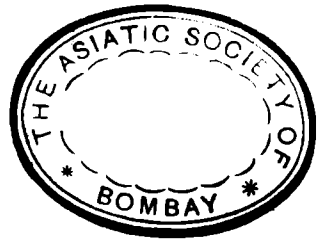


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ART. I.—*Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions, relating to the Yâdava kings of Dêvagîri, edited from the originals, with translations, by J. F. FLEET, Esq., B. C. S.*

Presented January 8th, 1876.

The accompanying five Sanskrit and Old Canarese inscriptions relate to the dynasty of the Yâdava kings of Dêvagîri.

No. I is a Sanskrit inscription from Khêdrâpûr, a Kôlhâpûr¹ Inâm village of the Sañkêśwar Swâmi Śaṅkarâchârya, about nine miles to the S.E. of Kurundwâd in the Southern Maratha Country. It is engraved in Kâyastha characters of a somewhat indifferent type on a stone-tablet standing on the right hand as one enters by the south entrance of the temple of Koppêśvaradêva. This temple is one of the largest, and must have been originally one of the finest, in this part of the country. The columns and walls of the interior are not specially noticeable; but the exterior architecture, of such of the original building as remains, is very fine, and the outside of the building is covered with well-executed and spirited representations of gods, goddesses, dancing-girls, elephants and their riders, &c. Such of these sculptures, how-

¹ The old form of this name, as shown by some Śilâhâra inscriptions, was Kollâpura.

ever, as are within easy reach from the ground, have been wantonly ill-used and in many cases almost destroyed. The general style of the building is, as far as my experience goes, unique in these parts. In front of the temple there is an octagonal chamber, with twelve columns and some excellently carved images still standing on the capitals of some of them; the centre-piece of the floor consists of one entire circular stone slab, of about fourteen feet diameter, over which there is an aperture of the same shape and size in the roof, and devotees are supposed to stand on the centre-piece of the floor and obtain *môksha*, or final emancipation of the soul, from that position. A large portion of the original building had fallen into ruin. The repairs to it,—executed under Siṅghaṇadêva himself, to judge from lines 22-3 of the inscription,—consisted in rebuilding, in a very inferior style and without sculptures or ornamentation, the centre part of the temple, restoring the roof of the same, and erecting a high terraced dome over the shrine at the back of the temple. The restored portion is whitewashed; the rest of the building has not been thus disfigured. Round the outside of the temple, at the back, about eight or nine feet from the ground, there are a number of short inscriptions,—one in the Kâyastha characters and the Sanskrit language, and nine in the Old Canarese characters and language. Three of them mention a certain Boppana, who was a Chamûnâtha or Daṇḍanâyaka, and who brought the whole earth under one umbrella²; but they contain no dates, and furnish no information of importance. The tablet containing the inscription now published is 5' 3" high by 2' 1½" broad; at the bottom it is blank for the space of 1' 5". The emblems at the top of the tablet are;—In the centre, a *liṅga* and priest; on their right, a curved sword or knife, and in the upper corner the moon; and on their left, a cow and calf, with the sun in the upper corner. The inscription records grants to the temple by king Siṅghaṇadêva in the Śaka year 1136 (A. D. 1224-5), the Śrîmukha *saṁvatsara*.³

No. II is from a stone-tablet standing by the temple of Pañchalîṅgadêva, outside the town of Munôli, about six miles to the N. of Saundatti in the Parasgaḍ Tâlukâ of the Belgaum District. The temple is between the town and the river Malaprabhâ. The emblems at the top of the tablet are:—In the centre, a *liṅga*; on its right an

² *i.e.*, who achieved the sovereignty of the whole world for his master.

³ See note 2, page 9.

officiating priest, with the moon above him ; and on its left, a curved sword or knife, beyond which are a cow and calf with the sun above them. The characters and language are Old Canarese. A good photograph of this tablet is among the supplementary plates, still to be published, of Mr. Burgess' *Archæological Report* for 1874. The inscription records grants made in the Śaka year 1145 (A.D. 1223-4), the Chitrabhānu *sanivatsara*⁴, to the temple of Pañchaliṅgadēva at Munipura or Munivaḷḷi in the district known as the Toragale Six-thousand, by Purushōttama, the General of Siṅghaṇadēva, and other persons.

No. III is a Sanskrit inscription of the time of king Kṛishṇa, or, as he is here called, Kanhara or Kanhāra⁵, the grandson of Siṅghaṇadēva. It has already been published by me at pp. 246 *et seqq.* of No. XXVII, Vol. IX, of this Journal ; I now give a revised transcription, with a full transcription of all the important part of the inscription. The original is in somewhat corrupt Kāyastha characters, on copper-plates which were found at Chikka-Bāgiwāḍi in the Belgaum Tāluka of the Belgaum District, and which now belong to myself. The plates, three in number, are fastened together by a ring, the seal of which bears a representation of the god Hanumān ; their size is 7½" broad by 10¾" long, and the inscription is written across the breadth of the plates. It records how, in the Śaka year 1172 (A.D. 1250-1), the Saumya *sanivatsara*⁶, Mallisaiṭṭi, the minister of Kanhāra, at the king's command bestowed upon thirty-two Brāhman̄s, attached to the shrine of the god Mādḥavadēva, certain lands at Santhēya-Bāgavāḍi⁷ of the Huvvalli⁸ Twelve in the country of Kuhuṇḍi⁹, and how the grant was subsequently confirmed by Mallisaiṭṭi's son Chaṇḍisaiṭṭi. As I have already pointed out, this inscription, as also No. IV, supplies the name of Siṅghaṇadēva's son, Jaitugi, not previously ascertained by Sir W. Elliot.

⁴ See note 9, page 20.

⁵ See note 3, page 31.

⁶ See note 6, page 32.

⁷ See note 9, page 32.

⁸ There are several places called Hubbaḷḷi in the Belgaum and Dhārwāḍi Districts ; that here intended is probably Mughat̄khān-Hubbaḷḷi, close to Bāgiwāḍi.

⁹ Or 'Kāṇḍi', which is the form of this name in other inscriptions,—*e. g.*, my Raṭṭa Inscriptions No. V, line 55, No. VII, line 3, &c. ; as 'Kuhuṇḍi', it occurs in No. II of the same, line 27.

No. IV is another inscription in the Old Canarese characters and language, from a stone-tablet at the temple of the goddess Uḍachavvâ in the fort at Munôli. The emblems at the top of the tablet are :— In the centre, a *lînga* ; on its right, an officiating priest, with the moon above him, and behind him two objects that would seem to be a closed umbrella and an ascetic's water-pot or a sacrificial ladle ; and on its left, a cow and calf, with the sun above them and a curved sword or knife beyond them. The inscription records grants made in the Śaka year 1174 (A.D. 1252-3), the Virôdhikṛit *sanivatsara* ¹⁰, to the god Jagadîśvaradêva. The temple, to which the inscription is now attached, if it be the same to which the grants were made, is one of no architectural pretensions.

No. V is another Sanskrit copper-plate inscription in the Kâyastha characters. The plates are three in number, each 7" broad by 10' long, and are strung together by a ring, the seal of which has on it figures of Garuḍa and Hanumân with the moon and sun above them. They belong to Basappa bin Liṅgappa Beigêri of Bêhaṭṭi, which is about thirteen miles to the E. of Dhârwaḍ. The inscription is written across the breadth of the plates. It records how, in the Śaka year 1175 (A.D. 1253-4), the Pramâdi *sanivatsara*, Chaunḍarâja or Chavunḍarâja, the minister of Kṛishṇa or Kanharadêva, bestowed upon one thousand and two Brâhmaṇs the village of Kukkanûru, the chief town of a circle of thirty-two villages in the Belvola Three-hundred in the country of Kuntala. As this inscription identifies the Śaka year 1175 with the seventh year of the reign of Kanharadêva, the termination of Singhana-dêva's reign and the commencement of Kanharadêva's, not determined by the inscriptions collected by Sir W. Elliot, is now fixed as Śaka 1169.

* * * * *

In connexion with the above inscriptions, I have to notice one of the time of Râmachandra, the son and successor of Kanharadêva. It is contained in Plate No. 26 of a collection of photographic copies of inscriptions at Chitrakaldurg, Dêvanagiri, Harihar, and other places in Maisûr, published in 1865 for the Government of Maisûr by Major Dixon, 22nd Regiment M.N.I. The original, in the Old Canarese

¹⁰ See note 7, page 39.

characters and language, with one or two Sanskrit verses in the middle, is on a stone-tablet, 10' 2" high by 2' 4" broad, at Harihar. The emblems at the top of the tablet are :—In the centre, a figure of some god, seated ; on its right, a cow and calf, with the sun above them ; and on its left, a kneeling priest or worshipper, with the moon above him. The inscription consists of eighty-four lines of about fifty letters each ; there may, perhaps, be at the bottom a few more lines not shown in the photograph. The original is in fairly good order ; but the photograph is on too small a scale, and here and there too indistinct, for me to edit the text satisfactorily from it. However, the general contents of the inscription are for the most part easily decipherable. The genealogical portion of it opens in line 10 with the praises of the kings of the Yādava family, of which the Sōmakula, or race of the moon, was the original stock. The first of these kings mentioned by name is Bhillama,—line 14. His son was Jaitugi,—line 14 ; and his, again, was the famous Siṅghaṇa,—line 15. The name of Siṅghaṇa's son is not given in this inscription ; here, as elsewhere, this omission must be attributed to the fact that Jaitugi II, dying before his father, did not reign. Siṅghaṇa's grandson was Kandharadēva,—line 20,—or Kandhâradēva,—line 22,—whose younger brother was Mahâdēva¹¹,—line 24. Kandhâradēva's son was Râmachandra¹²,—line 31,—or Râmarâya,—line 32. The titles of Râmachandra in this inscription are the usual titles of a universal sovereign, modified to suit the family to which he belonged. In lines 39 to 66 is described the Mahâmaṇḍalésvara or Great Chieftain Tikkamadēva or Sâḷuva-Tikkamadēva, the 'Samastasainyâ-dhipati', or Commander of all the forces, of Râmachandrarâya. With line 67 commences the portion containing the grant, which was made on Friday the thirteenth day of the bright or of the dark ¹³ fortnight of the month Chaitra of the Īsvara *saṁvatsara*, which was the Śaka year 1199 (A.D. 1277-8).

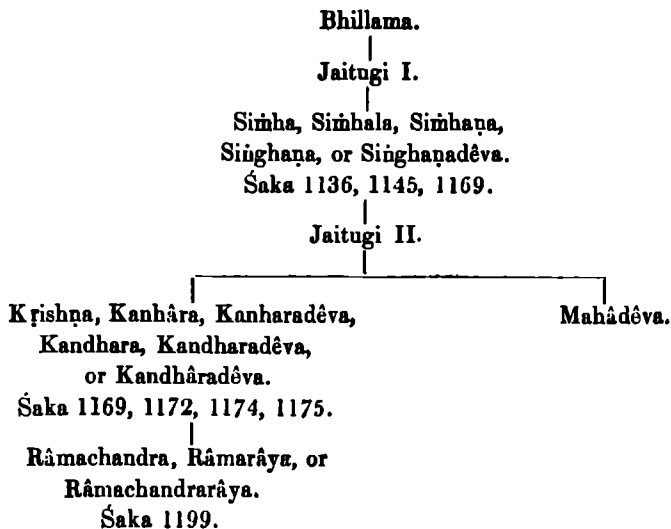
* * * * *

The inscriptions noticed above establish the following genealogy and dates of the kings of this dynasty :—

¹¹ Or, as in the original, Mahadēva,—the second syllable being shortened for the sake of the metre.

¹² Spoken of by Ferishta as Râmadēva.

¹³ The word 'suddha' or the word 'bahula' has been effaced in the original.



Nothing definite is known regarding the origin of Bhillama, who is always spoken of as the founder of the Dēvagiri family. Sir W. Elliot conjectures that, either he was a member of the Hoysala-Yādava family who asserted his own independence and founded a separate branch of the Yādava stock, or he was some petty local chief who suddenly rose into power and assumed the Yādava titles. A contest between Bhillama and the Hoysala-Yādava king Viraballāladēva¹⁴, in which the former lost the country of Kuntala, is referred to, in lines 30-1 of the Gadag inscription, dated Śaka 1115 (A.D. 1193-4), published by me at pp. 299 *et seqq.* of Vol. II. of the *Indian Antiquary*.

In Sir W. Elliot's genealogy, based on the Harihar inscription noticed above, Rāmachandra is shown as the son of Mahādēva; but the inscription states explicitly that he was the son of Kandhāradēva.

By the same authority, quoting also Ferishta, Rāmachandra was succeeded by his eldest son Śaṅkaradēva, in Śaka 1232 (A.D. 1310-1) and the dynasty expired in Śaka 1234 on the death of Śaṅkaradēva at the hands of Malik-Kāfur. It seems doubtful whether any inscription of the time of Śaṅkaradēva exists.

¹⁴ Śaka 1113 to 1133 ?—Sir W. Elliot.

[1]श्री [॥] नमस्तुंगशिरशुंबिचंद्रचामरचारवे त्रैलोक्य[2]नगरारंभमूलस्तंभाय शंभवे । (॥)
 धर्म सुस्थिरतामु[3]पैतु जगतामानंददायी सदा वृद्धिं चाभिनवांतरेण [4]भञ्जतां कोप्येश्वरस्याभितः ।
 स्थानं स्तोचितमूर्जितं च [5]बहुना कालेन लब्ध्वाधुना श्रीमद्दीमदुदारसारचतुरायुष्मन्म*हापू-
 [6]रुषान् ॥ भूदेवाशिरमृतात्म(त्मा)वृष्ट्याप्यायितो यमनवरतं [7] । अंकुरतात्पलवतात्कुसुमतु फलतात्सु-
 धर्मकल्पतरुः ॥ [8]स्वस्ति... श्रीशक्रवर्षे ११३६ श्रीमुखसंवत्सरे चैत्रे सूर्यपर्व(र्व)णि सोमदि-
 [9]ने श्रीमदेवगिरावधिष्ठित(तः) समस्तभुवनाश्रय(यः) श्रीपृथ्वीवल्लभ(भो) महाराजा[10]धिराज(जः)
 परमेश्वर(रो) द्वारवतीपुरवराधीश्वर(रो) विष्णुवंशोद्भव(वो) [11]यादवकुलकालकाविकासभास्कर(रः) सम-
 स्तम्भ(स्ता)स्तम्भ(रि)[12]रायजगन्धर्प इत्येवमादिसमस्तराजावलीसमलंकृत(तः) श्रीम[18]त्प्रतापचक्रवर्तिश्रीमहारा-
 जश्रीसिंघणदेवः शासनपत्रं प्रय[14]च्छति । यथा । कूडलकृष्णवेणीभेणसीनदोः संगमे मिरिं-
 जिदेश[16]मध्ये च तिष्ठमानं कूडलदामवाडग्रामं सवृक्षमालाकुलं - क्षेत्रस्थ[16]लवाटसहितं नवनिधानसंयुक्तं
 चतुराषाटोपेतं स्वसीमापर्यन्तं [17]श्रीमत्कृष्णवेणीकुवेणीनदीसंगमात् श्रीमदाद्यस्वयंभुवे [18]श्रीकोप्येश्वरदेवाय

* This letter, —म, —having been at first omitted in the original, was inserted in the following line between the last two letters of अनवरतं, just below its proper place, with a mark to indicate that it belongs to the line above.

सकलांगभोगरंगभोगपरियल(ज्ञः)परिपू [19]रणार्थं अष्टविधार्चननिमित्तं शासनोदकेन मदत्तवान् ॥ अस्य
 [20]ग्रामस्योत्पन्नद्रव्येण सकलस्थानपतिभिः श्रीमदेवका[21]र्यं सर्व(र्व)मपि अंगभोगपूजादिप्रभृतिकं [क]-
 रणीयं ।(॥) अन्यच्च [22]ऋगुलसिरिगुप्पग्रामहये यत्पूर्व(र्वे)ण विद्यते तदेव जीर्णो[23]द्वारी-
 कृत्य श्रीसिंघणदेवः श्रीकोप्येश्वरदेवाय मदत्तवान् ॥ [24]आनंदामृतसागरस्य भरणे यः पूर्णचंद्रा-
 यते यः कार्प[25]ण्यतमस्ततेश्च हरणे मार्तंडतां टैकते । यश्चायं हृदये निवे[26]शित-
 हरेः(रिः) क्षीराब्धिना स्पर्धते तस्य श्रीभुजवल्ली विजयते सिंहा[27]ङ्गपृथ्वीपतेः ॥ रिपुभूमि-
 पालभालस्थलनिहितं क्षालयन्त्रणेषु चकास्ति । [28]गजगलगलितमदांबुप्रवाहतो सौ जगयी * सिं-
 हनृपः ॥ मंगलं ॥

* It will be seen that two syllabic instants are required here to make up the metre. The letters in the original are distinct as written above, but I cannot satisfy myself as to what जगयी is intended for; to make up the sense some such word as तिलकम् or मृगमदम् is required.

No. I.

Śrī! Reverence to Śambhu¹, who is made beautiful by a *chowri* which is the moon that lightly rests upon his lofty head, and who is the foundation-pillar for the erection of the city of the three worlds! May the religion of (the god) Koppésvara, which confers happiness upon the (three) worlds,—having now at length obtained an abode worthy of it and excellent, in the form of men of eminence who are fortunate and intellectual and good and clever and long-lived,—attain stability and ever increase anew on all sides! May the tree of paradise which is the true religion, unceasingly nourished by the rain which consists of the blessings of Brāhmanṣ, sprout and send forth its young shoots and blossom and bear fruit!

Hail! In the year of the Śaka 1136, in the Śrīmukha *saṁvatsara*², in (the month) Chaitra, on the solar festival³, on Monday, the glorious and valorous universal emperor, the great king Śrī-Siṅghaṇadēva,—who was adorned with all the royal titles commencing with ‘He who is established at the opulent (city of) Dēvagiri; the asylum of the universe; the favourite of the world; the supreme king of great kings; the supreme lord; the supreme lord of the city of Dvāravatīpura⁴, which is the best of cities; he who is born in the lineage of Viṣṇu⁵; he who is the sun which causes to blossom the white lotuses of the Yādavakula; he who is victorious over all the hostile kings,’—bestows a charter;—

To wit;—To provide for all the *aṅgabhōga*⁶ and *raṅgabhōga*⁶ and the accompanying rites, he gave to the god Śrī-Koppésvaradēva, the holy and primitive self-existent one, with libations of water (such as it is the custom to make) at (the time of granting) a charter, the village

¹ Śiva, who bears a digit of the moon on his tiara.

² According to the table in Brown's *Carnatic Chronology*, the Śrīmukha *saṁvatsara* is Śaka 1135, and Śaka 1136 is the Bhava *saṁvatsara*.

³ ‘*Sūryaparvan*’,—a solar festival on the days of the solstices, equinoxes, eclipses, &c.

⁴ Also called Dvārasamudra or Dhōrasamudra,—the modern Haḷabīḍu in Maisūr.

⁵ The ‘lineage of Viṣṇu’ is the Yādavakula.

⁶ I cannot obtain any satisfactory explanation of the meaning of the terms ‘*aṅgabhōga*’ and ‘*raṅgabhōga*’ as used in connexion with the service of idols.

of Kūḍaladāmarāḍa⁷, situated at the confluence of the rivers Kūḍalākṛiṣṇavêṇi⁸ and Bhêṇasî and in the district of Miriñji⁹, together with all its trees and the enclosures within its lands and the nine kinds of buried treasure, and with its four boundaries, and comprising all the land within its own limits, and extending up to the confluence of the sacred rivers Kṛiṣṇavôṇi and Kuvêṇi. The holy rites of the god, consisting of the *aṅgabhōga* worship and other ceremonies, should be performed by all the chiefs of the locality out of the produce of this village.

Again;—Having repaired that (temple) which is found to have existed of old in the two villages of Jūgula and Siriguppa, Śrî-Siṅhanadêva gave it to the god Śrî-Koppêśvaradêva.

Victorious is the creeper-like arm of the king Simha,—who is like the full moon in nourishing the ocean of the nectar of joy; who acts like the sun in dispelling the thick darkness of niggardliness; and who rivals the ocean of milk in having Hari established in his heart!¹⁰ Glorious is king Simha, washing away, with the streams of rut that trickle down over the cheeks of his elephants in his battles, (the distinctive marks¹¹) that are placed on the foreheads of the hostile kings! May it be auspicious!

⁷ *i. e.*, 'Dāmarāḍa of the confluence', 'kūḍala' being the genitive of the Canarese 'kūḍalu', the confluence of rivers. 'Kūḍaladāmarāḍa' would seem to be the old form of 'Kurundwād', the chief town of the Native State of the same name in the Southern Maratha Country.

⁸ *i. e.*, the Kṛiṣṇā and the Vêṇi, regarded as one river after their confluence.

⁹ The modern Miraj, a Native State in the Southern Maratha Country.

¹⁰ Hari, or Viṣṇu, sleeps on the coils of the serpent Śêṣha in the midst of the ocean of milk.

¹¹ See note * to line 28 of the text.

No. II.

[1] ● ನಮಸ್ತುಂಗಶಿರಕ್ಷುಂಜಿಚಂದ್ರಜಾಮರಜಾರವೀ [1] ತ್ರೈಲೋಕ್ಯನಗರಾರಂಭಮೂಲಸ್ಥಂ(ಸ್ತಂ)ಭಾಯ
 ಕಂಭವೇ || ● [2] ವಾರಿಧವೇಪ್ಪಿತಮೇನಿಪೀ ಧಾರಣೆಗತಿಸೇಬ್ಯ(ವ್ಯ) ಮೇರುವಿಂ ದಕ್ಷಿಣಾದೇಶ ಸಾರಂ
 ಜಂಬೂದ್ವೀಪದೋಳೋರಂ [3] ತನಿದೊಪ್ಪಿ ತೋರ್ಪು ಭರತಕ್ಷೇತ್ರಂ || ಭರತವನಿಗೊಪ್ಪಿಪ್ಪುದು ಸುರುಚಿರಧ-
 ಮೈ(ಮ್ನಿ)ಲ್ಲದಂತೆ ಕುಂತಳಕತಿವಿಸ್ತ [4] ರಮಿನೆ ತೋಟಗಲೆ ನಾದಿನ ಸಿರಿಕರುವಿನಿಸಿದುದು ಮುನಿಪುರಂ ಕಡು-
 ರಂ(ರ)ಮ್ಯಂ || [5] ● ಯಾ(ಕ) ವಿಶ್ವಕ್ಷೋಣೆಗೊಪ್ಪಿಪ್ಪ ಮರಪುರಮಿನಲ ಪಂಚಲಿಂಗೋದ್ಭವಾಸಂ
 ಶ್ರೀನಾಸಂ ರಾಮಗಂ [6] ಗಾಜಳವಿಹಪರಸಂಸೇಬ್ಯ(ವ್ಯ)ಮಿಂದೊಪ್ಪುತಿಪ್ಪುಶ್ರೀವೇದಜ್ಯೋ(ವ್ಯ)ತ(ಸ)ಕುತ್ಸಂಜ್ಞಮದಗುನಿ* [7] ವಶಿದ್ಯುಭ್ಯ-
 (ಭ್ಯ)ರದ್ವಾಜರತ್ತಿಶ್ರೀವಿಶ್ವಾಮಿತ್ರರಿಂದಂ ಮುನಿಪುರಮಿನಗಂ ಕೋಟಿತಿರ್ಥಂಗ [8] ಣದಂ || ಮಾ(ಅ)ಪುರೋಪವನ-
 ಮಂತಂದೊಡೆ || ತಂಗು ಕಾಂಗು † ಜಂಬುರಸ ಮಾಧುಫಲಂ ಪನಸಾಂಬ್ರ [9] ನಿಂಬ ನಾರಂಗ
 ಲವಂಗ ವಿಃಳಿ ಸುರಹೊನೆ ಸುಪಾಟಳಿ ಪಾರಿಜಾತ ಪುನಾಗವಕೋಕೆ(ಕ) ಕತ್ತಲಿಸುತಿಪ್ಪಲವಳ್ಳಗಳಂ
 ಮ [10] ದಾಳಯಿಂ ಶ್ರೀಗದು ಜನ್ಯಭೂಮಿಯನಿಕುಂ ಮುನಿವಳ್ಳ ಸದಾವಕಾಲ(ತ?)ಮುಂ || ಸನಕಸನಂದ-
 ನಾದಿಜಮದಗ್ಯವಿಭಾಂಡುಕರಿಪ್ಪು [11] ತಾಣವೀ ಮುನಿಪುರಮಿಂತಿದಂ ಮುದವೆ ರಕ್ಷಿಸುತಿಪ್ಪನು ಪಂಚಲಿಂಗನೊಲ-

YADAVA KINGS OF DEVAGIRI.

* The name has here, for the sake of the metre, to be read as written,—*Jamadaguni*.

† For the sake of the metre this word must be read as if written ಕವಂಗು.

ದಸುದಿನ ಶತಪ್ರಶೋಪ[12]ವನಸಾ(ಖ)ಸ್ವ(ಶ್ವ)ತಲಕ್ಷ್ಮಿಯೊಳುನತಿರ್ಕೆಯುಂ ಧನಕನಕಂಗಳಂದಮಿನೆಗುಂ ಧರೆ ಮೀರು
 ಕಸಾಂ(ಪಾ)ಕರುಳ್ಳನಾ || ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಶ್ರೀಪ್ರಿ(ಪ್ರ)ಧ್ವೀವಲ(ಲ್ಲ)ಭಾ [13]ಮಹಾರಾಜಾಧಿರಾಜ ಪರಮೀಶ್ವರ ಪರ-
 ಮಭಟ್ಟಾಕಂ ಶ್ರೀಮತಃಪ್ರೀತುಗದೇವಕುಳಕಮಳಮಾರ್ತುಂನ ಯಾದವನಾರಾಯ[14]ಣ ಪ್ರತಾಪಚಕ್ರವರ್ತಿ ಶ್ರೀಮತ್-
 ಸಿಂಘಣಾಪೇವರಸರ್ ಜೇವಗಲಿಯು ನೆಲೆವೀಡಿನೊಳ್ ಸುಕ(ಖ)ಸಂಕಥಾವಿನೋದದಿಂ ರಾಜ್ಯಂಗೆಯ್ಯು[15]ತ್ತಮಿರೆಯಿರೆ ||
 ಯಾವವಾಯುಸಿಂಘಣಮಹೀಪತಿ ತಂನ ಭುಜಾಸಿಧಾರೆಯೊಳ್ ಸಾದಿಸಿ ವೈರಿಭೂಭುಜರ ದೇಶಮನಿರ್ಕೃತಗಳೊಂ[16]ಡು
 ಲೀಲೆಯುಂ ವೀರದಿನಿಯೀಕಫತ್ರ ತನಗಾಗೆ ಮಹೋಂನತಿವಿತ್ತ ರಾಜ್ಯದಿಂವಾ ದಿಸು * ದಂತಿದಂತಸಕಳೋರ್ಬ್ಬ(ವಿರ್ವಿ)-
 ಯನುಂಡಿಗೆ ಸಾಧ್ಯ ಮಾಡಿದಂ || [17] * ಮಾಳವತೀರಚೋಳಮಗಧಾಧಿಪಗೂರ್ಜ್ಜರಪಾಂಚ್ಯಲಾಳನೇಪಾಳ-
 ತುರಃ(ರು)ಕ(ಮ್)ಬಬ್ಬ(ಬ್ಬ)ಒಗತೇರಕವಲ್ಲವಮಂಗಳಿಂಗಪಾಂಚಾಳಕಳಂಗಳಿಸಿಂಧುವಿವ[18]ಯಾಧಿಪರಾಳ್ಯಸಗೆಯ್ಯಿ ಧಾತ್ರಿ(ತ್ರಿ)ಯಿಂ(ಯಂ)
 ಲೀಲೆಯನಾಳ್ವು ಸಿಂಘಣಾಸೇಂದ್ರ ಸುರೇಂದ್ರನವೋಲ ವಿರಾಜಿಕುಂ || ಜಗ ತನಸುಂಡಿಗೆ ಸಾಧ್ಯಂ
 ಜಗಮಂ ಪಾ(ಮ)ಯ್ಯಾರ್[19]ದಿಯುಂಡೆ ಪಾಳವುದೆಂದಿಜಗದಧಿಕಾರಮನಿತ್ತಂ ಜಗದಳವುಸುಲೋ(ದೋ)ತ್ತಮಂಗೆ ಸಿಂ-
 ಘಣಾಯಂ || ಧಮ್ಮ-ಪ್ರಸಂಗದಿಂದಂ ಪೇರ್ವಿಗೆ ಮೀರು ಸಿಂ[20]ಘಣೋರ್ಬ್ಬ(ವಿರ್ವಿ)ಪಂ ಶಿವಪುರಮಂ
 ನಿರ್ಮಿಪುದನೆ ಪುರುಶೋ(ದೋ)ತ್ತಮಧರ್ಮೋದ್ಯೋಗಮನೆ ಜೋಗದೇವಂಗತ್ತಂ || ಸ್ಥಿರತರಮಿನಿರ್ವಂನತಿಗಂ ಪರ-
 ಕೀರ್ತಿಶ್ರೀಗೆ ಮೀರು ಕಾರಾ[21]ಪ್ಪ(ಪ್ಪ)ಳದಿಂ ಪುರುಷ(ದ್)ನಿಧಿ ಪುರುಷ(ದ್)ರತನಂ ಪುರುಶೋ(ದೋ)ತ್ತಮನ-
 ಬ್ಬುದಕ್ಕೆ ಮೀಲನ ಗೋಶ್ರಂ || ಮತ್ತನಾ ಜೋಗದೇವನ ವಂಶಾವತಾರಮಿಂತಂದೊಡೆ ||

* 'Digulanti' instead of 'digdanti,' for the sake of the metre, as in 'Jamadaguni' in line 6.

[22] ● ೧೦ಜೇಶಂ ಪಂಚಲಿಂಗಂ ವರದನಿಜಕುಲಸ್ವಾಮಿ ವಾಸಿ(ಶಿ)ದ್ಧಮೈಶ್ರಾವರ(ರು)ಣಾಂ ಕವಂ(ಕೌಂ for ಕವಂ)ಡಿಂ-
 (ಡಿ)ಸ್ಯಸೋತ್ರಂ ಜನಕಗುಣಗಘ(ಣಾ)ಳಂತ್ರಿ(ಕೃ)ತಂ ರಾಮದೇವಂ [23]ಸ್ಥಿರಸತ್ಯಂ ಮಾನಿ ಶೋಕಾಂಜಿಕೆ ಜನನಿ
 ಲಕ(ಸ)ದ್ಧಾರಿಯಿ(ಯ್ಯಿ for ರಿಯಿ) ಗೌರ್ಭ್ಯಾ(ಬ್ಭ್ಯಾ)ಯಿ ಲಕ್ಷ್ಮೀವರಪುತ್ರಂ ಸೋಮನಾಥಂ ಸಿರಿಧರನೆನಲೇಂ ಧಂ-
 (ಧ)ಸ್ಯನೋಃ ಜೋಗ[24]ದೇವಂ || ಮತ್ತಮಾ ಜೋಗದೇವಂ ಪಲುವದೇಶಾಧಿಕಾರಮಂ ನಾಡಿ ಸುಖ-
 ದಿನಾಳ್ಕು ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ ಸ(ಶ)ಕವರ್ಷ ೧೦೪೫ನೆಯ ಚತ್ತ(ತ್ರ)[25]ಭಾನುಸಂವತ್ಸರದ ಕಾರ್ತಿಕ ಸು(ಕು)ಧ್ಧ(ಧ್ಧ)
 ಪುಣ್ಯಮಿ(ಪುಣ್ಯಮಿ) ಸೋಮವಾರ ನೋಮಗ್ರಹಣಾಬ್ಯ(ವ್ಯ)ತಿಪಾತದಲ್ಲಿ ಸ್ವಯಂಭುಶ್ರೀಪಂಚಲಿಂಗದೇವರಿಗೆ ಮಾ-
 ಟ[26]ಕೂಟಪುಪ್ಪನಾಪತ್ಯಂ [ಖಂ]ತಸ್ಪುಟಿತಜೀನೋರ್ಘ(ಣೋರ್ಘ)[ದ್ಧ]ರನಿತ್ಯನೈವೇದ್ಯಮಂಗಭೋಗರಂಗಭೋಗಭತ್ಯಕ್ತಂ ಶ್ರೀ-
 ಮತಸಿಂಧೂದೇವರ [27]ಸರ್ಬ್ಬಾ(ವ್ವಾ)ಧಿಕಾರಿ ಪುರುಶೋ(ಮೋ)ತ್ತಮದಂಷ್ಟಾ(ದಂಠನಾ)ಯಕರ ನಿಯಾಮದಿಂ ಜೋಗ-
 ದೇವ[೦] ಸರ್ಬ್ಬ(ವ್ವ)ನಮಸ್ಸೌವಾಗ್ ಕಳ್ಳವೊಳಿಯು[೦] ಸಹಿರಂ(ರ)[28]ಣ್ಯಧಾರಾಪೂರ್ಬ್ಬ(ವ್ವ)ಕಂ ಮಾಡಿ ಕೋಟ್ಯಂ ||
 ವರಲಕ್ಷ್ಮೀಪತಿ ಜೋಗದೇವನೊಲ್ದಿ* ಶ್ರೀಪಂಚಲಿಂಗಂ ಸುಸ್ಥಿರದಿಂ ಸರ್ಬ್ಬ(ವ್ವ)ನಮಸ್ಸೌ(ಸ್ಯ) ಕಳ್ಳವೊಳಿಯುಂ
 [29]ಸಂಪ್ರೀತಿಯಿಂದಿತ್ತನಾದರದಿಂ ಚೈತ್ರಪವಿತ್ರಕಂ ಸ್ಪುಟಿತಜೀನೋರ್ಘ(ಣೋರ್ಘ)ಧ್ಧ(ದ್ಧ)ರಕ(ಸ)ತ್ರಕ್ವಿದಂ ಧರಣೀಶರ
 ಪ್ರತಿಪಾಳಪರ್ಜ್ವಳಧಿಪಃ[30]ದ್ರಾದಿತ್ಯರುಳ್ಳಂನಿಗಂ || ಪುರುಶೋ(ಮೋ)ತ್ತಮನಾ(ನ)ನುಜ[೦] ಕ(ಸ)ತಿಪುರ್ಷಂ(ರುದಂ)
 ಶ್ರೀಜೋಗದೇವದಂಡಾಧೀಶಂ ಸ್ಥಿರತರಮಿನಿ ಶಿವಪುರಮಂ ಧರೆ ಮೀ[31]ರು ಕಶಾಂಕರುಳ್ಳನಂ ದ್ವಿಜಗ್ನೀ-
 (ಗ್ನ)ತ್ಯಂ || ವಿ(ವೃ)ತ್ತಿ ಹದಿನಾಱು(ಱು) ಶಿವಪುರದುತ್ತಮನಿಪುರಿಗೆ ಜೋಗದೇವಪ್ರಮುಖಂ ಪ್ರತ್ಯೋ-

* To be read, for the sake of the metre, as if written ನೊಲಿದಿ.

(ತೃಣ)ಕ ಕಮ್ಮವಿಂನೂಹಿತ್ತಂ [೩೨]ಹಳೆವೂರ(ರು?)ಗಕುಬಿನಿಂ ನಾಲಕೂರೊಳ್ || ಮತ್ತಮದಾವಾವೂರೊಳೆಂದೊಡೆ ||
 ಮುನಿಪುರದೊಳ್ ಸಿಂದವಿಗೆಯೊಳನುನಯದಿಂ [೩೩]ದಾಗನೂರು ನಾಗರಪುರದೊಳ್ ಮನುಚರಿತಜೋಗದೇವಂ ವಿನಯದೆ
 ಹದಿನಾಯ ವಿ(ವೃ)ತ್ತಿಯಂ ದ್ವಿಜಗ್ಗ(ಗ)ತ್ತಂ || ಜಗದೊಳತಿತಯ[೩೪]ಮಿದೆನಿನಲ ಜಗ * ದಕಪುರುಕೋ-
 (ಬೋ)ತ್ತಮಾನುಜಂ ಸಿ(ಶಿ)ವಪುರಮಂ ನೊಗಯಿಸುವ ಭೋಗಭೂಮಿಗೆ ಮಿಗಲೆನಿಸಿದ ಜೋಗದೇವದಂಡಾಧೀಶಂ ||
 ಮತ್ತ[೩೫]ಮಾ ಪ್ರಸ್ಥಾ(ಸ್ತ)ವದೊಳ್ || ತ್ಯಾಗದ ವೆಂಪಿನ ನೆಲೆ ರತ್ನಾಗಾ(ಗ)ರಮುನಿಪುರದ ದೋಂ-
 ಟಿಗಪ್ಪಿಸವ(ವ)ದೇಭೋಗ(ಬೋ)ಗದ ನನಿಯ ಥಲದುದೋಗದ ಕಲತನದ ಒಲಹಿನಾ[೩೬]ಪ್ಪಿಂ ಕೂಪ್ಪಿಂ ||
 ಧರಣಿಸೆವ ಪಂಚಲಿಂಗನ ಚರಣಾಬ್ಜವರಪ್ರಸಾದತೋ(ತೋ)ಟಿಗರಿತ್ತವರ್ಷಂ ಪ್ರತಿ ಕಂಡೆಯಂ ಸ್ಥಿಕರ
 ತಾಹಿಂಗೆ ರಂಗ[೩೭]ಭೋಗಕ್ಕೆಂದುಂ || ಬಿರುದರ್ ವ್ವಿ(ವಿ)ರಾಗ್ರಗ(ಗ)ಣ್ಯಾಚ್ಚಲದ ಒಲಹಿನಾಪ್ಪಿಂ
 ಕೂಪ್ಪಿಂ ಪಂಪಿಂ ವರಕೀರ್ತಿಶ್ರೀಸಮಾಖ್ಯಾಸ್ವಕಳಸಮ[೩೮]ಯನಿನ್ನಾ(ಸ್ತ)ರಕಸ್ತೇಜ್ಯ(ವ್ಯ)ಾರಿಂದುರುತೇಜಪ್ಪು(ಪು)-
 ಣ್ಯಾಪುಂಜವ್ವಿವಿಧಗುಣಗಣಾಧಾರಗಂಭೀರಧೈರ್ಯುರ್ ಸ್ಥಿಕರನತ್ಯ(ತ್ಯ)ದ್ವಾರನಜ್ಜಮೂಗಿಗ[೩೯]ಕುಗುರಮೂನೂವ್ವರಿತೋ-
 ಕಘಾಚ್ಯುರ್ || ತರಣೆಂದಂಗಜಾಮರತ್ವವೆರದಂಗವ್ವಾತ್ಫನಸಿದ್ಧಿ(ದ್ಧಿ) ತಾಂ ದೊರೆ ಕೊಂ [40]ಡಿಕ್ಕವೆನಟ್ಟಿ
 ಕಾವ ಬಲಪುಂ †ದಾದಾಯ್ವದಿಂ ಸತ್ಯವೆತ್ತರದಿಂ ಸಾಹಸದೇಳ್ಳಿಯಂ ಸಕಳಧರ್ಮೋದೋಗದೈನೂನಾಲ್ವರ ಪೆಂಪಂ
 [41] ಘೋಗಕಲ್ಪಜಂ ನೆಹಿಯನಿಂನೇ ವಣ್ಣಿ ಪಂ ಬಣ್ಣಿ ಪಂ || ಮತ್ತಮಾ ಏಗುರ ಮೂನೂವ್ವರು-

* This letter was at first omitted in the original and afterwards inserted above the line.

† To be read, for the sake of the metre, as if written ಬಲಪಿಂ.

ಮೃನಾಲನಾಲ್ವರುಂ ಚಟ್ಟುರಾಸಿಗೆ[42]ಹಿದಲ್ಲಿ ಹಸಿಯ ಹಣವೊಂದಂ ಕೊಟ್ಟರ [11] ಮತ್ತಂ
 ಶ್ರೀಪಂಚಲಿಂಗದೇವರಿಗೆ ನಮಶ್ಯ(ಸ್ಕೃ)ದ ಯರೆಯ ಕೆಯ ಕಂಮು ಮೂನೂಹದಕ್ಕೆ ಸಿಮಿಯಾ[49]ವುದೆಂದೆ
 ಮೂಡಲ್ ತಗ್ಗಿ ಹೋದ ಹೆಬ್ಬಟ್ಟಿ ತೆಂಕಲ್ ಹಳ್ಳ ಪಡುವಲಕ್ಕನಾಲಿಗೆಯು ಜಡಗಲ್ ಹೆಬ್ಬಳ್ಳ-
 ಹರಳಕೆಯು [11] ಮತ್ತರೊಂ[44]ದಕ್ಕಂ ಸೀಮಿ ಮೂಡಲ್ ಕಾಳರಾದೇವಿ ತೆಂಕಲ್ ಹಣತೆಗೆಡಿ
 ಪಡುವಲ್ ಕಣುವೆಟ್ಟಿ ಬಡಗಲ್ ಹೂವಿನಕಲ್ಲ ಹೆಬ್ಬಟ್ಟಿ [11] ದೇವ[45]ರಿಂ ತೆಂಕಲ್ ಯಂ-
 ಗರತ್ತಿಹಳ್ಳದಿಂ ಪಡುವಲ್ ಶ್ರೀರಾಮಗಂಗೆಯುಂ ಬಡಗಲ್ ನಟ್ಟ ಕಲ್ಲಂ ಮೂಡಲ್ ಯೆಲೆದೊಂಟ
 ಕೌಳಿಯುನೂಹ[46]ಕ್ಕಂ ಸಿಧ್ಧ(ದ್ಧ)ಯ ಹರಿಕೆಕುಳಯ ಸುಂಕ ಲಾಭಾಯ ಕಟ್ಟಿಲಿ ಒಟ್ಟಿ ಸುಂಕ
 ಸಬ್ಬ(ವ್ವ)ಬಾಧೆ(ಧ)ಪರಿಹಾರ ಯಾ ದೇವಕೀರ್(ಗ್ಗಿ)ಯ ಯೆಲೆಯ ಹೇಳಿಗೆ ವಿಶ[47]ವೊಂದು ಸ್ಥಳದ
 ಸಿಂಗವಟ್ಟಿಗೆ ನೋಮವಾರದಲ್ ನಿವಾಳಿಗೆ ಗಾಣಾಕೈಯಿಂ(ಯಿ)ಗ್ಲೈ ನೋಳಸುಯರಡು ದೇವರಿಗೆ ನಡೆವ
 ಗಾಣವೊಂ[48]ದು ಯ(ಅ)ಹುವತ್ತೊಕ್ಕಲ್ ಕೊಟ್ಟಿ ತಾಳಿನ ಕಂಡಗೆ ಯೆಲೆಯ ಕೊಯಿಲಾಳ ಕೊಯ್ಪ್ಪಿ
 ಕುಡವರ್ ಯೆಲೆಯ ಪೋಜಗರಿದು [ಕು][49]ಡುವರ್ ಯ(ಅ)ರನಧಿಕಾರಿಗಳ ಸುಂಕವಂ ಮುಂನಿಸುವರ
 ಪೂ(ಲೂ)ರೊಳಗಿದ್ದ ತಂಬುಲಗರ್ ಹುಟ್ಟಿದ ಧಾರಣೆಯುಂ ರೊಕ್ಕ ಮಾಡಿ ಕುಡು[50]ವರ್ ಹೂ-
 ದೊಂಟದ ಮೂಡಣ ತೆಂಕಣ ಸೀಮಿ ಶ್ರೀರಾಮಗಂಗೆ ಪಡುವಣ ಸೀಮಿ ಒಡದಿಯ ತೊಂಟ
 ಬಡಗಣ ಸೀಮಿ[51]ಯೆಲೆದೊಂಟ [11] ಮತ್ತಂ ತೊಡೆದೊಂಟದ ಯೆಲೆಯ ಬಳ್ಳಿಯಯ್ಯೂಹಕ್ಕಂ
 ಸೀಮಿ ಮೂಡಲ್ ಶ್ರೀರಾಮಗಂಗೆ ತೆಂಕಣ ಪಡುವ[ಣ] [52]ಬಡಗಣ ಸೀಮಿ ನಟ್ಟ ಕಲ್ಲು [11]

ಸುಕುಗಣಾಹಾಳಲ ಹೂದೋಂಟ ಮೂಱು [||] ಶ್ರೀಮಾಧವನಾರಾಯಣಾದೇವರ ಪ್ರಶಿಸ್ತಿಯಂ ಮಗ[ಡಿ]
 [58]ಅ ದೇವರ ಅಂಗಭೋಗರಂಗಭೋಗಕ್ಕೆ ಸರ್ವ್ವನಮಸ್ಕೃವಾಗಾ ಗತ್ತಿಯಕೆಷಿಯಂ ಸಹಿರಂ(ರ)ಣ್ಯಧಾರಾಘ-
 ವರ್ವಕಂ ಮಾಡಿ ಕೊಟ್ಟು ಮುನಿ[ವಳ್ಳ][54]ಯಂ ಮೂಡಲ ಹಳ್ಳದಿಂ ತಂಕಲ ಶ್ರೀರಾಮಗಂಗೆಯಿಂ
 ಪಡುವಲ ನಟ್ಟ ಕಲ್ಲಂ ಬಡಗಲ ಯಲೆದೋಂಟ ಕುಳಿಯಯನೂ[ಱು ||] [55]ಮತ್ತನೂ
 ಪ್ರಸ್ಥಾ(ಸ್ತ)ವದೇಶ್ ಬ್ರಹ್ಮಪುರಿಯ ಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮಣರಿಗೆ ಧಾರಾಘರ್ವಕಂ ಮಾಡಿ ಕೊಟ್ಟು ವಿ(ವೃ)ತ್ತಿ
 ಕಡಕುಳದಲೆರಡು ಬಳ್ಳಗೆಷಿಯಲೆರಡು ಹುಲುಕುಂದದಲೆರ[ಡು] *...[56]ಟ್ಟನೆಯಲೆರಡು ಕುರುಳನೂರಲೆರಡು
 ಬಂನಿವೂರಲೆರಡು ದಾಡೆಯಬಾವಿಯಲೆರಡು ಗೋರವನೂರಲೆರಡು ಜಂಗವಾಡನೂವನೂರಲೆರಡು ಹಳ[ವೂರಲ್ಯಾ][57]ಲ್ಯು ●
 ಮತ್ತಂ ಆ ಜೋಗದೇವನಾಯಕರ್ ಧರ್ಮವಂ ರಚಿಯಿಸುವಲ್ಲಿ ಶಿವಘರಕಂ ಸಂಧಿ(ಕೆ)ಕಾಸನಕಂ
 ಅಱುವತೊ(ತೊ)ಕ್ಕುಲುಗುರಮೂನೂರ್ವರಯನೂ[58]ಱನಾಲ್ವರಿಗೆ ಸಹಿರಂ(ರ)ಣ್ಯಮಂ ಕೊಟ್ಟು ಧಾರಾಘರ್ವಕ-
 ವಾಗಾ ಹಡದು ಕೊಟ್ಟು ಭೂಮಿಯ ಸೀಮಾಪಧ್ಧ(ಧ್ಧ)ತಿಯಿಂತಂದದೆ ಈಶಾನ್ಯದಲ್ಲ ತೋರಣ[ವು]-
 [59]ಣಿಸಿ || ಕಂ || ತೋರವುಣಿಸಿಯ ತಂಕಲ್ಯಾರಾಜಿನೇಂದ್ರಭೂಮಿ ಸಹಿತಂ ಮತ್ತಂ ಕಾರಣಿಕೆ-
 ಮನೆಣಿಕಬೈಯು ಗೋರಪು†ರದಿಂ ತಂಕ ಬಾ‡.....[60]ರಕ್ಕುರದೋಂಟಂ || ಆ ತೋಟದ
 ಮೇರೆಯಿಂ ಪಡುವ ಮುಂದಾಗ ಕೆಂಪರಕಂಕನೆಟ್ಟಿಯ ತೋಟದ ವಾಯಾ(ಯ)ಬ್ಯ(ವ್ಯ)ದಿಂ ತಂಕ ಮುಂದಾಗಿ

* One letter is effaced in the original here.

† The *Prāsa* is violated here.

‡ One short syllable is effaced here in the original.

