King of Vizapore nor the Portuguese were ever yet able to doe, all whose Countrys he hath suffioiently robbed.

In our last years letters² overland we gave your Honours an account of the unworthy flight of Sr. Alvaro Pires of Mazagon³ and the greatest part of the Portuguese and other inhabitants, upon the arrivall of the Dutch fleete.⁴ The desertion was soe

¹ This means "impound", cf. *embarquement* obsolete for "ombargo."

² The letter was dated 18th March 1672 (old style), and so is referred to as one of "last year," though the date (according to the present chronology) was 18th March, 1673.

³ He was the holder of the well-known Mazagaon Estate, originally granted in 1548, see *Malabari*, 373.

⁴ In February 1673. It was on this occasion that (says Orme) Aungier exerted himself "with the calmness of a philosopher and the courage of a centurion." Fryer (i, 170) writes, "the Dutch attempting to surprize the Islanders, found them and the Fort in so good a condition that they were glad to betake themselves to their Boats without any Booty, and the next day hoisted sails (for, said they, Bombaim been as stark as do Deel)." See also Anderson, 125.

generall and scandalous that we judged it necessary prudence to let the people know our resentment thereof ; the sealing up of their houses and putting a seeming embargo for the present on their lands was the only cause that brought them back to the Island. All returned, Alvaro Pires excepted, to the number of 10,000 and upwards, and upon their submission and promise never to run away againe their lands and houses were immediately restored without the least fine or punishment ; for in truth it was a time to shew clemency, pittie and moderation to a poore miserable, distracted, trembling people. But Alvaro Pires, finding his honour concerned, full of that pride and subtlety inherent in the Portuguese Fidalgoes of India, though he was in greatest fault, took a contrary course ; for instedd of submitting himselfe he defyes your authority, disownes himselfe a subject of his Majesty or that he owed any fealty to him or service to you, though he had before taken the oath of fidelity,¹ and which was worse he makes his applications to the Generalls of the French² (and) Portuguese fleets, to the Captain of Basseen and the Vice Roy of Goa demanding justice of them, casting most scandalous reproaches against the Nation and against your Government in the presence of the French Admirall, and all the Portuguese fidalgoes. Whereupon we found ourselves necessitated to call him to a publick tryall,³ for the more publick vindication of the justice and moderation of your Government, and the integrity of our proceeding ; but he not appearing as disowning authority, we thought fit to proceed to sentence,⁴ which was this, that for his deserting the Island in time of danger, disobedience to authority breach of severall Proclamations, ingratitude and notoriously false scandalls cast on your Honours and the nation, and your authority here, he was rendered

¹ He took this oath on 23rd September 1670 (O. C. 4378).

² This was Mons. Barron, one of the Directors of the French factory at Surat, who was in command of 4 ships that had come to Bombay a few days before the arrival of the Dutch fleet (O. C. 3760 and Khan, 533).

³ The judge, George Wilcox, was asked to submit a report regarding the legality, or otherwise, of the Signor absenting himself ; and this being against him, it was ordered on 2nd April 1673 that he should be summoned to appear before the Governor and Council within 40 days (F. R. Bombay, Vol. I, pp. 27, 28).

⁴ This was on the 16th May 1673 (F. R. Bombay, Vol. I, pp. 48, 49).

incapable of bearing any office civill or military on this Island. As to his Estate we thought not good to meddle with it, but have made his mother depositary or trustee thereof till your Honours pleasure and sentence be knowne concerning it, to whome we have humbly referred it; for as we never intended any seisure or confiscation of his Estate, but only desired to make him sensible of his misdemeanors and upon his submission to receive him againe into our favour,¹ soe he having given use soe high provocation by his indiscreet proceeding, we hold it necessary to let the world see that we would maintaine your right and honour. And as to his Estate we therefore have referred the judgment thereof to your Honours, first because all finall acts of justice or clemency belong unto you, secondly to convince the Portuguese that our proceeding aimed not at a covetous seisure or confiscation, but rather at the vindication of our integrity and moderation, thirdly because, if in your wisdome and clemency you shall think good to restore his Estate unto him on his submission and returne, it may be a lye² and obligation of gratitude on the Portuguese Government to express their sense of your generosity, by requiring a more civill and peaceable behaviour from the Portuguese our neighbours. Of whose ill neighbourhood violence, injurious dealing with all the inhabitants of this Island in seising their goods (and) imprisoning their persons on all frivolous pretences we have much to complaine, especially at the passes of Tannah and Caranjah,³ where they force from us excessive rates, even what they please in an arbitrary way for custome, and many times when

¹ This passage well illustrates the justice and moderation with which Aungier combined prompt action and firmness in dealing with disaffection or contempt of the Company's authority. His foresight and determination were fully vindicated, for after a long fight, which ended in 1677 with the Privy Council referring Alvaro Perez to the Bombay Court of Judicature for redress he made a "humble petition" to the Company, admitting misconduct and begging for pardon. Upon this submission being publicly repeated in the Court of Judicature in September 1678, he was given a free pardon and his estate was restored to him. (*Khan*, 558-560; *F. R. Bombay*, Vol. 2, pp. 30, 31)

² *Sic.* ? tye.

³ This was one of the main disputes with the Portuguese after the cession of Bombay. A full account of the documents relating to the controversy is contained in Dr. Khan's *Anglo-Portuguese Negotiations*, &c.

they thinke good doe stop all sorts of Timber or provisions from coming to us, all which we judge it prudence to winke at at present in respect to our warr with the Dutch, least¹ they should assist the Enemy against us, which they are (for) envy and emulation's sake too much inclined to, concerning which we with great earnestnesse expect your order. In fine the whole affaire touching Alvaro Pires is drawne out in a narrative by itselfe, which we humbly recommend to your perusall and censure with his protest and our answer, that it may be presented to his Majesty in case the Portuguese shall make any noise at Court concerning it.²

As to Mr. Sterlings³ and Mr. Everdens⁴ concerns, what we have discovered to be due unto them is brought in your cash and their accounts entered in your books. For Mr. Sterlings account is due Zer. 500 and for Mr. Everdens account Zer. 262 : 2l : 60r : which you may please to make good to their respective relations. As to Mr. Portman's⁵ and Mr. Davis's⁵ account and remaines, we intreat you to be referred to your Generall from Surat.

We observe your Order touching Bills of Exchange drawne from hence and hereafter shall make them payable 30 days after

¹ Lest.

² Aungier, realizing that Alvaro Perez would take the matter home and get the Portuguese Government to "make a noise" about it, took great trouble to put his case fully before the Company, and the answer he refers to was drawn up with the assistance of Judge Wilcox, Mr. James Adams, and two Portuguese gentlemen (F. R. Bombay Vol. I, pp. 104, 114). The Company responded, and on the advice of their solicitor, outlawry proceedings were taken against Alvaro Perez in the Court of Judicature in 1670 (Letter Book, Vol. V, p. 182, and O. C. 4378).

³ The report now proceeds to deal with some matters that were left over from the General Letter to the Company. The Rev. James Sterling was one of the two Ministers sent to Bombay in 1669. He was appointed one of the Commissioners for taking over Bombay from Capt. Young, and earned great praise from Aungier for his piety and prudence (*Foster*, 240, 244, 255). He died in November 1670 (F. R. Surat, Vol. 105, p. 96.)

⁴ This was probably the Mr. Phillip Eversden, who, being an Apothecary by trade, was appointed in February 1670 an Assistant to the Surgeon in the making of medicines (F. R. Bombay, Vol. 3, p. 46). The taking of the account in the case of both these estates had been referred to the Judge (O.C. 3722).

⁵ These may be the Mr. Thomas Davis and Mr. John Portman, who were sent from Surat to Queda, in 1669 (*Foster*, 180).

discharge and arrivall of the ships on which they are sent. We also take notice of your prohibition touching Cochaneale, and the mulct you have laid upon it and shall governe ourselves accordingly. We have considered your prudent order for the expence of woollen manufactures that coats might be given to your souldiers on the Island gratis, wherein your goodness and generosity is manifest towards them, but seeing you have bin pleased to leave the matter to us, we have thought good to suspend your donative unto them, in regard the charge would be great, and for that we had answered the maine of your designe by a former order passed in Councell of the 15th September, that all Officers and souldiers military, as also your Factors, Writers, staffe Officers, peons, lascars, and other servants in your pay should take 1/6 part of their wages in cloth perpetuanes or other English woollen manufactures; which order though at first gave some disgust, yet by the sober reasons which we gave, by the moderate price which we set on the goods and by our owne example we have in the maine prevailed to make it passe, soe that we hope we have complied with your order as to your principall end, and we trust it will have a good influence on the expence of woollen manufactures in time, and as to the donative we reserve it for some necessary occasion, to be bestowed in case your souldiers by some eminent service in this warr, if the Enemy doe attempt us, shall merit soe great a favour.

Our Consultation booke you will find somewhat large, for we consider that at this great distance we are from you it is necessary your Honours should know the whole method of our proceedings and those reasons which guide us in passing the severall orders registered therein, and for your greater light and ease we have ordered an alphabet or index to be drawne to said Councell booke,¹ to the end you may the more readily turne and find out any particular matter wherein you desire to be satisfied. The charges of your Smith Shop, armorer's Shop, Cooper's Shop, Bunder expence and moodys² shop we have reduced to a certeine standing rule and order, which before was (ir)regularly managed to your great

¹ These Indexes appear in the Consultation Books available in the India Office from 1672.

² *Modi*, house-steward.

charge and losse ; and though you will observe that the present allowance established is high, yet we pray you not to be offended, for in your first establishment it is prudent to give some encouragement that your people may live comfortably, which afterwards as we see occasion we shall reduce, when there are more plenty of workmen of each trade. Besides this course will prove a gain to you for the Iron, cordage and stores of all sorts delivered out to them are sold to them at a reasonable profit, and a greater consumption will by this means be caused of them ; for our earnest ambition is to see an honest profit in your bookes for every particular thing you send us, to the end the full amount of your generall disbursements may be the more clearly demonstrated, and that those charges which appeare unnecessary may the more easily being knowne, be retrenched. It would be too tedious here to discourse on those debates we have had touching increase of trade, priviledge to strangers,¹ raising your Revenue, correspondence with our neighbours and other matters worthy your notices, for they will all fall under your eye and censure in said Councill Booke² ; wherein we beseech you to direct us in what we have don amisse, and to strengthen us with your wise orders and instructions, for we feare we have erred through inexperience in matters of some weight which are beyond our reach.

Your books of Accounts on the Island are also large and expressive in each respective Journall parcell, and your Accountant Mr. John Child designed to reduce those confused heads of Garrison stores, Garrison charges, fortification, &c., into some better method and order ; but receiving the accounts late, and the warr, sicknesse and other impediments intervening, hath superseded his good and laborious intention this yeare, which by the next ships you may expect.

The Register of wills and Inventorys (and) proceedings of

¹ On the 10th November 1673 it was ordered by the Governor and Council that all settlers should have "freedom from all debts formerly contracted in foreign parts and before their coming to the Island for the term of 5 years beginning from the day of their first arrival", after the expiration of which they would become liable for such former debts (F.R. Bombay, Vol. 1, p. 107).

² Copies of the Consultation Books were regularly sent home.

your court of Judicature¹, are also large, and we hope will be very satisfactory, wherein you may please to peruse the whole series of what hath passed in those affaires. What other books and papers are sent you will find mentioned in the lists of the respective packet, whereunto we refer you, for we have we feare bin too tedious already; wherefore beseeching God to give his blessing to this your Island and to us in our respective charges, that we may obtain mercy to prove faithfull in our trust, and find favour and acceptance in your eyes, we remaine,

Your Honours most humble servants

GERALD AUNGIER

JOHN SHAXTON

JOHN CHILD

GEORGE WILLCOX,

JAMES ADAMES

FRANCIS DAY.

Secry.

BOMBAY,
15th Dec. 1673.

¹ Under the orders of the Company these were sent home annually, but unfortunately they are all now missing, except those of 1723-24 and 1726.

BRIEF NOTES

Pañchamahāśabda in Rājatarāṅgiṇī

While dealing with the Copper Plate Inscriptions of Bhāskara Varman King of Kāmarūpa (Cir. 600-650 A.D.), I came across the word Pañchamahāśabda and was in quest of its meaning. I found the word in one of the Gupta Inscriptions of Dr. Fleet, where (at p. 296 *et seq.*, of Corp. Inscr. Indicarum Vol. III), the late Doctor dealt with the term at great length ; and what I could gather from his note was that the term signified big sounds of five musical instruments (though not the same five everywhere) and that the personage who got this appellation (*i.e.*, Prāpta-pañchamahāśabda) was allowed to make public appearance with the band composed of those five musical instruments which of course made a great noise (mahāśabda). I also came across the term (Pañchamahāśabda) in Rājatarāṅgiṇī of Kahlana : and Dr. A. (now Sir Aurel) Stein in his "Kahlana's Chronicles of the Kings of Kāśmīr" (an annotated translation of the Rājatarāṅgiṇī) rendered Pañchamahāśabda (in verse 140 of the 4th Taraṅga) into English, as "Five offices distinguished by the term "Great" (p. 133, Vol. I): by which he meant five such posts as 'Mahāpratihāra, etc., etc.'

Dr. Krishna Svami Aiyangar of Madras, however, in an article headed "Pañchamahāśabda in Rājatarāṅgiṇī" published in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, (Vol. I, N. S. No. 2, 1925, pp. 238-245) has disapproved of the interpretation of Dr. Stein, and with much ingenuity has demonstrated that even here Pañchamahāśabda signified five great sounds of musical instruments and nothing else. I am of opinion that the learned gentleman has not been correct in his interpretation.

The word Pañchamahāśabda occurs thrice in the same Taranga (IV) of Rājatarāṅgiṇī in verses 140, 512 and 680 : and it is a pity Dr. Aiyangar did not apparently see the other passages, especially verse 680 ; he has only confined himself to verse 140 (and verses before and after it).

Verse No. 680 is as follows :—

Tasya Pañchamahāśabdān jyāyān Utpalako' grahit
Anye jagṛhire'nyāni karmasthānāni mātulāḥ || 680.

But in order to get a full import of the verse, its previous one should also be quoted :

Padmotpalaka Kalyāṇa Mamma Dhammaiḥ sa mātulaiḥ
Bālakāḥ pālyamānobhūt pṛthivibhoga bhāgibhiḥ || 679.

The translation of verses 679 and 680 is as follows :—

The young (King) was being nurtured by his maternal uncles Padma, Utpalaka, Kalyāṇa, Mamma and Dhamma who shared (with the young King) the enjoyment of (the power over) earth (*i. e.*, Kingdom). 679.

The Elder one Utpalaka took the (King's) Pañchamahāśabdas (*i. e.*, the five offices with 'Mahā' prefixed to them) and the others took other offices (*i. e.*, posts of administrative works). 680.

I hope the interpretation of Pañchamahāśabda, as made above, can, with no ingenuity, be rendered otherwise, and certainly the Senior of the five ambitious guardians of the King (*i. e.*, Utpalaka) would not have been satisfied with mere sounds, however big, of whatsoever musical instruments.

The term as occurs in verse No. 512 can be interpreted any way ; but none can dare say that even here the word Pañchamahāśabda does not mean five karmasthānas (offices) as is clearly the meaning in verse 680. The verse is :—

Mantri Pañchamahāśabdabhājanam jagatibhujāḥ

Tasmin Jayapure kotte Jayadatto vyadhānatham || 512.

Jayadatta, the Minister of the King, who was receptacle of Pañchamahāśabdas, built a temple in the fort of Jayapura. 512.

Now let us come to verse No. 140 ; but the subsequent three verses should also be quoted for the proper understanding of it.

Prītaḥ Pañchamahāśabdabhājanam tam vyadhatta saḥ

Yaśovarmaṅgaṃ tam tu samūlamudapāṭayat || 140.

Ashṭādaśānamupari prāksiddhānām tadudbhavaiḥ

Karmasthānaiḥ sthitiḥ prāptā tataḥ prabhṛti pañchabhiḥ ||

141.

Mahāpratīhārapīḍā sa mahāsandhivigrahaḥ
 Mahāśvaśālāpi mahābhāṇḍāgāraścha pañchamaḥ || 142.
 Mahāsādhanabhāgaśchetyetā yairabhīdhāḥ śrītaḥ
 Śāhimukhyā yeshvabhavannadhyakṣhāḥ pṛthivibhujaḥ || 143.

