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No. XXX. VOL. X.

ART. XVII.—*The Evil Eye, Amulets, Recipes, Exorcisation, &c.*
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Soc.

Read 8th August 1874.

Superstitious persons often resort to means believed by them to be supernatural in order to ascertain future events, to ward off calamities, or to heal diseases. Some of these practices are of a semi-religious character, inasmuch as the formulas are either quotations from the Korán itself, or addresses to the Deity and to certain angels, all to be recited in Arabic. In Bombay many persons make a living by either privately or publicly offering their services to the people, and there are certain stations where men dressed in a religious garb sit with a book called a *Fálnámah*, and are ready to tell the fortune of any person for a few coppers. I shall now, after a few general remarks, take up briefly the following subjects:—The evil eye, amulets, recipes consisting of invocations, exorcisation, the medical efficacy of various Surahs of the Korán, of the Tehlyl, talismans, and geomancy or vaticination. It is well known that disbelievers in the effects of mesmerism and electro-biology can never be operated upon successfully, and that, on the other hand, when a subject possesses faith, the most astonishing results are produced. This is so much the case that lately an operator, wishing to test

the power of faith, substituted for the electric metallic rings required, wooden ones painted like the real ones, and obtained the same favourable results. If the operator calls in religious faith to strengthen the natural belief of a person, success will be more certain, and what little experience I possess confirms this view. Hence it is no wonder that, in the practices now to be described, the religious element, consisting of prayers and verses from the Korán, plays the most conspicuous part.

The sun, the moon, and the planets, seven in all, presiding over the days of the week and the hours of the day, are endued with good and bad qualities, which influence not merely all the colours, precious stones, complexions, &c., but govern the whole course of nature, so that all events can be ascertained by a knowledge of astrology. In protecting man from evil influences, healing diseases, &c., amulets and incantations are playing a conspicuous part; there are amulets good for every distemper, whilst others apply to special complaints only. In astrological works each planet is treated separately, with all its influences, good or bad, so that people may know what to do or to omit when they are governing; and the first planet is always the sun, *e.g.* :— He is the sovereign of the stars; among the spheres the fourth is his, and among the days of the week the first, among the signs of the zodiac Leo, among the minerals gold, among clothes yellow silk, among the angels Ruḳyáyl [probably corrupted from Raphael], and among the beautiful names [of God] O ever-living! O self-subsisting!

If you intend to do anything, ask for the aid of God through the aforementioned angel, and through His praise. Write your prayer down with your intention, because it will prosper only on this condition. The prayer is as follows:—“O God! I ask Thee by Thy great and dear name which Thou hast exalted above all Thy other names, be they high or low, glorious or noble, small or large! I adjure thee, O Ruḳyáyl, by the God of glory and power, by the eternal God who dies not, and by the light which cannot be extinguished, by the throne which perishes not, and by the seat which moves not. I adjure thee, O Ruḳyáyl, by the merit of God who existed when the dark night was not, by the merit of God who existed when the illuminated night was not, by the merit of God who existed when rivers flowed not, by the merit of God who displays his omnipotence in the heavens, to aid me in this affair.” After that you may ask for success or anything else, and you will be directed if it pleaseth God the most High. If you recite the Surah “The sun” (XCI.) and “The brightness” (XCIII.) over a heap

of dust and throw it into the face of enemies, they will flee by the permission of God the Most High.

The mass of recipes of all kinds is so large that it becomes difficult to make a choice, but I here insert one which is apparently intended for any kind of complaint not specified by external symptoms:—If a patient asks you about his disease, you are to say that it arises from the evil-eye, from genii and men, and that it causes dryness and heat in his body. If he asks you about the medicine, you are to state that saffron, rose-water, lemon-juice, and sesame-oil are required for anointing the whole body during three consecutive days. Moreover, the verse of the Throne (Surah II. 256) is to be written thrice with the letters ح م ل ع to be soaked in lemon-juice, and to be drunk three consecutive days. If he asks you about an amulet, you are to write the following:—

“ In the name of God the Merciful, the Clement! O God, bless our Prince Muhammad, his family and companions! Praise be to the Lord of both worlds. (Then come some magic characters, for which see Plate No. 1.) Is not He who has created the heavens and the earth able to create others like them? Indeed he is the most wise creator! Verily according to His command anything He orders to be will be. Praised be He in whose hands is the universal power, and to Him you will return! O ye who have believed; fear God as He ought to be feared, and do not die except as Musalmáns! I resign myself to him who has created the heavens and the earth as an orthodox believer, and I am not an idolater; and He will give me a sufficient reward. There is no refuge and no power except with God the Most High, the Great. I conclude in the name of God the healer, in the name of God the all-sufficient او جوف اجوف من جوف مسارج اصباوت ال شد اعلي عظام الامو نسئين ما نحن كلا مثلن اركض برجلك for God is very relenting and merciful this is a cold lotion and potion. There is no refuge nor power except with God the Most High, the Great.” (Here follows the trilingual amulet with the seal of Solomon described by me in a former paper. This concludes the piece. See Plate No. 2.)

The properties peculiar to mineral, vegetable, and animal substances are treated of in a very curious manner. Thus, for instance, it is asserted that the *loadstone*, called *Hajr-ul-maghnatys*, if rubbed with garlick, loses its property of attracting iron, but if washed with vinegar it again recovers it; if it be anointed with oil, it will recede from iron just as much as the iron is brought near to it. In Yemen there is a

mountain from which water flows, but when it reaches the earth it becomes solidified, and this is the Yemen alum. If alum be placed under the pillow of a man who gets frightened in his sleep, he will be delivered of his fear; the same will also be the case if a crystal be suspended over his head.

It is the peculiarity of a *diamond* to break stones and gems, but it is said that if it be placed in goats' blood it gets broken. Any one who wears a ring of *turquoise-stone* will not be approached by a serpent or scorpion; this is well tried; and he on whom this stone is suspended will meet only with good and honourable treatment from everybody. He who has with him a *ruby* will be respected by men, and all his affairs will be easily accomplished; the *hair-stone* attracts hair, it is the lightest of all stones, and if any spot of a man's body be rubbed with this stone, hair will never grow on it. The *nail-stone* has the peculiarity of drawing blood from the nails of a man if it is brought near to them, and even to cause them to fall off. The *dog-stone* is any kind of gravel which has been thrown at a dog; but if it be required to produce enmity between two persons it is to be thrown into water; after both have drunk from it they will become foes to each other.

If noxious herbs or trees, the growth of which is to be prevented, be hewn with an axe made of *brass* they will never grow, and if a person's ear be perforated with a brass needle it will always remain open, and will never be overgrown by flesh. The properties attributed to vegetable substances are as incredible as those just detailed; a few words are, however, to be said on the peculiarities of animals:—A *lion* will never attack a menstruating woman, although he may at the time be very hungry. If a *camel* happens to look at the Dog-star, it will immediately expire. The web of a *spider* is good for restoring to silver its lost brilliancy by rubbing it therewith. If silver be boiled in pomegranate-water it will acquire a very nice white hue. If a woman puts on a man's clothes and he wears them afterwards without washing them, the quartan ague will leave him if he be afflicted with it. If the tooth of a dead man be suspended from the neck of a man who complains of the toothache he will get well. If the dung of a hare be suspended from the neck of a woman, she will not become pregnant as long as she wears it; and if the heel of a hare be suspended from a man's neck neither the evil eye nor sorcery can hurt him, because genii flee from a hare. If a man afflicted with the piles sits on a lion's skin they will leave him. If a cup is made of wax, and water be taken in it from the sea, it will be sweet.

Ebn Al-juzy says that the prayers in which God is invoked to cure a disease are called *Reká*, and Sheykh Ahmed relates that the prophet used the following prayer:—“*Azhab bás, rabb alinás, ashuf, ant ashsháfy, la shefú illa shefávuk ; shefú lá yagháderhu sekmin :*” which is explained to mean:—“Remove the sickness, Lord, of men ; heal, thou art the healer ; there is no cure except thy cure ; a cure which will not leave him sick.” It is also narrated by A’yshah, the mother of the Faithful, that the prophet was in the habit of mixing a little dust with his own saliva to cure people therewith. One day O’smán Ebn Ab-Aa’áz complained about a pain he felt in his body to the prophet, and the latter said : “Place your hand on the ailing part of your body and say thrice ‘In the name of God’ and seven times ‘I fly for refuge to the Majesty of God Most High.’ O’smán states that he did so and was delivered from his complaint.

On the Evil Eye.

According to Abu Haryrah, one of the companions, the prophet fully believed in the effects of the evil eye, which is often an omen of something predestined to happen. The prophet said *Ala’yn tadakkkhul arrajul alkabr, valhaml alkidr*, “The evil eye causes a man to enter the grave, and a sheep the kettle.” He also said that he who kills the snakes which have two white streaks on their backs, and those of blue colour with short tails, does well, because they injure the sight, emit poison from their eyes into the air, which affects those who look at them, and that there exist also such men.

The author of the *Allakat* states that there was a man among the idolaters, named Sáyb, who was in the habit of remaining without food a whole day, and even two or three days. Then he used to return to his dwelling, being sure to meet with flocks ; when he perceived one of them he was in the habit of saying “I have never seen finer camels or sheep than this day ;” and a short while after this several of them were sure to die.—*Allaṣmáyi* states that he was acquainted with a man who had an evil eye and who said “When I behold anything that pleases me, I observe that some heat issues from my eyes.” It is well known that some persons are not hurt by the stings of scorpions. *Ebn Kotaibah* narrates that the Khalif Motawakkel had a negro who was in the habit of eating snakes and all sorts of reptiles, but who threw their heads away. There is no doubt that a kind of poison exists in the constitution of some men, which issues from their eyes when anything pleases them ; and that there are subtle fluids of this

kind is abundantly proved by the effects which the mere approach of a menstruating woman produces on various substances ; thus, for instance, when she goes near sweet milk or wine they get spoiled, &c.

The words (Korán, LXVIII. 51) " It wanteth little but that the unbelievers would strike thee down with their [malicious] looks, when they hear the admonition [of the Korán]" are generally believed to refer to the evil eye. The tribe Beni Asad were in possession of the evil eye, and it is said that the just-quoted verse was revealed to shield the prophet from it, when a man who had this power had been requested by the unbelievers to exert it upon him. The Ulemmas teach that a man possessing the evil eye is to be avoided, and prohibited by the Emám from having intercourse with men, and that an allowance of food is to be assigned to him, in order to prevent the necessity of his looking for a livelihood and committing mischief. There are many *Raḡyahs*, i.e. formulas against the evil eye, said to have been given to various persons by the prophet himself, but the following specimen, picked out among many, will be quite sufficient to show their general character :—

To destroy the effects of the evil eye, recite the *Fáteha* seven times, and the Throne-verse (II. 256) ; then say " We have revealed it during the night of Power." Say " He is the only God ; " and recite the " I fly for refuge unto the Lord of men (CXIV)." Then say : O evil eye which is in so and so, the son of so and so, I adjure thee by the Majesty of God and what was written by Him through Muhammad the son of A'bdullah (on whom be the blessing of God, &c.), to depart from him. There is no refuge nor power except with God the most high, the great. God is a sufficient protection to you, He is all-hearing, all-wise. He created the heavens and the earth ; which is greater than the creation of man, but most men know it not. " And it wanteth little but that the unbelievers would strike thee down with their eyes when they hear the recital [of the Korán] ; and they say he [Muhammad] is indeed a madman (LXVIII. 51)."

AMULETS.

Some persons asked (according to a tradition narrated in the *Durrat-ul-muntakhabat*) the prophet whether it is permitted to write a *Hirs*, i.e. amulet containing verses from the Korán, and to suspend the same from the necks of children, women, or cattle, which would very likely allow all sorts of impurities to come in contact with them. The

apostle of God replied, however, that this may be avoided by encasing the amulet in wax, or in a leather bag according to proper instructions ; he also said : “ If one of you has a good opinion about [the salutary effects of] a stone, God will cause it to become profitable to him.” The *A'zymah* or adjuration, containing verses from the Korán, may likewise be tied on to the bodies of children, women, and cattle. The *Ta'ryz*, which is of Persian origin and is derived from *Avikhten* “to suspend,” is nearly the same with the *Hirz*, and is also suspended from the necks of children and others ; it is of a religious character, and not seldom composed in poetry ; the word *Tamymah*, the plural of which is *Tamaym* and occurs in the following distich of Amr-ul-Kays, is a synonym of it :—

قَمَلِكُ حُبْلَى قَدْ طَرَقْتُ وَ مَرَضِعُ
 قَالِيَتَهَا مِنْ ذِي تَمَائِمَ مَحُولُ

This distich already the illustrious Sir W. Jones has during the past century translated in the seven suspended poems, where it occurs as follows :—“ Many a fair one like thee, though not like thee a virgin, have I visited by night ; and many a lovely mother have I diverted from the care of her yearling infant adorned with *amulets*.”

There is no harm in writing verses of the Korán on vessels and drinking out of them, nor in writing them on any substances, such as paper, wood, metal, &c., and selling them for money, but no one is to write *Tilsims*, i.e. Talismans, the meaning whereof he does not understand.

It may almost be said that there is a Koránic medical science, because certain verses are said to cure certain diseases, as will appear from the following prescriptions :—

Recipe against fever.

In the name of God the Merciful, the Clement ! “ O fire, be thou cold and a preservation unto Abraham ; and they sought to lay a plot against him ; but we caused them to be the sufferers (XXI. 69, 70). O God the Lord of Jabráyl, of Mykáyl, and of Asráfyl ! Heal the possessor of this writing by Thy power and strength, glory and might ! Lord of the creation ! ”

Ditto.

The following verses are to be written in a vessel from which the fever-patient is to drink, and he will get cured by the permission of God the Most High:—"Those unto whom the most excellent [reward of paradise] hath been predestined by us, they shall be transported far off from the same" [i.e. from the anguish of hell-fire mentioned in the preceding verses] XXI. 101, as far as the words "which ye were promised" [i.e. the end of v. 103].

Against the headache.

The following lines are to be put on the patient:—"Praised be He who does not forget him who forgets Him, and neither forgets him who remembers Him. How numerous are his favours to his grateful and to his ungrateful servants! and how many veins are there which pulsate and which do not pulsate! In the name of God the Merciful, the Clement! 'Lookest thou not at thy Lord, how He stretcheth forth the shadow?' If He had pleased He would have made it immoveable [XXV. 47]. Cease, O headache, by the merit of these names!"

Recipe against headache, hemicrany, fever, the evil eye, epilepsy, all kinds of ailings from the genii, trepidations, &c.

"In the name of God the Merciful, the Clement! In the name of God, under the protection of whose name nothing can hurt on earth or in the heavens! He is the all-hearing, the all-wise! Blessings from God be on our Prince Muhammad, on his family and companions! I, the bearer of this writing, fly for refuge to the countenance of God the bountiful, the great, than whom there is nothing greater, and to the complete words of God which neither a righteous nor a wicked man can disregard, and to all the beautiful names of God, to those of them which I know, and to those which I know not [to deliver me] from the machinations of Satans, and from the blowings of such and such a male or such and such a female slave, or such and such a beast, more tight than the hide of a camel. This was copied from the handwriting of Allazrak: may God the Most High have mercy on him!"

I have translated the above specimen, as it forms an exception to the general rule, and contains no quotations from the Korán except the well-known formula at the head, with which nearly every Surah of it begins. The number of recipes with verses from the Korán is prodigiously large; they apply to all possible diseases and calamities, not even excluding such a trifle as a soothing recipe to pacify crying infants.

In order to cure the belly-ache, it is necessary to write the word **صنون** four times on the abdomen in such a manner as to constitute a square, the centre of which must be occupied by the navel (see Plate No. 3). According to the *Kitáb-uddurrat*, the following characters (see Plate No. 4) are to be written thrice on the palm of the patient's hand, and he is to lick them up, whereupon the colic or belly-ache will cease. This amulet has been embodied also in the following verses:—

خذ حروفاً هن نور في القبط	خمس هاء آت و خط بعد خط
و ظباء ترتقى في روضة	و صليب حوله سبع نقط
و هميزات اذا اعددتها	فهي سبع لم تجد فيها غلط
ثم هاء ثم واو بعدة	ثم صاد ثم ميم في الوسط

Take letters with hollows [lit. lights] in their bodies,
 Five times the letter **س** one after the other,
 And a fawn grazing in a garden,
 And a cross with seven dots around it,
 And the Hamzas, if you count them
 They are seven, you will find no mistake in them ;
 Then **س** and **و** after them,
 Then **ص** then **م** in the middle [under the line].

But on comparing this description with the amulet it will be found that the "fawn grazing in a garden" is represented in the figure only by two lines, and that the character on the other side of the Andrew's cross is not alluded to in the verses ; otherwise, however, they agree very well with the figure of the amulet.

There are also various prayers to be recited for women who cannot conceive, or are not married, because they are bewitched. The following prescription will cause milk to flow either from women or from cattle:—

Write the Bismillah, then:—"When the heavens shall be rent asunder" as far as the words "what is therein" [LXXXIV. 1-4]. This is to be repeated seven times, whereon the milk will immediately begin to flow from the paps like a rushing torrent, and more strongly than that. The recital of the 112th Surah will produce the same effect.

The results produced by reciting certain Surahs of the *Korán*, or even single verses only, for the removal of the evils which they are supposed to cure, are marvellous. The *Fátehab*, i.e. first Surah alone,

is so pregnant with meaning that A'li asserted he could, if he were so minded, load seventy camels with explanations of it. The prophet stated that whoever says "Praise be to God, the lord of both worlds," four times, and then says it the fifth time, any angel that may have happened to hear his voice exclaims "Allah has approached thee, ask Him what thou listest!" The prophet has also said that whoever on entering his own dwelling says "Praise be to Allah, the Lord of both worlds," and recites the Surah "Declaration of God's unity (CXII)," Allah will remove poverty from him, and bestow many blessings on him. The prophet has also said that he who desires to be cured from weakness of sight or from myopy must watch for the new-moon on the first night, and if he cannot see it let him look again; and if, casting a glance on it for the third time, he perceives it, let him pass his right hand over both his eyes and recite the *Fátehah* ten times, and if he repeats after that *The declaration of God's unity* [i. e. the 112th Surah] thrice, he will be cured. Let him also repeat seven times the words "A cure from every disease results from Thy mercy, O Most Merciful." Then let him say "O Lord" five times and his sight will become strong.

Exorcisation of evil spirits.

There are various opinions about the way that genii take possession of men, but the most correct explanation was given by the prophet, who asserted the possibility of Satan's flowing in human beings in the same manner as blood in the veins. There are numerous accounts of the manner in which genii and Satans injure mankind, and the following tradition states that *Abu-nazr Háshem's* house being haunted by genii, his neighbours desired him to remove to another place. He felt aggrieved and wrote to Kufah, requesting Ebn Eðris to send him an exorcism: the latter complied and stated that it had been used in Medynah on a well which had become dry, and that it had been recited over a bucket full of water, which being poured into the well a flame of fire issued from it. Accordingly Abu-nazr took a pail of water, recited the exorcism which is here subjoined over it, and then besprinkled the corners of the house with the water:—

In the name of Allah! We have reached the evening in the name of Allah who cannot be resisted! We fly for refuge to Allah from every devil, from the wickedness of Satans among genii and men, as well as from everything suspended; from the evil of whatever sallies forth in the night, and lies in ambush during the day, or lies in ambush during

the night and sallies forth in the day; from the evil of everything created; from the wickedness of Eblis and his hosts, and from what is dreaded. I fly for refuge to God the all-hearing, the all-knowing, from Satan driven away with stones. In the name of Allah the merciful, the clement! "And by [the angels] who rank themselves in order; and by those who drive forward and dispel [the clouds]," as far as the words "a shining flame" [XXXVII. 1-10].

If a man is possessed by a devil, the *Ezan*, i.e. invitation to prayers, is to be whispered seven times into his right ear; as well as the *Fútthah* (I.), the *Fly for refuge* (CXIII. and CKIV.) the *Throne-verse* (II. 256), *The star which appeared by night* (LXXXVI.), the last part of *The Resurrection* (LXXV.), and the *Surah who rank themselves* (XXXVII.), and the devil will be burnt out.

Efficacy of various Surahs of the Korán.

The advantages to be gained by writing certain Surahs, reciting them, or drinking them with water, are numberless, but it will be interesting to mention a few of them in this place:—

Who writes the *Surah The story* (XXVIII.) from the words "And when he was journeying towards Madian" as far as "and God is witness of that which we say" (21-28), and suspends it on a person suffering from the bowels, spleen, or liver complaint, it will leave him by the permission of God. Who writes this and suspends it on a slave, he will not be treacherous, will commit no adultery, and will not run away. If a man writes the words "And when he arrived at the water of Madian" as far as "and imagined they should not be brought before us [to be judged] (22-39)," and is apprehensive that evil will befall him through false witnesses when he is summoned to a court of justice or through the tyranny of the Sultán, he is to recite the above verses seven times when he enters the court, and is to say thrice "Allah will prevail in His affairs:" every calamity of the kind will be averted.

If the *Surah The spider* (XXIX.) be written on water and the same is swallowed, it will remove the fever.

The *Surah Lokman* (XXXI.) written and drunk by persons afflicted with bowel complaints, or faintings, will remove them; it is also good against the quartan fever and against drowning.

According to *Uns*, the prophet said "Everything has a heart, and the heart of the Korán is the *Surah Fa Sin* (XXXVI.); who reads it Allah accounts it to him as if he had read the whole Korán ten times."

It is also stated that the prophet said "*Ya Sin* is a provision," and that on being asked for an explanation he continued: "It procures for him who recites it benefits in this world and in the next, and removes from him the calamities of this world and of the next, as well as the agony of death. It is also called *The repeller*, because it repels every evil; it is called *The accomplisher*, because it accomplishes every requirement. Who writes it and then drinks it, Allah causes a thousand medicines to enter his stomach, a thousand lights, a thousand certainties, a thousand wisdoms, a thousand blessings, a thousand mercies, and removes from him every complaint or disease. Who recites this Surah every morning and evening will not fail to experience joy till the next morning or evening; who reads it to a sick person on the approach of death, calls down by every word of it ten angels, who stand before the patient in lines to pray and to ask forgiveness in his behalf; they also accompany his bier and are present at his interment. If this Surah be recited to a person in the agony of death, his spirit will enter paradise. If any one reads the same for the purpose of attaining an object, he will gain it; if he be in fear he will experience safety; if hungry or thirsty, both his hunger and thirst will be appeased." The prophet also said: "In the *Korán* there is a Surah called *The beloved by God*, because it intercedes on the day of resurrection for him who recites it, and averts most evils in this world," and he meant the Surah *Ya Sin*.

On the Tehlyl.

In Egypt the Tehlyl means simply the shouting of *Allah! Allah!* or the *Li-li-li-li*, the joyous exclamation which often resounds from the flat house-tops of the towns during still nights, and is audible far in the desert; but, from what will follow below, it appears that not merely a few words or sentences, but portions of certain Surahs, are to be thus shouted in order to ensure the blessings they are believed to confer.

The Tehlyl can also be drunk and then cures diseases. The Emám Alkáhghary in his book *Sáfet alu'arif* relates that according to a tradition the prophet said: "In the *Korán* there are thirty-seven passages [suitable for the Tahlyl]. Who shouts *Lá Alah illallah* (There is no God but Allah), God will cause faith, knowledge, patience, certainty, sincerity, meditation, confidence, consolation, and steadiness to enter his heart. Who writes the above sentence and suspends it from his neck, or writes it on a vessel and drinks from it Zamzam-water or rain-water, God will cause fever and every disease to leave his body, his

flesh, his veins, his tendons, and all his articulations ; God will also protect him from every calamity, and if he be bewitched He will remove the spell, the pain, the disease, the complaint, and the effects of the evil eye."

The prophet also said : " I swear by Him in whose hand my soul is, that if a worshipper shouts the Tehlyl, God will look on him with mercy, and upon whom He looks with mercy him He will never punish, but will open to him the gate of wealth, and shut against him the gate of poverty ; He will avert the terrors of the day of the resurrection and will not take a strict account of his acts ; even if his liabilities should be as high as a mountain, God will annihilate them."

The principal *Tehlyls* are as follows :—Your God is one God, there is no God besides Him ; He is the merciful, the clement ! Then follows the whole of the Throne-verse (II. 256) and a large number of analogous verses from the *Korán* on the majesty and glory of God, which it would be superfluous to insert.