ದೇವರ ಮುಂ[ದಿದ್ದ] [61]ಹರುಂಬಜಾವಿಬ್ರಹ್ಮಯನಾಲಹಿಟ್ಟಿಯನ ಬನವಯನ ತೋಟದಿಂ ಸಡುವ ಮುಖ
 ಕಳ್ಳವ(ನೋ)ಳಗೆ ಹೋದ ಬಟ್ಟಿ ಮಲಪ್ರಹಾರೀರುದ್ರತೀರ್ಥದಿಂ ಒ[62]ಡಗಲ್ ಕಣಗುಪ್ಪೆಯ ಮಧ್ಯದಿಂ
 ಕುಪ್ಪೆಯಿಂ ಕೆಳಗೆ ಮೊದಲೂರ ಬಟ್ಟಿಯಿಂ ಕೋಡಗದಕೆಯಿ ಕಾಳಕವೆ(ವಿ)ಯೊಲಹೊಲ ಹಳ್ಳ
 ಸಂ[63]ದ ಹುಣಿಸಿಯಿಂ ತೋರಣವುಣಿಸಿ || ಇತಿ ಸೀಮಾಕ್ರಮಂ || ಈ ಮಳಗೆಯ
 ೩ ಕೋಲುಕೊಳಗ* ಸಕಲಸಾಂ(ಸಾ)ಮ್ಯೋವಿಲ್ಲವಾ ಶ್ರೀ[ಪಂ][64]ಚಲಂಗದೇವರದು(ದೇಂ)ದ(ದು) ಸದೋಸ(ದ)ವರ್ಜ್ಯವಹ
 ಧರ್ಮಪ್ರಿ(ಪ್ರ)ಥಿಯ ಉಂಬಳಯಾ ಧರ್ಮಮಂ ನಾಲ್ಕು ದಿಶಾವರದಮುದ್ರಾಧಿಕಾರಿ[ಗಲುಮರ][65]ಸುಗಲುಂ
 ಸಮಯಶಕ್ತವರ್ತಿ ಅಯಿನೂವ್ವರುಂ ಸಾಸೀವ್ವರುಂ ನಾಲ್ಕುಂಪಟ್ಟಣಂಗಳುಂ ಯೇಳುವರೆ ಹಂ[ನೇರಡು]-
 [66]ವರೆಯಿ ವಭಯನಾನಾದೇಸಿ(ತಿ)ಗಲುಂ] ಭೂಮಿಜಲಚಂದ್ರಾಕ್ರೇತಾರಂ ಬರಂ ಪ್ರತಿಪಾಳಸುವರ್ ||
 ಸ್ತದತಂ(ತ್ತಾಂ) ಸರದತ್ತ(ತ್ತಾಂ) [ವಾ] [67]ಯೋ ಹರೇತಿ ವಸುಂಧರಾ(ರಾಂ) ಕ(ದ)ಷ್ಟಿವ್ವ(ವ)ರ್ವ-
 ಸಹಸ್ರಾಣಿ ವಿಷ್ಣಾಯಾಂ ಜಾಯತೇ ಶ್ರೀಮಿ(ಮಿಂ) ||

* This letter was omitted in the original and then inserted over the line.

No. II.

Reverence to Śambhu, who is made beautiful by a *chowri* which is the moon that lightly rests upon his lofty head, and who is the foundation-pillar for the erection of the city of the three worlds !

In Jambūdvīpa¹, the most excellent region to the south of Mēru, which is worthy of great worship in the earth encircled by the ocean, is Bharatakshētra, which is equally resplendent and beautiful. In Kuntaḷa, which like a beautiful braid of hair adorns the land of Bharata, is the broad district of Toragale ; the very pleasant city of Munipura is esteemed the chief beauty of that district. So that you may say that it is like the city of the gods, resplendent in the universe, Munipura is more glorious than a crore of other sacred places of pilgrimage, from (its being the favourite residence of the sages) Vēdavyāsa, Kutsa, Jamadagni, Vaśiṣṭha, Bharadvāja, Attri, and Viśvāmītra, who confessed that it was the birthplace of Pañchaliṅga² and the abode of the goddesses of fortune, and that, being possessed of the waters of the Rāmagaṅgā³, it was worthy to be worshipped both in this world and in the next. To describe the pleasure-garden of that city :—Munivalli has always been considered to be the birthplace of the goddess of fortune, on account of its black bees and its cocoanuts and areca-nuts and rose-apples and the fruits of the Mādhu, on account of its jack-trees, and mango-trees, and lime-trees, and orange-trees, and clove-trees, and betel-plants, and Surahonne-trees, and Supātali-trees, and Pārijāta-trees, and Punnāga-trees, and Aśōka-trees, and on account of the betel-creepers that cause a dense gloom. This same Munipura was the abode of the sages Sanaka,

¹ Jambūdvīpa is the central division of the world. The golden mountain Mēru is the centre of Jambudvīpa. Bharatakshētra, 'the land of Bharata', is India.

² Śiva, who is the ultimate object of the *līṅga* worship, is called Pañchaliṅga, 'he who has five *līngas*', probably from the chief places at which he is worshipped under that emblem being five in number, viz.—1, Conjevaram ; where there is the '*prithivī-līṅga*,' or *līṅga* made of earth ; 2, Jambukēśvara, where there is the '*ab-līṅga*,' or *līṅga* from which water is said to exude perpetually ; 3, Tirunāmale, where there is the '*tējō-līṅga*,' or *līṅga* which sparkles with light ; 4, Kālahasti, where there is the '*vāyu-līṅga*,' or *līṅga* the lamp of which is said to be kept in constant vibration by the wind ; and 5, Chidāmbara, where there is the '*ākāśa-līṅga*,' or aerial or sham *līṅga*, i. e. where the *līṅga* is worshipped without any material form of it being kept in the temple.

³ This would seem to be another name for the Malaprahāri or Malāpahāri, the modern Malaprabhā. Many rivers are called Gaṅgā because the waters of the real Ganges are supposed to flow into them periodically.

Sanandana, Jamadagni, Vibhāṇḍuka, and others; he who with joy protects it, daily delighting in the perpetual beauties of the pleasure-garden of that city, is Pañchaliṅga; its high prosperity shall outshine riches and gold, as long as the earth and Mēru and the moon shall last.

Hail! While the valorous universal emperor, the glorious king Siṅghaṇadēva,—the favourite of the world, the supreme king of great kings, the supreme lord, the most venerable, the sun of the white lotuses of the family of the glorious Jaitugidēva⁴, the best among the Yādavas,—was ruling at his capital of Dēvagiri, with the recreation of pleasing conversations:—King Siṅghaṇa, the sovereign of the Yādavas,—having invaded and acquired with the edge of the sword, which was his arm, the territory of the hostile kings, and having charmingly become the sole ruler of the world,—by means of his mighty rule made the whole earth, (which rests) upon the tusks of the elephants (that stand) at the points of the compass, his prey. While the kings of Mālava and Chēra and Chōla and Magadha, and the lords of the countries of Gūrjara, Pāṇḍya, Lāla, Nēpāla, Turushka, Barbariga, Kēraḷa, Pallava, Aṅga, Veṅgi, Pāñchāla, Kāliṅga, and Sindhu were reigning,—Siṅghaṇa, the king of men, governing the earth in happiness, was glorious like the king of the gods. The world had become his prey; and, saying “Let him rule the earth with justice”, king Siṅghaṇa gave the government of the earth to Jagadaḷa-Purushōttama. On a religious occasion king Siṅghaṇa, who was preëminent in respect of his renown, saying “Let him build the city of Śivapura”, gave the celebration of the rites of Purushōttama⁵ to Jōgadēva. Best among a hundred millions is the family of Purushōttama, who is a very Mēru in respect of his firm dignity and the lustre of his excellent fame, and who, through the influence of his star, is a very asylum of mankind, a very jewel of a man. And the lineage of that same Jōgadēva is this:—Pañchaliṅga, the lord of the daughter⁶ of the mountain, is the propitious lord of his family; his *gōtra*⁷ is that of Kaunḍinya with (the *pravara*⁸ of) Vaśishṭha and Maitrāvaruṇa; Rāmadēva, firm in truth,

⁴ Jaitugi was the name of the father, as well as of the son, of Siṅghaṇadēva.

⁵ Vishṇu, ‘the supreme spirit’.

⁶ Pārvatī, the wife of Śiva and the daughter of the mountain Himālaya.

⁷ ‘Gōtra’,—family or kindred.

⁸ ‘Pravara’ means the invocation of those ancestors whose names are to be coupled with that of Agni, the god of fire, when the latter is invited to be present at the consecration of the sacrificial fire.

is adorned with the qualities of a father (towards him); the honoured Lôkâmbike is his mother; Gaurbhâyi is his charming wife; Sômanâtha, the bridegroom of the goddess of fortune, is the son of him, the husband of the goddess of fortune;—how fortunate, then, is Jôgadêva!

And, that same Jôgadêva having exercised authority over many countries and having ruled happily;—Hail!;—On the holy occasion of an eclipse of the moon on Monday the day of the full-moon of the bright fortnight of the month Kârttika of the Chitrabhânu *samvatsara*, which was the year of the glorious Śaka era 1145^o, at the command of the Daṇḍanâyaka¹⁰ Purushôttama, who was the manager of all the affairs of the glorious Singhaṇadêva, Jôgadêva gave, with gifts of gold and libations of water, (the village of) Kaḷḷavoḷe, as a grant to be respected by all, to the god Śri-Pañchaliṅgadêva, the self-existent one, for the purposes of his temple with beautiful pinnacles, for the purpose of repairing anything that might become broken or torn or worn out, for the purposes of the perpetual offering, for the purposes of the *aṅgabhôga* and the *raṅgabhôga*, and for the purposes of a charitable dining-hall. Jôgadêva, the excellent husband of the goddess of fortune, being gracious, in his affection respectfully gave to (the god) Śri-Pañchaliṅga (the village of) Kaḷḷavoḷe, as a firm grant to be respected by all, for the purposes of the Chaitrapavitra¹¹, of repairing anything that might become torn or worn out, and of a charitable dining-hall; the lords of the earth shall preserve this grant as long as the ocean and the moon and sun may last. Śri-Jôgadêva, the Daṇḍâdhîsa, the good man, the younger brother of Purushôttama, gave as a firm grant the city of Śivapura to Brâhman, for as long as the earth and Mèru and the moon may endure. Jôgadêva, the Chamûpa, joyfully gave sixteen allotments, each of two hundred *kammas*¹² (of land), to the excellent Brâhman of Śivapura, in four out of the ancient villages. And if you ask in what villages respectively:—In Munipura, in Sindavige, in

⁹ According to the table in Brown's *Carnatic Chronology*, the Chitrabhânu *samvatsara* is Śaka 1144, and Śaka 1145 is the Svabhânu or Subhânu *samvatsara*.

¹⁰ 'Daṇḍanâyaka', 'Daṇḍâdhîpa', 'Daṇḍâdhîsa', or 'Chamûpa', as used in inscriptions, denotes a military officer with administrative powers.

¹¹ Perhaps 'the purificatory rites of the month Chaitra'. But in other passages the words are distinct and separate; e. g. 'Chaitrakke bde pavitrakke bde' in line 75 of the Nésargi inscription at pp. 240 *et seq.* of No. XXIX, Vol. X, of this Society's Journal.

¹² 'Kamma' or 'kamba',—an ancient land-measure the value of which is not now known.

Āganūru, and in Nāgarapura, Jōgadēva, who followed the precepts of Manu, with affection and modesty gave sixteen allotments to Brāhmins. In order that it might be esteemed preëminent in the world, Jōgadēva, the Daṇḍādhīsa, the younger brother of Jagadaḷa-Purushōttama, declared that Śivapura surpassed the charming land of enjoyment.¹³

And on the same occasion:—The gardeners of the jewel-mine Munipura, who were the receptacles of great liberality, acquired renown through the strength and the power and the eminence of their wealth, their truth, their firm determination, their perseverance, and their heroism. The gardeners, who had obtained the excellent favour of the lotuses which are the feet of (the god) Pañchalinga who is resplendent throughout the world, gave perpetually year by year, for the purposes of the *raṅgabhōga*, a *kaṇḍage*¹⁴ on the (total produce of) dried fruits, grain, &c.¹⁵

Honourable, worthy to be accounted foremost among the brave, possessed of a most excellent reputation by reason of the strength and the eminence and the greatness of their firm determination, the preservers of all religious rites, worthy to be worshipped, more glorious than any others, abounding in holy deeds, possessed of a profound firmness that comprises a number of various good qualities, firm in truth, the granters of all requests,—such are the Ugura Three-hundred¹⁶, who are worthy to be worshipped in this world. Even the

¹³ Svarga, or paradise, where people, after death, enjoy the reward of their works during life.

¹⁴ 'Kaṇḍage' is the modern 'khaṇḍaga', or 'khaṇḍuga', equivalent to about three bushels.

¹⁵ 'Tāriṅge';—but the meaning to be given to 'tāru,' of which we have the dative case here and the genitive case, 'tāriṅa', in line 45 below, is not certain. In Sanderson's *Canarese Dictionary*, 'tāru' is given as meaning, as a noun, *an omen, the bar of a door, a particular tree*, and, as a verb, *to become thin, exhausted with fatigue, dried up*. As he gives also a form 'tāru' in the meaning of a *door-bar and the tree so called*, 'tāru' may be assumed to be also the old form of the root in its verbal significations. And it would seem to me that the word as used in this inscription is connected with the root in its verbal signification *to become dried up*, and means *dried produce generally*.

¹⁶ It is not apparent who are the 'Ugura Three-hundred' and the Five-hundred-and-four'. Some large religious establishment appears to be alluded to, and perhaps it is the establishment of the priests of the temple of Ellamma or Rānukā at Ugargo, which is close to Saundatti in the Parasgaḍ Tālukā of the Belgaum District. The temple is one of great note, it has a large establishment of priests, and great numbers of people go on pilgrimages to it at stated times; but, though the shrine has every appearance of being of some antiquity, I have met with no allusions to it in inscriptions, unless the present is one. The 'Ugura Three-hundred', and the 'Eleya-Bōjagaru Five-hundred-and-four' are mentioned also in line 28.9 of No. IV of my Sindavamiśa inscriptions, at page 258 *et seq.* of No. XXXI, Vol. XI, of this Society's Journal.

Unborn cannot describe the greatness of the Five-hundred-and-four, who occupied themselves in all the rites of religion; which greatness, resulting from their protecting might, their generosity, the powerful attraction of their truth, and the eminence of their energy, was such that you might say that one who asked them for protection or begged of them a freedom from old age and death was certain to attain his desired object; who, then, may describe it? And whenever those same Ugura Three-hundred and the Five-hundred-and-four asked with importunity (?)¹⁷, they gave one coin such as is given on marriage occasions.

And the boundaries of the three hundred *kammas* of cultivated land, (which were given as a grant) to be respected to the god Śrī-Pañchaliṅgadēva, are:—On the E., the highroad that goes to the valley; on the S., a rivulet; on the W., the cultivated land called Akka-sāligeyi; and on the N., the cultivated land called Hebbalāharaḷakeyi. And the boundaries of one *mattar*¹⁸ (of land, which also was given to the god,) are:—On the E., (the temple of) the goddess Kāḷikādēvi; on the S., the tank called Haṇitegere; on the W., the village of Karuṣeṭṭa; and on the N., the highroad (to the village) of Hūvinakal. Also the fixed contribution that was allotted, free from all opposing claims, on the betel-plantation measuring five hundred *kuḷis*¹⁹, which was to the S. of (the temple of) the god, to the W. of the rivulet called Yaingarattihalla, to the N. of the (river) Śrī-Rāmagaṅge, and to the E. of a stone set upright in the ground, was the impost of the *Harikekuḷi*²⁰; and the contribution on the profits was the impost of a bundle of betel-leaves levied on the road; and (there was allotted) to that same god one *viśa*²¹ on each load of a beast of burden of betel-leaves. Two *solasages*²² of oil (were given) on (each) oil-mill,

¹⁷ 'Chatturāsigeridalli';—but the meaning is not at all certain. In analysing it as 'chatturāsige eridalli', I would connect 'chatturāsige' with 'chatturāyisu', to be obstinate, hardened.

¹⁸ 'Mattar',—an ancient land-measure the value of which is not now known.

¹⁹ 'Kuḷi', a pit, hole. The meaning of the text is probably 'a betel-plantation capable of holding five hundred plants.'

²⁰ Meaning not known. 'Harike' is a vow; and 'kuḷi', in addition to the meaning given in the preceding note, means, as a verb, to dig a hole, to protect, to journey.

²¹ Explained to me as being the same as 'duḍḍu', the fourth part of an anna. In Sanderson's Dictionary 'viśa' is given as meaning one-sixteenth, a share, portion; and we have also 'viśe', five seers.

²² 'Solasage' is perhaps a mistake for 'sollige, solige, solage, or solege', the sixty-fourth part of a 'koḷaga', which is equivalent to about three-twentieths of a bushel.

to provide for the ceremony of averting the effects of the evil eye which was held on Mondays at Siṅgavaṭṭi of that locality. And one oil-mill was set apart for the god. Sixty cultivators²³ gave a *kandage* of dried fruits, grain, &c. And the reapers of the betel-plants will give (a contribution) when they reap, and the consumers of betel-leaves will willingly give (a contribution). The ministers of the king shall recognize these imposts. And the sellers of betel-leaves and arecanuts inside the village will give (a contribution) when they realize in cash the prices that they obtain.

The E. and S. boundary of a flower-garden (which was given to the same god) is the (river) Śrī-Rāmagaṅge; the W. boundary is the garden of the Basadi²⁴; and the N. boundary is a plantation of betel-plants.

And the boundaries of a garden on the river containing five hundred betel-plants are :—On the E., the (river) Śrī-Rāmagaṅge; on the S. and W. and N., stones set upright in the ground. (Also there were given) three flower-gardens in the waste land called Suruganahāḷ.

Having established the shrine of the god Śrī-Mādhavanārāyaṇadēva, and having given as a grant to be respected by all, with gifts of gold and libations of water, (the village of) Sattiyakere for the purposes of the *aṅgabhōga* and *raṅgabhōga* of that same god, (there was given) a betel-plantation of five hundred *kuḷis* to the E. of Munivaḷḷi, to the S., of a rivulet, to the W. of the (river) Śrī-Rāmagaṅge, and to the N. of a stone set upright in the ground.

And on the same occasion there were given to the Brāhman̄s of Brahmāpuri, with libations of water, two allotments at (the village of) Kaḍakula, two at Baḷḷigere, two at Hulukund, two at —ṭṭase, two at Kuruḷanūr, two at Bannivūr, two at Dāḍeyabāvi, two at Goravanūr, two at Jaṅgavāḍanaruḅanūr, and four at Haḷevūr.

And, while that same Jōgadēvanāyaka was cherishing the practices of religion, sixty cultivators acquired and gave to the Ugura Three-hundred and the Five-hundred-and-four, with gifts of gold and libations

²³ This seems to be a technical expression; we meet with it again in line 44 of the Gulhaḷḷi inscription at pp. 296 *et seqq.* of No. XXVII, Vol. IX, of this Society's Journal, in line 38 of the Kittūr inscription at pp. 304 *et seqq.* of the same, in line 2 of No. III of the Raṭṭa inscriptions at pp. 204 *et seqq.* of No. XXIX, Vol. X, of this Society's Journal, and in line 78 of No. VI of the Raṭṭa inscriptions at pp. 240 *et seqq.* of the same; and I have found the same expression in other inscriptions not yet published.

²⁴ 'Basadi',—modern 'Basti', a Jain temple.

of water, at Śivapura, as a token of union, certain land of which the boundaries are:—To the N.E., there is a row of tamarind trees arranged in the form of a festoon of flowers hung over a doorway. To the S. of the row of tamarind-trees arranged in the form of a festoon of flowers hung over a doorway, there is the garden of Ba—rakkura, which is to the S. of the ornamented gateway of the temple of (the goddess) Kāraṇikemasāṇikabbe, which stands together with the land of Jinēndra, the foe of passion. From the boundary of that garden towards the W., there is the garden of the merchant Keṅcharakāliṣeṭṭi; from the N. W. of this garden towards the S., there are the gardens of Harumbabāvi-Brahmayā, Ālahiṭṭayā, and Banavayā; thence towards the W., there are the road that goes to Kallavoḷe, and the sacred shrine on the (river) Malaprāhāri called Rudratīrtha; thence to the N., (we come to the village of) Karuguppe, from the centre of which (we come to the village of) Kuppe, below which is the road to Modalūr; thence (we come to) the row of tamarind-trees, arranged like a festoon of flowers hung over a doorway, and commencing from a tamarind-tree which stands at the junction of the cultivated land called Koḍagadakeyi and the field called Kālikavveyola and the stream. Such is the course of the boundaries.

Saying that²⁵ all belongs equally to the god Śri-Pañchalīṅgadēva, the regents of the four principal points of the compass, and kings, and the Five-hundred who are perfect in respect of their religion, and the One-thousand, and the (inhabitants of the) four cities, and the people of (the locality called) 'Seven-and-a-half'²⁶ and of (the locality called) 'Eleven-and-a-half'²⁶ and of many districts on both sides, shall faultlessly preserve this religious grant of rent-free service-land as long as the earth and the water and the moon and sun and stars may last. 4

He is born for the duration of sixty thousand years as a worm in ordure, who confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself or by another!

²⁵ The meaning of ' *maḷigeya kōlukōḷaga*' is not apparent.

²⁶ See note 33 to No. VI of the Baṭṭa inscriptions referred to above.

[1] ॥ छ ॥ ओं नमः शिवाय ॥ श्रीगणाधि[2]पतये नमः ॥ पायादाद्यः स षः
 पोत्री यदं(इ)ष्ट्रा[3]प्रतिवि(विं)विता । अगादिव धृता धात्री हर्षाद्वि(द्वि)गुणपु[4]ष्टता(तां) ॥
 अस्ति स्वस्त्ययनो राजा सिंहणो यदुवंशजः [1] यस्य कीर्त्ति[5]स्त्रिभुवने प्रथिता
 हरिकीर्त्तिवत् ॥ यो राजा जैतुर्गिर्नाम सिंह[6]णाख्यांनृपात्ततः ॥(1) जनितोयदुवंशब्धौ-
 (ब्धौ) पयोधाविव चंद्र[7]माः ॥ तस्य पुत्रो महातेजाः श्रीकन्हार इति श्रुतः ।
 यदाजां(जां) [8]शिरसा धृता(त्वा) भवंति सुखिनो नृपाः ॥ जयति जगति
 राजा स[9]र्वभूपालमौलिप्रथितपरमरत्नमोहसत्पाददध्रः । य[10]दुकुलचिरलीले वासुदेवे जनानां
 नयनकमलसू[11]यः(र्यः) प्रीतिमान्कन्हाराख्यः ॥ तस्यान्यः(न्यः)क्षितिपालमौलि[12]मकुटप्रत्युत्तरत्नैश्वरं नीराज-
 च्चरणारविंदयुगलः [13]शेषस्य पृथ्वीपतेः । शूरो मात्यधुरि स्थितो विजयते बी[14]चाग्रजः संततं
 मलाख्यः किल चिक्रदेवतनयः प्र[15]ख्यातकीर्त्तिभु(र्भुं)वि ॥ तस्य पुत्रो महातेजाः श्रीकन्हार
 इ[16]ति श्रुतः ॥(1) यो जिह्वा(त्वा) पृथिवी(वीं) श(त)स्य यो राजो(ज्ञो) दक्षिणो भे(भु)[17]जः ॥
 प्रशां(शा)स्य(स्त्य)रीन्यः प्रगृहीतचापो ददाति चार्थान्कृप[18]या द्विजेभ्यः । आ(श्री)सोमनाथांघ्रियुगावनत्या
 भवर्द्धि[19]ताशेषविभूतिरं(र)म्यः ॥ छ ॥ स्वस्ति ॥ एकसप्तत्युत्तरशता[20]धिकसहस्रसंख्येषु श-

काब्दे(ब्दे)ष्वतीतेषु प्रवर्त्तमाने सौं(सौ)भ्य[21]संवत्सरे तदंतग(र्ग)ताषाढपौर्णमास्यां शनैश्वरवारे पू[22]वां-
 षाढ(ढा)नक्षत्रे वैधृतियोगे(ग) इत्थंभूतपुं(पु)प्यकाल राजः(ज्ञः) [23]सर्व(र्व)र्दे(दे)शाधिकारी । सः ।
 मलिसैट्टिनामामात्यः(त्यो) मुद्गुलग्रा[24]भे वसं(स)न् । तदनुज(ज्ञ)या स्वदेवार्चनसमये श्रीसोमनाथस-
 (सं)निधौ [25]महाधार्मिकवीरनायकविज्ञापनया स्वाधिकारविषये कुहुं[26]डिदेशे हुव्वल्लिद्वादशग्रामाभ्यंतरे संथेयबा-
 गवाडिसंज्ञ[27]के ग्रामे भगवं(व)श्री(च्छ्री)माधवदेवपुर(रः)सरेभ्यो द्वात्रिंशत्संख्या[28]केभ्यो नानागोत्रेभ्यो
 ब्राह्मणेभ्यस्न(स्त)द्गामदक्षिणदिगु(ग्)भागे [29]ष*ट्पाषाणमुद्रितां भु(भू)भि धारापूर्ब(र्व)कं दत्त[30]वान् ।
 तत्र । भगवतः श्रीमाधवदेव†स्य अंग[31]भोगरंगभोगादिसकलपु(पू)जार्थं सहस(स्व)कंबपरिमितं [32]क्षेत्रं
 दत्तं । श्रीमाधवदेवसत्रे ब्राह्मणभोजनाथ(र्थ) शतद्द[33]यकंबपरिमितं क्षेत्रं दत्तं [1] तादितर(रं)
 तु क्षेत्रं श्रीमाधवदे[34]वबं(त्र)द्गपुरीवार्वि(ति)भ्यस्ने(स्ते)भ्यो ब्राह्मणेभ्यो दत्तं । तत्सत्रार्थ[35]मेव तद्गामपु(पू)र्वदिगु(ग्)भागे
 शतद्वयकंबपरिमितं शालि[36]क्षेत्रं तेन दत्तं ॥ तत्सत्रार्थमेव तद्गामोत्(त्)रदिग्भागे विना[37]य-
 कनैरुरु(र्ऋ)रुरु(रु)न्य(त्य)दिगु(ग्)ना(भा)गे शतकंबपरिमे(मि)तं [क्षेत्रं‡] दत्तं [1] इति श्री[38]माधव-

* The first side of the second plate commences with this letter, — ष.

† This letter, — व, — was at first omitted in the original and afterwards inserted above the line over its proper place.

‡ This word is omitted altogether in the original.

देवसत्रब्राह्मणभोजनाथं(र्थ) प(पं)चशतकंबमरिमिता [३९]भु(भू)मिस्ने(स्ते)नैव दत्ता ॥ छ ॥ अं-
 (अ)नंतरं तस्य(स्य) पुत्रो सी चींडिसैट्टिना[४०]मामाभ्यः(त्यः) पितृकृने(तै)तध(द्ध)र्मपरिपालनायास्मिन(त्र)र्थे भ-
 [४१]गवन्माधवदेवदेव*पुर(रः)सरेभ्यस्त(स्ते)भ्यो ब्राह्मणेभ्यस्तां[४२]ब्र(ब्र)शासन(नं) दन्ग(त्त्वा) पितुर्ध(र्द्ध)र्म सुदृ-
 ढतरं कृतवानु(न्) ॥ छ ॥ ॥ [४३]तेषां पु(प्र)तिगृहीतृ(तृ)णं(णां) गोत्रगुणनामानि लिख्यंते ॥
 छ ॥ [४४]आत्रेयगोत्रीयसामवेदिविष्णुभट्टोपाध्यायसुतसर्व[४५]ज्ञहरिहरभट्टोया(पा)ध्यायस्यैका वृत्तिः ॥
 कौशिकगोत्री[४६]यप्रभाकरत्रिवाडिसुतदामोदय(र)त्रिवाडिः तस्ये(स्यै)का [४७]वृत्तिः ॥ कौशिकगोत्रीयमदनाइ(यि)तपाठ-
 कसुतराम[४८]देवया(पा)ठकस्यैका वृ(वृ)त्तिः ॥ वसिष्ठगोत्रीयजयितपा[४९]ठकसुतकेशवपाठकः† तस्यैका वृत्तिः ॥
 हरितगोत्री[५०]यवामम(न)पट्टवर्द्ध(र्द्ध)नसुतत्रिविक्रमपट्टवर्द्धनस्यार्द्धवृ[५१]त्तिः ॥ शांडिल्यगोत्र(त्री)स्य(य)विष्णुभट्टोपाध्यायसु-
 तपेट्ट[५२]णपट्टवर्द्धनस्यार्द्धवृत्तिः ॥ हरितगोत्रदामोदरपट्ट[५३]वर्द्धनसुतता(ना)गदेवपट्टवर्द्धनस्यार्द्धवृत्तिः ॥ हरितगो-
 [५४]त्रकेशवपट्टवर्द्धम(न)सुतदामोदरपट्टवर्द्धनस्यार्द्धवृत्तिः ॥ व[५५]सिष्ठगोत्रमैत्रावरुणको(कौ)डिन्यगोत्रआ(त्राforत्रआ)दि-
 स्यभट्टसुतमलि[५६]देवठ(उ, and वो for वउ)पाध्यायस्यार्द्धवृत्तिः ॥ मौदु(द्)गल्यगोत्रनारायण[५७]उ‡(णो for णउ)पा-
 ध्यायसुतरुद्र(द्रो)पाध्यायस्यार्द्धवृत्तिः ॥ त[५८]स्य त्रा(भ्रा)ता गोर्विदु(दो)पाध्यायस्यार्द्धवृत्तिः ॥ भार-

* The repetition of the word देव is superfluous.

† A mark of punctuation,—||,—unnecessarily follows this word in the original.

‡ The second side of the second plate commences with this letter,—उ.

[49] द्वाजगोत्रकलिदेवपट्टवर्द्धनसुतश्रीधरपट्टव[60]र्द्धनस्यार्द्धवृत्तिः ॥ गीतमगोत्रमह(हा)देवपट्टवर्द्धनसुतका[61]व(म?)दे-
 वक्रमितस्यार्द्धवृत्तिः ॥ काश्यपगौत्रमच्यणपट्टवर्द्धन[62]सुतव(ब्र)ह्मदेवभट्टोपाध्यायस्यार्द्धवृत्तिः ॥ द(ह)रितगोत्र-
 गोवि(विं)द[63]सुतरायिहे(दे)वभट्टोपाध्यायस्यार्द्धवृत्तिः ॥ शांडिल्यगोत्रहिद्य(?) [64]णसुतश्रीर(रं)गस्यार्द्धवृत्तिः ॥
 काश्यप(प)गोत्रअ(त्राforत्रअ)त्यं(?)पसुतमधुव[65]णपट्टवर्द्धनस्यार्द्धवृत्तिः ॥ भारद्वाजगोत्रमह(हा)द(दे)वसुतमलिदे-
 [66]वय(घ)लिसस्यार्द्धवृत्तिः ॥ रथीतरगोत्रसोमनाथसुतव(ब)सवणघलि[67]सस्यार्द्धवृत्तिः ॥ आत्र(त्रे)यगोत्र-
 गोपालशु(सु)तमलिदेवघलिसस्यार्द्ध[68]वृत्तिः ॥ विष्णुवृद्धगोत्रमाधवपट्टवर्द्धनसुतमलिदेवपट्टवर्द्धनस्या[69]र्द्धवृत्तिः ॥
 आत्रेयगोत्रनारायणसुतव(ब)सवणक्रमिस्तस्यार्द्धवृत्तिः [11] [70]ता(भा)रद्वाजगोत्रनारायणसुतजातवेदपट्टवर्द्धनस्यार्द्धवृत्तिः ॥
 भार[71]द्वाजगोत्रश्रीधरशु(सु)तहाश्वर(महेश्वर?)घलिसस्यार्द्धवृत्तिः ॥ श्रीवत्सगो[72]त्रमायिदेवसुतगोवि(विं)दघैसास-
 (सforसास)स्यार्द्धवृत्तिः ॥ काश्यपगोत्रआ(त्रforत्रआ)[73]दित्यसुतमलिदेवघलिसस्यार्द्धवृत्तिः ॥ वसिष्ठगोत्रता-
 (म?)यूर[74]घलिसस्यार्द्धवृत्तिः [11] काश्यपगोत्रविष्णुघलिसस्यार्द्धवृत्तिः [11] [75]कौशिकगोत्रविश्वनाथघे(घै?)स-
 स्यार्द्धवृत्तिः ॥ आत्र(त्रे)यगोत्रमलिदे[76]वघलिसश्या(स्या)र्द्धवृत्तिः ॥ काश्यपगोत्रस्वामिदेवघैसस्यार्द्धवृत्तिः ॥
 [77]कौ(कौं)डिन्यगोत्रनरसिंहघैसः ॥(1) कौशिकगोत्रदामोदरघलिसः [1] [78]विश्वामित्रगोत्रमलिदेवघलिसः ॥(1)
 मूकगोत्रकायणघलि[79]सः ॥(1) काश्यपगोत्रम(न)रसि(सिं)हघलिसः ॥(1) शा(शां)दि(डिङ्गल्यगोत्रना-
 गदेव[80]घलिसासः(सःforसासः) ॥(1) अगस्त्यगोत्रकलिदेद(व)य(प)ट्टवर्द्धनः ॥(1) आत्रेयगो[81]त्रविष्णुपट्ट-

वर्द्धनः ॥(1) भारद्वाजगोत्रदासमलिदेवघलिसः ॥(1) का[82]श्यपा(प)गोत्रवासुदेवघलिसः ॥(1) हरित-
गोत्रश्रीधरपट्टवर्द्धनः । [83]काश्यपगोत्रदेवणघलिसः ॥(1) शो(शौ)नकगोत्रमाधवघलिसः [1] [84]एतेपा-
(षां) मस्येकमर्द्धवृत्तिः ॥ काश्यप*गोत्रच(ज)गदे(हे)वपाठकस्य† [85]पादोनवृत्तिः ॥ इतः परमन्येषा-
(षां) यु(म)स्येक(कं) पादवृत्तिः ॥(1) विशी(श्वा)मि[86]त्रगोत्ररामदेवघलिसः ॥(1) गोतमगोत्रमलिदेवघ-
लिसः ॥(1) [87]भारद्वाजगोत्रवे(वै)जनाथघलिसः ॥(1) श्रीवत्स[88]गोत्ररामदेवघलिसः ॥(1) भार-
द्वाजगोत्रका[89]लिदासघैसः ॥(1) काश्यप(प)गोत्रगोया(पा)लघलिस[90]ः ॥(1) तस्य भ्राता कलिदेव-
घलिसः ॥(1) काश्यप[91]गोत्रनागदेवघलिसः ॥(1) भारद्वाजगोत्रवोष्पदेवघ[92]लिसः ॥(1) विश्वामि-
त्रगोत्रलक्ष्मीधरशु(सु)तगोपालघलिसः ॥(1) [93]काश्यपगोत्रनरसिंहभट्टः ॥(1) कौडिन्यगोत्रनागसुतविष्णुः ॥(1)
[94]जामदग्न्यवस॥गोत्रदेवणघलिसः ॥(1) कौ(का)श्यपगोत्रउ(त्रो)forत्रउ)दयभट्टः ॥(1) [95]कौशिकगोत्रदेव-
णसुतमंच्यणघलिशाः(सः) ॥(1) काश्यपगोत्रह[96]ट्ट(?)णपट्टवध(र्द्ध)नः ॥(1) भारद्वाजगोत्रमलिदेवसुतकलिदेवपट्टव-

* This letter,—प,—is omitted altogether in the original.

† The original has unnecessarily a mark of punctuation,—||—after this word.

‡ The inner side of the third plate commences with this letter,—म[.

§ This letter,—प,—is omitted altogether in the original.

|| These two letters,—वस,—are superfluous and unmeaning.

[97]र्ध(र्द्ध)नस्यैका वृत्तिः ।(॥) वसिष्ठगोत्रवद्य(!)णसुतजनाद्ध(र्द्ध)नघलि[98]सस्यार्ध(र्द्ध)वृत्तिः ॥ विलुशुकसुतपद्मनाभपद्मव-
 ध्ध(र्द्ध)न[99]स्यैका वृत्तिः [1] तस्य सुत[स्य*] सोमनाथस्यैका वृत्तिः -॥ [100]इत्थं द्वात्रि-
 (त्रि)शद्वृत्तयो विभज्य वा(ब्रा)ह्मणेभ्यो दत्तः(त्ताः) । (॥) छ ॥ तदागामिभि[101]व(र)शेष-
 भूपालै(लैः) स्वदत्तनिर्विशेषं परिपालनीयमिति भगव[102]ता वेदव्यासेनोक्तं । व(व)हुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता
 राजभि(भिः) सगरादिभि(भिः) [1] [103]यस्य 'यस्य यदा भू(भू)मिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ।(॥)
 स्वदत्तां पर[104]दत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुंधरां । षष्टि वर्षसहस्राणि वि[105]ष्टायां
 जायते कृमिः ॥ रो(रा)मः । सामान्यो यं धर्मसेतुर्नू[106]प(पा)णां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः ।
 सर्वानि[107]तान्भाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान्भूयो भूयो याचते रामचं[108]द्रः ॥ दानपालनयोर्मा(र्म)ध्ये दानाश्रे-
 (च्छे)यो नुपालनं । [109]दानास्स्वर्गमवाप्नोति पालनादच्युतं य(प)दं ॥ [110]मंगलमहाश्रीः -(॥)

* This letter,—स्य,—is omitted altogether in the original.

No. III.

Ôm! Reverence to Śiva! Reverence to Śrī-Gaṇādhīpati! May he, the first boar¹, protect you, on whose tusk the earth was reflected and upheld and thus through joy attained twice as great prosperity as before!

There was the prosperous king Simhaṇa, born in the race of Yadu, whose fame was celebrated throughout the three worlds like the fame of Hari.²

As the moon was produced in the ocean, so in the ocean which is the race of Yadu there was born from that king Simhaṇa the king who is called Jaitugi by name.

His son is that glorious one, who is renowned under the name of Śrī-Kanhāra³, and whose commands kings bear upon their heads and thus become happy. Victorious in the world is the king called Kanhara; the lotuses, which are his feet, shine brightly among the famous choice jewels in the diadems of all kings, (who bow down before him); he is the sun of the white lotuses, which are the eyes of mankind; he is full of affection for the son⁴ of Vāsudēva, who disported himself for so long a time in the family of Yadu.

Ever victorious is he, the brave one, who has the appellation of Malla,—the elder brother of Bīcha, and the son of Chikkadēva,—who, filling the post of chief minister of that most eminent of kings, has the lotuses, which are his feet, ever made radiant by the jewels which are inlaid in the tiaras of other kings, and who is renowned in the world. Having conquered the earth, he became the right arm of him who was his⁵ glorious son, and who was celebrated under the name of Śrī-Kanhāra. Armed with the bow, he chastises his enemies; in charity he gives wealth to Brāhmaṇs; and he is pleasing by reason of his

¹ The allusion is to the incarnation of Vishṇu, when he assumed the form of a boar, and, plunging into the ocean, slew the demon Hiranyāksha, and lifted up on the tip of his right tusk and thus rescued the earth, which had been carried away by him.

² Vishṇu.

³ Other forms of this name in the present inscriptions are Kanhara, Kanhara, Kandhāra, and Kṛishṇa. In line 11 of the Nēsargi Raṭṭa Inscription,—No. XXIX, Vol. X, pp. 240 *et seqq.*, of this Journal,—we have already, had 'Kandhāra' as another form of 'Kṛishṇa.'

⁴ Vishṇu, incarnate as Kṛishṇa; it is from this that the Yādavakula, or 'family of the descendants of Yadu,' is also called the Vishṇuvansa or 'lineage of Vishṇu.'

⁵ *sc.* Simhaṇa's; the construction in the text is very bad and obscure.

perfect prosperity, which is nourished by obeisance performed to the feet of (the god) Śrī-Sōmanātha.

Hail! One thousand one hundred and seventy-one of the Śāka years having elapsed⁶, in the Saumya *saṃvatsara*, on Saturday the day of the full-moon of the month Āshāḍha of that year, under the Pūrvāshāḍhā *nakshatra*⁷ and the Vaidhṛiti *yōga*⁸,—at this sacred time, while residing at the village of Mudugala, he,—the minister called Mallisaitti, who was entrusted with authority over all the dominions of the king,—with his permission and at the request of the most pious Vīranāyaka, at the time of worshipping his own deity, in the presence of (the god) Śrī-Sōmanātha, with libations of water, at the village called Santhēya-Bāgavāḍi⁹ in the Huvvalli Twelve-villages in the district of Kuhnḍi¹⁰, which was a district subject to his own authority, gave some land, marked out by six stones and situated in the southern part of that same village, to the god, the holy Śrī-Mādhavadēva, and to thirty-two Brāhman̄s of many *gōtras*. A field of the measure of one thousand *kambas*¹¹ was allotted for the *aṅgabhōga*, the *raṅgabhōga*, and all the other rites of the god, the holy Śrī-Mādhavadēva. A field of the measure of two hundred *kambas* was allotted for the purpose of feeding Brāhman̄s in the charitable dining-hall of the god Śrī-Mādhavadēva. And, in addition to that, another field was given to those Brāhman̄s who dwelt at the town of Brahmapuri, which belonged to the god Śrī-Mādhavadēva. And a rice-field of the measure of two hundred *kambas*, situated in the southern part of that same village, was allotted by him for the purposes of that same charitable dining-hall. And, for the purposes of that same charitable dining-hall, there was allotted a field of the measure of one hundred *kambas* on the south-western side (of the land) of Vināyaka. Thus he gave altogether land of the measure of five hundred *kambas* for the purpose of feeding Brāhman̄s in the charitable dining-hall of the god Śrī-Mādhavadēva.

⁶ *i. e.*, in the Śāka year 1172; but, according to the table in Brown's *Carnatic Chronology*, the Saumya *saṃvatsara* is Śāka 1171, and Śāka 1172 is the Sādhāraṇa *saṃvatsara*.

⁷ Constellation or lunar mansion.

⁸ An astronomical period of variable length, during which the joint motion in longitude of the sun and moon amounts to 30° 20'.

⁹ 'Santhēya' is perhaps intended for the Canarese 'santeya', of the market, which is a common prefix to the names of market-towns.

¹⁰ In other inscriptions the form is 'Kūṇḍi', which is an abbreviation of the present form.

¹¹ 'Kamba',—the same as the 'kamma' of other inscriptions.

And after that, his son, the minister Chauṇḍisaiṭṭi, for the purpose of continuing the religious act performed by his father, gave, with reference to that same subject, a copper charter to the god, the holy Mād havadēva, and to those Brāhman̄s, and thus made permanent the religious act of his father.

The *gōtras* and the virtues and the names of those recipients of the gifts are now written. (From here,—line 45,—to line 99, the inscription records the names, &c., of the grantees, and the share allotted to each. It is unnecessary to translate this portion in detail. In line 100 the inscription continues:—)

Thus thirty-two allotments were portioned out and given to the Brāhman̄s.

It has been said by the saintly Vēdavyāsa, that this (grant) should be preserved by all future kings, precisely as if it were a grant made by themselves, (in the words):—“The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; he, who for the time being possesses land, enjoys the benefit of it”! He is born for the duration of sixty thousand years as a worm in ordure, who confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself or by another! (Therefore has) Rāma (said):—“This general bridge of piety of kings should at all times be preserved by you,—thus does Rāmachandra make his earnest request to all future princes.” In (discriminating between) giving a grant and continuing (the grant of another), continuing (the grant of another) is the better; by giving a grant a man attains paradise, but by continuing (the grant of another) a man attains the sphere of Achyuta¹²! May there be the most auspicious prosperity!

¹² Vishnu, whose paradise is of a higher degree than Svarga, which is the paradise of Indra.

[1] ಶ್ರೀ. [11] ನಮಸ್ತುಂಗಶಿರಶ್ಚಾಂಬಿಚಂದ್ರತಾ(ಚಾ)ಮರತಾ(ಚಾ)ರವೇ [1] ತ್ರ್ಯಲೋಕೈನ[2] ಗರಾ-
 ರಂಭಮೂಲಸ್ತಂಭಾಯ ಸಂ(೪)ಭವೇ || ವಿ(ವ್ರ)ತ್ತ || ಮಿ[3] ಷುಗುವ ನಂದನಾವಳಗಂ ಪೆಳ-
 (ಳ)ದೊರೈವ ಕೆಯೊಲಂಗಳಂ [4] ತುಱುಗದ ದೇವ* ತಾಭವನದಿಂದೆಸದಿಪ್ಪ ಸುವಸ್ತುವರ್ಗದಿಂ ತೊಱಗರ-
 ಯಾಱುಸಾಸಿರಮೆನಿಪ್ಪ ಗುದೇ[5] ಸ(೪)ದೊಳೊಳ್ಪುವೆತ್ತಣಂ ಮೆಜೆವ ಮುನೀಂದ್ರವಳ್ಳಗೆ ಸಮಂ ಬರೆ ಪತ್ತ-
 ನಮುಂತಿ ಧಾತ್ರಿ[6] ಯೊಳ್ || ತುರುಗ ತಳುರ್ತ್ತ ಮಾಢುರದ ನಿಂಬೆ ಕದಂಬಕ ದ್ರಾಕ್ಷೆ ಪ-
 ಳ್ಗಂ ದೊಱ[7] ಗುವ ನಾಳ(೦)ಕೇರ(ಳ)ಫಲದಿಂ ಕಲುವಾಧೆಯೊಳಟ್ಟಿ ತೋರ್ಪ್ಪ ಕಣ್ಣೆ ಸ(ಸಿ)ವರನೇಳಿಲಂ ಮು-
 (ಮ?)ಱು[8] ಕದಿಂ ಪೆಣ(ಡೆ)ದೊರೈವ ಕಟ್ಟಿದೊಂಬದಿಂ ನೆಣ(ಹೆ)ದ ಕವುಗಿನಿಕ್ಕೆಲದೊಳಾದುವ ಕೋಗಲ-
 [9] ಯಿಂದ ವೊರೈಗುಂ || ಲದೇಶಾಧೀಶ್ವರಂ ಸಿಂಘನಾತುಳುಟಂ ತತ್ಪುತಂ ಜೈತು[10] ಗಲಕಂಗಾದಂ
 ಶ್ರೀಕರ್ಣ ರೋವ್ವೀರ್ವಶ್ವರನುದಿತಱುಂ ಯಾದವಾಸ್ತ್ರೇಸರಂ ಲಕ್ಷ್ಮೀದೈ[11] ತಂ † ಸಾವರ್ವ ಭಾಮುಕ್ತಿ ಶಿವತಿ ವಿಜಯಾಳಂ-
 ಕೃತಂ ಧಾತ್ರಿ ಮೆಚ್ಚಲ ವೇದೋದ್ಧಾರಂ ಸಮನೋ[12] ವ್ವಿಪನುತಚರಿತಂ ರಾಜರಾಜತ್ರಿಗೋತ್ರಂ ||
 ಪ್ರಸ(೪)ಸ್ತಿ || ಸ್ಪಸ್ತಿ ಸಮಸ್ತಪ್ರಸ(೪)ಸ್ತಿಸಹಿತಂ ಸಮ[13] ನಿ ‡ ಧಿಗತಪಂಚಮಹಾಸ(೪)ಬ್ಬ ದ್ವಾರಾವತೀಶ್ವರವರಾಧೀಶ್ವರರುಂ

* This letter,—ವ,—is inserted below the line in the original, having been at first omitted.
 † ದೈತಂ, sc. ದಯಿತಂ. ‡ This syllable,—ನಿ,—is superfluous and unmeaning.

ಶ್ರೀವಿಘ್ನೋದ್ಧವರಂ [14] ಸುವರ್ಣಗರುಡದ್ವ(ಧ್ವ)ಜರಂ ಯಾದವಕುಳಕಮಳಕಳಾವಿಕಾಸಭಾಸ್ವರಂ ಯ(ಅ)-
 [15] ರಾಯಜಗರುಂಪ(ಪಂ) ಮಾಳವಿ(ವ)ಾಯಮುದನಶ್ರೀಶೇತ್ರ(ತ್ರಂ) ಗೂರ್ಜರರಾಯಭಯಂಕರಂ ಕೊಂ [16] ಕಣರಾಯಭಯ-
 ಜ್ವರಂ ಚೋಟಾಯದಿನ(ಶಾ)ಪಟ್ಟನುಂ ತೇಲುಂಗರಾಯನಾ(ಸ್ಥಾ)ಪನಾಚಾರ್ಯ್ಯ(ಯ್ಯಂ) ಯ(ಅ)ರಿಖ [17] ಒತ್ತಿಪುರಶ್ರೀಶೇತ್ರಂ
 ವೀಡೋದ್ಧರಕಂ ನಿಖಿಳಧರಾಭಾರಂ ರಾಜಮನೋಜಂ ಯ(ಇ) [18] ತ್ಯಾದಿನಾಮಾವಳಸಮಾಳಂಕ್ರಿ(ಕ್ರ)ತ ಭುಜಜಟ-
 ಪೌತ್ರ(ಘ)ಪ್ರತಾಪಚಕ್ರವರ್ತಿ ಶ್ರೀಕಂ(ಕ) [19] ನ್ಧರಾಯರಾಜೋದಯ(ಯಂ) ಚಂದ್ರಾರ್ಯಕಾರಂ ಒರಂ ದೇವಗಿರಿಯ
 ಸತಿವೀಡೋಳ ಸುಖಸಂ [20] [ಕಥಾ] ವಿನೋದದಿಂ ರಾಜ್ಯಂಗೆಯುತ್ತಮಿರೆ ಸ(ಕ)ಕವರ್ಷ ೧೧೭ ಛನೆಯ ವಿರೋ-
 [21] ಧಿಕೃತಸಂವತ್ಸರದ ಕೇ(ಕೈ)ದ್ವ(ದ್ವ) ಬಹುಳ ಯ(ಅ)ಮಾವಾಸ(ಸಿ) ಸೂರ್ಯ್ಯಗ್ರಹಣ ಸು(ಕು)ಕ್ರವಾ-
 [22] [ರದಂ]ದು || ಶ್ರೀಮತ ಸಂ(ಕಂ)ಕರಸಾಮ್ಯರೂಪನೋಜ(ಃ) ಕೊಂಡೀನಾ(ಶಾ)ನ್ಯದೇವಾಸ್ಥಿ(ಕ್ಷೈ)ಯಂ ಕಾಮ-
 [23] [ಕೋದ]ಮದಾರ್ಥಿ(ತ್ಥ)ಮೋಹಭಯರೋಧಂ ದೂರ ಸರ್ವ್ವೀ(ವ್ವೀ)ಸ(ತ್ವ)ನ(ರಂ) ಧೀಮಾನ ಸದಗ(ಗು)-
 ರುವಾದನೆಂ [24] [ದೇನೆ] ತಪ(ಪಃ)ಶ್ರಿಂ(ಶ್ರಂ)ಗಾರನಂ ಸಜ್ಜನಂ(ನ)ಪ್ರೇಮಾಂಭೋನಿಧಿಯಂ ಶ್ರಿಯಾಸ(ಕ)ಕ್ರಿಯಂ * ಖಂ-
 ಗ್ಲೆ ಪ(ಪ)ವಂ [25] [ಬಣ್ಣಿ]ವಂ || ವಿ(ವೃ)ತ್ತಂ || ವಿನಯಾಂಭೋಲಾಸಿ(ಶಿ)ಸರ್ವ್ವೀತ್ವರಯತಿಪತಿಶ್ರಿತ್ರಂ
 ಶ್ರಿಯಾಸ(ಕ)ಕ್ರಿಯಾ [26] [ದಂ] ತನಯಂ ಸೋಮೀಶ್ವರಂ ಸಜ್ಜನನಭವಪದಾಂಭೋಜನೀವಾಸಮಗ್ರಂ ತನಗೋಪ್ಪ(ಪ್ರಿ)ಃ
 [27] ಸತ್ಯಮುಂ ವಿಕ್ರತಶಿವತಪಮುಂ ಭಾಗ್ಯಮುಂ ಲಕ್ಷ್ಮಿಯೊಳ್ವಂ ಸನುಮಾರ್ಗಂ † ಖಂ [28] [೨] ರಳ

* To be read, for the sake of the metre, as if written—ಕಕಿರಿಯಂ.