Translation.

Being pleased, He (King Lalitāditya) made him (Mitraśarman) the recipient of the five mahāśābdas, but he uprooted King Yasovarman (of Kānyakubja). (140.)

From that time forward, over the eighteen (posts), that had been created before, (a superior) standing was obtained by (those) five places that had (thus) their origin from him (King). (141.)

(*Viz.*) Mahāpratīhārapīḍā [pīḍā-pīṭha (*vide* verse 485 Taranga IV) meaning seat] the Mahāsandhivigraha, Mahāśvaśālā, Mahābhāṇḍāgāra and the fifth (142) Mahāsādhanabhāga also, with which these designations were connected, over which (places), (even) the rulers of earth headed by Śāhis became (in course of time) the presiding officers. (143.)

Apparently, by these designations (etāḥ abhīdhāḥ) are meant the pañchamahāśābdas bestowed upon Mitraśarman, and the enumeration of the places, immediately after the bestowal of the great honour, could not but have reference thereto. Moreover, Mitraśarman (who did a very great service mentioned in the preceding verses Nos. 137-139) had been a Sandhivigrahika of the King and unless he was made an officer presiding over Mahāsandhivigraha (along with other situations) he would have been mortified on finding himself thus belittled rather than have felt any pleasure on getting a chorus of hollow sounds.

I notice that Dr. Aiyangar has made much of 'sa' before Mahāsandhivigraha (in verse 142) and he says that "it refers to a something already referred and seems to imply that Mitraśarman had been made a mahāsandhivigraha by being given the right of pañchamahāśābda" (p. 242, B.B.R.A.S. Vol. I, N. S., No. 2). It is enough to state here in refutation of his surmise that mahāsandhivigraha is a place only (*vide* my translation of verses 142-143) and not a designation; and that the 'sa' is merely a word to complete the foot of the verse and has therefore no

meaning at all (like 'hi' 'vai', etc., which could not be used at the beginning of a foot).

To sum up: here, in the verse 140, the term Pañchamahāśabda has the meaning of five Karmasthānas as in verse 680.

As regards Pañchamahāśabda occurring in other passages, as in the Gupta Inscriptions, or in the Kanarese Inscriptions, I have no objection to its being interpreted as identical with Pañchamahāvādyā; in fact it appears to me, that the term has a different meaning in a different part of the country: in Kāśmir, for instance, it means five offices with the adjective 'Mahā' prefixed thereto, and in Deccan it may signify five great sounds of musical instruments, varying in various places.

PADMANATHA BHATTACHARYA.

27th October 1930.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

CEYLON zur Zeit des Königs Bhuvaneka Bāhu und Franz Xavers 1539-1552. Quellen zur Geschichte der Portugiesen, sowie der Franziskaner—und Jesuitenmission auf Ceylon im Urtext herausgegeben und erklärt von G. Schurhammer und E. A. Voretzsch (2 Volumes.) Verlag der Asia Major, Leipzig, 1928.

This is a collection of Portuguese letters referring to the Sinhalese King Bhuvaneka Bāhu and the famous missionary Francis Xavier, dating from November 1539 down to February 1550. These letters were unearthed by Fr. Schurhammer from the Lisbon Archives of the Torre do Tombo.

It is not necessary to go carefully through the two volumes in order to appreciate the value of this publication. A collection of 142 contemporary documents is to be welcomed by all students of the history not only of Ceylon but even of India; for these letters often refer to the affairs of the continent, specially those of the Western Coast. The letters are critically edited with copious and erudite notes.

But what chiefly enhances the value of this work is the historical introduction written by Fr. Schurhammer. The period selected by him (1539-1550) is one of the most eventful periods in the history of Ceylon. The Portuguese were formally called to Ceylon by King Bhuvaneka Bāhu, the king of Kōṭṭē, who claimed overlordship over the whole island from very ancient times, and who is styled by the Portuguese "the King of Ceylon." His brother Māyādunne, king of Sītāvaka, wanted to dispossess Bhuvaneka of his kingdom. On this occasion the Portuguese entered Ceylon in great numbers to aid Bhuvaneka. This was the beginning of a series of dramatic events in which the kings of Jaffna, and Kandy took a prominent part. In the meantime Bhuvaneka, in view of the increasing power of the Portuguese in the island, broke his allegiance with them and made an alliance with Māyādunnē against the King of Kandy and the Portuguese. The latter sent two considerable expeditions to their ally, the King

of Kandy, but finally this ruler won over by the threats and admonitions of Bhuvaneka Bāhu, joined the national cause against the invaders. This increase of power of the King of Kōṭṭē was viewed with suspicion by his brother Māyādunnē, who finally turned to the Portuguese for help, and received from them a substantial increase of territory at the expenses of Bhuvaneka. The latter on the other hand was not idle. With splendid promises, which afterwards were not always fulfilled, he finally obtained a Portuguese army against Māyādunnē, who was actually deprived of his kingdom of Sītāvaka and withdrew to the mountains of Denāvaka.

This triumph of the Portuguese encouraged them to proceed against the King of Kandy at the special request of Bhuvaneka. But the Kandy ruler, secretly advised by the treacherous Bhuvaneka, inflicted a very serious defeat upon the Portuguese. During all this time the enmity between Bhuvaneka and his brother Māyādunnē continued, when eventually the former was killed by a gunshot, perhaps by a hireling of Māyādunnē. The Portuguese placed his young grandson, Prince Dharmapala, on the throne of Kōṭṭē and declared war against Māyādunnē, Dharmapala's father, who had been imprisoned by the Portuguese, made good his escape not long after, and began a relentless war against these invaders of the island.

Such is the gloomy end of this series of intrigues, embassies, promises, wars and murders, which characterise the history of the Portuguese in Ceylon. Fr. Schurhammer has given us a very interesting account of this short but eventful period. This appears from the letters now published by him for the first time, and supplemented by many other documents—references to which will be found in his erudite notes.

A very exhaustive bibliography precedes his historical narrative, and a complete index renders the work most useful to the scholars of Ceylon and India.

Fr. Schurhammer is to be congratulated on this excellent and scholarly production; and we can look forward to further fruit from his assiduous labour in the Portuguese Archives of Lisbon.

THE MARATHIA RAJAS OF TANJORE, by K. B. SUBRAMANIAN, M.A., Lecturer in History, Maharaja's College, Vizianagram, with a foreword by P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar Avl., M.A., L.T., Reader in Indian History, University of Madras. Published by the Author, 60, T. S. V. Koil Street, Mylapore, Madras, 1928. Re. 1.

This is a praiseworthy attempt of Prof. Subramanian, to write the history of a dynasty totally overlooked by the scholars of Southern India. The only history of this Dynasty is the one written by Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis in 1912; but the fact of its being written in Marathi makes its circulation very small.

Prof. Subramanian has consulted many different sources both Indian and foreign, but he has not exhausted them. A scholarly work requires a thorough treatment, as well as critical judgment and impartial views. In this sense we agree with Prof. P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar that "this book has been written so as to enable the intelligent teacher of history to lay well and truly the foundation of historical studies in the Tanjore district." (p. II).

But historical methods seem to have been absolutely overlooked, as one can easily see while going through the documentary evidence in the foot-notes. The same is true of the bibliography (which, by the bye, should be given at the beginning of the book, as a thing of the utmost importance). To give a list of books with names of authors and titles of books (not always faithfully quoted) is not to give the bibliography of the subject. The whole title should be given, with place and year of publication; and occasionally even some critical remarks may be added about this or that historical source or work—remarks which sometimes are expected. Moreover one would naturally expect some difference between works containing historical sources such as "Lockman: Travels of Jesuits, 2 Vols." or "Foster: English Factories in India, 1622-1623"; and books of historical literature, such as "Dodwell: Dupleix and Clive" or "Oxford History of India by V. A. Smith."

This little brochure, patiently worked over for two or three years more, could have been much improved, since its main defect seems to be hastiness and superficiality.

H. H.

KAMPILI AND VIJAYANAGARA, by N. VENKATA RAMANAYYA, M.A.,
PH.D., MADRAS CHRISTIAN COLLEGE. Printed at the Christian
Literature Society's Press, Madras, 1929.

The problems discussed in this little brochure by Dr. Venkata Ramanayya are vital problems in the history of the Empire of Vijayanagara; the History of the petty kingdom of Kampili, whose connection with Vijayanagara is still very obscure; and the origin of the Saṅgama Dynasty or first ruling family of Vijayanagara.

The whole book seems to have been written to defend the Telugu origin of Harihara and Bukka. There are many poems that maintain this; but Dr. Ramanayya does not mention them at all, for he very wisely acknowledges that they are not trustworthy documents. He claims to base his argumentation mainly on contemporary epigraphical records. Yet he soon realized that there is no inscription disclosing their Telugu origin. Hence he suddenly assumes the offensive, so that the greatest portion of his work consist in contradicting the arguments given in favour of their Kanarese origin and of their connections with the last Hoysala Emperors. How successful he has been in his undertaking the readers can be left to decide. Suffice it to say that he does not explain how Harihara and his brothers were at once acknowledged throughout Mysore in 1316, the year of the death of Ballāḷa IV, as appears in *E. C.*, IX, Bn, 47; X, Mr, 39; VI, Sg, 1; *M.A.R.*, 1916, pp. 56-57; *Madras Epigraphical Record*, 1906, p. 522; *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, XII, pp. 338, 350; etc. That he also overlooks the relationship between Vallapa-danṇāyaka, Ballāḷa III's nephew, according to *E.C.*, X, Mr, 10, 12, 16, 18, with Harihara I, in *E.C.*, VI, Sg, 1; *M. A. R.* 1916, p. 57. He pays no attention to the parallel information given by Ferishta-Briggs, I, p. 427 and by *E.C.*, X., Cd, 4, in connection with the meeting convened by Ballāḷa III, at Tiruvaṅṅāmalai for the fortification of the northern frontier of the Empire. Finally he ignores the wars of Harihara I and Bukka I against the Telugu country which are spoken of in Butterworth, *Inscriptions of the Nellore District*, I, p. 113; *E. C.*, III, TN, 134; V, Hn, 7, 70; VI, Kp, 25, VII, Ci, 13; Tl, 201; X, Gd, 46; Mb, 158; XII, Tp, 9; *M. A. R.*, 1916, p. 59.

One is bound to agree with the learned author about the

rule of Harihara I from Ānegondi, which thus became the first capital of the Empire ; but his theory of the transfer of the capital from Ānegondi to Vijayanagara in the time of Harihara I, as propounded on p. 33, is totally unfounded. Cf. Heras, *Beginnings of Vijayanagara History*, pp. 127-132. One would like to know how Dr. Ramanayya explains *E.C.*, V, Cn, 256, in which it is expressly mentioned that Bukka I, "built a splendid city called the city of victory", round the Hemakuta hill—and therefore south of the Tuṅgabhadra.

Dr. Ramanayya accepts the common, but not contemporary tradition of the intervention of Vidyāraṇia in the foundation of the city of Vijayanagara (p. 33). It is strange that his acute sense of criticism has not detected in this story one of those "myths that have crept into the field of South Indian historical research in recent years" (p. 21). If one impartially studies all the available documentary evidence from the 14th century down to the time of the Āraviḍu Monarchs, one is bound to acknowledge that this tradition is totally baseless and uncritical. Cf. Heras, *Beginnings of Vijayanagara History*, pp. 19-35.

This impartial critical spirit is what is mostly wanting in Dr. Ramanayya's book. Otherwise these two essays disclose much learning, vast erudition and a decided vocation for historical studies.

H. H.

AJANTHĀ, by SHRIMANT BHAWANRAO SHRINIVASRAO *alias* BALASAHEB, PANT PRATINIDHI, B.A., Chief of Aundh. (Marathi). 1930. Rs. 10.

If there are in English more than a dozen works dealing with and illustrating Buddhist Art, in Marathi there is an absolute blank ; and except for a couple of articles on the Ajantḥā and Ellora Caves, and photos in periodicals and dailies, and an article or two in the Marathi Encyclopædia, there is not a single book that treats the question of Buddhist Art exhaustively. In the Deccan, however, the Ellora and Ajantḥā groups coupled with Karla, form at once a splendid and highly developed collection of that art. The origin of Buddhist Art is lost in obscurity and ignorance, so much so that these wonders of art are believed to be the work of the Pāṇḍavas, completed during one night or according

to another account, completed to beguile their time during their period of exile. They are known as the Pāṇḍu-leṅgā Caves. On this background of ignorance and myth this splendid volume on Ajanṭhā appears as a luminary of the first magnitude. This volume begins with an introduction by the Chief of Aundh, in which the author tries to evaluate such monuments as testifying to the greatness and representing the civilisation of a nation. In a preface which really is the introduction, the author writes a note on sculpture and painting, as described in ancient Sanskrit works and it extends over 24 pages. It is a fitting introduction to this work, as it enables the reader to apply the knowledge derived therefrom to the monuments of Ajanṭhā. The volume proper is divided into 8 parts : beginning with the location, route, general description about the condition of the caves, their carvings and sculpture and the frescoe paintings ; the latter is discussed from various points, like outline, colour, brush, anatomy, perspective history, women's and men's garments, ornaments of women and those of men with weapons, reality, expression and ideal. Parts 6, 7, 8 are taken up by personal experiences and means adopted by the author to secure copies of the original. In an appendix, there are quotations given throwing light on the age of these caves and the volume ends with an exhaustive index. The volume is profusely illustrated and contains 80 half-tone photos printed on art paper, and these by themselves form a great feature of this work and heighten its value, especially when it is remembered that the Chief is himself a great artist. In fact the photographic representation evinces accuracy and the author's discriminating taste.

The work, admirably got up as it is, is a veritable addition to Marathi literature, and the Marathi reading public is grateful to the author. We wish the author had added one chapter on Buddhist art in relation to Buddhist teaching, since Buddhism is the first religion to make use of art for the teaching of religion. All the same, we heartily congratulate the author on his having executed the work on Ajanṭhā splendidly and express our thanks to him for having placed before the public of Mahārāṣṭra the greatness of Ajanṭhā with its splendid frescoes. He has, in our opinion, rendered distinct service to the cause of Buddhism and its art, since with a perusal of his work one's angle of vision towards

Buddhism and its art is sure to be greatly modified. The price of the book is quite reasonable.

N. K. B.

A VOYAGE TO SURAT IN THE YEAR 1689, by J. OVINGTON,
 Edited by H. G. RAWLINSON, I.E.S., Oxford University
 Press, 1929.

The history of India during the 17th century, particularly in its social aspect, would lose a great deal of its variety and not a little of its interest if it were not for the information supplied to us by European travellers in India as also by the records and journals of the servants of the East India Company. Among the major travellers, whose accounts have an all-India significance, the works of Bernier, Tavernier, Manucci and others are very well known, and their English translations or new editions of the same have been given to the world during the last thirty years or so by well-known scholars. But besides these, we have a host of others whose works have a more or less provincial interest, such as Mandelslo, Thevenot, Ovington, Peter Mundy, Dr. Fryer, Hamilton, etc. The works of the last three are now readily available in the Hakluyt Society Reprints. The first two are yet very scarce because their English editions were printed in the 17th century. The same was the case with Ovington's work until the publication of the book under review.

The Oxford University Press has in recent years produced a large number of books of Indian interest and it deserves to be congratulated on bringing out a reprint of J. Ovington's *Voyage to Surat*, the first edition of which was published in London in 1696. This new volume is in handy form, beautifully printed and contains some excellent illustrations. The Editor is Principal H. G. Rawlinson, a historical scholar who has thoroughly familiarised himself with all the details of the history of the English in Western India during the 17th century. In a valuable and informative Introduction, Mr. Rawlinson gives a detailed account of Ovington's life and career after careful research in the records of the India Office and other public bodies. He has also supplied very useful notes and an Index-Glossary.