Talismans.

If it be required to *destroy the houses of foes, to ruin their harvests, and to injure their prosperity*, the following is stated to be a well-trying talisman, to be written when Mars comes in contact with *Zanab* (lit. "tail," but as there are several stars with this prefix, it is not known which of them is meant) ; it is to be written on a round brass plate, with an iron pen, or on a piece of wood taken from the bier of a corpse, and with vermilion ink. This is to be done in a cemetery or in a deserted locality, and is to be left there ; it will take effect. If it be necessary to effect the vacation of a place by its inhabitants, and to destroy their peace of mind, take wax and tar, or resin, and print the talisman therewith on a sheet of paper ; if it be thrown into the locality it will soon become deserted ; the same effect will ensue if the talisman be written on a piece of wood taken from a bier, and the place into which it is thrown will be quickly ruined. This is true and well tried, and the talisman is as follows (see Plate No. 5), which if made on brass must be written in a circle, but if on a piece of a bier it is to be in one line, as shown on the plate.

If a man has been robbed, and desires to see the thief in his sleep, he is to write the following talisman (see Plate No. 6), to purify himself, to read in the *Korán* what he likes, and he will see the thief in his sleep.

I turn and subjugate the heart of so and so (mention the man's name) to cherish and to love and to accept so and so (mention the woman's name) by the power of these names. Quick! Quick! Aluha! Aluha! The hour! The hour!

To avert anything, *e.g.* the marriage of a woman, the sale of a slave or of a house, or whatever you would like should not take place, write the following characters on the skin of a gazelle and suspend it from a wall (see Plate No. 8) with the words "I adjure you, O guardian-geni, to confine so and so (mention the person's name) as not to leave the house." Or "To compel so and so (mention the person's name) as not to leave the house." Or "To compel so and so (mention the girl's name) not to get married." Or "To impede the sale of the house." Because you are the guardians:—

قدوس قدوس هفتا سيرون قدومه فلانه بنت فلانه و دار سعل حمل
اعدها او صنم طمار باهدبا

The number of talismans is very considerable in books treating on subjects of this kind: but enough have here been given to show their character, and I insert only one more, which ensures invulnerability in war.

The following characters are to be written and suspended from the neck of a man or a woman when they enter a battle, and no sword can cut nor arrow injure them. This talisman is celebrated for averting all calamities; it is excellent and full of blessings. (See Plate No. 9.)

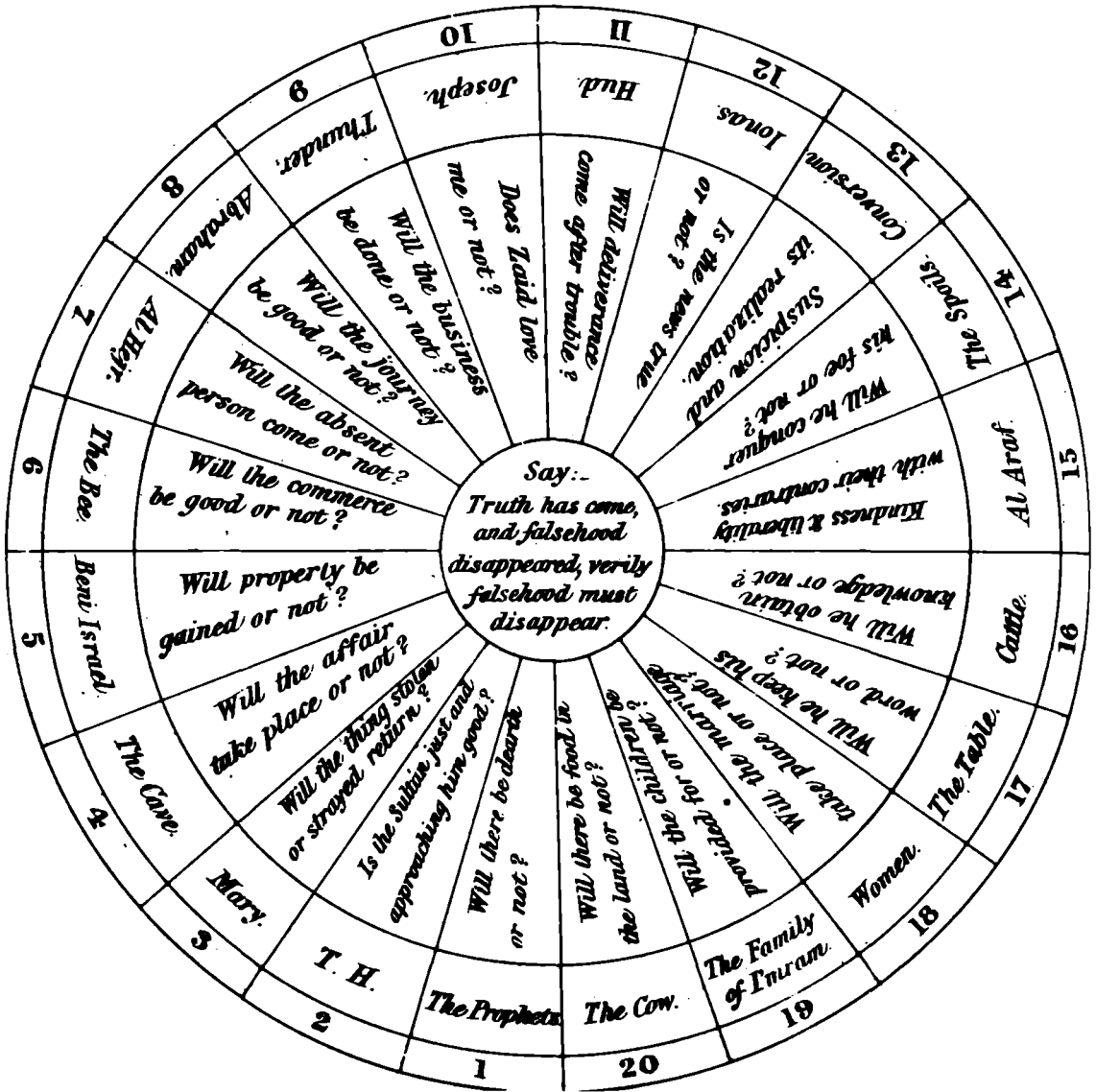
As the eight Arabic talismanic medicine-cups in the Museum of the Bombay Branch of the R. A. S. have already been described by me in a separate paper, it would be superfluous to say anything more about them; but there is no doubt that although the said cups are Muhammadan, they are imitations of much older ones used by the Jews for the same purposes many centuries before the Christian era, inasmuch as the *terra-cotta* cups of the same kind and forms found by Mr. Austen H. Layard, M.P., in the ruins of Babylonia, and described by Mr. Thomas Ellis of the Manuscript Department in the British Museum, which are charms against diseases and every kind of misfortune, bear characters written long prior to any existing manuscripts of the ancient Hebrew and Chaldean languages, without divisions between the words or any vowel-points. The language of the inscriptions on these cups is Hebrew mixed with Chaldee. Mr. Layard also bears witness to the

fact that talismanic medicine-cups are used in many parts of the East even at the present day, and is likewise of opinion that the cups from Babylon now in the British Museum have been used for a similar purpose. The origin and use of all talismanic medicine-cups is the same, but, as they bear no dates, conclusion can be drawn only from the form of the language and the characters in which they are written, both of which testify to considerable antiquity in the Babylonian, and to recent times in the Arabic cups.

Geomancy or Vaticination.

It is almost incredible to believe what pains the Arabs have bestowed on the development of geomancy, their *I'lm-ur-raml*. I had before me a folio volume in which eighty pages are filled with tables divided into columns detailing the answers to all possible questions occurring in human life; the first column is always filled with a certain number of dots, which the asker, or he who works for him, obtains by means of a tedious operation, and against these dots the replies stand. The operation is as follows:—Many dots are made at random in twelve lines, then each line is treated separately by pairing off the dots from the right towards the left, until after the last mark either two dots remain or only one; according to this manner the first four lines are reduced to a very small compass, since only one or two dots can remain of each; these together constitute a figure containing at the utmost eight, or at least four dots, and the dots constituting it are called *ummahát*; the next four lines, after being treated in the same manner, are called *benát*; and the last four, after a similar abridging operation, are named *shiút*; after having obtained these three figures they are put in juxtaposition, and when their exact counterpart is discovered in the tables the answers standing against them are to be read, and to be considered as the required solutions. In some cases it is necessary to eliminate still more dots by placing the *ummahát*, the *benát*, and *shiút* near each other and pairing them off as above, so that one or two dots remain in each line, and the result of the three figures will be only one; the maximum number of dots being again only eight, and the minimum four. There are yet more complicated and longer operations considered necessary in order to elicit a perfectly correct answer, but it is unnecessary in this place to detail them. Geomancy is vaticination, but there are many other means of getting at the results of the latter, without employing the tedious processes generally resorted to by geomancers; the way in which the Emám Ja'fer,

Nº 10.



surnamed Çádeķ (died A.H. 148, A.D. 765), ascertained future events will here be given, as he is held in great respect by all Moslems. When the house of Músa (died A.H. 183, A.D. 799), the son of the just-mentioned Emám, was searched by the servants of the Khalif Mámún, they found in it a casket of crystal encrusted with gold, which was delivered to Mámún. When he opened it he found in it a little tablet of marble, whereon the accompanying circular diagram was traced (see Plate No. 10), and on examining it he almost lost his senses for joy.—A person wishing to ascertain future events is first to read the portions of the Kórán prescribed for such occasions, and is then to throw lots concerning the twenty numbers written on the circumference of the circle. This he is to do thrice, and after adding the numbers he must subtract twenty or ten if required, so that the remaining number may be one which occurs on the circumference of the circle, and the Surah inscribed over the number is to be consulted to obtain the reply. There are twenty tables attached, each being headed by the name of a Surah, the verses being all given in a certain way for the present purpose; they are to be read from the tables, and not from the Kórán itself.

ART. XVIII.—*Notes on the History and Antiquities of the Island of Bassein.* BY J. GERSON DA CUNHA, Esq., M.R.C.S. Eng., L.M., L.R.C.P. Edin., &c.

Read 12th September 1874.

THE island of Bassein lies between $19^{\circ} 24'$ and $19^{\circ} 28'$ N. Lat., and $72^{\circ} 48'$ and $72^{\circ} 54'$ E. Long. It is bounded on the north by the Dantura Creek, on the south by the Strait of Bassein, on the east by a narrow channel separating it from the mainland, and on the west by the Arabian Sea. It is about 11 miles long, about 5 broad, and has an area of about 35 square miles. It is distant nearly 32 miles from Bombay.

Ancient Hindu geographers included Bassein in the Varáláta (Varár), one of the seven divisions of the Paraśuráma Kshetra.*

Its original name, *Vasai*, which is of Sanskrit origin, meaning a dwelling or residence, from वस् to dwell, and by which it is still designated by the natives, was by the Muhomedans first changed into *Basai*, which the Portuguese made *Baçim*, and the English *Bassein*.

Although insignificant in size, Bassein had at an early period attained some reputation from its connection with the celebrated places of Tuṅgári, Nirmala, Kalyāna, Śrísthánaka, and Soupára or Śurpáraka of old; and at a later period it became famous from its having been the principal Portuguese settlement on the coast of the Northern Koṅkana.

The *Tuṅgári Mahátmya*, or "the greatness of Tuṅgári," a part of the *Padma Purāna*, gives an interesting account of the establishment of Tuṅgáreśvara and its *tírtha* in Bassein. It is therein stated that Paraśuráma had a fight with the *asuras* or evil spirits under the

* The seven divisions of the Paraśuráma Kshetra are "केरलाञ्चतुलगाञ्च तथा गोराष्ट्रासिनः कौक्याः करहाटाः वरालाटाञ्च बर्बरा," i. e. Kerala, Tulanga, Gauráshtra, Koṅkana, Karaháta, Varáláta, and Barbara. These seven divisions of land correspond to seven different tribes of the Bráhmaṇas inhabiting it and speaking different dialects. In ancient Hindu works this region is often described as Saptá-Koṅkanas; whilst among the ancient Greeks a part of its coast was known as *Limyrisa*.—*Sahy. Kh.*, bk. II., ch. viii., and *Mangesh Mah.* ch. ii.

† Śurpáraka or Śurpárakashetra शूर्पारक क्षेत्र is also the name of the whole western coast of the Paraśuráma Kshetra, so called from its resemblance to a शूर्प, a winnow. The Kshetra extends from the river Vaitaraṇi to Cape Comorin, and from the Sahyádrí range to the Arabian Sea.

championship of Vimala, who was in the habit of harassing the people in the Varáláta, in revenge for affronts done to the Bráhmaṇas. Paraśuráma being invincible, the demons were compelled to make a hasty retreat westward, but, being pursued, had to run into the sea. Here Vimala brought a mountain on his head, named Tuṅga, which in Sanskrit means a hill, placed it in the sea, and fixed there his residence. His defeat, however, having counselled him repentance and religious austerities, he pleased Śiva so much that he obtained from the deity immunity from death, and the privilege of a *tírtha*, along with a *divyaliṅga* or divine phallus. This he was told to establish on the Tuṅga hill under the condition of his desisting from being aggressive towards the Bráhmaṇas in future, in which case Vimala need fear nobody in the three worlds. The condition being acceded to, the *liṅga* was settled on the Tuṅga hill, and named Tuṅgáresvara, or "the Lord of the Mountains."*

This event is said to have taken place in the Tretá Yuga or Silver Age of the Hindus, before Paraśuráma had reclaimed the Koṅkaṇa from the sea.

It is recorded in the *Skanda* and other *Purāṇs* that Paraśuráma, after reclaiming and colonizing the Koṅkaṇa with the Bráhmaṇas, established a certain number of *tírthas*† in it, one of which was Nirmala or Vimala in Bassein.

* This is the modern 'Tungár Hill on the east side of the railway, which, promises to become a rival to Matheran Hill as a sanitarium.

† The *Sahyádrí Khanda* of the *Skanda Purāṇas* mentions that Paraśuráma, the sixth *avatár* of Vishṇu and son of Jamadagni, having vanquished the Emperor Kártavírya Sahasrájuna and annihilated the race of the Kshatriyas, gave over their lands to the Bráhmaṇas, but having no place for himself, asked Varuṇa, the Indian Neptune, to grant him a part of his dominions, which having been refused, Paraśuráma repaired to the top of the Sahyádrí, and, in spite of the opposition offered by Varuṇa, discharged fourteen arrows. From the points where they fell the sea receded, and the land thus extorted from the ocean was then divided into seven parts, mentioned in a previous footnote. This is said to have taken place between the Tretá and Dvápára Yugas. The legend typifies both the contests among the Aryas themselves and the geological changes in the Dekhan.

‡ The *Tírthas* are "विमलं निमलंचैव खदिरं तीर्थमुत्तमं । हरिहरेश्वरतीर्थं मुक्तेश्वरस्त-
थैवच ॥ बालुकेशोमहाभेद्रो बागंगा सरस्वती । तस्यास्तुदक्षिणे भागे कुशास्थली समुद्रिणी ॥ मठ
शामंतया चान्ये गोमातस्ये च पर्वते । तत्रैव स्थापितं तीर्थं गोरक्षं च कुमरिजं ॥ रामकुंडं कुण्डं लच-
माचीसिद्धं गुणोपमं" ॥ i.e. the Vimala, Nirmala, Khadira the best, Harihar-vara, Muktesvara, Valukesá the great, Baṇagaṅgá, and Sarasvati; to the south of these the Kushasthali river and Mathagrāma; and on the Gománt mountain the Goraksha, Kumárija, Rámakunda, Kuḍmala, Práchísiddha, Guṇopama, and several others.—*Sahy. Kh.*, bk. II., ch. i.

The *Nirmala Mahátmya*, also a part of the same Puráṇa, states that, while some R̥shis were praising the name of Paraśuráma, Vimala, angry at hearing the praises of his deadly enemy, came down from the Tuṅga hill, and commenced to annoy the R̥shis by placing a big stone on their *homakunḍa*, or hole in the ground for receiving the consecrated fire for an oblation. The R̥shis made a complaint to Śiva, who sent Paraśuráma to chastise the incorrigible demon, forgetful of his promise. This hero arrived just in time to afford protection to a young daughter of Lomaharshaṇa R̥shi, who, while engaged in performing her devotions on the banks of the Vaitaraṇi,* was being carried off by Vimala. Paraśuráma had a fight with Vimala, but every time he cut off his hands and feet they were renewed more vigorously than ever by the blessing of Śiva, whereupon Paraśuráma had recourse to Śiva himself, and, duly backed by the latter, succeeded at last in defeating Vimala with his classical *paraśu* or axe.

Vimala, now fallen, began to invoke Paraśuráma's clemency, and praised his name. Paraśuráma, always compassionate, established then on the spot where Vimala fell a liṅga, which he called "Vimaleśvara" or "the Lord of Vimala," and erected a temple to commemorate the event.

Vimala is now called Nirmala, or *stainless*, since it was purified by Paraśuráma—from निर *without* and मल *stain*.

In the 8th chap. of the *Nirmala Mahátmya* it is mentioned that on the eleventh day of Kártika Kṛṣṇapaksha those who bathe in the waters of the Vaitaraṇi obtain the remission of their sins, and Narada, Vasistha, and other R̥shis were the first to bathe in them.

This mythic fight of Paraśuráma with the *asuras* in the Tretá Yuga may possibly typify the contests of the Aryas with the aborigines, while the shelter Vimala found in the Tuṅga hill, to which Paraśuráma could get no access, seems to point to some geological change in the island of Bassein previous to the reclamation of the Koṅkaṇa from the ocean.

* The Vaitaraṇi river takes its rise from Násik, and running through the Mahim Táluká debouches into Dantura Creek. In the *Mahábhárata Bhishma-parva*, ch. 9, in the description of Jambudvīpa, the Vaitaraṇi is alluded to thus: मंदाकिर्नी वैतरणी कोषांचापि महानदीं Again the *Harihareśvara Mahatmya*, ch. 2, vv. 44, 50, refers to it.

† The *Tuṅgarí* and *Nirmala Mahátmya* are very old Sanskrit manuscripts, which have been translated into Prakrit by one of the Śankarácáryas. Lithographed copies of the translations of these are obtainable from native booksellers. I am indebted for the perusal of them to my friend Mr. Eshvant F. Naik Danaíta.

Besides these, there are numerous small *kuṇḍas*, or consecrated pools, and *tīrthas* in Bassein of great sanctity, but of little historical interest.

But to return to Vimalēśvara. The Portuguese, or rather the Inquisition, pulled down the temple, desecrated the *tīrtha*, and made the *liṅga* of Śiva disappear.* On the Marāṭhās taking possession of Bassein, Nirmala was again purified, Pādukas of Śrī Dattātreyā substituted for the *liṅga*, and a tank constructed in the neighbourhood for religious ablutions in lieu of the *tīrtha* destroyed.

The legendary lore of Bassein, full of extravagant and wild chaff, such as the abduction of the daughter of Lomaharshaṇa Rishi on the banks of the Vaitaraṇi by the terrible *asuras*, and other fictional matter, hopeless mazes of tradition and mythology without even the redeeming feature of probability, contains, however, some obscure hints, from which grains of truth may be extracted. Besides, the *Mahātmyas*, if they have no historical value, have at least some philological importance, and as they are fast disappearing, I have thought it advisable to save those of Bassein, in defiance of those who deem them but nonsensical.

The present temple, endowed at the public expense, is under the management of Gurú Śankarāchārya Svāmi, who occasionally pays a pastoral visit to Nirmala, as well as to the other divisions of the Koṅkana, and is regarded in the same light by the Śaivas as Madhvāchārya by the Vaishnavas. Attached to the shrine there is an *annachhatra* or inn, where the Brāhmaṇas are fed gratuitously. A *jātrā* is annually held on the 11th day of the month of Kārtika before referred to, which is attended by numerous pilgrims.†

Very little is known concerning the ancient authentic history of Bassein, a few incidental allusions to it only being found in the writings of some old Hindus and Greeks. The latter, since the expedition of

* An inscription dated 1261 A.D., in a grant of a place called Jūtākēśvara to Vimalēśvara, and of land in its vicinity to Mahādeva of the Bhadravāja lineage, for serving in the temple, made by Śrī Kambhadeva of the Chālukya race, residing in the town of Kalyāṇa, shows plainly that the deity was revered even in those times, as follows :—

ततरतीर्थेषु विमलं नमलं नामसुंदरं संसारमलनिर्मुक्तं यत्रयान्तिपरंपदं ॥ ततो नदी वैतरणी-
युक्तपश्चिमसिंधुना यस्याः स्नानेनदानेन नपश्येत यमयातना ॥

† There is also here the tomb of the first Śankarāchārya Svāmi, who repaired the schism between the Jainas and the orthodox Brāhmaṇas.

Alexander, found their way into the country both by sea and land, and entered into commercial intercourse with the natives. Ptolemy Philadelphus was the first to send one Dionysius to the southern part of India to inquire into the produce and manufactures of the Dekkan. At that time,* it appears, there were three famous kingdoms in Central and Southern India, viz. *Plithanah*, which is supposed to be *Paitlana* on the *Godávári*; *Tagara*, modern *Devagaḍa* or *Daulatábád*, the capital of a kingdom then called *Ariuke*, which comprehended a great part of *Aurangábád* and the Southern *Koñkaṇa*; and *Syrástrene* or *Lárice*, said to correspond to modern *Gujarát*, including *Kalyána*, *Tḥana*, *Bassein*, &c.†

Arrian, the supposed author of the *Periplus*,‡ records that long before his time the Greeks traded with *Kalyána*,§ but that since the conquest of Egypt by the Romans, who had monopolized the whole Indian trade and would not allow foreigners to enter the Red Sea, the trade of the Dekkan was wholly carried on by land. The king of the country about *Kalyána*, *Bassein*, and *Bombay* was then called *Sáraganos*|| (*Sáraṅga* or *Sáraṅgesha*), who was friendly towards the Greeks, but the *Sándanes* (*Aryas*?), having conquered the king, not only strictly prohibited those foreigners from trading at *Kalyána* and its neighbourhood, but even sent some of them under a strong guard to *Baráce* (*Broach*). Arrian does not give any reason for such a proceeding, but other writers are of opinion that the Greeks had attempted to effect a settlement on the island of *Salsette* with a view to its acquisition, and to facilitate their meditated conquests in the Dekkan. The king of *Tagara* had several harbours south of *Kalyána* in his possession, but

* The campaign of Alexander, B.C. 330, and Ptolemy's Geography, A.D. 150, or 480 years later.

† D'Auvillie's *Eclaircissement Géographiques sur la Carte de l'Inde*, p. 69; Viviené do St. Martin's *Étude sur la Géographie Grecq. et Lat. de l'Inde*, p. 204. I am not unaware of the immense difficulty attending the identification of Greek names.

‡ *Periplus Maris Erythræi*, A.D. 200.

§ A few of the early Greek writers are minute in describing the kinds of articles of commerce for which they had made *Kalyána* a port of considerable resort and enterprise. The names of some of those articles have been transmitted to us in Greek, and of others in Latin, nomenclature, viz. *ξύλα δηδμνὰ* or *sesamin* (*sisu*?), logs; *Φαλαγγων έρερινων* or spars of ebony, *othonium vulgare*, dungaree or lighter sail-cloth; *sindones omnis generis*, muslins of all kinds; *molochyna*, a kind of cotton stuff dyed of a purplish colour, &c.

|| *Καλλιενα πολις, ή επί Σαραγάνου του*

πρεσβυτέρου Χρόνων έμπόριον ένθεσμον γενόμενον.—Hudson, *Geog. Vet.* I. 30.

they were all infested by the pirates,—a fact testified by Arrian, Ptolemy, Pliny, and others.

In the reign of Justinian the trade of Kalyána was as active as ever. Kosmas Indikopleustes, an Egyptian merchant who had made some voyages to India, for which he received the surname of Indikopleustes, mentions that Kalyána was a place abounding with Christians, who were subject to a Persian Bishop of the Nestorian sect.*

Contemporaneously with Kosmas, we have the account of Hwen Thsang, a Chinese traveller, who was in India between A.D. 629 and 645; he mentions a place in Mo-ho-la-to or Maháráshtra, close to the Western coast, which is said to correspond to Kalyána.† Of Kalyána as an emporium of trade, Bassein seems to have been the chief entrepôt of foreign commerce, from its being at the head of inland navigation.