† To be read, for the sake of the metre, as written,—'sanumārggam' for 'sanmārggam.'

ಭೂಭುವನದೊಳೆಸಿದಂ ಕೀರ್ತ್ತಿಕಾಂ(ಕಾ)ನ್ತಾವಿಳಾಸ || ಸ್ವಪ್ತಿ ಯ[ಮು]ನಿಯುಸುಸೌಧ್ಯಾ[29]ಯಧ್ಯಾನಧ್ಯಾರು(ರ)ಣನೋ-
 (ಮಾ)ನಾನುಷ್ಣಾ(ಛಾ)ನಜಪತಪಸ್ಸುಮಾದಿಸೀ(ಶೀ)ಲಗುಣಾನಂಪನರುಂ [30][ಯ]ಜನಯಾಜನ(ನಾ)ಧ್ಯಯನ(ನಾ)ಧ್ಯಾಪನದಾನಪ್ರತಿಗ್ರಹ-
 ವ್ಯುತ್ಪನ್ನನಿಯತರುಂ ರುಗ್ಗ(ಯುಗ್ for ರುಗ್ಗ)ವೀದನಾ[ಮು][31][ವೀ]ದಯ(ದಾ for ದಯ)ಥರ್ವಣಯದು(ಜು)ಪ್ಪೀದನೇದಾಂತಪ-
 ಟ್ ತರ್ಕ್ಯಬ್ಯಾ(ವ್ಯಾ)ಕರಣಾಫಂದಕು(ಫಂದೋ)ನಿಫಂಟು[32]ಕಾಬ್ಯ(ವ್ಯ)ನಾಟಕಸಕಟವಿದ್ಯಾವಿನೋದರುಂ ಬ್ಯಾ(ವ್ಯಾ)ಸಯ(ಸಾ for ಸಯ)-
 ಗಸ್ತ್ರದೂ(ದು)ಬ್ಯಾ(ವ್ಯಾ)ಸವಿಸ್ವಾ(ಕ್ವಾ)ಮಿತ್ರನಾ[33]ರಂ(ರ)ದಾದಿದಿಬ್ಯ(ವ್ಯ)ಮುನಿಜಾರಿತ್ರರುಂ ಭಸ್ಮೋಧೂ(ಧ್ವ)ಳತಫೂ(ಗಾ)ತ್ರರುಂ
 ಕಲುಕೌ for ಕಲು)ಪೀನಾಂ(ನಾ)ಜಿನಯ * ರುಂ [34]ರುದ್ರಾಕ್ಷ ಮ(ಮಾ)ಲಾಧಾರರುಂ ಆಕುಳಾಗಮಸಮಿ(ಮ)ಯಸಮುದ್ಧ(ದ್ಧ)ರರುಂ
 ಜಂಗಮಲಿಂ[35]ಗಾವತಾ[ರ †]ರುಂ ಉಭಿ(ಭ)ಯಕುಲಸು(ಕು)ಧ್ಧ(ಧ್ಧ)ಮವು ಶ್ರೀಕಾಳಾಮುಖಮಸಿಯ ಸಂಮಂಧ ||
 ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ ರಾ[36]ಯಿರಾಜಗುರು ಸರ್ವೀಶ್ವರದೇವರ ದಿಬ್ಯ(ವ್ಯ)ಶ್ರೀಪಾದಪದ್ಮಂಗಳಂ ತೋಹ(ಟಿ)ದು ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ ರತ್ನಾಗರಂ
 [37]ಮುನೀಂದ್ರವಳ್ಳಯ ಯ(ಅ)ಹವತ್ತೊಕ್ಕಲು(ಲುಂ) ವಸುರಮೂನೂರ್ವರುಂ ಯ(ಅ)ಯಾನೂಹನಾಲ್ವ[38]ರುಂ ಯಿಂ-
 ಟುಹಿಟ್ಟುಪಂಚಮಠಸ್ತ(ಸ್ತ)ಹಸಾಮ್ಯನಂ(ನ)ವ್ರರು(ರುಂ) ಮುಖ್ಯವಾಗ ಶ್ರೀಜಗದೀಶ್ವರದೇವರಿ[39]ಗೆ ಅಂಗಭೋಗ-
 ರಂಗಭೋಗ ಟ್ರಿತ್ರಪ್ಯಿ(ಪವಿ)ತ್ರ ನಂದಾದಿವಿಸಿ[ಗೆ ‡]ಯಂಗಡಿ ಗಾಣ ಪುರವರ್ಗ ಸಹಿ[40]ತ ಕೋಟ್ಟ ವ್ರಿ(ವ್ರ)ತ್ತಿ
 ನೂಹಿಯನತ್ತು ೭ ಕುಳಯ ಯಿಲದೋಂಟ ಹೊಂನಕಲ್ಲ ಸುತ್ತಿಯ ಪಶ್ಚಿಮದಲ್ ಕೆ[41]ಯಿಯುಂಮತ್ತರ †

* This syllable,—ಯ,—is superfluous and unmeaning.

† No space is left in the original for this letter,—ರ,—but it has to be inserted to complete the word.

‡ No space is left in the original for this syllable,—ಗೆ,—but it must be inserted to complete the word.

ನದುನನೀರಲ್ ಕೆಯಿಂಯಂವತ್ತರಂ ಯಂ(ಇ)ನ್ನೀ ಕೊಟ್ಟ ದತ್ತಿ ಕಡಲಹೊ[42]ಳಿಯ ಹೂದೋಲ
 ಸಹಿತ ಚಂದ್ರಾರ್ಕತಾರಂ ಬರಂ ಸಲುತ್ತುಮಿಕು(ಕೃ) || ಯಾ(ಈ) ಸ್ತ(ಸ್ಥ)ಕಕ್ಕೆ ಪ್ರತಿಪತ್ತುವಿನ
 [49]ಸ್ತ(ಸ್ಥ)ಕಮಿ(ಮಿ)ವೈಂದೊದೆ ಶ್ರೀವೀಳುಗ್ರಾಮಿ(ಮಿ)ಯು ಮಲ್ಲೇಶ್ವರ ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ ಪಿರಿಯಗ್ರಹಾರಂ ನೇಸಹೋಯ
 [44]ಕಲದೇವರ್ ಗೋಕಾವಿ(ಗಿ)[ಯ] ಬಲ್ಲೇಶ್ವರ ಹಲಸಿಗೆ ಪಂ(ಪ)ನ್ನಿಶ್ವಸಿರದ ಕೊಟ್ಟುಂಬಾಗಿಯ ವಿಜ-
 ಯಮೀ(ಯೀ for ಯಮೀ)[46]ಶ್ವರ ಗೋಕಯಹಳ್ಳಿಯ ಕಲದೇವರ್ ಯಂ(ಇ)ನ್ನೀ ಮಠಂಗಳೆಯಿದು ಗುರುಪೀಳಗೆ ||
 [46]ಶಿಲ್ಲೇಕ || ಸ್ವದತ್ತಂ(ತ್ತಾಂ) ಪರದತ್ತಂ(ತ್ತಾಂ) ವಾ ಯೋ ಹರೇಶಿ ವಸುಂಧರಂ(ರಾಂ)
 ದ್ವಿಪ್ಪವರ್ಷಸಹಕ್ರಾ(ಸ್ರಾ)ಣಿ ವಿ[47]ದ್ವಾಯಾಂ ಜಯತೇ ಶ್ರಿಮಿ(ಮಿಃ) || ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ ಪರಮನಾ(ಮ)ಹೇಶ್ವರ-
 ದಂ(ದ)ಣ್ಣನಾಯ್ಕ(ಯಕ)ಬನವೀದೀ[48]ವನ ಮುದ್ದು(ಮುಂದೆ?) ಶ್ರೀಕಲದೇವರ ದಾಸ ಬೊಂ(ಬೊ)ಮ್ಮರಗರ್ ಬರೆದ
 ಸಂ(ಶಾ)ಸನಸ * ಕೆ(ಕೈ) ಮಂಗಳಮಗ † ಕಮ[49]ಹಾಶ್ರೀ ಶ್ರೀ ಶ್ರೀ || ಗುರುಪಾದಭಕ್ತನಾಗೋಜನು ಮಾಡಿದ
 ಶಿವಾಲ್ಯ(ಲಯ) ಉಂನತೋದಭವ || ಶ್ರೀ ಶ್ರೀ ||

* This letter,—ನ,—is superfluous and unmeaning.

† These two letters,—ಮಗ,—are superfluous and unmeaning.

No. IV.

Reverence to Śambhu, who is made beautiful by a *chowri* which is the moon that lightly rests upon his lofty head, and who is the foundation-pillar for the erection of the city of the three worlds!

Where on the earth is there a city equal to the radiant Munivallī, which, in the fair district that is called the Toragale Six-thousand, is pleasing through its many glittering delights, its fertile fields, its large temple, and its glorious abundance of pleasing things? It is beautiful through the fruits of its large and leafy mango-trees, its lime-trees, its Kadambaka-trees, and its vines, through the pendent fruits of its coconut-trees, through its shady places which are pleasing to the eye and which seem charming when trouble is being experienced¹, through all its allurements, through its fertile sugar-cane plantations, through its many arecanut-trees, and through its cuckoos that sing on all sides.

The lord of that district was Śiṅghana, of unequalled strength; and to his son, the lord Jaitugi, was born, to the happiness of the world, the king Śrī-Kandhara, who manifested his strength, the best of the descendants of Yadu, the beloved of the goddess of fortune, a universal king, adorned with victory, the preserver of the sacred writings, performing achievements that were praised by all kings, a very king Triṅṅetra among kings.

Be it well! Hail! While the reign of the king Śrī-Kandhara,—who was a universal emperor by reason of the strength and perfect prowess of his arm, and who was adorned with all the titles commencing with “He who is possessed of all glory; the supreme lord of the city of Dvārāvātipura, the best of cities, who has attained the five *Mahāsabdas*²; he who is born in the holy lineage of Viṣṇu; he who has the banner (that bears a representation) of a golden Garuḍa³; he who is the sun that causes to expand the buds of the lotus which is the Yādavakula; he who is victorious over hostile kings; he who is a very Triṅṅetra⁴ to

¹ ‘*Kaluvādheyo!*,’—the analysis would seem to be ‘*kalu-*’, sc. ‘*kaliyuva-*’, ‘*bādheyo!*’

² Probably ‘five titles commencing with the word ‘*mahā*’ (‘*mahat*’), great, such as *Mahārāja*.’ This epithet is usually applied to feudatory Mahāmandalāsvaras or Great Chieftains, and not to paramount sovereigns as in the present passage.

³ The man-bird, the servant and vehicle of Viṣṇu.

⁴ Śiva, who reduced Madana, the god of love, to ashes by the fiery glance of the third eye in his forehead, when Madana tried to inspire him with love for Pārvatī.

Madana in the form of the king of Mâlava ; he who is terrible to the king of Gûrjara ; he who causes the fever of fear to the king of the Koṅkana ; he who has the sovereignty of the country of the king of Chôla ; he who has established the king of Têluṅga ; he who is a very Triṇêtra⁸ to Tripura in the form of the armies of his enemies ; he who preserves the sacred writings ; he who supports the burden of the whole earth ; he who is a very god of love of a king"—was continuing, with the recreation of pleasing conversations⁹, at the capital of Dêvagiri, so as to endure as long as the moon and sun and stars might last :—

On the occasion of an eclipse of the sun on Friday the day of the new-moon of the dark fortnight of the month Jyêshṭha of the Virôdhikṛit *samvatsara*, which was the year of the Śaka era 1174⁷ :—

It needs one who is versed in description to describe Kriyâśakti ; whose excellent father was the learned Sarvêśvara, who, having attained similarity of form with the god Śaṅkara⁸, at the bidding of the god⁹ who rules the north-east quarter kept himself apart from passion, anger, pride, wealth, error, fear, and avarice ; who delighted in penance ; and who was a very ocean of affection towards good people. To Kriyâśakti,—who was a very ocean of humility, and who was the son of Sarvêśvara, the chief of ascetics,—was born the good Sômêśvara, who, (like a bee), was entirely devoted to the service of the lotuses which are the feet of the Unborn¹⁰, and who, abounding in truth and the celebrated penances of (the religion of) Śiva and good luck and excellence of fortune and good conduct which were pleasing to him, became renowned in the world, enjoying the love of the lovely woman Fame.

Hail ! Having washed the sacred lotuses which were the feet of the holy royal preceptor Sarvêśvaradêva,—who was endowed with the characteristics of (the performance of) the greater and the minor religious observances, study, meditation, immovable abstraction of the

⁸ Śiva, as the destroyer of three strong cities of gold, silver, and iron, the strongholds of a demon, in the sky, air, and earth respectively.

⁹ This denotes in some way a regal attribute, but I cannot define the exact meaning of the expression.

⁷ According to the table in Brown's *Carnatic Chronology*, the Virôdhikṛit *samvatsara* is Śaka 1173, and Śaka 1174 is the Paridhâvi *samvatsara*.

⁸ Śiva.

⁹ Śiva.

¹⁰ Śiva.

mind, the observance of silence, the muttering of prayers, the performance of penances, &c. ; who was intent upon the six duties of offering sacrifices, conducting the sacrifices of others, studying, imparting instruction, giving presents, and receiving gifts ; who delighted in all the learning of the Ṛigvēda, the Sāmavēda, the Atharvavēda, the Yajurveda, the Vēdānta, the six systems of philosophy, Grammar, Prosody, the collection and explanation of Vēdic words and names, poetry, and the drama ; who practised the observances of Vyāsa, Agastya, Durvāsa, Viśvāmītra, Nārada, and other holy saints ; whose body was sprinkled with ashes ; who wore a small piece of cloth round the loins, and the hairy skin of an antelope ; who carried a rosary of *Rudrākshas*¹¹ ; who preserved the traditions and the observances of his family ; who was a very incarnation of the Jaṅgamaḷiṅga¹² ; who was (of) pure (birth) by both (his paternal and his maternal) families ; and who belonged to (the establishment of the goddess) Śrī-Kālāmukhamasi,—sixty cultivators of the fortunate Munīndravallī, the mine of jewels, and the Uğura Three-hundred, and the Five-hundred-and-four, and all those belonging to the *Enṭuhittu*¹³ and the locality of the five *Maṭhas*¹⁴, gave to the god Śrī-Jagadīśvaradēva, for the *aṅgabhōga* and the *raṅgabhōga* and the Chaitrapavitra and the perpetual lamp, one hundred and fifty allotments, together with shops and oil-mills and towns, and a betel-plantation measuring seven *kulis*, and two *mattars* of cultivated land in the south part of (the village of) Honnakallagutti, and two *mattars* of cultivated land at Naduvanūr. The grant, together with the flower-garden (given in the neighbourhood) of the tank called Kaḍalahole, shall continue as long as the moon and sun and stars may last.

And the places of importance (that belong) to this locality are :— (The shrine of the god) Mallésvara of Śrī-Vēlūgrāme ; the god Kallidēva of the great *agrahāra*¹⁵-village Nēsarige ; (the god) Ballésvara

¹¹ The berries of a tree from which rosaries ('*Rudrākshamālā*') are made.

¹² *sc.*, 'the moving *liṅga*.'

¹³ See Note 30 to No. VI of the Raṭṭa inscriptions referred to above.

¹⁴ The '*Pañchamaṭhasthāna*', or 'locality of the five religious colleges', is an expression of frequent occurrence in inscriptions. Possibly the explanation of it, at all events as regards the locality of the present inscription and of others belonging to the neighbourhood of Belgaum, is to be found in the five shrines mentioned in lines 42 to 45 below.

¹⁵ '*Agrahāra*',—lands granted to Brāhmanas for religious and educational purposes.

of Gôkâve¹⁶; (the god) Vijayêśvara of Koṭṭumbâgi of the Halasige Twelve-thousand; and the god Kalidêva of Goliyahalli;—this is the succession of the priests (belonging) to these *Mathas*.

He is born for the duration of sixty thousand years as a worm in ordure, who confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself or by another!

May the greatest prosperity attend this charter, which has been written by Bommarasa, the servant of the god Śrî-Kalidêva, in the presence of the supreme lord, the Daṇḍanâyaka Basavidêva!

Glorious is the temple of Śiva that was built by Nâgôja, the disciple of Gurupâda!

¹⁶ It is doubtful whether the reading in the text is Gôkâve or Gôkâge; probably the first form is correct, as the town is always called Gokâmve by the Canarese people, though the name for it in Marâthi and in official correspondence is Gôkâk.

[1]श्री [11] ओं नमः शिवाभ्यां [11] स जयति हरिः पोत्र [2] प्रांतप्रतिष्ठितभु-
 (भू)तलस्त्रिभुवनकृपा[3]मात्रोपात्तत्रयीमयविग्रहः ॥ (1) यदमलपदं ब्वा(व्या)पि व्यो[4]माप्यपायजिहासया श-
 रणमभजद्भूयः प्रायः प्रसा[5]दनयादरं [11] आसीच्चंद्रमसो वंशो यदूनाममितीजसां [1] तस्मिंन-
 (स्मिन्ना)म[6]रगागेयस्तत्रासीद्दीरजैतुगिः । (11) कराक्रांतधरः पद्मोह्लासी [7]दुष्पेक्षमंडलः [1] भूभृन्मौ-
 लिस्थपादो भूत्तस्मासिं(त्सिं)हलभास्करः ॥ [8]तन्नसारिबलाक्रांत(त)कुंभिकुंभे जयश्रियः [1] कुच-
 कुंभे थवा लोलो [9]भाति श्रीकृष्णभूपतिः । (11) यगृद(द्र)ङ्गु(स्तु)ण्णलाटप्रबलबलगल[10]ल* -
 द्रक्तपुरे रिसैन्धं । यादो भूतीरसा(शा)दमकरनिपतिता मौ[11]लयो गूर्जराणां [1] उद्यां-
 (सं)त्या वीरलक्ष्याः सुखसवण(न)परिन्यस्तपादौष[12]लाभा(भो) [1] राजं(ज)त्रेशौ(श)त्रि(स्त्रि)लोकम-
 कटितविजयः कृष्णराजश्वकास्ति ॥ [13] स्वस्ति श्रीपृथ्वीवल्लभमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभद्रा[14]रकद्वारव-
 तीपुरवराधीश्वररायनारायणेत्यादिनामावलीवि[15]राजमानः(न)श्रीकन्हरदेवविजयराज्योदये तस्यादपधोपजीवी [11]
 [16]भूभृग्रा(ग्रा)द्यो ग्रजो व्य(व्य)ग्रानुग्रहो ग्रसरः सतां [1] अत्युग्रो विग्रहो[17]ग्राणामग्र-

* This second ल is superfluous to both the metre and the sense.

महो भवद्भुवि । (11) तस्यानुजः । (11) हेलासाधितरं* ६ [18] कौकणकनत्कादं व (ब) ग्युल्लसत्पांड्योडुमरहोयस-
 [19] णादिविविधहमापालभूमंडलः । विद्यान्नोदककन्य [20] काभयघरादनिकसर्वातिथिः । कावेरीनिकटप (प्र) तिष्ठि-
 [21] तजयस्तंभो भवद्दीचणः । (11) तस्युत्रो गुणवान्वीरश्च [22] डी दोर्देडमंडनः । पालयंद (यन्द) क्षिणां
 पृथ्वी राज [23] ते चैडभूपतिः । (11) एकच्छत्रधरो प्युपायव (ब) हुल [24] व (ब्र) ह्यप्यदेवो नरो
 बध्नैरिबलीश्वरं वसुमतीमा [25] क्रामयंली (यँली) लया [1] भूदेवप्रकरावनोद्यतपदः संवर्धमा [26] नः श्रिया
 चाबुडो नृपतिस्त्रिविक्रमसमः संशोभते भूत [27] ले ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीमन्महाप्रधाननिखिलजनरक्षणनिधान-
 [28] राजवणिगंगवारणसंग्रामधृतवीरलक्ष्मीदेवीमनो [29] बल्लभभयलोभदुर्लभहोयसणराजमदभंजनको [30] विदजनरसांजनसाधितसक-
 लसकलसामंतपेषण [31] हनुमानित्यादिनाभावलीविराजमान (नः) श्रीचौडराजः ॥ स [32] चौडराजः (ओ)
 दिग्विजयव्यापारे कुंतलदेशांतर्गतबेल [33] वलमप्यवर्त्तिनं त्रिंशद्गामाधिपातं श्रीकुक्कनूरं स पश्यति ।
 [34] कथंभूतं । (11) हित्वा कैलासशैलं समुदितशिवया क्षेतु (त्र) पाले [35] न साकं [1] एको
 प्येकादशास्मा शशिधरमुकुटो भाति शंभुः स्व [36] यंभुः । यद्गामावासलोभादखिलसुरवरः श्रेणिसं-
 स्तूयमा [37] नः । शो (सो) यं श्रीकुक्कनूरं जयति वसुमतीरंजनो यो ग्रहारः । (11) [38] ए-
 कादशतनौ शंभावष्टादशतनुः शिवा [1] सहस्रमुखतो [39] देवा विमत्वेन समासते । (11) एवं-

* This,—ई,—is evidently intended to represent the Old Canarese ee.

† The first side of the second plate commences with this letter,—उ.

विधग्रामवासिनः(नो) द्वयधिकसह[40]स्वसंख्याकाश्वर्तुदशविद्यापारगाः । विमस्तुतिः ।(॥) वेदैषी[41]श्वतुरानना अपि सदा सत्त्वै(त्त्वै)कनिष्ठा जगद्रक्षाभिः पुरु[42]षोत्तमा अपि परित्यक्तद्विजिह्वाश्रयाः [1] सामर्थ्यैस्तु महे[43]श्वरा अपि महीदेवा द्विजेंद्रा(द्राः) स्थिराः(रा) यत्रै[44]ते निवसन्ति तानिह नुमः श्री-कुक्कनूरा(र्वा)धिपा[45]न् ॥ एवंविधैः(धै)त(स्त)दीप्सितकृतानुष्ठानैर्लब्धप्रसादः [1] य[46]स्य यस्य यदा भू-मिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलमिति धर्मप्रसं[47]गे हितोपादिष्टश्चादौ देन(व)गिरौ राजसदासि कुक्कनू- [48]रुनामाग्रहारो खिलसिद्धक्षेत्रशिरोमणिः सर्वदे[49]वतागर्भगृहमिति तद्विज्ञापनशृतेन श्रीकृ[50]ष्णभूपेने(नै)व-मुक्तः(क्त) अस्मद्राज्याभितृध्य(द्वय)र्थमेवं त्वं कुर्वि[51]ति राज्ञानुज्ञातस्तदर्थलब्धराजमुद्रः स ॥ पंचसप्त- [52]त्यधिकशतोत्तरसहस्रके शकवर्षे वर्त्तमाने स्वस्ति [53]श्रीमद्यादवनारायणभुजव(ब)लमौढप्रतापचक्र[54]वार्त्ति-श्रीकन्हरदेववर्षेषु सप्तमे प्रमादिसंव[55]त्सरे चैत्रमासे कृष्णपक्षे अमा(मा for अमा)वास्यायां सोम[56]वा-रे । देशपरिवर्त्तनयोग्यैश्वतुःशतसंख्याप[57]रिमितनिष्कैनि(र्नै)यतकरमग्रहारं कृत्वा सर्व(र्व)बा[58]धापरिहा-रपुरःसरं राज्ञा राजपुरुषैरनंगुलिमे[59]क्षणियं वरोक्षवरमहिषीप्रसभक्रयविक्रयादि[60]सर्वदोषवर्जितं(त)अ(म)ष्टाच-त्वारिंशत्सहस्रमात्रा(त्र)क्षेत्र[91]प्रसिद्धसीगा(मा)समन्वितं सगोबजं ग्रामघोषसहितं [62]ग्रा†मदेवघोषयुक्तं य-थास्थानमान्यं तत्तन्मौन्याद्या[63]यगोसादकारुकार्हेणादिसर्वोपार्जनोपेतमष्टभौ[64]गतेजःस्वाम्यसहितं ग्रामायि(धि)देवतासमक्षे

* The second side of the second plate commences with this letter,—ध.

† The inner side of the third plate commences with this letter,—ग्रा.

पादप्र[65]क्षालनं कृत्वा [1] सत्येनाकौ जगद्भास्वान्देवताः सत्यसंभवाः । स[69]त्येन स-
 फला भूमिः सत्ये सर्वे प्रतिष्ठितमिति तैरुक्तः श्रीचौ[67]डराजस्तेभ्यो नानागोत्रेभ्यो महाब्राह्मणेभ्यः
 पर[म*]या भक्त्या धा[68]रापूर्व(र्व)कं साहिरण्यं प्रादात् ॥ ॥ अस्य च धर्मस्य रक्षणे
 [69]फलं । व(ब)हुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः [सगरादिभिः; [1] यस्य य[70]स्य यदा भूमि-
 स्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ।(11) गण्यंते पांसवो भू[71]मेर्गण्यंते वृष्टिबिंदवः [1] न ग-
 ण्यंते विधात्रापि धर्मसंरक्षणे फ[72]लं ।(11) अपहरतस्तद्विपरीतं । स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो
 हरेच्च वसुंध[73]रा । षष्टिर्व(व)र्षसहस्राणि विष्टायां जायते क्रिमिः ।(11) अत एवाह [74]श्रीरामः [1]
 सामान्यो यं धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पाल[75]नीयो भवद्भिः [1] सर्वानेतान्भाविनः पार्थिवै-
 द्रान्भूयो भूयो याच[76]ते रामचंद्रः ।(11) कर्मणा मनसा वाचा यः समर्थो प्युपेक्षते ।
 सः(स) [77]स्यात्तदैव चंडालः सर्वधर्मबहिष्कृतः ।(11) आसनं सर्वधर्माणां [78]स्या((श्वा)श(स)नं
 सर्वदेहिनां [1] शासनं भाविभूपानां तेनेदं दत्तशास[79]नं ।(11) न्यूनातिरिक्तमच्छिद्रं दौषज्ञैः
 क्रियतामिदं । धर्मं च शा[80]श्वतं भूयाःस्तुखिनः संतु देहिनः ।(11) कृता सर्वज्ञवैजार्यै[81]लि-
 (लिं)खिता मल्लशिल्पिना । दत्ता श्रीचौडभूपेन स्थिरा [82]शासनपद्धतिः ।(11) मंगलमहाश्रीश्रीस्वस्ति ॥

* This letter,—म,—is omitted altogether in the original.

† The original has unnecessarily a mark of punctuation,—|,—between the letters या and त्सु.

No. V.

Śrī! Ōm! Reverence to Śiva and Śivā¹! Victorious is he, Hari, who raised the earth upon the tip of his snout, and who, solely on account of his tender solicitude for the three worlds, assumed a form composed of the three principles (of truth, passion, and ignorance); his spotless foot, invading even the skies, obtained a resting-place from a desire to avoid the causing of calamity, and obtained respect from conferring happiness!

From the moon there sprang the race of the sons of Yadu of immeasurable glory; and in it was born the brave Jaitugi, who was as it were a very Amaragâṅgēya².

From him sprang Simhala, who subjected the whole earth to his royal imposts, who increased the splendour of the goddess of fortune, who possessed an array of troops which it was very dangerous to face, and who placed his feet upon the diadems of kings; like to the sun, which pervades the whole earth with its beams, which causes the white lotuses to bloom, which is possessed of an orb which it is very difficult to gaze upon, and which directs its rays upon the summits of the mountains.

His grandson, the king Śrī-Kṛishṇa, is resplendent, ever eager for the foreheads of the elephants that belong to the forces of his enemies and for the tips of the breasts of the goddess of victory. The army of his foes became a sea-monster in the torrent of blood that trickled down from the mighty force of Lâṭa that had been bruised in his grasp, and the diadems of the Gûrjaras have fallen into the mud upon its banks; for the sake of the blooming goddess of bravery, king Kṛishṇa, the lord of the protectors of kings, applied himself to war, and, his victories being made known throughout the three worlds, is glorious.

Hail! In the victorious reign of Śrī-Kanharadēva, who was adorned with all the titles commencing with "The favourite of the world; the supreme king of great kings; the supreme lord; the most venerable; the supreme lord of the city of Dvâravatîpura, which is the best of

¹ Pârvaî.

² *sc.*, 'the son of Amaragâṅgâ or the heavenly Ganges'. Kârttikēya, the god of war, is intended, who was generated from the seed of Śiva, when it was received by the Ganges on the Fire being unable to retain it.

cities ; the best of kings",—he who subsisted (as a bee) on the lotuses which were his feet³ :—

Acceptable to kings, most excellent, merciful to the timid, foremost of good people, fiercest of those who are fierce in war,—such was Agramalla in the earth. His younger brother :—

Having acquired with ease the territories of various kings, commencing with the Rattas, the Kādambas who are glorious in the Konkaṇa, Pāṇḍya who shines at Guti, and the turbulent Hoysaṇa ; excellently treating all guests with gifts of learning, food, water, and damsels, and assurances of safety, and grants of land ; erecting the columns that record his victories in the neighbourhood of the river Kāvêri,—such was Vîchaṇa.

His son, the virtuous and brave king Chauṇḍa, governing the country of the south, is glorious, being decorated with a staff which is his mighty arm. The king Châvuṇḍa, who is like Trivikrama⁴, is splendid on the plain of the earth,—bearing the sole umbrella of sovereignty ; treating as gods the Brâhmana, who abound in the expedients of government ; being a man, just as Trivikrama is Nara⁵ ; binding the mighty lord who was his enemy, just as Trivikrama bound the lord Bali⁶ who was his foe ; stepping over in sport the earth ; lifting up his foot for the preservation of the multitude of Brâhmana ; being augmented by his regal splendour, as Trivikrama is by the goddess Śrî.

Hail ! The Śrî-Chauṇḍarâja,—who was adorned with all the titles commencing with "The fortunate great minister ; the preserver of all mankind ; the favourite of the goddess of bravery, who was captured by him in the wars of kings and merchants and choice elephants ; he who is not easily assailable by fear and greed ; he who curbs the pride of the Hoysaṇa kings ; he who is the ornament of learned people ; he who is a very Hanûmân' in grinding all chieftains, with all their belongings, that have been seized by him",—this same Chauṇḍarâja, while busying

³ This is the usual expression for the relations of a feudatory or subordinate with the paramount sovereign.

⁴ 'He of the three steps',—Vishṇu.

⁵ 'The (original or eternal) Man',—Vishṇu.

⁶ A demon king, subjugated by Trivikrama in his incarnation as the Dwarf. The first two steps of Vishṇu covered, and deprived Bali of, the heaven and earth, and, on Bali humbling himself and presenting his head to receive the third step, Vishṇu spared his life and allowed him the dominion of Pâtâla.

⁷ The monkey-chief, the ally of Bâma in his conquest of Laṅkā.

himself in conquering the regions, happened to behold the village of Śrī-Kukkanûru, the chief of thirty villages, in the middle of (the district of) Belavala⁸ which is included in the country of Kuntala. And what was that village like?—Having, through his desire to inhabit this village, left the mountain of Kailâsa with the excellent Śivâ and with Kshêtrapâla⁹, Śambhu, the self-existing,—who, though he is but one, yet has eleven forms; who bears the moon upon his tiara; who is the best of all the gods; and who is praised in the streets of it,—is resplendent; and this same *agrahâra*-village of Śrī-Kukkanûru, the ornament of the earth, is surpassingly excellent. As Śivâ, who has eighteen forms, (exists) in Śambhu who has eleven forms, so the gods, in a thousand manifestations, exist under the guise of Brâhmanṣ (in this village). And they who were the inhabitants of the village thus described, being one thousand and two in number, were thoroughly versed in all the fourteen sciences. (Here comes) an eulogy of the Brâhmanṣ.¹⁰ Ever adhering to excellence, even though they are equal to the Four-faced¹¹ in the abundance of their learning; abandoning men of double speech¹², even though they are equal to Purushôt-tama in protecting the world; simple divinities upon the earth, even though they are equal to Mahêśvara¹³ in respect of their superhuman powers,—where these steadfast ones, the best of the twice-born, reside, there let us praise them, the lords of Śrī-Kukkanûru.

Having been propitiated by these (Brâhmanṣ) thus described, whose observances were such as were desired by him, and having been soundly admonished, during a discourse on matters of religion, with the words “He, who for the time being possesses land, enjoys the fruits of it”, and having been addressed at the very commencement by the king Śrī-Kṛishṇa, who had been touched by his request, in a royal assembly at Dêvagiri, in the words “The *agrahâra*-village of Kukkanûru is the best of all holy places and is the birthplace of all the gods”, and having had permission given to him by the king in the words “Do thou that

⁸ The ‘Belvola Three-hundred’ of other inscriptions.

⁹ This is an epithet of Śiva as ‘the protector of fields’. Who is intended in the present passage, is not clear.

¹⁰ This seems to be a parenthetical remark introduced by a revisor or by the engraver of the inscription.

¹¹ Brahma.

¹² In the word ‘*dvijivha*’, *two-tongued, double-tongued*, there is also an allusion to the serpent Śêṣha, which is the couch (‘*âraya*’) of Viṣṇu.

¹³ ‘The great lord’,—Śiva.

which may tend to the exaltation of our rule", and having for that purpose received the royal signet ;—in the Śaka year one thousand one hundred and seventy-five, in the seventh of the years of the glorious Śrī-Kanharadēva, the best of the Yādavas, a very universal emperor by reason of the mature prowess of the might of his arm, in the Pramādi *saṁvatsara*, on Monday the day of the new-moon of the dark fortnight of the month Chaitra,—having washed the feet (of those Brāhmanas) in the presence of the presiding deity of the village, and having been addressed by them with the words " It is through truth that the sun lights up the world ; the gods were born from truth ; through truth the earth is fruitful ; everything is firmly established in truth,"—he, Śrī-Chaṇḍarāja, made an *agrahāra* grant, the assessment of which was fixed at four hundred *nishkas*¹⁴ of the sort that were current in the country, and in his intense devotion gave it, with libations of water and gifts of gold, to those eminent Brāhmanas of many *gōtras*, free from all opposing claims, accompanied by a promise that it should never be pointed at with the finger (of confiscation) by the king or by the king's people, free from all such drawbacks as the forcible sale and purchase of its excellent bulls and cows, accompanied by the well-known boundaries of fields of the measure of forty-eight thousand¹⁵, including all the cattle and all the herdsmen's stations of the village and all the herdsmen's stations of the village-deity and the *mānya*-lands¹⁶ in their proper localities, accompanied by the acquisition of all the dues of hereditary officers (?), &c., and taxes on cattle, and perquisites of artisans, &c., and carrying with it the proprietorship of the eight privileges of enjoyment¹⁷.

¹⁴ 'Nishka',—a gold coin of varying value at different times.

¹⁵ The unit of the measure is not apparent.

¹⁶ 'Mānya',—lands held at a trifling quit-rent or altogether rent-free.

¹⁷ 'Aṣṭabhōga' is explained in the Dictionaries as meaning *the eight sources of enjoyment*, sc. a habitation, a bed, raiment, jewel, women, flowers, perfumes, and areca-nuts and betel-leaves. But Professor M'ouier Williams alludes, s. v. 'akṣhiṅ', but without further explanation, to eight conditions or privileges attached to landed property, and this is more probably the meaning of the term. In lines 25 to 27 of a Sanskrit copper-plate inscription published by me at page 333 of Vol. IV of the *Indian Antiquary* there is the expression *nidhi-nikṣhāpa-jala-pāshāna-akṣhiṅ-āgāmi-siddha-sādhyā-[aṣṭabhōga]-tējaḥsvāmya-saṁsta*, which, perhaps, furnishes the required explanation. This is the only passage in which I have met with 'aṣṭabhōga' preceded by eight specific terms ; in other passages the same terms occur, but they are broken up and arranged differently ; e. g., in lines 67 and 68 of a Sanskrit copper-plate inscription at Battihalli, and in lines 119 and 120 of another at Gadag, which will shortly be published by me in this Journal, we have, without any use of the word 'aṣṭa-

And as to the reward of preserving an act of religion :—The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara ; he, who for the time being possesses land, enjoys the benefit of it ! The dust of the earth may be counted and the drops of rain ; but the reward of continuing an act of religion cannot be estimated even by the Creator ! But it is different with one who commits spoliation :—He, who confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself or by another, is born for the duration of sixty thousand years as a worm in ordure ! Therefore has Śrī-Rāma said :—“ This general bridge of piety of kings should at all times be preserved by you”,—thus does Rāmachandra make his earnest request to all future lords of the earth ! He, who, though able (to continue a religious grant), manifests indifference in act or thought or speech, verily then becomes an outcaste beyond the pale of all religion ! Therefore has this charter been given, which is the abode of all religion, the breath of all mortals, and a command to future kings.

May this (charter) be made perfect and free from all defects by those who can detect shortcomings ; may religion endure for ever ; may mankind be happy !

The firm text of this charter has been composed by Sarvajñavajārya ; it has been engraved by Mallasīlpī ; and it has been given by the king Śrī-Chauṇḍa. May there be the greatest prosperity ! Farewell !

bhōga, *nidhi-nikshēpa-pāshāna-siddha-sādhyā-jala-anvita* * * * * * *akshinī-āgāmi-samyukta* ; and in lines 26 and 27 of a Sanskrit stone-tablet inscription at Harihara, published by me at pp. 330 *et seqq.* of Vol. IV of the *Indian Antiquary*, we have, again without any mention of the ‘*ashṭabhōga*’, ‘*nidhi-nikshēpa-samyukta, jala-pāshāna-samyukta, akshinī-āgāmi-samyukta, siddha-sādhyā-samanvita*’. Again, in lines 38 to 41 of a Canarese copper-plate inscription at Harihara, shortly to be published by me in this Journal, we have ‘*nidhi-nikshēpa jala pāshāna akshinī āgāmi siddha sādhyā hechchā* (sc., *hechchugā*)-*rike modalāda sakala-ashṭabhōga-tējah-svāmīya sahita-vāgi*’, which, taking ‘*nidhi-nikshēpa*’ as one term, seems to mean ‘together with the proprietorship of the glory of all the *ashṭabhōgas*, which commence with (or, rather, consist of) buried treasure, water, stones, *akshinī*, that which accrues, that which has become property, that which may become property, and augmentation.’

ART. II.—*Notes on the History and Antiquities of Chaul.* BY
J. GERSON DA CUNHA, M.R.C.S. Eng., &c.

THE ancient city of Chaul, now called Revadaṇḍâ, is built on the northern extremity of a narrow strip of territory on the mainland of the North Koṅkaṇ, which with the promontory of the *Môrro*, or Kôrlê, lying about one mile distant off to the south, encloses the well-known harbour of the same name. It is situated in 18° 33' N. Lat., and 72° 59' E. Long., and is about 30 miles south-east of Bombay.

Adjoining the above, on the margin of the same creek, is the still more ancient city of Champâvatî, the origin and political existence of which are lost in the dim traditions of the past. It lies as if wedged in between Revadaṇḍâ and the hog-backed hills behind, only two miles further to the north-east, and connected with the former by a long shady street—the dismal remains of what was once a pleasant avenue of trees. It is referred to in old Portuguese chronicles as *Chaul de cima*, or 'Upper Chaul.'

Geologically speaking, the whole tract in and about Chaul is found to consist of horizontal strata of basalt and similar rocks. In the highland of Chaul, comprising an uneven piece of ground broken through by low ridges separated by slightly undulating valleys, the trap is found to be the most conspicuous geological feature of the country. This highland terminates on one side at the foot of the gigantic escarpment which walls in the extensive plateau of the Dakhaṇ from the low plains of the Koṅkaṇ, and rises on the other abruptly in a spur to the northward, which is distinctly seen from the sea. The trap is met with either in tabular masses a few feet below the soil, or projecting through the surface in irregular shapeless boulders varying in size from a few inches to several feet in diameter. Some of these display ferruginous bands of the hydrated peroxide of iron or brown hæmatite, imparting to it a hue not unsimilar in appearance to the lateritic coloration so prominent among the hills of the Southern Koṅkaṇ. The boulders are, moreover, found to be basaltic in structure, and to rest on beds of the fresh-water shales.

Nearer to the seaport, which—notwithstanding accommodation for large vessels has been decreasing for years, owing to silting up and other causes—is a convenient one for the coast craft, being from six to seven fathoms of water in depth, although at the entrance of the bay it is only three fathoms deep,* the shoals are so numerous as to be ranked among the triple lions of Chaul, which, according to the popular notion, consist of 360 temples, 360 tanks, and 360 shoals. There is a tradition current among the maritime population of the place, which is fully borne out by history, that long before Suali, Bassein, and Bombay rose into reputation as harbours, Chaul was a safely navigable river and a very commodious roadstead. It is necessary to remark, however, that this reputation was earned and maintained in the days of the infancy of navigation, when the tonnage of the largest vessel did not, perhaps, exceed that of the ordinary Portuguese caravel. This land-locked inlet, moreover, not unlike several others on the coast, has in course of centuries been gradually filled up, not only by the silt and sand deposited by the stream entering it, but also by other causes. Close to the shore—for instance, where the ruins of the fort stand in picturesque isolation, surrounded by the grey sands of the surf-beaten beach—an agglutinated calcareous mass of shells and gravel is found, bounded on one side by what is neither land nor water, but a muddy compound, which the tropical sun succeeds in a while in rendering fit for a mangrove swamp; and on the other by hillocks of drifted sand periodically bathed by tidal water, in which the *Elymus arenarius*, *Pandanus odoratissimus*, *Scilla communis*, and a few hardy descriptions of reeds and grasses bind together the light covering of the soil, until there is a sufficient consistency for the cocoanut palm to secure a firm hold, or for the rice-fields to make their advances, resulting in the end in that steady though gradual filling up of the river-bed which has rendered it impassable for modern ships.

Thus Chaul has fallen from the proud position of one of the principal commercial centres of Western India into so deplorable an obscurity that even Thornton's *Gazetteer of India* dismisses the whole subject in only two lines.

Though limited in extent, this section of the coast is fully compensated for its scantiness of space by the depth and variety of materials, which afford a wide field for the geologist. There is perhaps no land in

* Horsburgh's *Indian Directory*, Lond. 1817, vol. i., p. 303.

the vicinity of Bombay which will, in all probability, repay the curiosity and careful search of the scientific inquirer as Chaul: for the chemical and lithological peculiarities of its formations, the varieties of minerals contained in them, the fossil shells, though mostly of the littoral or estuary species, found in the intertrappean beds, the mammalian remains of the Miocene and Pliocene conglomerates, which are by no means rare here, and its peculiar flora and fauna, are really worth studying. But archæology, rather than natural history, being the theme of this sketch, I must pause here.

Among the early Hindus the ancient city of Chaul was known by the name of चंपावती (Champāvati) *, and stated in some of their meagre extant records to have been the capital of an independent kingdom situated in the Paraśurāmakshetra of the Purāṇic geographers. Various accounts of the origin of the name are given, such as 'a place abounding in champa trees' (*Michelia Champaca*)—a supposition that I did not find myself warranted in entertaining, because of the total absence of any mention of that tree in the tolerably exhaustive list of the plants of the district published by Hearn†, until I had the opportunity myself to count them in dozens in a single garden within the fort. The other account, and perhaps the more plausible of the two, is that which ascribes the foundation of the city to a king called Champā, whose name is, moreover, not unfrequently mentioned in the Purāṇas, and elsewhere. ‡ The city of Champā-pura, for instance, is said to have been founded by a king of this name. This is the royal Buddhist city situated on the Ganges near the modern Bhāgalpūr, and formerly inhabited by the descendants of Ikshvāku. This name is traceable again in the designations of several other places, such as Champanīr, Champavat, &c. In the *Brahmottara Khaṇḍa* of the *Skanda Purāṇa*, ch. xvi., a description is given of four Indian cities, which are named Simantini, Varmani, Champāvati, and Mathurā. Again, mention is made of it in the *Vetūl-panchaviṅśati* and in the *Kathīrṇava*; but unfortunately there is nowhere evidence to connect any of these with Chaul.

The name of Revadaṇḍa appears to be a reversion to one of its ancient Purāṇic designations, 'Reva' being the name of the holy stream of

* ठाणालियाचे वर्णन p. 36; *et infra*.

† *Statistical Report of the Colaba Agency, Bomb. 1854*, pp. 26 *et seq.*

‡ H. H. Wilson's *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, Lond. 1820, p. 445.

Narmadâ (Nerbudda), which, like the Gangâ, has given its sacred name to many a rivulet. This is, however, a mere hypothesis. There are other explanations also respecting the etymology of the word Revadaṇḍa, one of which traces it to a tradition current among the Brâhman̄s of the coast to the effect that when Kṛishṇa was reigning in Gujarât he had assigned the southern part of his kingdom, which embraced a considerable portion of the Northern Koṅkaṇ, for the support of Revatî, the wife of his brother Balarâma, and that the 'Revatikshetra,' or 'country of Revatî,' which is often mentioned in the Purâṇas, corresponds to the modern Revadaṇḍa.* Others, again, profess to have found its origin from inscriptions. A stone pillar was discovered near Government House, Bombay (Parell?), containing an inscription, dated 1102 A.S. (1181 A.D.), written in the Devanâgarî character, mostly in the Sanskr̄it language, but containing a curse in old Marâṭhî, referring to a grant of gardens in the village of Mandauli, in the district of Thadda ('Thulla?'), by Śrîmat-Aparâditya, Prince of the Koṅkaṇ—his ancestors' names being unfortunately omitted, thus leaving us entirely in the dark as to his pedigree or descendants—to the temple of Śrî-Vaijanâtha (Mahâdeva), situated in the town of Rabavanti, in which, it is mentioned, there were many merchants living.† This Rabavanti is supposed by the late Professor Wilson ‡ to correspond to Revadaṇḍa, from the circumstance of its having been inhabited by merchants, and from its name being recorded in the monumental stone-pillar—a not uncommon form of memorial—in the neighbourhood of Chaul; while the objection raised against the date 1181 as being that in which the Tagara râjâs of Padma Nâla (Pannalla) ruled the Koṅkaṇ (among whom there is no mention made of such a name as Aparâditya) is easily got over by supposing that this individual must have been simply a chieftain governing the Upper Koṅkaṇ, or Chaul and its immediate vicinity, owing allegiance to the Tagara râjâs, and perhaps from sheer vanity or pretentious exaggeration of his title styling himself "Prince of the Koṅkaṇ."

We tread on comparatively safe ground as we proceed to identify Chaul with its name as given by Western writers. Their itineraries of a coast line which was the best known of any part of India to the

* क्रीकणख्यान. अ०४-६, chaps. iv.-vi.

† *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, Lond. 1835, vol. iii., p. 386.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 387.

Alexandrian merchants, during the first and second centuries of our era, and to the Arabs, the successors in the right line of some of Ptolemy's authorities, in the Middle Ages, although vague on the point of locations of the names with respect to the latitude, afford indications for identification certainly worth recording. Among these writers the foremost are, of course, Ptolemy, Arrian, and the author of the *Periplus Maris Erythræi*, variously estimated to have been written between 80 and 150 A.D. It may be desirable to mention here the approximate dates of the above geographical writers:—*Periplus* 80, Ptolemy 130, Arrian 150. The first calls Chaul Συμόλλα,* the next two Σιμόλλα.† These names are, again, supposed by Reinaud‡ to correspond to Symola, Chymola, or Malakûta, and by Yule§ to Chimolo of the Chinese pilgrim Hwen Thsang. || Another writer, far older than these, tells us that Chaul, if Castaldus' supposition is right, is the *Comané* of Ptolemy.¶

Among the Arab and Persian writers we have first in the order of chronological precedence Mašûdi, the celebrated Arab historian and geographer, who names Chaul سائمور (Saimûr) and refers to it thus:—"I visited the city of Saimûr, situated on the coast of Lar, and one of the dependencies of Balhârâ, in the year 304 (916 A.D.)." Then he goes on to relate that at that time the reigning prince was named جانج (Janja), which name, Reinaud informs us,** is also found recorded in a copper-plate discovered about eighty years ago in the neighbourhood of Chaul, and which is dated *circa* 1018 A.D., indicating that the prince had reigned there some time previous to the advent of the famous author of the *Meadows of Gold*. This prince is perhaps the Śrî Chhinna Dêva Râjâ, of the Silahâra family, descended from the royal line of Tagara, and chief of tributary râjâs, who reigned in Thâṇâ over 1,400 villages of the Koṅkan, and whose name is recorded on some copper-plates discovered at the village of

* *Periplus Maris Erythræi*, edit. Blancard, p. 172.