John Ovington was a scholar and a clergyman who was engaged in 1689 by the E. I. Company to fill a casual vacancy as Chaplain

to a ship sailing for India. He arrived at Bombay where his ship was weatherbound for some months owing to the south-west monsoon. He next proceeded to Surat where his services were engaged as chaplain to the English Factory which was then in need of a minister. Here Ovington stayed for over two years and spent his time to good purpose in collecting those materials about the manners and customs of its Muhammadan, Banya and Parsi inhabitants which he subsequently recorded in his work after his return to England. This important account of social life and manners among the population of Western India is both diverting and accurate.

From the view-point of Anglo-Indian history Ovington's chapters on "The Island of Bombay" and "The English factory at Surat" are of particular interest and value. No other account exists comparable with his description of life in Bombay island 240 years ago. A passage from Principal Rawlinson's Introduction will give the reader some idea of the account.

"Ovington's picture of Bombay as he saw it is a gloomy one Aungier's schemes of colonisation has not been successful. The settlers were the dregs of humanity, discharged soldiers, 'debauched broken tradesmen and renegade seamen.' Drunkenness, largely due to the 'punch-houses,' was fearfully rife. The young women, so entertainingly described by Ovington, who had been introduced by the Company in order to keep the English from alliances with Portuguese and natives, had proved so unsatisfactory that many of them had been deported. * * * * The natural unhealthiness of the island, caused by the undrained swamps, acting on constitutions undermined by drink and debauchery, made the place 'little better than a charnel house.' Children hardly ever survived, and it was commonly said that 'two mussouns are the age of a man.'"

On the whole both students of Indian history as well as the leading public are grateful to the publishers and to the scholarly editor for making accessible this charming book of travel which is of special interest to us in the Western Presidency.

M. S. C.

AGASTYA IN TAMIL LANDS, by Mr. N. N. ŚIVARĀJA PILLAI, B.A.,
University of Madras. Re. 1.

This is an attempt on the part of the author to handle the problem of Agastya in the South. As a scholar and historian he aptly says, "Where the pre-scientific recorder of facts laid too much stress on one human spirit embodied in a hero, as descending upon humanity from a sphere of its own, the scientific historian, grown perhaps a little impervious to the promptings of hero-worship, tries to dissect the spirit and read therein the reactions to its environment, to the peculiar stresses and pulls which had played about it and helped it on towards its development into a full-blown personality", and strictly adheres to this. By his positive analytical knowledge he has applied the pruning knife to the myths, traditions, and anachronisms, to cut off the superfluous overgrowth in the expectation of beautiful flowers and sweet fruit. He has also ransacked the works of the oriental and occidental scholars to gather sufficient material for the paper, and has at last succeeded in arriving at the correct conclusion: "His translation to the South is a myth pure and simple, and cannot be accepted as a fact in the primitive history of the Tamilians." (p. 61).

In his exodus to the South from Pañevāṣi Agastya went to Karavīra (Kolhāpura), Vātāpi (Bādāmi), and finally settled down in his āśrama on the Pothiyil mountain (Malaya). His stay at Karavīra is described in Padma-purāṇa, Karavīrakhaṇḍa, which fact has not been touched by the author. "The testimony of Sanskrit Literature and the early Greek writers places beyond doubt that Southern India about 400 B. C. was almost a *terra incognita* to the Northern Āryans" (p. 14), says the author about the Deccan. But George Bühler in his Introduction to Āpastamba avers. "If this statement is taken together with the above-stated facts, which tend to show that Āpastambīyas were and are restricted to the south of India, the most probable construction which can be put on it is that Āpastamba declares himself to be a Southerner." (p. XXXIV). He concludes, on a close examination of the irregular forms, in the Āpastamba Dharmasūtra, "In other words, he must either have lived earlier than Pāṇini or before Pāṇini's grammar had acquired general fame throughout India, and become the standard authority for Sanskrit authors." (p.

XLII). This means that the South was colonised and Āryan civilisation had sufficiently advanced to bring out this famous Dharmasūtra either earlier than Pāṇini or contemporaneous with him. In that case, there will not be much truth in saying that the South was not known to the Āryans in the North.

The Agastya tradition in the Rāmāyaṇa has been rightly pointed out as a subsequent interpolation; the Agastya tradition of exodus has been proved to be anachronistic and inconsistent; the Agastya tradition of ascribing "Sangama Literature," ranging over a wide field, from grammar and philology to medicine, mysticism, magic and witchcraft is dismissed with a conclusive proof that the voluminous writings are of a later date; and the Agastya tradition in later Tamil Literature has shared the same fate. Deification and hero-worship are not uncommon in the South, and Agastya was raised to the rank of a divinity, and temples to him were built at Kolhāpura and Agastīśvaraṁ in South Travancore. Like Dhruva he is immortalised by the assignment of a place in the sky as a brilliant star, Canopus. Finally, he arrives at the conclusion that, the Agastya tradition breaks down completely, because there are internal contradictions in it, and there is no unbroken continuity of the tradition with the past.

The appendices at the end are very instructive.

K. G. K.

THE ORIGIN OF SAIVISM AND ITS HISTORY IN THE TAMIL LAND, by K. R. SUBRAMANIAN, M.A. University of Madras. pp. 82. 1929.

The learned paper published as a supplement to the Madras University Journal is a thesis by the author which brought him the Shankara Parvati Prize of the University of Madras. In dealing with this subject the author introduces the all important subject of the Nāgas, their legend, their supposed origin, the origin of their name and their cult. This seems to be the one paper in which the important subject of the Nāgas is brought into a small compass with as many authorities as are to be found in the literature of Southern India. But the Nāga tribe no doubt had its origin in the most neglected and forgotten misty past.

even prior to the time of the Mahābhārat and, may be, contemporaneous with the Vedic times. We hear of the tribe as Ahhi in the Vedas, and as Nāga in the subsequent literature and at the time of Rājatarangini. The tribe has become mythical. The residence of the tribe is much more so, although historians have tried to attribute locations to Pātāla which according to some was near the mouths of the Indus, where Alexander the Great went, and sometimes to the extreme south taking it even to Ceylon.

The Nāga somehow or other is mixed up with the cult of Śaivism. Śiva the great irreconcilable deity is imagined to have depended for his ornaments on the Nāgas (serpents). And the Southern India Śaivism, which began with this mixture of God, man and serpent, migrated to Northern India, resulting in pacifying the benevolent deity, reducing the Nāga element into the serpent, and the man has remained forgotten in the popular myth. The only remnants of this name are to some extent found in the Nāgaras or just as our author says in the Nāyars. One thing is very certain: this very strong and important tribe, whose history is very difficult to trace, had powerful kingdoms in different parts of India as testified by the names of important cities called "Nagpur" in many parts of India. The name is further kept up in the name of countries known as Ahichhatra and Ahikula.

Leaving this the author travels into the region of the several cults which emanated from the Southern India Saivism and then winds up in the present-day exhibitions in temples, architecture, etc.

The thesis is excellently written and rightly deserves the recognition of the University.

V. P. V.

IN MEMORIAM

THE REV. DR. ROBERT ZIMMERMANN S.J.

उपेयुषामपि दिवं सन्नियन्धविधायिनाम् ।

आस्त एव निरातङ्गं कान्तं कीर्तिमयं वपुः ॥

It is with the deepest sorrow that we have to record the death of one of our most distinguished members, Rev. Father ROBERT ZIMMERMANN, Ph.D. (Berlin), S.J. Father Zimmermann came out to India in 1914, and made St. Xavier's College, Bombay, his home as Professor of Sanskrit. He joined our Society in 1915 and served on the Managing Committee from 1917 to 1929. Since 1924 he was one of our Vice-Presidents. His health broke down in 1930 and in May last at the advice of his doctors he sailed for Europe. He passed away on Feb. 8, 1931, at Feldkirch, Austria, at the age of 57.

A very large number of students and teachers came under the spell of his enchanting personality. A fine scholar, a deep thinker, a simple child-like soul, a sincere friend, he was loved and respected by all who came in contact with him. In 1924 he was offered the Fellowship of our Society; and now that he is no more, we must publicly do homage to his modesty which prevented him from accepting so great an honour. In life his usual greeting was "God bless you": shall we not return the salutation now, and pray that his soul may rest in peace ?

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
BOMBAY BRANCH
OF THE
Royal Asiatic Society.

Annual Report for 1929.

The year under review was a very important one, being the 125th Anniversary of the Society's life and the celebration of the Anniversary occupied two evenings, the nearest to the actual date of the 26th November that could be arranged on account of His Excellency's tour in Sind.

On the first day, Wednesday the 4th December, papers specially contributed by scholars in India for the occasion were read at a meeting of the Society. These have been published in Vol. VI of the Journal.

On the second day, Thursday the 5th December, the principal gathering was held, at which His Excellency the Governor presided.

A full report of these proceedings will be found in the 125th Anniversary Journal number (N. S. Vol. VI).

His Excellency the Governor paid the Society a special visit earlier in the year, when he unveiled the bust of the Society's first Secretary, William Erskine, on the 13th March. The portraits of Sir James Mackintosh and Dr. Bhau Daji and Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji having also been set up in the hall

outside the library, the entrance to the Society's rooms is now being ornamented in a manner worthy of its great history and traditions as well as rendered more attractive to the general visitor. The portrait of Dr. Bhau Daji we owe to the munificence of Mr. L. S. Dabholkar, a member, and that of Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji to Mr. V. P. Vaidya, one of our Vice-Presidents, and Mr. J. S. Vaidya, while that of Sir James Mackintosh, a copy of the original in the National Portrait Gallery, London, was purchased from donations specially given by members of all communities.

On the 11th March the Society bade farewell to Sir Charles Fawcett, its President for 1928, on his retirement from the Bench of the High Court and from India. The occasion was marked by an At Home given to Sir Charles and Lady Fawcett, at which about 100 members were present, and expression was given to the very great advantage which the Society had derived from Sir Charles's occupancy of the Presidential chair and to the sense of its loss at his departure.

The Society unanimously elected Shams-ul-Ulama Dr. Jivanji J. Modi, a Vice-President and one of its oldest and most distinguished members, to be President for the year.

We regret to have to note the passing of two members of the Society who played a large part in its life and scholarship and were well known to many members. The Rev. Dr. Robert Scott became a member in 1882, was a member of the Managing Committee from 1893, Hon. Secretary from 1902 to 1905, Vice-President from 1908, and President in 1917. He retired from his Professorship of English in Wilson College and from India in 1918 and thereafter lived mainly in Edinburgh, but kept up his connection with India, and Bombay in particular, through correspondence and was very gratified at his election as Fellow of the Society in 1924. His was a figure well known and very much loved and respected in Bombay for over thirty years. The second name missed from our roll is that of Dewan Bahadur P. B. Joshi, who was a member of the Managing Committee in the years 1923 to 1925, and is best remembered as the principal coadjutor of Sir James Campbell in the compilation of the Bombay Gazetteer. In recognition of his great services to learning, a special presentation

of the Campbell Memorial Gold Medal was made to Dewan Bahadur Joshi in 1923. He was active up to the last in the advancement of the cause of knowledge of Bombay and its history.

A form of agreement between the Society and the Prince of Wales Museum covering the transfer of the Society's archaeological, geological and copper-plate collections to the Museum for display has, after long discussion, been approved by both bodies.

It is to be regretted that for the first time in the Society's history, a member has had to be sued in the courts for recovery of books not returned despite many calls and every possible private effort to arrange the matter satisfactorily. The Society won the case in the Small Causes Court and the execution of the decree is proceeding. In the coming year two more similar cases are being carried to court—a sign of the times which scarcely encourages us to allow easier terms of membership of the Society, as certain well-intentioned members of the public desire.

A statement of receipts and expenditure is attached. It will be noticed that we have been able to finish the year without the anticipated deficit. Whilst this is so far satisfactory, it should be borne in mind that we have only been able to do this by utilising the balance of the Contingent Fund. It is, therefore, necessary that efforts be again made to increase the membership, or at least maintain it at its present strength, otherwise we shall once more be faced with a deficit. Every endeavour has been made to minimise the establishment charges and these are still being very carefully watched in order to avoid any unnecessary expenditure, but it is difficult to see how any great reduction can be expected in this direction without affecting the efficiency of the library.

MEMBERS.

Resident :—

On the roll on 1-1-29.	New admissions.	Non-Res. become Resident.	Resigned or ceased to be Members.	Transferred to the Non-Res. list.	Died.	Number of Members on 1-1-30.
488	67	4	58	16	9	476

Non-Resident :—

On the roll on 1-1-29.	New admissions.	Resident become Non-Res.	Resigned or ceased to be Members.	Transferred to the Res. list.	Died.	Number of Members on 1-1-30.
174	20	10	31	4	2	173

Of the 476 Resident Members, 46 are Life-Members, and of the 174 Non-Resident Members, 11 are Life-Members.

OBITUARY.

The Committee regret to record the death of the following Members :—

Resident :—

Mr. Narottam Morarji Gokuldas.

Prof. P. K. Telang, M.A., LL.B.

Mr. M. L. Mehta, B.A., LL.B.

„ K. M. Minocher.

„ P. V. Mowjee.

„ V. F. Vicaji.

Diwan Bahadur P. B. Joshi.

Capt. P. A. Leyden.

Mr. M. S. Rutnagar.

Non-Resident :—

Mr. A. S. Sathe, M.A., B.L.

„ V. H. Naik, M.A., Bar-at-Law.

PAPERS READ AND LECTURES DELIVERED BEFORE THE SOCIETY.

23rd September 1929. A public lecture, illustrated by lantern slides, on "Indian Art and Archæology". By Dr. Kalidas Nag.

(The other papers which were read on the occasion of the celebration of the 125th Anniversary are being published in the 125th Anniversary Journal, N. S. Vol. VI.)

LIBRARY.

Issues :—

Old Books.	New Books.	Loose Periodicals.	Total.	Average per working day.
25,330	13,161	30,469	68,960	237

The total number of issues in the previous year was 72,515.

Additions :—

The total number of volumes added was 1,203, of which 894 were purchased and 309 were presented.

Books presented to the Society were received, as usual, from the Government of India, the Government of Bombay, and other Provincial Governments, as well as from the Trustees of the Parsi Panchayat Funds, other public bodies and individual donors.

Papers and Periodicals :—

A meeting of the Society, under Art. 29 of the Rules, was held on the 22nd of November for the purpose of revising the list of the papers and periodicals received by the Society, and it was decided—

To take the following from 1930 :—

- (1) John O'London and Outline, (2) Prabuddha Bharata and (3) Shilpi ; and

To omit the following from the same date :—

- (1) Times Literary Supplement (2nd copy), (2) Christian Herald, (3) Truth, (4) Bookman (2nd copy), (5) Science Progress, (6) Physical Culture (2nd copy), (7) Hindi Punch (weekly), and (8) Theosophist.

THE JOURNAL.

One joint No. of the Journal, consisting of numbers 1 and 2 of Volume 4, was published during the year. The following are the principal articles in the number :—

- A. Venkatasubbiah : Panchatantra Studies. Nos. 2 and 3.
 G. N. Vaidya : Fire Arms in Ancient India.
 V. S. Bakhle : Satavahanas and the Contemporary Kshatrapas. Part II.
 Y. R. Gupte : Archæological and Historical Research.
 E. M. Ezekiel : Position of Woman in Rabbinical Literature. Part II.
 N. B. Utgikar : Some Points of Contact between the Mahabharata and the Jatakas.
 Shaikh A. Kadir : Persian MSS.
 A. Venkatasubbiah : Vedic Studies.
 V. S. Sukthankar : Epic Studies.

COIN CABINET.

94 coins were added to the Society's Coin Cabinet during the year:—

South India (17 Gold). *Durani* (1 Silver). *Mughal* (62 Silver, 4 Copper). *East India Company* (5 Silver). *Sultans of Malwa* (5 Copper).

TREASURE TROVE COINS.

787 coins were under examination and 562 were received during the year as under:—

6	Silver	from the Collector of Ahmedabad.
77	"	" " " Nasik.
49	"	" " " West Khandesh.
49	"	" " " District Magistrate, Satara.
381	Copper	" " " Collector of Bijapore.

Out of the total of 1,349 coins, 503 were reported to Government and with their approval 483 were distributed to different Institutions and Darbars, 20 being returned to the District Magistrate, Satara, to satisfy the claim of the owner of the land where the find was discovered. 846 coins thus remained with the Society at the end of the year.