We learn also, from some inscriptions and copperplates,‡ that in 1017 A.D. Śrísthaka (Tḥáná) was the seat of a reigning family called Silára, or Siláhára, who date their ascent to the throne from the time of Kapardi, which may be computed to be about 900 A.D. He traces his lineage to Jimutaváhana 'the cloud-borne,' of the race of Rajputs and Rája of Tagara, exhibiting a long series of about nine princes who claimed to be the masters of 1400 villages in the Koñkana, the principal of which was termed *Puri*, which, being a generic term for city, appears to stand for some such place as Ghárápuri, modern Elephanta Island; § but this is rather doubtful.

These princes had frequent contests with the Kádamba and Chálukya kings; of the latter Śrí Kambhadeva is said to have made a grant of

* Kosmas was in Kalyána about 547 A.D. On returning home he entered a monastery and wrote various works, among which his *Topographia Christiana* contains particulars about the trade and people of Kalyána. Don Bernard de Montfaucon, one of the Kosmas translators, suspects him to be a Nestorian, for which he gives what La Croze calls historic and dogmatic proofs. (*Hist. du Christianisme des Indes*, by V. La Croze, vol. I., pp. 40-50.) I am not unaware that some writers contend that the Kalyána of Kosmas is modern Kalyánapur, near Udipi, but Col. Yule is of opinion that it is identical with the one I refer to. *Ind. Ant.*, vol. I., p. 321; vol. II., p. 273.

† Stanislas Julien's *Hist. de la Vie de Hiouen-Thsang*, p. 202; and Alex. Cunningham's *Ancient Geog. of Ind.*, p. 554.

‡ *As. Res.* Vol. I., pp. 363-4.

§ Linschoten calls Elephanta Island *Pori*. He says:—"There is another Pagode which they hold and esteem for the highest and chiefest Pagode of all the rest, which standeth on a little Island called *Pori*. This Pagode by the Portingals is called the Pagode of the elephant."—*Dis. of Voyages into the E. and W. India*, Boke 1, ch. 44.

land to Vimaleśvara in 1261 A.D., as before stated.* One of the princes of the house of Kadamba, named Jayakeśi Deva I., king of Goa, is said to have slain the King of Kapardikadvipa, or the island of Kaparda, which is not yet ascertained whether it is Salsette or Bassein.

Bassein eventually passed from the Silára family into the hands of the Yádavas, whose inscriptions, dated 1272 and 1290 A.D., have been discovered near it.†

Until the submission of the Yádavas to the Mahomedans, this part of the Koṅkaṇa was subject to constant political changes, being divided and subdivided between Bhimrája of Mahim and Rámadeva of Devagaḍa, as well as between other petty chieftains of the Náyaks, Bangolis, and Bhaṇḍáris.‡

The defeat of Rámadeva by All-á-u-din, the emperor of Delhi, in the year 1294, placed the Dekhan and, some years subsequently, the greater part of the Koṅkaṇa, under the sway of the Mahomedans.§ About 1295 A.D. Marco Polo, the celebrated Venetian traveller, was at Tháná, and describes it as the capital of a great kingdom in the West, its inhabitants as idolaters, speaking a language of their own, and under a sovereign subject to no other. He speaks of its great trade in leather finely dressed, and cotton goods, and also of imports of gold and silver. He likewise alludes to the pirates issuing from the Tháná river and infesting the coast.||

It is said that five Franciscan Missionaries suffered martyrdom at Tháná soon after its occupation by the Mahomedans.¶

* *Lond. R. A. S. Jour.* vol. V., p. 177.

† *Ibid.*, vol. II., p. 380.

‡ *Trans. Bomb. Geog. Soc.*, p. 129.

§ *Briggs' Ferishta*, vol. I., p. 304.

|| Editions of Marco Polo's Travels by Murray, Marsden, and Yule.

¶ Friar Oderic of Priuli, who was at Tháná in 1330 A.D., relates the occurrence as having taken place in 1320, about two centuries before the arrival of the Portuguese. P. Francisco de Souza, in his *Oriente conquistado*, quoting the chronicles of the Franciscans, gives a detailed description of it. He states that while a Portuguese nobleman, by name D. Antonio de Souza, was laying the foundation of his house at Tháná, he happened to discover in the excavations an engraving of a friar, which he supposed to be that of Jordanus, of the order of the Franciscans, who after having buried his four companions, all minorites or clergymen of low order, was killed. Their names the chronicle gives as Friar Thomas Tolentino and Friar Jacome da Padoa (both presbyters). Friar Demetrius and Friar Petrus (leigos or brothers), who had come down from Persia, whence, unable to prosecute their missionary career, they went to Ormuz and set sail for the coast of Coromandel. Somehow, however, they landed near Bassein, and soon after suffered martyrdom.

It was in 1311 A.D. that the fury of the Mahomedan invaders was first felt in this part of Aurangábad, which was ravaged by Malik Kafur, the general of Allá-u-din Kilji, under whose sovereignty it continued for about forty years, and was subsequently subject to other Mahomedan rulers until its conquest by the Portuguese.

The coast of Bassein, according to Fariay Souza, was visited by the Portuguese in the year 1509; but it was not till about seventeen years later that they established a factory there. Duarte Barbosa says of it, about this period, under the Mahomedan name of Baxay, that "Having passed this town of Deudi, twenty leagues further on to the south is another town of Moors and gentiles, a good seaport, which also belongs to the King of Gujarat, in which much goods are exchanged; and there is a great movement of the shipping which comes there from all parts, and many Zambucs* from the Malabar country laden with areca, cocoas, and spices, which they delight in, and they take thence others which are used in Malabar."†

In 1530 the Portuguese made a descent upon the coast from Chikli, Tárápur to Bassein, and levied contributions on Tháná and Kalyán, compelling both places to promise to pay annual tribute to the crown of Portugal.‡ The geographical position of the latter inspired them with a desire to possess it permanently, and as a quarrel soon arose

in Tháná. Friar Oderic, who had come down to Tháná in 28 days from Ormuz, in what he calls a *jahas*, which is but the Persian جہاز the generic name of a ship or boat, took away their bones to Europe, and ascribes several miracles to them. On his return from Europe, he published his account, wherein the sad occurrence is described as the result of a religious dispute with the Cadi (Kasi) or ecclesiastical judge of the town, whom the Franciscans provoked by saying that "this prophet Mahomed was in hell with his father the devil," on which the governor of Tháná had them executed under excessive tortures; but the King, whom he calls *Dódsi*, having found the martyrs innocent, put the Governor and his family to death for his despotism and cruelty, while the Kázi of Thána fled away.

In connection with this fact I should mention that according to Leonardo Paes, trat. 2°, cap. 1, and soon after the conquest by the Portuguese, some Franciscans discovered in the island of Karanja a blue stone with the image of the Virgin Mary engraven on it, which they called "Nossa Senhor da Penha," and gave this name to the Karanja hill, which is still denominated in the Portuguese State documents "Serra da Nossa Senhora da Penha." This is corroborated by Bishop Jeronimo Ozorio, who adds that there existed in Karanja a majestic temple of the Christians long before the arrival of the Portuguese. This is, however, a controvertible subject, doubted as much by early Portuguese writers as by ourselves.

* *Zambucs* or *Sambuks*, Arab undecked boats.

† *Description of the Coast of East Africa and Malabar*, p. 68.

‡ Faria y Souza, tome I, pt. iv., ch. 2.

with Bahádur Sháh, King of Gujarát, whom the Portuguese historians call *Sultaõ de Cambaia*, or *Melique*,* recourse to arms could no longer be avoided. The result was a treaty by which they obtained formal cession of Bombay and Mahim, Diu, Damaun, Chaúl, and Bassein; permission to erect forts, and the right of levying duty on the Red Sea trade: engaging themselves in return to afford him assistance against the emperor Humáyun of Delhi.† In virtue of these concessions the fort of Bassein was in 1536 founded by Nuno da Cunha, on the southern extremity of the island of that name, facing the narrow inlet of the sea which divides it from Salsette, and was placed under the command of his brother-in-law, Garcia de Sá, who is known as the first Captain of Bassein, and was subsequently appointed Governor of India on the death of the last of the Portuguese heroes, D. Joã de Castro, in 1548. But, to enter into details, it was in 1530 that Antonio de Sylveira made the first descent upon the coast of Bassein, and burnt and pillaged it to an enormous extent. His march of depredation was, however, arrested at the island of Bombay, where the King of Tháná, panic-stricken at the news of the ravages made by the Portuguese, came down to offer, as a check to further waste, the islands of Bombay and Mahim, which being duly accepted, an annual tribute was also imposed on him.

In 1531 Antonio de Saldanha, on his way to Goa from Cambay,‡ partly to retrieve his misfortunes in the Court of the King of Gujarát, and partly to punish the recalcitrant Sultán Bahádur, who had refused to cede Diu to the King of Portugal, made a second descent upon the coast from Chikli Tárápur to Bassein,§ setting fire to it again. Saldanha was followed in 1533 by Diogo de Sylveira, who, having already gained elsewhere the unenviable reputation of an incendiary,|| was

* *Melique*, from the Persian *ملك* a king. Some writers also call him "Rei de Cambaia," or King of Cambay, his principal port.

† *Tuhfat-ut-Mujahidin*, pp. 136-7.

‡ J. P. Maffei, *Hist. Ind.*, p. 428.

§ J. T. Lafiteau, *Hist. Dis. Decouv. et. Conq. de Port.*, vol II., p. 215.

|| Diogo de Sylveira, though so fierce in temper, had also his better side of nature. It is written that once while cruising in the Red Sea, Sylveira came across a vessel under a Mahomedan captain, who saluted him, and having obtained an audience, brought him a letter from a Portuguese, which the Mahomedan believed to be a recommendatory letter. The contents of the letter, however, disclosed the fact that the ship was laden with valuables, and the writer of the letter wished Sylveira to seize it as a very good prize, and make a prisoner of the captain, whom the writer described as a wicked man. Sylveira did not know which to admire most, the impudence of the one or the rashness of the other. He treated the

chiefly instrumental in burning and plundering the whole seacoast from Bandora along Tháná and Bassein up to Surat, which scarcely had had time to recover from the devastating effects of the two previous invasions of his comrades Saldanha and Antonio da Sylveira. Having accomplished this, Sylveira returned to Goa rich with the spoils of his pillaging, among which there were four thousand slaves, who were afterwards employed in the building of convents and churches of Goa.

While this summary castigation of their deadly foes was going on under the immediate supervision of Captains Saldanha, Sylveira, Martin Alphonso de Souza, and others, the General Nuno da Cunha was all the while devising means to take possession of Diu. His whole mind appears at this time to have been engrossed in this object, while Bassein seems scarcely to have been thought of. Having, however, of a sudden been made acquainted with the fact that Malik Tokan, son of Malik Jaz, Governor of Diu, was fortifying Bassein, which would certainly prove a useful addition to the Mahomedan citadels on the coast, especially as this place and the country around yielded timber of the best quality for the building of fleets, he set out to put a stop to it. In the meanwhile Malik Tokan had built his citadel of Bassein, fortified both margins of the river with trenches and ramparts surrounded with a ditch that admitted the water from the sea, and garrisoned the fortress with cavalry and infantry amounting to about 15,000. He had, besides, improved its condition by facilitating means for the increase of the general population, attracted there by the commercial importance of the place, which, however dated from very remote times, and by the building of edifices both public and private, the vestiges of which are now with difficulty traced, especially among the ruins of the circular castle in the centre of the fort, to be described hereafter.

The General Nuno da Cunha, solely intent on putting down any fortified place that might prove troublesome to his ambitious views, prepared a fleet of 150 ships manned by 4,000 men, half of whom were Portuguese, and the rest Canarese and Malabarese.

Malik Tokan, on seeing this formidable array of the naval power of the terrible *Firangi*, lost no time in making overtures

captain with extreme kindness, gave him a passport in better form, and told him that he rather preferred that the world should learn that a man of his nation would willingly lose an opportunity of enriching himself than show bad faith.

of peace, which being entertained by Cunha only under extremely hard stipulations, Tokan had no resource left but to try his fortune on the battle-field. Thereupon the Portuguese landed a little to the north of the citadel, and, led by Diogo da Sylveira and Manuel de Macedo, glided on to the moat of the fortress, scaled its ramparts, mounted its parapets, and gained a position from which Malik Tokan, with his whole host, could not dislodge them. Once within the citadel, the Portuguese, not at all daunted by their numerical insignificance—for only the vanguard of the Portuguese army was engaged in the combat—threw themselves amidst the ranks of the enemy with such impetuosity and rancour, that Malik Tokan's troops were entirely dispersed. The terrible havoc wrought among the Mahomedans caused them to retreat precipitately, leaving behind a prodigious quantity of stores and munitions of war. This mere handful of valorous Portuguese, whose daring deeds in this action often extorted the admiration of their foes, fought with success so decisive that the whole island of Bassein fell into their hands. Only two persons of mark and a few soldiers, says Lafiteau, were killed, while the whole field seemed to be strewn with the corpses of the enemy.

Nuno da Cunha, naturally elated by so signal a victory, intended to celebrate this action by bestowing the honour of knighthood—in imitation of the son of the great admiral Vasco de Gama, who knighted his young companions at the shrine of St. Catherine on the mount Sinai—on a few of his officers, distributing among his brave troops the spoils of war; but the council of war having determined, like the Roman senate's decree *de delenda Carthagine*, that the ramparts should be demolished and the whole citadel rased to the ground—more on account of its proximity to the fort of Chaul, and its consequent uselessness, than, like the Romans, from hatred—the Portuguese General retired with four hundred pieces of artillery to Goa, where he was received with great rejoicings.

After his defeat, Malik Tokan endeavoured to console himself with a systematic series of intrigues, underhand machinations, and organized hypocrisy with Bahádur Sháh on the one side, whom he hated from the very bottom of his heart, and with the Portuguese on the other, also his detested enemies, that it would be simply tedious, if not unpleasant, to write about it. The General, Nuno da Cunha, at the request of each party, sent an emissary to treat of peace, Vasco da Cunha going to

Malik Tokan, and Tristaõ de Ga to the court of Bahádur Sháh; their missions, however, having proved fruitless, the General himself sailed with a fleet of eighty ships, and began that brilliant course of diplomacy which eventually secured for him not only the possession of Bassein, but even the realization of the *songe doré* of his life, the building of the fort of Diu, which the Portuguese had hitherto failed to accomplish, from the King Don Manuel, who had in 1519 sent Diogo Lopes de Siqueira with a fleet of eighty ships to conquer it, which utterly failed; Henrique de Menezes, who followed Siqueira, but whose premature death put a stop to his otherwise well-conceived tactics; down to Lopo Vaz de Sampayo, who, having spent an incredibly large sum of money, had prepared one of the most formidable armadas that India ever saw, but with the same result. The King, Don Joaõ III., frequently wrote to the Governor, Nuno da Cunha, not to slacken his efforts to gain possession of a place that commanded the whole trade of India, Persia, and Arabia, and whose possession subsequently gave rise to those two memorable sieges which have been sung by poets, and have few rivals in deeds of valour and gallantry in the annals of warfare.

Bahádur Sháh, who had succeeded in winning the confidence of Ibráhim II., and obtained the governorship of Gujaráta, succeeded on the death of his sovereign in making himself an independent king. The Mogul, however, would not forgive the treachery of his former servant; and Bahádur Sháh, being left without a single friend to help him against the threats of Humáyun of Delhi, had recourse to the Portuguese, who having, under the eminent general Martin Alphonso de Souza, reduced Damaun, the loss of which citadel Bahádur Sháh had felt most poignantly, and knew the great value of such an alliance, accepted the offer of a treaty of peace, which was concluded and sworn to under the following conditions:—That Sultán Bahádur Sháh should cede to the King of Portugal the sovereign right to Bassein, with all dependencies; that the Portuguese should have the right to levy duties on the Red Sea trade; that all his vessels should sail with a passport from the Portuguese Crown; that his harbours should no longer have any armed boat; and that the Rumís should have no protection from the Sultán. This took place in 1533.

Again, being about the following year invited by the Mogul to an alliance offensive and defensive, which request was highly flattering to his feelings as being sought after at the same time

by two of the most powerful of the kings of India, Nuno, though rather vacillating at first, came to the conclusion to reject the Emperor of Delhi's proposal, and remain content with that of his former ally, Bahádur Sháh, who then entered into another league, the conditions of which gratified to the full the ambition of the Portuguese general. The conditions were : That the Sultán Bahádur Sháh should cede to the King of Portugal a site for the building of a fortress in Diu ; that the Sultán should in particular give the King the ramparts that were on the seaside close to the port, and at the same time confirm the cession he had made the preceding year of Bassein and the territory around. Another clause was to the effect that the Portuguese should engage in return to afford him assistance against the Emperor Humáyun, which assistance was eventually given and proved highly valuable to Bahádur Sháh, though it has not been acknowledged by the Mahomedan historian Ferishat.

This treaty, containing conditions so hard for Bahádur Sháh, although signed in 1534, did not urge the Portuguese general to found the city of Bassein until 1536, when, the Mogul having threatened to take possession of it, he was obliged to appoint his brother-in-law Garcia de Sá to conduct its defence ; but Garcia, having but a factory established there by the Portuguese several years before, and some slight fortification hastily constructed, thought it better to abandon the place. Thereupon Antonio Galvaõ, whom the chroniclers call the great Christian hero, who in after-time as a governor of the Molukas not only distinguished himself by repairing the ruins caused by his predecessor, the inconsiderate Tristaõ de Ataide, but made himself beloved of the whole native population,—opposed a resolution so unworthy of the Portuguese, and determined on fighting. The Mogul's hope of becoming master of Bassein being thereby frustrated, he, in the presence of the warlike attitude assumed by the dauntless Galvaõ with his gallant company, thought it prudent not to risk an attack, and retreated without even firing a shot. Nuno, who had arrived soon after the Mogul had withdrawn from the field, commenced to lay the foundations of his citadel of Bassein, and was so pleased with the valorous action of Galvaõ that, in order to do him honour, he asked him to lay the corner-stone of the fort.

Having once built Bassein, Garcia de Sá was made its first Captain or Governor, and continued to improve, by all means within his power, the condition of the place, until the year 1548, when, on the

death of Don Joaõ de Castro, the *cartas de successão* or royal letters of succession, being opened with the usual formalities, the following names in succession were read out :—Don Joaõ Mascarenhas, Don Jorge Tellese Menezes, and Garcia de Sá. The two former being absent in Portugal, Garcia de Sá was proclaimed Governor of India, while his place of Captain of Bassein was given to Jorge Cabral, who eventually, on the death of Garcia de Sá, which took place in 1549 at Goa, where his remains lie buried in the church of Nossa Senhora do Rosario, was also called from this place to Goa to occupy the position of acting Governor until the year 1551, when the Viceroy Afonso de Noronha came down to hold the reins of the Portuguese empire in Asia. Jorge Cabral, the historians tell us, was at first averse to leaving the humble post of captain of the fort of Bassein for the more splendid but burdensome position of acting governor, but, induced by his wife, who was young, handsome, and ambitious, he accepted the situation and returned to Goa, where he was received with all the honours due to his high position.

The founder of Bassein belongs to that brilliant galaxy of intrepid soldiers of old Lusitania, who for about half a century dazzled the world with their splendid achievements.* He was not less known as an accomplished general and statesman than as a man of culture and attainments. Musgrave writes of him, "His conquests were numerous, and his measures so skilfully and nicely framed and concerted, that he stands preëminent amongst the Viceroys who acquired the most brilliant

-
- A Sampaio feroz succederá
Cunha, que longo tempo tem o leme ;
De Chalé as torres altas erguerá,
Em quanto Dio illustre delle tremo :
O forte Baçaim se l'he dará,
Naõ sem sangue porém ; que nelle game
Melique, porque á força so de espada
A tranqueira soberba vê tomada.

Camões, *Lusiadas*,
Canto X., LXI.

To fierce Sampaio Cunha shall succeed,
Who long the great machine of state shall guide :
In Chalè lofty tow'rs he shall erect,
And Dio, apprehensive for her fate,
Shall tremble ; and to him Baçaim shall yield,
But not a bloodless conquest, for the sword
Alone shall force Meliqué to submit,
When, agoniz'd, he sees his strongest hold
Assaulted with success.

The Lusiad, translated
by Musgrave, p. 382.

reputation."* His sayings are characteristic of his ready wit. It is stated that at the siege of Diu a soldier by his side being struck with a bullet on the head, Nuno da Cunha coolly exclaimed, in the words of the Holy Scriptures, "*Humiliate capita vestra Deo,*" "Humble your heads to God." His case affords one of the many illustrations of the proverbial ingratitude of princes. He was, notwithstanding his great services to his king, recalled at the instigation of his enemies, but died near the Cape of Good Hope on his way home, in February 1539, uttering with the indignant Roman the words "*Ingrata patria, ossa mea non possidebis,*" "Ungrateful country, thou shalt not possess my bones." His will, when opened, disclosed his dying wish that his king should be paid for the iron chain with which he would be buried in the sea, for he had incurred no other debt. The irony, as it was, met with another stern mind to carry it into effect, for his old father, the distinguished navigator Tristão da Cunha, presented himself to the King, Don João III., and offered to pay the amount. What followed the chroniclers have not transmitted to us. We are simply told that the King regretted the way he had treated his subject, as great and as unfortunate as Alfonso d'Albuquerque.

The Portuguese were in possession of Bassein for about two hundred and ten years, during which period it gradually rose to a state of grandeur and opulence that obtained for it the noble appellation of "a Corte do Norte," or "Court of the North,"† for it had become the resort of the most prosperous *fidalgos* and the richest merchants of Portuguese India, so much so that it became proverbial in those times to call a great man "Fidalgo ou Cavalheiro de Baçaim." It abounded with sumptuous edifices both public and private, civil and religious, which latter, besides the *Matriz* or Cathedral, consisted of five convents, thirteen churches, and one *Misericordia* or asylum for orphans and maidens; and the ruins of which even at the present day serve as a silent epitaph of departed greatness.‡

* Musgrave's *Lusiad*, p. 565.

† *Dic. Hist. Esp.* art. *Baçaim*, p. 10, Goa edition. It was more precisely the capital of the provinces of the North.

‡ The fort of Bassein consisted then of a strong stone wall with eleven bastions mounting ninety pieces of artillery, twenty-seven of which were of bronze, and seventy mortars, seven of which were likewise of bronze. There were besides many detached fortifications in the districts around, equipped altogether with 127 pieces of ordnance, out of which 34 were of bronze, and 118 mortars. Its port was defended by twenty-one gunboats, each of them carrying from 16 to 18 guns.—*Dic. Hist. Esp.*, p. 10, and *O Chronista de Tissuary*, vol. III., pp. 250-8.

The writings of several travellers, both foreign and Portuguese, afford us an insight into the state of Bassein during its palmy days, and as some of them have never been published before in English, I shall make no apology for quoting passages from them. Diogo do Couto writes:—"The city of Bassein is the largest, and comprehends more territory than all the others of India, because towards the east it extends to the forts Assarim and Manora, which are about eight leagues, and contain rich villages yielding great revenue. Towards the north it extends to the river of Agaçain, and towards the south to the river of Bombay, or even a little further to another arm which is called Carania, as it makes between the one and the other a small island in which we have a castle of that name. The river which surrounds the island of Salsette has two branches; that to the north is the river which runs along the city of Bassein, and continues its course to the south in several windings; and about halfway, in a place distant about three leagues, the Portuguese established a colony called Tanah, which is the residence of about sixty Portuguese, who possess in that island their villages, which are very productive. Here the river has two very narrow passages, and a person can ford it at low water from the country of the Moors to the Island of Salsette; near these passages there are two castles seated on a rock over the water to defend this pass. The river then continues its progress to the west about three leagues, and forms the beautiful harbour of Bombay, which extends itself to the sea more than half a league in breadth, where all the ships from Portugal and other countries ride in on account of its good soundings, having no sandbank nor any other impediments; and before it reaches the sea it extends one arm towards the south, which makes the Island of Caranja, and another towards the north, which is the Island of Bandora. From this mouth of Bombay river it directs its course to the north coast about four leagues until it enters the harbour of Bassein, and leaves the Island of Salsette on the seaside, which is reckoned to be fifteen leagues in circumference and two in breadth."*

* Decada VII., liv. iii., cap. x., and *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. I. pp. 3-5. The same Diogo do Couto writes:—"When the Portuguese took Bassein and its dependencies, they went to this Pagoda (Elephanta) and removed a famous stone over the gate which had an inscription of large and well-written characters, which was sent to the King, after the Governor of India had in vain endeavoured to find out any Hindoo or Moor in the East who could decipher them. And the King, D. Joao III., also used all his endeavours to the same

Francis Pyrard, a French traveller, who seems to have been in Bassein in the year 1607, writes about the trade of Bassein thus:—"From Bassein is exported the best timber for the building of houses and ships, the greater part of which latter are built here; it also yields a building stone that is fine and as hard as granite, and I never saw columns and pillars of entire stone so large as in this place. All the churches and sumptuous palaces of Goa are built of this stone."*

Dellon, another French traveller and a victim of the Inquisition, was in Bassein on January 2nd, 1674. He was landed as a prisoner from Damaun, and sent with other prisoners directly to the jail, which he describes thus:—"The jail of the city of Bassein is larger and cleaner than that of Damaun; there I met with a large number of companions in misfortune, whom the Rev. Commissary of the Inquisition of this city kept imprisoned for a long time, waiting the opportunity to send them over to Gôa."† He embarked on the 7th on board a ship belonging to the fleet, along with his companions in chains, and set sail the next day to Goa.