† *Géographie de Ptolémée*, liv. vii., chap. 1.

‡ *Mémoire géographique, historique et scientifique sur l'Inde*, Paris, 1849, pp. 220-221.

§ *Cathay and the way thither*, Lond. 1866., vol. i., p. cxciii.

|| *Foë-Kouë-Ki*, p. 391, No. 94; and Julien's *Vie de Hiouen Thsang*, p. 420.

¶ *Sir Herbert's Travels*, Lond. 1665, p. 348.

** *Mémoire*, loc. cit., and *Jour. Asiatique*, Série IV., tome 4, pp. 263-264.

Bhāṇḍūpa.* Maśūdi then tells us that there were about ten thousand Mahomedans in the city of Saimūr from Siraf, Oman, Bassora, Bagdad, &c., exclusive of what he calls *بیسر* (*baisir*), i.e. children of Arabs born in the country. He goes on to relate that the Mahomedans of the place had at their head a man elected from among themselves whose title was *هزامة* (*Hazama*), who was invested with power by the prince of the country, to whom he owed fealty, and that in our author's time the individual who filled this high post of *Hazama* was called Abbū Said.†

The Lar, also called Lardeśa, mentioned by Maśūdi, is evidently the territory of Gujarāt and the Northern Koikau, embracing Broach, Thānā, and Chaul, and which name is given by Ptolemy as *Larikè*. The connection between Lar and Gujarāt is so intimate that Ibn Said speaks, on Abulfeda's authority, of the two names as identical; and it was probably a political rather than a geographical division of the kingdom of Balhārā. The sea to the west of the coast was also called in the early Mahomedan times, 'the sea of Lar,' and the language spoken on its shores is by Maśūdi named 'Lari.'

As regards Balhārā, whom Maśūdi mentions as the reigning prince to whom Saimūr was tributary, it has long been identified as the name of the dynasty which reigned at Valabhī (Valabhīpura) in Gujarāt, and according to Solimān, a merchant and one of the greatest travellers of his age, was in his time the chief of all the princes in India, the latter acknowledging his preëminence; while the Arabs themselves were shown great favours and enjoyed great privileges in his dominions.‡

Next in order is Ibn Muhalhal, who, it is supposed, visited the city of Chaul, which he also calls Saimūr, in the year 941 A.D., or about twenty-five years after Maśūdi. His whole narrative is unfortunately not extant, and the extracts made from his work by Yākūt, Kazwini, Kurd de Schloezer, and others have caused doubts to be raised as to the genuineness of his travels, made up, as they are, of so many loose fragments. There are, however, reasons to believe that the traveller was in India about the middle of the tenth century (942 A.D.), when he ac-

* *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, vol. ii., pp. 383-384. The plate was discovered in 1830 at Bhāṇḍūpa, in Salsette. It is dated 948 Śaka (1027 A.D.).

† *Maroudj-al-Dscheh*, tome 1, fol. 49; and *Les Prairies d'Or*, par MM. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, Paris, 1861-66, p. 66.

‡ Sir H. M. Elliot's *History of India*, &c., Lond. 1867, vol. i., p. 4; and Lassen's *Ind. Alter.*, vol. iii., pp. 533 *et seq.*

accompanied the Chinese Ambassador from the King of China, Kalin Bin Shakhbar, who had arrived at the court of Nasri Bin Ahmed Bin Ismail, of the Samanidæ at Bokhara, to negotiate a marriage between his King's daughter and Noah the son of Nasri. Ibn Muhalhal speaks of Chaul thus :—" At another foot of the mountain towards the north is the city of *Saimûr*, whose inhabitants are of great beauty, and said to be descended from Turks and Chinese. From this place also *Saimûr* wood is named, though it is only brought thither for sale." * Zakariya-al-Kazwîni, who compiled his works from the writings of Ibn Muhalhal and others after the middle of the thirteenth century, says of Saimûr :—" A city of Hind near the confines of Sind (an Arabic demarcation). The people are very beautiful and handsome, from being born of Turk and Indian parents. There are Musalmâns, Christians, Jews, and Fire-worshippers there. The merchandize of the Turks is conveyed hither, and the aloes called *Saimûri* are named from this place. The temple of Saimûr is an idol-temple, on the summit of a high eminence, under the charge of keepers. There are idols in it of turquoise and *baijâdak* (a stone like a ruby), which are highly venerated. In the city there are mosques, Christian churches, synagogues, and fire-temples. The infidels do not slaughter animals, nor do they eat flesh, fish, or eggs ; but there are some who will eat animals that have fallen down precipices, or that have been gored to death, but they do not eat those that have died a natural death. This information has been derived from Miâsar Bin Muhalhil, author of the *Ajîbu-l-buldân*, who travelled into various countries and recorded their wonders." †

Then follow two contemporary travellers, Shaikh Abû Ishak and Ibn Haukal. They are supposed to have written about the middle of the tenth century (340 A.H., 951 A. D.). The former is a little anterior in point of time to Ibn Haukal, but they both met in the valley of the Indus and compared notes, and exchanged observations. The text of Shaikh Abû was first published by Dr. Moeller at Gotha in 1839, under the title of *Liber Clamatum*, and a translation of the same into German appeared in 1815, and of a portion of it into Italian in 1842. He places Saimûr among the " cities of Hind " in contradistinction to the " cities of Sind," and refers to it thus :—" From Kam-bâya to Saimûr is the land of the Balhârâ, and in it there are several

* *Cathay, ut supra*, p. cxi.

† Elliot, *ut supra*, p. 97.

kings." Then, again, in reference to distances he says:—"From Sindân to Saimûr five days. Between Saimûr and Sarandib fifteen days."* Ibn Haukal, in his *Ashkâlu-l Bilâd*, uses the same words as his fellow-traveller in his references to Saimûr.†

Next comes the most accurate of all Arab writers of the time, Abû Rihân Al-Birûnî. He wrote about 1030 A.D. He calls Chaul *Jaimûr*, and says: "It is situated to the south of Tâna, in the country of Lârân."‡

Edrisi, who wrote about the year 548 A.H. (1153 A.D.), writes the name of the city thus—ميمور (*Saimûr*), and, as Jaubert has it, fixes its position as follows:—"De là [Barouh, i.e. Broach] à Seimur on compte deux journées." Elsewhere he writes:—"Saimûr, five days from Sindân, is a large well-built town. Cocomnut trees grow here in abundance; henna also grows here, and the mountains produce many aromatic plants, which are exported." Then again:—"Kambâya, Sûbâra, Sindân, and Saimûr form part of India. The last named belongs to a country whose king is called Balhârâ; his kingdom is vast, well-peopled, commercial, and fertile. It pays heavy taxes, so that the king is immensely rich. Many aromatics and perfumes are produced in the country."§

Among the later Mahomedan writers we have Sadik Isfahâni, who, in his *Taksvin-al-Buldân*, written circa 1635, gives up the Arabic perversion of Saimûr, and adopts one that is the closest approximation to Chaul, writing چيرول (*Chîrel*), and places it, in accordance with his own system of computation, in Long. 88° and Lat. 36°.|| The other is the author of the Arabic work on the *History of the Mahomedans in Malabar*, called *Tohfât-al-Majâhidîn*, translated by Rowlandson and published by the Oriental Translation Fund in 1833, who writes *Sheinl*, which is not very distantly removed from the modern Chaul.¶

Now putting together all these forms of the name, such as the

* Elliot, *ut supra*, p. 30.

† *Ibid.*, p. 39.

‡ *Jour. Asiatique*, Sept. 1844, p. 263 (p. 121 de Fragments).

§ *Géographie d'Edrisi, &c.*, par Amédée Jaubert, Paris, 1826, pp. 175-76; and Elliot, *ut supra*, pp. 85-86.

|| *The Geographical Works of Sâdik Isfahâni*, translated by J. C. Lond. 1832, p. 88.

¶ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. iii., p. 214.

Champávati of the ancient Hindus, the Simylla of the Greeks, the Saimûr of the Arabs, the Chivel of the later Mahomedan writers, and the Cheival of the Marâthâs,* there is no doubt, in the face of the above-noted authorities, and others to be mentioned hereafter, who plead warmly for the identity of these names, that the place they all refer to is but the modern Chaul, a form of spelling I have here adopted, in preference to others, being the one invariably found in almost all the Portuguese records of both olden and modern times.

It was Reinaud, I presume, who first identified *Simylla emporium et promontorium* of Ptolemy and the *Periplus* with the *Saimûr* of the Arab writers,—an identification that has met with the approbation of Yule, who does, besides, identify the above two names with Chaul. Kiepert, in his Map of Ancient India published about twenty-five years ago, under the personal supervision of the veteran Indianist Lassen to illustrate his *Indische Alterthumskunde*, placed Simylla at Bassein, which Yule first removed to Chaul, as evidenced in his recently published Map of Ancient India in Dr. W. Smith's *Historical Atlas of Ancient Geography*, in his *Cathay*, published about ten years before, and other writings,—a removal that has been declared by one of the learned journalists on this side of India to be “much more satisfactory.”† Yule, after giving the grounds on which his identifications rest, goes on further to suggest, from the reconstruction of all the loose fragments of the divers spellings of the name, that “it seems likely that the old name was something like Chaimul or Chânwul.”‡ Elsewhere he writes:—“Chânwul Châmul or Chânwur would easily run into Semylla or Jaimur on one hand, and into Chaul on the other.”§ How difficult it is to settle doubtful points in the ancient geography of India, whether Greek, Chinese, Arab, or Sanskrit, is well known; and some of the above identifications, though not made with rashness, are to be received with caution, being possible but not proveable. They cannot, in fact, be accepted as final, although that they will generally be admitted as satis-

* The Marâthâs have a tradition to the effect that this designation is derived from Chyavanarishi, the famous sage mentioned in Râjâvali and Sabyâdri Khandâ of the *Skanda Purâna*, who had settled himself at Chaul; but this is unsupported by any written authority.

† *Ind. Ant.*, vol. iv., p. 282.

‡ *Cathay*, p. cxcii.

§ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. i., p. 321. Some of the Greek writers, instead of Simylla, write Semylla; just as the Arabs, instead of Saimûr, write Jaimûr or Taimûr. Ptolemy in one place says the natives call the place Timylla, and one of his commentators questions whether it is Tiamylla.

tactory in the present state of our knowledge it requires no unnecessary iteration to prove.

The river of Chaul is no exception to this confused system of nomenclature. Rivers in the Koṅkaṅ have, as a rule, two names,—the one of the uppermost part on the estuary, used by the maritime population ; the other of the stream itself, used by dwellers inland : thus the beautiful Kondulīka, the genuine name of the river which debouches into the bay of Chaul, by which name it is known among the people living inland, is called Rohe-Ashtamīchī-Khūḍī, *khūḍī* meaning literally a brackish part near the mouth of the river. It is fortunate, however, that it has no esoteric name besides,—a practice that is not unfrequent in the Koṅkaṅ, such as Tāramatī for the Kālū or Muslej Ghāṭ river, a name that is chiefly used by the Brāhmins for purposes of worship.*

The history of Chaul during the ancient authentic Hindu period is as much involved in obscurity as the Purāṇic one : Revatīkshetra, for instance, is, as before mentioned, as doubtful in its form and meaning as the inscriptional allusion of Rabavanti, where the temple of Śri-Vaijanātha is said to be situated. This uncertainty is, moreover, made palpable by the complete disappearance from the locality of every trace of the elaborate Brahmāṇic Śaivite worship, to which that temple was first dedicated, to make room for the worship of Hingūlzā, which flourishes at present in all its aboriginal *linga* splendour.

Chaul, there is no doubt, must have been a place of note in the beginning of the Christian era, or else the Greek writers would not have mentioned it. That during the Hindu authentic period the place had attained some degree of civilization cannot also be doubted, for, besides the tradition of its 360 temples and tanks above alluded to, there is the legend that states that the ancient temple of Kālkābhavānī, which still exists by the side of a tank having a dome rather like a Musalmān tomb, had in former times an idol of that goddess which, it is believed, sprang—like its cognate of Wālukośwara, whose legend was published by me about two years ago †—into the tank beside her temple on the approach of the Musalmāns, and it is not yet known whether that idol has returned to its primitive abode or not. ‡

* *Ind. Ant.* vol. iv., p. 283.

† *Ibid.*, vol. iii., pp. 47 *et seq.*

‡ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. iv., p. 67.

The peculiar architecture of that temple also would certainly lead one to infer that Chaul was a Hindu town that had before the arrival of the Mahomedans reached a marked degree of civilization. Coming down to the undeniably authentic period of copper-plates, inscriptions in stone, and coins, one meets with a number of dynasties disputing among themselves, at various times, the possession of the Koṅkaṇ. Among the struggles for supremacy which ensued at various epochs among the Chālukyās, the Yādavās, the Tagaras, the Silahāras, and innumerable other petty chieftains, we are at a loss to find out to whom Chaul did really belong. The presumption is that the Silahāra family, a branch of the Tagara, who reigned at Śrī Sthanaka, and whose capital is in the copper-plates called *Purī*, being, as the inscriptions style the sovereign, the "lord of 1,400 villages of the Koṅkaṇ," most probably included Chaul among their dominions, although there is no specification to that effect.* *Purī* seems to be Ṭhāṇā, i.e. the capital *par excellence*, and not Elephanta Island or Ghārāpurī, notwithstanding that some of the early European writers, such as Garcia d'Orta and Linschoten, call it Pori and Pory respectively. The same designation must have led Friar Odoric to describe Ṭhāṇā as *Hæc terra est optimè situata et fuit regis Pori, qui cum rege Alexandro prælium magnum commisit*,"† a statement that is, in the face of events, utterly paradoxical. Again, there are no vestiges of any description of an ancient town in the island of Elephanta, while in Ṭhāṇā there are still some, traceable with difficulty, no doubt; although, when seen by Giovanni Botero, these "remains of an immense city" were more plainly visible, and "the town still contained 5,000 velvet-weavers."‡

Of the Buddhists and Jainas we have no record in Chaul, except perhaps an ornamental fragment of a Jaina temple that has been supposed to have existed centuries ago in Chaul, but whose traces are now entirely obliterated. It was discovered by Hearn§ under a banyan-tree, lying along with some other such pieces under a heap of rubbish.

* Besides these, there are other copper-plates found at Ṭhāṇā in 1787, bearing date Śaka 939 (1018 A.D.), which record a grant by Rājā Arikeśava Devarājā, of the same family, governing the whole Koṅkaṇ, consisting of "1,400 villages with cities and other places acquired by his arm." See *Asiatic Researches*, vol. i., p. 357. For other grants by "a viceroy of the Koṅkaṇ" under a prince of Yādava descent, see *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, vol. ii., p. 390.

† Hakluyt's *Voyages*, vol. ii., p. 143.

‡ Yule's *Marco Polo*, *ut supra*, vol. ii., p. 331.

§ *Stat. Rep. of Colaba Agency*, p. 110.

It consists of a marble stone-piece, and its workmanship is, in the opinion of our late deeply lamented Honorary President, Dr. Wilson, of Râjputânâ origin, the most prominent figures being the Tirthankaras, or saints of the Jaina creed. It is presumable that from the large series of the Kuda caves and cells near Mhar, in the neighbourhood of Chaul, of purely Buddhist construction, Chaul and its vicinity must have undoubtedly been one of the strongholds of Buddhism in Western India. Their position there, however, would not involve any high degree of civilization in the neighbouring town, as it is well known that the Buddhist Śrâmanas, not unlike the Christian monks, usually established their monasteries in places remarkable for solitude and beauty of situation.*

It appears that about the end of the 13th century this part of the Koṅkaṇ was conquered by Bhim Râjâ—said by some to be a son of Râmadeva Râjâ of Devagiri, afterwards Daulatâbâd, mentioned by Ibn Batûta as belonging to the Yâdava dynasty—and subverted by the Mahomedans in 1317 A.D., and by others to the Chelia or military Banian caste. But, whatever be his origin, the conqueror did not long preserve the integrity of his dominions, which were soon divided into fifteen Mahâls, the principal portion being inherited by his son Pratâpa Shâh, who was at last defeated and dispossessed of his kingdom by the invaders from Chaul, under the leadership of his brother-in-law named Nâgar Shâh, until the latter was in his turn defeated by the Mahomedans.†

Coming down to the Mahomedan period, it strikes us as probable that when the Mahomedans had established themselves in the Dakhaṇ, they lost no time in securing to themselves, for both strategical and commercial reasons, the seaports of the Koṅkaṇ, and that they did so there is historical evidence to prove.

As early as 1347 A.D., when Sultan A-la-u-din Hussain Kangoh Bâhmany became king of the Dakhaṇ and fixed his residence at Kulburga or Affnâbâd, all the country lying between the river Bhima and the vicinity of the fortress of Rudrâ, and from the port of Chaul to the city of Bidar, was soon brought within the circle of his possessions.‡

In 1356, when the dominions of Ala-ud-din became divided into sepa-

* See my *Memoir on the Tooth-Relic of Ceylon*, p. 18.

† *Trans. Bom. Geog. Soc.*, vol. vi., p. 132; *Tod's Western India*, p. 150.

‡ *Scott's Ferishta*, vol. i., pp. 9-10.

rate governments, Chaul and three other cities, with some territory around, were committed to Mahomed, son of his brother Ali Shâh. This prince, who is said to have been a man of sweet disposition, humane and just, established schools for orphans, with ample funds for their maintenance, in 1378 A. D., in both the cities of Dâbul and Chaul. The Bâhmani and the Shâhî dynasty of Ahmednagar promoted by all means in their power the prosperity of Chaul. It was from this city, as well as from Goa, that Sultân Féroz Shâh used to despatch vessels every year to procure him the manufactures and curious products from all quarters of the then known globe, and to bring to his court persons celebrated for talent.*

But both Féroz Shâh and his successors were not entirely engaged in the pacific course of trade; a little campaigning with the neighbouring Hindu chieftains, and occasional skirmishes with the rebels in their own dominions in the Koñkan, were by no means rare. In 1469 Mallik-al-Tûjâr Khajeh Jehan Gawan had to march with a powerful army against the Rai of Kelhna and refractory rajas in the Koñkan; and, as on other occasions, the troops were ordered from Chaul to join him in this service.†

Of the fourteenth century we have no traveller recording his impressions of the city of Chaul, except, perhaps, he whom Yule not inaptly calls "the lying Mandevill." The compass of his travels, which, if true, would certainly equal, if not surpass, that of "the Moor," includes Chaul among his other numerous peregrinations. He refers to Chaul thus: "Est et non longè ab ista insula regio seu insula Cava vel Chava (here Hakluyt adds a marginal note—"Insula Chava vel Chaul forte") quæ a primo statu multùm est minorata per mare. Hi sunt infidelissimi Paganorum. Nam quidam adorant Solem, alii Lunam, ignem, aquam, et terram, arborem vel serpentem, vel cui de manè primò obviant. Ibi magni mures, quos nos dicimus rattas, sunt in quantitate parvorum canum. Et quoniam per cattos capi non possunt, capiuntur per canes maiores."‡

Now this is, *mutatis mutandis*, what Friar Odoric about the same

* Briggs's *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India*, Lond. 1829, vol. ii., p. 368.

† *Ibid.*, p. 483.

‡ Hakluyt's *Collection of Voyages*, vol. ii., p. 104.

time* wrote on Thâṇâ, which he had visited about the beginning of the second quarter of the 14th century. Sir John Mandevill here openly plagiarizes not only facts, but even the mongrel Latin of the Friuli monk. It appears strange that Jordanus, having been at Thâṇâ only a few years before Odoric, should, like Odoric himself, have omitted to mention so close and flourishing a place as Chaul; but most probably they confined themselves to their missionary track, and did not care for describing places they did not visit. It is still stranger that Marco Polo and Ibn Batûta, who traversed the peninsula on its western side about the middle of the 14th century, should have remained absolutely reticent about a city which, according to the testimony of the Arab writers who preceded them, was a flourishing emporium of trade with the West. Rennell, the Father of Indian Geography, remarks that "little can be gleaned from Marco Polo," and that "the travels of Cosmas in the 6th century, and of the two Mahomedan travellers in the 9th, afford few materials for history."† It was so, I dare say, in the days of Rennell; since then it has been ascertained that the omission of the name of the Koikan by Marco Polo is more apparent than real, for his Thâṇâ stands for the Koikan,—Thâṇâ being, as it was in the time of Al-Bîrûnî, the capital of the Northern Koikan.

Rashîd-ud-din, in 1310 A.D., and Ibn Batûta, about 1350 A.D., call that city Konkan-Tâna and Kûkin-Tâna respectively, while an Italian writer of the same century names it Cucintana,‡ and Barbosa Tana mayambu, which latter designation Yule considers to be the first indication of the name of Bombay.§ Ibn Batûta, owing perhaps to the political aspect of India being in a state of transition, from the form assumed in consequence of the Afghan conquests of the preceding century, to the general disorganization which paved the way for the establishment of the new empire of Timûr, could not visit all renowned places as Thâṇâ, nor be precise about the government and other particulars of the maritime cities like Chaul, although he maintains no reserve regarding the condition of different other places he visited on the southern coast. His spelling of the Hindu names

* Odoric's travels refer to the year 1330 A.D., while the spurious peregrinations of Maudevill extend between the years 1322 and 1356 A.D. For Odoric's travels see Hakluyt, *ut supra*, p. 143.

† J. Rennell's *Memoir of a Map of Hindustan*, Lond. 1788, p. xli.

‡ *R. A. S. Journal*, New Series, vol. iv., p. 340.

§ Yule's *Marco Polo*, *ut supra*, vol. ii., p. 331.

is, however, highly problematical. Marco Polo was at Thâñâ about 1385 A.D., and describes the manners of the people of that neighbourhood, and the trade in horses and other traffic, much as travellers in the next two centuries describe Chaul, which we shall see further on, as we follow the sequence of events.*

Cosmas Indicopleustes, who flourished in the reign of Justinian, describing the city and population of Kalliâna—which is according to some the Kalyânapura near Udupi, while others, with more plausible reasons, assert it to be the old city of the Koñkañ to the north of Thâñâ—refers to *Sibôr*, which, in accordance with the order of his names, indicates it rather as the *Saimûr* of the mediæval Arabs, or the modern Chaul, than Supâra near Bassein, as it has been supposed by some of his commentators.

“The two Mahomedan travellers” mentioned by Rennell were for a time an enigma for me, until the work of Eusebius Renaudot, who first edited and translated the manuscripts of these two travellers of the 9th century, in the year 1718, solved it. An English version of them appeared in 1733, and was reprinted in Pinkerton’s *Collection of Voyages* in 1811.† A new edition reprinted in French, by Reinaud and Alfred Maury, has also been lately published. Now all these writers seem to agree that the reason why “the two Mahomedans” are silent on the Koñkañ is because a portion of their manuscripts, which refer to the voyage between the Indus and Goa, is missing. But of the two the genuine traveller seems to be only the one known by the before-mentioned name of Solimân, who is supposed to have travelled in India about 898 A.D. ; while the other, named Abu Saïd Hussain of Siraf, never once left the latter place for India, although, like Maudevill, he had the knack of fabricating a Ulysses-like travelling episode, in which he fixes his start in the year 237 A.H. (851 A.D.)

During part of the 13th and the 14th centuries, the city of Chaul had, like Diu, in the opinion of Baldæus,‡ sunk into a state of comparative obscurity. The Arabs, as mentioned by their own historians, made during that time several descents upon the west coast, and, though they made no fixed stay in it, a number of individual merchants established themselves there and carried on a brisk business.

* Yule’s *Marco Polo*, *ut supra*, vol. ii., p. 230.

† Pinkerton’s *Collection of Voyages*, Lond. 1811, vol. ii., p. 179.

‡ Churchill’s *Collection of Voyages*, vol. iv., p. 150.

It again rose by degrees to become a place of considerable note in the 15th century, during the prosperity of the Bâhmani dynasty and its Ahmadnagar branch.

It was during these times that the Russian traveller Athanasius Nikitin first visited the city of Chaul. He writes in 1470 A.D. thus:—“We sailed six weeks in the tava (a vessel) till we reached Chivil, and left Chivil on the seventh week after the great day (Easter Sunday). This is an Indian country. People go about naked, with their heads uncovered and bare breasts; the hair tressed into one tail, and thick bellies. They bring forth children every year, and the children are many; and men and women are black. When I go out many people follow me, and stare at the white man.

“Their kniaz (Russian word for prince or chief) wears a *fata* (a large silken garment still worn by the women of the lower classes of Russia round the head or over the upper part of the body) on the head; and another on the loins; the boyars (noblemen) wear it on the shoulders and the loins; the *kniagines* (princesses) wear it also round the shoulders and the loins.* The servants of the kniaz and of the boyars attach the *fata* round the loins, carrying in the hand a shield and a sword or a scimitar, or knives, or a sabre or a bow and arrow—but all naked and barefooted. Women walk about with their heads uncovered and their breasts bare. Boys and girls go naked till seven years, and do not hide their shame.”†

As the accounts of travellers, in the absence of better materials, are the only natural and easy method of attaining a tolerably accurate knowledge of the place, each illustrating the other and serving as a commentary too on the brief text of its precursors, showing at the same time the advance or decline the place has undergone during the course of ages, I quote here from the travels of a Roman who followed the Russian about thirty years after. He describes the place and manners of the inhabitants in much the same style as the Russian does.

Ludovico di Varthema, who travelled in India from the year 1503 to 1508, and was an eye-witness to the first commercial enterprise of the Portuguese on the western coast, writes:—“Departing from the said city of Combeia (Cambay), I travelled on until

* Varthema's *Alla Apostolica*.

† *India in the Fifteenth Century*, edited by E. H. Major, Lond. 1857, part iii., pp. 8 and 9.

I arrived at another city named Cevul, which is distant from the above-mentioned city twelve days' journey, and the country between the one and the other of these cities is called Guzerati. The King of this Cevul is a pagan. The people are of a dark tawny colour. As to their dress, with the exception of some Moorish merchants, some wear a shirt, and some go naked with a cloth round their middle, with nothing on their feet or head. The people are warlike : their arms are swords, bucklers, bows and spears made of reeds and wood, and they possess artillery. This city is extremely well walled, and is distant from the sea two miles. It possesses an extremely beautiful river, by which a very great number of foreign vessels go and return, because the country abounds in everything excepting grapes, nuts, and chestnuts. They collect here an immense quantity of grain, of barley, and of vegetables of every description ; and cotton stuffs are manufactured here in great abundance. I do not describe their faith here, because their creed is the same as that of the King of Calicut, of which I will give you an account when the proper time shall come.* There are in this city a very great number of Moorish merchants. The atmosphere begins here to be more warm than cold. Justice is extremely well administered here. This king has not many fighting men. The inhabitants here have horses, oxen, and cows in great abundance.†

We shall now pass on to describe the most interesting of all the periods of the history of Chaul—the Portuguese period. But before doing so it is necessary, for the better elucidation of the subject, to go back to a previous period, and survey briefly the condition of the Portuguese on their first arrival on the coast.

During their ascendancy in the Indian seas the Portuguese never aspired, in spite of splendid opportunities both in Gujarât and the Dakhan, to acquire political and territorial influence, but confined themselves merely to the acquisition of maritime and trading power by the establishment of factories on the coast and small garrisons for their defence.

* On the religion of the king of Calicut he says that the king of Calicut is a pagan, and worships a God whom the people call the Creator ; while they also believe in one spirit, *deumo* (*deva* ?) besides God, whom they call *Tamerant* (Malabar *Tambaran*, meaning lord or master), and the king keeps his *deumo* in a chapel in his palace, &c. : see pp. 136-137.

† *The Travels of Ludovico di Varthema*, edited by G. P. Badger, Lond. 1863, pp. 113-114.

Although their real dominion was on the ocean, where their ships, armed and manned in a manner superior to that of the Eastern potentates, were victorious in almost every encounter, still their seaports, with a chain of forts, were in a very short time extended along the coast line from Mozambique and Sofala in Eastern Africa, Ormuz in the Persian Gulf, Diu and Damaun in Gujarât, Bassein, Chaul, Goa, Angediva, Cannanore, and Cochin on the Malabar Coast, Ceylon, the Coromandel Coast, Malacca, and the Moluccas, to China and Japan. This sudden rise of a small nation in the west of Europe originated in a handful of enterprising men and bold adventurers.

When Vasco da Gama arrived, on the 20th May 1498, at Calicut,* which was then the principal emporium of trade in that part of India, sending out every year above five hundred ships to the Red Sea, he endeavoured to open communication with the Zamorin (Samondry Râjâ) in order to obtain such privileges and facilities as would enable the Portuguese to carry on an advantageous commerce with this rich country. He landed, and with great pomp made his appearance before that prince, who, actuated by motives of the soundest policy, showed a decided disposition to favour the admiral and his crew. Soon after, however, the intrigues and malicious reports of the Mahomedans from Egypt and Arabia, who commanded then the whole commerce of the Indian seas, carrying away not only rich cargoes, but shiploads of pilgrims, and who were jealous of the foreigners' interference with their own prerogatives, wrought a sudden change in the mind of the sovereign, who consented to make Vasco da Gama a prisoner. The prudence and firmness of the latter, however, availed him much at this juncture, for, observing ominous signs in the behaviour of the people on the release of two of his officers who had been detained by the Zamorin, Vasco da Gama weighed anchor and set sail; and although pursued by the enemy's fleet, a breeze springing up, he got clear off and reached home in safety on the 29th August 1499.

A new expedition was now fitted out, under Pedro Alvares Cabral, with a fleet comprising 13 vessels and 1,200 men. On their arrival at Calicut the Zamorin received them with imposing ceremonies, although the Mahomedans, whose resources in intrigue were otherwise inexhaustible, were not less demonstrative. Permission being neverthe-

* A pretty good representation of the city of Calicut as it was in 1574 is given by Brun and Hosenburg, and copied by Beveridge in his *History of India*, vol. i., p. 156.

less obtained to establish a factory, under the charge of Ayres Correa, in one of the Zamorin's palaces, a fair start was then made by the Portuguese to trade on a systematic plan with India.

It was, notwithstanding, highly impolitic under the circumstances to overlook the fact that the Mahomedans, thus brought into close competition with the foreigner, would beneath this seeming friendship nourish hostile intentions, moved as they were, beyond the feelings of political ambition and mercantile cupidity, by their natural hatred towards the Christians. But Cabral, it appears, in spite of all his excellent qualities, allowed himself, through Ayres Correa, to fall too easily into the snare thus laid for him.

The consequence was that the king and his myrmidons who never ceased for a moment to plot against them, and watch for an opportunity to attack them, profited by the uncircumspect conduct of the Portuguese, who had been treacherously induced to capture a merchant vessel with seven elephants on board. This affording them a pretext for the outrage, they stormed the building and overpowered the inmates. Their number amounted to seventy, and being unable to resist the thousands of Moors, Nairs, and others who in a body assailed the factory, fifty of them, the factor Ayres Correa included, were slaughtered on the spot, the rest escaping into the sea to swim over and seek shelter on board their vessels. The factory was first plundered and then reduced to ashes. This may be appropriately described as the inauspicious beginning of the hostilities which raged almost uninterruptedly for two centuries between the Portuguese on the one side and the Moslems and Hindus on the other, with a short interval of peace, until the whole fabric of the former tottered to its very foundation, and fell a rich prize to the energetic and moral endeavours of a great nation, which now happily sways the destinies of this important country.

Cabral's retaliation was severe. The Zamorin, perceiving that the matter was taking a grave turn, manifested an anxiety to cultivate the friendship of such powerful strangers. This is in accordance with the singular character of the Orientals, who from the days of Taxiles, Porus, and others of the time of Alexander of Macedon downwards have been always playing a similar rôle. But Cabral, determined to avenge their brutality, on a sudden made a furious onset, captured ten Moorish ships, transferred their cargoes to his own vessels, made their crews prisoners, and then ranging the captured vessels in a line before the city set them on fire, exhibiting them in full blaze before the citizens

of Calicut. He then drew his ships up in line of battle and opened a furious cannonade upon the city, which was destroyed in several places, hundreds of its inhabitants being killed. The Zamorin himself had a narrow escape, as one of his favourite Nairs was struck down beside him by a cannon-ball; and he hastily fled into the interior of his country. Cabral then set sail for Cochin, and after an encounter or two with the Calicut fleet started on his homeward voyage, arriving in Lisbon on the 31st July 1501.

Before Cabral's arrival at Lisbon, a third armament, under Joaõ da Nova, was on its way to India; it consisted of three ships and one caravel with 400 men. He was followed by Vasco da Gama, in his second voyage, with a fleet of twenty ships and the title of Admiral of the Eastern Seas. The details of the conflicts which ensued, although highly entertaining, possess little interest for my subject. Vasco, however, succeeded in forming a triple alliance with the kings of Cochin and Cannanore, and sailed for Europe on the 20th December 1503, reaching Lisbon in the following September.

Some time after, the Viceroy, Dom Francisco d'Almeida, arrived in India. He sailed on the 25th March 1505 from Lisbon in command of a magnificent fleet of twenty-two ships,* carrying, in addition to the crew, 1,500 trained soldiers, and arrived at Anjediva on the 8th September of the same year.† Cabral, though his resentment was sufficiently gratified, had thought of applying to the Zamorin for further redress; but learning that he had countenanced the outrage, he left the reprisals to Vasco da Gama in his second voyage and to Almeida. A powerful fleet was then equipped by the latter to demand satisfaction for the injuries that had been sustained by his countrymen. All this, to cut the story short, was at last obtained.

There was thus a respite; but the calm was not unlike that which forebodes greater disasters. While most of the Portuguese officers were engaged in the conquest of Sofala, the Zamorin of Calicut, always instigated by his Mahomedan subjects, was secretly making exertions to raise up enemies against the Portuguese, and entering into an offensive and defensive alliance with the king of Gujarât. Mahomed Shâh, was through him invoking the assistance of the

* Of these ships eleven were to return with merchandize to Portugal, and the rest to remain in India.

† See my *Historical and Archaeological Sketch of the Island of Anjediva*, *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* 1876, vol. xi., pp. 288 *et seq.*

Mameluke Sultán of Egypt to drive away the dreaded *Farangis* from the Indian seas. Almeida, being made aware of these machinations, sent his son Dom Lourenço d'Almeida with eleven vessels to cruise about the coast and counteract the designs of the Zamorin by destroying the fleet he had equipped. Dom Lourenço fell in with them at the port of Cannanore while on his way, and after a severe engagement put them to flight. A great booty, consisting of ships laden with spice, was taken; and after sinking some, and running others aground, Dom Lourenço returned to relieve the garrison of the Angediva island, which was being besieged by the Mahomedans under the command of a renegade, who, on the approach of Dom Lourenço, made, with his barbarous host, a precipitate retreat, and in their hasty flight they lost several of their vessels.

These two signal victories, one following the other, achieved by the valour of the younger Almeida, seemed to have inspired the enemy with terror, and made them (so it was imagined) more cautious than ever in any new attempt against their rivals. But this was a mistake. The irrepressible Zamorin, relying on the predictions of his wizards and soothsayers, was arming afresh a fleet against the Portuguese, who this time were somewhat distracted by a petty strife with the Socotrines. No sooner was the news heard than the Viceroy sent his son, Dom Lourenço, with a squadron of ten ships to cruise about the sea. On his way in search of the Calicut fleet, which had sailed northwards, Dom Lourenço for the first time cast anchor at the entrance of the port of Chaul, into which seven vessels of the enemy entered without saluting his standard. Dom Lourenço upon this followed them in his boats, and the Moors, having no other resource left, leaped overboard and attempted to escape to the shore; but while in the water many of them were barbarously slain. This almost unprovoked cruelty was soon followed by another still more execrable, in which Gonçalo Vas was the chief actor. While on his way from Cannanore to join Dom Lourenço, Vas fell in with a Mahomedan ship having a Portuguese pass, but in spite of this he sunk the vessel with her crew sewed up in sails, that they might never be seen again. Scarcely even for a day did this inhuman action remain secret, as the perpetrator had perhaps thought it would, for the body of one of the Moors who had been thus basely destroyed was washed ashore, the victim being recognized as the nephew of Mamale, a rich merchant of Malabar. From that moment the latter swore vengeance against the

Portuguese, which terrible oath was the harbinger of all the calamities that subsequently befell the Portuguese at Chaul and elsewhere, as the sequel will show.

Dom Lourenço, on returning from Chaul with vessels laden with horses and other goods captured there, fell in with the Calicut fleet near Dâbul. He anchored off the mouth of the river, eager to destroy it; but on calling a council of his officers to consult with them as to what measures were best for an attack, they gave their opinion unanimously against any offensive action, the fleet having entered the river, which was too narrow for a successful combat. On his arrival at Cochin, flushed with victory and bearing rich spoil from Chaul, Dom Lourenço expected to be received with honour by his father; but he was, on the contrary, much to his disappointment and mortification, threatened by the Viceroy with punishment for not having engaged the enemy at Dâbul and destroyed their fleet, notwithstanding that he had the excuse to urge of having been overruled by the votes of his officers. This severe treatment preyed on the young man's mind, and, finding that all efforts to conciliate his father and regain his favour were of no avail, he sacrificed his valuable life in an action at Chaul. In the river of Chaul have his bones lain for the last three centuries and a half, and of the millions who have frequented the port since then none have known the spot which was the last resting-place of the brave Dom Lourenço d'Almeida.

But I am afraid I anticipate. Some time after the first victory of Dom Lourenço at the Chaul river, while Albuquerque was engaged before Ormuz, the Sultan of Egypt—to whom a deputy, reputed to be a man of sanctity, was despatched from Calicut by instigations of Mamale, the uncle of Vas's victim—fitted out a fleet of twelve sail with 15,000 Mamelukes, which he sent, under the command of Amir Hussain, to oppose the Portuguese in India. At this time the Viceroy, who was on the Malabar coast, had ordered his son Dom Lourenço with eight ships to scour the coast as far as Chaul, and wait there to join another fleet from Cochin, which was being prepared,—orders that were well received by his son. His fleet having arrived off Chaul put into the bay to take in provisions and refreshments. On his arrival there Dom Lourenço received intelligence of the fleet of the Sultan of Egypt being on its way to India, but, believing it to be an unfounded rumour, went ashore with most of his officers. Chaul was then a place of considerable trade, rising from its former decadence through the exer-

tions of the Ahmadnagar kings, who had but one maritime city for their extensive territory. This renovation was, moreover, facilitated by its convenient situation as an entrepôt between Gujarât and Malabar, and an outlet to the exports of the Dakhan.

To resume, however, the thread of our narrative. The news of the arrival of the Egyptian fleet having been confirmed by the Governor of Cannanore, who was informed of the fact by the well-known pirate Timoja, the Viceroy despatched Pedro Cam to Chaul to direct Dom Lourenço to proceed and engage the fleet. This has been regarded as a wrong step on the part of the Viceroy. It is by some opined that he should himself have started for Chaul to reinforce his son's fleet. Others, again, say that Dom Lourenço himself on the approach of the enemy's fleet should have steered out of the river and engaged the enemy on the sea. But we are all apt to be wise after the event.

Hussein, a Persian by birth and admiral of the Egyptian navy, had once before, on his way from Egypt to India, experienced in a formal engagement very harsh treatment from the two Almeidas, and was thirsting for vengeance. Malik Eyâz, a native of Sarmatia, who had renounced Christianity for Mahomedanism, and through his singular dexterity as an archer had not only regained his liberty—he had been a slave of the king of Cambay—but through his skill got himself nominated Governor of Diu, was also a sworn foe of the Portuguese. The hatred that both these men bore towards their common enemy was a bond of unity between them, and they combined to plan the destruction of their rivals.

Hussein and Malik Eyâz met amid great rejoicings at the point of Diu, and while consulting how to lay the ambuscade, or discussing other more or less well-devised schemes to annoy the Portuguese with their joint fleets, news was brought to them that Dom Lourenço d'Almeida had anchored his vessels before Chaul, and had lauded his men, being ignorant of the arrival of the Egyptian fleet in the Indian seas. Dom Lourenço, on being made aware of this, did not at first take much heed, depending upon the friendship of Nizâm-ul-Mulk, and believing that this sovereign would not permit any surprise in his dominions; although it was for his own interest that this pseudo-friend of theirs had advised his subjects to keep on good terms with the Portuguese trafficking in his ports.

Dom Lourenço, believing in this outward show of friendship, thought he might safely remain a little longer on land with some of his

officers, entertaining himself in shooting and athletic sports, until he had the opportunity of joining the fleet from Cochin. It was indeed rumoured abroad that the combined fleets had been seen on the coast sailing southwards; but Dom Lourenço made no account of this, imagining them to be the ships from Mecca which were here daily expected, or, as others state, to be the fleet of Albuquerque, who was sent out to succeed the Viceroy.

One of the ship's crew at last espied an extensive fleet from the top of the mainmast, but he could not discern their strength. They began now to suspect the truth. Hussein was really advancing that way with his red and white ensigns adorned with the black crescent, and a display of ornamental bunting as if on a gala day; while the astute Eyâz was following in the rear to concert an attack against the Portuguese.

Dom Lourenço had no sooner given the necessary orders to his men than he saw the Egyptian ships advancing against them. The Mamelukes had buoyed themselves up with the hope that they would surprise the Portuguese, and they gave undignified expression to their feelings by shouting and gesticulating and making divers other demonstrations of joy at having so opportunely found the enemy whom they were in search of, at their mercy. The Portuguese, having just had time enough to place themselves in a good position of defence, gave the enemy a warm reception. Hussein, believing himself secure of victory as he had surprised the Portuguese ships, determined to board in person the flag-ship commanded by Dom Lourenço. For this purpose he opened the attack with a volley of shells, arrows, hand-grenades, and other war-engines, enveloping the fleet in clouds of flame and smoke, but his attack was returned with such determination and skill that he at last desisted from attempting to board the vessel. Other Egyptian vessels attacked the Portuguese squadron throughout the day, though from a distance, but as night approached and separated the combatants, Hussein retreated with his vessels to the opposite bank of the river, among the sands, for his greater safety, to prepare for the renewal of the fight the next morning.

This brief respite for the night was spent by the Portuguese in preparations for the combat the next day. Dom Lourenço, being still ignorant of the confederacy between Amir Hussein and Malik Eyâz, gave, at daybreak, the signal to renew the fight. The attack was made with great energy and ardour, and Dom Lourenço was

sanguine of boarding Hussein's ship, which hope was shared by Pedro Barreto and the other captains ; but, not being able to approach close enough, on account of the sandbanks, he was obliged to rest satisfied with cannonading them, and this he did the whole day, and succeeded, notwithstanding the greater numerical strength of the enemy in ships and men, in capturing two galleys, all the men on board being put to the sword. The combat was carried on with much ardour and intrepidity on both sides, and the Portuguese seemed fast gaining ground, when Almeida, favoured by the wind and tide, made the attempt to board the Egyptian flag-ship. The victory was almost achieved, and the Moors were leaping overboard to escape to the shore, when the inconsiderate valour of Francisco de Nhaya, who began to pursue with a lance the enemy in the water, turned the scales against the Portuguese. The Moors returned to the combat with the heroism of despair, and Dom Lourenço was unsuccessful in his attempt, on account of the contrary current, to board the vessel. Malik Eyâz, the Governor of Diu, in the meanwhile put in his appearance in the harbour with a well-manned fleet, consisting of forty vessels, coming at the most decisive moment to the relief of his *confrère* Hussein, the Egyptian admiral. Not daring at once to engage the Portuguese, he came to anchor at the entrance of the creek, near enough to Hussein to join him the next day, the Portuguese slackening their efforts a little, being somewhat alarmed at this formidable and unexpected circumstance.

On observing this state of things, Dom Lourenço, although twice wounded by arrows, retained his presence of mind. He despatched two galleys and three caravels to hinder the union of the two fleets of the enemy, and this they did so effectually that Eyâz was obliged to change his position and retreat for shelter to another site. Dom Lourenço was then advised by his captains to set fire to the enemy's vessels, but he said he wanted to spare them to take them over as trophies to his old father. This little vanity had blinded him to the danger of the moment.

The battle, however, still continued between Dom Lourenço and Hussein until night again parted them, both sides endeavouring to conceal their losses. In the evening, after the cessation of the fight, the Portuguese captains met in council on board the flagship to deliberate on what was next to be done, and they were unanimously of opinion that as it was unsafe to defend themselves in the narrow river of Chaul, which was being rapidly blockaded by the enemy's fleet, it was

well to exercise prudence, and endeavour to bring their ships out of the river into the open sea during the night, to effect a decent retreat, before Malik Eyâz, who was a much more formidable antagonist than they had been accustomed to deal with, had joined the reinforcing fleet. But Dom Lourenço, remembering the displeasure of his father at his having declined to force the Calicut fleet to action in the river of Dâbul, and being besides of a temper more valiant than discreet, resolved not to steal away by night, fearing that his retreat to the open sea might be construed as a flight. He determined to make the best of his way by broad daylight, resolutely awaiting in the meanwhile the events of the next morning.

The morning arrived, and Malik Eyâz, perceiving that the Portuguese ships were ready to set sail with the first tide after daybreak, interpreted the alteration in the arrangements as a preparation for a retreat, and advancing, therefore, from the place where he had taken shelter, boldly attacked them, and, undismayed by the havoc wrought among his own crew by the constant cannonade of the Portuguese, pressed close in front in order to intercept their passage. Unfortunately at this time the ship of Dom Lourenço ran foul of some fishing-stakes in the bed of the river, and then was cast upon the rocks. Pelagio de Souza, who commanded the nearest galley, fastened a rope to the stranded vessel, and plying all his oars was making ineffectual efforts to tow her off, when, a ball happening to strike her hull near the rudder, she took in much water and was in danger of sinking. Then Pelagio cut the rope off, and his own ship was irresistibly borne out by the current to the sea. The officers seeing the impossibility of extricating the Admiral's vessel from so perilous a position, a boat was sent to Dom Lourenço entreating him to save his person and preserve himself for another combat. The gallant and high-spirited youth replied, however, that "he would never be guilty of such a piece of treachery as to leave in the lurch those who had hitherto been his companions in danger." Accordingly, he exerted himself to the utmost extremity in this precarious situation, animating his thirty men (out of a hundred, seventy being *hors de combat*) both with words and by his example to defend themselves. They fought like lions, and, rejecting all proposals of honourable surrender, armistice, &c., offered them by the enemy, resolved either to save the ship or die in the attempt. In the midst of this engagement a ball broke the Admiral's thigh. Ordering his men to place him upon a chair resting against the

mainmast, or directing them, as others write, to lash him to the mast, he continued to encourage them with his orders as occasion required, when another bullet pierced him through the chest and he was killed. His body was thrown below deck, that the sight of it might not give the enemy cause to rejoice. Here it was followed by his faithful page Gato, who, threw himself upon his master's corpse, lamenting his fate with literally bloody tears, one of his eyes having been pierced with an arrow. When at last, after a vigorous resistance, the Moors boarded the ship, and found Gato upon his master's body which he defended, he rose and slew as many of the Moors as approached the body of Dom Lourenço, until he himself fell dead among them. At length the ship sank, and out of the hundred men who belonged to her only nineteen escaped. At the close of the action it was found that, in all, the Portuguese had lost one hundred and forty men, besides one hundred and twenty-four wounded, while the enemy's loss is estimated at upwards of six hundred. The accounts given by the Portuguese chroniclers and the Mahomedan historians differ widely as to the loss in men, Ferishta adding that although 400 Turks were honoured with the crown of martyrdom, no fewer than 4,000 Portuguese infidels were sent to the infernal regions. But they all agree that the Portuguese on this occasion experienced a severe check, losing both the flag-ship and their Captain.* Among those who distinguished themselves most in this engagement was a sailor by name Andrea van Portua—others call him André Fernandes—a native of Oporto, who, standing on the top of the mainmast, although having previously lost the use of his right arm by a musket-ball, defended himself with only his left for a long time against the enemy, till at length they promised to spare his life. Upon this he surrendered himself, and was afterwards restored to the Portuguese. He returned at last safely to his country, and was well rewarded for his rare bravery by the King. The rest of the squadron continued their flight to Cannanore.