The Society's best thanks are due to Mr. G. V. Acharya, B.A., Curator, Archæological Section, Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, Mr. R. G. Gyani, M.A., Assistant Curator, and Mr. C. R. Singhal, the Gallery Assistant, for kindly assisting the Society in examining the Treasure Trove Coins received by the Society. Mr. Acharya examined the Non-Mahomedan coins and Mr. Gyani and Mr. Singhal, the Mahomedan coins.

The Bombay Branch

Abstract of Receipts and Payments

	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
To Balance—1st January 1920.		
Cash on Current Account Imp. Bk. of India.	144 0 3	
Do. Savings Bank do. do. ..	1,200 10 7	
Do. In Office	52 3 0	
		1,397 3 10
To Receipts.		
Subscriptions—		
Resident Life Members	1,500 0 0	
Resident Members	24,119 8 0	
Non-Resident Members	4,106 0 0	
		28,225 8 0
Entrance Fees .. .. .	....	1,560 0 0
Grants : Government .. .. .	....	3,600 0 0
Publications : Journal Sales .. .. .	....	1,004 15 9
Folklore Notes Sales .. .. .	....	4 13 0
Catalogues—		
General		
Sale Proceeds	117 0 0	
Interest from investments	200 0 0	
	317 0 0	
Manuscripts	43 3 0	
Annual	48 8 0	
		408 11 0
Sundry Sales—		
Waste Paper .. .. .	....	80 10 0
Interest—		
Government Securities	1,715 0 0	
Savings Bank	79 2 0	
		1,794 2 0
Replacements .. .. .	....	231 13 0
125th Anniversary Fund .. .. .	....	3,188 4 0
Mackintosh Portrait Fund .. .. .	....	826 0 0
Book Purchase Fund .. .. .	....	100 0 0
		43,022 1 1
Total Rs. ..	....

We have examined the above abstract of Receipts and Payments with the books and vouchers of the Society and we hereby certify the said abstract to be true and correct. We have also ascertained that all the securities as shown belonging to the Society are held for safe custody by the Imperial Bank of India.

W. BATTERSBY PARKS,
A. B. AGASKAR,
Auditors.

Royal Asiatic Society.

for the year ended 31st December 1929.

	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
By Payment.		
Office—		
Establishment	18,400 13 10	
General Charges	714 0 0	
Printing and Stationery	1,372 14 0	
Postage	370 0 0	
Insurance	281 4 0	
Electric Charges	577 9 9	
Provident Fund Contribution	3,004 15 9	24,820 0 10
Library Expenditure—		
Books	0,038 5 3	
Indian Periodicals	503 5 0	
Foreign do.	1,983 14 0	
Book-binding and Repairs	1,240 2 0	
Shelving, Furniture and Fittings	242 13 9	10,074 8 0
Publication Account—		
Journal Printing		1,827 0 0
Catalogues—		
Manuscripts: Printing .. .. .	....	740 0 0
Securities purchased during the year—		
Rs. 1,500, 3½% Indian Loan 1900-01	1,029 6 0	
Rs. 500, 5% Indian Loan (1929-45)	507 3 0	1,530 9 0
125th Anniversary Expenses .. .. .	....	883 9 0
Mackintosh Portrait .. .. .	....	810 1 3
To Balance on 31st December 1920—		
Cash on Current Account Imperial Bank of		
India	802 9 11	
Do. Savings Bank do. do.	1,170 12 7	
Do. In Office	37 5 6	
Loan to the Campbell Memorial Fund	202 0 0	2,311 12 0
Total Rs. ..		43,022 1 1

Invested Funds of the Society.

Nature.	Face value.	Market value.	Allocation.	Rs. a. p.
	Rs.	Rs. a. p.		
3½% Government Securities.	33,700	22,874 0 0	Reserve Fund ..	31,325 13 9
5% Do.	15,300	14,776 4 0	Premchand Roy- chand Fund ..	2,036 4 0
6½% Do.	1,100	1,157 12 0	Catalogue Fund..	4,331 4 0
			Shelving Fund ..	1,114 10 3
	50,100	38,808 0 0		38,808 0 0

EDWARD PARKER,
Hon. Secretary.J. S. TILLEY,
Hon. Fincl. Secretary.

The Bombay Branch

Budget Esti

RECEIPTS.	Budget 1929.	Actual 1929.	Budget 1930.
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Balance	690 0 0	689 4 7	7 1 0
Proceeds of Contingent Fund ..	600 0 0	.....	.....
Entrance Fee	1,750 0 0	1,500 0 0	1,500 0 0
Subn. Resident Members ..	24,500 0 0	24,119 8 0	24,000 0 0
" Non-Resident Members.	4,000 0 0	4,106 0 0	4,000 0 0
Government Contribution ..	3,600 0 0	3,600 0 0	3,600 0 0
Sale of Journal Numbers ..	1,000 0 0	1,004 15 9	1,000 0 0
" Annual Catalogues ..	25 0 0	48 8 0	25 0 0
" Waste Paper	50 0 0	80 10 0	50 0 0
" Manuscript Catalogues ..	200 0 0	43 3 0	200 0 0
" Folklore Notes .. .. .	.....	4 13 0	.....
Interest	1,750 0 0	1,794 2 6	1,800 0 0
	38,165 0 0	37,051 0 10	36,182 1 0
Subn. Resident Life Members ..	.....	1,500 0 0	.....
Sale General Catalogues ..	.....	317 0 0	.....
Replacement .. .. .	.....	231 13 0	.....
125th Anniversary Fund ..	.....	3,188 4 0	.....
Mackintosh Portrait .. .. .	.....	826 0 0	.....
Book Purchase Fund .. .. .	.....	100 0 0	.....
Deficit	536 0 0	.....	.....
Balances of other Funds ..	.....	707 15 3	2,304 11 0
Total Rs. ..	38,701 0 0	43,922 1 1	38,486 12 0

Campbell Memorial

A Statement of Accounts for the

	Rs. a. p.
Balance on 31st December 1928	330 10 4
Interest Credited	222 2 0
Total Rs. ..	558 12 4

Royal Asiatic Society.

ates for 1930.

PAYMENTS.	Budget 1929.	Actual 1929.	Budget 1930.
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Books	7,000 0 0	6,938 5 3	7,000 0 0
Subn. Indian Periodicals	650 0 0	563 5 0	600 0 0
„ Foreign	2,100 0 0	1,983 14 0	2,000 0 0
Journal Printing	1,750 0 0	1,827 0 0	1,200 0 0
Binding and Repairs	1,200 0 0	1,246 2 0	1,200 0 0
Printing and Stationery	1,500 0 0	1,372 14 0	1,000 0 0
Office Establishment	18,500 0 0	18,499 13 10	18,800 0 0
General Charges	825 0 0	714 0 0	800 0 0
Postage	350 0 0	379 0 6	350 0 0
Insurance	282 0 0	281 4 0	282 0 0
Electric Charges	750 0 0	577 9 9	750 0 0
Provident Fund.	2,004 0 0	3,004 15 9	1,550 0 0
Mss. Catalogue Printing	800 0 0	749 0 0	600 0 0
	38,701 0 0	38,137 4 1	30,132 0 0
Library Furniture and Fittings		242 13 9	.....
125th Anniversary Fund		883 0 0	2,304 11 0
Mackintosh Portrait		810 1 3	.....
Government Securities		1,536 0 0	.....
Balance		7 1 0	50 1 0
Balance—125th Anniversary Fund		2,304 11 0	
Total Rs. ..	38,701 0 0	43,922 1 1	38,486 12 0

Fund.

year ending 31st December 1929.

	Rs. a. p.
Balance on 31st December 1929	558 12 4
Total Rs. ..	558 12 4

INVESTED FUNDS

Face value.

5% Government Loan, 1929-47 Rs. 4,500.

Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society Provident Fund.

Income and Expenditure Account for the year ended 31st December 1929.

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To EXPENDITURE.	Rs. a. p.	By INCOME.	Rs. a. p.
Sundry Expenses	11 15 0	Members' Subscription	1,511 0 8
Amount repaid to members	130 7 9	Society's Contribution	1,511 0 8
Balance	3,552 12 7	Interest	673 2 0
Total Rs. ..	3,695 3 4	Total Rs. ..	3,695 3 4

Balance Sheet as at 31st December 1929.

Members' Account.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Balance at 31st December 1928	13,942 0 3		Cash at Bankers
Add Balance for 1929	3,552 12 7			3,776 12 5
	17,494 12 10		Investments at Cost. Rs. 13,500 in 5% Govt. Loan 1945-55
Less—Forfeitures transferred to Reserve Account	125 11 0			14,145 5 0
Reserve Account	17,369 1 10		Total Rs. ..
	552 15 7			17,922 1 5
Total Rs. ..	17,922 1 5	Total Rs. ..	17,922 1 5

We have examined the above accounts together with the Books and Vouchers and found same to be correctly stated. We have also ascertained that the securities relating to the investments of the fund are held for safe custody by the Imperial Bank of India.

EDWARD PARKER,
Hon. Secretary.

J. S. TILLEY,
Hon. Fincl. Secretary.

W. BATTERSBY PARKS,
A. B. AGASKAR,
Hon. Auditors.

Annual Report

The Annual General Meeting of the Society was held on Monday, 31st March 1930.

Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, President, in the Chair.

Present :—Dewan Bahadur K. M. Jhaveri, Mr. V. P. Vaidya, Dr. G. S. Ghurye, Messrs. A. Forrington, K. H. Vakil, C. A. Muchhala, P. V. Kane, T. S. Shejwalkar, R. A. Mehta, B. M. Tarkunde, S. V. Bhandarkar, B. K. Wagle, T. M. Lowji, J. C. Daruvala, Faiz B. Tyabji, V. A. Gadgil, B. A. Fernandes, S. R. Deshpande, G. V. Acharya, C. J. Shah, H. J. Bhabha, F. W. Willis, R. D. Choksi, K. K. Menon, E. L. Everatt, J. E. Aspinwall, E. M. Ezekiel, B. R. T. Greer, M. D. Altekar, A. N. Weling, A. A. A. Fyzee, J. H. Modi, S. V. Karandikar, V. N. Patruni, A. Fotiadi, Prof. A. B. Gajendragadkar, Prof. C. R. Shah, Rev. Fr. H. Heras, Prof. R. P. Patwardhan, Mrs. H. M. Davy, Rev. J. McKenzie, Miss Shantila Desai, Major F. T. Wright, Hon. Mr. J. E. B. Hotson, Miss K. H. Adenwalla, Prof. N. K. Bhagwat, and Dr. Edward Parker.

The minutes of the last Annual General meeting were read and confirmed.

The Hon. Secretary read to the meeting letters from Dr. R. Zimmermann and Mr. T. R. N. Cama regretting their inability to attend the meeting.

Mr. J. E. Aspinwall proposed and Dewan Bahadur K. M. Jhaveri seconded that the Annual Report with the statement of accounts for 1929 and the budget for 1930 be adopted.

On being put to the vote, the Report, with the statement of accounts and the budget, was unanimously adopted.

The President then delivered his address wherein he reviewed the work of the Society during the year under report. He said :—

“ At the end of the Annual Meeting held on 25th March 1926, our colleague Mr. Vakil suggested that, at the Society's Annual Meeting, ‘ the President of the preceding year should make a speech outlining the activities and progress during the year.’ The suggestion was considered by the Managing Committee at its meeting on 8th April 1926. The question was postponed for the next meeting which was held on 25th June 1926 when the Committee left the matter to the discretion of the President. I stand before you to-day

in response to the above suggestion and propose to say a few words to-day.

The Report, just submitted by our Secretary, has placed before you a brief outline of our work during the last year. The most outstanding event of the past year was the celebration of the 125 years' Anniversary of our Society. I beg to thank our Vice-President Mr. Vaidya, our Secretary Dr. Parker, Mr. Aspinwall, and other gentlemen who helped to make the Anniversary function successful. The late Mr. K. R. Cama, one of our Vice-Presidents, presiding at the Iranian section meeting of our Centenary, had expressed his joy saying: "No other institution in Western India has reached the venerable age of a hundred years." Thanks to God, we can now say with greater joy, that last year we reached the more venerable age of 125 years. But the value of the life of a Society, as that of an individual, is not to be measured by the years of its life, but by its activities. Napoleon is said to have told his brother Jerome, that he would rather like to see his brother die at an early age than live a long life without activity.

Looking to the history of the work of our Society during the past 25 years as read before us at the last Anniversary gathering by our Secretary, we find that under the altered circumstances of these 25 years several other Institutes, which we all welcome as our collaborators, have arisen among us. Looking to the fact, that thus the results of the studies of our literary workers are divided among more than one Society, I think we may say that we have done pretty well and that we have well-nigh kept up our pace.

But quantity should not be the main criterion. Quality of papers is the most important thing. To judge of that, out of curiosity, I spent this month several hours in going over our 22nd volume, which is the volume next after our Centenary volume and took down notes, giving a glimpse of our work with my observations during the period covered by that volume, and I find that we have 20 learned papers in that volume covering various branches of Oriental Studies. Again, in this matter of comparison, we must bear in mind that latterly, we have restricted our work of research to a certain extent, and the aims and objects of our Society since its foundation have, to some extent, changed. Sir James Mackintosh founded our Society, in response, as it were,

to a demand from the learned world of Europe. He, in his inaugural speech, speaks of himself as "the representative of the curiosity of Europe". It was in England, before he came to Bombay, that he had formed the idea of founding this Society. He speaks of his work in that direction as a "mission". From the way in which he spoke of the work of Sir William Jones in Calcutta in founding the Asiatic Society of Bengal, it seems that he came with the determined object of becoming the William Jones of Bombay. He spoke of the object of the Society's inquiries to be reducible to two classes, *viz.*, Physical and Moral, using the words in a very broad sense. Among physical inquiries, he included Natural History, Mineralogy, Botany, Meteorology and lastly Medicine. Now, we have, since several years, left inquiries in these physical sciences to various other Societies and Associations. Again recently the Science Congress, held every year in the different cities of India, draws workers in those lines. So, our work is restricted to the second division, *viz.*, moral, which word Mackintosh used not in the restricted sense in which we ordinarily use it but in the sense, in which it is "contra-distinguished from physical".¹

So, looking to that fact also, we have been doing fairly well. But this satisfaction should not lead us to rest upon our past laurels. There is one thing which should ask us to be more alert than the workers of the 19th century. They had to work comparatively in a barren field, with few resources and materials at their disposal. But, now, we have more resources and materials at our disposal to draw help from. Again, we have nowadays a proportionately larger number of workers in various lines whose work in their lines comes readier to our help than in the case of our predecessors.

Now coming to our work, during the past year, as said in our Report, we have published together two numbers. Nos. 1 and 2 of Vol. IV of the New Series, containing in all 9 learned papers.

The first paper is on 'Panchatantra Studies' by Mr. A. Venkatasubbiah. We find that in the matter of the discussion of some names the Pahlavi version is called to help. Oriental learning is much indebted to the Pahlavi in many matters besides this. No Indian book has gone through so many versions into foreign

¹ P. XXI of his Discourse, Vol. I of the Transactions of the Literary Society, New Edition.

languages as this book of Panchatantra. It was Burzo (Buzorghe Meher), the great Persian Minister of Noushirwan the Just (Chosroes I, the Khosru Kobad of Parsee books) who is said to have first translated it into Pahlavi and it was from his Pahlavi translation that it was rendered into Arabic and from Arabic into various languages. It was to the court of the same Persian King Noushirwan that the game of chess, discovered in India, was first carried. It is said that Noushirwan had also got translated into Pahlavi by Burzo three Adhyāyas of the Santiparva of the Mahabharata. The Pahlavi translation is lost but it is said that a Syrian translation from Pahlavi is preserved.¹ The Court of Noushirwan was like an Academy, a place of learning where many learned men of various countries met together. The story of the Seven Greek philosophers of the University of Athens is well known. On being deprived of the freedom of speech in their own country, they are said to have gone to the Court of Noushirwan of whom they spoke as "a philosopher on the throne".² His name and fame are said to have, at one time, charmed many great men on our side. In the 16th century during the times of the Moguls who had come from the direction of Persia, the Gahilot Rajput princes are said to have taken pride in tracing their descent to this Persian Monarch.³

Mr. G. N. Vaidya, in the article headed "Fire Arms in Ancient India", discusses the question whether gun-
Fire-Arms in Ancient India. powder and fire-arms were used in warfare in ancient India. Halhead, Elliot, Bohlen, Wilson and Oppert have, according to our author, said that gunpowder was known among the ancient Indians. Recently, after the discovery

¹ Vienna Oriental Journal Vol. 25, p. 37 (1911). Vide Mr. N. B. Utgikar's paper on "Our Mahābhārata Work" Journal of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Vol. IV (1922-3), Part 2, p. 107.