Dr. Fryer, who visited Surat and Bombay in the year 1675, says that he was sent for by the captain of Bassein, by name John de Mendos, (João Mendes?) to treat his daughter. The captaincy, he says, was triennial, and was entailed on certain descendants of the conquerors, who succeeded to the office in rotation. The city is described as en-

purpose, but without any effect, and the stone thus remained there—and there is now no trace of it." Dec. VII, liv. iii., cap. XI. James Murphy, an architect, in his *Travels in Portugal*, published in 1795, gives a copy of the inscriptional stone found among the trophies of D. João de Castro, carefully preserved in his family mansion, the *Penha Verde* in Cintra. Both Lafiteau and Murphy are of opinion that it is the one alluded to by Couto; it is in Sanskrit; I have shown it to our venerable Vice-President, Dr. John Wilson, and when translated, intend to bring it forward before the Royal Asiatic Society.

* *Viagem de Francisco Pyrard*, vol. II., pp. 226-7.

† *Narração da Inquisição de Goa*, p. 48. The author of the *Historia das Inquisições* adds to this quotation from Dellon the following:—"The city of Bassein is situated about twenty leagues to the south of Damaun; at the time it was under the Portuguese it was larger than Damaun, but wanting a good fortress, although possessing walls and a good garrison. It was built about a quarter of a league from the sea, on the margin of a river, where ships of any tonnage could enter and anchor any time in safety, for the harbour was well protected from winds. On this account it was the residence of a great number of merchants, and the emporium of a large trade; it had excellent houses, straight roads, large squares, rich and magnificent churches, the climate salubrious, and the soil fertile." "The Portuguese had no city in India with so great a number of noblemen as Bassein, whence the proverb "Fidalgo, ou Cavalheiro de Baçaim." p. 187.

circled with a "stone wall" with "a gate for each wind," where only the Christians lodge, the Banians repairing to the suburbs. There were in his time six churches, four convents, and two colleges, one belonging to the Franciscans and another to the Jesuits, who also possessed a fine library, consisting principally of commentaries and works on history and morals. Their college is said to have had five square cloisters, with cells on two sides, a spacious refectory, and a goodly church. The Fidalgos, who tolerated no artisan among them, or within the walls, had, according to this writer, stately dwellings, two stories high, graced with covered balconies and large windows.*

We have next the account by Dr. Gemelli Careri, who visited Bassein in 1695, and describes it thus:—"The compass of Bazaim is three miles, and has eight bastions, not all finished," while "on the south side, towards the channel, there is only a single wall, that place being less exposed to the danger of enemies, and sufficiently defended by the ebb and flood. One-third of the city, towards the north, is unpeopled by reason of the plague, which some years rages in it. The streets are wide and straight, and the great square or market has good buildings about it. There are two principal gates, one on the east, and the other on the west, and a small one towards the channel or strait."

* * * * * "nothing appearing for fifteen miles but delightful gardens planted with several sorts of country fruit-trees, as palm, fig, mango, and others, and abundance of sugar-canes. The soil is cultivated by Christian, Mahomedan, and Pagan peasants inhabiting the villages thereabouts. They keep the gardens always green and fruitful by watering them by certain engines, so that the gentry, allured by the cool and delightful walks, all have their pleasure-houses at Cassabo (Cassabé), to go thither in the hottest weather to take the air and get away from the contagious and pestilential disease called carazzo,† that used to infect all the cities of the northern coast. It is exactly like a bubo, and so violent that it not only takes away all means of preparing for a good end, but in a few hours depopulates whole cities."‡

* *A New Account of East India and Persia*, pp. 74, 75.

† *Carazzo*, in the opinion of my friend the Italian Consul, is a word of the Neapolitan dialect, and not to be found in the lexicons of the Italian language; the symptoms, however, point to the plague.

‡ *A Voyage round the World*, by Dr. J. F. Gemelli Careri, Churchill's Voyages, vol. IV. p. 191.

Captain Hamilton, who visited Bassein about the same time, says :—
 “Its walls are pretty high and about two miles in circumference around the city, which has a little citadel in the middle of it. It contains three or four churches, and some convents and monasteries, with a college and hospital.”*

The Portuguese, though in full and uninjured possession of Bassein for about two hundred and thirty years, were not unfrequently disturbed. The principal disturbing elements were the Mahomedans and the Maráthás, whose opposition, it appears, was less provoked by the Portuguese government than by the religious intolerance of the Inquisition. Ovington writes that “the Mogul’s army has made several inroads into this country, plundered some small towns, and threatened Bassein. He adduces several reasons for their pillaging incendiarism, one of which is that the Portuguese burnt formerly a Cojee (Khasi), a person skilled in their law, at Goa. Another reason is because the Portuguese proselyte the children of all persons deceased among them, whether their parents are Moors or Pagans, and seize their estates into the church, which raises a loud clamour against them, and grievous complaints to the Mogul.”†

Orme mentions that Śíváji and his successors made raids into the Portuguese territory of Bassein, in revenge for the Inquisition burning the Maráthá prisoners. In 1674 Moro Pañdit came down the Gháts, with 10,000 men, and, being quartered in the ruined town of Kalyáña, sent messengers to Bassein demanding the *chaut* or fourth part of the revenue of all the Portuguese territories in those parts. The cause of this demand was enmity borne towards the Portuguese, who, Orme adds, “had lately inflicted great severities on many families of the Marathee religion within their districts, because they refused to become Christians; and this time of retaliation, by requiring them to become tributaries, seems to have been expressly chosen.‡

Again, Goetz, who was in Bassein about the year 1650, says :—
 “When the Portuguese find an idol they burn or break it; they destroyed a tank at Bassein where the Hindús used to bathe for the remission of their sins; the persecution of the Portuguese had made many Hindús, Mussulmans, and Parsees abandon their homes and live

* Capt. A. Hamilton’s *New Account of the East Indies*, vol. I., p. 180.

† “*A Voyage to Suratt in the year 1669*,” by J. Ovington, pp. 206, 207.

‡ Orme, *Hist. Frag.*, p. 45.

in the dominion of Shah Jehan, where they had liberty of conscience ; and that between Bassein and Damaun there are few natives, the greater part of the village lands being uncultivated."

Modern Portuguese writers do not ignore the harm the Inquisition did to their Eastern Empire. One of them* says that very stringent decrees were issued throughout Portuguese India by the Provincial Council (a peripatetic institution auxiliary to the court of the Inquisitors at Goa) affecting populations of towns and parishes. The neophytes were strictly prohibited from living with the infidels under the penalty of paying one *pardaõ* (six annas) to the individual who should prefer the charge against them. It was also determined that no convert should keep friendship with a heathen, or even have him as a servant except as a groom, in which case the practice of his religion would not be allowed. In Bassein the Christians were not to employ the *Parbús*,† neither lend them money nor admit them into partnership, nor even give them shelter in their houses, under pain of transportation, subject to the approval of the Viceroy. No infidel was allowed to serve in a public office as a clerk, *náyak*, peon, *mukádama*, receiver, *parpate*, interpreter, attorney, solicitor, broker, or shroff, nor were the Christians of Goa and Bassein permitted to rent their property to the pagan. It was, moreover, decreed that a roll or register of all infidels residing in each parish of the city of Goa, Bassein, &c., of a hundred persons each, should be kept, half of whom were compelled to attend every Sunday afternoon alternately a meeting where Christian doctrine or catechism was forcibly inculcated by a priest appointed for the purpose by the prelate of the diocese, and those who remained absent were mulcted one *tanga* ($2\frac{1}{2}$ annas) for the first occasion, two for the second, and three for the third, the amount to be paid to their accusers.

Another cause of the decadence of Bassein was more internal, and unfortunately more deeply rooted,—the laxity of morals. Soon after the middle of the sixteenth century,—or, more precisely, about the time Portugal was usurped by the Spanish crown,—the dissipation of habits was of public notoriety, and was not only animadverted upon both by foreign travellers and a few of the far-sighted among the Portuguese

* See the interesting articles on the "Administração da Justiça em Goa," by my friend Senhor Abranches Garcia, one of the Judges of the High Court of Portuguese India.—*Instituto Vasco da Gama*, No. 27, pp. 66, 67.

† The Portuguese used to call all the high-class Hindus of Bassein *Parbús*.

themselves, but were complained of to the King, Philip II. of Spain, who, apparently zealous both about the prosperity of his territory and conduct of his delegates in the East, used to write to the Viceroy letters at each *monçao*,* advising him to be solicitous to punish those who should offend public morals by their demeanour.

The captains of Bassein were themselves engaged in trade, which the King being aware of, writes to the Viceroy that he is informed all the forts of the north are much injured for little or no care, or rather for positive negligence on the part of the captains, who think more of their own trade and profits than of his service; that the captaincies of Bassein and Damaun are provided with timber for the building of ships of his armada from captains themselves, who charged far higher prices than their value in the market, which would not happen if they had no traffic of their own.†

Another proof of the royal solicitude about Bassein is to be found in the fact referred to in an excerpt of his letter to the Viceroy, Don Duarte de Menezes, in the year 1587, of his having sent a miner (geologist?) named Agostinho de Souto-Maior to Bassein on being informed that there were signs of the existence of iron and also of copper and silver in that island; that he would be glad to learn whether anything of the sort had really been found.‡ Again, in January 1591 the King writes to the Viceroy, Mathias de Albuquerque, that he had been informed that a scandal had taken place in Bassein, and of which he had no knowledge until about two years had elapsed. The King then commands the Viceroy to prosecute the delinquents, as he had heard that for some years past it had been a very common practice in India to shoot people without the courts of justice putting a stop to it, which, the King regrets to say, is against both the service of God and his own.§

In spite of all these depressing causes, the prosperous condition of the court of Bassein was apparently as striking and as unshorn of its grandeur as in its former days; for we read that as late as 1720

* *Monçao* is the Portuguese term corresponding to monsoons, or the season during which the ships from Lisbon used to sail for India.

† *Carta Regia*, dated the 13th March 1587—*Archivo Portuguez Oriental*, fasc. III., p. 106.

‡ *Archivo Portuguez Oriental*, fasc. III., C. B. dated 1587, p. 506.

§ C. R. dated January 1591, *Archivo Port. Orient.*, fas. III. pp. 287, 288.

the population of Bassein was 60,499, of whom 58,131 were Native Christians, the rest being Europeans. The revenue of Bassein in 1686 was 172,920 Xs.,* and the expenditure 91,588. In 1709 the revenue was 194,748, and the expenditure 100,161. From 1718 to 1719 the revenue was 310,779, and the expenditure 315,426. The last item we get is that of 1729, in which we simply get the revenue of 914,125. In the ecclesiastical department the sum of 14,357 Xs. was allotted to the priests as *congruas*, besides the emoluments they derived from their church ministrations. All this revenue was derived from the following seven divisions, which were subject to "the Court of Bassein," excluding of course Bombay, and the villages of *Mazagaõ*, *Parela*, and *Warly*, since its cession to the British crown, according to the instrument of possession made by the public notary of Bassein on the 17th February 1665. Here follows the list of divisions:—

1. Saybana de Baçaim.
2. Caçabé de Tanah.
3. Ilha de Salsette.
4. Ilha de Caranja, including the islands of Nevem, Seveon, and Elephante.
5. Ilha de Bellafôr de Sabayo.
6. Pragana de Manora.
7. Pragana de Asserim.

Each of these divisions consisted of a great number of villages, caçabés or groves and orchards, hortas or cocoanut-gardens, *pacarias* and *sarretores*, which terms have now become quite obsolete and even meaningless.

The Portuguese in India had, however, in the second half of the sixteenth century, received so many warnings of gradual decline of their power, that they became apprehensive that only a strong blow from a determined foe would be sufficient to wrest Bassein from their feeble grasp.

Corruption and depravity of manners† were making rapid strides

* A *xerafim* is equivalent to a shilling.

† The narrative entitled *Viaggio all' Indie Orientale* of the Carmelite Vincenzo Maria, one of the emissaries of Pope Alexander VII., explains better the culmination their depravity had attained. I forbear, however, quoting him. It is highly tinged with hatred, and the hatred of the priest knows no bounds. He is quite indignant with the ladies of Bassein for eating 'areca and betle' (*pán supári*); but though not so elegant, it is perhaps not worse than tobacco-smoking, at least physiologically.

among the citizens of every class; the original conquerors of India were not in existence; the mother-country, on the death of Don Sebastian, was distracted by civil factions and overrun by the Spaniards; the flourishing colonies of Malabar snatched away by the Dutch; the spirit of religious intolerance and inquisitorial atrocities driving away from the Portuguese towns all native industry, riches, and talent; the trafficking of the captives; rapacity and unrestrained abuses in the management of the public money; the African slavery; and last, though not least, the absolute want of discipline, subordination, or love of glory, animating those squalid and drooping remnants of the Portuguese, would in themselves be enough to weaken beyond recovery any empire in the world, much less to cause Bassein to fall a prey to a powerful enemy, as it subsequently did.*

Some element of valour and chivalry, however, inherited from "that nation of heroes" who, doubling the Cape of Good Hope, founded an empire extending from that promontory to the frontiers of China, still lingered in the breasts of the Portuguese of Bassein, and when, on the 19th May 1739, Captain Caetano de Souza Pereira capitulated and handed over the noble court of Bassein, the seat of hundreds of feudal lords who spent here their lifetime, and whose bones† are still there mouldering in vaults covered over by deformed heaps of brick and mortar,—nay, the very nests of venomous reptiles; the scene of many a romantic episode, of violence and martyrdom, of many a valiant soldier and not less heroic missionary; it was like the last groan of a lion that, enfeebled by decrepitude, still frightens his assailant. But "it is a melancholy view to contemplate the fall of nations," says Abbé Raynal. Let us hasten to the narrative of the siege.

The conduct of the Maráthás towards the Portuguese was from the beginning marked by duplicity. They did not even dare to appear before the fort of Bassein until they had first taken possession of a small fort on the opposite side of the river named Arnalla,‡ and put the commandant and his whole garrison to the sword, when their troops crossed.

* See note at page 334.

† Mrs. Postans, in her *Western India*, vol. I., pp. 183-4, mentions the name of the great Alfonso d'Albuquerque among those buried in Bassein. But this is a mistake. Albuquerque died in Goa, and was buried in the church of *N. S. da Serra*, from whence his bones were conveyed to Portugal in 1566.

‡ The ruins of Arnalla are still visible. Antonio Bocarro in his MSS. describing the Portuguese fortresses in India, discovered some time ago in the Public

The Portuguese governor of Salsette, Luis de Botelho, called immediately a council of war, where it was decided that he should retire to Caranja, leaving Captain Pereira to defend the fort, and Captain Ferraz to command the garrison of Bandora.

A small attack followed, which was gallantly repulsed until the chief officers were severely wounded. Goa being itself distressed by the invasion of the Bhonsales, no aid could be procured thence, nor any assistance obtained from the English authorities at Bombay, notwithstanding constant representations made to them in pathetic terms by Joaõ de Souza Terras.

All these circumstances concurred subsequently to encourage the Maráthá general, Chimnaji Appá, the brother of Peshwá Báji Ráo, to press the siege, scale its walls, and enter, sword in hand, overwhelming the Portuguese by numbers.

All these operations, however, occupied a considerable time.

When the Maráthás laid siege to Tháná and Salsette, they took the precaution of occupying the islands of Varsova and Dhárávi, and the creek between Bassein and the main, to prevent all assistance reaching the forts on the island; then advancing, on the 17th February 1739, and approaching the ramparts by sapping, they commenced the memorable siege of Bassein, which lasted for more than three months, and was conducted with such skill, courage, and perseverance as they have seldom, before or since, displayed. Notwithstanding all these qualities, the Maráthás could not succeed until they had killed the brave commandant, Sylveira de Menezes, and, encouraged by their partial success and the tacit concurrence of the English, had sprung some twelve or thirteen mines, two of which exploded, making a large breach, which they promptly mounted, but a third blew up hundreds of the assailants in the air. The besieged kept up their defence by throwing hand-grenades among the crowds in the rear, and shell and huge stones from mortars* in their batteries and trenches, driving the besiegers away and plying with musketry those who had ascended, thus spreading terrible havoc and slaughter among the enemy. The Portuguese who had come from

Library of Evora, and printed a few years ago by the indefatigable secretary to the Government of Goa, Senhor Cunha Rivara—calls this place "a ilha das vaccas"—*Chron. de Th.*, No. 24.

* Among the relics of the siege, some stone balls about six inches in diameter are still to be seen in a magazine in the fort.

Europe exhibited prodigies of valour ; it was with difficulty that Captain Pereira could restrain them from sacrificing their lives. Many of them would sally out in the dead of night to attack the besiegers in their lines. The Maráthás at length succeeded in effecting a breach in one of the curtains, but, as it was not large enough to be of use, other mines were fired, which made at last a very large breach under the tower of St. Sebastian, which, having been wholly brought to the ground, was resolutely mounted by the Maráthás, who succeeded in gaining a position from which they could not be dislodged ; and the garrison, having been worn out by famine and fatigue, and having lost the flower of their officers and men, and the sea-face being at the same time blockaded by the Angria, held out a white flag and offered to capitulate.

In this memorable siege the Maráthás lost about 12,000 men in killed and wounded, while on the side of the Portuguese it is said the loss did not exceed 800, and when the treaty of surrender and capitulation was signed on the 16th May 1739, it was stipulated that "all the garrison, as well regulars as auxiliaries," should be allowed to march out of the town with all the honours of war, whilst eight days were allowed to those of the inhabitants who so wished, to leave it with all their moveable property.*

* *Burgess's Visit to Guzerat*, p. 9.

Off. Doc. Treaty in the *Bomb. Quart. Review*, vol. IV., p. 84-5.

(a) The organized system of plunder and despotism followed by the degenerate Portuguese of India was, according to the judicious remarks of Abbé Baynal, Teixeira Pinto, and latterly the distinguished American statesman and traveller William H. Seward, but the result of a small nation becoming of a sudden mistress of the richest and most extensive commerce of the globe. They lost the foundation of all their real power in the East through simply making themselves merchants, factors, sailors, and priests, to the utter neglect and even abandonment of agriculture, natural industry, and population ; when their schemes of trade and projects of conquest, never being guided by the true spirit of international law, soon assumed that of rapine. It was then evident that when a free and enlightened nation, actuated with a proper spirit of toleration, should appear on the stage, to contend with them for their empire in India, it would succumb, and so it did. The travellers Linschoten, Tavernier, and several others bear out the statements, and openly sympathize with the natives for forming confederacies to avenge affronts.

Amboyna was the first to avenge itself ; other places followed, and at last from the very centre of their capital settlement of Goa rose that spirited confederacy of brave patriots known as '*sulevaçaõ dos Pintos*,' which, though unsuccessful through no fault of theirs, was the harbinger of more peaceful and prosperous times, and of that true constitutional régime, inaugurated under the auspicious reign of King Pedro IV. of Portugal, and first Emperor of Brazil, which, skipping over past resentments and old barriers of national antipathy, has concurred materially to reconcile the dependencies with the metropolis.

The patriotic Pintos, who, unlike modern Christians, sunk their time-honoured surnames to assume some commonplace Portuguese patronymic, and a couple of

In conclusion, I cannot offer a more fitting remark on the subject of this remarkable siege and capitulation of Bassein than by quoting here the following words of an English writer :—“ Thus fell a European city in India, as a stately tree, the growth of two centuries, which falls never to flourish again! Melancholy as was the issue, yet no contest had been so glorious for the Indo-Portuguese, in none had they earned such unsullied fame, since the days when Pacheco, with his four hundred countrymen, repelled the Zamorin's army, and Albuquerque twice conquered Gôa.” The writer then adds, “ But no one who ever told the tale of Bassein's last days breathed an insinuation against the honour and courage of its Indo-Portuguese defenders, and this portion of Anglo-Indian annals would have had a brighter hue for us if the English had not been restrained by their calculations and mercantile propensity from rendering the unhappy city more prompt and valuable assistance, if for the sake of England's ancient ally the Government of Bombay had expended some of their increasing treasure, and responded to the moving appeals of the chivalrous Caetano de Souza.”*

Bassein now, though in the hands of the Maráthás, did not lose much of its lustre as a city, for it was soon made a *Sar Subhá* and chief place in that section extending from the Bánkoṭ river to Damaun, but there being no Hindús of the high caste to take the place of those driven away by the Portuguese, Mádhavaráo Peshwá offered grants of land free to those who would like to settle in the city or its neighbourhood. He also instituted a tax in support of Brahmanás to purify the native Christians, whom they regarded as polluted Hindús, before receiving them into their former castes. Both these measures brought down a crowd of the Hindús from Maháráshṭra and Gujáshṭra, especially Parbús, whose influence is still paramount in the country.

The Maráthás, however, did not long retain possession of Bassein. It was taken from them by General Goddard's army in the year 1789, after a siege that lasted about twelve days. It was restored by the treaty

dozens of the old families in Goa gave now their support to this new liberal government as consistently as they had formerly resisted the 'reign of terror and oppression.' Even yet it is mostly from their families, scattered over the three old provinces of Goa, that have risen those distinguished men who have so honourably represented their mother country in the Cortes of Lisbon and elsewhere. The University of Coimbra and the Polytechnic Institute of Lisbon have since those times numbered among its professors not a few of those who are either lineal or collateral descendants from these old patriots of Goa. These facts have their historical significance, and should not remain unknown to the student of Indian annals.

* *Bombay Quarterly Review*, vol. IV., pp. 71—87.

of Salbai in 1782, and again resumed by the English on the overthrow and deposition of the last of the Peshwás, in 1818, when it was incorporated into the Bombay Presidency.* Its present condition is that of a prosperous taluká with its fertile soil, the island being generally low and flat, with the exception of two rugged hills of considerable elevation, laid out in plantain and sugarcane gardens, in which rice and pan (*Piper Chavica* or *Piper Betel*) are also cultivated.

The town of Bassein is now called Bájipura or the city of Bájí Ráo, while the whole district is divided into 161 villages, out of which four are *ináms*, and the principal divisions of which are Khani Vadem, where there is a small bandar; the mahál of Mánikapura in the south-east, where there is a railway station; the mahál of Aganasi or Agasi in the north; Sayavana, remarkable for its fort; the mountainous Tungári, known by its pagoda called Tungáreshvara, already mentioned; Nirmala, above described; and Soupara, † once a famous bandar, but now almost abandoned; and Pápari, a village about a cannon-shot from Bájipura, chiefly inhabited by Bráhmans of Chitpáwan, Karada, and Deshastha divisions, ‡ as well as Palshás, Sonárs, and other inferior castes of the Hindús. It yields an annual revenue of about 1,80,630 Rs. §

In 1840 the Court of Directors sanctioned the construction of an embankment across the Kalyána creek to the island of Bassein, which has prevented the encroachment of the sea and reclaimed from it several hundred acres of culturable land, and lately an elegant and solid iron bridge has been built by the B. B. and C. I. Railway, which connects Bassein with Bombay.