Such was the end of poor Dom Lourenço. Still young, he was one of the most distinguished sons Portugal ever gave birth to. He was much loved by his men, not only because of the constant exhibition of his bravery and prodigies of valour in the battle-field, but also on account of his other qualifications and his general good conduct. In the taking of Mombaza ; in obtaining satisfaction from the regent of Quilon, who had

* Barros, *Decadas*, edition of Lisbon, 1777, tome ii., pt. i., pp. 186-199.

once offered an insult to his countrymen ; in the naval combat with the fleet of the Zamorin which was being secretly prepared against them, and whose preparation was made known to him by the afore-mentioned traveller Ludovico di Varthema ; in a successful combat at Panane ; in establishing negotiations with the Maldives and Ceylon, the principal king of which island he compelled to submit to the King of Portugal ; and in several other actions both on sea and on land,—in all these he played a most distinguished part, displaying an undaunted courage, and a noble and considerate interest for the welfare of his companions in the field. He had been about four years in India, and it may truly be said of him what a British essayist has said of Blaise Pascal, only in a different line of thought and action :—“When we think,” says Rogers, “of the achievements which he crowded into that brief space, and which have made his name famous to all generations, we may well exclaim with Corneille, ‘À peine a-t-il vécu, quel nom il a laissé!’”*

The combat being now ended, the policy of the victors was to pursue the vanquished by going down to Calicut to join the fleet of the Zamorin prepared there in order to make a general attack against the Portuguese. Hussein was of this opinion, in which, however, Malik Eyâz did not agree, for he took altogether an opposite view of the matter, and persuaded his fellow-admiral to sail with his fleet back to Diu. Malik Eyâz had, besides a clear mind, tact, politeness of manners, and an air of gallantry, qualities which are held in such high repute among the Orientals, and which made him take special care of his prisoners and render their captivity as light as possible. He also tried to get possession of the corpse of Dom Lourenço in order to consign it to a decent grave, but it could not be found, or, if found, could not be recognized. Eyâz at last wrote a letter to the Viceroy on the death of his son, to console him on his loss, saying, among other platitudes, that it was a subject for consolation to a father who loved glory to learn that the son he had lost in the midst of such a high and hopeful career was worthy of him, dying as he did on the bed of honour.

The Viceroy, long before receiving this condoling letter, was made aware of the unfortunate event by the fugitive remnants of the fleet which had, in the meanwhile, arrived at Cannanore and given him all the details of the action, concealing from him, however, the death

* Rogers' *Essays Critical and Biographical*, Lond. 1874, vol. i., p. 212.

of his son, or rather disguising the fact by stating that they were not quite sure whether their leader was dead or taken captive. In the midst of this perplexity the Viceroy sent a *yogi* to Cambay with a ball of wax containing a letter to the captives there, asking for particulars regarding Dom Lourenço. The *yogi* returned in due time with the news of his death. The elder Almeida sustained with all fortitude this severe shock to his paternal feelings, and although he spoke in public of the death of his son as the death of a Christian hero, and worthy of one who had maintained hitherto by his conduct the traditions of his noble ancestors, he subsequently withdrew to his apartment, from which he did not come out for three days, neither did he speak of his heavy misfortune to any one.

The victors were in the meanwhile overwhelmed with joy, and the whole of India rang with the cry of victory from the lips of the blatant Mahomedans. They then spoke but of Amir Hussein and Malik Eyâz as the most celebrated men of the day ; all the kings of the country sent them ambassadors with congratulatory addresses, and the people celebrated the triumphs of their generals with fêtes and pageants of rare splendour. The victors were their tutelary deities, and the people believed that the moment had arrived for their deliverance from the oppressive yoke of the foreigner. These demonstrations of joy added to the affliction of the bereaved father, and tended also to inflame his wrath. Taking advantage of the two fleets which had arrived from Portugal, the venerable general set out to wreak his vengeance upon the Mahomedans, or revenge the death of his brave son. It would have been indeed difficult for him to hold the sea, but for the opportune arrival of the fleets of Tristað da Cunha and Affonço d'Albuquerque. The Viceroy had thus under him the combined armaments of nineteen vessels commanded by able officers, with 1,300 Portuguese soldiers and mariners and 400 Malabarese on board, with which force he set sail on the 12th November 1508, and, having first sunk and burnt some Calicut ships on his route, anchored off the city of Dâbul, which he destroyed, making a descent upon it. The resistance was, however, vigorous. Piles of the dead formed a barrier more formidable even than the palisades erected round the city, but the assailants striving among themselves who should be the foremost, the artillery of the besieged being happily of high range and passing over their heads, they pressed on to the ramparts, which were scaled, and the city devastated and razed to the ground. It was then given to

plunder,* and ultimately reduced to ashes. Their cruelty was on this occasion of so glaring a nature that it gave rise to the proverbial curse: "Let the wrath of the Farangî fall on you as it did on Dâbul." Having accomplished this unpleasant task, he set out for Diu on the 3rd February 1509, where he achieved a splendid victory. Of this engagement there is no mention made in the Mahomedan history of Gujarât, but the Portuguese annalists' accounts are too circumstantial to be doubted. Having at last concluded a treaty of peace with Malik Eyâz, who now hastened to court the friendship of the Portuguese, the Viceroy returned to Cochin, and on his way made the sovereign of Chaul, Nizâm-ul-Mulk, who was intimidated by the accounts of the late victory, a tributary to the King of Portugal.† This took place in April 1509.

One year subsequent to this event the Viceroy was, through the imprudence of his officers, involved in a scuffle with a band of Hottentots at Saldanha Bay, where he had stopped on his way home, and died, being wounded by a javelin in the neck. Besides his prudence and valour which had contributed so much to extend the conquests of his nation, Dom Francisco d'Almeida, the seventh son of the Conde d'Abrantes, had also other accomplishments. It was he who first discovered the island of Madagascar and gave it the name of St. Lawrence, which name, according to Mandelslo,‡ was meant either to honour his son, or the saint of the day on which the discovery was made. His disinterestedness was equal to his valour, for, unlike some of his successors, he returned home poorer than when he left Lisbon for India. His death has been a never-ending theme for philosophical discourses, and, among others, there is a contemporary writer who moralizes on the sad event thus:—"That the man who had trampled upon countless thousands of Asiatics, who had humbled their sovereign powers, and annihilated in the seas the powers of the Egyptian Soldan, should perish on an obscure strand

* Faria y Sousa adds that, the Viceroy not having laid in any considerable store of provisions when his expedition was organized, it was thought fit to seek for food in Dâbul when it was given to plunder. In the search they found locusts preserved in pots, which the Portuguese tasted and found palatable, and not "unlike shrimps."

† Some of the chroniclers state that the amount of 2,000 *pardaos* in gold, which Nizâm-ul-Mulk used voluntarily to pay to Dom Lourenço for the defence of his port, was now made compulsory.

‡ *Voyages du Sieur Albert de Mandelslo*, Amsterdam, 1727, p. 654. But others say it was the fleet of Tristão da Cunha; Camoens is of this opinion—see *Lusiadas*, canto x., stanza xxxix.

by the hands of a few savages, should be a salutary lesson for human ambition.* Soon after this event a factor was placed at Chaul, where he is mentioned in 1514 by Duarte Barbosa, who, under the name of Cheul, describes the place thus :—

“Leaving the kingdom of Cambay, along the coast towards the south, at eight leagues’ distance, there is a fine large river, and on it is a place called Cheul†,—not very large, of handsome houses, which are all covered with thatch. This place is one of great commerce in merchandize, and in the months of December, January, February, and March there are many ships from the Malabar country and all other parts, which arrive with cargoes. That is to say, those of Malabar laden with cocoanuts, arecas, spices, drugs, palm sugar, emery, and there they make their sales for the continent and for the kingdom of Cambay; and the ships of Cambay come there to meet them laden with cotton stuffs, and many other goods which are available in Malabar, and these are bartered for the goods which have come from the Malabar country. And on the return voyage they fill their ships with wheat, vegetables, millet, rice, sesame, oil of sesame, of which there is much in the country; and these Malabars also buy many pieces of fine muslin‡ for women’s head-dress, and many beyranies, of which there are plenty in this kingdom. A large quantity of copper is sold in this port of Cheul, and at a high price, for it is worth twenty ducats the hundredweight, or more, because in the interior money is made of it, and it is also used throughout the country for cooking-pots. There is also a great consumption in this place of quicksilver and vermilion for the interior, and for the kingdom of Guzarat, which copper, quicksilver, and vermilion is brought to this place by the Malabar merchants, who get it from the factories of the King of Portugal; and they get more of it by way of the Mekkah, which comes there from Diu. These people wear the beyranies put on for a few days nearly in the raw state, and afterwards they bleach them and make them very white, and gum them to sell them abroad, and thus some are met with amongst them which are toru. In this port of Cheul there are few inhabitants, except during three or four months of the year, the time for putting in cargo, when

* Knight’s *Universal Biography*.

† *Chaul, Ortelius*, 1570.

‡ *Beatilla, bétille* in French.

there arrive merchants from all the neighbourhood, and they make their bargains during this period, and despatch their goods, and after that return to their homes until the next season, so that this place is like a fair in those months. There is a Moorish gentleman as governor of this place, who is a vassal of the King of Decani, and collects his revenues, and accounts to him for them. He is called Xech, and does great service to the King of Portugal, and is a great friend of the Portuguese, and treats very well all those that go there, and keeps the country very secure. In this place there is always a Portuguese factor appointed by the captain and factor of Goa, in order to send from this place provisions and other necessaries to the city of Goa, and to the Portuguese fleets; and at a distance of about a league inland from Cheul is a place where the Moors and Gentiles of the cities and towns throughout the country come to set up their shops of goods and cloths at Cheul during the before-mentioned months; they bring these in great caravans of domestic oxen, with packs like donkeys, and on the top of these long white sacks placed crosswise, in which they bring goods; and one man drives thirty or forty beasts before him.”*

During the Governorship of Lopo Soares d'Albergaria, in the year 1516, permission was obtained from Nizâm-ul-Mulk to establish on a larger scale a factory at Chaul, and to have freer access than the Portuguese had hitherto had to this important harbour. It is on this occasion that the Portuguese chroniclers make the first mention of Mahim and Bandora, although it has no great historical importance attached to it. It was but a skirmish by Dom João de Monroy, who, while the Governor was engaged in the Red Sea, having orders to cruise along the coast, entered the Mahim river and met a native merchant vessel, the crew of which on the approach of the Portuguese dragged her on shore, and, taking as much of the cargo as they could carry, ran off in haste. Monroy then took the ship and steered towards Chaul. Passing near the Mahim fort he ordered a discharge of artillery against it, and went on his way; the native captain of the fort, by name Haguji, extremely vexed for this outrageous provocation, equipped in haste ten vessels, and followed in pursuit of Monroy. They met at the entrance of the Chaul river, where Haguji was defeated.

* Barbosa's *Description of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar*, translated by the Hon. Henry E. J. Stauley, Lond. 1866, pp. 69 *et seq.*

In the year 1521 the Governor, Diogo Lopes de Siqueira, who, like his predecessor, Soares d'Albergaria, was more a merchant than a soldier, on his return from Cambay, where everything had gone amiss with him, put into Chaul. His principal misfortunes were the firing of the powder-room of the ship commanded by Antonio Correa, by the Mahomedan crew of a vessel captured by him on his voyage from Ormuz to Diu, on board of which they were made prisoners, and by which they blew up the poop into the air along with the brave conqueror of Bahrayn and all his rich booty. This was followed by the defeat of the little fleet that was sent under Beja to make the old demand in regard to a site to construct a fort at Diu, which not only met with a stern refusal, but in the scuffle which ensued on that occasion one of their galleys was sunk. Diogo Lopes at last, owing to these disasters, abandoned the project and retired precipitately, harassed as he was by Malik Eyâz and his compeers in the rear, until he arrived at Chaul. .

At Chaul, Diogo Lopes met Fernaõ Camello, who had come with permission from Nizâm-ul-Mulk to erect a fort on the site of Revadanda, where the Portuguese had already built, in 1516, a miserable-looking little house called a factory. They were, however, practically masters of the place to such an extent as to enrage the Mahomedans, who through sheer jealousy had murdered the first factor, Joaõ Fernandes, whose place was then filled by Fernaõ Camello.*

Some of the chroniclers state that the permission for the erection of the fortress was not only willingly granted by Nizâm-ul-Mulk, but almost pressed on them to be executed expeditiously, in order to spite the Gujarât king, with whom the Nizâm was then at war. For this purpose the king of Ahmadnagar, who had, a short time before, had his city burnt by the Dâbul fleet of Adil Khân, despatched to the Portuguese factory a person whom Barros calls Letefican (Latif Khân) to concert measures and draw up an agreement or treaty between the two parties. The governorship of the Mahomedan city of Chaul had then fallen vacant, and was in dispute between two rival brothers named Sheikh Ahmad and Sheikh Mahomed, the highest bidder for the prize succeeding to the place.

Diogo Lopes was not slow to profit by so advantageous an offer. The treaty being ratified and signed, the building of the fort was

* Barros, *Decadas*, tome i., pt. 2, p. 295; also tome ii., pt. 1, p. 192.

begun without delay on the northern margin of the creek, about half a league to the south of the other, as the most convenient site for warlike purposes.*

The walls being once erected, the workmen, to whose toils a great impetus was imparted by the receipt of letters from the King of Portugal desiring them to build a fort at Chaul as well as at Diu, applied themselves *à couvert* to perfect the inner apartments of the building. Within this time the charge of the factory had passed over from Camello to Diogo Paes. Being aware that the erection of the fortress of Chaul was begun, which would eventually prove prejudicial to his interests, Malik Eyâz lost no time in making his appearance before Chaul with more than fifty vessels, and sunk a large Portuguese ship of Pedro da Silva de Menezes sailing with a rich cargo from Ormuz. He then continued to blockade the fort of Chaul for three weeks, doing considerable damage to the squadron which was opposed to him, and altogether harassing them greatly. Notwithstanding this, the construction of the fort was perseveringly carried on. About this time Diogo Lopes, learning that his successor had arrived at Cochin and his presence was necessary at that place, and being chagrined, moreover, at the inglorious result of the naval encounters above alluded to, forced his way through the enemy's fleet, leaving his nephew Henrique de Menezes to command the fort, and Fernão Beja in charge of the ships, consisting of two galleys, three caravels, one foist, and one brigantine, to oppose the aggressions of Malik Eyâz.

While thus forcing his way, escorted by his vessels, Diogo Lopes was, besides some untoward accidents of tide and head winds, met with a vigorous attack by Âgâ Mahomed, who was then commanding the Cambay fleet, and, being indefatigable in seconding every intention of his master, had himself done all in his power to hinder the establishment of the Portuguese at Chaul. He was, however, defeated, although the victory cost the Portuguese the death of Fernão Beja, who is crowned by the annalists with the pompous title of "General of the Sea." This memorable engagement was seen with

* Among the stipulations of that treaty was one concerning the importation of horses for the use of Nizâm-ul-Mulk. Barros says that on the subject of horses the Indian Mahomedans had the following adage:—"Se não houvesse sofrimento, não houvera já mundo; se não houvesse cavallos, não houvera guerra." "Without sufferings there would be no world, nor without horses any war."

exciting interest from the shore by multitudes of people, who seemed to enjoy the affray and carnage so long as their own lives were not at stake. Beja was much regretted, and his place was temporarily occupied by Antonio Correa (not the one blown up near Ormuz),* pending the arrival of Dom Luis de Menezes, brother of the new Governor, who had been appointed in his place "General of the Sea."

To secure the entrance to the river, the Portuguese had constructed a redoubt or bulwark on the side opposite to the fort, and placed it under the command of Pedro Vaz Permeo, an old officer who had seen service in Italy, with a garrison of thirty men. Âgâ Mahomed landed 300 of his men by night to surprise this bulwark; but the small garrison, though the captain and several men were slain, valiantly opposed them, and maintained their ground till relieved by Ruy Vaz Pereira with a reinforcement of two armed boats containing sixty men, who put the enemy to flight, after having lost two of their chief officers and a hundred men. By this signal success of the Portuguese the enemy were much daunted, particularly a certain Sheikh Mahomed, a great man in the city, who pretended to be a friend of the Portuguese, but yet did everything in his power secretly to molest them. On the occasion of the defeat of Âgâ Mahomed, this Sheikh, believing him ignorant of his perfidy, sent to congratulate Antonio Correa; but the latter, well knowing his treachery, sent him in return the heads of his messengers, and hung up their bodies, for his edification, along the shore. The Sheikh was taken aback at this act, and in revenge proceeded to open hostilities, encouraging Âgâ Mahomed to persevere in the blockade, giving him at the same time intelligence that the Portuguese were in want of ammunition; but Dom Luis de Menezes arrived in the nick of time with reinforcements and a supply of ammunition and provisions, beside the new captain of Chaul, Simaõ d'Andrade; to them Correa resigned the command, and the blockade was raised. Some of the chroniclers relate wonders of this siege. They tell us of a soldier's shield on which a crucifix was represented being spiked with sixty darts, none of which touched the crucifix; and of others having twenty or more darts on them, which were likewise uninjured.

* This, though apparently preposterous, is a necessary parenthesis. Some of the translators of Faria y Souza have expressed doubts on the subject.

The next historical event in connection with Chaul is the arrival of Vasco da Gama in its port on his third and last voyage to India as the second Viceroy of the Portuguese dominions in the East. On his way to Goa, off Dâbul, he met with a fierce tempest which was about to engulf his fleet, and which Vasco da Gama, with his usual *sang froid*, used to explain away as a symptom of the ocean's fright at his presence; he was driven safely to Chaul, where he cast anchor on the 8th September 1524, and took, according to Barros, his title of Viceroy, following the example of Dom Francisco d'Almeida, who had taken the same title on his arrival at Cannanore. He did not land at all, but on his arrival Simaõ d'Andrade, Captain of Chaul, went at once to pay his respects to the Admiral on board his vessel, where, says Gaspar Correa, "the Viceroy did him great honour, and gave him and all the Captains of the fleet large presents of refreshments, because he was very grand and liberal in his expenditure."* Then the Viceroy appointed Christovaõ de Souza captain of the fortress, and having made, in conformity with his instructions from the King, several other minor appointments, he sailed, after a stay of three days, to Goa, carrying with him all the officers who did not belong to the local garrison and were unmarried, or had no pretext whatever for staying at Chaul, promising to each a share of the rich spoil of a Mahomedan ship which he had captured at sea on his way from the Red Sea to India. The goods on board that ship, when valued, were found to contain one hundred thousand ducats in gold, and two hundred thousand more in merchandize and slaves.

Dom Duarte de Menezes, on entering upon the government of India on the 22nd of January 1522, had sent his brother Dom Luis de Menezes, the General of the Sea in Chaul, to Ormuz to quell a rebellion of the Mahomedans, and afterwards followed himself. The Mahomedans showed opposition to the obnoxious measure adopted by Dom Duarte's predecessor of appointing Portuguese officers to the custom-house of Ormuz, to prevent certain frauds that had been practised by the native officers of the customs. On Dom Luis going to Ormuz, Chaul was left entirely to the care of Simaõ d'Andrade, who had begun his career here by capturing two Turkish galleys and gaining a victory over the people of Dâbul. By this success that city was reduced, and made to pay tribute, and also to cede to him two of the enemy's

* Stanley's *Three Voyages of Vasco da Gama*, Lond. 1869, p. 384.

ships. In the meanwhile the fort of Chaul, which had begun to be built in 1521, had been completed about 1524, and commanded even the entrance of the harbour of Bombay, in which from this date the Portuguese fleets were moving freely.

On Dom Duarte putting in at Chaul, where he met Christovão de Souza as Captain, he was informed that the Viceroy, Vasco da Gama, had left orders not to allow him to land. Malik Eyâz in the meanwhile appears to have been terrified by the repeated successes of the Portuguese, for he at once withdrew his fleet from before Chaul, to return again in 1528, when a great number of the ships of the fleet, which comprised 83 barques, were destroyed by the allied forces of the Portuguese and the King of Ahmadnagar. A valiant Moor named Alexiath (Ali Shâh) was in command. He had done much injury to the subjects of Nizâm-ul-Mulk and to the Portuguese trade at Chaul during the captaincy of Christovão de Souza. In consequence of this, the present Captain, Francisco Pereira de Berredo, demanded aid from the Governor, Lopo Vaz de Sampayo, who accordingly set sail with 40 vessels of different sizes, in which were 1,000 Portuguese soldiers, besides a considerable force of armed natives. In this expedition Heitor de Sylveira commanded the small vessels that were rowed—they all being Malabar vessels, which by the early writers are called *parâos*, *tonys*, *caturs*, &c., and are in fact rowing-boats—while Sampayo took charge of the sailing vessels. On arriving at Chaul, Sampayo sent 80 Portuguese, under the command of Joaõ de Avelar, to the assistance of Nizâm-ul-Mulk, and then sailed towards Diu. It was on this occasion that Bombay was for the second time visited by the Portuguese. Off Bombay the Cambay fleet, of which he was in search, was descried; some of the ships were detached and sent round to secure the entrance to the Bandora creek, to prevent the enemy from escaping, while Sylveira with his brigantines and rowing-boats bore down upon them. During the night, which was spent in the Bombay harbour, the crews of both fleets observed in the sky a comet of extraordinary size, sword-like in shape, which, says Barros, the Greeks used to call *Xiphia*. This appearance was held by the Mahomedans as an ominous sign, foreboding their proximate defeat. Notwithstanding, the engagement took place. A little before this, however, Sampayo got into one of his swift little boats and ordering all the ships of his fleet in a line made a short speech to each of them, encouraging them to action, and then gave the order for fighting. After a furious cannonade about or in front of the Bombay harbour,

the Portuguese gallantly boarded the enemy, who attempted to flee round the harbour through the Bandora creek, but found it blockaded, and Ali Shâh escaped with only ten of his barques, all the rest being taken. Of the 73 vessels captured, with a vast number of prisoners and much artillery and abundance of ammunition, 33 were retained as serviceable, the rest being burnt. It was on this occasion that Thâna, Salsette, and Bombay were made tributary. All this took place in February 1526.

In this naval engagement Francisco de Barrio de Paiva was the first to board the enemy's vessels, and obtained the prize of 100 ducats which had been previously offered by Sampayo for such an act. The Portuguese historians state that, although the enemy lost so many ships and lives, the Portuguese lost not a single man. On this Lafitau remarks:—"Peut on les croire sans leur faire tort et sans diminuer beaucoup l'éclat de leur victoire en concevant trop de mépris pour les ennemis, à qui ils avaient affaire?"*

The detachment sent to Nizâm-ul-Mulk, assisted by 1,000 native soldiers of that king, acquired great honour by their gallantry, their commander, Joaõ de Avelar, being the first to scale, with their assistance, a fort belonging to the Gujarât king till then thought impregnable. Having slain the defenders, he delivered it up to Nizâm-ul-Mulk, who had for this purpose first implored the aid of the Portuguese.

In 1530 the Portuguese had a squabble with Nizâm-ul-Mulk, who had at length come to the determination, in spite of all his amicable overtures, to show the Portuguese his undisguised displeasure at having been compelled to cede them a few roods of the ground at the Chaul creek. This misunderstanding appears to have originated from the then captain of Chaul, Francisco Pereira Berredo, having, at the request of Nizâm-ul-Mulk, proceeded with a detachment of 200 men under his personal command to overthrow his enemy the king of Cambay, who was at the head of an army of 12,000, but only to return after suffering a severe repulse. Hence the determination of Nizâm-ul-Mulk to show his displeasure, which indicates to what extent the friendship he bore to the Portuguese was induced by self-interest. However, differences were soon made up, but the good understanding, superficial in its nature, lasted only for a decade, during which period Chaul was the only powerful Portuguese naval station on this part

* *Hist. des Descouvertes*, etc. Paris, 1736, vol. iii., p. 196.

of the coast, as well as the chief place of their army prior to the establishment of Bassein, honoured often by the visits of men so remarkable as statesmen and warriors as Nuno da Cunha, Martim Affonso de Souza, and others.

The success of the Portuguese under Sampayo had terrified all the princes of India who had been hitherto their enemies. Nizâm-ul-Mulk and Adil Khân sent in consequence their ambassadors to the Viceroy, Dom Garcia de Noronha, to renew their former treaties of peace, and the Zamorin was to obtain more honourable treatment from his employing the mediation of a commandant of the fort of Chalé, near Calicut.*

The next important event in connection with the history of Chaul is a grand naval review held in the harbour of Bombay. The largest fleet that ever crossed the Bombay waters, comprising four hundred vessels of all descriptions, principally from Chaul, were assembled under the command of Nuno da Cunha, Governor-General in India, conveying 22,000 men, of whom no less than 3,600 soldiers and 1,450 sailors were Europeans. There were, besides, 2,000 Canara and Malabar soldiers, 8,000 slaves, and about 5,000 native seamen. All of them were paraded on the site of the present Esplanade, and it was a splendid spectacle, say the chroniclers, to see these soldiers, in the quaint gaudy costumes of the time, moving on the then almost desolate island of Bombay, having for a background the array of vessels lying at anchor in the harbour, and all preparing to sail for the conquest of Diu. This took place in January 1531. They sailed towards Diu on the 7th February, and carried by assault a strongly fortified position in the island of Beyt, in the Gulf of Cutch.

Some time after, Chaul was visited by one of the greatest Portuguese travellers, the yet little known Fernão Mendes Pinto. He came down on board the same fleet which brought a new Captain of Chaul, appointed by the King, by name Jorge de Lima. On arrival at Chaul, in 1538 or the beginning of 1539, he met here Simão Guedes, who was then the Captain of Chaul, and to whom he mentioned all the untoward accidents that befell him on the way.†

* The renewal of the treaty with Nizâm-ul-Mulk in the Governorship of Dom Garcia de Noronha is published in the *Subsidios para a Historia da India Portuguesa*, by Rodrigo J. de L. Felner, Lisbon, 1868, pp. 115-117.

† *Peregrinaçãõ de Fernão Mendes Pinto*, Lisbon, 1762, pp. 3 and 8.

In the year 1540 Nizâm-ul-Mulk being determined to gain possession of the fortresses of Sangaça and Carnala (Sanksi and Karnâla), held by two subjects of the king of Gujarât, on the frontiers of that kingdom, and which were formidable from their strength and situation, took them by assault in the absence of their commanders. Dom Francisco de Menezes, the captain of Bassein, having been applied to for help, went to their assistance with 300 Europeans and a party of native troops, and the fortresses were stormed, retaken, and restored to their former owners, and Portuguese garrisons left with both for their protection. After a short time Nizâm-ul-Mulk, with an army of 5,000, having ruined and pillaged the two districts, the commanders in despair abandoned the places, and, resigning their titles to the Portuguese, withdrew to Bassein, whence Menezes sent supplies and relief, intending to defend them. On hearing of this, Nizâm-ul-Mulk sent an additional force of 6,000 men, of whom 1,000 were musketeers, and 800 well-equipped horsemen. This great force having besieged the fortress, which they twice assaulted in one day, they were repulsed with great slaughter. They again assaulted the trenches, and were opposed with determination, until, being much fatigued, and suffering from hunger and excessive heat, both parties were under the necessity of declaring by mutual consent a truce. In this interval Menezes having arrived with 160 Europeans, twenty of whom were cavalry, several naiks and 2,000 native soldiers, the attack was renewed, and after a sharp encounter the enemy fled, leaving the ground about the fortresses strewed with arms and ammunition.

In this engagement a Portuguese soldier of gigantic stature and prodigious strength, named Trancoso, in the heat of the battle seized by the waist a Mahomedan wrapped up in a large veil, and carried him as if he were a buckler to shelter his breast, receiving upon him all the strokes from the enemy's weapons. He continued to use this strange shield with marvellous effect, and did not once drop it on the ground till the close of the action. This soldier was the brother of Dom Antonio Trancoso, a magistrate, and having settled at Thânâ died there at a very advanced age, having two of his grand-daughters married to Dom Francisco de Souza and Dom Diniz d'Almeida, officers of the Diu garrison. The house and family of this distinguished warrior are now extinct.*

* Diogo do Couto's *Decadas*, vol. ii., pt. 2, p. 193.

When the battle was over, the Governor, Dom Estevão da Gama, happened to arrive at Chaul, and considering that these fortresses cost more than they produced, and Nizâm-ul-Mulk was their ally, restored them to that prince for an additional tribute of 5,000 *pardaos* in gold, to the great regret of Captain Menezes of Bassein, who showed to the last his reluctance to deliver them up to him.*

A curious episode, connected with the history of Chaul, as illustrated in the "*Vida de Dom João de Castro*," by one of the most elegant and popular, though by no means trustworthy, of the Portuguese chroniclers, Jacinto Freire d'Andrade, is the patriotic zeal of the matrons and maidens of Chaul, who, having heard that the Viceroy of India, Dom João de Castro, had requested the municipality of Goa to lend him 20,000 *pardaos*, for the use of his army of defence at Diu, which was being besieged by Khoja Sofar, sending at the same time a lock of his moustaches as a pledge for the sure and punctual repayment of the money, sent him their earrings, necklaces, bracelets, and other jewellery, to be applied to the public service. The Governor, however, restored them all in the same condition in which they were sent, having been in the meantime amply supplied with funds by the capture of a rich ship of Cambay. This took place in 1546.

The above statement has been written and reproduced several times for more than three centuries, and, remaining uncontradicted, is universally believed. It was only lately that the discovery of documents that lay buried for years in the Government archives at Lisbon led some writers to cast a doubt on the veracity of that story. The truth is that when Dom João de Castro wrote a letter, dated the 3rd May 1546, addressed to the municipality, magistrates and inhabitants of Chaul, requesting their aid in the preparation of a fleet to resist the king of Gujarât, a reply, dated the 22nd of the same month, was sent, saying, "We are ready to aid you not only with persons, arms, horses, ships and states for all the time you wish; but if our states be not sufficient for that purpose, our wives will gladly offer us their jewels." The enthusiasm of the reply is so palpable that, caught by it, and faithful to the tradition of being the Spartans of the time, a lady from Chaul, who was then at Goa, sent to the Viceroy by her daughter a case of jewels, stating that

* This second treaty is found in Felner's *Subsidios, ut supra*, pt. ii., pp. 117-120.

having heard that the ladies of Chaul had offered their jewels to him, she was desirous to have the honour of sending hers. Another part of this curious letter worth noting is her allusion to the wealth of Chaul at that time. She writes :—" Do not think, Sir, that because my jewels are so few, there are not more at Chaul. I assure you that I have the least portion, having distributed them among my daughters. There are jewels in Chaul which alone are sufficient to carry on the war for ten years."*

During the entire period from 1540 until the Governorship of Francisco Barreto, in 1555, Chaul enjoyed the blessing of peace, which circumstance accounts partly for the amount of wealth above referred to. It was only in 1557 that the Governor having been informed of the death of Nizâm-ul-Mulk in the preceding year, and not being quite sure of meeting the same friendly treatment at the hands of his successor, expressed his desire to secure the promontory of Kôrlê (*Môrro*), and fortify it into an outwork of defence for the city of Chaul, when a scuffle ensued, as we shall see hereafter.

The Portuguese chroniclers of the time pass a glowing encomium on the memory of the deceased Nizâm-ul-Mulk, who, it is stated, was endowed with great natural and political sagacity, his court being an hospitable resort of the best men of the time. He had among his courtiers a Portuguese renegade, by name Simaõ Peres, who had embraced Mahomedanism, and was held in such high estimation by the king that he appointed him his minister and general of his army. Notwithstanding his apostacy, Peres was always friendly towards his countrymen, and entertained no respect for those who imitated his perfidy. The king, on his death-bed, recommended his successor to the good offices of this faithful servant, and Peres executed with fidelity all his charges.

Soon after the death of the king, the young prince had an unpleasant affray with Adil Khân, in which the old minister lost his life, and the new Nizâm-ul-Mulk was left to his whims, unguided alike by the advice of his sober minister and the example of his wise father. In reference to the latter, Diogo do Couto is the only chronicler who points out a trait

* *Instituto Vasco da Gama*, vol. iv., pp. 29 and 57. Dom João de Castro was often at Chaul, and a fourth treaty of alliance, confirmatory of all the three previous ones, was signed by him with Nizâm-ul-Mulk. *Subsídios*, *ibid.*, pp. 120-123.

in the character of the deceased king which really mars the effect of his otherwise eminently eulogistic memoir. He informs us, in his *Decada V.*, liv. VIII., cap. vi., that this prince being affected by what he calls St. Lazarus' malady, *i.e.* leprosy, and all medical efforts to cure him having failed, was recommended by one of his court physicians to try as a last resource the effect of bathing in children's blood. Large tanks were filled, says the historian, with that liquid, but with no better result. This wanton immolation of innocent little lives on the altar of this prince's tyranny differs perhaps only in degree from the murder of the innocents by Herod. However, Nizâm-ul-Mulk, in spite of his leprosy, lived to the advanced age of ninety, having reigned for the unusually long period of fifty-eight years. The disposition of this prince was perhaps not dissimilar to that of Sultân Mahomed, king of Gujarât, who, like Mithridates, had accustomed himself to the use of poison, to guard himself against being poisoned. When any of his women, Faria y Souza tells us, happened to be nigh delivery, he opened their wombs to take out the fœtus. And being out hunting one day accompanied by some of his women, he fell from his horse and was dragged by the stirrup, when one of his female companions bravely made up to his horse and cut the girth with a scimitar; in requital for this service he killed her, saying that "a woman of such courage had also enough to kill him." He was at length murdered by a page in whom he had great confidence. "For tyrants," adds the historian, "always die by the hands of those in whom they repose most trust."*

When Barreto arrived at Chaul he had neither the friendly assistance of the old king nor the coöperation of the patriotic minister to back him in his project to secure and fortify the rocky promontory of Kôrlê, called by the Portuguese, as already stated "o Môrro de Chaul." It was really this friendship that had hitherto prevented the Portuguese from attacking Chaul, while the neighbouring city of Dâbûl had been between 1503 and 1557 four times burnt and plundered. The possession of the promontory of Kôrlê commanding the entrance of the harbour, would, he thought, compensate for all the drawbacks and imperfections of the fortress of Chaul, especially at a time when all the Mahomedan powers of India were,

* *Asia Portuguesa*, Spanish edition of 1674, vol. ii., p. 278.

conjointly with the Rûms,* striving to enlist the support of the natives of the country in their efforts to make the Portuguese abandon their conquests in India.

The project of fortifying the promontory had, however, according to the stipulations of the treaty, before being carried into effect, to be submitted to, and approved of by, the King of Chaul, Nizâm-ul-Mulk II. For this purpose an ambassador with rich presents was sent. The young prince regarded the proposal as an insult to his dignity, and as displaying an occult desire on the part of the Portuguese to undermine his independence. Then apprehending that such a project was a mere pretext to levy duties on merchandize leaving or entering his port, and thus deprive him of this important item of state revenue, he not only refused permission, but made the ambassador a prisoner, and despatched his General, Farate Khân, with 30,000 men, and instructions to build as speedily as possible an impregnable fortress there on his own account. He ordered his General at the same time not to show any hostility towards the Portuguese in the fort, nor to those who were settled in their city. Garcia Rodrigues de Tavora, the Governor of the fortress of Chaul, alarmed at this state of things, made representations to the Viceroy, and obtained a fleet, under the command of Alvaro Peres Souto Maior, to stop the progress of the work begun.

Soon after the Viceroy himself went in person to their relief with a numerous and well-manned fleet conveying 4,000 Portuguese troops, besides natives, who kept on pouring shells and bullets on the workmen, preventing progress being made with the fortifications. Whereupon Nizâm-ul-Mulk, unwilling to continue the conflict, sent a *parlementaire* with the following message :—" that he was a friend to the King of Portugal, having inherited that feeling from his predecessor, who had given them a place where they had already built a citadel, a gift which he certainly never thought of revoking, but that he had reasons to apprehend that by allowing them to build a new fort it would eventually lead them to place him under their yoke, and deprive him of the customs duties, which belonged, as hitherto, to him alone, as the sovereign of the place." The arguments being found convincing, the

* The European Turks were called Rûms by the Portuguese, from their occupying the seat of the Lower Roman Empire, just as the Asiatics used to call Franks all nations of the Latin race, from their first acquaintance with them in the time of the Crusades.

conflict ended in a pacific arrangement being made by both parties that Kôrlê should remain as it was.

During the above affray, the chroniclers add, a miracle was wrought at the promontory of Kôrlê, where the Moors, utterly unable to cut down with swords a small wooden cross fixed upon a stone, tried to remove it by the force of elephants, but without success. Faria y Souza adds to this miracle the following :—“ Likewise about this time a Portuguese soldier bought for a trifle from a *jogue (yogî)* in Ceylon a brown pebble about the size of an egg, on which the heavens were represented in several colours, and in the midst of them the image of the holy Virgin with the Saviour in her arms ; this precious jewel fell into the hands of Francisco Barreto, who presented it to Queen Catherine, and through its virtues God wrought many miracles both in India and Portugal.”*

This was also an occasion on which the Portuguese of Chaul, not yet intoxicated with the spirit of luxury or insolence of wealth, which rendered them in subsequent encounters as difficult to control within the bounds of prudence as to bring them under a moderate discipline, evinced such a zeal for the public welfare as to feed at their expense all the soldiers of the garrison. One of the inhabitants, by name Lopes Carrasco, a man of considerable wealth, placed daily at his door tables with every sort of eatables for the use of the garrison during the time the conflict with Nizâm-ul-Mulk continued, and his excellent example was followed by others with alacrity and praiseworthy emulation.

In 1570, five years after the famous battle of Talicota, in which the memory of the old empire of Narsinga was destroyed by the Mahomedan sword, a serious combination was formed against the Portuguese by the kings of Bijapûr and Ahmadnagar, assisted by the Zamorin, to drive them out of India—not unlike the one that in 1857 was concocted against the British. This confederacy, which had been under negotiation for five long years with remarkable secrecy, flattered itself so much with the certainty of extirpating the Portuguese from this country that they agreed beforehand on the distribution of their expected conquests.

Princes are, however, more than ordinary individuals, apt, as M. de la Clède rightly observes, to mistrust each other, even when profess-

* *Asia Portuguesa, loc. cit., p. 314.*

ing apparently entire confidence.† In spite of the alliance being sealed with the most solemn oaths, each of the princes was disinclined to strike the first blow, suspecting his ally would not follow suit. Nizâm Shâh or Nizâm-ul-Mulk, anxious as he was to get rid of the Portuguese from Chaul at all hazards, and share their dominions as a part of his spoil, was on various pretences putting off besieging Chaul until Adil Khân had first invaded Goa.

The secret at last got out: Farate Khân being appointed the commander of Nizâm-ul-Mulk's army, advanced with it about the end of December, in fulfilment of the stipulations of his master. His army consisted of 26 elephants, 8,000 horse, and 20,000 infantry, men of courage and willing to fight, but wanting in one thing—discipline—to make them fine soldiers.

Their march into the environs of the old city was made amidst the deafening sound of cymbals, beating of drums, and a variety of martial music. Four thousand of the Ahmadnagar cavalry then marched along the north of Chaul to cut off the reinforcements and supplies from Bassein, and the small fort of Caranja with its garrison of 40 men under Duarte Perestrello. All this amazing ostentation did not, however, in the least alarm the Portuguese citizens, who, being fully awake as to what was to happen, displayed the same serene determination, intrepidity, and willingness to fight as their countrymen at Goa. The chroniclers attribute this disposition of mind to the Viceroy, Dom Luis d'Athaide, the Lord Canning of those days, whose good example had, more than anything else, inspired them with confidence. He was recommended by many, especially the Archbishop, to abandon Chaul for the greater security of Goa; but he undauntedly resolved to defend both.

This was a time pregnant with grave events. Goa was then in the throes of a formidable invasion. However, those were the days in which the capital of Portuguese India had not entirely declined from its former proud eminence of luxury and power, and romantic incidents and deeds of valour were not uncommon.

Luis Freire d'Andrade, a man of acknowledged merit, was then the Captain of Chaul, which he hastily fortified, taking in all necessary provisions to last during a siege, which, it was feared, would be a long one. The fortifications were then in so contemptible a

* *Histoire Général de Portugal*, Paris, 1735, tome vi., p. 52.

condition that they well merited the hard epithet of "*un misérable bicoque*" applied to them by Lafitau. They gave, moreover, origin to that curious dialogue reported by chroniclers between Nizâm-ul-Mulk and his general Farate Khân, in which the former made use of the not very complimentary phrase "a stable of beasts" in reference to the Chaul fort, the general excellently retorting that "the beasts were lions." Some of the citizens of Chaul, however, enervated by luxury and abuse of the blessings of twelve years' peace, were every way thwarting the general Dom Francisco Mascarenhas' plans. They seemed to care more for their houses and gardens than the honour of the nation. The houses were, however, pulled down, some of the gardens outside the town fortified, and every nook and corner put in the best state of defence.

The Viceroy was in the meanwhile preparing to send him reinforcements after the 600 men, five foists and four galleys already despatched under the command of Mascarenhas, a gallant officer of his time, who had also brought with him some shiploads of ammunition and other supplies. These reinforcements were followed by others under the command of Ruy Gonsalves, who brought 200 men, and Dom Luis de Menezes Baroche, who eventually became captain of Chaul in succession to Freire d'Andrade.

Farate Khân, immediately on his arrival at Chaul, about the end of December 1570, marshalled his artillery and elephants in battle array, and having made sure that in pursuance of the league Adil Khân had taken the field before Goa, without awaiting further orders from the king Nizâm Shâh, who was himself expected to join the campaign, gave orders to carry the place by a *coup de main*. His attempt, however, proving unsuccessful, he retreated into the chapel of Madre de Deus and waited there until the king arrived, about the 16th January 1571, with the rest of his army, which, with that under General Farate Khân, amounted now to 34,000 horse, 100,000 foot, 30,000 pioneers, and 4,000 men consisting of smiths, masons, and other artizans, of different nationalities, such as Turks, Persians, Abyssinians, and a few European renegades. He had also 300 elephants with 40 pieces of artillery of enormous size with such names as 'the cruel,' 'the devourer,' 'the butcher,' 'the honour,' &c., and every kind of ammunition. This prodigious force was encamped in the environs of Chaul, which place, though but poorly fortified and with only a handful of men to carry on its defence, had a few officers of such extra-

ordinary courage, as Dom Luis de Menezes, who had earned through his exploits the appellation of *solus mundi*, and others, that one of them was surely worth a hundred of the enemy. The Nizâm-ul-Mulk had, besides, an auxiliary naval force to assist him from the Zamorin, which mustered twenty-two *paraus*, carrying 1,500 fusiliers; this fleet he ordered to engage the Portuguese in the port, and ascended the top of one of his own mosques to observe the progress of the action. He had, however, the mortification to behold from this place the crushing defeat of the Malabarese allies, in whom he had placed more dependence than in his own army.

“Thus,” says Faria y Souza, “an army of 150,000 men sat down to besiege a town that was defended merely by a single wall, a fort not much larger than a house, and a handful of men. Farate Khân took up his quarters near the church of Madre de Deus with 7,000 horse and 20 elephants; Agalas Khân in the house of Joaõ Lopes with 6,000 horse; Nimiri Khân between that and Upper Chaul with 2,000 horse: so that the city was beset from sea to sea. The Nizâm encamped with the main body of the army at the further end of the town, where the ground was covered with tents for the space of two leagues; and 5,000 horse were detached to ravage the district of Bassein.”*

Although at the commencement of the siege the Portuguese garrison was, as above stated, a mere handful of men, and the works being very slight no particular posts were assigned, all acting wherever their services were most wanted, yet soon afterwards, the news of the siege having spread abroad, many officers and gentlemen flocked thither with reinforcements, so that in a short time the garrison was augmented to 2,000 men. It was then resolved to maintain particular points, besides the general circuit of the walls. The monastery of the Franciscans was committed to the charge of Alexandre de Souza; Nuno Alvares Pereira was entrusted with the defence of some houses near the shore; those between the Misericordia and the church of the Dominicans were confided to Gonsalo de Menezes; others in that neighbourhood to Nuno Vello Pereira, and so on in other places. In the meanwhile the priestly party continued more than ever to recommend that Chaul should be sacrificed for the safety of Goa; but the Viceroy thought otherwise, in which opinion he was seconded only by Ferdinando de Castello Branco, and he immediately despatched succours under Ferdinando Telles and Duarte de Lima. Before their arrival, Nimiri Khân, who had pro-

* *Asia Portuguesa, ut supra.*

mised the Nizâm that he would be the first person to enter Chaul, vigorously assaulted the posts of Henrique de Betancourt and Ferdinando de Miranda, who resisted him with the slaughter of 300 of his men, losing seven on their own side.

At last the reinforcements arrived, in spite of all the efforts of the enemy to intercept them. The enemy had erected a battery against the monastery of the Franciscans, where the Portuguese had some cannon ; and as the gunners on both sides used their utmost endeavours to burst or dismount the opposite guns, the cannon-balls were sometimes seen to meet by the way. On the eve of St. Sebastian the Portuguese made a sally upon some houses which were occupied by the Moors, and slew a great number of them without the loss of even one man. Enraged at this affront and the late repulse, the enemy made that same night an assault on the fortified monastery of the Franciscans with 5,000 men, expecting to surprise the Portuguese, but were soon undeceived by losing many of their men. This assault lasted with great fury for five hours ; and as the Portuguese suspected the enemy were undermining the wall, and could not see by reason of the darkness, one Christovão Corvo thrust himself several times out from a window, with a torch in one hand and a buckler in the other, to discover, if possible, what they were doing. During this assault those in the town sent out assistance to the garrison in the monastery, though with much hazard. When morning broke and the assailants had retired, the monastery was found all stuck full of arrows, and the dead bodies of 300 Moors were seen around its walls, while the defenders had not lost a single man.

The enemy renewed the assault on this post for five successive days, and were every time repulsed by the Portuguese with vast slaughter, the garrison often sallying out and strewing the field with slain enemies. It was at length judged expedient to withdraw the men from this place into the town, lest its loss should occasion greater injury than its defence could do service. Seventeen of the Portuguese were here slain. One of these used to stand on a high place to notice when the enemy fired their cannon, and on one occasion said to the men below, " if these fellows should now fire *Raspudillo* (a cannon 18 feet long to which that name was given), it will send me to sup with Christ, to whom I commend my soul, for it points directly at me." He had hardly spoken these words when he was torn to pieces by a ball from that very gun. On getting possession of the monastery of the Franciscans

the Moors fired a whole street in the town of Chaul, but on attempting to take post in some houses they were driven out with the loss of 900 men. At this time Gonçalo da Camara went to Goa for more reinforcements, as the garrison was much pressed, and brought a relief in two galleys.

About this period the 500 men that had been detached by the Nizâm to ravage the district of Bassein attempted to get possession of some of the Portuguese garrisons. Being beaten off at Assarin and Damaun, they invested Caranja, at this time commanded by Estevão Perestrello with a garrison of only 40 men, but was reinforced, on the reappearance of the enemy, by Manuel de Mello with 30 more from Salsette. With this small band of only 70 soldiers Perestrello sallied out against the enemy, and with such success that after covering the little island with dead bodies, the rest fled, leaving their cannon and a considerable quantity of ammunition and provisions.

In the meantime the Moors continued to batter Chaul without intermission for a whole month with 70 pieces of large cannon, every day expending against its weak defences at least 160 balls. This tremendous cannonade did much damage to the houses of the town, in which many of the brave defenders were slain. On one occasion six persons who were eating together were destroyed by a single ball. This furious battery was commenced against the bastion of the Holy Cross, and was carried on for a considerable way along the defences of that front of the town, levelling everything with the ground. The besieged used every precaution to shelter themselves by digging trenches; but the hostile gunners were so expert that they elevated their guns and made their balls plunge among those who considered themselves in safety. On observing that one of the enemies' batteries beyond the church of the Dominicans never ceased its destructive fire, Perestrello detached 120 men under Alexandre de Souza and Augustinho Nunes, who drove the enemy, after a vigorous resistance, from the battery with great slaughter, set their works on fire, and levelled them with the ground, without sustaining any loss. Among the arms taken in this successful sortie was a scimitar inscribed, 'Jesus salva me.'

Having ruined the defences of the town, the enemy attacked several large houses in which they endeavoured to establish themselves, but were repulsed from some of these with considerable loss, while the defenders lost but one man. On attacking the

house of Heitor de Sampayo, which was undermined by the Portuguese with the intention of blowing it up when occupied by the enemy, some fire was accidentally communicated to the mine during the conflict, and it blew up while still occupied by the Portuguese, by which 42 of their soldiers were destroyed, without the least injury to the Moors, who then planted their colours on the ruins. Nimirî Khân made an assault by night with 600 men upon the bastion of the Holy Cross, in which Ferdinando Pereira was posted with 30 men, reinforced by Henrique de Betancourt with a few more. The assailants were beaten off, and five of their colours taken which they had planted on the works. In this action Betancourt fought with his left hand, having previously lost the right; and Dominico del Alama being lame caused himself to be brought out in a chair. April 1571 was now begun, and the enemy were employed in constructing new works, as if determined to continue the siege. Alexandre de Souza and Gonçalo de Menezes were appointed to head a sally upon these new works, but their men to the number of 200 ran out without orders and made a furious assault upon the enemy, whom they drove from the works after killing fifty of them, and losing a few of their own number. The two commanders hastened to join their men, and then directed them to destroy the works they had so gallantly won. Perplexed with so many losses, the Nizâm made a general assault at night with his whole army, attacking all the posts at one time. Every one almost they penetrated; but the garrison exerted themselves with so much vigour that they drove the Moors from every point of attack, and in the morning above 500 of the enemy were found slain in and about the ruined defences, while the Portuguese had only lost four or five men. About this time the defenders received a reinforcement of above 200 men from Goa, Diu, and Bassein, with a large supply of ammunition and provisions; but at the same time they were much afflicted by a troublesome though not mortal disease, by which they became swelled all over so as to lose the use of their limbs.