² "Essays on the Latin Orient" by Dr. W. Miller, p. 31. It is said of these philosophers that they had become misproud in their country. "They regarded themselves as demi-gods and the rest of mankind as donkeys."

³ (a) JASB. New Series Vol. XV, No. 1. (b) Tod's Rajasthan "Routledge's Ed. Vol. I, pp. 180-05. (c) Jarret's Āin-i Akbari II, p. 208. This view of the descent of the Rajputs from Noushirwan is now attempted to be disproved by Mr. R. R. Hilder in the Indian Antiquary of September 1927, p. 160.

of Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra (written in about 320 B.C.) by Dr. Shama Shastri, to whom our Society has awarded its Campbell medal for his discovery, that work also is brought into use to support the above view. Our author says that fire-arms were used by the ancients but these fire-arms were nothing like our modern guns in which gunpowder is used for explosion, but they were some instruments from which arrows with burning rags or something like these were thrown towards the enemies. After critically examining the whole question from various points of view, our author concludes that gunpowder was not known to the ancient Hindus.

In this connection I beg to draw the attention of our members to an article in the East and West of September 1919 on "The Ancient Indian Navy" by Mr. S. K. Swami. The author says that the art of building ships existed in India from ancient times and Indians went to Germany and even to England about 800 years before Alfred the Great. This author also says that in the 4th century A. C. they manufactured Gunpowder here and used guns. Indians had guns in the time of Alexander the Great. The ships of those times called *bagga* or the budyerow were 74 feet long, 25 feet broad and $11\frac{1}{2}$ feet deep. Their tonnage was 150 tons.

Mr. V. S. Bakhle's paper on the "Satavahanas and the contemporary Ksatrapas" suggests, here and there, some points of comparison with the institutions of ancient Iran. Mr. Bakhle begins his paper by saying: "The system of governing during the period was certainly monarchical" (p. 39). That was the case in ancient Iran also. It seems that, in the early period of all Aryan or Indo-Germanic States, that was the case. But their monarchy was "limited monarchy". If there was any despotism, that was of later growth. In the times of what we may call the pre-historic history of Iran, i.e., the history of times anterior to that of which the history is determined by chronology, there was limited monarchy. Loyalty to the ruling monarch was the ruling characteristic, but the loyalty was not blind loyalty. As said by Mr. Bakhle, though there was no "organised institution of state to voice forth the people's view", (*ibid*) still, the people "had a voice in the administration and enjoyed local self-government". (*ibid*). I think that, that was true of many branches of the ancient

Aryan or Indo-Germanic stock. That was true of Iran and that was true of ancient Germany and even of ancient England. In this connection I will draw the attention of members to my paper on "The Ancient Germans. Their History, Constitution, Religion, Manners and Customs", read before the Anthropological Society of Bombay.¹ In the case of ancient Germany, we not only see something like the "Nigamasabhā or the Township Corporation" (*ibid*), mentioned in the Kṣaharāta inscription at Nasik, but parallels of the customs of Sati,² prohibition of widow marriage, and of inter-marriage as prevalent in India. Of the Indian administrative divisions, referred to by Mr. Bakhle, *viz.*, Deṣa or Rāṣṭra at the head, followed by Viṣaya, Āhāra and Patha or Pathaka, we have a parallel in ancient Iran in its division of nmāna, viça, zantu and danghu, the administrative heads of which were spoken of as nmānō-paiti, viç-paiti, zantu-paiti and danghu-paiti. The wives of these administrators also held some status in Society and were spoken of with respect as nmano-pathni, viç-pathni, zantu-pathni and danghu-pathni. Mr. Bakhle speaks of Maṇḍala as being used later on, for Deṣa or Rāṣṭra. We see this in the case of the town of Naosari, the headquarters of the Parsee priesthood, which is spoken of in later documents as Nag mandal.

Among the officers of the Court, there was the Lekhaka, whom M. Senart and others took to be, in the literal sense of the word, a mere writer, but Mr. Bakhle takes as "a high ministerial officer" analogous to our modern "Secretary to Government". I think he is right, because we find from the Shāhnāmeh, that a navisandeh, which, like lekhaka, means a writer, held a high post in the royal courts of ancient Iran. Among the military officers, the Senā-pati, referred to in the paper, corresponds to the Sepāh-būd of the Iranians.

On the subject of the four varnas, we read in the paper: "Whatever the condition of the four varṇas in ancient times, however strict the restrictions about connubium and comentality

¹ Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. X., pp. 636-82. *Vide* my Anthropological Papers Part II, pp. 255-301.

² *Vide* my Paper on "The Antiquity of the Custom of Sati", Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. XIII, pp. 412-24. *Vide* my Anthropological Papers, Part IV, pp. 100-21.

during the early part, at any rate, of the period we are considering there was undoubtedly considerable amalgamation between them during the regime of the foreign Kṣatrapas". (p. 49.) These foreign kṣatrapas or satraps were from the direction of Iran and so, possibly, they helped or encouraged the amalgamation. I will here draw the attention of members, interested in the question, to my paper "Whether there was Caste in Iran" ¹. In ancient Iran, there was something like a caste system, only as far as the different professions or trades were concerned, but not in the matter of interdining or intermarriage. So, the foreign Kṣatrapas from the direction of Iran, perhaps, encouraged here what they had in their own country.

Mr. Y. R. Gupte's paper on "Archæological and Historical Research. Its scope in the Satara District" is interesting from several points of view. Mr. Gupte very properly says, that "Archæology has of late attracted the learned world". Thanks to the energy of Sir John Marshall, whose name with that of Lord Curzon who procured for us a John Marshall, will be long remembered. We reap excellent harvests in the fields cultivated by the Science of Archæology. This paper creates, among general readers, a taste for archæology, which Mr. Gupte very properly explains in its very broad sense of "the science of antiquities or a treatise on ancient usages, customs, architecture and so forth" (p. 82.) So one can be a little of an archæologist without holding or directing a spade for excavations.

In this connection I beg to draw the attention of members to a great field for archæological work in the Salsette which is almost next door to us. While having a glimpse into the work of our Society during the last 25 years, looking into the first volume of that period (Vol. XXII), I read in the Annual Report of 1905, that our Society had secured "three Hindu figures of black stone of about the 9th century A.D. from Parjāpur, Salsette". We know, that before the rise and growth of the city of Bombay, Salsette was the seat of commercial and ruling activity and Parjāpur was a seat of Government. One of our former Honorary Secretaries, the late Mr. S. M. Edwardes, who was well known here for

¹ Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. XIII, 8. pp. 816-22. *Vide* my Anthropological Papers, Part IV, pp. 199-205.

his literary activity, was the discoverer at Parjāpur of some antiquities which he himself had excavated¹. I remember with pleasure my meeting him, one morning, at Andheri and then at his suggestion, visiting this place of his excavations.

One of our former members, Mr. Carter, possessing the same literary and antiquarian tastes as Mr. Edwardes, proposed at one time that "a field club" may be founded in Bombay for exploring Salsette from an archæological point of view, and I remember his calling a meeting in one of our rooms for the purpose. The movement bore no fruit but I beg to recommend that some enthusiastic young members of our Society may again move in the matter and found "a Field Club" for amateur explorations in the Salsette. The members may divide themselves into small groups and meeting once a week or fortnight, explore different parts of Salsette from an antiquarian point of view. Salsette is rich in the matter of such antiquities. I take this opportunity to tell you, that recently, an old Hindu temple has been excavated by the Archæological Department about the distance of a mile from the Parjāpur excavations of Mr. Edwardes. It gives me great pleasure to say, that I had the good fortune to discover the plot and draw the attention of Sir John Marshall to it. During my morning walks when I occasionally lived at Andheri for some months now and then, I passed across a certain plot on the banks of a large tank (*talāo*), the surroundings of which made me think that the place must be the site of some old building. Every time I passed by that spot, the same thought occurred to me, but I hesitated to write, taking it that, perhaps, I may be wrong. One morning, perhaps it was the psychological moment, when I made up my mind to write. I wrote and I succeeded. But my suggestion took some time to fructify. Sir John Marshall kindly wrote to the Superintendent of Archæology, Western India at Poona, who referred the matter to the Collector of Thana. I remember going one morning from Bombay to meet Mr. Carter, the then Collector of the district, to point out the spot to him. The Superintendent of Archæology kindly looked into the matter, excavated and dug out the remains of an old Hindu temple of about the 10th or 12th century. When, thereafter, I visited the place about two years ago, I was extremely glad

¹ *Vide the East and West of 1905.*

to find there the usual board, saying that the plot was under the protection of the Monument Act. As a result of some of my correspondence of archæological interests with the Archæological Department, I had the pleasure of having the honour of being nominated its Corresponding member; and so, I felt gratified, that by my discovery of the spot, I had, in my own humble way, justified my above nomination¹.

Prof. Ezekiel's second paper on "the position of women in Rabbinical Literature" is a well-authenticated paper, wherein the author supports his view of the position of women, as learnt from Hebrew books, by the statements of well-known writers. The paper is also interesting from a Parsee point of view.

¹ After writing the above, I received only yesterday a letter, dated 29th March, from Mr. G. B. Chandra, Superintendent of the Archæological Survey, Western Circle, in reply to mine of the 28th instant, wherein he writes:—"To me it appears the temple was erected between the 10th and 12th Century A. D. but the two rock-cut cisterns close by are of much earlier date". Mr. Chandra kindly sends me also a copy of his report which is in press and which he says, will be published very shortly. Hoping that the Report may interest some of you who may visit the place, I give it here:—

(Extract from the conservation portion of the Annual Progress Report of the Western Circle for the year 1927-28):—

"At the suggestion of Dr. J. J. Modi of Bombay, a site of an ancient ruined temple in a garden at Mulgaon, situated at a distance of about 3 miles from Andheri Station on the B. B. & C. I. Railway in the Bombay Suburban District, was examined departmentally. The temple was hopelessly damaged probably by the Portuguese as stones belonging to the monument are still to be seen in the masonry of the graves existing in the garden. Nothing more remains of the temple except its wide basement on uneven rock constructed of long and thick slabs of stones, joined together without mortar by clamps and dowels. On this basement clear cut lines can be traced giving an idea of the extent of the masonry of the plinth. Three small relie-caskets of copper were recovered from the three of the four small hollows in the base blocks of the four corner pillars of the main shrine or garbhagriha. These caskets contain nothing but earth. It is just possible that the contents were taken purposely from a *samadhi* of a Hindu religious teacher. Thus, it may be that the monument is a *samadhi*-temple built in memory of one whose dead body was presumably cremated on the eastern bank of a big tank standing close to the west-side of the Hindu temple. Such relie caskets from the garbhagriha of a Hindu temple are unique as no such instances have been hitherto noticed."

As regards marriages with foreigners, Prof. Ezekiel says: "Though intermarriage with the gentiles was forbidden to the Jews, the Hebrew military class were allowed to marry foreign women captured in distant wars." (p. 95.) Many of the customs and manners of the Hebrews were similar to those of the ancient Iranians with whom they had come into close contact. The above is an instance of that kind. The ancient Iranians also as a rule did not like intermarriages with foreigners, but they made exceptions in some cases and permitted Iranians marrying foreign wives. For example Chosroes I embodies a condition in his treaty with the Arabs of Yemen, after his conquest of that part of Arabia, that if Iranians married Arab women that will be permitted but the marriage of Iranian women with Arabs will not be tolerated¹. Mas'ūdī² also refers to a similar custom.

In the matter of the closer contact of the Hebrews with the ancient Iranians, I may draw the attention of members to an interesting paper³ by Prof. Rehotsek in one of our former Journals, entitled "Contact of the Jews with the Assyrians, Babylonians, and Persians, from the Division of the Hebrew Monarchy into two kingdoms (B.C. 975) till the Entrance of Alexander the Great into Jerusalem (B.C. 333) and a view of Jewish Civilization".⁴

Prof. Ezekiel says of the Kethubeh or Marriage-deeds that they were intended "to safeguard the interests of the bride" and adds that "it was after the return of the Jews from Babylon that the Rabbis considered the necessity of securing the future of the girls". (page 104.) This then seemed to be the result of the close contact of the Hebrews with the Iranians at Babylon during their captivity there. The Iranian customs, as a rule, looked to the

¹ Vide my paper on the "Physical Character of the Arabs". (Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. XI, No. 7, pp. 724-768. Vide my Anthropological Papers, Part III, pp. 8-51.)

² Maşoudi, Trad. Barbier de Meynard, Vol. I, p. 221.

³ Journal of the B. B. Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XII, pp. 219-99. For a brief Summary and Review of that paper, see my "Glimpse into the work of the B. B. Royal Asiatic Society during the last 100 years from a Parsee point of view" in my separate publication pp. 73-79.

⁴ Vide my Paper "Glimpse into the Work of the B. B. Royal Asiatic Society during the last 100 years from a Parsee point of view" *op. cit.* (pp. 76-77 of the separate print).

interests of the bride. These marriage deeds were something like our modern marriage-trusts. This part of the paper will, I think, be found interesting for our modern lawyers in their study of the present marriage customs.

Prof. Ezeliel refers to the ancient Assyrians as having some marriage customs similar to those of the Hebrews. I think some parallels may be found with those of the ancient Iranians. The Parsees have an old Pahlavi book named "Madigān-i-Hazār Dādistān". I had the pleasure of publishing it in facsimile with an Introduction in 1901, under the auspices of the Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Translation Fund in the hands of the Trustees of the Panchayet. The Trustees are now publishing a translation of this treatise by Mr. Sohrab J. Bulsara. This translation will be of use to Prof. Ezekiel for some parallels and I think that Mr. Bulsara will also be benefited by closely studying Prof. Ezekiel's paper and the original texts referred to.

What Prof. Ezekiel says about a minimum sum of 200 *denarii* having been fixed for a virgin reminds one of the modern Āshirwād or Blessing ceremony of marriage among the Parsees, the senior officiating priest makes a mention of 2000 dinars of pure white silver and two in dirams of red gold of Nishapore (coinage) (*dō hazār dinār sīm o safīd āvīzak va dō deherum-i zari-sōrkh i Shehr-i Nishāpuri*). I think this mention is a relic of an old Iranian custom, whereby the bride-groom fixed for the bride a certain payment—call it a dowry or marriage settlement—and the above sum was either the minimum or the maximum, more likely the latter.

Prof. Ezekiel says that "Polygamy was looked upon with disfavour by the prophets and the scribes". But, in spite of that, it prevailed to some extent, and he, with the authority of Whewell says that "polygamy among the Jews, ceased after the return from the Babylonian exile" (p. 108). This may be pointed as an instance of the influence of Iranians at Babylon. The Iranians of the Avesta times though there may, here and there, be cases of more than one wife under exceptional cases, were, as a rule, monogamous. Again, in disapproving celibacy and in believing sterility as a curse, the Hebrews held the same view as the Iranians.