In speaking now of the antiquities of Bassein relative to the Portuguese period, I must begin with its walls and ramparts, which are found to be in a good state of preservation, except where they are breached at two opposite ends, through which runs the modern road to

* It was on the last day of 1802 that Col. Close and Bájí Ráo concluded here the famous treaty of Bassein, in which the "latter purchased protection by allowing his independence to be circumscribed."

† Soupara is identical with the ancient Śurpáraka, which Lassen says means 'fine shore.' It is mentioned as *Supera* by Father Jordanus, already mentioned, and contemporary with Abulfoda, who calls it *Sufálah*. Abul Nihan Mahomed, surnamed ab-Berini, in the early half of the eleventh century, speaks of it as *Subarah*, five paransangs from Tháná. It is the *Soupara* of Ptolemy and *Oopara* of the Periplus.

‡ Vaupell, *Trans. Bomb. Geog. Soc.* vol. II., pp. 138-9.

§ ठाणें जिल्ह्याचें वर्णन, p. 26.

the bandar, dividing the fort into two unequal parts. The principal bastions were named Cavalleiro, Nossa Sra. dos Remedios, Reis Magos Santiago, Sam Gonçalo, Madre de Deos, Sam Joaõ, Elefante, Sam Pedro Sam Paulo, and Sam Sebastiaõ,* the latter being the *Porta Pia* of Bassein, through which the Maráthás entered it in 1739. Of the two mediæval gateways the one on the seaside, the 'Porta do Mar,' with its massive teak gates cased with iron and spikes, is in a state of perfect preservation; while the other, on the land side, the *Porta da Terra*, is imperfect without those appendages.

Within the enclosure are still several buildings, but all more or less in a desolate and dilapidated condition. Standing near the portal of the ancient citadel, and viewing around the precincts of the once splendid city, the tourist beholds, with the exception of the glorious Christian monogram I.H.S. carved on doors of churches, and which are still intact, nothing but crumbling walls everywhere; the antiquated moss-covered cross, that traditional symbol of Christianity, which the Portuguese loved to raise at every corner and cross-road; the gates, windows, and walls overgrown with creepers and other tropical plants thriving luxuriantly, and sending their twisted roots and tendrils into, and displacing the stones of, massive walls, immense pillars with beautifully carved capitals, porches, pilasters, cornices, abutments, vaulted ceilings, and the remains of some elegant façades testifying to the opulence of olden times, now, alas! passed away for ever. Silence and gloom reign supreme where once the air resounded with the tramp of gorgeous pomp and pageants, and the chant of the religious who kept high festival and held gaudy and solemn processions within this recess, and at the same time a busy stage of missionary activity consecrated by the footsteps of the celebrated St. Francis Xavier; † but these edifices are now roofless, and the tomb of their founder without even a decent slab—a pregnant theme for the contemplation of the philosopher and the moralist, a Montesquieu or a Gibbon. Bishop Heber, who visited it in

* *Chronista de Tissuary*, No. 35; *Inst. Vasco de Gama*, No. 14; *Proceed. R. As. Soc. Beng.* 1874; *Telbort's Port. Settlements in India*, p. 139.

† St. Francis Xavier was twice in Bassein, in December 1544 from Cochin to see the Governor Martim Affonço de Souza, and to request him to despatch a fleet to punish the tyrant of Jaffanapatam, where the Portuguese some time afterwards got possession of a relic of Buddha Sakya Muni, supposed by others to be but the tooth of a monkey, to redeem which a large sum of money was offered by the king of Pegu, and rejected; and again in March 1548 from Malacca, to meet the Governor, D. Joaõ de Castro, who was here visiting the "forts of the north."—*Vida de S. Francisco Xavier*, pp. 59—111.

1825, says—"There was a small guard stationed in one of the gates, under an English conductor of ordnance;" within, he adds, "perfectly uninhabited, and containing nothing but a single pagoda in good repair (built perhaps by the Maráthás after the fall of the Portuguese), and a melancholy display of ruined houses and churches."—"It reminded me," says Heber, "of some story of enchantment which I had read in my childhood, and I could almost have expected to see the shadows of its original inhabitants flitting about among the jungle which now grows in melancholy luxuriance in the courts and areas of churches, convents, and houses."*

To the left of the street leading from the sea-gate are the sublime ruins of the *Matriz* or Cathedral, over the door of which is engraved the following inscription in stone:—"No anno de 1601 sendo Arcebispo Primaz o Illmo. Sr. Dom Frei Aleixo de Menezes, e Vigario o Pe. Pedro Galvaõ Pereira, se reformou esta matriz." A little further, at the end of the street, is a portal which is supposed to be the gate of the castle or circular citadel in the centre of the fort, before alluded to. On this portal are two inscriptions commemorative of St. Francis Xavier having been chosen patron of Bassein in the year 1631.† One of them runs thus:—"Governando o Estado da India o Vice-Rei Dom Miguel de Noronha, Conde de Linhares, se fez este portal em o qual se poz por padroeiro d'esta cidade a Sam Francisco Xavier. A deo de maio 1631." The other is as follows:—"Sendo Capitaõ d'esta cidade Gaspar de Mello de Miranda, e vereadores Gonçalo Coelho da Silva, Pero Ferreira, e Joaõ Boto Machado cô os mais officiaes se poz n'este (portal ?) a Sam Xavier que tomaraõ por seu patrono . . . no anno de 1631." The former occurs on a pillar which appears lately to have fallen to the ground; the latter is on the face of the portal and to the right of the spectator.

In the nave of an ancient church, which was called "A Igreja de Santo Antonio," has recently been established a sugar-refinery, which has imparted some life to the deserted city, but has not in any way proved remunerative to the sacrilegious though enterprising speculator. It is the oldest church in Bassein, was built close to the citadel in 1537

* Heber's *Journal* (12mo. ed.) vol. II., pp. 130 and 128, note.

† According to Antonio Bocarro the patron saint of Bassein at the time of its foundation in 1536 was St. Sebastian. About a century later, however, he appears to have been discarded and St. Francis Xavier substituted in his place. There is as much of human nature in dealing with saints as with princes.

by order of King John III., and endowed by him annually with 1,272 xerafins, and subsequently by a pious lady with 100 xerafins a year.

In the ruined house of the Captain of the citadel are still seen a coat of arms, a cross and a sphere bearing an illegible date, probably 1606. A chapel in its vicinity is converted into a warehouse in connection with the sugar-refinery.

In front of the square are the ruins of the Dominican convent. Its vast church is roofless, and its thick walls, partially discoloured, are still standing. The *Capella-mor* or principal chapel, with its beautiful arch, is in very good condition. On the gospel side of the altar is the tomb of the patron, in ruins, the epitaph being scarcely legible. This church is very large and might be easily restored.

A little beyond, overtaken by similar misfortune, and belonging to the rival order of the Jesuits, is the church of St. Paul, which must have formerly been a really fine structure, with its vast and elegant façade and Corinthian columns of basalt. In the principal chapel are several gravestones and epitaphs, only two of which are readable:—
 “Sepultura de Dona Filipa da Fonseca, Dona viuva, insigne bemfeitora d’esta igreja aquem em sua vida deu tudo quanto tinha. Faleçeo a 20 de Julho da era de 628.” “Sepultura de Isabel de Aguiar, Dona viuva, insigne bemfeitora d’este collegio. Falleceo a 24 de Janeiro anno de 1591.”

The greater part of the college and its cloisters, so highly spoken of by Dr. Fryer and others, is now more or less dilapidated, the ruins being the most extensive and interesting within the fort.

In another street running along the walls there is a modern English tomb, and opposite it an ancient postern with the following inscription in the wall above:—“Reinando ho muio alto e muito poderoso Rei D. Joam de Portugal 3 d’esde nome, e governando a India o Vice-Rei D. Afonso de Noronha filho do Marquez de villa Real, sendo Francisco de Sá, capitaõ d’esta fortaleza e cidade de Baçai, fundon este baluarte per nome Sam Sebastiam aos 22 dias do mes de fevereiro era 1554 anos.” Strange coincidence! The only bastion honoured with an inscription was that by which the Maráthás entered the fort! How fatal has the name of Sebastian been to the Portuguese!

There is another church and monastery still visible, which appear to have belonged to the Franciscans. The principal chapel has its arch

in a tolerable state of preservation, and contains a number of tombstones, some with and others without epitaphs. One running thus:—" e do Conselho de Sua Magestade. Faleceu em 24 de Agosto de 1558 e de sua molher Dona Luiza da Silva e seus erdeiros." In one of the chapels to the left of the high altar may be read:—" Aqui jaz Dona Francisca de Miranda, molher de Manoel de Melo Pereira, instituidora desta capella, e sua filha Dona Ines de Melo, e seu neto Luis de Melo, a qual faleceu a 10 de novembro de 1606." In another, about the centre of the edifice, is legible "Sra de Dona Giomar Daguiar, molher que foi d'Alvaro de Lemos que deus aja. Faleceo a 4 de março de 96 (1596?). He sua he de seu filho."

Another inscription was lately discovered outside the Fort and close to the Travellers' bungalow. It runs thus:—"Sendo V. Rei Pero da Silva e capitam desta fortaleza Rui dias da Cunha a cidade de Baçaim D. Luiz d' Ataide Francisco Pereira e Alvaro Coelho mandou fazer esta prisam, a qual se acabou send, capitam André Salema, e veredores Antonio Telles, Tristaõ....."

It is plain that it once belonged to the Jail described by Dellon.

Other buildings and streets have quite lost the features by which they could be identified. It is like the ancient '*Campus ubi Troia fuit.*'

There are a number of churches *extra muros*, most of them more or less restored by the exertions of their respective parishioners from the devastation to which the Maráthás had subjected them through vindictiveness. The following religious edifices are under the jurisdiction of a dignitary styled "O Vara de Baçaim":—

I.—Igreja de Espirito Santo.—The oldest among the rural churches, and the only one extant in its primitive state, *i.e.* whose restoration has not interfered with its primitive shape.

II.—De Mercês.—Built in 1606, and consecrated by D. Frei Aleixo de Menezes. Belonged to the Franciscans.

III.—Dos Remedios.—The doors of this church once formed the lateral doors of St. Paul's above mentioned. Diogo do Couto states that this was built by the Dominicans midway between the fort of Bassein and Agassin, close to a lake (*tirtha*?) to which the natives ascribe a peculiar virtue in healing the sick.

IV.—De St. Thiago Maior.

V.—De St. Thomé. Belonged to the Jesuits.

VI.—De Sra. de Graça. Also belonged to the Jesuits.

VII.—Da Sta. Cruz de Calvario. Belonged to the Franciscans.

VIII.—Da Sra. de Saude. This is sometimes written in old document "Nossa Senhora da Vida" and belonged to the Augustinians.

IX.—De S. Joaõ Baptista. Belonged to the Franciscans.

X.—Da Sra. do Rozario—This is in Túrâpur, but is included in the *varado de Baçaim*.*

Three other churches were lately abandoned for want of congregations.

* Architectural remains are not, however, the only monuments of the Portuguese sway in Bassein. It was one of the centres from which radiated the influence of their polity, the effects of which are yet discernible in the religion and race they left behind.

I am not quite sure whether Portugal does feel at all proud of these monuments of "social amelioration and moral and religious regeneration" planted by them on both the western and eastern coasts of our peninsula. Of this, however, I am certain, that the Christianity of Bassein is but a mixture of Christian dogma and Hindu ritual, of Roman Catholic liturgy and Pagan ceremonial; it is in fact a *religio sui generis*. It has been undergoing so many phases of spasmodic progress and retrogression, that, although of historical interest, it is but a part of discretion to leave it alone. Let the sceptic refer to the decrees of the Provincial Council, which bear me out. The race is well known to us. The title of *Portuguese*—for it is but a title—assumed by those people is both ethnologically and politically incorrect. The physical and mental organization of this and other mongrel races scattered all over the Konkan—the mixed product or bastard offspring of such heterogeneous elements as a European soldier and a low-class native woman—for no high-class woman would marry him—is a sociological problem in itself, and too vast a theme to enter the narrow sphere of this paper, besides requiring an amount of patient research and study scarcely compatible with the avocations of an active medical practice.

ART. XIX.—*A new Chálukya Copperplate ; with Remarks.*

BY KĀSHINĀTH TRIMBAK TELANG, Esq., M.A., LL.B.

Read on 10th October 1874.

The *támrapatra* of which I present to the Society to-day a transcript and translation consists of three rectangular sheets of copper, each measuring 9 inches in length by $2\frac{2}{3}$ in width. The three sheets are connected together by a large ring of copper passing through holes in the middle of one of the larger sides. At one part of the ring there is added on to the copper a thick coating of iron, extending over a little more than two inches, and expanding towards the middle into something like a solid cone turned upside down and with its angular head lopped off. The base of this cone bears in relief what is intended to be the figure of a boar, with all its legs distinctly visible. As it stands, however, one of the fore-legs has been broken away.

The plates, I am informed, have been for the last twelve years or thereabouts in the possession of a Portuguese living somewhere in the vicinity of Goa. He found them when ploughing a certain hilly plot of ground in his village in order to its cultivation. A transcript of this copperplate in Devanâgari characters was first handed over to me for translation by my friend Mr. Nârâyaṇ Mahâdev Parmānand, a few days ago. The transcript had been carefully prepared—I do not know by whom—and on revision and comparison with the original copperplate, which I subsequently obtained from Mr. Nârâyaṇ, I found it to be generally correct. With one or two exceptions, it is not at all difficult to decipher the letters, which are written in lines parallel to the longer sides of the plates. The document occupies the whole of the inner side of the first sheet, both sides of the second, and the inner side of the third sheet, and extends in the aggregate to nineteen lines. Except the breaking away of one of the boar's legs, and of the edge of the base of the cone in one part, the plates and their appendage are in excellent preservation.

The style of writing requires a few remarks. Taken all together, the letters appear to me to range themselves by the side of those in the fourth line of Prinsep's list. The form of the ऋ in this plate—a semi-circle standing on a diameter but extending some distance beyond it—

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

seems nearer to that in Prinsep's fifth line ; but that differs from ours by the spur-stroke at the foot of its left side. Accordingly the श्रि in our plate differs from all those given by Prinsep, coming nearest to that in his fourth line. I should therefore be inclined, in consideration of this and other similar instances, to place the letters of this plate somewhere between Prinsep's fourth and fifth lines. Some particular letters merit a more special remark. The word ब्रह्म is written as if it was ब्रह्म with the guttural nasal. The *visarga* followed by र is also noteworthy. It occurs twice in this plate,—once thus, भ्र , and on the second occasion thus, भ्र . * In the one case, it will be noted that the र is formed by a continuation of the right side of the quadrilateral figure ; while in the other, it is formed by a continuation of the line which cuts that figure into two. The figure भ्र would seem to be the sign for the *upadhmanîya*, which is optionally substituted for the *visarga* before र (Pāṇini, VIII. 3, 37). There are other minor differences between the letters as written in our plate and as given in Prinsep's list. But they need not be specially dwelt on. We need only add that there is an evident predilection shown in the plate in favour of doubling letters, as for instance in the case of अर्थ or सर्व ; and, apparently, we have also the first beginnings, though still imperfectly developed, of the line at the top of each letter.

The language of the copperplate is Sanskrit. In one or two places it is not as clear as it might have been ; and the date is stated to be 532 of the Śaka Kāla, in language which is not quite grammatical. The grantor appears to have been stationed at Vijayarevatî Dvîpa, probably identical with the Revantîdvîpa of one of Mr. Wathen's inscriptions.† By Mr. Wathen,‡ and it would seem by Col. Wilford,§ the Dvîpa has been identified with Sumatra. Professor Wilson, however, with greater probability, thinks that "it is more likely to be some place off the coast of Malabar."§ Some further remarks, suggested by the mention of this Dvîpa, will find a more appropriate place in the sequel. With regard to the two other places mentioned in the plate, viz. Khetâ-hâra and Kârellikâ, their identification also can at best be conjectural,

* This mark may be seen in several places in the "Iwullee" inscription (*Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. IX., opposite p. cxviii.). Mr. Fleet (*ibid.*, pp. 230 and 233) mentions "special signs for the visarga before र and ए "; what are those signs ?

† *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, vol. II. 362. At *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, vol. V. 345, it is spelt Bevatîdvîpa.

‡ *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, vol. V. 345. § *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, vol. II. 395.

as nothing else is stated about them. And I will at present offer no further remark about them than this, that Khetâhâra sounds sufficiently like Kittore (between Belgaum and Dharwar) to render it probable that it was the original from which Kittore was derived.

The more important inquiry, however, which this plate suggests, is the historical inquiry—How does it affect our present information concerning the Châlukya dynasty? But before we can obtain any answer to this inquiry, it is necessary to take a review of the information which we do possess. Now the main facts regarding the Châlukya kings after the Śaka year 895 may be taken to be settled with reasonable certainty.* At any rate the present paper is not concerned with them. But in spite of the great and fruitful labours of Sir Walter Elliot and others, we can scarcely be said to be yet in full possession of the facts regarding the earlier Châlukyās. Sir Walter Elliot himself, to whom we are indebted for the best part of the information which we possess about this dynasty, implies that the period before the Śaka year 895 is not well authenticated, expressly mentions “difficulties” and “improbabilities” attaching to the statements of the inscriptions in his possession,† and endeavours to escape from these “difficulties” and “improbabilities” by what Mr. Fergusson describes,—and, I may add, justly describes—as a “violent adjustment.”‡ This is in 1836. In 1858 Sir Walter returns to the subject, and still speaks of “chronological obscurity” which he “hopes to clear up hereafter,”§ but which, I own, appears to me to have remained nearly as dark at the end of his paper as at the beginning. He gives a fresh list of the Châlukya kings, about which it is to be noted, that it contains two very important modifications of statements contained in the previous list, without any explanation of those modifications. Meanwhile in 1844 Professor Bâl Gangâdhar Shâstri, and in 1851 Sir LeGrand Jacob (then Major Jacob), had published in the Journal of our Society|| several copperplates of Châlukya princes, and made out their own lists from them, differing in some respects both from Sir Walter’s original list of 1837 and from his amended list of 1858. In 1864 Professor Dowson appears on the scene, but he too still notes “deficiencies,” still points out “discrepancies,” still complains

* See *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, vol. IV. 12.

† *Ibid.*

‡ *Jour. R. As. Soc.* (N. S.), vol. IV. 92, and see *Ind. Ant.*, vol. II. 94.

§ *Jour. R. As. Soc.* (N. S.), vol. I. 251.

|| *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. II., pp. 1 *et seqq.*, and *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. III., pp. 203 *et seqq.*

of "the loose and varying nature of the genealogies."* Next comes Mr. Fergusson, who, although he does not, like his predecessors, add to the raw material available, proposes a new mode of working it up, so to speak ; sets aside Sir Walter Elliot's "violent adjustment ;" substitutes in its stead the theory of a "mislection or wilful alteration ;" and makes rather short work of Professor Dowson's suggested additions to Elliot's list.† Lastly, in 1870, our late learned Vice-President Dr. Bhāu Dājī brings forward an inscription,‡ assigning to one of the most eminent of the Chālukya kings a date quite irreconcilable with that which is given in Elliot's amended list, and which has been pronounced by Mr. Fergusson to be "fixed within very narrow limits."§

It must, I take it, be at once admitted, that this looks very much like a hopelessly tangled web. Yet until it is unravelled, our knowledge of the early Chālukyas must be held to be, in great measure, imperfect. Mr. Fergusson's suggestion, indeed, with reference to the inconvenient Buddha Varma and Vijaya Rāja of Professor Dowson's plate, namely, that they should be referred to a different branch of the Chālukya family,|| would, if employed in all similar difficulties, place the several threads separately in our hands to re-arrange them afresh as we please. But that suggestion, I confess, appears to me equivalent to cutting the knot, not untying it. Dr. Bhāu Dājī, in his paper just referred to, promised us "the fullest notes" upon the Chālukya among other dynasties.¶ But, unfortunately, his recent lamented death has deprived us of the benefit of his acuteness and extensive information in these matters.

Upon the best consideration that I have been able to give to the subject, I am bound to say, that I have not succeeded in hitting on any mode of reconciling all the published statements of copperplates and inscriptions regarding the Chālukyas. I will endeavour, however, to evolve some order out of at least one part of the chaos. And let us first take the earliest document available for our present purpose, namely, that translated by Professor Dowson. That document purports to bear the date—Vaiśākha Śuddha of the Saṃvatsara 394. Professor Dowson takes this to mean the Saṃvat or Vikrama year 394, equivalent to 338

* *Jour. R. As. Soc.* (N. S.), vol. I. Professor Dowson's paper *passim*.

† *Jour. R. As. Soc.* (N. S.), vol. IV. 94.

‡ *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. IX. 315.

§ *Jour. R. As. Soc.* (N. S.), vol. IV. 93 ; and see *Ind. Ant.*, vol. II. 94.

|| *Jour. R. As. Soc.* (N. S.), vol. IV. 94.

¶ *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. IX. 333.

A.C.,* and thus raises a factitious difficulty which, be it said with all deference to the learned Professor, does not exist. The notion that the word *Saṁvatsara* necessarily indicates that the so-called Vikrama era is referred to has been, I believe, attacked on various occasions, and may now be safely taken to be exploded.† *Saṁvatsara* is a common name for 'year,' and refers to no particular era whatever. Even the word *Saṁvat*—the word now-a-days employed to designate the Vikrama era—is not by any means confined to that sense. And in the Amarnâth inscription deciphered by Dr. Bhâu Dâjî, we have the expression—which is very noteworthy in this connexion—of Śaka *Saṁvat*.‡ Professor Dowson, indeed, at the very beginning of his paper, after saying that "some doubt has hitherto been felt as to the era in which these plates are dated," goes on to ask—"Was the 'saṁvatsara' that of Vikramāditya or that of Ballabhi?"§—holding apparently that any other era but these two is out of the question. I cannot concur in this opinion. And in the particular case before us, the undoubted and indubitable fact that the other known grants of the Châlukya dynasty which bear any date are expressly dated in the Śaka Kâla,|| should lead us, I think, not only to discard both of Professor Dowson's alternatives, but to accept the one to which he does not even refer, namely, that the plate is dated in the Śaka era. If that is so, the year 394 of this plate must be taken to be the Śaka year, equivalent to 472 A.C. Professor Dowson has also given the name of the grantor in his plate as Vijaya Râja Sarva, which, on the face of it, is rather an odd name. But the oddity is the result of an inadvertence on the part of the learned Professor. In the copperplate itself, of which he has luckily published a facsimile, the name is much less singular, being simply Vijaya Râja. And now mark the results to which these rectifications lead. Taking the Śaka year 411 given by Captain Jervis's copperplate

* *Jour. R. As. Soc. (N. S.)*, vol. I. 256.

† See, *inter alia*, *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. IX. cxl. ; vol. X., pp. 22 *et seqq.*, 72 *et seqq.* See too *Jour. R. As. Soc. (N. S.)*, vol. IV. 132, note.

‡ *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. IX. 219.

§ *Jour. R. As. Soc. (N. S.)*, vol. I., p. 250.

|| Mr. Fergusson, admitting this (*Jour. R. As. Soc.*, N. S., vol. IV. 91), apparently refers this year to the Valabhi era (p. 95). Standing by itself, his argument for referring the plate to another branch of the Châlukya family, viz. that it was found at Khedâ, is not of great force. His other argument is met by what is stated in the text. Mr. Fergusson cites with approval the words of Professor Dowson, that "to decide the era of one is to settle that of all" (p. 49). If so, Prof. Bhândârkar's plate (*Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. X., p. 25) is conclusive in our favour. It may be added that Professor Dowson expressly rejects the Valabhi era.

to be the correct date of Pulakeśi I.,* the Vijaya Râja of Professor Dowson's plate may fairly be placed immediately before Pulakeśi. Now Sir Walter Elliot's amended list does give us a Vijaya Âditya just before Pulakeśi.† And with him, therefore, this Vijaya Râja may reasonably be identified. But here we are faced by a little difficulty. Sir Walter's statement, in the narrative which he has prefixed to his amended list, is inconsistent on this point with the list itself. In the narrative Vijaya is Pulakeśi's son ; in the list he is Pulakeśi's predecessor. There is evidently some mistake somewhere, and in all likelihood it is in the narrative. If so, then it would seem to result, from the substantial identity of the names, and from the agreement of the dates, that the Vijaya Râja of Professor Dowson's plate is the same person as the Vijaya Âditya of Sir Walter Elliot's list. And it follows further that one of the reasons which led Mr. Fergusson to assign Professor Dowson's plate to another branch of the Châlukya family falls to the ground ‡; and it also follows that there is no necessity for those "additional names" which Professor Dowson "required to fill up the interval" between Vijaya and Pulakeśi.§ The name of Vijaya's father in Professor Dowson's plate is Buddhavarma, and that does seem to create another difficulty. For in Sir Walter Elliot's lists, as well as in Mr. Wathen's list, the name we find is Raṇarâga. This, however, may be regarded as a mere epithet meaning "lover of war."|| About Râjasimha, which Sir Walter states to be another name of the same prince, he himself expresses misgivings.¶ In his amended list he gives still another name, viz. Vishṇu Vardhana, but on what authority we are not told.** This being the state of the case,

* *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, vol. IV. 8. This date, however, is questioned by both Sir W. Elliot and Mr. Fergusson (l. c. and *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, N.S., vol. IV. 93); see too *Ind. Ant.* II. 94). But this only on the ground that it is not reconcilable with the other dates we have. Prof. Eggeing hints also at "some doubt as to its genuineness on palæological grounds, the character of the letters being very nearly the same as that of some inscriptions of the Eastern line in the tenth century of our era!" *Ind. Ant.* II. 272. Professor Dowson does not express any suspicion about the plate.