Having ineffectually endeavoured to stir up enemies against the Portuguese in Cambay on purpose to prevent relief being sent to the brave defenders of Chaul, the Nizâm made every effort to bring his arduous enterprise to a favourable conclusion. The house of Nuno Alvares Pereira, being used as a stronghold by the Portuguese, was battered during forty-two days by the enemy, who then assaulted it with 5,000 men. At first the defenders of this post were only forty



in number, but twenty more came to their assistance immediately, and several others afterwards. The Moors were repulsed with the loss of 50 men, while the Portuguese only lost one. The house of Nuno Velho was battered for thirty days and assaulted with the same success, only that the Portuguese lost ten men in its defence. Judging it no longer expedient to defend this house, it was undermined and evacuated, on which the enemy hastened to take possession and it was blown up, doing considerable damage among them, but not so much as was expected. The summer was now almost spent; above 6,000 cannon-balls had been thrown into the town, some of which were of prodigious size,* and the Nizâm seemed determined to continue the siege during the winter. About 200 Portuguese, appalled by the dangers of the siege, had already deserted; but instead of them 300 men had come from Goa, so that the garrison was even stronger than before. On the 11th of April, Gonçalo da Camara made a sortie upon 500 Moors in an orchard, only fifty of whom escaped.

Fortune could not be always favourable to the besieged. By a chance ball from the enemy, one of the galleys which brought relief was sunk with 40 men and goods to the value of 40,000 ducats. But next day Ferdinando Telles made a sally with 400 men, and gained a victory equal to that of Gonçalo da Camara, and brought away one piece of cannon with some ammunition, arms, and other booty. This action was seen by the Nizâm himself, who mounted his horse to join in it in person, for which purpose he seized a lance, which he soon changed for a whip, with which he threatened to chastise his men, upbraiding them as cowards. The Portuguese were now so inured to danger that nothing could terrify them, and they seemed to court death, instead of shunning it, on all occasions. Some of them being employed to level those works from which the enemy had been driven near the monastery of the Franciscans, and being more handy with the sword than the spade, drew upon themselves a large party of the enemy, of whom they slew above 200, yet not without some loss on their own side. About this time Farate Khân, one of the Nizâm's generals, made some overtures towards peace, but without any apparent authority from his sovereign, who caused him to be arrested on suspicion of being corrupted by the Portuguese, though assuredly he had secret orders for what he had

* Such balls, if they are the real relics of the siege, are still found scattered all over the area in the city of Chaul.

done. Indeed, it was not wonderful that the Nizâm should be desirous of peace, as he had now lain seven months before Chaul to no purpose, and had lost many thousand men ; neither was it strange in the Portuguese to have the same wish, as they had lost 400 men, besides Indians.

When the siege had continued to the beginning of June, the attacks and batteries were carried on by both sides with as much obstinacy and vigour as if then only begun. The house of Nuno Alvares was at this time taken by the enemy, through the carelessness of the defenders, and in an attempt to recover it 20 of the Portuguese lost their lives, without doing much injury to the enemy. The Moors, in the next place, got possession of the monastery of the Dominicans, but not without heavy loss, and then gained the house of Gonçalo de Menezes, in which the Portuguese suffered severely. The hostile batteries kept up a constant fire from the end of May to the end of June, as the Nizâm had resolved to make a breach large enough for the whole army to try its fortune in a general assault. On the 28th of June, everything being in readiness, the Nizâm's whole army was drawn up for the assault, all his elephants appearing in the front with castles on their backs full of armed men. While the whole army stood in expectation of the signal for the assault, an officer of note belonging to the enemy was slain by a random shot from one of the Portuguese cannon, which the Nizâm considering as an evil omen ordered the attack to be deferred till next day. On this occasion six of the garrison ventured beyond the works and drew a multitude of the enemy within the reach of the Portuguese fire, which was so well bestowed that 118 of the assailants were slain and 500 wounded, without any loss on the side of the defenders.

About noon on the 29th of June 1571 the Nizâm gave the signal for assault, when the whole of his men and elephants moved forward with horrible cries and a prodigious noise of warlike instruments. The Portuguese were drawn up in their several posts to defend the ruined works, and Dom Francisco de Mascarenhas, the Commander-in-Chief, placed himself opposite the Nizâm with a body of reserve to relieve the posts whenever he might see necessary. The day was alternately darkened with smoke and lighted up with flames. The slaughter and confusion were great on both sides ; some of the colours of the enemy were planted on the works, but were soon taken or thrown down, along with those who had set them up. The elephants were made

drunk by the naiks who conducted them, that they might be the fiercer ; but, being burnt and wounded, many of them ran madly about the field. One that was much valued by the Nizâm, having his housings all in flames, plunged into the sea and swam over the bar, where he was killed by a cannon-ball from one of the Portuguese vessels. The Moors continued the assault till night, unable to gain possession of any of the works, and then drew off, after losing above 3,000 men, among whom were many officers of note. On the side of the Portuguese eight gentlemen were slain and a small number of private soldiers.

Next day the Moors asked leave to bury their dead, and a truce was granted for that purpose. "While employed in removing their dead, some of the Moors," adds Faria y Souza, "asked the Portuguese what woman it was that went before them in the fight, and if she were alive. One of the Portuguese answered, 'certainly she was alive, for she was immortal.' On this the Moors observed that it must have been the Lady Mariam, for so they call the Blessed Virgin. Many of them declared that they saw her at the house of Lourenço de Brito, and that she was so bright that she blinded them. Some of them even went to see her image in the church of Chaul, where they were converted, and remained in the town."*

The Nizâm was now seriously disposed for peace, and the Portuguese commander equally so, yet neither wished to make the first overture. At length, however, advances were made, and a treaty set on foot. Farate Khân and Azaf Khân were commissioners from the Nizâm, while Pedro da Silva and Antonio de Teive were deputed by the Portuguese commander-in-chief, and Francisco Mascarenhas by the captain of the city. Accordingly a league offensive and defensive was concluded in the name of the Nizâm and the King of Portugal, which was celebrated by great rejoicings on both sides and the interchange of rich presents. This, however, might easily have been accomplished without the effusion of so much blood. The Nizâm now raised his camp and returned to his own dominions. Thus the simultaneous attacks or sieges of Nizâm-ul-Mulk and Adil Khân had failed to capture Goa and Chaul. The Zamorin scarcely kept his engagement, and the old jealousies between Bijapûr and Ahmadnagar soon began to revive. The most memorable of all the combinations among the native princes was now triumphantly defeated, a new lustre being added to the Por-

* *Asia Portuguesa, ut supra.*

tuguese arms. Their power, it was thought, had never before been established on a firmer basis than now, and would assume larger proportions. But such predictions are apt to fail or mislead.

Chaul had now entered again into a period of peace and prosperity. Its trade was active, and the city improving in splendour and architectural beauty. Cesar Frederic, a merchant of Venice who visited the city in 1563, seven years before the siege, describes it from a merchant's point of view, thus:—

“Beyond this (Thâná) is Chaul on the continent, where there are two cities, one belonging to the Portuguese, and the other to the Moors; that which belongs to the Portuguese is lower than the other, commands the mouth of the harbour, and is very strongly fortified. About a mile and a half from this city is that of the Moors, belonging to their king, *Zamaluco*, or Nizam-ul-Mulk. In time of war no large ships can go to the city of the Moors, as they must necessarily pass under the guns of the Portuguese castles, which would sink them. Both cities of Chaul are seaports, and have great trade in all kinds of spices, drugs, raw silk, manufactures of silk, sandalwood, *Marsine Versine*,* porcelain of China, velvets and scarlets, cloth from Portugal and Mecca,† with many other valuable commodities. Every year there arrive ten or fifteen large ships, laden with great nuts called *Giagra*,‡ which are cured or dried, and with sugar made from these nuts. The tree on which these nuts grow is called the *Palmer* tree, and is to be found in great abundance over all India, especially between this place and Goa. This tree very much resembles that which produces dates, and no tree in the world is more profitable or more useful to man; no part of it but serves for some useful purpose, neither is any part of it so worthless as to be burnt. Of its timber they build ships, and with the leaves they make sails. Its fruits, or nuts, produce wine, and from the wine they make sugar and *placetto*.§ This wine is gathered in the spring of the year from the middle of the tree, where there is then a continual stream of clear liquor like water, which they gather in vessels placed on purpose under each tree, and take them away full every morning and evening. This liquor, being distilled by means of

* A species of velvet; but the words *marsine* and *versine* were inexplicable in the days of Hakluyt.

† The velvets and scarlet cloths from Mecca were probably Italian manufactures brought through Egypt and the Red Sea.

‡ These must necessarily be cocoanuts.

§ Possibly molasses is here meant.

fire, is converted into a very strong liquor, which is then put into butts with a quantity of white or black *Zibibs*, and in a short time it becomes a perfect wine. Of the nuts they make great quantities of oil. The tree is made into boards and timbers for building houses. Of the bark cables and other ropes are made for ships, which are said to be better than those made of hemp. The branches are made into bedsteads after the Indian fashion, and into *Sanasches* (?) for merchandize. The leaves being cut into thin slips are woven into sails for all kinds of ships, or into thin mats. The outer rind of the nut stamped serves as oakum for caulking ships, and the hard inner shell serves for spoons and other utensils for holding food or drink. Thus no portion whatever of this *Palmer* tree is so worthless as to be thrown away or cast into the fire. When the nuts are green, they are full of a sweet water, excellent to drink, and the liquor contained in one nut is sufficient to satisfy a thirsty person. As the nut ripens, this liquor turns all into kernel.

“From Chaul, an infinite quantity of goods are exported for other parts of India, Macao, Portugal, the coast of Melinda, Ormuz, and other parts; such as cloth of *bumbust* or cotton, white, painted, and printed, indigo, opium, silk of all kinds, borax in paste, *assaftida*, iron, corn, and other things. Nizam-ul-Mulk, the Moorish king, has great power, being able to take the field with 200,000 men and a great store of artillery, some of which are made in pieces,* and are so large that they are with difficulty removed, yet are they very commodiously used, and discharge enormous stone bullets, some of which have been sent to the King of Portugal as rarities. The city of *Abnezer* (Ahmadnagar) in which Nizam-ul-Mulk resides, is seven or eight days' journey inland from Chaul.” Elsewhere he writes:—“The Portuguese trade all the way from Chaul along the coast of India, and to Melinda in Ethiopia, in the land of Cafraria, on which coast are many good ports belonging to the Moors. To these the Portuguese carry a very low-priced cotton cloth, and many *paternosters*, or beads made of paltry glass, which are manufactured at Chaul, and from thence they carry back to India many elephants' teeth, slaves, called *Kafrs* or *Caffers*, with some *amber* and gold.”†

* Probably meaning that they were formed of bars hooped or welded together, in the way in which the famous *Mons Meg*, long in Edinburgh Castle, and now in the Tower of London, was certainly made.

† Robt. Kerr's *Collection of Voyages*, Edin. 1824, vol. vii., pp. 153 and 206.

About twenty years after the Venetian Cesar Frederic, the city of Chaul was visited by a party of English merchants, the first, so far as is known, who ever crossed overland to India. The party consisted of Ralph Fitch, John Newbery, William Leeds, the jeweller, and James Story, the painter. They visited Chaul in 1584. Their letters to their friends in London, though they relate chiefly to commercial subjects, are full of interest. Of Chaul Fitch writes :—“ The 10th November we arrived at *Chaul* on the firm land, at which place there are two towns, one belonging to the Portuguese, and the other to the Moors. That of the Portuguese is nearest the sea, commanding the bay, and is walled round ; and a little above it is the Moors town, subject to a king called *Xa-Maluco*. At this place is a great trade for all kinds of spices, drugs, silk, raw and manufactured, sandal-wood, elephants’ teeth, much China work, and a great deal of sugar made from the nut called *gagaru* (coconut ?).”* He then goes on describing the customs of the natives of the country, and a variety of the articles of trade, in much the same style as Cesar Frederic. There is one part of it, however, which evidently strikes as a repetition of what Marco Polo wrote on *T’hanà* two hundred years before. He says elsewhere :—“ They worship the cow, and plaster the walls of their houses with its dung. They will kill nothing, not so much as a louse. They will eat no flesh, but live on roots, rice, and milk. When the husband dies, his wife is burnt with him ; if she refuses, her head is shaved and she is held in no account. They will not bury their dead, because the body would generate worms, and when it is consumed the worms would starve.” Then Fitch with his companions went to Goa, and returned to Chaul alone on the 2nd November 1590. Having remained twenty-three days there, he sailed homeward at last, arriving in London on the 29th April 1591.

Now we come to a curious incident in the history of Chaul, one that has often been described by historians and travellers. It occurred in 1594. This was a time signalized by events of no little historical interest. The seeds of European policy and Christian religion sown broadcast during the century which was coming to a close, by the Portuguese in India, were bearing fruit ; and, although the national power was on the decline, incidents of bravery and deeds of heroism among those who had adopted the creed of the Portuguese were not uncommon. The old city of Goa, the capital of the Portu-

* Hakluyt’s *Collection*, vol. ii., pp. 382 *et seqq.*

guese establishments in the East, was now in the full zenith of fame and power.

“Opposite to our city of Chaul,” says Diogo do Couto, “and running half across the mouth of the river, is a high and precipitous hill called the Rock (Mórro), which the forces of Melique (the Ahmadnagar king) had converted into a great fortress, as strong as any in the world. This Rock was surrounded on three sides by the sea, and on the fourth was a ditch which extended from the sea to the river, and which was crossed by a wooden drawbridge. On the inner side of the ditch was a high and strong wall, also extending from the sea to the river, and relieved by two great bastions. Between the bastions, and looking down from the wall, stood a bronze lion with this inscription—‘None passes me but fights.’”

“Crossing the Rock about the middle was another wall with bastions, and on the top of it a great and strong tower which commanded the summit, and was called the ‘Tower of Resistance.’ From the highest point of it looked down a bronze eagle with extended wings and with this inscription—‘None passes me but flies.’ At the point of the rock stretching further into the river was another great and strong bastion. There were thus seven in all, armed with more than 70 pieces of heavy artillery. Inside the walls the Moors had a deep cistern or tank, well built of costly cut stone, several magazines full of warlike stores of all sorts, and some good houses. The garrison consisted of about 8,000 troops, horse and foot, among whom were many rich and noble Moors, who were quartered outside the walls in costly tents of gay colours. Adjoining this camp was a bazar of nearly 7,000 souls, all engaged in trade, which contained everything necessary for the wants of such a population, and here also was great store of rich stuffs, money, and merchandize.”*

It was from this place that the Mahomedans, notwithstanding the alliance that existed between Ahmadnagar and the Portuguese, began to molest the latter by cannonading occasionally the Portuguese fort from so commanding a position as the Rock. The Portuguese had several encounters with them, and, though fortune was not always propitious, they seemed to have fought with some success, particularly on the occasion of the arrival of a party of Moguls who had come to witness the defeat of the Portuguese, which they considered a certainty.

* Couto, *Decadas*, II., cap. 30, vol. xiii., pp. 165 *et seqq.*

These hostilities were of course countenanced by Burhân Nizâm Shâh, though contrary to the peace which had been established when Francisco Barreto was Governor. They were said now to be justified by the conduct of Mathias d'Albuquerque, the present Viceroy. But this was a mere pretext. In addition to the troops ordered out to lay siege to Chaul, several military parties belonging to Nizâm Shâh were sent to infest the districts around the Portuguese forts of Bassein and Chaul, where they did their work spreading havoc and desolation in their train. As the Moors considered the capture of Chaul to be near at hand, seeing that their cannon had made considerable impression on its walls, fourteen Mogul chiefs, as above stated, came to be present at its reduction; but in a sortie made by the Portuguese nine of these were slain and two made captives, the remainder saving themselves by ignominious flight. The eunuch Thanadar, commander of the besiegers, was mortally wounded, and died soon afterwards, as did a Turk who was next in command. On this Farhad Khân succeeded in the conduct of the siege, and gave the Portuguese no respite by day or by night, continually battering their works with his powerful artillery. The garrison in Chaul consisted of 1,000 men, to whom Alvaro de Abranches brought an additional force of 300 from Bassein and 200 from Salsette; and being now at the head of 1,500 Portuguese troops and an equal number of natives, mercenaries so brave and faithful, however, that, says Faria y Souza, "they often voluntarily interposed their own bodies to protect their masters," Abranches appointed a day for making an attack upon the enemy. All the soldiers having on 2nd September attended mass and confessed before starting, and all the churches and convents being kept open for prayers, the Portuguese embarked in a number of small vessels and crossed the river, after which they forced their way to the Môrro, where the battle was renewed, Abranches having the vanguard, and Dom Cosme de Lafeitar the rear. Ten elephants were turned loose by the Moors, in expectation that they would force the Portuguese troops into disorder; but one of these being severely wounded by a Portuguese soldier turned back and trampled down the enemy, till falling into the ditch he made a way like a bridge for passing over. Another of the elephants forcing his way in at a wicket in the works of the enemy enabled the Portuguese to enter likewise, and they slaughtered the enemy almost without opposition up to the "Tower of Resistance," where they made their last stand. Some accounts say that 10,000 men were slain on this occasion, while others estimate

the loss at no less than 60,000; but this is a childish exaggeration. The Mahomedan historian, however, acknowledges the loss of 12,000 men. Farhad Khân with his wife and daughter were made prisoners, and only 21 Portuguese were slain. The principal booty consisted of 75 pieces of cannon of extraordinary size, a vast quantity of ammunition, many horses and five elephants. Farhad Khân became a Christian before he died; so did his daughter, who was sent to Portugal, but his wife was ransomed. This action, which was at first a pitched battle, eventually degenerated into an irregular fight of hand-to-hand conflicts, when the power of a little handful of disciplined men fighting against overwhelming odds was made patent in the crushing of the barbarous legions of the enemy. The result once more flattered the pride of the Portuguese of Chaul, and obtained for them privileges which up to that time the citizens of Goa only had enjoyed.*

We now enter upon a stage in the history of Chaul which, for want of a better designation, may be named the stage of decrepitude. Having spent the bloom of her youth, so to speak, in settling herself firm in the boggy marshes of Revadaṇḍa, surrounded by a host of treacherous enemies, and the vigour of her middle age in resisting the repeated incursions and sieges of her neighbours, the noble city of Chaul now falls gradually into a stage of dotage which forebodes proximate dissolution. The decade from 1590 to 1600 is spent in useless scuffles among the civil population and some parochial *brouillerie*, in which the inevitable priestly element occupies the foremost place. Surfeited with the rich endowments from the Portuguese *fidalgos*, and the not less welcome fees from the poor native Christians, whose numbers were rapidly increasing, the priests turned their energies from the field of evangelization and education of the people to the less congenial arena of athletes. Some of the friars at last, in opposing the establishment of a custom-house at Chaul, acted in a way so disloyal and disorderly as to provoke a rebellion, and compel the most priest-ridden of Spanish monarchs, Philip II., who was then also the King of Portugal, to write to the then Viceroy, Conde da Vidigueira, giving vent to his unfeigned regret and indignation at their conduct.†

Then followed a long interval during which Chaul enjoyed a state of comparative security, less from the terror inspired by the Portuguese

* *Archivo Portuguez Oriental*, fasc. iii., pt. 2, pp. 593, 675, and 848.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 700-701.

power, or the good condition of its defences, than from the internecine feud between the Ahmadnagar sovereign and his subjects, and also from the menacing attitude assumed by the Mogul towards the Dakhanese kings. This much-desired calm was, however, destined to last but for a very short time.

During this period Chaul was visited by the French traveller François Pyrard, who was in India between 1601 and 1608. He writes:—“The city and fortress of Chaul differs from others (Damaun and Bassein), in being extremely rich and abounding in valuable goods, which merchants from all parts of India and the East come here to seek for. But the principal article is silks, of which there is so large a quantity as to supply both the markets of Goa and India, and are far nicer than those of China. In Goa it is highly appreciated and they make fine clothing of it, besides of the cotton stuff which is also woven here.”

Then our author goes on describing the two cities of Chaul in much the same way as other travellers before quoted have described them. He alludes especially to the state of peace in the country, and to the manufacture of lacquered articles in Upper Chaul. He states that the reigning Prince of Chaul is called *Melique* (Malik), and is a vassal of the Great Mogul. The Malik, he adds, has a large number of elephants. When he dines he sends for many handsome women, who sing and dance during the meal. Then some of them cut a piece of cloth called taffety into bits so minute that they have no other use than that of being carried away by the spectators, who stick them on to their breasts as if they were so many medals. When the spectacle is over, the king remains alone in his palace, his mind absorbed in the contemplation of the vanity and uncertainty of life, until he goes to sleep at last.*

In 1609 the Mahomedan Governor of Chaul sent out a fleet of 30 *padãos* to cruise against the Portuguese, whose power being on the wane no redress could be got from the Ahmadnagar government, notwithstanding the act being in contravention to the articles of the treaty. In 1611, again, the natives of Chaul introduced into the Portuguese city some Mahomedan outlaws from the neighbouring island of Caranja, who murdered the Portuguese captain of the fortress, Baltazar Rebello d'Almeida. His vacant place was, however, soon filled up by Fernando Sampaio da Cunha. In the meanwhile Nizâm-ul-Mulk, al-

* *Viagem de Francisco Pyrard, Nova Goa, 1602, vol. ii., pp. 227-228.*

though much troubled at home, did not think it desirable at this juncture to leave the Portuguese and their subjects unmolested, and, taking advantage of the rebellion, sent an army to take possession of Salsette and Bassein. His object was, however, defeated.

The year 1612 saw the Mogul before Chaul, as well as before Damaun and Bassein, with the intent to set fire to it, in revenge for the injury done by the Portuguese to his fleet near Surat. He besieged the town, desolated the surrounding country, and when peace was purchased by concessions and presents the arrangements for the defence gave once more to Chaul the best governor it ever had, one whose name has already been mentioned as a valorous and genial officer—one of those who are, says Lafitau, destined to do honour to the nation in which they are born,—Ruy Freire d'Andrade.

On taking possession of the governorship of Chaul vacated by Manuel d'Azevedo, who was appointed to a similar post at Diu, his active spirit being unable to remain idle, Ruy devoted his time and attention, in the absence of military enterprise, in which he was as skilful as intrepid, to the study of the native courts of Chaul and the adjoining countries, their manners and customs, and made the native princes, by his behaviour towards them, so attached to the Portuguese, that it is said that during his governorship more solid conquests were made by his suavity of manners and thorough understanding of the peculiarities and interests of the native population, together with a display of fine diplomatic tact in his intercourse with them, than by the force of arms. Two treaties of peace were, during this interval, made with the Mogul and Nizâm Shâh. The former was signed by two commissioners from their respective governments, and the latter brought to a favourable conclusion by the intervention of Adil Khân.*

Such a state of things was productive of tranquillity and peace, and of this we have evidence in the writings of travellers who during the first quarter of the 17th century visited Chaul, and have left us a record of their impressions.

Of these travellers Pietro della Valle comes first in the order of priority. He visited Chaul twice, in 1623 and 1625. His accounts of the two cities of Chaul are, however, too long to enter here. But we shall have to refer to him hereafter again.

Now we come to a period in which Chaul is in a state of rapid de-

* See *Chronista de Tissuary*, tome iii., p. 289, and tome iv., p. 6.

cline. Still, instead of being despondent at the gradual decline so obvious to every one's eyes, the Chaulese continue raising buildings, which serve perhaps the purpose of disguising all appearance of imminent ruin.* They seem, indeed, to be supremely indifferent to the inevitable decay and dissolution which awaits misgoverned settlements, and which overtakes them almost unawares. This is partly accounted for by the fact that while the military spirit of the Portuguese at Chaul declined, the ecclesiastical power went on ever increasing, and the native converts they made gave to the government a support scarcely to be surpassed by any of their political transactions.

The middle and end of the seventeenth century, which were marked in Western India, as in some kingdoms of Europe, by revolutionary events of vast and lasting importance, could not pass over without drawing Chaul into their turmoil. During this period a new empire was founded by the genius of one man, who has not unaptly been compared to Gustavus Adolphus and Julius Cæsar, although his rival Aurangzebe nicknamed him "the mountain rat." The conquests which in the 14th century the King of Delhi had made in the Deccan, subsequently divided among his lieutenants, who established themselves as independent rulers, were in the course of this century absorbed into the dominions of Śivaji. Welding together into a powerful nation the people, who seemed to have lost, if they ever had it before, all sense of nationality, and who, although sturdy and enthusiastic under a fit leader, had never had any systematic training, Śivaji, himself rising to the position of a powerful Eastern monarch, raised his native subjects to so high a condition as even the Portuguese converts, in spite of their various privileges, never dreamt of. His dominions grew eventually to such a height as to create an empire that forty years after its founder's death was extorting at the gates of Delhi, from the Great Mogul himself, grants of revenue and privileges, which, to use Sir Henry Lawrence's words, "not only confirmed them in their own possession, but authorized their inquisitorial interference in every province of the Deccan," and "where," adds Captain West, "the Marāṭhā had the right of interference, he soon gained the sovereignty."† They had, in fact, by the year 1758 fulfilled the prophecy of Śivaji "that they should water their horses in the Indus and in the Hooghly." This state of things, however efficient

* See Inscriptions further on.

† *Diary of the late Raja of Kolhāpur*, by Capt. E. West, Lond. 1872.

at the time, could not last long. Their acquisitions proved only delusive. A soldiery, naturally of a predatory type, brought under discipline by the influence of a great man, was soon broken up into a mob on the death of their leader and of a few of his wise successors. Both in the rise and fall of their power Chaul's destiny was intimately involved.

If I were to enumerate their series of attacks or plundering expeditions in and about Chaul, it would carry me far beyond the limits assigned to this sketch, but I shall allude to a few salient points on the way as we proceed on tracing the sequence of events.

In 1664, while Śivaji was meditating a blow against Surat, whither he went, it is said, in disguise, and remained three days gathering information and marking the opulent houses in that city, Chaul was startled by the formation of his camp in its vicinity, as if his designs were against it. But this was a stratagem, for a similar camp was also formed before Bassein, both made with the object of concealing his intentions against Surat.*

About this time the Portuguese had to deal with, besides the Maráthás, two rival European nations, who were by degrees trying to deprive them of their former conquests. The English, after capturing Ormuz in 1622, which place was one of the principal ports from which Chaul imported horses, whereby at least a show of trade was kept up there, had the island of Bombay ceded to them, whose rising prosperity was soon destined to eclipse Chaul for ever. It is not really in the nature of things that two cities of any great pretensions, even if under two powerful rival nations, should at the same time flourish in such proximity as Bombay and Chaul. The Dutch had on their side captured Cochin in 1653 and deprived Chaul of one of her best fellow-seaports; and when in the following year peace was concluded, the Portuguese abandoned their claim to the monopoly of the Eastern trade, which had for about a century and a half been achieved "by the enterprising valour, military skill, and political sagacity of the officers who had supreme command in India, and who have a title to be ranked with persons most eminent for virtues or abilities in any age or nation."† Mr. Nairne writes: "A comparison between their (Portuguese) exploits and settlements in a hundred years and those of

* Orme's *Historical Frag.*, Lond. 1805, p. 12.

† J. Robertson's *Historical Disquisition*, Lond. 1809, p. 150.

the English in the first hundred years after their coming to India is as much in favour of the Portuguese as any one could wish."*

In 1667 Śivaji was in possession of the whole sea-coast from the river of Rājāpur to the river Penn, which flows into the harbour of Bombay, excepting Chaul.† During this time the Nizām Shāhī dynasty had ceased to affect the course of history at Chaul. Even in its declining days, when the Abyssinian minister Malik Ambar was patching up that kingdom, the jurisdiction of the King of Ahmadnagar is said by Ferishta to have extended to within eight *kos* of Chaul.‡ This statement leads one to suppose that the ancient Mahomedan city and creek had by this time glided away into the hands of a separate governor. Malik Ambar died in 1626, and in 1636, or ten years after, the whole of the Konkara dominions of the Ahmadnagar kingdom were ceded to the king of Bijāpur, and then taken by the Mogul. About thirty years after they were in the possession of Śivaji.

On the 18th October 1679 a petty naval fight took place off Chaul between Daulat Khān's fleet and the English grabs under Keigwin, the commander of the Bombay garrison. The English lost the grab called Dove, but the enemy's gallivats, amounting to fifty, were pursued into shoal water to the bar of Nagôṭna, until several of them were captured, some sunk, and others put to flight.§

About this time three famous travellers—an Englishman and two Frenchmen—refer to both the cities of Chaul. The first in chronological order is M. de Thevenot, who was at Chaul in January 1666. He refers to the Portuguese city thus :—"Le Port de Chaoul est de difficile entrée mais très seur, et à l'abri de toute sorte de gros tems. La ville est bonne et défendue par une forte citadelle qui est sur la cime d'une montagne, appelleé par les Européens *il Morro di Ciaul*."¶ Fryer speaks of the Mahomedan city in 1672 as a city utterly ruined by the troops of Śivaji; while of the Portuguese city mention will be made further on. Carré visited Chaul in the same year, from whence he went to Upper Chaul, where he says he was treated with much civility by Śivaji's officers, and having received his pass, which

* The *Konkan*, Bombay, 1875, p. 43.

† Orme's *Historical Fragments*, Lond 1809, p. 22.

‡ Briggs, *ut supra*, pp. 117, 315.

§ Orme, *ut supra*, pp. 80-81.

¶ *Les Voyages aux Indes Orientales*, Amsterdam, 1727, vol. 7., pp. 248-249.

carried him without hindrance to the city of Bijâpur, he arrived there in January 1673.* About the same time Ogilby, in his *English Atlas*, a work of some merit, although his pictures of the cities of the coast, like those of Faria and Lafitau, could never have been the least like them, describes at length the fortifications of Chaul, and gives the following description of the temperature and natural products of the place:—"The air at Chaul is more hot than cold: the soil thereabouts produces all things except raisins, nuts, and chestnuts. Oxen, cows, and horses are here in great numbers." This vagueness about the agricultural products of the country strikes one as something similar to that of Varthema, who refers to them in almost identical terms. Ogilby's work in five volumes was published about 1670.

In 1676 Moro Pant was the Subedâr of Śivaji in Upper Chaul, from which place he despatched a letter in the beginning of December, through an agent named Nârāyaṇ Shenvi, to the Bombay Government to settle payment of what remained due from Śivaji on Oxenden's agreement.

Besides the Marāṭhās, the Portuguese of Chaul had another enemy in the neighbourhood, who continuously harassed and worried them. This was the well-known Sidi.† This individual, about the middle of December 1681, without the least provocation, sent a large number of his gallivats down to Chaul, and, passing the Portuguese fort without showing any offensive sign there, ravaged unceremoniously the adjacent country, and proceeded to assault the town of Upper Chaul, which belonged then to Sambhâji, but was unable to do so. On this sudden appearance of the Sidi in the Chaul waters, Sambhâji, anxious for the security of his town, sent forthwith messages to the Bombay Government and the Portuguese of Chaul threatening the former with invasion of the English territory of Bombay if they continued to admit the Sidi's fleet into their harbour, and to fortify the island of Elephanta, which would then have divided the command of the harbour. To the Portuguese at Chaul he wrote upbraiding them for suffering the descent of the Sidi in his territory within sight of their walls, and demanded ground under their fort to build a fortification

* La Haye's and J. C. Carré's Travels, quoted by Orme, *ut supra*, p. 173.

† Yet only a few years before, the Sidi had entered into an alliance with the Portuguese. See *Boletim do Governo do Estado da India*, 1873, pp. 358 and 363. About the same year—1670—another treaty was signed between the Portuguese and Śivaji.—*Ibid.*

which should prevent the landing of the enemy in future. In case his demand was not complied with, he threatened to take possession of the island of Angediva, and thus enthrall the trade at Goa.*

The Portuguese, thus forewarned of the intention of Sambhâji to take possession of Angediva, put that fortress into a good position of defence. In the meanwhile Sambhâji, regardless, like his father, of the unsuitableness of the season, came down the Ghâts in June with 30,000 men, and from his own town of Upper Chaul invested the neighbouring citadel of Chaul, but could make no progress, owing to the discipline and fortifications of the Portuguese. The Portuguese Viceroy, in the meanwhile, as if to divert Sambhâji's attention, laid siege to his castle of Ponda; but Sambhâji, although he set off from Chaul with the reinforcement of 8,000 horse and 14,000 foot in order to raise the siege, did not discontinue his own against Chaul.† This siege was again assisted by a fleet of Sambhâji, which kept cruising about Nagôtnâ, Kenery, and Chaul, but could not prevent a Portuguese frigate from landing a supply of military stores and provisions.‡ This siege was at last raised, and the troops of Sambhâji then marched off and took possession of the island of Caranja on the 24th December 1683. In September of the following year the latter island, as well as the hills of Santa Cruz and Assari, was surprised and retaken by the Bassein fleet, and although Sambhâji came down the Ghâts soon after with 15,000 horse to Callian to ravage the Portuguese territory around, from Chaul northwards to Damaun, he did not succeed in capturing either Caranja or Chaul.§ Thus the Portuguese of Revadaṇḍa, although submissively waiting their doom from the host of Marâṭhâs in the neighbouring city of Chaul, showed still a bold front, either from that innate feeling of superiority which did not desert them in the last extremity, or from the peevishness of decrepit old age, of which we have abundant illustrations at the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century in repeated quarrels with the Marâṭhâs, the Angria, the Sidî, and last, though not least, the English, as opportunities were afforded them, supremely regardless alike of the imminent decay undermining their whole fabric, which at last tumbled down in the tremendous catastrophe of 1739, and the growing power of their European rivals in the East.

* Orme, *ut supra*, pp. 109-111.

† *Chronista de Tisuary*, vol. i., pp. 124, 175.

‡ Orme, *ut supra*, pp. 122-123.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

Add to all these neighbouring enemies the powerful Mogul ; and the Portuguese, between the Marâthâs, the Angria, and the Sidi on the one side, and the Mogul on the other, must have really had a hard time of it.

In 1694 Aurangzebe declared war against the Portuguese, and during this and the following year treated their subjects with such cruelty that numbers were obliged to take refuge in the forts of Damaun, Bassein, and Chaul. Peace was at last concluded, with a view to obtain cannon from the Portuguese for the reduction of the Marâthâ forts.* At the same time the Portuguese burnt three of the Marâthâ ships in the Râjâpur river, the largest of which is said to have carried 32 guns and more than 300 men.†

About this time Chaul was visited by a very trustworthy traveller, Dr. John Francis Gemelli Careri. He was in Chaul in February 1695, and refers to it as follows :—

“Tuesday the 22nd, after sailing nine miles further, we anchored opposite to the city and fortress of Chaul. It is seated on a plain, six miles from the sea,‡ on the bank of a river, which at flood will carry any ships up to the city. It is enclosed with good walls, and other works, and furnished with excellent cannon. A fort, called *El Morro*, secures the entrance of the harbour, being built by the Portuguese in the year 1520,§ on the hill, by their General *Sequeira*, with leave of the tyrant *Nizzamaluc* ; || who granted it upon condition they should bring him over three hundred horses of Persia or Arabia, at reasonable rates, because of the scarcity of them there was in India, to serve him in his war against *Hidalcon*.”¶

Then our author goes on relating how Malik Eyâz tried to obstruct the building of the Portuguese fortress of Chaul, and how the building was raised, their attack repulsed, and the fleets of the enemy disabled. He concludes thus :—“Afterwards the Portuguese made themselves masters of the city with ease. Its territory does not extend above six miles in length. On the south it borders on *Savagi*, and on the

* Grant Duff's *History of the Marathas*, Bombay, 1873, p. 168.

† *O Chronista de Tisuary*, vol. ii., p. 201.

‡ This calculation is rather exaggerated.

§ This error has been corrected elsewhere.

|| Nizamaluc, the Portuguese equivalent for Nizâm-ul-Mulk.

¶ *Hidalcaõ*, another Portuguese designation for Adil Khân.

north with another fort belonging to the *Sydi*.* He stayed only one day at Chaul, sailing on the 23rd to the north.

The next writer—the last as far as is known—who refers to Chaul before its fall, is Hamilton, who writes: “And two leagues to the south of *Culabee* (Colába) is *Caul*, a town belonging to the Portuguese, whose river affords an harbour for small vessels. The town is fortified, and so is an island on the south side of the harbour, called *Chaul Moar*, which may be known five or six leagues off at sea, by a white church built on it. *Chaul* in former times was a noted place for trade, particularly for fine embroidered quilts; but now it is miserably poor.”†

On the fall of Bassein in 1739, Chaul was still in the hands of the Portuguese, but when the Maráthás threatened to besiege Goa it was surrendered to them as a sort of compromise.‡ The Maráthás gladly took it and ceased to trouble the Goa people, but the unfortunate remains of the Portuguese armies, which were marching from Bassein and Chaul to Goa after the rains, were attacked by Khem Sanvat on the way, and numbers of them miserably perished. A writer in the *Bombay Quarterly Review* asserts that Chaul was delivered to the English for surrender to the Maráthás. As his description of the events that followed the fall of Bassein is circumstantial and interesting, I quote the following extract from him:—

“The Maráthás, on being invited to propose their terms, showed none of that moderation which had astonished even their enemies at the capitulation of Bassein, but assumed the haughty tone of Oriental conquerors, and treated the prostrate Portuguese with indescribable contempt. At first they not only demanded the cession of Chaul, but also of Damaun, and insisted upon having assigned to them a portion of the customs at Goa, which they were to collect by stationing a guard at the port,—thus hoping to insert the thin end of the wedge by which they would eventually obtain the whole of the small, but most fertile, territory. Captain Inchbird, however, having been deputed by the Portuguese, with the consent of the English Government, to treat for them, obtained for them more favourable terms, and induced their scornful enemies to show some forbearance. On

* *Churchill's Collection of Voyages*, Lond. 1732, vol. iv., pp. 200-201.

† A. Hamilton's *New Account of the East Indies*, Lond. 1744, vol. ii., p. 248.

‡ *Bosquejo Historico de Goa, Nova Gôa*, 1658, p. 51.

the 14th of October 1740, articles of peace were signed on behalf of Bâji Râo, the Peshwâ, on the one side, and the Viceroy of Goa on the other. The Portuguese engaged to deliver up to the Marâthâs the forts of Chaul and Mahim, which were to be temporarily occupied by the English until the Marâthâs should have fulfilled their part of the conditions by withdrawing their forces from Salsette in the Goanese province and Bardez. A brief delay occurred, in consequence of the repugnance which the Portuguese priests of Chaul felt for any measure by which the possessions of Christians would be delivered to heathens, and they seditiously excited their people to resist the transfer. Their own envoy, perplexed by their obstinacy, admitted that he had discovered in them 'a malignant spirit,' and Inchbird, throwing aside all restraint, exclaimed in disgust, 'Surely such unheard-of villains and inconsiderate men are hardly to be met with!' However, this clerical opposition was hopeless from the first; in November Chaul was delivered by the English to the Marâthâs, and all parties expressed themselves satisfied with the honourable manner in which the conditions of the treaty were fulfilled."*

The treaty of the capitulation of Chaul was drawn at Pupâ between Bâlâji Bâji Râo and the Portuguese Commissary, Dom Francisco Baron de Galenfes. Two copies of the treaty, one in Marâthî and the other in Portuguese, were sent for his sanction to the Viceroy, Dom Pedro Mascarenhas, Conde de Sandomil, who was residing at the time in the territory of Goa. The former copy was despatched to its destination by the English General, Stephen Law, of the Bombay garrison. His letter accompanying it is dated the 25th April 1741. The treaty consists of 14 chapters. The 11th chapter of the Portuguese copy states:—"The city and *Môrro* of Chaul shall be delivered over to the Marâthâ, with all the cannon and ammunition belonging to it. The gates of the city shall be garrisoned by English troops until the Marâthâ has evacuated the provinces of Salsette and Bardez (Goa). In the meanwhile the Marâthâ troops shall remain encamped at St. Joã (St. John's Fields), one of the quarters of the city of Chaul. On receiving intelligence that the Marâthâ has withdrawn from the provinces of Salsette and Bardez, the English garrison will deliver over to the Marâthâ the city and *Môrro* of Chaul, after making a list, with the assistance of a Marâthâ clerk, of all the cannon, powder and balls, on their delivery to them."

* *Bombay Quarterly Review*, vol. iv., p. 89.

The 3rd chapter of the Maráthí copy is as follows:—"The Portuguese shall cease their hostilities against the jurisdiction of Bassein, Salsette, Damaun, Belápur, Uran (Caranja), Revadaṇḍa (Chaul), and Corlá (Môro). The same will be observed by us (Maráthás) in the provinces of Salsette and Bardez, as well as in the Pragaṇá Nahor, which shall be delivered over to Damaun, which latter place we will allow the Portuguese to possess as heretofore, without our ever molesting, disturbing, or showing any hostility towards them."

One chapter refers to the liberty allowed to the residents of the city of Chaul to remain in or quit the place with all the objects belonging to them, and the other to the assistance that will be afforded to the Portuguese in their contests with the Angria. Another clause binds the Maráthás to defend the Portuguese when provoked to a fight by Bounsulo (Bhonslê), and *vice versa*.

This treaty was at last, after obtaining the approval of the Goa Government, signed at Puṇá by Dom Francisco Baraõ Galenfies on the part of the Portuguese Viceroy, Pedro Mascarenhas, Conde de Sandomil, and Captain Inchbird on that of the English General, Stephen Law.*

The inhabitants of Chaul who professed the Catholic religion, and had means to do so, emigrated in successive bands to Goa, and those who had no means still remain (their descendants, of course) in the neighbourhood of the fort, living in the miserable hovels nestled in deep and beautiful palm-groves round Kôrlê and Revadaṇḍa.

Chaul fallen into the hands of the Maráthás did not remain long in their possession. Amidst constant quarrels among themselves, an attempt was made in 1775, by an adventurous Frenchman named Chevalier Paillebot de Saint-Lubin, who landed at Chaul from a French ship and went to Puṇá pretending to be an envoy from the Court of France, to negotiate for the surrender of Chaul and Revadaṇḍa or Lower Chaul, but he was discovered to be an impostor and his object defeated.† But even after the detection of St. Lubin the question of the cession of these ports to France was again under discussion in 1786, as was, some time in the 18th century, that of the cession of Bassein to the Dutch,

* *Boletim do Governo do Estado da Índia*, 1874, pp. 172 and 176.

† Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, *ut supra*, p. 399; and Wilks' *Historical Sketch of the South of India*, vol. ii., pp. 228-229. On the French side see Langlés' *Monuments Anciens et Modernes de l'Indoustan*, Paris, 1821, vol. i., p. 255, and Dubois de Jancigny's *Inde*, Paris, 1845, pp. 442-443.

who greatly wished to establish a factory there. These facts point to both these rival nations after the fall of the Portuguese trying to settle themselves near Bombay,—as desirous to share, perhaps, in the prosperous trade the English were carrying on in their settlement.

In December 1802 the Peshwâ Bâji Râo, on the army of Holkar pursuing him, put into Chaul, where he stayed some days and then embarked for Bassein. On his overthrow at last in 1818, Chaul and the districts around passed over to the British, in whose possession we find them at the present time.

The present condition of Chaul is that of an obscure little village, included in the tâlukâ Alibâg of the Colâba collectorate. The population consists principally of Bhaṇḍârîs, Parabûs, Bene-Israels, Musalmâns, and native Christians. The Bhaṇḍârîs often had their services recorded in the official documents of the Portuguese of Chaul as very praiseworthy in their contests with the Marâthâs and others. Some of the testimonials given them by the Captains of the Fort are still in the possession of their descendants. The Parabûs appear to have settled in the locality from a very remote time, and had some share in its government. They must have been characterized by some local peculiarity, for a colony of theirs having settled in Bombay in a lane parallel to the main road of Kâlbâdevî has been a sufficient *raison d'être* to designate that locality "*Chaul Vâdi*," and their whole tribe with the patronymic of *Chaulkar*.* The Bene-Israels have settled in Chaul and its vicinity from time immemorial, while the Koṅkaṇî Musalmâns, from their distinctly Arab physiognomy, seem to be descended from Mahomedan settlers in Saimûr, referred to by Maśûdi and other travellers of the Middle Ages.

The class of the native Christians is in all respects the poorest of all. I had occasion to meet only two of them. They had nothing striking about them ethnologically, except what I have already written on the native Christians of Bassein elsewhere; but pathologically they were excellent specimens.

Thus far the historical portion of my Notes. The facts relating to the Portuguese period from the day the factory of Chaul was erected—about the beginning of the sixteenth century—to its cession to the Marâthâs in the middle of the eighteenth, are drawn up from so large

* See जातिभेद विवेकसार, p. 49.

a number of chronicles and documents, both printed and manuscript, that it would but encumber the text with references and be a work of supererogation to cite them after each event recorded. I have, therefore, beyond the chief authorities mentioned in the body of the work and in occasional footnotes, reserved for the end to refer in brief to the various sources from which I have culled my historical information, in accordance with the division of time during which my authorities flourished, so as to obtain all the important and accurate details from a contemporaneous writing.

From the year 1448 to 1550 my authorities have been Barros' *Decadas*, Gaspar Correa's *Lendas da India*, Felner's *Subsidios para a Historia*, &c. These have been supplemented by the works of Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, whose narrative ends at the first siege of Diu in 1538, and of Maffei, who stops his work at the death of Dom João III. in 1557.

From 1550 to 1640 I have followed Diogo do Couto's *Decadas*, the hitherto published *Decadas* of Antonio Bocarro, and Faria y Souza's *Asia Portuguesa*—the latter written in Castilian, from which edition of 1674 I have translated select extracts and compared them with the translation of Captain Stevens reprinted in Kerr's *Collection of Voyages*.

These authorities have again been supported by consulting the excellent compilations of Lafitau and *Os Portuguezes*, as well as *Chronicas*, *Vidas*, *Historias*, and *Archivos*; such as *Historia das Inquisições*, *Chronica Serafica*, *Vida de D. João de Castro*, *Archivo Portuguez Oriental*, &c. All these authorities, however, have, with few exceptions, a style so replete with redundancies and exaggerations, that to prune here and retrench there has been not the least difficult part of my work.

In some places where more elucidation was desirable, amplification has been substituted for curtailment.

From 1640 downwards my chief authorities are Transactions and Journals of learned Societies of Portugal and other countries, too numerous to mention here. I must, however, particularize the *Chronista de Tissuary*, *Instituto Vasco da Gama*, and *Boletim do Governo do Estado da India*.

The accounts of Chaul by travellers at various times, which are laid under contribution, have been referred to the original sources at their respective places.

One word more. As the chroniclers generally differ much in narrating events, some recording facts which others entirely omit, I have dovetailed them together, and formed them into as continued and complete a narrative as possible, without allowing a single event of the least historical importance to Chaul to escape.

Passing on now to describe the Antiquities of Chaul, we will begin with its fortifications. The Fort, whose circuit occupies about one mile and a half, is a fifteen-sided figure, its angles being formed by eleven bastions abutting in a semicircular outline from the walls, and four redoubts, which contain rooms large enough to hold a guard of twenty-five soldiers. Each of the bastions is, with the exception of one named Santa Cruz, or Holy Cross, dedicated to a saint, and is named after him—Sam Pedro, Sam Paulo, Sam Thiago, Sam Jacintho, Sam Luis, Sam Diniz, Sam Francisco, Sam Domingos, Sam José, and Sam Jeronimo. The walls are of varying height, being from twenty-five to thirty feet on the land, and from twenty to twenty-five on the sea side; the disparity is owing to the land side being more exposed to the enemy's attacks than the other. The walls have generally little appearance of strength, although possessing in some places the support of ramparts and terraces on the inner side, which seem to be well devised for the purposes of both attack and defence. The grim old crenellated battlements and embrasures of bulwarks, on which were mounted as late as 1728 fifty-eight pieces of cannon ranging from three-pounders to forty-pounders, or from the diminutive swivels to huge mortars and basilisks, are now in a dilapidated state, the only relics of their former greatness being a few rusty old pieces of ordnance lying about in utter neglect on the ramparts; while the walls themselves bear to the present day, besides signs of the ravages of time, the marks of having withstood the effects of a raking fire from outside. Several of the guns, which were once in considerable number, were carried away by Dom Martim Affonso to Malacca, and although Antonio Bocarro in 1634 recommended to have them replaced, it appears that this advice was not heeded at all. In 1728, about a century afterwards, the factor of Bassein, André Ribeiro Coutinho, was sent by the Government to inspect and report on the condition of the fort, and his recommendations to remedy innumerable defects about it seem also to have met with a similar fate.* The remaining guns were mostly taken

† *Chronista de Tisuary*, Nova Gôa, 1806, vol. i., pp. 35 and 59; and also vol. iv., pp. 17 *et seq.*

possession of by the Maráthás on their occupation of Chaul, who carried them away for better use elsewhere, leaving behind only those that were found unserviceable.