Prof. Utgikar, whose deep interest in the study of the Mahābhārata, we know well, in his article, entitled "Some points of contact between the Mahābhārata and the Jātakas" says that "some of the stories contained in the Mahābhārata have been found to occur in some other works". (p. 116.) He then instances the Jātakas as one of such works. I may say that the Shāhnāmeh of Firdausi is another of such works. I remember the late Prof. Darmesteter, reading, in this very room in 1887, paper entitled "The striking similarity between the episode in the Mahābhārata known as the renunciation of Yudhisthira, king of Delhi and the renunciation of Kaikhosro in the Shah-nameh,"¹ and I also remember the late lamented Mr. Kashinath Trimbak Telang, entering, at the end of the paper, "a mild caveat" against the conclusion come to by the Professor, that the Indian story "was borrowed from Persian, either through literary connection or from old tradition". Prof. Darmesteter also attempted to show that the Persian legend was also borrowed to the last detail by the Hebrew writer of the Sepher Hayashar, a legendary history of the Jewish people, written in the Middle Ages, and applied to Patriarch Enoch." The mild caveat of Mr. Telang drew from the pen of Prof. Darmesteter, on his return to Paris, a paper named "Points de Contact entre le Mahābhārata et le Shāh-nāmeh".²

Papers by Mahomedan scholars are very rare in our Journal. They are very few and far between on our side. So, we are glad to find Prof. Surfraz contributing a paper in our Journal on "Persian Mss. belonging to the Government Collection, now deposited in the library of the University of Bombay". The Mss. treated in the paper were collected by Prof. Surfraz, who promises us a descriptive catalogue. Some of the Mss. are, he says, very rare. One of such is his Ms. No. 2 *Ashjār wa athmār* (اشجار و اثمار) i.e. "Trees and fruits" which describes a comet that appeared in our country in 1264 A.C. In this connection, I will refer members, interested in the subject, to my paper entitled "An Account of the Comets as given by Mahomedan Historians and as contained in the books of

¹ Jour. B.B.R.A.S. Vol. XVII, Abstract of Proceedings, pp. II-IV. (Vide my Glimpse into the Works of the B.B.R.A.S. *op. cit.* pp. 97-98.)

² Journal Asiatique 1887. Huitième Serie. Tome X, pp. 38-75.

the Pīshīnigāns or the Ancient Persians referred to by Abu Fazl".¹

The next two papers "Vedic Studies" by Mr. A. Venkatasubbiah and "Epic Studies" by Dr. V. S. Sukthankar are scholarly papers on strictly philological Sanskrit subjects on which I am not in a position to say much. They do credit to our Journal from a strictly scientific point of view. Dr. Sukthankar's paper is a polite reply to two distinguished scholars who have suggested certain amendations to his readings of certain words in the text of the Mahābhārata which he edits.

While finishing my humble survey of the literary work, done during the past year and as embodied in our Journal, I beg to convey to all the learned writers, the thanks of the Society for kindly enriching the Journal of the Society by the results of their studies. I also thank the scholars who have kindly taken the trouble of reviewing some publications sent to them for the purpose by our Editor. I conclude by wishing all prosperity and useful work to the Society during the next period of 25 years. May God grant that you all live long, healthy and hearty, to hear the words of encouragement and progress from the then President, the President of the year 1954.

Mr. K. H. Vakil, with the permission of the meeting, thanked Dr. Modi for his learned review of the Society's activities, and congratulated him on the healthy precedent he had set.

The meeting thereafter proceeded to elect the Committee of Management for 1930 and the following were duly elected :—

President :

Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi.

Vice-Presidents :

Mr. V. P. Vaidya.

Mr. P. V. Kane.

Mr. S. V. Bhandarkar.

Hon. Mr. J. E. B. Hotson, I.C.S.

¹ Journal of the B. B. Royal Asiatic Society Vol. XXIII pp. 147 *et seq.* Vide my Asiatic Papers, Part III, pp. 247-273.

Members:

- | | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. Dewan Bahadur K. M. Jhaveri. | 8. Prof. A. B. Gajendragadkar. |
| 2. Mr. A. A. A. Fyzee. | 9. Mr. M. D. Altekar. |
| 3. Mr. J. E. Aspinwall. | 10. Rev. Fr. H. Heras. |
| 4. Prof. P. A. Wadia. | 11. Prof. H. D. Velankar. |
| 5. Mr. G. V. Acharya. | 12. Prof. E. M. Ezekiel. |
| 6. Dr. G. S. Ghurye. | 13. Mr. J. S. Tilley. |
| 7. Mr. B. K. Wagle. | 14. Prof. K. T. Shah. |
| | 15. Mr. R. C. Goffin. |

Mr. Aspinwall suggested that a provision should be made in the Rules for inviting nominations from members to the Managing Committee and that these nominations should be placed on the board in the library at least a week before the Annual Meeting.

Prof. Gajendragadkar proposed that a hearty vote of thanks be given to the Auditors, Messrs. A. B. Agaskar and W. Battersby Parks, for having assisted the Society by auditing its accounts of 1929, and that they be requested kindly to extend their assistance during the current year.

Mr. V. P. Vaidya seconded the proposition which was carried unanimously.

Mr. Vaidya proposed and Mr. Bhandarkar seconded that the following recommendation of the Managing Committee be accepted:—

“That Mr. J. E. Saklatwala be granted an exemption from payment of the Entrance Fee”.

Carried.

The meeting concluded with a cordial vote of thanks to the Chair which was carried with applause.

LIST OF MEMBERS
OF THE
BOMBAY BRANCH
OF THE
Royal Asiatic Society.

- † Resident Life Members.
* Non-Resident Members.
*† Non-Resident Life Members.

Patron.

H. E. Sir FREDERICK SYKES, P.C., G.C.I.E., G.B.E., K.C.B., C.M.G.,
Governor of Bombay.

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- 1928 ABHYANKAR, S. Y., High Court Vakil, Topivala Mansion, San-
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- 1922 ABU N. FATEHALLY, 19, Bank Street, Bombay 1.
- 1921 ACHARYA, G. V., B.A., Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay 1.
- †1920 ADENWALA, KAIKUSHIROO R., Cumballa Hill, Bombay 6.
- †1923 ADENWALLA, Miss SEHRA K., 33, Pedder Road, Bombay 6.
- 1927 ADHIKARI, J. M., Dr. Kothari's Dispensary, Hill Road, Bandra.
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- 1893 AGA KHAN, H. H. Sir, G.C.S.I., Marina Mansions, Bombay 7.
- †1914 AGASKAR, ANANDRAO B., B.A., LL.B., 46F, Warden Rd., Bombay 6.
- 1924 AIYAR, K. S., Bombay House, Bruce Street, Bombay 1.
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- 1917 ALTEKAR, MADHAV D., M.A., Lokamanya Nivas, Ville Parlo.
- 1920 ALTON, W. J. d', Imperial Bank of Persia, Bombay 1.
- *1910 AMBALAL SARABHAI, The Retreat, Shahibag, Ahmedabad.
- †1928 AMY B. H. J. RUSTOMJI, Miss, 8, Colaba Road, Bombay 5.
- 1931 ANDREW, L. B., Port Trust, Bombay.

- 1919 ARTE, WAMAN S., Peerbhoy Mansion, Sandhurst Road, Bombay 4.
 1892 APYAKHTIAR, B. N., Arab's Bungalow, Khetwadi 12th Lane, Bombay 4.
 1921 ARTE, M. B., M.A., Royal Institute of Science, Bombay 1.
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 1900 ASPINWALL, J. E., Elphinstone Circle, Bombay 1.
 1921 ATA HUSAIN, B.A., Educational Inspector, Bombay.
 1929 ATKINS, H. B., Wilkinson, Heywood and Clark, Sprott Road, Bombay.
 1923 BAKER, A. H., W. H. Brady & Co., Churchgate Street, Bombay 1.
 1927 BAKER, The Hon. Mr. Justice W. T. W., I.C.S., High Court, Bombay.
 1920 BAKHLE, S. R., LL.B., Godavarinivas, Damar Lane, Bombay 7.
 *1927 BAKHLE, V. S., M.A., LL.B., 276, Yadogopal Peth, Satara City.
 *1902 BALASAHEB PANT PRATNIDHI, Shrimant, Aundh, Satara District.
 *1924 BALKRISHNA, Dr., M.A., Ph.D., Rajaram College, Kolhapur.
 †1894 BALKRISHNA VINAYAK WASUDEV, B.A., 46F, Warden Road, B'bay 6.
 1907 BALL, H. P., C/o B. B. & C. I. Ry., Churchgate, Bombay 1.
 1929 BALLEK, E. C., Czechoslovak Consulate, Rampart Row, Bombay.
 1929 BALSEKAR, Dr. N. S., M.B.B.S., 44, Gamdevi Road, Bombay 7.
 1925 BANAJI, SORAB J., Sandhurst Bldg., Mereweather Road, Bombay 1.
 †1917 BANSUDE, Princess SAVITRIBAI SAHEB, Tukogunj, Indore.
 1923 BAPASOLA, R. N., Mubarakh Manzil, Apollo Street, Bombay 1.
 *1929 BARFIWALA, C. D., Juhu Lane, Andheri.
 1924 BARKER, A. W., Longmans Green & Co., 53, Nicol Rd., Bombay 1.
 *1919 BARRON, W. G., Excise Department, Castle Rock.
 *1925 BARVE, Dr. RAGHUNATH A., L.R.C.P. & S., Tampore, Thana Dist.
 1929 BATEY, C., Chartered Bank Building, Bombay 1.
 1926 BATLIVALA, R. D., C/o The Bank of India, Bombay 1.
 *1930 BATLIWALA, SOLI S., Kikabhoy Bungalow, Nasik Road.
 *1929 BAVDEKAR, R. S., I.C.S., (Bombay) .
 1930 BEAUMONT, The Hon. Justice Sir John, Bombay 1.
 †1916 BEHR, Mrs. N. E., Solrab Mansion, Marzban Road, Bombay 1.
 1924 BELGAMVALA, N. H., " Bombay Chronicle," Bombay 1.
 *†1915 BELVALKAR, Dr. SHRIPAD KRISHNA, M.A., Ph.D., Bhamburda, Poona.
 1928 BENES, Dr. O., Czechoslovak Consulate, 28, Rampart Row, B'bay 1.
 1930 BERNARD, A. H., Greaves Cotton & Co., Forbes Street, Bombay 1.
 1921 BEVIS, Miss K., Queen Mary High School, Bombay 4.
 1915 BHABHA, H. J., M.A., Mount Pleasant Road, Bombay 6.
 1930 BHAGAT, J. G., Advocate, High Court, Bombay.
 1922 BHAGWAT, Prof. N. K., M.A., St. Xavier's College, Bombay 1.

- 1930 BHAGWAT, P. M., B.A., LL.B., Mauj Printing Press, Khatao Wadi, Bombay 4.
- 1930 BHANDARKAR, Prof. S. S., B.A., Elphinstone College, Bombay 1.
- 1918 BHANDARKAR, SHIVRAM V., B.A., LL.B., Tata Blocks, Bandra.
- *1910 BHANDARKAR, V. G., LL.B., Bhamburda, Poona.
- †1912 BHARUCHA, F. E., M.A., LL.B., Canada Bldg., Fort, Bombay 1.
- †1931 BHARUCHA, M. R., Empire of India Life Office, Fort, Bombay.
- 1929 BHAT, A. R., M. Com., Sardar Griha, Carnac Road, Bombay.
- *1928 BHATE, Principal G. C., M.A., Mahad, Colaba Dist.
- 1928 BHATIA, Major SOHAN LAL, I.M.S., Mt. Pleasant Road, Bombay 6.
- *1920 BHAVE, SHIVRAM G., LL.B., Wai, Satara District.
- 1920 BILIMORIA, B. A., Batlivala and Karani, Dalal Street, Bombay 1.
- *1923 BILIMORIA, M. D., P. O. Box 167, Rangoon.
- 1922 BODAS, MAHADEO R., M.A., LL.B., 46, Khotachi Wadi, Bombay 4.
- *1929 BOGA, Miss MARY, A. E., Ice Factory, Amritsar (Punjab).
- *1921 BOGGS, The Rev. A. M., Nurasaravupeta, Guntur District, S. I.
- 1928 BOLTON, J. R. G., Times of India, Bombay 1.
- 1911 BOMANJI, K. R., C.S., Meher Building, Chawpaty, Bombay 7.
- 1919 BRANDER, J. P., I.C.S. (Bombay).
- 1931 BRIGGS, A. E., Telegraph Office, Bombay 1.
- 1921 BROOMFIELD, The Hon. Mr. Justice R. S., I.C.S., Bombay.
- 1928 BROWN, A. W. C., 16, Bank Street, Bombay 1.
- 1912 BROWN, B., James Finlay & Co., Esplanade Road, Bombay.
- *1927 BROWN, L. N., I.C.S. (Bombay).
- *1928 BURWAY, M. W., B.A., 12, Imli Bazar, Indore City.
- 1930 BUTCHER, B., Oxford University Press, Bombay 1.
- 1915 BUTLER, H. E., D.S.P. (Bombay).
- †1919 CAMA, DADABHAI F., 4, Pedder Road, Bombay 6.
- †1883 CAMA, Khan Bahadur JEHANGIR K. R., Temple Road, Nagpur.
- †1880 CAMA, RUSTAM K. R., Yusuf Building, Esplanade Road, Bombay 1.
- †1909 CAMA, T. R. N., 23, Meadows Street, Bombay 1.
- 1930 CAMPBELL, Lt.-Comdr. P. S., I. T. S. Dufferin, Bombay 10.
- 1911 CAPTAIN, Mrs. G. M. S., 96, Murzabanabad, Andheri.
- 1906 CAPTAIN, M. S., Solicitor, 121, Esplanade Rd., Bombay 1.
- 1923 CHAGLA, MUHAMMAD ALI CARIM, Bar-at-Law, High Court, Bombay 1.
- 1928 CHAMBERS, E. M., Crawford Bayley & Co., Ewart House, Bombay 1.
- 1924 CHANDA AMIRUDDIN MUCHHALA, 103, Mody Street, Bombay 1.
- 1927 CHANDAVARKAR, V. N., Bar-at-Law, Pedder Road, Bombay 6.
- 1923 CHOKSEY, Prof. R. D., M.A., Wilson College, Bombay 7.
- 1930 CHRISTIE, The Rev. G. N., M.A., 2, Sassoon Dock Road, Bombay.

- 1922 CHUNILAL GIRDHARLAL, 24, Charchgate Street, Bombay 1.
 1920 CLARKE, A. D. M., P. Chrystal & Co., Fort, Bombay.
 *†1892 COELHO, S., M.A.
 1925 COGHLAN, J. A., D.S.P. (Bombay).
 1928 COLLINS, G. F. S., I.C.S. (Bombay).
 *1905 COMMISSARIAT, Prof. M. S., M.A., Gujarat College, Ahmedabad.
 1922 COOPER, A. L., J. Duxbury & Co., Hornby Road, Bombay 1.
 *1922 COVERNTON, S. H., I.C.S. (Bombay).
 1925 COX, F. S., Millar's Timber and Trading Co., Bombay 8.
 1909 COYAJI, H. C., High Court, Bombay 1.
 1931 CRUIKSHANK, Mrs. N. B., 3, Knight House, Colaba, Bombay.
 1921 CURRY, J. E. PRINGLE, Government Shipping Office, Bombay 10.
 †1921 DABHOLKAR, LAXMIKANT S., Anadakanan, Chowpaty, Bombay 7.
 †1924 DABHOLKAR, MANGESH A., Chowpaty, Bombay 7.
 1914 DABHOLKAR, Sir VASANTRAO A., Kt., C.B.E., Chowpaty, Bombay 7.
 1921 DADACHANJI, Dr. K. K., Fatch Manzil, New Queen's Road, B'bay 4.
 1914 DALAL, A. R., I.C.S. (Bombay).
 1924 DALAL, M. B., Marine Villa, Colaba, Bombay 5.
 †1913 DALAI, RUSTOMJI D., Sardar's Palace, Apollo Street, Bombay 1.
 1921 DALVI, D. G., M.A., LL.B., 217, Charni Road, Bombay 4.
 1921 DAMANTA, MANEKLAL G., Chowpaty, Bombay 7.
 *1928 DAMLE, B. R., B.A., LL.B., Acharya's Wada, Thana.
 1924 DAPHTARY, BALKISAN, 13-10, Meadows Street, Bombay 1.
 1923 DAPHTARY, CHANDRAKISAN, M.A., Bar-at-Law, 109, Meadows Street
 Bombay 1.
 1924 DARUVALA, J. C., 74, Walkeshwar Road, Bombay 6.
 1926 DASTUR, H. P., Bar-at-Law, Presidency Magistrate, Bombay 1.
 *†1920 DASTUR, Dr. N. H., Udwada, Surat District.
 1930 DAVAR, J. S., Bar-at-Law, 123, Esplanade Road, Bombay.
 1904 DAVAR, Dr. M. B., M.A., Ph.D., 165, Lamington Road, Bombay 7.
 1926 DAVAR, Mrs. V. J. D., Nepean Sea Road, Bombay 6.
 1926 DAVID, DAVID VICTOR, 4, Queen's Road, Bombay.
 1931 DAVIES, Mrs. SYBIL B., Miramar, Colaba, Bombay 5.
 *1910 DAVIS, G., I.C.S. (Bombay).
 1929 DAVIS, Commander H. L., R. I. M. Dockyard, Bombay 1.
 *1930 DAVY, Mrs. H. M., (Queen's Mansion Hotel, Bombay).
 1927 DELAFONTAINE, A., West End Watch Co., Esplanade Rd., Bombay.
 1891 DEMONTE, Mgr. Dr. B., D.D., J.P., Cathedral Street, Bombay 2.
 1887 DEMONTE, Dr. A., M.D., Summit View, Bandra.
 1929 DENSO, W., Lloyd Tricestino S. N. Co., Nicol Road, Bombay.