† See the extract from Sir W. Elliot's paper in *Jour. R. As. Soc.* (N. S.), vol. I. 253. It is worthy of remark here that Sir Walter Elliot's first list makes on allusion at all to either Vijaya Râja or Vijaya Âditya. And in this it follows the Year inscription and Captain Jervis's copperplate.

‡ *Jour. R. As. Soc.* (N. S.), vol. IV. 94.

§ *Jour. R. As. Soc.* (N. S.), vol. I. 262.

|| *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, vol. IV. 8.

¶ It may be added, for what it is worth, that Buddhavarma is described in the plate as रणविक्रान्त, which Professor Dowson translates by 'heroic in battle.'

** At p. 154 of vol. XXXIX., Part 1, of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* also this name is given; but no authority is there referred to, and the authority may be that of Sir W. Elliot himself.

I do not think that we need have much difficulty in accepting as correct the information which Professor Dowson's plate gives us. We obtain, then, the following series :—

I. Jayasimha.

II. Buddhavarma, *alias* Ranarāga.

III. Vijaya Rāja or Vijaya Āditya ... 394 Śaka.

IV. Pulakeśi 411 Śaka.

After Pulakeśi, by all accounts, comes Kirtivarma.* True it is, indeed, that in one of the plates published in the Journal of our Society, Kirtivarma is stated to have been not Pulakeśi's son but his father.† But as that Pulakeśi is in the same plate eulogized as conqueror of Harsha Vardhana, he cannot be the Pulakeśi of Śaka 411. The question about him will have to be considered further on. To Kirtivarma succeeded Mangaliśa, according to Sir Walter Elliot's list, and also according to the list of Mr. Wathen, which coincides with Sir Walter's list except at but a single point.‡ General Jacob's first two plates, indeed, do not mention Mangaliśa at all, nor do we find his name in another plate which is in the possession of Professor Eggeling.§ But General Jacob's third plate does record the name of a Prince Mangala and his father Vallabha, and the General's identification of this Mangala with Mangaliśa may, I think, be safely accepted.|| Mangaliśa is also mentioned in one of those inscriptions in Dhārwaḍ and Mysore for an analysis of which we are indebted to Dr. Bhāu Dāji.¶ We may, therefore, take it upon these authorities that Mangaliśa was the immediate successor of Kirtivarma. And the absence of his name from the other plates mentioned is probably to be accounted for by this—that although he was a predecessor of the grantors in those other plates, so far as occupation of the throne was concerned, he was not in the direct ascending line by blood, and a mere statement of their genealogy, therefore, did not require the mention of his name.**

Thus far our authorities may be said to have proceeded, not indeed in perfect harmony, but still pretty sociably. Who, now, is the next king in the line? According to all the lists published hitherto except

* In Mr. Wathen's list (*Jour. R. As. Soc.*, vol. V. 345) this prince is called Kutivarma, probably by a mistake in the decipherment of the plate.

† Vol. II. 5.

‡ *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, vol. V. 345.

§ See *Ind. Ant.*, vol. II. 272.

|| *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. III. 205. See too *Jour. R. As. Soc. (N. S.)*, vol. IV. 93, [note. Who are the Buddhārāja and the Svāmīrāja of the Chālukya family whom Mangala put to flight and destroyed?

¶ *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. IX. 318.

** *Comp. Ind. Ant.*, vol. II. 175, note. And see now some further remarks on Mangaliśa at the end of this paper.

one, the king who comes after Mangalīśa is Satyāśraya. Professor Dowson's list constitutes the single exception. Let us consider his arguments in the first instance. Discussing the place in the Chālukya line of the princes mentioned in the late Professor Bāl Shāstri's second plate, Professor Dowson identifies the Pulakeśi of that plate with the fourth king in Elliot's amended list. Professor Dowson does not see—certainly does not allude to—one of the difficulties which this identification involves, namely, the one alluded to above, as caused by the statement of the plate that Pulakeśi defeated Harsha Vardhana. He does see, however, the other difficulty, that whereas Pulakeśi is by all accounts the father of Kīrtivarma, this plate makes him the son of Kīrtivarma. But, seeing this difficulty, he still adopts the theory of the identity of the two Pulakeśis, and places Nāga Vardhana and Jayasīṃha, the two kings mentioned in Professor Bāl Shāstri's plate, after Mangalīśa and before Satyāśraya.* And he adduces two reasons for this arrangement. He says, firstly, that the interval of 120 years between Pulakeśi and Satyāśraya is too long for "occupation by only two names ;" and secondly, that his plate and Bāl Shāstri's plate are so similar in their styles of writing that the kings mentioned in the one should be placed as near as possible to those mentioned in the other. The first reason is undoubtedly true as a fact ; but I do not think that it is enough to support a proposition surrounded by such difficulties as have been pointed out. To me, I confess, those difficulties appear to be fatal. And the truth seems to be, as Dr. Bhāu and others have contended, that there were two Pulakeśis—the one being he who is stated to have flourished about the Śaka year 411, the other being identical with the Satyāśraya whose position in the line of princes we are now discussing. One ground for holding this is that the name Satyāśraya appears to have been a generic appellation† adopted by some members of the Chālukya family, and that while one of Professor Bāl Shāstri's plates calls the conqueror of Harsha Vardhana by the name Pulakeśi, and describes him as son of Kīrtivarma, General

* *Jour. R. As. Soc. (N. S.)*, vol. I. 257-9.

† *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, vol. IV. 9. *Jour. R. As. Soc. (N. S.)*, vol. I. 260. Professor Bāl Shāstri also identifies the two Pulakeśis. He gets over the difficulty about the relationship to Kīrtivarma by considering that name to be only another name of Ranarāga, whom he takes to be Pulakeśi's immediate predecessor, according to Elliot's first list. The other difficulty is not, as might be expected, alluded to by him. He relies for the identification on the allusion to the horse "Kantha Chitra" and the *Aśvamedha*. But in the inscription to which he refers, there is no allusion to the horse, and the *Aśvamedha* is ascribed to Pulakeśi, while in Professor Bāl Shāstri's plate it is ascribed to Kīrtivarma, his father.

Jacob's plates call him Satyâśraya, and describe him also in the same manner. Professor Dowson, indeed, attributes the honour of defeating Harsha Vardhana to the first Pulakeśi, who, he says, "also bore the appellation of Satyâśraya or Śatya Śrī."* But this suggestion seems to be negated by the circumstances above stated. If all this reasoning is correct, it follows that Jayasimha and Nāga Vardhana cannot be placed before Satyâśraya, but must be placed after him. Professor Dowson's second reason for his arrangement is based on the style of writing of his own and Professor Bāl Shāstri's copperplates. On this I have little to say, except that this reason can be satisfied nearly as well without Professor Dowson's arrangement as with it. Thus, according to Professor Dowson's hypothesis, the interval between the two plates—with which the Professor is *not* dissatisfied—is one of 270 years, namely, the interval between 338 A.C. and 609 A.C. On our hypothesis, taking the former date as correct, the interval will be 60 years more or thereabouts. But now, if we take the date of Professor Dowson's copperplate to be, not 338 A.C., but 472 A.C., as shown above, then the interval on our hypothesis is very much less than 200 years—considerably less, in fact, than it is even on the Professor's own hypothesis. The two reasons assigned by Professor Dowson for his arrangement appear thus to fall to the ground, and with them falls the arrangement based on them. The question, therefore, again presents itself,—What is the place of Professor Bāl Shāstri's plate in the Chālukya series? That question appears to me to be one of some difficulty. Taking the plate by itself, I should be strongly inclined to rehabilitate the theory rejected by Professor Dowson, and to identify the Nāga Vardhana and Jayasimha† of the plate with the first two princes of the Eastern line in Sir Walter Elliot's list. The difficulties in the way of this theory are stated by Professor Dowson.‡ They are, first, the partial dissimilarity between the names Vishṇu Vardhana and Nāga Vardhana; and, secondly, the difference

* *Jour. R. As. Soc.* (N. S.), vol. I. 258.

† It should be noted, too, that in Bāl Shāstri's plate the name is not simply Jayasimha, but Jayasimha Varma, which introduces, perhaps, a little more complication into the matter.

‡ *Jour. R. As. Soc.* (N. S.), vol. I. 158. Another circumstance to be noted in connection with this plate is, that in the description of Śrī Pulakeśi Vallabha, the conqueror of Harsha Vardhana, we find the expression श्रीनागवर्द्धनपादात्तुष्यात् "who meditated on the feet of Śrī Nāga Vardhana." I am not aware that this circumstance has been either noticed or explained. No list and no copperplate, that I know of, mentions any Nāga Vardhana "on whose feet" Pulakeśi might be expected to "meditate," unless, indeed, that Pulakeśi be Pulakesi I. and Nāga Vardhana be the same as Ranarāga, one of whose names was, according to Elliot, Vishṇu Vardhana.

between the order of succession as stated in the plate, and the order as stated in Sir Walter's list. These difficulties exist, and they ought not to be lost sight of. On the other hand, we have also to remember that the relationship stated in the plate between Satyáśraya and Jayasiṃha is exactly the relationship stated by Elliot between Satyáśraya and the first king in the "Eastern line." It should also be noted that the authorities on which Sir Walter Elliot's statement is made do not appear. On this last point Professor Dowson remarks—"The evidence upon which Mr. Elliot has placed Jayasiṃha after Vishṇu Vardhana does not appear; it was no doubt cogent, and the result ought not to be lightly disturbed."* I admit the abstract principle involved in this remark. I admit that thus much respect is due to one who is, after all, our best and fullest informant on this subject. Nevertheless, where the facts and probabilities, as they are before us, do not quadrate with Sir Walter's statements, I do not think we are bound—I do not think we are entitled—to throw them aside merely in reliance on such a principle. If, in order to adapt them to the facts before us, we slightly disturb some of the statements of Sir Walter Elliot, I do not think we can be charged with lightly disturbing them. But on this subject we shall have to say another word in the sequel.

Since writing the above, my attention has been drawn to two other plates which have a bearing on this point. The first is one translated in the first part of the thirty-ninth volume of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*. I am indebted to Professor Bhāṇḍārkar for information about this plate. As it speaks of Vishṇu Vardhana as younger brother of Satyáśraya,† it affords support to Sir Walter Elliot's statement. It is noticeable, however, that the plate contains no allusion to Vishṇu Vardhana's conquest of Vengi, after which event, nevertheless, the grant it records must have been made. And it is to be remarked also that the genealogy of the grantor is not given in the plate, his elder brother Satyáśraya Vallabha Mahārāja being the only king whose relationship with the grantor is stated. The other plate is one of which a translation has been published in the *Indian Antiquary*.‡ This also speaks of Vishṇu Vardhana as brother of Satya Śrī Vallabhudu—evidently the same name as Satyáśraya Vallabha. But then this latter is here the younger brother, whereas both according to Elliot, and according to the grant first spoken of above, he is the elder brother. Again, the list in this plate knows not of any Jayasiṃha, but goes on to

* *Jour. R. As. Soc.* (N. S.), vol. I. 258. † P. 150. ‡ Vol. II. 571.

speak, immediately after this first king, of Vishṇu Vardhanudu, son of Indrarāja, his elder brother. In Elliot's list, on the contrary, Indrarāja is the brother—whether elder or younger is not stated—of Jayasiṃha, not of Vishṇu Vardhana I. And further, while Indrarāja, according to Elliot's list, appears actually to have reigned, the inference which seems to be suggested by the language of this plate is quite different. The result is, that while the suggestion made above by us with regard to Professor Bâl Shâstri's plate is to a certain extent weakened, these plates do not help us in coming to any other positive conclusion, but only introduce a further complication into the matter.

It may be convenient here to glance also at the first of the two plates deciphered and translated by Professor Bâl Shâstri. That plate, too, occasions some difficulty, as the line of succession stated in it, namely, Raṇa Vikrama, Kirtivarma, and Vishṇu Vardhana, does not agree with any part of Sir W. Elliot's list. Professor Bâl Shâstri finds the first two names—Vikrama and Kirtivarma—in Sir W. Elliot's list ; and he concludes that the third, Vishṇu Vardhana, must have been the grandson of the Vikrama who is stated by Sir Walter to have reigned in the Śaka year 655. The character of the writing, however, appears to him to be older.* Professor Dowson concurs in this last part of Bâl Shâstri's remarks, and accordingly identifies the Vishṇu Vardhana of this plate with the first king of the "Eastern line," and looks for Raṇa Vikrama in Raṇarâga, the second king in Elliot's list. He sees the difficulty attaching to this identification, but thinks "a solution may possibly be found in the fact that Raṇarâga was known also under the names of Râja Siṃha and Vishṇu Vardhana. The latter being the name of the author of the grant, may have induced him to single out and record the monarch who bore the same name as himself."† This does not, I own, appear to me very likely. Besides, if it were correct, would it not be more natural, that this name Vishṇu Vardhana should have been mentioned instead of Raṇa Vikrama ? I agree in thinking the Vishṇu Vardhana of this plate to be probably identical with the first king of the "Eastern line." But for Raṇa Vikrama, I cannot persuade myself to go up as high as the second king in Elliot's list. Raṇa Vikrama does not appear to me to be a proper name ; nor, I think, is it to be identified with Raṇarâga.‡ It seems to me to be, like

* *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. II. 1.

† *Jour. R. As. Soc. (N. S.)*, vol. I. 259-60.

‡ It ought to be mentioned, however, that the epithet 'Raṇavikranta' is applied in Professor Dowson's plate to Buddhavarma, whom we have identified with Raṇarâga.

Raṇarāga, an ornamental epithet. Can it not have been applied to Pulakeśi ?

But let us now return to Sir Walter Elliot's list. King Satyâśraya was set down in his first paper as reigning in the Śaka year 488, or 566 A.C. In the second paper his reign is stated to have commenced in 609 A.C. The grounds for this modification do not appear. Doubtless the date of Harsha Vardhana being fixed on independent data,* and our authorities informing us that Satyâśraya defeated Harsha Vardhana, some such date as 609 A.C. becomes very probable. The other date, 566 A.C., cannot be adopted, unless we are prepared to give Satyâśraya a reign of nearly a century, since, according to Mr. Fergusson, he was "alive and vigorous when Hiouen-Thsang visited him in 638-9, and may have lived for ten or twenty years afterwards."† But although this date cannot be adopted except on the strength of overwhelming evidence, which certainly is not forthcoming, still it would have been of great use to know upon what evidence the other date given by Sir Walter Elliot has been arrived at. It is true, that in a part of his paper entitled "Numismatic Gleanings," which has not been extracted by Professor Dowson, Sir Walter Elliot mentions a coin of Satyâśraya bearing the date 534 of the Śaka era.‡ But that is obviously not an authority that will help us to fix the commencement of his reign. The same observation applies to another grant, which is mentioned in the paper already referred to, in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, and which also bears the same date as the coin above mentioned.§ But there is a copperplate in the possession of Professor Eggeling which is of much more value, for it is dated in the Śaka year 534 and states that to be the third year of Satyâśraya's reign. This, it will be observed, agrees with the statement of Sir Walter Elliot, but at present it is not possible to say whether Professor Eggeling's source of information is different from Sir Walter's.|| On the other hand, there is the "Iwullee" inscription No. III. deciphered by Dr. Bhâu Dâjî, which he states to have been "written in the time of the Châlukya Pulakeśi II." That inscription is dated 506 of the Śaka era.¶ But if Satyâśraya was king in the Śaka

* See *Ind. Ant.*, vol. II. 94. Dr. Bhâu Dâjî thought that the date should be transferred back some distance: *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. VIII. 250.

† *Jour. R. As. Soc. (N. S.)*, vol. IV. 93.

‡ *Mad. Jour. of Lit. &c. &c.*, vol. XX. p. 93. § P. 155.

|| See *Ind. Ant.*, vol. II. 272.

¶ *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. IX. 315; but see *Ind. Ant.*, vol. II. 93.

year 506, he could not have *commenced* to reign in the Śaka year 532. Here, therefore, we have an irreconcilable conflict of authorities. However, Dr. Bhāu Dāji himself speaks of the "Iwullee" inscription in such a way, and the inscription itself is of such a description, as at present before us, that we cannot, I think, attach much weight to it. And we may therefore accept—at any rate provisionally—the date given us by Sir W. Elliot and Professor Eggeling.

And here the copperplate before us to-day requires consideration. It purports to bear date in the Śaka year 532, which is stated to be the twentieth year of some king's reign. I say 'some king's reign,' because it seems to me clear that the grantor in this plate was not himself a full king. For, first, the grantor is "directed by the great king the lord of the earth"—an expression not consistent with the grantor's having been himself a king; and, secondly, the absence of those preliminary flourishes about the genealogy of the grantors, so invariable in the plates of the regular Chālukya kings,* would seem to point to the same conclusion. Still there can, I think, be no doubt, on the other hand, that the plate is *connected* with the Chālukya dynasty,—the emblem of the boar on the ring spoken of above, the name Satyāśraya, the title Prithivī Vallabha Mahārāja, would all seem to be conclusive on that point. Nor, again, need there be much hesitation, I think, in saying that the reign of twenty years spoken of is that of the reigning Chālukya monarch, and not of the subordinate grantor, for the expression प्रवर्द्धमानविजयराज्यसंबन्धस्वत्सरम् is one of very frequent occurrence in the grants of the Chālukyas,† and is not likely to have been applied to the duration of a mere subordinate's enjoyment of office.‡ We may, therefore, take it, I think, that this plate refers to a Chālukya king who reigned from the Śaka year 512 for at least twenty years. Now according to Professor Eggeling's copperplate above alluded to, the Śaka year 534 was the third year of the reign of King Satyāśraya or Pulakeśi II., which gives 532 as the first year of his reign. And this year is the year in which our plate is dated. It results, therefore, that the king who was reigning at the date of this grant must have

* The grant translated in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* is, however, an exception.

† *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, vol. IV. p. 10, where it occurs more than once. See, too, *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. II. p. 11; vol. III. p. 208; vol. IX. p. 318. Also now *Ind. Ant.*, vol. III. p. 305.

‡ The word वृत् 'seen,' in the margin of the plate, also requires explanation. Does it mean 'sanctioned,' *scil.* by the 'great king the lord of the earth' ? If so, that will further support the view in the text.

died very soon after that date, and been succeeded by King Satyáśraya. There is another circumstance worthy of note. The grantor in our plate has already been spoken of as stationed at Revatī Dvīpa, and was, it would seem, governor of that island. Now we know from other authorities that Revatī Dvīpa was conquered by Mangalīśa, the immediate predecessor, according to Elliot, of King Satyáśraya.* And it therefore follows that the king reigning at the time of our plate must have been either Mangalīśa himself or some one of his successors. Which of these alternatives are we to accept? Unluckily enough, it is just at this important point that I find the copperplate to be somewhat unintelligible. The only names useful for our purpose which occur in the plate are generic and vague; they do not apply to any individual Chálukya prince, but to the whole Chálukya dynasty. Satyáśraya might be regarded as an individual's name, but the date, on that supposition, is irreconcilable with both Dr. Bháu's view, and the view of Elliot and Eggeling. Indravarma, Rājendravarma, or Dhruvarājendravarma, or whatever else the true name may be, is clearly not the name of the Chálukya king. I once thought that the letter which I read as दु in the original copperplate might be यु , and that the grantor might be श्री सत्याश्रय युवराजेश्वरवर्मा, as in the first of the two plates of Professor Bál Shástri, where we have श्रीविष्णुवर्द्धनयुवराजविषमसिद्धि. But, besides that, the letter as engraved is certainly not यु , there seems to be a difficulty in the way of this theory raised by the epithet आदिमहाबप्तरवंशकुलतिलकेन. If Indravarma was Yuvarāja, he could have been only of the Chálukya *vaṅśa*. Here, too, the letter which has been transcribed as यू might *perhaps* be read as य्ल , though it must be owned that if य्ल is meant, it is not drawn with very much accuracy. But even this change would not give us any clue out of our difficulty.† Upon the whole, I must say, that I cannot spell out of the present plate any precise information with regard to this matter. Nor can I see my way to a thoroughly clear conclusion as to whether the reigning king was Mangalīśa himself or one of his successors. In favour of the latter supposition is the circumstance, which must be admitted to be an inadequate support for it, that there is a deficiency of names between the two Pulakeśī, if we adhere to the dates which we find in the authorities. On the other hand, no such successor of Mangalīśa is any-

* See *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, vol. V. 345.

† It may be mentioned, but I am afraid only as a matter of interest rather than as of use on this point, that the word बल्हर is given in the *Medint kosa* to mean 'boars' flesh.'

where alluded to, except, indeed, as in the contemplation of Mangalîsa,—and this too only according to the statement of Dr. Bhâu Dâji, which is itself scarcely consistent with General Jacob's plate No. III. Besides, even according to Dr. Bhâu, the son of Mangalîsa did not in fact succeed to the throne,—Mangalîsa having died all of a sudden, and having been succeeded by Satyâsraya. Although, therefore, we cannot lay down anything positive on this point, I think the balance of probability at present is in favour of Mangalîsa having been the Châlukya king reigning at the date of the grant before us. The king, whoever he was, must have died very soon after the making of the grant, as at that period there was unexpired but a small portion of the Śaka year 352, in which Satyâsraya must have succeeded to the throne.*

Satyâsraya appears to have been living till 639 A.C., and may have lived some years after that date. After him, in Sir Walter Elliot's list, come two kings, whom Mr. Fergusson characterizes as *fainéant* kings, namely, Amara and Adityavarma. Nothing is known about them; no copperplate or inscription of theirs appears to be forthcoming. Neither of them is mentioned in General Jacob's plates; nor yet are they mentioned in one of the plates in the possession of Professor Eggeling. All these plates do nevertheless refer to the kings going before them and the kings coming after them in Elliot's list. In Mr. Wathen's inscriptions they seem to be mentioned, the former under the somewhat disguised appellation of Neramari. If they reigned at all, a circumstance not quite free from doubt, they probably did not reign either long or gloriously. After them, according to all the available authorities, comes Vikrama Âditya. There is, however, some difficulty about his date. In Sir Walter Elliot's first paper, he is stated to have been on the throne, in the Śaka year 530, for fifteen years. After what has been stated above, it is quite impossible to understand this. I can suggest no explanation. Sir Walter certainly suggests none, although his second and revised list is clearly incompatible with this date. After Vikrama Âditya comes Vinaya Âditya according to Elliot's list, supported by that of General Jacob. But his name is not to be found in Mr. Wathen's list, which, though it coincides with Elliot's on every other point, differs here. The next king, according to all the available authorities, was Vijaya Âditya, who reigned from the Śaka year 617 to the Śaka year 655.

* See further on this point the remarks appended at the close of this paper.