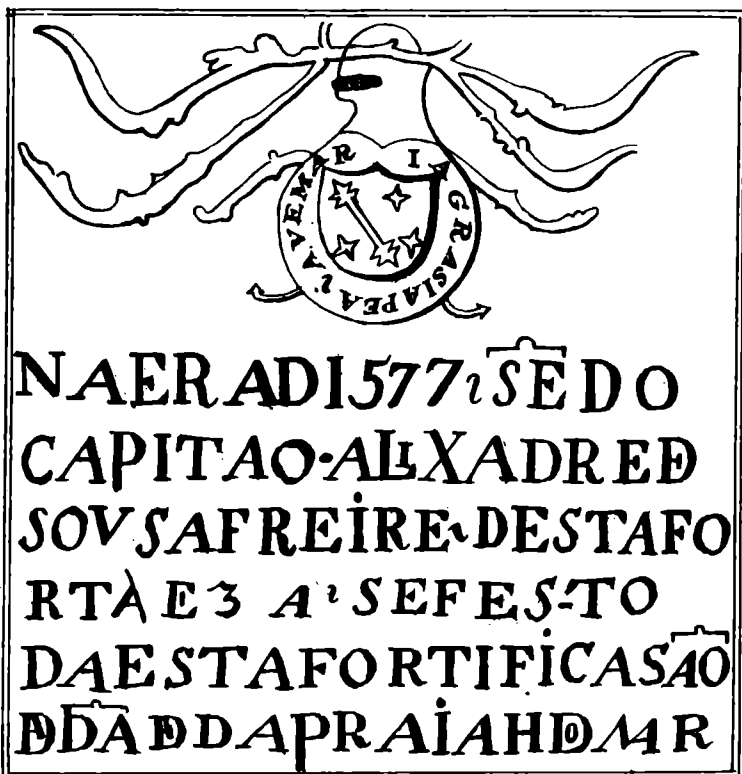
The same factor, who otherwise eulogizes the fort as "the most ancient, most celebrated, and most estimable fort of Chaul, which having been rebuilt by modern rules, and all the military usages punctually observed by the garrison, is now become the most important of all the other forts," finds fault with several parts of the fortifications, and recommends especially to have the bastions Sam Jacinto and Sam Luis, with the intervening wall, repaired; the adjoining moat, which was being rapidly filled with sand, dug up; and a stockade planted on the sea side to oppose the tidal wave, which was undermining their foundations. The changes which Nature has since wrought are really remarkable. Places where the sea surf was then but slowly advancing have since been completely encroached upon; the wall breached at five to seven different points along the beach; and the tidal current placidly enters into the fort and washes away the foot of the ruins of the monasteries within, which are in imminent risk of falling. A few of the bastions and a large portion of the wall have within the last twenty years tumbled down, and in a few years more the remaining portion facing the sea will perhaps be hardly visible. The sands that were once filling up the ditch have now formed a hillock of their own, so that the enemy, if there be one, would require no scaling at all. Stepping up the sands would easily place him at the top of the wall. On its inner side this part of the wall is surrounded by a small bamboo thicket, which probably dates its origin from the Portuguese period, and was devised, it would appear, as an outwork, to have a counteracting influence against the enemy using the encroaching sands as ladders for scaling.

The fort of Chaul has, like several others on the coast, two gateways, viz. a 'Porta do Mar' and a 'Porta da Terra,' or the sea and the land gateway; the former having, besides, a thin wall a few paces in front to screen it from the river-side, and the latter, which bears also the name of 'Porta de Casados,' or 'married men's gate,' having the remains of a drawbridge over the ditch, which is now completely filled up with sand, although formerly it was broad and deep, encompassing the whole wall towards the land, and could be flooded at pleasure. Each of these gateways consists of two gates, viz. interior and exterior.

The southern gateway is situated on the northern margin of the Chaul creek, where is also the *bandar*. The first object that strikes a tourist on landing here is an enormous Indian fig tree (*Ficus indica*), which has nothing unusual about it except its roots displacing and hiding some stepping-stones which have the appearance of having belonged to a pier which once led the way from the landing-place to the gateway of the fort. It appears that a jetty formerly stretched as far as the water's edge, on which, according to the testimony of Della Valle, Careri, and others, people used to disembark by means of a wooden plank thrown as a bridge from their galleys. The tree appears also to be an ancient one; for Lafitau, in his fantastic picture of the fort of Chaul, has not, apparently, forgotten to stick up just in the foreground a big tree, which is probably meant to represent the present Indian fig tree.

The southern gateway has now the thin wall to its right-hand side, which once screened it completely from the river view, partly knocked down. A slab 4 feet $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches long by 2 feet $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad, containing the figure of a warrior in high relief in military uniform, with the insignia of the Order of Christ and with a helmet, is let into the remaining outer part of the wall, and was intended, it is believed, to represent one of the kings of Portugal, with the scarcely discernible legend of six letters in two lines O I O A and T O at the foot—the remains, perhaps, of the name of King Dom Joaõ or Dom Sebastiaõ, during whose unhappy reign this wall was built. The figure is now converted by the devout villager into the idol of Khaṇḍobâ, his face besmeared with oil, and the head daubed over with a thick coating of red paint. An altar to the *tulsî* is raised just in front of it, which receives the daily offerings of flowers and rice, and shares them with the warrior's figure. That the figure of one of the Kings of Portugal, who in days gone by made every exertion in their power and spent millions from their treasury to abolish idolatry in India, should now minister to the superstitious propensities of the descendants of their former subjects, is a very humiliating reflection indeed. There is one consoling trait in this whole transaction, however, Vandalism though it may appear to the sober imagination of an antiquarian: some conscientious iconoclast has clearly knocked off the hands, ears, and nose of the saintly warrior, and made the facial surface as smooth as a slab of marble. So strong was the stigma attached to representations of living objects by the professors of Islâm, that the most disreputable prince among the Mahomedans felt a scruple

A



Translation.

In the year 1577 Alexandre de Souza Freire being Captain of this Fort, the whole of this fortification along the beach was built.

of conscience in showing even a tacit acquiescence in the naturally ignorant display of the religious zeal of the Hindus. Though politically commendable, their indifference towards such an object would be represented by their sanctimony as the mortal sin of encouraging idolatry; hence this state of intolerance of these otherwise uncontrite individuals against innocuous images, resulting in the end in such irrational practices as the hideous disfigurement of the warrior-sculpture at Chaul.

The greater part of this outer wall is now demolished, only a small portion with a little oblong window above a well of water, and an open passage towards the west with the doorposts and lintel rapidly crumbling away, remaining.

The exterior southern gateway is built of black basalt, and is surmounted by a crown and armorial bearings carved in the same stone, but now almost entirely overgrown with rank vegetation. It is still in a fair state of preservation, although devoid of the massive teak gates cased with iron bars and spikes which once existed there.

On entering the gate the visitor finds himself in a little square area walled in on all sides except at the two gates. To the right is a stone 2 feet 3¼ inches long by 2 feet and 2 inches broad, let into a hole, from which it is half-loose. The inscription on it, with an artistic attempt at heraldic ornamentation consisting of three stars and a mace—possibly a coat-of-arms of the Captain of the fort at the time this wall was built—and the motto of *Ave Maria, gratiâ plena*, slovenly carved around, shows plainly enough that there is not only no excellence of epigraphic art to be expected in this, as in other inscriptions of Chaul, but that they even fall far short in complying with the ordinary rules of calligraphy, especially in their absolute want of regard for the sense of the clause or sentence.

It may perhaps be necessary to mention that this, as every other of the inscriptions of Chaul, is written in Portuguese.

Here is a faithful copy of the inscription, which, like several others, was made by Mr. Hearn (see plate A).

Surmounting the interior gateway is observed the well-known D. Manuel's terrestrial globe to the left, three arrows in a sheaf to the right, and the Portuguese royal coat-of-arms in the middle, the whole placed under a Maltese cross of the Order of Christ. Each of these emblems is about 2 feet long by 2½ broad, and the circles about 2 feet in diameter. The stones are mouldering to pieces, and being

covered by vegetation are not so distinguishable now as when seen and described by Mr. Hearn, in 1954. The globe denotes power, the broad belt which encircles it being intended to represent the conquests and discoveries of the Portuguese throughout the world, and the three arrows tied together peace, which the Portuguese of Chaul had, before the building of this part of the fortifications, uninterruptedly enjoyed for thirty long years, which was an unusual occurrence in those troublous times. To the left are the remains of a staircase which once led, it appears, to the story above, which is now without both floor and roof.

On the opposite side of this gate are two other slabs 1 foot 6 inches by 1 foot $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad, with inscriptions. One is towards the east (see plate B), and the other towards the west (see plate C). On the latter side a rampart leads to a terrace, where are found some old rusty cannon sheltering many a venomous reptile.

Having crossed the gates, the tourist has before him a scene which may be equalled, but not surpassed, by any of the ruined cities of the Portuguese on the coast, except the old city of Goa. A pretty large town surrounded on all sides, save where the sea has made some ugly breaches, by a high wall, regular though narrow unpaved streets, and huts of bamboo plastered with mud or cowdung and clay, and covered with a roof of palm-leaves and straw, ensconced in deep groves of trees, where many a carved stone and painted wood that once belonged to the Portuguese churches and monasteries is seen in grotesque patch-work. The natives of Chaul, like the modern Goanese and the mediæval Greeks and Romans, have found it cheaper to dig and carry away cut stones than to quarry them; but, unlike the inhabitants of the Eternal City of the day, they will never learn to have a grand object in preserving them.

At Chaul the material interests seem to have prevailed over the scientific, or the utilitarian to have got the upper hand of the artistic; for on no other ground could the presence there of the broken fragments of dispersed masonry be accounted for, as well as the heads of the little wooden cherubim with squint eyes, flushed cheeks, and elaborately curled wigs, which were once to be found in profusion in almost every village and hamlet, as they are still in some. All these things can suggest to the passing traveller no just estimate of the general strength and symmetry of the edifices wherein these fragments once

B

ESTAPORTA
COARDANS
DOR'OVEHF
SVA

Translation.

*This gate is under the protection of our Lady of Dolours
N.B. It admits of no other translation, mutilated as it is.*

C

NAERADE
1638 SERE
DEFICOV
ESTAPORTA

Translation.

In the year 1638 this gate was rebuilt.

occupied not only a definite though subordinate place, but some of which must have doubtless had assigned them a distinguished place in the Roman Catholic altars of Chaul. The villagers' utilitarianism is displayed, moreover, in some places in so debasing a form as to make the wall of a church or monastery serve the same purpose for his own snug little square hovel, where three walls are built of mud, and the fourth is part of a convent.

One does not meet at Chaul the indications of that power and influence which is conferred on a city by years of prestige and tradition; for Lower Chaul is, not unlike Bombay, a modern creation. It was first a low swampy ground reclaimed and converted into a town, and as such it soon took a high rank among the other numerous settlements on the coast. Its ruins, as the earliest Christian ruins, however, deserve special mention. They consist mostly of roofless churches and convents, and stately mansions of noblemen and merchants, embowered amidst pleasant gardens, now encumbered with the *débris* of fallen edifices, and overgrown with wild vegetation; lofty steeples soaring high in the sky, with arched belfries which once contained bells that sounded many a merry peal, now mute for ever—nay, the abode of the ominous owl, whose discordant screech simply adds to the desolation of the place. All these things have a melancholy interest of their own, which will make, I hope, the ruins of Chaul, for many a year to come, before they are quite swept off the earth's surface, a place worthy of a visit from Bombay excursionists, a class daily increasing in number.

A little active imagination will not fail to bring life back again into this ruined scene of the former power and glory of the Portuguese, where are still to be found the relics of their past heroism and memorials of their dominion—now, alas, irrevocably passed away!—and of their enterprises of piety and laudable zeal for the spread of Christianity, which they prosecuted with all mediæval enthusiasm. It would be easy, perhaps, to trace the footsteps of those who have, it seems, but lately deserted it; to recall for a moment the ancient aspect of the city; to reclothe the altars and walls of churches with their usual lively drapery, as they stood before the devastations caused as much by the sacrilegious Marâthâs as by the leaden hand of Time; to fill again the desolate naves and aisles with the sound of the grand Gregorian chant; and to impart to it that historical interest which, more than architecture itself, strikes the mind of the beholder with admiration and awe. I have often, while gazing on these ruins, felt

the necessity and fancied that the application of the words of Mr. Dyer on Pompeii to Chaul—to compare for a moment great things with small—would not be entirely inappropriate. “If the romantic fictions of the Middle Ages,” says that writer, “could be realized, which tell of mirrors framed with magic art to represent what had formerly passed or was passing in distant parts of the earth, the happy discoverer might soon make his fortune in this age of exhibition.”*

Chaul, long before Bassein rose to be “the capital of the North,” was the principal entrepôt of trade of the Portuguese in this part of India, as well as their chief naval station and arsenal. It was also a place from whence numerous missionary expeditions started almost every year, and was visited by many celebrated generals and saints, notably Affonço d’Albuquerque on his way to Adu, and St. Francis Xavier *en route* to Bassein, and whose presence more than once hallowed its soil. I have already said enough of the prolonged sieges, naval encounters, and other actions, in which, though engaged with hordes of the enemy who tried their best to crush it, the civic honour and the military reputation of Chaul until its ultimate downfall remained unsullied. A settlement so famous in the Portuguese annals could not easily escape the patriotic mind of the author of the great national epic, who in several stanzas refers to it as connected with only those events or thrilling episodes which display the heroic side of his countrymen’s nature and happened during his lifetime. He has thus immortalized the sad occurrence of the death of Dom Lourenço d’Almeida at Chaul, and the exploits of Heitor da Sylveira in the great naval engagement which took place in its neighbourhood during the governorship of Lopo Vaz de Sampayo, in the two following stanzas:—

† XXIX.

Mas de Deos a escondida providencia,
 (Que elle só sabe o bem de que se serve)
 O porá onde esforço nem prudencia
 Poderá haver, que a vida lhe reserve.

* T. H. Dyer’s *Pompeii*, Lond. 1867, p. 2.

† XXIX.

But God’s hidden prudence known alone
 To Himself for His wise purposes intended,
 Shall place him where no strength or prudence of his own
 Shall avail, his life to save, doomed to be ended.

* Em Chaul, ondẽ em sangue e resistencia
 O mar todo com fogo e ferro ferve,
 Lhe faraõ que com vida se naõ saia
 As armadas d'Egypto e de Cambaia.

LX.

E naõ menor de Dio a fera frota,
 Que Chaul temerá de grande e ousada,
 Fará co' a vista só perõida e rota
 Por Heitor da Sylveira, e destroçada:
 Por Heitor Portuguez, de quem se nota,
 Que na costa Cambaia sempre armada
 Será aos Guzerates tanto dano,
 Quanto ja foi aos Gregos o Troiano.

Luiz de Camoens' *Lusiadas*, Canto X.

Now groping among the ruins, where there is still enough, in spite of what the Vandalism and cupidity of the natives could do to remove them, to repay for the trouble of the search, it is impossible, notwithstanding, to resist the first impulse of indignation at the culpable neglect with which the ruins appear to have been formerly treated, and at the havoc wrought by the natives, more so than by the destructive action of the weather or the prolific *pípai* tree. The display of bad taste, moreover, in daubing with red ochre and oil every striking piece of sculpture or masonry that pervades the whole desolate city, is really painful to behold.

Going now along a circuitous street flanked by low fence-walls of cocoanut gardens, and encumbered here and there with *débris* of ruined

* In Chaul, where under fire and blood shall Ocean groan,
 And boil beneath two powerful armadas blended,
 Of Egypt and Cambaya, in desperate strife;
 Fighting while able, shall the hero lose his life.

LX.

And not the loss to Dio shall the fierce fleet,
 Which Chaul shall also fear as bold and grand,
 Do by its sole appearance, when these are beat
 By Hector da Sylveira, vanquished out of hand:
 The Portuguese Hector who must yet prove so great
 Along the Cambayan coast, where he shall plan
 As much mischief to the Guzerats he shall seek,
 As the Trojan formerly wrought unto the Greek.

—*The Lusiad*,

Translated by Lieut.-Col. Livingstone Mitchell, Kt., D.C.L., Lond. 1854.

buildings, a street that in its outline much resembles the tortuous course of the Chaul creek as it meanders through the extensive valley fringed with cocoanut trees and other palms, one is led at last to the eastern or land gate. Half-way between the two gates, where the street approaches the wall, a breach in an arched door about ten feet wide has been effected, through which the traffic from the *bandar* passes in a curved line to the north-eastern part of the district.

The land gateway, like its sea counterpart, has two doors, interior and exterior. The latter is half buried in sand, leaving the lintel still visible, where a crown and a few other royal emblems carved in *alto-relievo*, with an oblong vacant space for the insertion of an inscrip-tional stone, is observed. The inscription has disappeared; but it may be identical with the one discovered by Mr. Hearn in 1854 in the Agent's bungalow at Colába, whither it had been carried from Revadañda some eight years before, and which is 2 feet 2½ inches long by 2 feet 6 inches broad, broken horizontally into two unequal parts. The stone eventually found its way to the Museum of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, where it is now lying. (See plate D.)

In the month of May 1868 a translation of this inscription by the Rev. Joseph Poli, S.J., was read at the monthly meeting of the Society. It runs thus:—

“This work was made during (in the lapse of) the year 1636 (5?) ... and at the beginning of 1636, being Captain of this fortress of *Chaul*” (here the Father adds a footnote stating that *Chaul* is at Malim close to the bridge) “Joaõ de Thobar de Velasco, and was taken as Patron of this city the glorious Father St. Francis Xavier, of the Society of Jesus.”*

This translation, as was to be expected, was found fault with by Mr. J. H. da Cunha Rivara, Chief Secretary to the Goa Government, who sent his own translation as follows:—“This work was made at the end of the year 1635..... and at the beginning of 1636, being Captain of this fortress of Chaul, Joaõ de Thobar de Velasco, and was taken as Patron of this city the glorious Father St. Francis Xavier, of the Society of Jesus.”

The above translation was accompanied with a note correcting the misstatement made by the Jesuit Father Poli, thus:—“*Chaul* is not a place at Malim close to the bridge, but is situated on the coast 23

* *Jour. Bom. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. ix., p. xlvi.

D

ESTA OBRASE FESNOREMA
EDO ANNO DE 635 * E PRÍ
NCÍPO DE 636 SENDO CAPÍTA

ODESTA FORTALEZA DCH
AVLÍO AODETHO BARDEVE
LASCOESETOMOV RORPA
ROEIRODESTACÍD. OGLO
RÍOZOP. S FRANCISCOXA
VIER. DACOMP. DEIESVS * *

Translation.

This work was done at the end of the year 1635 and the beginning of 1636, João de Thobar de Velasco being Captain of this Fortress of Chaul, and was taken as Patron of this city the glorious Father S^t. Francis Xavier, of the Society of Jesus.

F

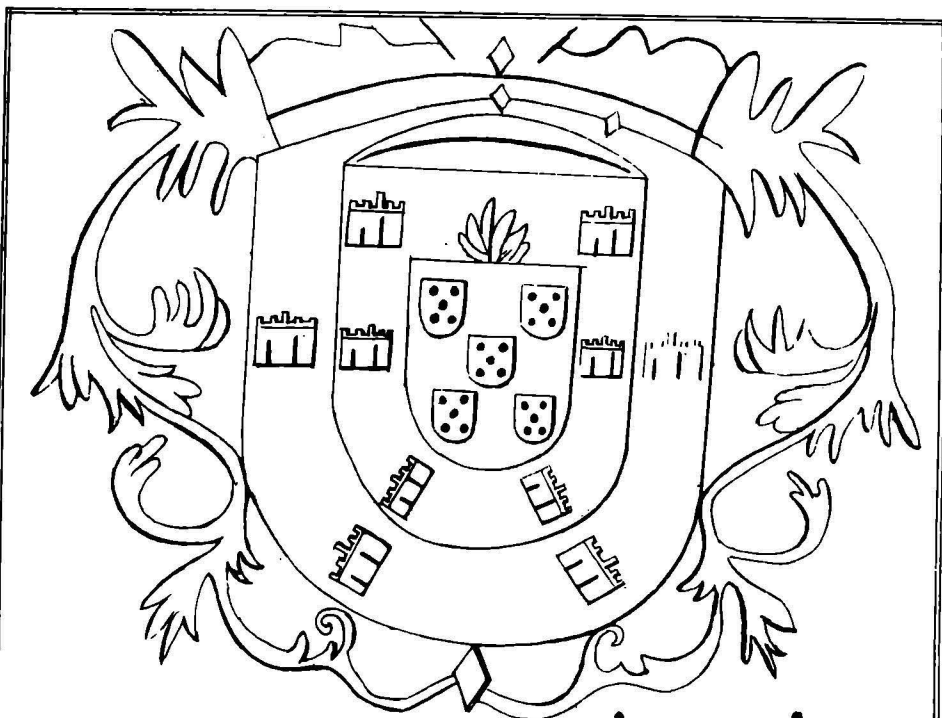


NO ANO DE 1721. SENDO CAPITÃO
ESOU^{OR} ELA. FORTZ^A. E CHAVL. AN-
TONIO DE S^{DE} LEMOS FIDALGO. DA =
CAZA. ES^A MS^E QUE. DS. S^P POR. O =
REM. Q^O TEVE DOX^M S^O R. FRANS^O
JOZE PEESAMP^O. ECATRO. REI. E.
CAPIAOS FRA. DANDIAP^A LEVN =
ARE SA. FORTIFICACAO. CHAMDA
N. S. DA CONCEICAO. AOS. 25 DE M =
ARCO DA. D^{HA} HERA. A IMA. O

Translation.

In the year 1721, being Captain and Governor of this Fortress of Chaul Antonio de Souza de Lemos, Nobleman of the Household of His Majesty, whom God may always protect, by the order sent by His Excellency Senhor Francisco José de Sampaio e Castro, Viceroy and Captain General of the Portuguese India, this fortification, named .N. S. da Conceição, was commanded to be built on the 25th March of the abovementioned year

E



SEND'OV RDA INDIA
FR^{C.O} DE TAVOR·CON
DE·DE AI VOR: M^{P.O} I^{OM}
DE IEMO: DE BRITO
FZ^{E.O} ESTÃ· ATALAIA
AS VACVSTASENDO
CAP^{A.M} MOR·DESTA
CANP'O·NAERADI 1688

Translation.

*Being Viceroy of India Francisco de Tavora, Conde d'Alvor, Joã de Melo de Brito commanded this tower to be built at his expense, while Chief-Captain of this Camp in the year 1688.**

** Here there is a chronological error, Conde d'Alvor ceased to be Viceroy in 1686, being succeeded by D. Rodrigo da Costa.*

miles south of Bombay, and has been a remarkable town and port in the time of the Portuguese.”*

A round tower in the neighbourhood of the eastern gateway also bears an inscription, surmounted, as usual, by a coat-of-arms. It is cut out in the most confused manner, which makes the translation of it, in part at least, mere guess-work. (See plate E.)

This tower has four embrasures, and rooms for a guard of about twenty-five soldiers. From the top of this fortification the Portuguese cannon could sweep the whole plain outside the walls.

Another inscription, 2 feet long by 1 foot 9 inches broad, bearing a cross at the top, on the same side of the fort, refers to that part of the wall which was known by the name of N. S. da Conceiçãõ. It is the most recent of all, and withal the worst engraved. The decline of the power of the Portuguese in India seems now to be reflected even in their lamentable decay in epigraphy, which had otherwise never risen to any high degree of perfection. This stone was some years ago removed to the house of the medical officer of Alibâg, and faithfully copied by Mr. Hearn. (See plate F.)

Besides these, all the towers and bastions of the fort have the names of the saints, to whom they are dedicated, inscribed on them, although they have now become almost illegible. Outside the wall landwards there was a fortified camp, remains of which are still visible. It was named *O Campo de Sam Joãõ*, or “the Camp of St. John.” It was occupied by the Marãthã troops before they got possession of the forts of Chaul and the *Mórro*, and was garrisoned and equipped with 30 cannon of from 2 to 40 pounders when inspected in 1728 by the above-mentioned factor of Bassein.† To the garrison of Chaul I shall have to refer hereafter, but in the meanwhile we will describe the adjacent fort of the *Mórro*, or the Kôrlê hill.

The fort of Kôrlê, both in its plan and works, is entirely different from that of any other fort on the coast. It has no traces of Marãthã work in it, nor is it built quite after the Portuguese model. I have already referred to its general outline, and the battle that was fought for its conquest.‡ It appears to have been rebuilt on the

* *Jour. Bom. Br. R. As. Soc.*, pp. lv.-lvi., and *Chronista de Tissuary*, vol. iii., p. 165.

† *Chronista de Tissuary*, vol. i., *ut supra*.

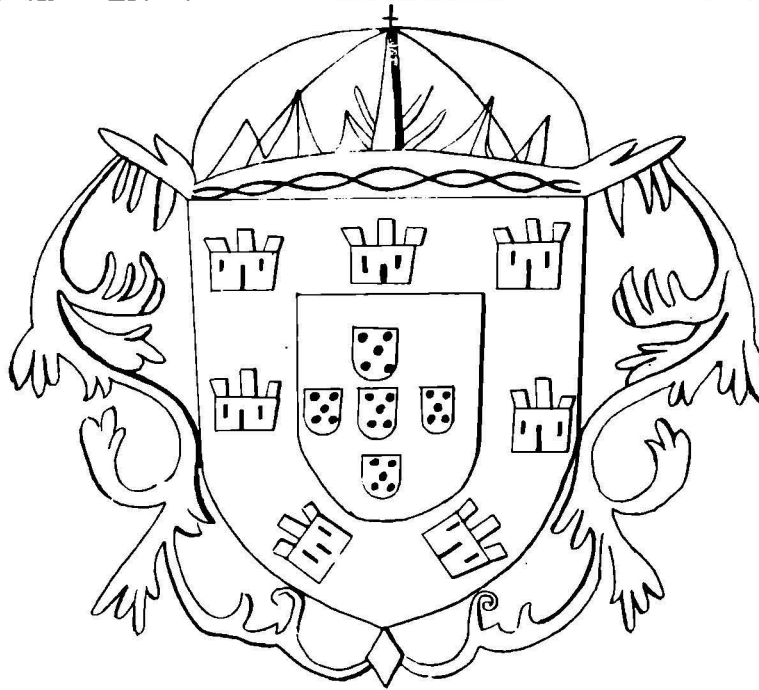
‡ See Diogo do Couto's *Decadas*, vol. xiii., pp. 165 *et seqq.* See also *Ind. Ant.*, vol. iii., p. 181, and Mr. Nairne's *Konkan*, p. 61.

Musalmán plan after the Portuguese had destroyed the first fortress. It is, though strong, of no great size or height compared with many hill-forts, and derives certainly its whole importance from its position. Nor could it possibly have held the garrison described by some of the chroniclers at any time, although a considerable auxiliary force could have lain outside it, as stated by Diogo do Couto and others. It is nevertheless a very striking monument of the Portuguese, and unlike anything else in the district.

The fort stands on a narrow ridge of the rock which stretches across the mouth of the river opposite to the fort of Chaul, and is completely surrounded by a strong wall. The Water Battery, named Santa Cruz, lies lowest of all the works, and vessels of over fifty tons must enter the river almost within pistol-shot of it. Inside the wall there are two other walls crossing the ridge at the top, each being protected by towers and bastions, and dividing the whole virtually into three different fortresses. The bastions are seven in number, and, like those of Chaul, were dedicated to saints, whose names engraved on them are still faintly visible. The names of Sam Thiago, Sam Francisco Xavier, Sam Pedro, and Sam Felipe, over both the bastions as well as gateways, are still legible, others being entirely worn out. There is, besides, a bastion about the centre, with a parapet all round; this, being the highest, was named by the Portuguese *baluarte cavalleiro*. On the north side the hill slopes gently down to the water's edge, and this slope, being enclosed, like the rest of the rock, by the fortified wall, forms a broadway, which is also crossed by walls and bastions, and ends at the bottom in a wide level space. Here were the quarters of the garrison of the Cuirass, or Water Battery, above noticed. On the most prominent point of the hill stood a large cross, and there are still existing in the highest part of the fort, close to the ruins of a magazine, the remains of a chapel, which in 1634 had only the chancel of stone and mortar, the nave being built of bamboo mats and palm-leaves, and the roof thatched with straw, while that of the chancel was tiled. It appears that, later on, the whole of the chapel was built of stone, the walls of which are still standing, although now entirely roofless, and the sacred precincts converted into a cattle-pen. There are, besides, the ruins of a large rain-water cistern, which, according to Diogo do Couto, dates from the Mahomedan period.

The following was the garrison of the fort of the *Mórro*, with their corresponding military pay :—

G



ESTE CASTELO MANDOU FAZER
O VIZOR DA INDIA D. FELIPE
M. S. ED. NOV. BRO. E. 1646 ANOS 9
SENDO CAPITAO E CHAVL FE
RNAO E MIRADA E RI. 9 EAS. EA
CABO SEN MAIO E. 1680 SENDO
CAPITAO DE SA. PRACACRISOVAO
D. ABREU DA ZEVEDO.

Translation.

This Castle was commanded to be built by the Viceroy of India D. Felipe Mascarenhas in November of the year 1646, being Captain of Chaul Fernão Miranda Henriques(?), and was finished in May 1680, being Captain of this Fort Christovão d. Abreu d'Azevedo.

| | |
|--|----------------------|
| One captain..... | 60,000 reís a year.* |
| One constable | 50,000 do. |
| Fifty soldiers, who were altogether paid... | 2,772 xerafins † |
| Ten do. who had only provisions, amounting to | 288 „ |

A chaplain, or a priest, who used to be supplied by the neighbouring city of Chaul, to perform mass in the chapel of the *Mórro* every Sunday and holyday, had five *larins*‡ for each mass. The garrison had besides at their service a passage rowing-boat equipped with seven rowers, including the *muccadam*, each rower being paid at the rate of five *larins* and a maund of rice a month, the *muccadam* having double the amount of both money and rice. The hire of the passage-boat was three xerafins a month. Then the cost of maintenance of the *Mórro* fort, excluding the expense of ammunition and provisions, repairs and improvements, and masses said in its chapel for the souls of those who had died in the fort, amounted to 3,426 xerafins, 3 tangas, and 20 reís a year.

Of inscriptions in the fort of the *Mórro* there are only three remaining. One is placed over a doorway in the centre and highest part of the fort, about 400 feet above the sea-level. (See plate G.)

The armorial bearings at the top of the above inscription consist of the Portuguese *quinas* in the centre and seven castles around, the whole being surmounted by an ordinary cross upon a disproportionately long pedestal.

There are two other inscriptions in this fort: one is situated over the principal entrance, and the other is over an altar in the chapel before described; but both are worn away and illegible, and even the process of *estampage* or rubbing would not, I believe, be as successful as the eye has been.

The fort of Kôrlê is still in a perfect state of preservation, with the exception of an outer wall on the eastern slope, which has almost disappeared. Its situation on a hill is, however, so favourable to its preservation that the fort, it is presumed, will probably be standing quite perfect when not a vestige of Chaul or Revadañda is remaining, owing to the encroachments of the sea, and other causes before adverted to.

* One thousand reís are equivalent to rupees two, annas two, and pies four.

† A *xerafim* is equal to about half a rupee; so is a *pardao*.

‡ Each *larim* was worth ninety reís.

There is another remarkable change in this fort which remains to be noticed, although in no way affecting its integrity and preservation. The names of Christian saints, after whom the bastions were named, have all been changed into Marāṭhā names. The last Marāṭhā commandant of the fort, a Wanjāri by caste, who died a few years ago, must, like his predecessor, have wrought this nationalization of Portuguese names. A very large gun belonging to this fort is said to have been given as a present by the English Government to the Habshi of Jinjirā, from the Pusanti Burj, or South-East Bastion. The Pāṭil family of Kōrlê still worship the remaining guns once a year, as they worship every material and mortal thing there, from the red-ochred idol to the bat-haunted cavern.

Returning once more to the ruins of Chaul, the first object to attract one's attention is the gateway which leads to the stately enclosure, half palace half fortress, which was the house of the captain of the fort, one of its apartments being set aside for the *tronco*, or jail. This was the first building constructed in Chaul, and is often named 'the Chaul Castle.' It was first erected as a factory in 1516, and when fortified in 1521 was set apart for the captain's residence, the factor being lodged in a private house rented by the Government specially for that purpose. The gateway has the figures of St. Peter and St. Paul in two conspicuous niches on either side over the entrance, and the royal arms of Portugal and the Maltese cross in the middle, carved in alto-relievo, the whole being surmounted by an ordinary cross. The whole façade is ornamented with designs of more or less artistic merit, and is flanked by two little obelisks on the sides. The figures of the saints have been sadly injured either by rough weather or by still rougher natives, and in a few years more there will, perhaps, remain no traces of them.

The garrison at the fort of Chaul varied constantly, in accordance with the exigencies of war and peace. In 1728 it consisted of three companies of 62 men each. The fortified camp of St. John, outside the wall, was also garrisoned by companies of the same strength, and equipped with nineteen cannon. It had, besides, an auxiliary force of 234 Bhaṇḍārīs, who were paid four xerafus, or nearly two rupees, a month. Although poorly paid, the Battalion of the Bhaṇḍārīs, as it was called, proved a valuable aid to the Portuguese in many a pitched battle, and especially in their contests with the Angria and other recalcitrant neighbours. The service rendered to the State by this class

of mercenaries was duly appreciated by Viceroys and Captains of Chaul, whose testimonials on rags of mouldering paper are still preserved as inestimable heirlooms in many a Bhaṇḍārī family of the district. Two of these, with *facsimiles* of the signatures of Dom Rodrigo da Costa dated the 13th July 1711, and of Caetano de Souza Pereira dated the 21st January 1737, are published by Mr. Hearn.*

The fort of the Môrro was garrisoned in 1634 by 50 soldiers, increased to 130 in 1728, besides a detachment which was daily sent from the opposite fort of Chaul. The Captain or Governor of Chaul, usually a nobleman of the King's household and appointed by him to that important post, was the head of the settlement, and as such had a large establishment under him paid by the State. Some of the appointments are now obsolete and deserve to be recorded. Their salaries were paltry sums, and every officer, from the highest to the lowest, was paid in Portuguese reis, one thousand of which, in round numbers, are equivalent to a little more than two rupees. There are only two printed documents besides some manuscripts existing, from which we glean the following information. One of these works was written in 1554, and is entitled *Tombo da Estado da India*,† by Simaõ Botelho, and the other was written in 1634 by Antonio Bocarro, and styled *Livro das Plantas das Fortalezas da India*.‡ Although there are some discrepancies—occasioned, doubtless, by the long interval of almost a century which elapsed between the two writers,—they agree tolerably on the main subject of appointments in each of the military, civil, judicial, and ecclesiastical departments, and their respective salaries. Here is the salary list:—

| | | |
|---|---------|----------------------|
| The Captain..... | 400,000 | reis a year. |
| His Naik | 600 | „ a month. |
| His two Naffars and fifteen peons § . | 300 | „ each „ |
| His Oriental translator..... | 600 | „ „ |
| Three torch-bearers, usually African negroes | one | pardao each a month. |

* *Colaba Report, ut supra*, pp. 66 *et seqq.*

† *Subsidios, ut supra*, pp. 126 *et seqq.*

‡ *Chronista de Tisuary*, vol. iv., pp. 19 *et seqq.*

§ This number was by the celebrated financier Martim Affonso de Souza reduced to nine, and in 1634 there were only eight.

|| The number of torches and the maunds of oil were eventually reduced to two.

| | |
|--|-------------------------------------|
| Three maunds of cocoanut oil for the torches | 3 tangas a maund, or about 6 annas. |
| Six bombardiers | 1,200 reis each a month. |
| The gatekeeper of the fort, whose pay, at first 7,200 reis per year, besides his military pay and allowances, was eventually raised to | 15,600 ,, a year. |
| Next to the Captain, the Factor was the <i>grand seigneur</i> of Chaul. | |
| His establishment was as follows:— | |
| The Factor, who was also an <i>Alcaide mór</i> , or police magistrate | 100,000 reis a year. |
| His two clerks, at 30,000 reis each..... | 60,000 ,, ,, |
| (This number was eventually reduced to one). | |
| His Oriental translator | 7,200 ,, ,, |
| Nine peons (this number was in 1634 reduced to four) | 300 ,, each a month. |
| Two torch-bearers, also negroes | 1 pardao each ,, |
| Two maunds of oil. (The maunds, as well as the torches, were reduced to one.)... | 3 tangas a maund. |
| The 'Almoxarife dos Almazens,' or receiver of customs. (This appointment was eventually absorbed into that of the Factor, without any further increase of pay) | 20,000 reis a year. |
| His clerk (eventually abolished) | 15,000 ,, |
| Constable of the Fort had at first 24,000 reis, raised to..... | 30,000 ,, |
| 'Sobre-rolda,' or chief of the night-watch department | 18,000 ,, |
| 'Alcaide do mar,' or sea magistrate (also abolished) | 12,000 ,, |
| Tincoyro, besides his military pay and provisions | 21,000 ,, |

It is not clear what the duties of this last high functionary were, but that he was found to be more ornamental than useful, and that at last the sinecure was suppressed, there is every evidence in the documents above quoted from to prove.

The Administration of Justice had the following staff :—

| | | |
|--|---------|-------------------|
| One 'Ouvidor' or judge..... | 100,000 | reis a year. |
| One 'Meirinho'—a sort of bailiff, or an officer to apprehend criminals and serve summonses, &c. | 15,000 | „ „ |
| His six peons..... | 300 | reis each a month |
| The 'Alcaide da cidade,' or police magistrate..... | 15,000 | „ „ a year. |
| His six peons..... | 300 | „ „ a month. |
| The 'Tronqueiro,' or jailor, raised from 7,200 to | 15,600 | „ „ a year. |
| One maund of oil for do. | 3 | tangas a maund. |

The Government also contributed for the monthly rent of a house for the Factor eight patacoons of 360 reis each, the total being 34,560 reis a year.

But to go back once more to the description of the ruins. Half-way between the southern gateway and the newly-made breach in the wall towards the land side, the visitor finds himself confronted by the magnificent ruins of two churches. The highly ornamented façade of Corinthian columns to the left are the ruins of the Church of the Jesuits, while the thin wall with the friezed and columnar porch to the right are the only remains of the 'Matriz' or Cathedral standing. This stately building has almost entirely disappeared, every square yard of the available space being now occupied by cocoanut and other trees.

The 'Matriz' was one of the earliest ecclesiastical institutions of Chaul. It was built soon after the conquest of Bassein in 1334, by that indefatigable Franciscan friar Antonio do Porto, of whom we shall hear more hereafter. He built it on the eastern margin of the river, and named it 'Igreja de Nossa Senhora do Mar,' or 'Church of our Lady of the Sea.' It was then a small church, but became by degrees the centre of a considerable parish, and was affiliated to the Church and Convent of the Franciscans, which was dedicated to St. Barbara. Some time after, the connection between the two ceased, and the 'Church of our Lady of the Sea' was increased in dimensions, assuming at last the proportions of a Cathedral, and was then raised to the dignity of 'Matriz' or 'Sé' of Chaul, as it was styled.

Some of the travellers have mistaken this Sé for an extramural church, when the Sé ought to be always placed, from the nature of its foundation, as in all fortified cities of the Portuguese in India and elsewhere, within the walls. Pietro della Valle, who visited this church in 1662, says of it:—"Scesi, che fummo in terra, poco lontano dalla casa della Dogana, che stà fuor delle mura, la prima cosa ch' io vidi, fù la Chiesa maggiore, ò Cathedrale, che pur fuori delle mura stà sù la riva del mare," &c.* John Ogilby, who wrote in 1670, refers to Chaul in his *English Atlas*, and as his short description of the harbour and fort of Chaul appears to have been principally drawn from the accounts of Varthema and Della Valle, he falls into the same error as Della Valle in saying that the cathedral was situated on the margin of the river, outside the walls. This misstatement may perhaps have arisen from there being, besides the two principal gateways, a postern on the river-side, through which the population outside the fort could easily communicate with the cathedral within the wall. This postern was a little behind the Custom-house, or Toll-house as Ogilby calls it, the latter being always placed outside the wall, about the very spot where the modern dingy little Custom-house is situated. Ogilby, however, does not rest contented with copying this erroneous statement of Della Valle, who in other respects is admirably accurate. He must add something new of his own. So he informs his readers that the "Morro di Ciul" means in the Portuguese tongue "A member of Ciul"; but Mórro simply means a hillock.†

The following list of salaries and other disbursements and charges paid by the State in connection with the Cathedral is extracted from the before-mentioned documents. There being no bishop at Chaul, the vicar of the cathedral, with the exception of the episcopal functions, which were naturally denied him, was to all intents and purposes the head of the ecclesiastical establishment of Chaul.

| | |
|---------------------------------------|----------------------|
| The vicar | 20,000 reís a year. |
| Four "beneficiados" or canons | 12,000 ,, each. |
| One treasurer | 6,000 ,, a year. |
| Two 'meninos do coro' or choir-boys.. | 400 ,, each a month. |

* "The moment we landed at a short distance from the Custom-house, which is outside the walls, the first thing I saw was the Great Church or Cathedral, which is also outside the wall, on the sea-shore."—*Viaggi, ut supra*, vol. ii., p. iii., p. 134.

† Ogilby's *English Atlas*, vol. i., pp. 243-244.

| | | | |
|--|--------|-------|---------|
| Two maunds of wax for candles..... | 14,400 | reis | a year. |
| „ „ of oil for lamps | 4,320 | „ „ „ | |
| One candie of wheat for wafers | 1,860 | „ „ „ | |
| Wine for masses | 4,320 | „ „ „ | |
| Palm-leaves, &c., for the ornaments of the church on festive occasions | 2,100 | „ „ „ | |
| It appears that in later years the above five items were brought under the heading of “serviço da sachristia,” or the vestry service, and reduced to... | 37,400 | „ „ „ | |
| Eight surplices to the above-mentioned eight members of the cathedral were usually presented to them on Easter Sunday, at the outlay of ... | 300 | „ „ „ | |

A few yards behind the space once occupied by the building of the Cathedral are the ruins of the “Misericordia.” This was an old Portuguese charitable establishment under the management of a religious brotherhood named “a Irmandade da Misericordia.” The documents relating to its first introduction into India are now no longer extant, the oldest being a provision of the Governor, Nuno da Cunha, dated the 18th June 1532* ; although tradition ascribes its foundation to the great Affonso d’Albuquerque in the year 1514, with all the rights and privileges belonging to a similar institution in Lisbon after the pattern of which it was instituted in Goa. From the latter place it soon spread over every important settlement of the Portuguese in India. That of Chaul is one of the oldest of the kind, and had an hospital and a chapel, as is usually the case, attached to it. The State contributed annually the following sums of money and articles of food, &c. for its support :—

Thirteen candies of rice—in pardaos 566, tanga 1, and reis 20.

To the hospital, including the pay of one physician, one surgeon, and one barber— pardaos 666, tangas 3, and reis 20.

In time of war the allowance was increased to 2,000 pardaos, on account of the larger number of admissions into the hospital, as in the year 1546, when the second siege of Diu brought crowds of the wounded and sick to the hospital of Chaul.† The Chapel of “the

* *Bosquejo Historico de Goa*, by M. V. d’Abreu, Nova Goa, 1858, pp. 175-176.

† *Subsidios, ut supra*, p. 129.

Misericordia," which was first in the charge of the Franciscans, eventually passed over to the Jesuit Fathers on their landing at Chaul, where they won the reputation of good nurses to the sick and excellent comforters to one's troubled soul, and thus gained a number of contributions to build their own church, as we shall see hereafter.

The ruins of the "Misericordia" consist now of a few mouldering walls mercilessly invaded by the rank vegetation, which makes its approach repulsive, and of an underground apartment which was probably the store-room of the hospital in connection with it, but now the abode of a great many offensive creatures. The visitor who would find out the place has simply to ask the natives where the 'Misri' or 'Misri Kot,' is ; for such is the phonetic degeneration to which the sublime name of 'Misericordia' has now been reduced.

Opposite the ruins of the 'Matriz,' on the other side of the main street, are the ruins of the church and convent of the Jesuits. Its front resembles, mutilated as it is, the façade of the church "de Santo Nome" (Holy Name) at Bassein, or the church "de Santa Fé" (Holy Faith) and that of "Bom Jesus" (Good Jesus) at Goa, all of which were built after the model of the mother-church of the Jesuits in Rome. The Jesuits' church at Chaul was dedicated to SS. Peter and Paul, and was built in 1580. We are told by the Jesuits' chief chronicler in India* that as early as 1552 St. Francis Xavier was requested by the pious inhabitants of Chaul, who already had the Franciscans and Dominicans among them, to found a Jesuits' College there ; but as only thirty Jesuits were then in India, and the saint was desirous of multiplying, as he was wont to say, 'missions rather than colleges,' the request could not be complied with. The saint sent them in his reply the following characteristic bit of advice:—"It is not so good to have many persons engaged in one fortress, as to have many fortresses given to the missionary work of one man."† However, the efforts of the Chaulese to have the Jesuits among themselves did not cease until they actually had them, although not without some opposition from both lay and religious bodies. The Jesuit chronicler thus narrates circumstantially all that happened at the time the Jesuit missionaries were first introduced into Chaul. He tells us that in 1580 two Jesuit Fathers

* *Oriente Conquistado*, by Pe. Francisco de Souza, Lisbon, 1708, vol. ii., p. 156 et seqq.

† *Resumo Historica da Vida de S. Francisco Xavier*, by F. N. Xavier, Nova Goa, 1861, p. 179.

and two Brothers were sent as missionaries to Chaul. The names of the Fathers were Pe. Christovaõ de Castro and Pe. Miguel Leitaõ. The names of the Brothers are not known, for which the author expresses his great regret, it being "desirable," he says, "to have the names of such able coadjutors in that mission duly recorded;" and the omission, I dare say, is really to be regretted. On their arrival at Chaul these missionaries were soon placed in charge of 'the Royal Hospital of Misericordia'—as it was styled, the one above mentioned, to minister both spiritual and bodily solace to the sick and wounded there. This their truly pious work soon attracted to them the sympathy of the inhabitants of the city of Chaul. The Fathers were besides in the habit of preaching, every Sunday and holyday, in the chapel of the 'Misericordia.' Their sermons were so highly appreciated that crowds of people flocked to listen to them.

In the 'Matriz' or Cathedral they were not allowed to preach by the jealous members of other religious orders, who had long settled themselves in Chaul, and considered this to be a privilege appertaining to priority. But this, like every other short-sighted policy, was suicidal. The right of exclusivism was defeated in its purpose by the people crowding to the chapel of the 'Misericordia' to hear the Jesuit preachers, either for piety or novelty's sake, the other churches—and especially the Cathedral—being left empty. The consequence was that the Jesuits were at last allowed to preach also in the Cathedral. The fruit of their preaching was so profitable that they resolved to remain at Chaul. This was bad news for those who did not like their presence in the city, and unfair means, such as the stoppage of provisions that had been given them daily at the hospital, were soon had recourse to in order to compel them to abandon the place. In this object, however, their enemies did not succeed, for the moment their provisions were stopped D. Jeronimo de Menezes and his wife, Dona Maria de Castro, came forward to supply them with their own provisions, which were, the chronicler says, a great luxury to them, and in this comfortable state they continued to carry on their ministrations until in the month of July, on the day of St. Mary Magdalen, the Jesuits were invited by the Prior of the Dominicans to preach in their church. The invitation being accepted, the Father Christovaõ de Castro preached an excellent sermon, explaining to the immense auditory assembled there the institution of the Society of Jesus, and entreated them to contribute their mite towards

the erection of a residence for the Jesuits. The effect of the preaching was magical. No sooner was the sermon over than contributions began to pour in from all sides, and the Captain of Chaul, Dom Fernando de Castro, son of Dom Garcia de Castro, alone, contributed a large sum, and promised to bequeath to them his valuable library in Evora, which eventually on his death was divided between the Jesuits' college in that town and their residence at Chaul. In a very short time the church was built, which was then followed by the building of a college, which was attended by above three hundred alumni. The number of the Jesuits was increased from two to seven, and their collegiate institution divided into two sections—the upper, which taught Latin, logic, theology, &c., having 40 boys on its roll; and the lower one 300, in which the rudiments of Portuguese grammar, music, and Christian doctrine were taught.

The Kings of Portugal made to the Chaul Jesuits many valuable donations and conferred on them high privileges. One of these was to receive every year five hundred ducats from the customs, but as these duties were not collected, for several reasons, until the year 1633, as we shall see hereafter, the grant was exchanged for a daily pension of one *larim*, a silver coin worth ninety reis, to each of the Fathers. The decree of this exchange of allowance is dated 11th May 1607, before which year they were paid, it appears, five hundred ducats from the Royal Treasury. They were, besides, the builders of a great portion of the Chaul fortifications, and this was not quite a profitless work.

Among the subscribers to the fund for building the church and school of the Jesuits, which latter was some time after raised to the dignity of a college, are found the names of the Viceroy, Dom Luis d'Ataide; Dom Jeronimo de Menezes, brother-in-law to Padre Christovaõ de Castro; Jorge Neto, and several others. Dom Francisco Mascarenhas, the Commander-in-Chief in the siege of 1571, made a donation to the church of two thousand *pardaos*, the interest of which was destined to be applied to the repair and maintenance of the church, a fund which was known by the Portuguese under the name of "Fabrica da Igreja." But the principal contributor was Sebastiaõ Pinto, Knight of the Order of Christ, whose portrait is still to be seen in the convent of 'Bom Jesus' at Goa.*

Several other facts in connection with the church and convent of the Jesuits at Chaul are mentioned in detail by their chronicler,

* *Vida de S. Francisco Xavier, ut supra, p. 180.*

Pe. Francisco de Souza, but the limits I have assigned to these "Notes" prevent me from drawing further from so rich a fountain of historical facts. There is one fact, however, which deserves special mention, and that is the church and college of the Jesuits of Chaul were under the immediate superintendence of the Jesuit church and college at Bassein.* In later years, about three-quarters of a century before their expulsion from the Portuguese dominions in 1759, the Jesuits at Chaul suffered great losses. The English Government seized their lands on account of their being active in promoting the views of the Sidî during the invasion of 1688.