- 1922 DESAI, BHULABHAI J., Advocate, Warden Road, Bombay 6.
1925 DESAI, Dr. K. J., B.A., L.M. & S., 56, Ridge Road, Bombay 6.
1928 DESAI, Mrs. LILAYATI MANGALDAS, C/o Rustomji Jinwala, Solicitors,
Esplanade Road, Bombay.
- *1928 DESAI, Prof. M. B., Karnatak College, Dharwar.
1926 DESAI, R. K., B.A., B.Sc. (Lond.), Bar-at-Law, Vile Parle.
1929 DESAI, T. D., 31, Nanabhai Lane, Fort, Bombay.
1930 DESHMUKH, Dr. G. V., M.D., F.R.C.S., 39, Pedder Road, Bombay 6.
1928 DESHPANDE, S. R., Labour Office, Secretariat, Bombay 1.
- *1930 DEVLALKAR, Prof. T. K., M.A., B.Sc., Karnatak College, Dharwar.
1924 DHURANDHAR, J. R., B.A., LL.B., Shanti Kunj, Khar.
1927 DICKINSON, F., Duncan Stratton & Co., Fort, Bombay 1.
- *1925 DIKSHIT, K. N., M.A., Archaeological Survey, E. C., Calcutta.
1921 DIVATLA, H. V., Maharaja Mansion, Sandhurst Road, Bombay 4.
1922 DIVATIA, Prof. N. B., B.A., Elphinstone College, Bombay 1.
- *1925 DORAN, H. F., B. B. & C. I. Ry., Fatehgarh, U. P.
- *†1919 DORDI, Dr. J. B., Navsari.
1927 DOSTMUHAMMAD MUNJEE, 12-13, Dougall Road, Bombay 1.
1930 DOUGLAS, J. D., Mackinnon Mackenzie & Co., Bombay 1.
1921 DOW, H., I.C.S. (Bombay).
1924 DUNLOP, J., Imperial Bank of India, Nagpur.
1930 EASTERBROOK, N., Heatley and Gresham, Hornby Rd., Bombay.
1924 EDWARDS, H. B., Reuters Ltd., Hornby Rd., Bombay 1.
1924 EVERATT, E. L., Port Trust, Bombay 1.
- *1920 EYES, GRAVES, Barsi Light Railway, Kurduwadi, S. M. C.
1917 EZEKIEL, Prof. E. M., B.A., LL.B., 14, Don Tad Cross Lane,
Khadak, Bombay 3.
- *1929 FARRAN, Prof. A. C., I.E.S., Deccan College, Poona.
1924 FERARD, R. L., David Sassoon & Co., Esplanade Road, Bombay 1.
1930 FERGUSON, J., Greaves Cotton and Co., Forbes Street, Bombay 1.
1924 FERNANDES, B. A., 66, Carter Road, Bandra, Thana District.
1928 FINAN, A., Radio Club, 5, Queen's Road, Bombay.
1914 FLEMING, R., Prier de Saone & Co., Bombay 1.
1930 FLETCHER, T., Imperial Chemical Industries, Hornby Road, Bombay.
1925 FORBES, D. N., M.A., LL.B., Motilal Mansion, Hammam Street,
Bombay 1.
1925 FORRINGTON, A., Greaves Cotton & Co., Forbes Street, Bombay 1.
1931 FOUNTAIN, C. O., Turner Morrison & Co., Bank Street, Bombay.
1928 FRASER, R. D., Indo-Burma Petroleum Co., Allahabad Bank Bldg.,
Apollo St., Bombay 1.
1926 FREKE, C. G., I.C.S. (Bombay).

- *1922 FRENCHMAN, D. P., Gandamanayakanur, Madura District, S. I.
- *1913 FURDOONJI DORABJI PADAMJI, Reay Paper Mills, Madhuva, Poona.
- †1919 FYZEE, A. A. A., M.A. (Cantab.), LL.B., Bar-at-Law, 43 Chaupati Road, Bombay 7.
- *†1925 GADGIL, D. R., M.A., M.Litt., Gokhale Institute of Economics, Poona.
- 1926 GADGIL, Prof. V. A., Wilson College, Bombay 7.
- †1927 GAJENDRAGADKAR, Prof. A. B., M.A., Elphinstone College, B'bay 1.
- 1918 GANNON, H., Chartered Bank Building, Bombay 1.
- *1912 GARRETT, J. H., I.C.S. (Bombay).
- 1912 GHARPURE, J. R., B.A., LL.B., Angro's Wadi, Bombay 4.
- *1928 GHARPUREY, Lt.-Col. K. G., I.M.S., (Bombay).
- *1930 GHOLAP, L. T., I.C.S., (Bombay).
- *1922 GHORPADE, M. H., 273, Somwar Peth, Poona City.
- †1910 GHORPADE, Shrimant MALOJIRAO NANASAHEB, Chief of Mudhol.
- †1891 GHORPADE, Shrimant NARAYANRAO GOVINDRAO, Ichalkaranji.
- *1925 GHOSAL, J., C.S.I., I.C.S., (Bombay).
- 1924 GHURYE, G. S., M.A., Ph.D., University, Bombay 1.
- 1919 GILDER, Dr. M. D. D., Taj Building, Hornby Road, Bombay 1.
- *1921 GILLIGAN, W. B., I.C.S., (Bombay).
- 1922 GILROY, Major P. K., I.M.S., Sir J. J. Hospital, Bombay.
- 1926 GLEESON, H. J., Kopri, Thana District.
- *1918 GODBOLE, Prof. V. N., 900, Sadashiv Peth, Poona City.
- 1929 GODDARD, J., General Motors (India) Ltd., P. O. Box, 39, Bombay.
- *1925 GODE, P. K., M.A., Bhandarkar O. R. Institute, Poona.
- 1927 GOFFIN, R. C., M.A., Oxford University Press, Ballard Estate, Bombay.
- *1923 GOKHALE, Rao Sahab A. G., M.A., B.Sc., Nasik Road.
- 1921 GOODALL, C. H., Bombay Co., Fort, Bombay 1.
- *1926 GORWALA, A. D., I.C.S., (Bombay).
- 1923 GRAHAM, H. J., C/o G. I. P. Ry., Jubbulpore, C. P.
- 1926 GREAVES, J. B., Greaves Cotton Co., Forbes Street, Bombay 1.
- 1913 GREEN, A. M., I.C.S., Customs Department, Bombay 1.
- 1920 GREER, B. R. T., Turner Morrison & Co., Bank Street, Bombay.
- 1923 GREGSON, THOMAS, 11, Khatav Mansion, Bombay 1.
- *1924 GUNE, J. G., Kunjavana, Lonavla.
- 1925 GUNJIKAR, K. R., M.A., B.Sc., Elphinstone College, Bombay 1.
- 1922 GUPTA, G. M., B.A., LL.B., 56, Esplanade Road, Bombay 1.
- 1925 GUPTA, G. S., B.A., L.C.E., City Survey and Land Records, Bombay 1.
- 1923 GUT, GEORGE, Volkart Bros., Bombay.

- 1929 GYANI, R. G., M.A., Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay 1.
- 1918 HAJI, S. N., Bar-at-Law, Scindia Steam Nav. Co., Sudama House, Ballard Estate, Bombay 1.
- †1910 HAMID A. ALI, I.C.S., (Bombay).
- 1927 HAMLEY, H. R., Secondary Training College, Bombay.
- 1925 HAMMOND, W. H., John Cannon School, Esplanade Road, Bombay 1.
- *1916 HAMPTON, Prof. H. V., Karnatak College, Dharwar.
- 1917 HANHART, S., E. Spinner & Co., Tamarind Lane, Bombay 1.
- *1929 HARDMAN, R. G., White Villa, Ellis Bridge, Ahmedabad.
- 1918 HARGREAVES, E., Wilson Latham & Co., Central Bank Building, Bombay 1.
- *†1931 HARISHANKAR ONKARJI, Pandit, Mota Mandir, Nadiad.
- *1924 HARNHALLI, A. S., B.A., High School, Bijapur.
- 1925 HARPER, W., National Bank of India, Bombay 1.
- 1928 HARRINGTON, D., Graham's Trading Co., Bombay 1.
- 1919 HARVEY, G. E., National Bank of India, Bombay 1.
- 1926 HASKELL, I. F., B.A., 56, Esplanade Road, Bombay 1.
- 1930 HAWKINS, R. E., Oxford University Press, Nicol Road, Bombay 1.
- 1921 HAYWARD, G. A., Geo. Service & Co., Hornby Road, Bombay 1.
- *1924 HAZEN, The Rev. W., Sholapur.
- 1929 HENDERSON, A., Gannon Dunkerley & Co., Chartered Bank Building, Bombay.
- *1925 HENDERSON, L. B., Oxford University Press, Bombay.
- 1926 HENNESSEY, J. G., C/o Thomas Cook & Son, Bombay 1.
- 1925 HERAS, The Rev. Fr. H., St. Xavier's College, Bombay.
- 1917 HERBERTSON, J., James Finlay & Co., Bombay 1.
- 1929 HERRING, E. J. C., Jost Engineering Co., Wittelt Road, Bombay.
- *1918 HODIVALA, Prof. S. H., Murzban Road, Andheri.
- *1924 HOOPER, C. T., Carrier Engineering Co., F2, Clive Bldg., Calcutta.
- 1929 HOOSEINALLY M. VISHRAM, B.A., LL.B., Goolshan, Pedder Road, Bombay.
- 1927 HORLEY, W. G., Mercantile Marine Office, Bombay 1.
- 1913 HORMASJI ARDESHIR, L.C.E., 321, Hornby Road, Bombay 1.
- 1907 HOTSON, The Hon'ble Sir ERNEST, K.C.S.I., O.B.E., I.C.S., (Bom).
- 1928 HOVELL, T. R., Scottish Union & National Insurance Co., 16, Bank Street, Bombay 1.
- *†1908 HUME, The Rev. Dr. R. E., M.A., Union Theological Seminary, New York, U.S.A.
- 1916 HUMPHERYS, S. E., Thomas Cook & Son, Hornby Road, Bombay 1.
- 1927 HUNTER, M., Eastern Telegraph Co., Bombay 1.
- *1926 IDGUNJI, D. D., Dharwar.

- *1920 INDULKAR, S. A., Kolhapur.
 1931 INGRAM, A. R., Chartered Bank, Fort, Bombay.
 1926 IRANI, A. M., Imperial Film Co., Kennedy Bridge, Bombay.
 1919 IRANI, D. J., Mulla & Mulla, Gresham Building, Bombay 1.
 1925 IYER, S. R., Imperial Bank of India, Bombay.
 1920 IZARD, A. D., Eastern Telegraph Co., Bombay 1.
 1931 JACOB, K. G., M.A., New Customs, Bombay 1.
 *1928 JAIN, MADANLAL, Kucha Luttu Shah, Darihā Kala, Delhi.
 1927 JAL A. D. NAOROJI, Tata Sons & Co., Bruce Street, Bombay 1.
 1928 JAMSETJEE, P. M. JEEJEEBHAY, Yorkshire Insurance Co., Fort, Bombay 1.
 *1917 JATHAR, Prof. G. B., M.A., Deccan College, Poona.
 †1916 JAYAKAR, M. R., Bar-at-Law, 391, Girgaum Road, Bombay 2.
 1929 JEHANGIR R. DADABHAY, Ratanshaw Lodge, Altamont Rd., Bombay.
 1927 JERAJANI, NANAL C., Borivli, Thana District.
 1931 JETHMAL NARANDAS, Laxmi Nivas, Laburnum Road, Bombay 7.
 *1926 JEWELL, E. DE B., Surat.
 1911 JHAVERI, Dewan Bahadur K. M., M.A., LL.B., Bombay 4.
 *1924 JHOTE, R. B., B.A., Paradise, Shahibag, Ahmedabad.
 *1928 JOHNSTON, E. A. F., B. B. & C. I. Ry., Rutlam.
 1931 JONES, A. R., Imperial Chambers, Wilson Road, Bombay 1.
 1916 JONES, H. E., Oriental Insurance Co., Esplanade Road, Bombay 1.
 1922 JONES, H. P., B. B. & C. I. Railway, Bombay 1.
 1924 JONES, W. T., Lewis & Jones, Bank of Baroda Bldg. Bombay 1.
 1928 JOSHI, Miss CHATURLAXMI B., B.A., Matunga, Bombay.
 *1926 JOSHI, NARAYAN BALWANT, Bijapur.
 *1920 JOSHI, V. G., Chitreshala Press, 1026, Sadashiv Peth, Poona City.
 1926 JUDAH, Dr. D., Kodak House, Hornby Road, Bombay 1.
 1902 JUDAH, S., B.A., LL.B., Examiner Press Building, Fort, Bombay 1.
 1931 JUNGALWALA, N. T., B.A., LL.B., Gazdar Mansion, Princess Street, Bombay 2.
 1922 KADAD, M. S., B.A., Secretariat, Bombay 1.
 1925 KALIANJI C. DAMJI, Curamsy Damji & Co., Sohrab House, Hornby Road, Bombay 1.
 *1915 KAMAT, B. S., B.A., Ganeshkhind Road, Poona.
 †1915 KANE, P. V., M.A., LL.M., Angre's Wadi, Bombay 4.
 1919 KANGA, Miss JERBAI D. B., Rebsch Street, Jacob Circle, Bombay 11.
 1922 KANGA, P. J., M.A., Bombay House, Bombay 1.
 1910 KANJI DWARKADAS, M.A., Yusuf Bldg., Esplanade Rd., Bombay 1.
 1928 KAPADIA, CHUNILAL A., 165, Gulalwadi, Bombay 4.

- 1929 KAPADIA, H. M., 31, Nanabhai Lane, Fort, Bombay.
- *1927 KARANDIKAR, R. P., Satara.
- 1926 KARANDIKAR, S. V., M.A., Nene Building, Charni Road, Bombay.
- 1927 KARANDIKAR, V. R., Bar-at-Law, Topiwala Wadi, Sandhurst Road, Bombay 4.
- 1920 KASAMALLY A. SOMJEE, M.A., LL.B., Bar-at-Law, Bomanji Dhanjibhoy Building, Esplanade Road, Bombay.
- 1924 KATRAK, M. N., 37, Ghadiali Mansion, Alexandra Road, Bombay 7.
- 1928 KEIF, O., Haverso Trading Co., Ballard Estate, Bombay 1.
- *1930 KEKI ARDESHIR, Capt., M.R.C.S., Bungalow No. 120, Mhow, C.I.
- 1927 KELKAR, K. H., B.A., LL.B., Angre's Wadi, Bombay 4.
- *1927 KELKAR, N. C., B.A., LL.B., Poona.
- 1921 KERKAR, W. R., B.A., LL.B., Benham Hall Lane, Bombay 4.
- *1927 KERR, W., National Bank of India, Colombo, Ceylon.
- †1916 KESHAVRAO B. WASUDEY, B.A., LL.B., Nasik.
- *1918 KETKAR, Dr. S. V., M.A., Ph.D., 21, Kahn Road, Poona.
- 1930 KHAJHAR, HARILAL MAYARAM, 25, Dr. Wilson Street, Bombay 4.
- *1929 KHAN, Prof. A. K., Deccan College, Poona.
- *1930 KHANDKE, D. N., Station Road, Gwalior.
- *1926 KHANNA, VINAYAKLAL, Nandalal Mullick 2nd Lane, Beadon Street, Calcutta.
- 1929 KHARAS, J. D., M.A., Proprietary & Fort High School, Gowalia Tank Road, Bombay.
- 1922 KHARE, L. G., B.A. (Oxon.), Chronicle Office, Bombay 1.
- 1880 KHAREGHAT, M. P., I.C.S. (*Rtd.*), Mt. Pleasant Road, Bombay 6.
- 1927 KHATAO, LAXMIDAS M., Laxmi Bldg., Ballard Rd., Bombay 1.
- †1923 KHER, B. G., B.A., LL.B., 53, Medows Street, Bombay 1.
- †1904 KIKABHAI PREMCHAND, Share Bazar, Bombay 1.
- 1928 KIPPEN, Capt. R. R., Killick Nixon & Co., Home St., Bombay 1.
- †1924 KISHORDAS P. MANGALDAS, Malabar Point, Bombay 6.
- *1930 KISHORE SINGH BARIHUT, Sardar Thakur, Patiala.
- *1912 KNIGHT, H. F., I.C.S. (Bombay).
- *1923 KOLPATKAR, Prof. G. B., Fergusson College, Poona.
- 1906 KOYAJI, K. N., High Court, Bombay.
- †1925 KRISHNA JIVANJI, GOSWAMI, Bada Mandir, Bhuleshwar, Bombay 2.
- *1916 KRISHNAMACHARIAR, Raja Bahadur G., Srirangam, S.I.
- 1915 KUBALAYA RAJ, 30, Walkeshwar Road, Bombay 6.
- 1925 KURULKAR, Dr. G. M., G. S. Medical College, Parel, Bombay 12.
- 1922 KURWA, S. E., Bar-at-Law, Walkeshwar Road, Bombay 6.
- *1929 LAD, P. M., I.C.S. (Bombay).
- *1915 LAGU, Prof. R. K., 1028, Sadashiv Peth, Poona City.