At this point I propose to stop on the present occasion. Sir Walter Elliot's "more authentic" period, indeed, does not commence here. But beyond this point our sole authorities are Sir Walter Elliot and Mr. Wathen, who thoroughly agree with each other ; so that the task of examining the period subsequent to this may, with advantage, be allowed to stand over until other materials are obtained. Of the present inquiry the net outcome is exhibited in the following list of Châlukya kings :—

- | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|
| 1. Jayasiñha. | 8. Pulakeśi II., 532 Śaka ? |
| 2. Buddhavarma or Raṇarâga. | 9. Amara ? |
| 3. Vijaya Râja or Vijaya Âditya,
394 Śaka. | 10. Âdityavarma ? |
| 4. Pulakeśi I., 411 Śaka. | 11. Vikrama Âditya. |
| 5. Kirtivarma. | 12. Vinaya Âditya, 602—617
Śaka. |
| 6. Mangaliśa. } 512—532 Śaka. | 13. Vijaya Âditya, 617—655
Śaka. |
| 7. ? | |

If we exclude the first two kings, about whose dates we have no direct information whatever, we have here a series of eleven kings, and, taking them all to have reigned, we get an average of about 24 years apiece. This average is slightly in excess of the average which we obtain for the later Châlukyas about whom we have more trustworthy accounts. For the last six princes in the list, indeed, if we take Amara and Âdityavarma to have actually reigned, we have an average much less exceptionable, namely, twenty years and a half to each reign. And then the difficulty, such as it is, is confined to the interval between the two Pulakeśis. With regard to this, it should be remembered, that Pulakeśi I., no less than Pulakeśi II., was a prince of great power. To him is ascribed the merit of having celebrated an Aśvamedha sacrifice. He is also eulogized in some of the inscriptions for his extensive conquests, and some part at least of the eulogy may fairly be supposed to have been merited. If so, the improbability undoubtedly attaching to this part of the list may be held to be in some measure reduced.

Upon the whole, I think it must be owned that the list we have given above is not to be regarded as other than provisional. In fact it bears that character on the face of it. The process, too, by which it has been arrived at cannot be looked on as quite satisfactory. On sundry points there is still an unexplained con-

flict of authorities. Even where there is no direct conflict, there is at some points not a little difficulty in arranging the various plates available in a regular series. Impressed by these facts, Mr. Fergusson has already given expression more than once to the view, that some at least of the documents on which we place so much reliance are probably intentionally incorrect. The results to which this view, if accepted, would lead are of a most momentous character. Copperplates and inscriptions are at present our best—if indeed they are not our sole—sources of information about the history of India for several centuries after the commencement of the Christian era, and some centuries before it. If Mr. Fergusson is right, what guarantee have we that any individual inscription or copperplate on which we may rely is entitled to that reliance? As Mr. Fergusson himself very correctly puts it, his view, if true, “renders inscriptions *per se* nearly useless for the purpose of fixing the dates of buildings or events.” It is, therefore, extremely desirable that this point should be finally settled, if possible, before we proceed any further. The state of the materials before us does seem to me calculated to rouse suspicions. And the above observations will, I hope, have shown that such suspicions are not quite unreasonable. Nevertheless, I do not think that we are as yet warranted in accepting Mr. Fergusson’s theory of forgeries. It appears to me that a fresh examination of the inscriptions and copperplates, collected with such admirable industry and perseverance by Sir Walter Elliot and others, should be undertaken by those competent for the task—persons who are conversant with the Sanskrit language no less than with the ancient alphabets in which these inscriptions and copperplates are written. Coöperation, too, should be invited from all quarters. But before this can be done, the inscriptions themselves must be made available to the world at large. This they certainly are not at present. The two, or rather I should now say three, volumes of inscriptions collected by Sir Walter Elliot are deposited with the Royal Asiatic Society, and are, of course, not accessible to all. There are others scattered here and there of which we have only translations, no facsimiles ever having been published. If such a thorough-going re-examination of these materials as has been here suggested, and suggested not for the first time,* is to be undertaken seriously, all of them should be collected together, and a complete *corpus inscriptionum* should be placed within the reach of all who take interest in antiquarian studies.

* Compare *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. IX. p. 141 ; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. II. p. 183.

Now that there is a regular department under the Government of India for looking after the archæological remains of the country, and a systematic classification of these remains has been ordered by Government with a view to their preservation, it may not be quite unreasonable to expect that the acquisitions which have been already made should also be rendered more generally accessible. Until that is done, or until some other way is adopted for securing this great end, namely, the re-examination of all the materials collected at various times by various persons, we can never have complete confidence in the verity of the results that may be arrived at. At any time we may perhaps discover that the basis on which we have been rearing our fabric of Indian history is but a basis of sand.

स्वस्ति श्रीविजयेरवतीर्द्धीपावस्थितेन श्रीपृथ्वीवल्लभमहा ॥ राजानुज्ञातेन
विषयमण्डलचतुष्टयाधिपतिना ॥ आदिमहाबप्पूरवंशकुलतिलकेन देवब्राह्मणगुरु-
माता ॥ पितृपादारत्रिन्दानुध्यातेन परमब्रह्मण्येन श्रीसत्याश्रयधु ॥ वराजेन्द्रवर्मणा
देशे खेटाहारे कारोल्लिकाग्रामः सर्वपङ्कपरिद्वतः ॥ अभटप्रावेश्यः माघपौर्णमा-
स्यामात्मनः पुण्योपचयार्थं ॥ मस्मै गार्ग्यसगोत्राय वेदविद्यावदाताय शिष्यार्थयोदक-
पूर्वं ॥ दत्तः तत्रच भविष्यद्विषयाधिपभोजकस्थाय्यायुक्तका ॥ दयोभिधतव्या यो-
स्मत्कुलाभ्यन्तरोन्योवा रागद्वेषलोभमद ॥ मात्सर्याभिमूतो हिंस्यत्स पञ्चमहापा-
तकोपपातकसंयु ॥ को भवति पालयिताच महता पुण्येन संयुज्यते उक्तं च वेद-
व्या ॥ सेन व्यासेन ॥ षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः अच्छेत्ता ॥ चानुमन्ताच
तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ बहुभिर्वमुधा भुक्त्वा राजभिः ॥ सगरादिभिः यस्य यस्य यदा
भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् ॥ अ ॥ त्राज्ञासिर्दुर्गपतिविजयराजः शासनकर्तोत्कीर्णच
शंकरपु ॥ त्रेण देवद्विजगुरुमातापितृस्वामिभक्तेन लिखितं पुस्तक ॥ वचकेन दुर्गनागेन ॥
प्रवर्द्धमानविजय ॥ राज्यसंवत्सरं विशतिमं शककालः पञ्च ॥ वर्षशतानि द्वात्रिंशानि*

Translation of the above.

Welfare! on the Full-Moon day of the month of Māgha, Śrī Satyâ-
śraya Dhruvarāja Indravarma, who is stationed at Vijayarevatī Dvīpa,
who is directed by the great king the lord of the earth, who is the lord
of four circles of provinces, who is an ornament of the family descended
from the first great Bappûra, who meditates on the lotus-like feet

* In the above ॥ shows the end of the line as engraved in the plate; and
| the beginning and end of each of the stanzas cited.

of gods, Brâhman, preceptors, and parents, and who is extremely devoted to Brâhman,* has, for the increase of his own religious merit, given, after pouring water, to this Śivârya, of the family of Gârgya, purified by the Vedas and the sciences, the village of Kârellikâ, in the district of Khetâhâra, free from all lame people,† and not to be entered by soldiers. And as to that, future lords of provinces, governors,‡ permanent officers, and others, should be told, that he who, whether belonging to our family or otherwise, being overcome by affection, hatred, avarice, intoxication, or envy, shall destroy this gift, will incur the five great sins and the minor sins; and he who shall maintain this will acquire great religious merit. And it has been said by Vyâsa, the compiler of the Vedas, "He who grants land lives in heaven for sixty thousand years, while he who takes it away, or approves of its being taken away, lives for as many in hell. § Many kings, such as Sagara and others, have enjoyed the earth: the fruit accrues to each so long as he has the land." In this matter, Vijayarâja, the governor of the Fort, is the maker of the *śâsana*||; and it has been engraved by the son of Śankara, who is devoted to gods, Brâhman, preceptors, parents, and masters. It has been written by Durga Nâga, reader of books. The twentieth current ¶ year of the reign of victory, the year 532 Śaka Kâla.

Since this paper was written, a facsimile of an inscription of Mangalîsa has been published in the *Indian Antiquary*, together with a transcript and translation by Professor Eggeling. It sets at rest the question hinted at in the above paper as to whether Mangalîsa reigned at all. And as it gives the Śaka year, and also the year of Mangalîsa's reign, in

* This epithet occurs again in General Jacob's third plate, and is there applied to Mangala. I do not remember seeing it in connexion with any other of the Châlukya princes. There is also another expression in this grant which occurs in that third plate, that is, the expression *हिं स्यात्*

† What is the meaning of this expression? The original is *पङ्कपरिहितः* of which I can make no sense. 'Lame people' may mean the beggars who go about asking for alms on pretence of being lame. But this is all, of course, mere guess-work. The next phrase is discussed by Professor Dowson, *Jour. R. As. Soc. (N.S.)*, vol. I, 285.

‡ *भोक्तृ* occurs in one of Colebrooke's grants (see *Misc. Essays*, II. 311); he renders it by 'princes,' I think correctly, from the root *भुज्*, to protect. In Dowson's grants *भेगपति* occurs, which he renders by 'proprietors.'

§ From the *Jñâna Gitâ*, according to the plate in *Jour. Beng. As. Soc. ut sup.*

¶ The text here is somewhat obscure; I have not fully understood it.

¶ I have thus translated *प्रवर्द्धमान*, that being the usual rendering.

which the grant recorded in it was made, it also settles the question as to whether Mangalísa was the reigning Chálukya prince at the date of our plate. It is now clear, that Mangalísa was not reigning at that time. And if our argument based on the expression प्रवर्द्धमानविजय राज्यसंवत्सरम् is correct, it becomes likely that Mangalísa ceased to reign in the Śaka year 512, and was succeeded by the king in whose reign our plate is dated. Who was that king? Was it that son of Mangalísa for whom, according to Dr. Bhāu, Mangalísa was anxious to secure the throne after himself? This is likely, but without further materials than we can at present command, it is impossible to answer the question satisfactorily.

ART. XX.—*A Note on the Age of Madhusûdana Sarasvatî.* BY
KĀSHINĀTH TRIMBAK TELANG, ESQ., M.A., LL.B.

[Read December 12th, 1874.]

One of the most famous commentaries on the Bhagavadgîtâ is the Gîtâgûdhârthadîpikâ of Madhusûdana Sarasvatî. It is a most learned and elaborate work, and is in extent very nearly double the well-known Gîtâ Bhâshya of Śankarâchârya. The author is a celebrated member of the Adualistic-Vedânta school, and is said to have been one of the successors of the first Śankarâchârya at the maṭha of Śṛingeri. Some information about him and his works may be found in the well-known catalogues of Dr. FitzEdward Hall and Dr. Aufrecht. But neither of those works gives us any assistance upon the point to which this paper is principally devoted, namely the age of Madhusûdana Sarasvatî.

In a copy of his commentary on the Bhagavadgîtâ, which was procured for me by my friend Mr. Abâji Vishṇu Kâthavate from a learned shâstrî of Puṇa, and which I partly collated with a copy of the work in my own possession, the following stanza occurs at the close of the comment on the sixteenth chapter—

॥ अवरङ्गमहीपाले कृत्स्नां शासति मेदिनीम् ॥

॥ आनीता भगवद्गीताटीका पण्डितसिद्धकेः ॥

It may be thus rendered into English—“While king Avaranga was ruling the whole world, this commentary on the Bhagavadgîtâ was brought over by Paṇḍit Siddhaka.” I do not feel quite sure about the meaning of the last word. But for our present purpose that is not very material. The first word is the word of greatest importance. Who is king Avaranga? Coupled with the evidence furnished by the work itself, the answer to this question enables us, I think, to fix the age of our author with a tolerable approach to accuracy. I believe that the name Avaranga is merely a Sanskritised form of the name Aurangzeb, minus its very un-Sanskritic final syllable. There has been no Indian prince, that I am aware of, rejoicing in the name Avaranga, and the identification I suggest may, I think, be safely accepted. Now Aurangzeb was not securely established on his throne till 1661. To that date, therefore, the event recorded in the above stanza must probably have been

posterior. On the other hand, Śivāji proclaimed himself sovereign in 1664, and the "bringing over" of the commentary was probably prior to that occurrence, as in a matter of this sort, a Hindu would more likely refer to the reign of a Hindu sovereign like Śivāji than to that of a Musalmān sovereign like Aurangzeb. It must be admitted, however, that other explanations of the fact quite as probable as this may be suggested. And therefore we cannot at present push back the date of the "bringing over" of the commentary beyond the close of the seventeenth century. But taking that date as the basis, and having regard to the circumstances of the time, we may, I think, fix the beginning of the seventeenth century as a *terminus*, before which the commentary was most probably composed.

It is scarcely necessary to point out that the stanza above cited was not composed by the author of the commentary. It was probably written by the author of certain notes* on the commentary, which are interspersed in different parts of the only copy in which it is contained. That copy purports to have been completed on the 9th of Phālgun Śukla in the Śāka year 1775, and the copyist adds at the end of it ब्रह्मकात्मजविद्वलेन लिखितं भोत्रियस्येत्युपनामकम् (*sic*).

Having thus obtained what may be regarded as a sufficiently approximate *terminus ad quem* for the composition of this commentary on the Gītā, let us now proceed to inquire whether we can obtain a *terminus a quo* likewise. Now it is perfectly clear, that our author must have flourished a considerable period after Śankarāchārya. For Śankara is highly praised in sundry passages of this commentary on the Gītā, and our author would almost seem to be content to waive his right to be called an independent commentator, accepting the somewhat inferior position of interpreter, as it were, between Śankara and the less instructed class of readers.† Madhusūdana must also be set down as later than the author of the published gloss. on Śankara's Gītā Bhāshya, viz. Ānanda Giri. For in commenting on Gītā IV. 7, our author cites a passage from the Gītā Bhāshya and adds: व्याख्यातुभिर्ज्ञोक्तं स्वेच्छानिर्मितेन

* At the close of the comments on chap. XIII. of the Gītā occurs a stanza running as follows— पराकृतनमद्वन्द्वं परं ब्रह्म नराकृति ॥सौन्दर्यसारसर्वस्वं वन्दे नन्दात्मजं महः॥ on which this copy has in the margin पराकृतो निवारितः नमतां भक्तानां बन्धः संसारबन्धो येन. which is clearly no part of the commentary.

† Some of these passages are cited by Prof. Lassen in the preface to his edition of Schlegel's Bhagavadgītā (p. xix.) Under Gītā XVIII 6 occurs the following not cited by Lassen : भगवत्पूज्यपादानामभिप्रायोद्यमीरितः ॥ अनिष्णाततया भाष्ये दुरापो मन्दबुद्धिभिः.

मायामयेन दिव्येन रूपेण संबभूवेति, which in English means—"And the commentator has said 'he was born with a glorious body, created at his own will, and produced out of the Mâyâ.'" The original passage referred to here may be seen in the published gloss of Ānanda Giri with some very slight differences,* due, perhaps, to the quotation having been made from memory, or to the existence of various readings in the MSS., or to the existence of errors in the printed copy. Madhusūdana must also have flourished later than the author of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa,† which is assigned, by Professor Wilson to the ninth century A.C. ‡ Furthermore, Vijnāneśvara, the author of the Mitāksharā, being expressly mentioned in this commentary,§ our author must be posterior to "the latter half of the eleventh century after Christ," which Dr. Bühler fixes as the date of that writer.|| The quotations from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa,¶ again, bring us down perhaps to a still later period, as Professor Wilson and others** fix the twelfth century A.C. as the probable date of that Purāṇa. We thus obtain the interval between the twelfth and the seventeenth centuries of the Christian era as the period at some part of which our author must have flourished.

Can these limits be contracted any further? In the Preface to his edition of Schlegel's Bhagavadgītā †† Professor Lassen refers to an opinion of Burnouf, identifying Madhusūdana, the author of the Gītā-gūḍhārthadīpika, with a certain Madhusūdana, who is mentioned by Mādhavāchārya in his Dhātuvṛitti.‡‡ If this identification be correct, we shall obtain instead of the limits stated above, the comparatively narrow ones of the twelfth and fourteenth centuries of the Christian era. Burnouf himself, however, does not look on the identification as satisfactorily made out. And the language used by Professor Lassen, in

* See p. 5 (Calcutta edition, 1870).

† Cited under Gītā VI. 17.

‡ See Preface to Viṣṇu Purāṇa, p. lviii.

§ Under Gītā II. 33.

|| See *Jour. Bom. Br. H. As. Soc.*, vol. IX. p. 137.

¶ Under Gītā III. 19; XVIII. 65.

** See Preface to Viṣṇu Purāṇa p. li; also 1 Colebrooke's Essays 104. On the other side may be consulted a recent work entitled Bhāgavata Bhūṣhaṇa, by Mr. Gopālāchārya Karhādkaṛ, printed at Ganpat Krishnāji's press. My opinion on the dates of the Purāṇas generally has been expressed in the Preface to my edition of Bhartrihari. (Bomb. Series of Sanskrit Classics.)

†† See p. xviii.

‡‡ Burnouf's words, as translated to me by a friend, are very cautious. He says, "Colebrooke speaks of a Madhusūdana whom he gives as one of the commentators of the Mugdhabodha of Vopadeva, and whom Sāyana cites in his Dhātuvṛitti. I do not know if he is the Madhusūdana to whom Colebrooke attributes several works on the Vedānta philosophy."

stating Burnouf's opinion, seems to indicate that he too is not quite prepared to accept it. Nevertheless Professor Lassen does provisionally act upon the suggestion of Burnouf; and he assigns our author to the middle of the fourteenth century, placing Mâdhavâchârya at the close of that century.

In this conclusion I cannot concur; and in dissenting from it, I think I have the support of something of much greater strength than a mere conjectural identification based on a similarity of names. I think it can be shown from the internal evidence furnished by the Gîtâgûdhârthadîpikâ, that Madhusûdana must have flourished, not before, but some time after, Mâdhavâchârya. For, in commenting on Gîta VI. 36, after citing and explaining a passage from the Yogavâsishtha, and adding some further observations of his own, our author winds up with these words अवशिष्टं जीवन्मुक्तिविवेके सविस्तरमनुसंधेयम्, *anglicè* "The rest may be seen at length in the Jivanmuktiviveka." Now turning to Dr. F. E. Hall's Contributions to a Bibliography of Indian Philosophical Systems, we find the Jivanmuktiviveka enumerated among Vedantic books, and described as "a work ascribed to Vidyâranya or Mâdhavâchârya.*" At a subsequent page of the same work, Dr. Hall refers to Professor Weber's Berlin Catalogue as containing an account of the Jivanmuktiviveka.† But I have been unable hitherto to get access to any copy of the Berlin Catalogue. Again, in a work entitled Bhâgavata Bhûshana, recently published in Bombay by a shâstrî of some reputation on this side of India, viz. Mr. Gopâlâchârya Karhâḍkar, the author speaks of विद्यारण्यस्वामिकृतजीवन्मुक्तिप्रकरणम्,‡ which, as we are told by Dr. Hall, is an alternative title of the same work. True it is, indeed, that our late learned Vice-President, Dr. Bhâu Dâjî, has not mentioned this work in his paper on Mâdhava and Sâyana. But the list of works contained in that paper was not, I think, meant to be regarded as exhaustive, and does not purport to be exhaustive. That being so, if we may believe these concurrent statements regarding Mâdhavâchârya's authorship of the Jivanmuktiviveka, and I can see no reasonable ground for distrusting them, it results that our author must be later in age than Mâdhavâchârya.

* p. 133.

† Ibid. p. 205.

‡ See l. 7 p. 2. It may, perhaps, be added that the Jivanmuktiviveka is referred to as Mâdhava's in a note to Dr. Hall's translation of Nehemiah Nilkanth Gore's Rational Refutation of Hindu Philosophical Systems. The work is also mentioned as Vidyâranya's in the Catalogue of MSS. compiled by Dr. Bühler (see Part IV. 52) and also in the Catalogue of MSS. in the Central Provinces which has been recently published (see p. 118).

If now we turn to the closing lines of the *Gitâgûdhârthadîpikâ*, we find there a stanza which runs as follows :—

श्रीरामविश्वेश्वरमाधवानां ॥ प्रसावनासाद्य मया गुरुणाम् ॥
 व्याख्यानमेतद्विहितं सुबोधं ॥ समर्पितं तच्चरणाम्बुजेषु ॥

I would translate these lines thus—“This easily intelligible commentary, which has been composed by me after obtaining the favour of the preceptors, Śrî Râma, Viśveśvara, and Mâdhava, is offered up to their lotus-like feet.” Professor Lassen’s copy reads *साधनानाम्* instead of *माधवानाम्*. But that reading can scarcely yield any sense, and the three copies of the work which I have seen concur in reading *माधवानाम्*. This reading may, therefore, be safely accepted. Again, Professor Lassen seems to understand श्रीरामविश्वेश्वर as one form of the name of our author’s preceptor, alternative with विश्वेश्वरसरस्वती and विश्वेश्वरानन्दसरस्वती.* But this interpretation, which, I own, appears to me to be in itself improbable, is rendered still more improbable by the reading which we have given above. The first line must, then, be interpreted, as we have interpreted it, to be a compound containing three names, Śrî Râma, Viśveśvara, and Mâdhava.† Now it must be admitted that we have no information about this Mâdhava. But is it not, at least, possible, that the Mâdhava here mentioned may be identical with the Mâdhava whose work our author has referred to before? However, this is but a conjecture, and it need not be pursued any further. We may, for the present, fix the two *termini* for the date of our author at the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries after Christ.

There is yet another source of information, and to it we now turn. It has been already stated, that tradition represents Madhusûdana Sarasvatî to have been once in occupation of the place of the Śringerî Pontiff. Now my friend Mr. Janârdan Sakhârâm Gâdgil has procured from the records of Śringerî a complete list of the several occupants of the “gâdî” together with their respective dates. I reproduce the list in its entirety, as it has not, to my knowledge, been ever before published.

* p. xvi. note.—But see contra, Dr. Hall’s Contributions to a Bibliography, &c., p. 119, where Dr. Hall also states that the copy catalogued by him is dated 1673 A.C.

† I know nothing of Śrî Râma. The name occurs in some places in Dr. Hall’s work, but there is nothing to identify this Śrî Râma with any of the persons there intended. Viśveśvara is the author of several works mentioned by Dr. Hall. This name always occurs in the descriptions of Madhusûdana Sarasvatî, which are contained in the colophons to the works of the latter; for instance, in the *Gitâgûdhârthadîpikâ* itself.

| No. | Names. | Year down to
which office held. | Duration
of office. |
|-----|--|------------------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. | Śankarāchārya Vikrama Samvat | 107 | 32 years. |
| 2. | Prithvidharāchārya Śalivāhana Śaka | 37 | 65 " |
| 3. | Viśvarūpa Bhāratī Svāmī Do. | 112 | 75 " |
| 4. | Chidrūpa Bhāratī Svāmī Do. | 164 | 52 " |
| 5. | Gangādharma Bhāratī Svāmī | 234 | 70 " |
| 6. | Chidghana Bhāratī Svāmī | 289 | 55 " |
| 7. | Bodhaghana Bhāratī Svāmī | 335 | 46 " |
| 8. | Jnānottama Bhāratī Svāmī | 380 | 45 " |
| 9. | Śivānanda Bhāratī Svāmī | 420 | 40 " |
| 10. | Jānottama Bhāratī Svāmī | 457 | 37 " |
| 11. | Nṛisinha Bhāratī Svāmī | 498 | 41 " |
| 12. | Íśvara Bhāratī Svāmī | 527 | 30 " |
| 13. | Nṛisinha Bhāratī Svāmī | 550 | 22 " |
| 14. | Vidyāsankar Bhāratī Svāmī..... | 578 | 28 " |
| 15. | Kṛishna Bhāratī Svāmī..... | 598 | 20 " |
| 16. | Śankara Bhāratī Svāmī..... | 620 | 22 " |
| 17. | Chandraśekhara Bhāratī Svāmī | 644 | 24 " |
| 18. | Chidānanda Bhāratī Svāmī | 667 | 23 " |
| 19. | Brahmānanda Bhāratī Svāmī | 695 | 28 " |
| 20. | Chidrūpa Bhāratī Svāmī | 720 | 25 " |
| 21. | Purushottama Bhāratī Svāmī | 755 | 35 " |
| 22. | Madhusūdana Bhāratī Svāmī | 793 | 38 " |
| 23. | Jagannāth Bhāratī Svāmī..... | 821 | 28 " |
| 24. | Viśvananda Bhāratī Svāmī | 853 | 32 " |
| 25. | Vimalānanda Bhāratī Svāmī..... | 888 | 35 " |
| 26. | Vidyāranya Bhāratī Svāmī | 928 | 40 " |
| 27. | Viśvarūpa Bhāratī Svāmī..... | 948 | 20 " |
| 28. | Bodhaghana Bhāratī Svāmī | 974 | 26 " |
| 29. | Jnānottama Bhāratī Svāmī | 1004 | 30 " |
| 30. | Íśvara Bhāratī Svāmī | 1054 | 50 " |
| 31. | Bhāratī Tārtha Svāmī*..... | 1089 | 35 " |
| 32. | Vidyā Tirtha Svāmī | 1127 | 38 " |
| 33. | Vidyāranya Bhāratī Svāmī† | 1169 | 42 " |
| 34. | Nṛisinha Bhāratī Svāmī | 1197 | 28 " |

* Received recognition in the Śaka year 1075, and thereafter ruled the Saristhāna for fourteen years.