- 1929 LALJI GOCULDAS, Bar-at-Law, 15, Kolbhat Lane, Bombay 2.
 1923 LALJI NARANJI, Ewart House, Tamarind Lane, Bombay 1.
 1918 LALKAKA, B. S., Land's End, Bandra.
 1928 LONDON, C., Indian Telegraph Dept., Bombay 1.
 *1909 LATIF, HASSAN, M.I.E., A.M.I.E., Hanamkonda, Nizam's State.
 1921 LAXMIDAS M. SHRIKANT, Kanji Bhavan, Sandhurst Rd., Bombay 4.
 1917 LENGACHER, W., Bombay Co., Wallace Street, Bombay 1.
 1927 LESLIE, G., National Bank of India, Bombay 1.
 1930 LEUBA, L., Fleure Leuba & Co., Hornby Road, Bombay.
 1928 LEWIS, R. E., Bank of Baroda Bldg., Apollo St., Bombay 1.
 1924 LIEN, D. C., Alcock Ashdown & Co., Frere Road, Bombay.
 1930 LOW, F., Times of India, Bombay.
 1928 LOWJI, T. M., 177, Hornby Road, Bombay 1.
 *1917 LOYD, The Rt. Rev. P., Bishop of Nasik, Nasik.
 1929 LUCAS, W. E., B. B. & C. I. Railway, Bombay.
 1923 LUPTON, F. E., Greaves Cotton & Co., Bombay 1.
 *1924 LVOVSKY, Z., Czechoslovak Consulate, P. O. Box 232, Calcutta.
 1930 McCASKIE, C. S., Mackinnon Mackenzie & Co., Bombay 1.
 1914 McKENZIE, The Rev. J., M.A., Wilson College, Bombay 7.
 *1930 McKERRELL, J., Mackinnon Mackenzie & Co., Calcutta.
 1927 McKIE, P. W., Central Telegraph Office, Bombay 1.
 *1907 MACKIE, A. W. W., I.C.S. (Bombay).
 *1908 MACMILLAN, A. M., I.C.S. (Bombay).
 *1919 MADAN, J. A., I.C.S. (Bombay).
 1927 MADGAVKAR, B. R., New Queen's Road, Bombay.
 †1906 MADGAVKAR, The Hon'ble Justice Sir G. D., I.C.S., Bombay.
 1924 MADGAVKAR, Capt. V. D., I.M.S., Sandhurst Road, Bombay 4.
 1901 MADHAVJI DAMODAR THACKERSEY, 16, Apollo Street, Bombay 1.
 1927 MADON, A. M., 4, Walton Road, Apollo Reclamation, Bombay 1.
 1930 MADON, D. M., M.A., LL.B., Tata Iron and Steel Co., Bombay House, Bruce Road, Bombay.
 1921 MADON, K. J. B., Pereira Hill Road, Andheri.
 1918 MADON, M. P., Serene Villa, Alexandra Road, Gamdevi, Bombay 7.
 †1923 MADON, P. M., 19, Hammum Street, Bombay 1.
 *1930 MAHAJANI, Principal G. S., Fergusson College, Poona.
 1926 MOHAMMAD ALI, MOULVI, M.A. (Oxon.), Dharavi, Bombay.
 1930 MOHAMMAD BAZLUR REHMAN, Ph.D. (Cantab.), Ismail College, Addheri, Thana Dist.
 1924 MALONEY, T., Mill-Owners' Association, Esplanade Rd., Bombay 1.
 1920 MANEKLAL P. ROYCHAND, 63, Apollo Street, Bombay 1.

- *1929 MANYLESS, Capt. K. W., R.E., Power House, Kalyan.
- *†1902 MARJORIBANKS, Lt.-Col. J. L., I.M.S., England.
- *1928 MASANI, R. P., Versova, Andheri.
- *1906 MASTER, A., I.C.S., (Bombay).
- 1924 MATANI, G. M., 53, Mint Road, Bombay 1.
- 1921 MATHEW, Mrs. A. E., Cama Hospital, Bombay 1.
- 1925 MAYENKAR, V. P., B.A., S.T.C., Wilson High School, Bombay 4.
- 1923 MEARS, R. P., J. C. Gammon, Ltd., Goa Street, Bombay 1.
- 1922 MEHENDALE, B. K., Bar-at-Law, French Bridge, Bombay 7.
- *1931 MEHENDALE, V. K., M.B.B.S., D.T.M., 368 South Kasba, Sholapur.
- *1927 MEHKRI, MD. ASADULLAH, Asstt. Controller of Stores, Jhansi, C. I.
- 1927 MEHTA, BHASKAR B., Ramdas Khimji Trading Co., Albert Bldg., Hornby Road, Bombay 1.
- 1930 MEHTA, C. A., M.A., LL.B., V. M. Kapol Boarding, Madhav Bag, Bombay 4.
- 1908 MEHTA, Sir CHUNILAL V., K.C.S.I., M.A., LL.B., Bombay 6.
- 1926 MEHTA, Mrs. HANSA, 23, Nepean Sea Road, Bombay 6.
- 1921 MEHTA, INDRAVADAN N., Bar-at-Law, Purshotam Building, New Queen's Road, Bombay.
- 1918 MEHTA, J. K., M.A., Indian Merchants' Chamber, 31, Murzban Road, Bombay 1.
- 1900 MEHTA, Sir LALLUBHAI SAMALDAS, K.C.I.E., 49-55, Apollo Street, Bombay 1.
- 1920 MEHTA, R. A., Kalyan Moti Building, Kandevasi, Bombay 4.
- *1927 MEHTA, RANCHHODLAL L., Karbhari, Vala State.
- *1927 MEHTA, Dewan Bahadur THAKORRAM KAPILRAM, B.A., LL.B., C.I.E., Athwa Lines, Surat.
- 1929 MEHTA, V. H., S.T.C., B. J. Parsee Charitable Institute, Charni Road, Bombay.
- 1927 MENON, K. K., M.A., Mulji Haridas Bungalow, Dongarsi Rd., Bombay 6.
- 1929 MINNITT, J. A., British Industrial Cable Co., Nicol Road, Bombay.
- 1928 MINOCHERHOMJI, Prof. N. D., Elphins one College, Bombay 1.
- *1930 MIRCHANDANI, B. D., I.C.S., (Bombay).
- 1927 MODI, J. H., Solicitor, Daphtary and Ferreira, 13-19, Meadows Street, Bombay 1.
- 1920 MODI, Dr. JAMSHED JIVANJI, L.M.&S., L.D.S., Navsari Chambers, Hornby Road, Bombay 1.
- 1888 MODI, SHAMS-UL-ULAMA Sir JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI, Kt., Ph.D., C.I.E., 211, Pilot Bunder Road, Bombay 5.
- 1917 MODY, H. P., M.A., LL.B., Cumballa Hill, Bombay 6.

- 1926 MOGHE, Dr. H. G., L.M.&S., L.D.S., Girgaum Back Road, Bombay 4.
- 1928 MORF, J., Volkart Bros., 19, Graham Road, Bombay 1.
- 1914 MORRIS, C. F., James Finlay & Co., Esplanade Road, Bombay 1.
- †1911 MUHAMMAD YUSUF, Sir, Kt., Amir of Navha, Daryanagar, N. Konkan.
- *1918 MUJUMDAR, Sardar G. N., 187, Kasba Peth, Poona City.
- 1925 MULGAOKER, B. D., Gopal Narayan & Co., Kalbadevi, Bombay 2.
- 1924 MULGAOKAR, K. V., B.A., LL.B., Ridge View, Vachagandhi Road, Bombay 7.
- 1930 MULGAOKAR, S. S., 80, Kurla Road, Andheri.
- 1925 MULLA, Sir DINSHA F., Kt., Bar-at-Law, C.I.E., 21, Marine Lines, Bombay 1.
- 1926 MULLA, Mrs. MANEKBAI S. F., 17, New Marine Lines, Bombay.
- 1921 MUNSHI, K. M., Advocate, High Court, Bombay 1.
- 1923 MUNSHI, R. F., Bar-at-Law, Rafi Manzil, Hormasji St., Bombay 5.
- 1922 MUNSTER, J., Port Office, Bombay 1.
- 1926 MURDESHWAR, G. P., B.A., LL.B., Sarnawat Buildings, Bombay 7.
- 1929 MURPHY, The Hon. Mr. Justice S. J., I.C.S., High Court, Bombay.
- *1918 MUZUMDAR, V. D., M.A., Income Tax Officer, Jalgaon.
- 1930 NADKARNI, M. G., Nadkarni & Co., Jambulwadi, Bombay 2.
- 1910 NADKARNI, V. J., Kennedy Bridge, Bombay 7.
- *1910 NAGARKATTI, R. S., Dharwar.
- *1918 NAIK, S. S., B.A., B.Sc., L.C.E., Khar Road, Bandra.
- 1924 NAIK, V. N., M.A., Benham Hall Lane, Bombay 4.
- †1917 NANADHAI TALAKCHAND, Bombay.
- 1924 NANAVATI, The Hon. Mr. Justice D. D., I.C.S. (Bombay).
- 1913 NANAVATI, H. D., B.A., LL.B., 80, Esplanade Road, Bombay 1.
- *1931 NANDIMATH, S. C., M.A., Ph.D., Gokak, District Belgaum.
- 1917 NARIMAN, G. K., 3rd Victoria Cross Lane, Mazgaon, Bombay 10.
- 1923 NARIMAN, S. B., 113, Esplanade Road, Bombay 1.
- 1914 NATARAJAN, K., "Indian Social Reformer," Outram Rd., Bombay 1.
- 1921 NAZAR, O. H., Union Bank Building, Apollo Street, Bombay 1.
- 1930 NAZIR AHMAD, M.Sc., Ph.D. (Cantab.), Technological Laboratory, Matunga, Bombay.
- 1914 NERURKAR, Dr. J. S., L.M.&S., D.P.H., Municipality, Bombay 1.
- 1922 NIEDERER, G., Sulzer Bruderer & Co., Hornby Rd., Bombay 1.
- †1920 NIMBALKAR, SHRIMANT MAJAJIRAO MUDHOJIRAO Naik, Phaltan.
- 1902 NORMAND, Dr. A. R., M.A., B.Sc., Ph.D., Wilson College, Bombay 7.
- *1928 OKA, W. P., M.A., LL.B., Joglekar's Bungalow, Kharkar Ali, Thana.
- 1926 OTTO, P. A., Volkart Bros., Ballard Estate, Bombay 1.

- 1923 PADGAOKAR, G. V., 32 B, Post Office Lane, Bombay 4.
 1927 PADGETT, W. R., B. Reif, Ltd., Ismail Bldg., Bombay 1.
 1930 PADHYE, K. A., LL.B., New Bhatwadi, Bombay 4.
 1915 PAGE, F. J., B. B. & C. I. Railway, Parel, Bombay.
 *1923 PALEKAR, Rao Bahadur B. A., Dharwar.
 1929 PALKHIVALA, Mrs. F. M., Boocher's House, Cumbala Hill, Bombay.
 1924 PALMER, A. J., Union Insurance Society of Canton, Central Bank Building, Bombay 1.
 1910 PANDIT, A. G., Whiteaway Laidlaw Bldg., Bombay 1.
 1928 PANDIT, Mrs. SARASWATIBAI P., Mcher House, Laburnum Road, Bombay 7.
 1928 PANDIT, VENUGOPAL RAO, N. Sirur & Co., Bank Street, Bombay 1.
 *1928 PARADKAR, Prof. N. B., Madhav College, Ujjain.
 *1928 PAREKH, MOTILAL L., M.A., LL.B., Devgad-Baria.
 *1923 PARIKH, Dr. M. K., Godhra, Panch Mahals District.
 1921 PARKS, W. BATTERSBY, Ford, Rhodes & Parks, Bank of Baroda Building, Apollo Street, Bombay 1.
 *1928 PARMANAND, Mrs. S., B.A., B. Litt., D. Phil. (Oxon.), Bar-at-Law, Buldana (Berar).
 *1927 PARPIA, YUSUF R., I.C.S. (Bombay).
 1912 PARUCK, Miss S. S., M.A., Habib Mansion, New Queen's Road, Bombay 4.
 1925 PARULEKAR, R. V., M.A., M. Ed., Municipal Offices, Bombay 1.
 1928 PASTA, M. G. L., Altmont Road, Bombay 6.
 *1927 PATASKAR, H. V., LL.B., Chalisgaon, E. Khandesh.
 1912 PATKAR, The Hon. Mr. Justice S. S., LL.B., Hughes Road, Bombay 7.
 1920 PATRANI, V. N., Courtaulds (India) Ltd., Haines Road, Bombay 11.
 †1912 PATWARDHAN, SHRIMANT CHINTAMANRAO DHUNDIRAJ *alias* APPASAIEN, Chief of Sangli, Sangli, S. M. C.
 *1922 PATWARDHAN, N. M., Bar-at-Law, Kaira.
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TRANSLITERATION OF THE
SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

अ a	औ au	ठ ṭh	भ bh
आ ā	क k	ड ḍ	म m
इ i	ख kh	ढ ḍh	य y
ई ī	ग g	ण ṇ	र r
उ u	घ gh	त t	ल l
ऊ ū	ङ ṅ	थ th	व v
ऋ ṛ	च c	द d	श ś
ॠ ṝ	छ ch	ध dh	ष ṣ
ऌ ḷ	ज j	न n	स s
ए e	झ jh	प p	ह h
ऐ ai	ञ ñ	फ ph	ळ ḷ
ओ o	ट ṭ	ब b	

— (Anusvāra) ṁ	× (Jihvāmūlīya) ḥ
* (Anunāsika) ṁ̄	⋈ (Upadhmanīya) ḥ
: (Visarga) ḥ	₵ (Avagraha) ’

TRANSLITERATION OF ARABIC AND
ALLIED ALPHABETS

ARABIC.

ا a	ز z	ق q	ـَ i or e
ب b	س s	ك k	ـُ u or o
ت t	ش <u>sh</u>	ل l	ـَـ ā
ث <u>th</u>	ص ṣ	م m	ـِـ ē, e
ج j	ض ḍ	ن n	ـُـ ū, o
ح ḥ	ط ṭ	و w	ـِـ ai
خ <u>kh</u>	ظ z	ح ḥ	ـُـ au
د d	ع c	ي y	silent t . . . ḥ
ذ <u>dh</u>	غ <u>gh</u>	ء ʾ	
ر r	ف f	ـَ a	

PERSIAN.

پ p	چ <u>ch</u>	ژ <u>zh</u>	گ g
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