† Received second recognition in the year 1167, and thereafter ruled the Saristhāna for twelve years. That year was the cyclical year Manmatha.

| No. | Names. | Year down to
which office held. | Duration
of office. |
|-----|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------|
| 35. | Chandraśekhara Bhâratî Svâmî ... | 1225 | 28 years. |
| 36. | Madhusûdana Bhâratî Svâmî | 1225 | 30 " |
| 37. | Vishṇu Bhâratî Svâmî | 1290 | 35 " |
| 38. | Gangâdhar Bhâratî Svâmî | 1324 | 34 " |
| 39. | Nṛisinha Bhâratî Svâmî | 1355 | 31 " |
| 40. | Śankara Bhâratî Svâmî..... | 1388 | 33 " |
| 41. | Purushottama Bhâratî Svâmî | 1432 | 44 " |
| 42. | Râmachandra Bhâratî Svâmî..... | 1466 | 34 " |
| 43. | Nṛisinha Bhâratî Svâmî* | 1509 | 43 " |
| 44. | Vidyarany Bhâratî | 1542 | 33 " |
| 45. | Nṛisinha Bhâratî | 1561 | 19 " |
| 46. | Śankara Bhâratî..... | 1585 | 24 " |
| 47. | Nṛisinha Bhâratî | 1601 | 36 " |
| 48. | Śankar Bhâratî..... | 1629 | 28 " |
| 49. | Nṛisinha Bhâratî | 1653 | 34 " |
| 50. | Sankar Bhâratî | 1685 | 32 " |
| 51. | Nrisinha Bhâratî | 1691 | 6 " |
| 52. | Śankara Bhâratî | 1729 | 38 " |
| 53. | Nṛisinha Bhâratî | 1742 | 12 " |
| 54. | Śankara Bhâratî..... | 1776 | 34 " |
| 55. | Nṛisinha Bhâratî | 1782 | 6 " |
| 56. | Śrî Śankara Bhâratî Svâmî | | |

This list does not appear to me to be very satisfactory. But I need not discuss it on the present occasion. There are but two Madhusûdanas in the list, the one at No. 22, the other at No. 36. The latter seems to me to be the person we want. It will be observed, that immediately above him there are two Svâmîs who may be said to be unknown to fame; but these are preceded by a tolerably well-known triad, viz. Bhâratî Tîrtha, Vidyâ Tîrtha, and Vidyâranya; of these Vidyâranya is well known as only another name of Mâdhavâchârya. Vidyâ Tîrtha is most probably identical with the person of the same name whom Mâdhava mentions in the first stanza of his Śankara Vijaya. Bhâratî Tîrtha is mentioned in company with Vidyâranya in the first stanza of the com-

* It was in the time of this Svâmî that a separate mahta of the Sarîsthâna was established at Kudalgi. And the subsequent names, says Mr. Gâdgil, are the names of those who ruled the Kudalgi Sarîsthâna.

Dr. Bhâu seems to regard Vidijâ Tîrtha and Bhâratî Tîrtha as names of one and the same person: *Jour. Bomb. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. IX. 227.

mentary on the Panchadaśī of Vidyāraṇya. The circumstance of these three names occurring together, coupled with the traditional information we possess, renders it, I think, reasonably probable, that the Vidyāraṇya here mentioned is identical with Mādhavāchārya. And if so, then it also becomes likely, that the Madhusūdana, who stands third after him in the above list, is to be identified with the Madhusūdana Sarasvatī with whom we are at present concerned.

Arguing thus far on the basis of the above list, we are, I think, on comparatively safe ground. But when we proceed to the question of dates, the credibility of the list is very much reduced. According to it, Mādhaba flourished in the thirteenth century of the Christian era, and died in 1247 A.C. The inscriptions, however, which have been found and deciphered show that this date cannot be correct, and that it is more than a hundred years too early; with that correction, Madhusūdana will stand at some period after the Śaka year 1355 or 1433 A.C. There is, however, this fact to be noted here. Between the death of Vidyāraṇya and the death of Madhusūdana, there elapses an interval, according to this list, of eighty-six years. If now we identify the Mādhaba mentioned in the closing stanza of the Gītāgudhārthadīpikā with Vidyāraṇya, this circumstance evidently presents a difficulty, for it is scarcely probable that Madhusūdana could have lived long enough to have been the pupil of one who died eighty-six years before the period of his own death. It is just possible that the three names of "gurus" mentioned in the stanza cited above are not the names of persons who were all the direct "gurus" of Madhusūdana. But for this supposition again there is no authority, and Viśveśvara appears clearly to have been his immediate preceptor. However, upon the whole, looking to the several lines of argument above suggested, I think we may safely lay down the proposition that Madhusūdana Sarasvatī probably flourished about the end of the fifteenth or the beginning of the sixteenth century of the Christian era.

One word as to the relative positions of Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, and another famous commentator on the Bhagavadgīta, namely, Śrīdhara Svāmi. Professor Lassen places the latter at the beginning of the fourteenth century after Christ or half a century before Madhusūdana.* His argument is based simply upon the several coincidences observed by him between the two commentaries on the Bhāgavadgītā of those two writers. And, therefore, Professor Lassen, in expressing the opinion

stated above, cautiously says, that it is only *satis verisimile*. There is, however, a sentence in Madhusûdana's commentary on Gita VI. 27, which places the matter beyond doubt, for there it is said एवमुक्तेन प्रकारेणेति श्रीधरः. *anglicè*, Śrīdhara says, thus means in the manner described. This agrees with what we find in Śrīdhara Svāmī's comment on the passage in question. It may, therefore, be taken as beyond doubt, that Śrīdhara preceded Madhusûdana, but by what period of time it is not at present possible to say. He lived, however, sufficiently long after Sankara to have known of a commentary on Sankara's Gîtâ Bhâshya;* and it may perhaps be added, that he lived after the thirteenth century, as he has written a commentary on the Bhâgavata Purâna. But the positions of Madhusûdana and Mâdhava being reversed, as we have seen above, Professor Lassen's date cannot now stand unless further evidence in support of it is forthcoming.

There are one or two other facts to be found in the Gîtâgôdhârthadîpikâ which are worthy of note. Although Madhusûdana is a staunch follower of the Advaita Vedânta, he is at the same time a thorough-going devotee of Krishna. Thus at the close of the commentary on the fifteenth chapter of the Gîtâ, he says:—

विदानन्दाकारं जलदरुचि सारं भुक्तिगिरां व्रजस्त्रीणां हारं भवजलधिपारं कृतधियाम् ॥
विहन्तुं भूभारं विदधदवतारं मुहुरहो महो वारंवारं भजत कुशलारम्भकृतिनः ॥ †

And again, with greater force, he says:—

प्रयात्तोपि निर्णीतं कृष्णमाहात्म्यमद्भुतम् ॥ न शक्नुवन्ति ये सोढुं ते मूढा निरयं गताः ॥ ‡

But the comments on the very next chapter are ushered in with the following latitudinarian remark:—

ज्ञेवाः सौराष्ट्र गाणेशा वैष्णवाः शक्तिपूजकाः ॥ भवन्ति यमविज्ञाय सोहमस्मि परः शिवः §

It would appear from this, that the belief—and a very strong belief too—in the Krishna of the Gopis is, in practice, not incompatible with a refined catholicity of creed.

* See Śrīdhara's Gloss on Gîtâ, introductory stanza.

† Oh ye who wisely work for your welfare, devote yourselves constantly to that glory which consists of Intelligence and Joy, which has the colour of a cloud, which is the essence of Vedic texts, which is the ornament of the Gopis, which carries the wise across the ocean of this world, and which has frequently become incarnate to destroy the burdens of the earth.

‡ Those deluded men who cannot bear the wonderful greatness of Krishna, though substantiated by proofs, go to perdition.

§ I am that supreme Holy Being through ignorance of whom men become worshippers of Śiva, and the Sun, and Ganeśa and Vishṇu, and Śakti.

There is but one other observation, which it may be useful to add here. In the gloss. on Gîtâ VI. 33, Madhusûdana quotes as follows from the Gîtâ Bhâshya तन्तुनागवदच्छेद्यमिति भाष्ये and adds तन्तुनागो नागपाशः तातनीति गुर्जरादौ प्रसिद्धः This is noticeable, but it would be hazardous to draw from it alone any inference as to Madhusûdana's connexion with the Gurjara District.

APPENDIX.

Abstract of the Proceedings of the Society for 1874.

MEMBERS ELECTED.

FROM JULY 19TH TO DECEMBER 31ST, 1874.

8TH AUGUST 1874.

| | |
|---------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Deputy Surgeon-General J. M. S. Fogo. | Khaṇḍeráo Chimanráo Beḍárkar, Esq. |
| T. Bromley, Esq. | Surgeon-Major G. Y. Hunter. |
| A. Craigie, Esq. | F. Feddon, Esq., F.G.S. |

12TH SEPTEMBER 1874.

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| Pheroshaw Merwanji Jijibhoy, Esq. | Javerilál Umiashankar Yájni, Esq. |
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14TH NOVEMBER 1874.

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| Hormasji Naoroji Sáklátwálá, Esq., Merchant. | Ardaseer Framjee Moos, Esq., Merchant. |
| | Grattan Geary, Esq. |

12TH DECEMBER 1874.

| | |
|--|--|
| Jehángir Barjorji Wáchá, Esq., Merchant. | Ganpatráo Bháskar, Esq., Acting Judge, Small Cause Court, Bombay. |
| Shámráo Víthal, Esq., Pleader, High Court. | Leopoldo Cipriano da Gama, Esq., Deputy Postmaster-General of Portuguese India, Goa. |

PRESENTS TO THE LIBRARY.

FROM JULY 19TH TO DECEMBER 31ST, 1874.

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for India.
- ANNUAL REPORT (Sixth) of the Sanitary Commissioner
of the North-Western Provinces for 1873..... Do.
- BLANFORD'S (W. T.) Notes on the Synonymy of some
Indian and Persian Birds, with description of two
new species from Persia The Author.
- BOMBAY DOCKS S. A. Johnson.
- BOMBAY HIGH COURT REPORTS, Vol. X., Part 2 Govt. of B'bay.
- BOOK OF ARDA VIRAF ; the Pahlavi Text prepared by
Destur Hoshangji Jámáspji Asa..... Do.
- BULLETIN DE LA SOCIÉTÉ DE GÉOGRAPHIE Société de
Géographie,
Paris.
- CATALOGUE of Books printed in the Bombay Presidency
during the Quarter ending 30th June 1874..... Govt. of B'bay.
- CLASSIFIED ALPHABETICAL CATALOGUE of Sanskrit
Manuscripts in the Central Provinces Inspr.-Gen. of
Educ., C. P.
- CLASSIFIED AND DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE of the In-
dian Department, Vienna Universal Exhibition,
1873 Secretary, Vi-
enna Exhib.
- CODICUM ARABICORUM in Bibliotheca Societatis
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torum. Pht. Batavia Société des
Arts et des
Sciences at
Batavia.

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| CREMATION: the treatment of the body after death; by Sir Henry Thompson..... | The Author. |
| EERSTE Vervolg Catalogus der Bibliotheek en Catalogus der Maleische, Javaansche, en Kawi Handschriften | Société des Arts et des Sciences at Batavia. |
| ELLIOT (G.)—Gold and Mineral Prospects of Western India, being letters to the Editor of the <i>Bombay Gazette</i> | The Author. |
| FINANCE and Revenue Accounts and Miscellaneous Statistics relating to the Finances of British India, Part II. | Govt. of India. |
| GAZETTEER of the Province of Sindh | Govt. of B'bay. |
| GEOLOGICAL SURVEY of India, Memoirs of the, Vol. X., Part 2 | Do. |
| HAYDEN's Geological Survey of Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, and Utah for 1872. | |
| HAYDEN's (F. V.) Reports of the United States Geological Survey of the Territories for the years 1867, 1868, and 1869 | Secy. of State for India. |
| JOURNAL of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Part II., No. 2, 1874..... | Asiatic Society of Bengal. |
| JOURNAL of the East India Association, Vol. I. for 1867. } | East India Association. |
| Ditto ditto Vol. II., Nos. 2, 3, and 4, for 1868... } | |
| Ditto ditto Vol. III., Nos. 2, 3, and 4, for 1869... } | |
| Ditto ditto Vol. IV., Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4, for 1870. } | |
| Ditto ditto Vol. V., Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4, for 1871. } | |
| Ditto ditto Vol. VI., Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4, for 1872. } | |
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Batavia. Pht. Société des
Arts et des
Sciences at
Batavia.
- PROCEEDINGS** of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. VIII.,
for August 1874 Asiatic Society
of Bengal.
- PROCEEDINGS** of the Literary and Philosophical Society
of Manchester, Vols. VIII. to XII. The Society.
- RECORDS** of the Geological Survey of India, Vol. VII.,
Part 3, 1874 Govt. of India.
- RECORDS** of the Geological Survey of India, Vol. VII.,
Part 4, 1874..... Do.
- REPORT** (Annual) of the Chief Signal Officer to the
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for India.
- REPORT** (Administration) of the Public Works Depart-
ment, Bombay Presidency, for the year 1873-74 ...Govt. of B'bay.
- REPORT** (Fifty-Fourth Annual), of the Board of Public
Education of the First School District of Pennsyl-
vania, &c., for 1872.....Secy. of State
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sonian Institution, &c., for 1871 Smithsonian
Institution.

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- REPORT on Vaccination throughout the Bombay Presidency and Sind for the year 1873-74** Govt. of B'bay.
- REPORT (Seventieth) of the British and Foreign Bible Society, with an Appendix and a List of Subscribers and Benefactors. London, 1874** Bible Society, London.
- RULES AND CATALOGUE of the Library of the Sassoon Mechanics' Institute** Mechanics' Institute.
- RUSSIA and England in Central Asia : a Problem**.....
- SMITHSONIAN Miscellaneous Collections, Vol. X.**..... Smithsonian Institution.
- SYNOPSIS of the Results of the Operations of the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India, Vol. I. By Colonel J. T. Walker, R.E., F.R.S.** Govt. of India.
- TIJDSCHRIFT voor Indische Taal,—Land—en Volkenkunde. 17 vols. Batavia**..... Société des Arts et des Sciences at Batavia.
- TRANSACTIONS of Asiatic Society of Japan from 22nd October 1873 to 15th July 1874** Asiatic Society of Japan.
- TRANSACTIONS of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, Vol. II., Part 2** Academy of Arts and Sciences.
- TAWNEY'S (C. H.) English People and their Language. Translated from the German Loth. Calcutta, 1873. C. E. Fox, Esq.**
- TAWNEY'S (C. H.) Uttara Rama Charita : a Sanskrit Drama by Bhavabhuti. Translated into English Prose** Do.
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| UNITED STATES Sanitary Commission in the Valley of the Mississippi during the War of the Rebellion, 1861-66. Final Report of Dr. J. S. Newberry | Secy. of State for India. |
| VERHANDELINGEN van het Bataviaasch Genootschap. 3 vols. 4to. Batavia | Société des Arts et des Sciences at Batavia. |

PRESENTS TO THE MUSEUM.

FROM JULY 19TH TO DECEMBER 31ST, 1874.

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| COIN , a flat silver, nearly rectangular..... | The Collector of Ratnagiri. |
| COINS , 50 silver | Assistant Political Agent in charge Gondal State, in Kathiáwád. |

ORIGINAL COMMUNICATIONS.

JULY 19th TO DECEMBER 31st, 1874.

COMMUNICATED BY

| | |
|---|-------------|
| DA CUNHA, J. GERSON, Esq., M.R.C.S.— | |
| Notes on the History and Antiquities of the Island of Bassein | The Author. |
| REHATSEK, E., Esq., M.C.E., Hon. Mem. B. B. R. As. Soc.— | |
| I.—Exorcisms, Amulets, Recipes, Geomancy, &c.&c. | Do. |
| II.—156 Facsimiles of Muhammadan, Hindu, Bactrian, Roman, Byzantine, &c. Coins and other Gems | Do. |
| TELANG, KÁSHINÁTH TRIMBAK, M.A., LL.B.— | |
| I.—A new Chálukyá Copperplate, dated Śaka year 532, with remarks | Do. |
| II.—A Note on the Age of Madhusúdana Sarasvatí. | Do. |

PROCEEDINGS, OFFICIAL, LITERARY, AND SCIENTIFIC.

FROM JULY 19TH TO DECEMBER 31ST, 1874.

At a meeting held on Saturday the 8th August 1874 :—

Mr. E. Rehatsek read a paper on Exorcisms, Amulets, Recipes, Geomancy, &c.

Mr. Rehatsek, after mentioning that many people in Bombay were making a living by either privately or publicly offering to the public means whereby future events may be ascertained and evils averted, said that there were certain stations where men in a religious garb sat with a book, *Fá Tuá mah*, ready to tell people's fortunes, and he gave some general remarks upon the chief practices followed by the professors of the art, and described the peculiar properties attributed to certain mineral, vegetable, and animal substances ; he then gave an account of the different subjects as given in the title of the paper. Thus—

The Evil Eye.—Its effects were fully believed in by the Prophet, according to Abu Haryrah, one of his companions. Some of the effects attributed to it were described, as also the means given to destroy them and avert it.

Amulets and many *Recipes*, containing generally verses from the Korán, in use for remedying different diseases and ills, were given, and it was shown that certain verses of the Korán were believed to cure certain diseases.

The efficacy of writing certain *Surahs*, reciting them, or drinking them with water. The chanting or shouting of Allah, Allah Li-li-li-li, and certain words, sentences, and *Surahs*, to secure blessings, were spoken of, and examples read.

Talismans.—Many specimens used for troubling enemies, attracting certain men or women, and for protecting the person in battle, and the proper mode and times of their construction, were described.

Talismanic Cups.—The eight cups in the Society's Museum, described by Mr. Rehatsek in a former paper, were again referred to as being, no doubt, Mahomedan imitations of much older ones used by the Jews for the same purposes many centuries before the Christian era. The terra-cotta cups of the same kind and form found in the ruins of Babylonia bear characters written long prior to any existing manuscripts of the ancient Hebrew and Chaldean languages.

Geomancy or Vaticination.—The elaborate book *Ilm-no-vani*, a folio volume of 80 pages of tables, detailing answers to every possible question, was mentioned, and a copy of the tablet of *Emán Safer* was shown, and the plans used for obtaining the required information from them described.

A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Rehatsek for his very interesting paper.

At a meeting held on Saturday the 12th September 1874:—

Several books and pamphlets, received as presents, were laid before the meeting, and thanks voted to the donors.

Mr. J. Gerson da Cunha read a paper entitled "Notes on the History and Antiquities of the Island of Bassein."

Having described the geographical position of Bassein in reference to its inclusion by ancient Hindu geographers in the Varálatá division of the Paraśuráma Kshetra, and given the derivation of the original name with the changes it had subsequently undergone, the author stated that the Tungári and Nirmala Máhátmyas concerned the Puranic period. Their wild and extravagant narratives, such as the one about the abduction of the daughter of Lomaharshaṇa Rishi on the banks of the Vaitaraṇi by the Asurás, contained heaps of material from which some grains of truth might be extracted. He concluded the Puranic period by saying that the mythic fight of Paraśuráma with the Asurás or aborigines, and the refuge Vimala took in the Tungar hill, to which Paraśuráma could get no access, seemed to point to some geographical changes in the island of Bassein previous to the reclamation of the Konkaṇ from the ocean. Of the authentic Hindu period the author quoted authorities of copperplates and inscriptions which come in support of the supposition that Bassein was under the sway of the Chálukyás and Solar dynasties for several years, referring as well to the con-

temporaneous writings of the Greeks and others relating to the neighbouring towns of Kalyán and Tháná.

The Mahomedan and Maratha periods were then referred to, and interesting details given regarding the government of the island by the Portuguese, their rise, decline, and fall. (See *Journal* above, pp. 316 to 347.)

A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Da Cunha for his interesting paper.

At a meeting of the Society held on Saturday the 10th October 1874 :—

Mr. Káshináth Trimbak Telang presented a Devanágari transcript and translation of a Chálukya copperplate grant, with a paper containing remarks on the early Chálukya kings.

Mr. Telang observed that the history of the Western line of Chálukya princes is yet enveloped in great obscurity, and the statements contained in the several copperplates, &c. about them had yet to be reconciled. The earliest of the known grants is that deciphered and translated by Professor Dowson, of Saṁvatsara 394.

The next plate is that of Captain Jervis, dated 411 Śaka, which makes no mention of Vijayaditya, but gives one additional name, Pulakeśi. Doubts have been thrown upon its genuineness, but it fits well with the date of Professor Dowson's plates. Mr. Telang discussed the position of this Pulakeśi according to Sir W. Elliot, Professor Dowson, and Professor Bál Gangádhar Shástri.

He then remarked upon the date of Satyúśraya, and the conflict of authorities in regard to him.

After Satyúśraya came two kings who are mentioned in only some of the plates, and it is doubtful whether they reigned at all. After them comes Vikramáditya, about whose date the authorities again differ. The next king in Elliot's and Jacob's lists is Vinayaditya, but his name does not occur in Wathen's list. Mr. Telang concluded that the materials for a history of this dynasty were not yet before us in a satisfactory condition to work out a satisfactory account of the Chálukya dynasty, or to give in our adhesion to Mr. Fergusson's theory.

Professor Bháñḍárkar, in proposing a vote of thanks to Mr. Telang, said that he was also of opinion that facsimiles of copperplates should be published. In several cases in which either the original plates or

facsimiles of them were written, he had observed errors committed by previous decipherers and translators. Such errors might be found to exist in other plates also, but it was impossible to say positively, without a look at the originals, as to the date of Satyáśraya. He thought it still required consideration in fixing that date. The date of Hiouen Thsang had been much relied on. But Dr. Bháu Dájí had expressed doubts as to the correctness of that date, and he, Mr. Bháñḍárkar, had also begun to entertain similar doubts in consequence of what he had seen of the chronology of the Valabhí kings. The confusion about Satyáśraya's date seemed to him also to point in the same direction. The arguments by which Hiouen Thsang's date had been arrived at by Chinese scholars required reconsideration.

The Rev. J. S. S. Robertson seconded this vote of thanks, and supported the proposition that copies of inscriptions should be prepared and compared by *savans* who have a reputation to lose.

The Rev. Dr. Wilson spoke of the difficulties of fixing dates and the names of eras, and urged the desirableness of having a *corpus inscriptionum*.

At a meeting of the Society held on the 14th November 1874 :—

Mr. E. Rehatsek read his Notes on 156 Facsimiles of Muhammadan, Hindu, Bactrian, Roman, Byzantine and other Coins and Gems in the possession of the Rev. Dr. Wilson, Honorary President of the Society, and showed the coins and explained their history.

The Rev. Dr. Wilson gave several interesting details about some of the coins and gems in the collection.

Votes of thanks were passed to Mr. Rehatsek and the Rev. Dr. Wilson.

At a meeting of the Society held on the 12th December 1874 :—

Mr. Káshináth P. Telang read a Note on the Age of Madhusúdana Sarasvatí, one of the commentators on the Bhagavat Gítá belonging to the Adwaita school of the Vedánta philosophy. Mr. Telang placed him about the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century of the Christian era. (See the detailed argument at pp. 368—377 of the Journal above.)

After some remarks from the Rev. Dr. Wilson and the Hon'ble Rao Saheb Mañḍlik, a vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Telang for his valuable paper.