Of the ruins of the church and convent of the Jesuits at Chaul there are at present only the handsome façade already referred to, and a few low walls surrounding a garden where wild plants now grow thickly, but signs are not wanting of its having once contained some choice fruit and flower trees, for which the Portuguese Jesuits had earned once a really enviable reputation. Among the remnants of those trees I observed the guava (*Psidium pyrifera*), the rose-apple (*Jambosa vulgaris*), the custard-apple (*Anona squamosa*), the jack-fruit (*Artocarpus integrifolia*), and several others.

The natives of Chaul point out to the visitor the ruins of the church and convent of the Jesuits as 'St. Paul the Small' and 'St. Paul the Great,' the former being the church, and the latter the convent and the college ruins.

Leaving now the remains of the buildings of the Jesuits, and proceeding on northward along the main road as far as the recently made arched breach in the wall, about ten feet wide, and then turning to the right, the visitor is shown by the village *cicerone* into a little, dark, square room overgrown with rank vegetation. In one of the corners of this room a door leads to an intramural gallery which is almost blocked up by *débris*, and is disagreeably tenanted by that species of bat (*Rhinolopus tridens*) which seems to take special delight in living in desolate places, such as the tombs and the recesses and chambers of the pyramids of Egypt, and also find a congenial retreat in the caverns of Chaul. The villager does not know the use of this little labyrinth; but there is no doubt it had some military purpose of attack and defence for its object.

* I must here acknowledge with grateful thanks the assistance I have derived from the notes and extracts, some of which were expressly made for me, by the Rev. Theodore Hauser, S.J., whose zeal in studying the chronicles of the religious order of which he is an ornament is really commendable.

Then going along the road that runs parallel to the wall, and turning to the first street to the right, the visitor is confronted by the ruins of a church and convent, of which the façade and the belfry are still preserved, but the walls lowered to form a fence to the coconut trees which now occupy the former nave and aisles of the church. This was the Church of the Augustins. The chancel is still traceable, but the little oval niche over the altar, the sacrarium, is now broken into a round hole for an irrigation pipe to fit in ; and, to make this sacrilegious operation still more shocking, the pedestal, which once evidently served to hold a cross close by, is now converted to the use of an altar to the *tulsi*. But in this the Portuguese have merely met with a tardy retribution for what they did in their own days with the Hindu temples.

By the side of this church is now a new Hindu temple, with its indispensable *dipamâhars* or light pillars, having an old *pîpal* tree on one side, and a well of water, to the bottom of which leads a still well-preserved flight of stone steps, on the other.

But to return to the Church of the Augustins. This order was the fourth that came to Goa. They came first in 1572, under the guidance of their Provincial, Fr. Antonio da Paixaõ, and it was not until 1587 that they had a branch of their church and convent at Chaul. This church was erected in the latter year by Fr. Luis de Paraiso, under the invocation of *Nossa Senhora da Graça*, or 'Our Lady of Grace,' and their convent contained from twelve to sixteen monks, including their superior, which number in the last century dwindled down to only two. In 1841, when Chaul was taken possession of by the Marâthâs, this was one of the best-preserved buildings, and they were not slow to take advantage of the circumstance, occupying it the moment they entered the Virgin Fort, the Metz of the Portuguese in India. The State used to contribute an annual pension of 500 xerafins to the Augustinian convent at Chaul, besides several other donations, and the monks were apparently leading a very easy life on them.

A little in front of these ruins are the remains of the Court-house of Chaul. It must have been a large building, and its *Ouvidor*, or Judge, was elected by the people of Chaul,—a privilege which was conceded to them, after the fashion of that enjoyed by the inhabitants of Goa, in 1697.

The duties and rights of this obsolete order of judicial functionary are graphically described by my learned friend Senior Abranches

Garcia, one of the Judges of the High Court of Goa, in the *Instituto Vasco da Gama*, vol. iii., p. 162.

Then going to the end of the street are observed, close to the sea-beach and almost parallel to the promontory of the Môrro, the ruins of the Church and Convent of the Franciscans, which played always so conspicuous a part in the numerous sieges that the city of Chaul underwent. This was a fortified convent, and some of its cloisters still remaining are remarkable for their casteline appearance. This was after the Matriz, the earliest church and convent of Chaul, built by that remarkably active Franciscan, Fr. Antonio do Porto, under the invocation of St. Barbara. It was the next in chronological precedence to their church and convent in Goa, which was built soon after the conquest of that place in 1510. That of Chaul was built in 1534, and the church of N. Sra. do Mar, which was eventually raised to be the Matriz, was, when a mere parish church, subject to it.

The Franciscans were the second religious order that came to India after the discovery of the Cape route. On the first expedition of Vasco da Gama two monks of the order of 'the Blessed Trinity,' by name Rodrigo Annes and Pedro Covilham, were, at their own request, brought over to India. The former died at Melinde, and the latter while preaching on the shore of Calicut was murdered by the natives. Then Pedro Alvares Cabral brought with him in 1500 nine secular priests and eight Franciscans, whose names were Henrique Alvares, the Superior, F. Gaspar, Francisco de Cruz, Simaõ de Guimaraes, Luis de Salvador, F. Massen, Pedro Neto, and the Brother Joaõ de Victoria. They had with them as interpreter the Jew Gaspar de Gama, of whom I have spoken more at length in my *Historical and Archæological Sketch of the Island of Angediva, ut supra*.

These Franciscans preached at every place they touched at on their way to Calicut. At Quiloa, on the African coast, they had a narrow escape from being murdered by the savages, several of them being badly wounded. In the island of Angediva, where Cabral first landed on Indian soil, they are said to have made twenty-two converts. At Calicut three of the Franciscans were killed, and F. Henrique severely wounded. The latter after his recovery returned home to inform the King of the state of religious affairs in India. He was made Bishop of Ceuta, and then of Evora, where he died on the 24th September 1532. From that time, year after year, every fleet that came to India brought from Portugal a certain number of these Fran-

ciscan missionaries. The fleet under the command of Joaõ da Nova, and that under Vasco da Gama on his second expedition, had a pretty large number of them. On their arrival in India these Franciscans met their four fellow-missionaries who had been left by Cabral, two at each of the stations of Cochin and Cannanore, on his way to Europe.

But to write the Franciscan Chronicles, very interesting though they are, is not within the scope of these "Notes."

Now the only striking object amidst a vast mass of ruins of the Franciscan church and convent at Chaul that exists at the present day is the tower, which, it appears, served for the double purpose of a church steeple, and of a beacon for ships entering the harbour. It is about 96 feet high, and the natives, to express their admiration of its height, name it *Sâtkhani*, or the 'seven-storied.' The staircase of the steeple has been removed, and there is now no means of access to the belfry, from which a most delightful view might be obtained of all the ruins around and the beautiful scenery in the background. The tower threatens to fall down, and its top is now a little forest of the prickly pear (*Opuntia vulgaris*), and other parasitic plants, which seem simply to hasten its decay. In spite, however, of the invasion of all these enemies of its security and duration, the '*Sâtkhani*' has been for more than three centuries there on the sea-beach; the waters have encroached upon the walls surrounding it; but notwithstanding the periodical wave at the spring-tide enters there and almost washes its foot, it still bids fair to weather the storms of many years to come.

The arched roof of the church has now fallen in, and the heap of *débris*, which is many feet high, would perhaps, if removed, disclose many a grave-stone of no little local interest to the history of Chaul. I had, however, no time nor inclination to excavate. This church when visited by Mr. Hearn in 1847 "was perfect, and there were many little figures standing out in relief from the roof—for instance, those of the Crucifixion, the Ascension, and Incarnation;" but in 1854, when his Report was written, it was "completely choked up with ruins." Mr. Hearn then thought, and rightly, that "before long they (the ruins) will all disappear, and cocoanut plantations and Bhaṇḍāris' houses will rise in their stead. Even now," he adds, "it is becoming a famous nursery for cocoanut plants, owing to the place being so well protected by walls from the strong south-westerly winds during the monsoon."* Mr. Hearn's prediction has been fulfilled, and the things

* *Colaba Report*, p. 113.

CONSACRADA AETERNIDADE IOAM IV REI DE PORTV
 CALEM ASCORTES Q̃CELEBROVNO ANNO DE 1646
 FESTRIBV TAR IOASIEASEVSR E IN OSO O ANNV
 PEÑCAMAIMMACVLADAC ONCE IOAMDAVIRGEM
 SENIORA E COM PVBLCOIVRAMEN TOPROMETEO
 DEFENDEROAMESMASENHORAELEITAPADROEIRAD
 ESEVIMPEHOFOIPRESERVADADETODAAAMACVLAD
 EPECCADO ORIGINAL E PERA Q̃APIED ADEPORTVCE
 ZAVIVESSE MANDOVABRIRNESTAPEDRAESTAPERPETVAL
 EMBRANCANOISANNOD SEVIMPERIOENODECHRISTO
 1655 FESEESTAOBRANAEBDEI 1656~

Translation.

Consecrated to Eternity. D. Joã IV, King of Portugal, in the Cortes which he assembled in the year 1646, made tributary himself and his kingdom, with an annual pension, to the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Lady, and under a public oath promised to defend that the same Lady, the elect Patroness of his empire, has been preserved from the stain of original sin. In order that Portuguese piety should last, he commanded to carve this perpetual memento on this stone in the 15th year of his reign and the year of Christ 1655. This work was done in the year 1656.

that he saw are now no longer there. The principal arched door, for instance, "with an aperture in the wall agreeing in size with the stone" which "was lying in the Agent's bungalow," and is now in the Museum of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, does not exist. The inscription had, like the other stone above referred to, the deciphering abilities of Father Poli bestowed upon it, and his decipherment then, not unlike the other, was found faulty and corrected in the same way as the other by Mr. J. H. da Cunha Rivara.* The stone, which is 5 feet 11 inches long by 2 feet 2¼ inches broad, is broken longitudinally into three unequal parts (see plate II).

This inscription testifies to the vow made by King Dom João IV. of Portugal in the Cortes in the year 1646 to defend by all means in his power the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary, for which purpose a decree was passed with an order to carve such inscriptions in every city and fort of the Portuguese in India. That of Diu is in Latin.†

The Franciscans of Chaul had from the royal treasury 371 xerafins and 3 tangas for the purchase of the following articles:— A candie of wheat, 6 candies of rice, 2 packs of sugar, 50 dimities, a certain amount of linen, 6 maunds of butter, 12 do. of cocoanut oil, 7 do. of wax, 2 do. of raisins, 1 maund of almonds, ½ do. of dry plums, and 6,000 reis for medicines.‡

Now turning from the west, where the ruins of the Church of the Franciscan friars are situated, towards the south, one meets the ruins of the Church and Convent of the Dominicans. The area occupied by the ruins of this church and the adjoining monastery is immense, but of the ruins the only part recognizable is the chancel and a portion of the steeple, all the rest being a hideous mound of rubbish.

The Church and Monastery of the Dominican friars were built in the year 1549 by Fr. Diogo Bermudes, under the invocation of 'Our Lady of Guadalupe.' The Dominicans, who came first to India in 1513 and landed at Goa, did not build their church and convent there until the year 1548. Fifty Dominicans were once brought by Affonço d'Albuquerque's fleet, and placed in charge of the first wooden church built by Albuquerque in St. Thiago's fort at *Cochin* and dedi-

* *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, and *Chronista de Tissuary*, *ut supra*.

† See *Inscripções de Diu*, by J. H. de Cunha Rivara, Nova Goa, 1865, p. 28.

‡ *Chronista de Tissuary*, vol. iv., pp. 20-21.

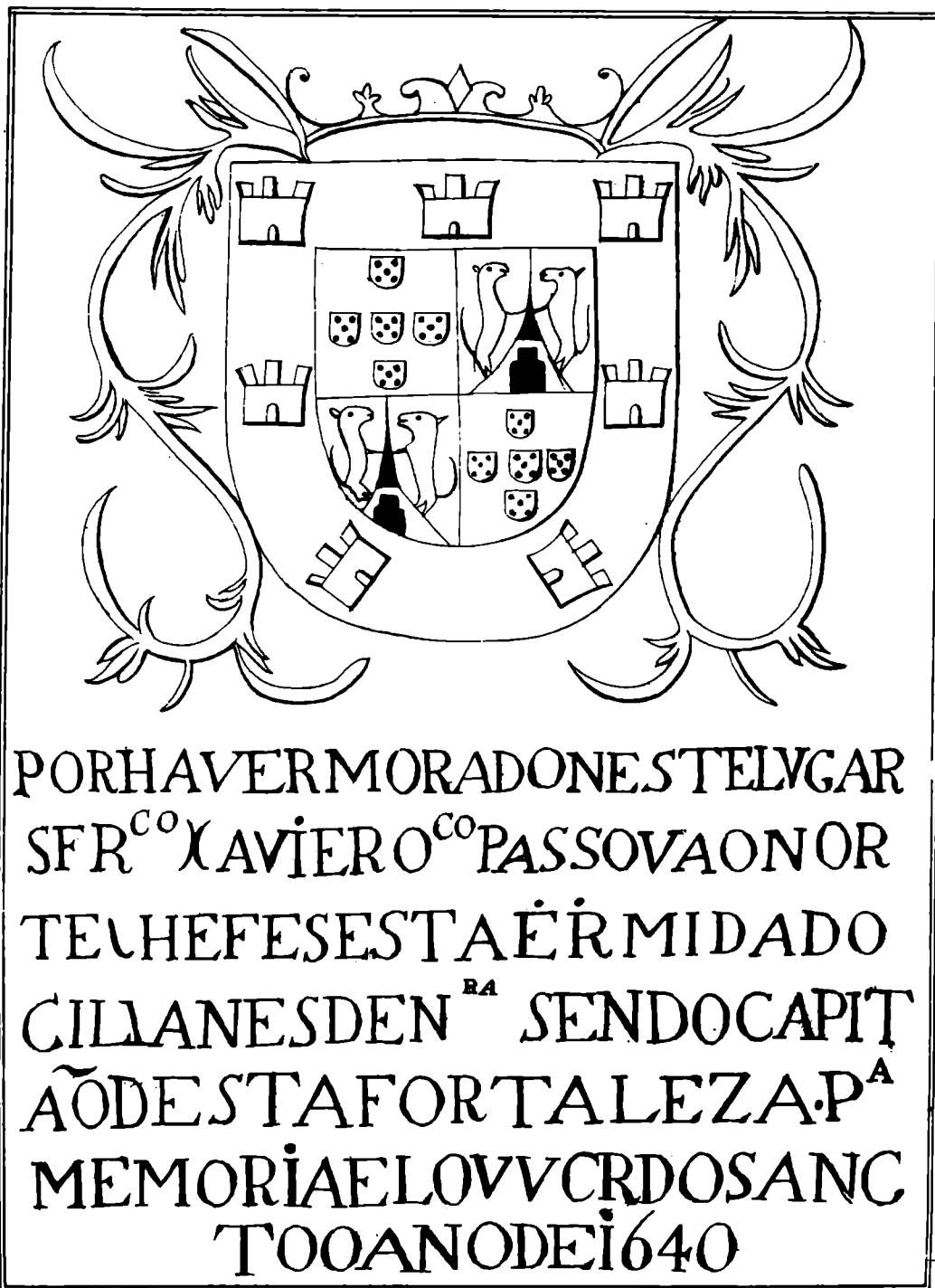
cated to St. Bartholomew. However, although built one year later than that of Goa, theirs was the richest and most extensive priory at Chaul, containing between thirty and forty monks. It had also a noviciate attached to it, the novices being elected under the careful scrutiny and searching inspection of the Prior, and after obtaining special permission from their Vicar-General at Goa. The Government used to grant them yearly the sum of 904 xerafins for buying the following commodities:—23 candies of wheat, 8 do. of rice, two barrels of wine, and 7 *cantaros* (a kind of pot) of olive oil. They had also 60,000 reis in cash.

Governor Duarte Menezes gave to this order the privilege of electing from among themselves the *Pay de Christaõs* or *Pater Christianorum* at Chaul, whose business it was, besides many other things, to take care of the neophytes. Juvencius explains all these functions in short thus:—"Præest rei Christianæ promovendæ, Christianos jam factos fovet, et omnem dat operam ut ad Christum alii aggregentur."*

The office of the *Pater Christianorum* was, like the *Misericordia*, to be found in almost every one of the numerous settlements of the Portuguese in India. But it was not confined to one religious order. It was given to several of them at different places: thus the Jesuits had the field of Goa and Cochin exclusively for themselves; Salsette and the island of Caranja were given to the Franciscans; Negapatam to the Augustines; and, lastly, Chaul, Diu, and Macao to the Dominicans. This was a dangerous appointment, and the indiscreet zeal of many of the *Patres Christianorum* often led them into unseemly affrays. The State used to contribute 20,000 reis a year towards the maintenance of this dignitary at Chaul.

But to return once more to the ruins. The next object to attract one's attention is a little chapel, scarcely larger than a vestry-room; but it is now well known as a site consecrated by many a Roman Catholic pilgrimage. This place has been rendered famous as the residence of the great missionary St. Francis Xavier during his stay at Chaul. His numerous biographies are silent on the dates on which he visited Chaul; but it appears that during the three visits which he paid to Bassein he must have halted at Chaul. The fact of his having resided there is, however, plainly recorded by an interesting little tablet of white marble, emblazoned with a coat-of-arms, about 4 feet

* See Juvencius' *Epitome Historiæ Soc. Jcsu*, tome 11, ad annum 1560.



Translation.

S^t Francisco Xavier having resided in this place on his way towards the north, this Chapel was built by Dom Gilianes Noronha, Captain of this Fort, to the memory and praise of the Saint, in the year 1640.

1 inch long by 2 feet 9½ inches broad, with an inscription. It would be far better to have this slab removed to one of our Museums, if not carefully looked after, as the natives are allowed to do whatever they like with the ruins; and this was also the opinion of Mr. Hearn. (See plate I.)

The author of the *Oriente Conquistado* informs us that this chapel was built by contributions of the inhabitants of Chaul, that every Friday a Jesuit Father used to say mass in it, and that on the octave of the feast of the saint a solemn mass, with the accompaniment of music and a sermon, was performed, all the expense being defrayed by the senate or municipality of Chaul.*

Close to this was another small chapel dedicated to St. Ignatius, but it has now entirely disappeared.

The space of ground in front of the chapel of St. Francis Xavier and the southern gates on one side, and the gate of the Captain's palace to the eastward on the other, was once occupied by *almazens*, or store-rooms; it is now but a vast cocoanut garden intermingled with some fruit trees and much rank vegetation.

Thus far the intramural public buildings, or their ruins; besides which are the remains of numerous private mansions and houses, whose outlines are barely traceable, their sites being now almost entirely occupied by cocoanut gardens. Among the extramural buildings the first place deserves to be assigned to the Custom-house, the establishment of which began to be talked about in the year 1585, but it was not constructed until 1633. It was situated in just about the same place as the present little Custom-house, to the right of the southern gateway. That building was however, much more imposing in appearance than the modern one, which is no better than an ordinary police *chauki*.

Although the average-revenue yielded by the customs at Chaul hardly exceeded the expense first incurred in maintaining it, the custom-house having been established too late to be of any great use, when the trade at Chaul was declining, still it yielded a pretty good sum. But there were other sources of revenue from which a constant supply to the coffers of the King was derived. Deducting all expenses, the budget showed annually, until the year 1634, a balance of about 27,000 xerafins, which was sent to the royal treasury at Goa. To enter into details would be contrary to the design of my "Notes;" but the reader will find

* *Conquista*, I., Decada 1., p. 95.

them in the *Subsídios para a Historia da India Portuguesa*, pt. ii., p. 123 *et seqq.*, and in the *Chronista de Tissuary*, vol. iv., pp. 33-35. I give, however, only a *résumé* of it in the footnote below.*

The other ecclesiastical buildings *extra muros* were the churches of St. Sebastian, St. John, and *A Madre de Deus*, or 'the Mother of God.'

* Before the Custom-house of Chaul was established several articles of trade were taxed, as well as a certain class of professions from which almost all the revenue was derived, besides the tribute of 7,000 *moráms* paid by the Nizám. Chaul being, unlike Basscin and Damann, a settlement that depended more on the sea trade than landed property, it was entirely supported by the yield of those taxes.

| | | |
|--|----------------|---|
| The traders from Ormuz and Cambay at Chaul used to pay annually | 700 patacoons. | } Each patacoon of the value of 360 reis. |
| " revenue from opium, &c., as well as <i>bangue</i> and soap, amounted to..... | 560 " | |
| " " " the bazar (this tax was by D. João de Castro, during the Captainship of Vasco da Cunha, ceded to the Chaul Municipality as a remuneration for their help to the State during the siege of Diu, subject to the approval of the King | 335 " | |
| " " " from brokerage and weight of merchandize | 3,330 " | |
| " " " tobacco, which was until lately a royal monopoly..... | 9,714 " | |
| " " " <i>urucas</i> , or spirit distilled from palm juice, which was once given, at an insignificant quit-rent, as a reward for her relatives' service to the State, by the Viceroy Francisco Mascarenhas, to Dona Catharina de Castro, daughter of Dom Garcia de Castro, but the King would not sanction such an arrangement. | | |
| This tax yielded in 1593 more than 2,250 patacoons of 4 <i>larins</i> each, and in 1634 1,000 patacoons. (See <i>Archivo Portuguez Oriental</i> , fasc. 3, pt. ii., pp. 393 and 476-477.....) | | |
| The revenue derived from shroffs at Chaul amounted to | 450 " | |
| There was, besides, a tax called <i>Guanquaô</i> , which was paid by a gambling-house for the African slaves, but D. João de Castro suppressed it as immoral. | | |

The King had also some revenue derived from ground-rent, such as the *ribeira* (dockyard), *cordoaria* (rope-yard); but, as no ships were built here, these places were eventually given over for a mere nominal rent, during the Captainship of Francisco da Cunha, to officers to build houses on, subject to certain rules. See *Archivo, ut supra*, p. 563.

The Church of St. Sebastian was built about the middle of the seventeenth century. It was situated somewhere between Upper and Lower Chaul, but there is no trace of it now. The vicar of this church had from the royal treasury 30,000 reis a year, besides the sum of 12,000 reis for vestry expenses. It was neither a rich nor extensive parish. Fryer informs us that when in 1675 an English embassy was sent to Śivaji, the ambassador, together with two English factors, embarked on a 'Bombaim Shebar,' and, "about nine o'clock at night arrived at *Choul*, a *Portugal* city on the main, into which he could not enter, the gates being shut up, and watch set; so that they passed this night in the suburbs, in a small church called *St. Sebastians*, and the next day about three in the afternoon receiving advice that Śivaji was returned to *Rairee* from *Chiblone*, departed thence to Upper *Choul*, a town belonging to the *Rajah*, about two miles distant from the *Portugal* city," &c.*

The Church of St. John belonged to an important parish. Its vicar had the same pay and emoluments as that of the Church of St. Sebastian. Its ruins are still visible.

The church of "A Madre de Deus" was the centre of a rich and large parish. It was in charge of the Capuchin friars, who had, besides emoluments and revenue derived from parishioners, 7,300 reis under the heading of *mesinhas da botica*, or medicinal drugs. This church is now in ruins. The only church that forms a nucleus of a small community of native Christians at the foot of the Kôrlê promontory is dedicated to "Our Lady of Carmel," and appears to be a recent building. There is also one small chapel, outside the fort, dedicated to 'A Madre de Deus,' which is at the same time a cemetery. It is a very poor little chapel, of the size of an ordinary vestry-room.

The other remains of the Portuguese in Chaul are three inscriptions, which require yet to be noticed, although they are insignificant. One is that of a gravestone, on which are the following nine words:—"Sepultura de Luis Alvares Camello e de seus herdeiros," *i.e.* "The grave of Luis Alvares Camello and his heirs." It is found in the house of a Bhaṇḍâri, who uses it to sharpen his knives on.

* John Fryer's *A New Account of East India and Persia*, Lond. 1698, p. 77. Elsewhere this traveller writes:—"In whose opening arm, that is, from *Choul* Point to *Bagein* [two famous cities belonging to the *Portugals*] some 30 leagues distance, lie those spots of ground, still disputable to which side to incline," &c. And again—"Bombaim is the first that faces *Choul*," which indicates that even in Fryer's time Chaul was an important place: p. 62.

The other inscriptions are on two bells. The one runs thus :—
 “AO PR’ DEIANR DE 1720.” Translation :—“The 1st of January 1720.”

This bell is now in the Mâmlatdâr’s Kacheri at Revadañđâ.

The other bell has the date of 1739 A.D. engraven on it, and the following inscription in Latin, surmounted by the monogram I.H.S. :—
 “Ave Maria, gratia plena, Dominus tecum.” It is now in the temple of Ambâbai or Mahâlakshmi at Kolâpur.* There are reasons for supposing that this bell was carried away by the Marâthâs from one of the churches of Chaul to Kolâpur.

The antiquities of Upper Chaul, or Chaul Proper, are of quite a different nature. There is not a single Christian inscription there, all the ruins belonging either to the Hindus or the Mahomedans.

The Hindu antiquities consist mostly of temples and tanks. There are no inscriptions or copper-plates to trace their origin or foundation, but there are legends in hundreds about gods which are recorded in their *purânas*, and piously believed by their votaries. Two or three traditions about the foundation of the defunct city, and some of the buildings of temples there, are really worth translating from amongst a large mass of manuscripts in Sanskrit and Marâthî† which I have been able to collect.

One of the traditions is to the effect that in the *Dvâpara Yuga* the name of this place was Champâvatî,‡ when the king was called Nagara. His successor, Pithora Râja, had a minister by name Chava, who, having murdered the king, established his own rule, and changed the designation of Champâvatî into Chaul. This name, again, on the

* Major D. C. Graham’s *Statistical Report of the Principality of Kolhapoor*, Bombay, 1854, p. 319.

† I am indebted for the collection of these MSS. to the diligent care of Messrs. Eshvant F. Danaite and Keshavrao Mâdhavrao, the latter a native of the place.

‡ I have already given different conjectural meanings of this word; there is one more, which, although not so plausible as the others, it may be worth while to give as well. In *Kâthiâvâd* “the people along the shores use a peculiar sort of net for catching fish, called *champa*. It is made of six sticks 3 feet 6 inches in length, all secured at the upper end; the net is fastened to the lower end of the sticks, and it is spread like an umbrella when ready for use, and covers a circle of six feet in diameter.”—*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. v., p. 114. May not the manufacture of this *champa* at Chaul have given it the name of Champâvatî? One cannot tell whether in olden times there was any fishing in Chaul, but at present, since the city once so famous has shrivelled up to a small village it has become a fishing village.

conquest of the place by the Emperor of Delhi, was changed into *Mámalé Mortezábád*, a name that is said to be still found recorded in various ancient manuscripts and records in possession of the natives of the district.

The ancient city of Chaul was divided into sixteen equal parts, called *pákhádyas*, or rows of buildings separated by paved alleys, and were named thus :—

| | | | |
|----|-----------------------------------|--------------------|---|
| 1 | <i>Pákhádyá</i> or <i>Pákháđi</i> | Prathama. | Out of these the three <i>pákhádyas</i> of <i>Dakhaváđa</i> , <i>Murađa</i> , and <i>Dođ</i> were ceded to the Portuguese. At the present day the Fort of Chaul has for several purposes been marked out into forty different gardens, and named in <i>Maráđhí</i> . There are, however, some traces of the Portuguese language among them, though sorely mangled. Such names as <i>Sam Pál Diul</i> (<i>Igreja de Sam Paulo</i>), <i>Misri</i> or <i>Misri-Kot</i> (<i>Misericordia</i>), <i>Padri Vigar</i> (<i>Padre Vigario</i> or <i>Matriz</i>), <i>Manel Coterel</i> (<i>Manuel Cortereal</i>), <i>Ales Perer</i> (<i>Aleixo Pereira</i>), <i>Mám Gonsál</i> (<i>Simaõ Gonsalves</i>), and several others, are derived from the names of the Portuguese, who were probably in former times owners of those places. |
| 2 | „ | Mokhava. | |
| 3 | „ | Veshví. | |
| 4 | „ | <i>Dakhaváđa</i> . | |
| 5 | „ | <i>Bolávê</i> . | |
| 6 | „ | <i>Tuđál</i> . | |
| 7 | „ | <i>Usavê</i> . | |
| 8 | „ | <i>Murađa</i> . | |
| 9 | „ | <i>Ambepurí</i> . | |
| 10 | „ | <i>Vejári</i> . | |
| 11 | „ | <i>Koparí</i> . | |
| 12 | „ | <i>Peta</i> . | |
| 13 | „ | <i>Bhovasí</i> . | |
| 14 | „ | <i>Zivadı</i> . | |
| 15 | „ | <i>Dođ</i> . | |
| 16 | „ | <i>Kasabê</i> . | |

The tradition continues that when the Portuguese applied for a piece of ground to build their factory, the sovereign of Chaul granted their application, provided the space ceded did not exceed that covered by a certain number of cow-hides, a system of mensuration that really admits of equivocal interpretation. The consequence was that the Portuguese were not slow to profit by so vague a formulation

of the grant ; they got the desired number of cow-hides, cut them into thin strips and then measured the ground, thus occupying an amount of land that far exceeded what was originally intended by the donor. The sovereign of Chaul got alarmed at this usurpation, but the Portuguese stuck firmly to the letter of the gift, which could not be revoked. This is the way they invent history in India, and that is, moreover, the credulous silliness with which it is recorded in the papers in my possession. We know better ; the cession of Revadaṇḍa to the Portuguese had nothing to do with cow-hides.

The ground thus acquired by the Portuguese occupied, we are told, the following *pākhāḍyas*, viz., Doḍ, Dakhavāḍa, and Muraḍa. The tradition does not stop here ; it goes on to assert that these facts are recorded on the foundation-stone of the fort of Chaul, a name that was then given to it by the Portuguese, and changed into Revadaṇḍa on its occupation by the Marāṭhās.

The old city of Chaul, the *bakars* or Hindu chronicles tell us, had, besides 360 tanks and 360 temples, 1,600,000 public buildings and private mansions. This is another instance of the fondness of the Hindus for multiplying objects, as they have done their gods, whose number now exceeds the whole population of the globe. But how to account for the disappearance of this immense number of buildings ? They inform us that in the year 1513 of the Śālivāhana era a fisherman by name Parasubhagela, a native of Kolvān Salsette, conquered Chaul, and the war that he waged with that object, and which lasted for a long time, caused the destruction of all these buildings by fire, &c.

The temples of Chaul were really numerous, and of these twelve are dedicated to Śiva, nine to Viṣṇu, seven to Durgā, eight to Gaṇapatī, eight to Bhairava, an incarnation of Viṣṇu, and four to different *Rishis*.

Those dedicated to Śiva are named thus :—

- | | |
|------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Śac'iramana. | 7. Nāmeśvara. |
| 2. Someśvara. | 8. Muraḍeśvara. |
| 3. Revaneśvara. | 9. Hareśvara. |
| 4. Amṛiteśvara. | 10. Sidheśvara. |
| 5. Vajjanātha. | 11. Maleśvara. |
| 6. C'ivaleśvara. | 12. Kāśivīśveśvara. |

Those dedicated to Vishṇu are the following :—

- | | |
|------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Keśava Nârâyaṇa. | 6. Trivikrama Nârâyaṇa. |
| 2. Lakshmî Nârâyaṇa. | 7. Udâra Nârâyaṇa. |
| 3. Mâdhava Nârâyaṇa. | 8. Sûrya Nârâyaṇa. |
| 4. Suṇḍara Nârâyaṇa. | 9. Adhya Nârâyaṇa. |
| 5. Narasiṅha Nârâyaṇa. | |

Those dedicated to Durgâ are :—

- | | |
|------------------------|----------------|
| 1. Champâvatî. | 5. Kalâlâgi. |
| 2. Śitalâdevi. | 6. Hingulzâ. |
| 3. Bhagavati Yekavirâ. | 7. Chatursitî. |
| 4. Padamâvatî. | |

The temples dedicated to Gaṇapati are as follows :—

- | | |
|--------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Sidhivinâyaka. | 5. Tṛi Gaṇeśa. |
| 2. Dhuṇḍivinâyaka. | 6. Chintâmanivinâyaka. |
| 3. Mukhyavinâyaka. | 7. Hari Gaṇeśa. |
| 4. Bodhyavinâyaka. | 8. Samayaharavinâyaka. |

The following are dedicated to Bhairava, an *avatâr* of Śiva :—

- | | |
|-------------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Kâlabhairava. | 5. Hatabhairava. |
| 2. Âdyabhairava. | 6. Śivabhairava. |
| 3. Samayasidhabhairava. | 7. Dinabhairava. |
| 4. Budhabhairava. | 8. Kolâṭabhairava. |

Places, or rather hermitages, dedicated to *Rishis* are :—

- | | |
|----------------|----------------------|
| 1. Kapilamuni. | 3. Datâtrayamuni. |
| 2. Śakuni. | 4. Yâdnyavalkyamuni. |

Several of these temples and hermitages are no longer traceable ; but the following are not only existing, but are renowned places of pilgrimage among the Hindus :—

- | | |
|----------------|---------------|
| 1. Râmeśvara. | 4. Kudeśvara. |
| 2. Maleśvara. | 5. Hingulzâ. |
| 3. Sidheśvara. | |

The temple of Râmeśvara is mentioned in the *Maṅgesha Mâhâtmya*,* a section of the *Sahyâdri Khaṇḍa* of the *Skanda Purâṇa*. It is

* इति संचिन्त्य मनसा सर्वसंगविवर्जितः । तदाहं पार्वतीं त्यक्त्वा जगाम तपसे वनं ॥ १ ॥
तस्मात्स्थानाद्दिनिर्गत्य कृष्णावेण्याञ्च संगमे । तपश्चकार भगवान्संगमेश्वरनामतः ॥ २ ॥ सूत
उवाच । इति प्रचोदिता ताभ्यां सखीभ्यां पार्वती तदा । गमनाय मतिं चक्रे ताभ्यां सह द्विजोत्तम
॥ ३ ॥ भगवानपि विश्वेश्वर्यावत्यां समाययौ । तत्र किञ्चिन्स्थितः कालं तपस्तप्तुं महेश्वरः ॥ ४ ॥

therein recorded that Śiva having been laughed at by Pârvatî for having lost a game of *saripâta* in Kailâsa, his paradise, in the presence of several of her maid-servants, the god became so annoyed that he left her company and went to a place where the river Kṛishṇâ meets the Veṇâ. He lived for a considerable time there, and to commemorate 'his stay his liṅga was established,' which in after-years became famous as Saṅgameśvara, or 'lord of the junction of the two rivers,' a place that is considered to be holy, and is resorted to by a great many pilgrims.*

The legend then adds that Śiva left Saṅgameśvara for the Bhargava Kshetra, or the Koṅkaṅ Proper. Pârvatî, who was all the while anxious to meet her husband, followed him to this place; but Śiva had in the meanwhile left for Champâvatî. Now there is no doubt that the connection of places so close to each other as Saṅgameśvara, Bhargava Kshetra, and Champâvatî points out the last as the modern Chaul. Śiva lived for a very long period at Champâvatî, and during his residence caused a *liṅga* of his, by name Râmeśvara, to be placed in it, whence arose the temple which still exists there. This is, then, one of the three Râmeśvaras, which are celebrated places of worship in India, viz., one between Ceylon and Cape Comorin, mentioned in the *Râmâyana* and several Purâṇas; the second near the frontier of Goa, between the latter territory and the British district of Carwar; and the last that of Chaul. It is said that around this temple there are three *kundās* dedicated to the three Vedic elements, *vayu*, *agni*, and *parjanyaya*, or air, fire, and water.

Pietro della Valle has left us a description of this temple of Râmeśvara at Chaul as it was in his time, and given a plan of the building with its tanks and other works around. It is a faithful representation of

तपस्तत्त्वाथ विपुलं लिङ्गं कृत्वा स्वनामकं । रामेश्वरोति नाम्ना वै प्रथितो न्यवसन्मुने ॥५॥ म०
म० स० स्क० अ० २-२.

Another *Mâhâtmya*, by name *Manjūlesvara Mâhâtmya*, chap. 2—म० म० अ० १—२—also refers to the temple of Râmeśvara at Chaul in the following ślokas, the purport being that Râghava, i.e. Râma himself, was the god who first established the liṅga or phallus called Râmeśvara, that this *sheta* as a place of pilgrimage is soul-saving, and that to all the best and greatest *tīrthas* in the world the Râmatīrtha excels.

Here follows the text :—

रामेश्वरं महालिङ्गं स्थापयामास राघवः । सिंधुलिङ्गांतरालं यत्सा तत्र मणिकर्णिका ॥
तारकं तन्महाक्षेत्रं सर्वप्राणिविमुक्तिदं । एततीर्थमिति ख्यातं सर्वतीर्थोत्तमं महत् ॥ १ ॥

* A notice of some inscriptions of this place by the Hon'ble Bâo Sâheb V. N. Maṅḍlik is found in the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. xi., pp. 101 *et seqq.*

what it is at the present day. This is at least the one advantage of the Hindu conservatism. While the changes and innovations going on in European society have upset the Portuguese government of Chaul, and reduced to ruin its numerous and excellent buildings, the Hindu temples of Upper Chaul are still left in a good state of preservation, and, what is more to the purpose, are preserved in just the same state as they were found centuries ago.

But to return to our Roman traveller: he informs us that having started on the 2nd December 1624 for what he calls *Ciaùl de riba*, or Upper Chaul, he visited on his way to it the *Bazar*, Mahomedan mosques, Portuguese gardens, and Hindu temples. Close to the *Bazar* of Upper Chaul he saw a large tank which he names *Tanlè Nave Nughèr*, probably the Tank Nagersi, which is still extant. Then he relates that he visited several of the Hindu idols in Chaul, among which he mentions that of *Zagadanbâ*, another name for Durgâ, which he takes care to inform his readers is the same as *Leksemi* (Lakshmi), wife of Vishnu; then the idol of *Amrùt Suér* (Amṛitesvara), which, he tells us again, is identical with that of Mahâdeva, the round stone phallus. He then refers to the different temples of Nârâyana, and at last to that of Râmesvara, which he says is "the largest, and the principal among all others." He describes its tank very minutely, and the figure of an animal which is called, he says, in Canara *Bassuanè* (Basvâ), and *Nandî* in Chaul, *i.e.* the bull of Siva.*

The celebrated tanks of Upper Chaul, which are still in a good state of preservation, are the following:—

- | | |
|--------------------------|---------------|
| 1. Bhalalè Talè or Tank. | 8. Bhivalè. |
| 2. Giryachî. | 9. Shâralî. |
| 3. Sarai. | 10. Majid. |
| 4. Kâjî. | 11. Khabâlè. |
| 5. Nârâyana. | 12. Tragaris. |
| 6. Shahachî. | 13. Nagersi. |
| 7. Jânnavi. | |

Some of these tanks have their own curious legends; for instance, the tank of Jânnavi, which is said to be very deep and to possess the magic power of dissolving the bones of cows, which disappear the moment they are thrown into it.

* *Viaggi di Pietro della Valle, Venetia, 1667, vol. ii., pp. 410 et seqq.*

Another curious thing about these tanks is that there is one which is supposed to contain milk, and is hence called 'Dudhâli' 'or milky tank.'

Other objects of antiquarian curiosity about the place are the *yâtras* or fairs held in honour of the Hindu gods. These are as follows:—

1. Śhripanta, a place where a *yâtra* or *jatra* is held every year on the 14th of the month Margāśirsha Śudha, which corresponds to a date between September and October.

2. Śrībhagavati, a place where a feast for nine days, called *Nakuratra-utāha*, is held in honour of the goddess after which the place is named, once a year, in the month of Āśvina Śudha, corresponding to a date between July and August.

3. Śrī Rāmeśwara, where also yearly, on the 15th of the month of Kārttika, about the phase of the new moon, an illumination is made in honour of Kṛishṇa.

Where the temple of Hingulzâ is situated on the slope of a hill is a *kunḍa*, or small square well, built under that goddess's *āsana* or seat. The belief is that when fruits or flowers are thrown into this well they go direct to Kāśi or Benares. There was an old *pīpal* tree (*Ficus religiosa*) near this place, which was supposed to have always had leaves of a golden colour. It is now quite dried up. This is now the great place of worship of the Khole tribe.*

The remaining object of worship is a *Sona Champaka* tree (*Michelia Champaca*), each of whose flowers is said to weigh exactly one toḷâ, or three drachms. In connection with this flower there is a legend current among the people to the effect that the Kalâlâgī Devi, whose temple is at Chaul, was so fond of this flower that a wealthy man, whose name is not given, made a vow to indulge this caprice of the goddess by throwing every day around her neck garlands of this flower of the value of one thousand rupees, without redeeming which promise he would not eat his food. But one day it so happened that there were no *champa* flowers to be got in any bazar or market, when the opulent devotee of Kalâlâgī, instead of throwing the garland of flowers round her neck, got only one, for which he paid the same price,

* A tradition is current among the people at Chaul to the effect that about fifteen years ago a Sanskrit inscription being discovered on the wall of the *kunḍa*, or as some people say, under the *āsana* of Hingulzâ, it was reported to some of the *śavanis*, who wished much to see it; but a Bhangasali, indignant at the outsiders' inquisitiveness, to prevent their ever coming to the temple, removed the inscription, and nobody knows what became of it.

which acted as if a string of a thousand rupees had been placed round her neck, and from that date her neck became bent downwards as if by the weight of the silver. The effect was most unpleasant: the goddess grew vexed with her devotee, and from that fatal moment the rich man became poor.

Of the Mahomedan antiquities of Chaul, there are the remains of a mosque, which appears to have been of good size and design, on the banks of the creek. It was once a massive structure; but "the Portuguese cannon," Hearn tells us, "made sad havoc of the whole of the western side and the minarets," by which means a whole line of arches was swept away, and were it not that peace was soon made, the remaining portion would have been levelled with the ground. There is also, not unlike the Hindu system, a legendary tale connected with the erection of this masjid, but the Mahomedans themselves seem to disbelieve it. The dimensions of this building, which was built of black basalt, were 88 feet long and 45 broad. Its height is not known.

At a little distance from this place are the remains of an apparently strong Mahomedan fort, partly invaded by a mangrove swamp, which cuts off the village from the creek. The walls that remain now are not more than three or four feet high.

The other prominent architectural remains of the Mahomedans in Chaul are those of a striking building called Hamâmkhânâ, which is still in a fair state of preservation. It was a bath-house; the interior is divided into three circular chambers, the central being the largest, and each lighted by a circular opening in the cupola above. The walls, it is said, have been nearly undermined by people, who are digging for treasure, under the impression that the Mahomedans deposited here large sums of money on their evacuation of the fort. The pavement, which was almost all of marble flags, has thus been removed, and the impression that money is hidden there has found confirmation in the fact of some persons having got some large sums in it from time to time.

The other Mahomedan antiquities of Chaul are tombs of the ordinary and domed variety. One of these, called Dadi-Pamâli Pîr, belonging to a saint, is held in high veneration, and an *urus* or annual feast is celebrated in his honour on some variable date between the months of Ramzân and Shawal, corresponding to our September and October.

Besides these there are the remains of large houses and buildings, of which, however, only the foundations, and in some cases the plinths, are now observed. It was thus thoroughly destroyed by Śivaji and his successors. From the large area over which these ruins are scattered, it appears that this city must really have been a very large and remarkable one, as described by mediæval and other writers.

ART. III.—*Some Beliefs and Usages among the Pre-Islamitic Arabs, with Notes on their Polytheism, Judaism, Christianity, and the Mythic Period of their History.* BY E. REHATSEK.

Read 11th March 1876.

There exist no written documents of the ancient Arabs older than the Korân except some poetry, composed not very long before the time of Muḥammad, and the Sabæan inscriptions, many of which appear indeed to be of considerable antiquity, but those hitherto found and deciphered have as yet not yielded results of any great importance; they, moreover, refer only to the southern part of Arabia. Whatever concerns pre-Islamitic times has, partly on account of the religious bias of the Moslem authors who have handed records of them down to us, and partly on account of their indifference about such subjects, reached us neither in very trustworthy nor in very copious accounts, as the imagination appears to have been largely at work with some of the writers, who instead of transmitting to posterity the unvarnished accounts of earlier times from the ancient sources at their disposal, have not seldom in many ways altered them considerably—by distortions, enlargements, and abbreviations.

Some Beliefs of the Arabs.

An opinion appears to have been current among the Arabs that every man had two souls—the one to encourage, and the other to depress his hopes.* They are alluded to in a piece of the *Hamasa*, in some verses to which the commentator observes *هذا على طريقتهم في*

* Thus a poet said, in the *Rajaz* measure:—

شاور نفسي طمع و خيبة تقول هاني لا و هانيك باي فشجعته نفسي
حرص طمعت و حذرته نفسه الاخري الردى

He consulted the two souls, avidity and disappointment: the latter said "By no means," and the former, "Yes, indeed;" so that the soul of avidity, being greedy, emboldened him; and the other warned him of his perdition.

"This refers to their dogma that man has two souls.*" When a man died it was customary with his friends to pour a libation of wine on his tomb, perhaps also with the intention to quench the thirst of the owl which issued from the skull of the corpse. This custom is also illustrated by the case of three friends, one of whom happening to die, the remaining two were in the habit of quaffing a bowl of wine and of pouring the third on the grave; when the second died, the remaining friend continued the habit but poured two goblets on the sepulchre, to make them partake of the beverage, and himself drank the third; he also addressed them as if he expected them to rise again.†

١٥١٤ ١٥١٤ ١٥١٤ ١٥١٤ ١٥١٤ ١٥١٤ ١٥١٤ ١٥١٤ ١٥١٤ ١٥١٤
 * اتينا سليمان الامير نزره وكان امرءا يحبى وبكرم زابر
 (Hamasah, p. ٧٧٣)

اذا كنت بالنجوى به متفردا فلا الجود مخلبه ولا البخل حاضره
 كلا شافعي صواله من ضميره عن الجهل ناهيه وبالبحلم امره

We came to Sulaymán the Amyr on a visit, and he is a man who gives gifts and honours a visitor;

Whom, when you are alone with, in familiar conversation, liberality deserts not, and avarice is not present,

The two pleaders, whom those who ask him possess in his mind; prohibit him from folly, and order him to be intelligent.

٣٩٨ + خليلي هبا طال ما قد رقدتما اجدكما لا تقصيان كراكما

الم تعلما مالي براوند كلها ولا بخزاق من حبيب ضوا كما

اصب على قبريكما من مدامه فالأ تنالها ترو جئا كما

أقيم على قبريكما لست بارحاً طوال آلالي او يجيب صدا كما

O my two friends! Awake; long have you indulged in sleep! I beseech you, you will not finish your sleep!

Know you not that in all Rávand and Khuzák I have no friends besides you two?

I pour wine on your tombs; if you accept it not, it will irrigate your earth on them.

I remain on your tombs, I stir not during long nights, until your owl replies

A man slain unavenged, and buried, was considered to have no rest, and an owl issued from his skull which croaked "Give me to drink;" nor could the bird be appeased until its thirst was quenched, either symbolically by pouring wine on the tomb, or by actual vengeance; and this no doubt the poet means, who is dying of love for Layla, when he says that no sepulchre is more thirsty than his own.*

At present, on account of the absence of written information, and the general reticence of authors on subjects connected with paganism, it cannot be ascertained whether or how the various tribes differed in pre-Islamitic times about this owl, or whether the ideas concerning it originated among themselves or were borrowed from other nations, but it is not improbable that they were derived from the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, which has even to our times survived among some polytheistic nations. The words designating this remarkable owl are the synonyms *Qada* and *Húmet*, which even the Arab lexicographers explain through each other, so that no difference appears to have existed between them; although the first-mentioned word is said to mean also a cricket different from and larger than a locust, a man of slender stature, a human corpse or brains. After all, however, no other opinions seem to have been current among the ancient Arabs than that the bird in question was generated in the head, as the seat of the soul, or from the bones of the corpse. The owl thus representing the soul after death, was believed to be conscious of any words addressed to the corpse in the tomb, and to reply to them

(٥٢١) * فَيَارِبِ اِنْ اِهْلَكَ وَلَمْ تَرَوْ هَامَتِي بِلَيْلِي اِمْتَلَا قَبْرَ اعْطَشَ مِنْ قَبْرِي
 وَاِنْ يَكُ عَنْ لَيْلِي مَلُوتَ فَاِنَّمَا تَسْلِيْتُ عَنْ يَاسٍ وَلَمْ اَصِلْ عَنْ صَبْرٍ
 وَاِنْ يَكُ عَنْ لَيْلِي غَنِيٌّ وَتَجَادَ قَرَبَ غَنِيٍّ نَفْسِي قَرِيبَ مِنْ اِلْفَقْرِ

O Lord! If I perish and thou quenchest not the thirst of my owl by [killing] Layla, I die! No sepulchre is more thirsty than mine!

And if perhaps I have consoled myself for [the loss of] Layla, I consoled myself from despair, and not from hope.

And if I seem independent of Layla and proud, often independence of mind is closely allied to destitution.

from it.* Aman wishing to know how his son will behave after his death, asks what reply will be given on the subject by the owls when his own makes inquiries on it; † these birds were supposed to fly about and take interest in human affairs, down to the time of Muḥammad, who prohibited any belief in them and denied their very existence.‡ The owls of the departed took cognizance of the acts of the living.§

When the Arabs fought much among themselves, and slaughter was constant, even women who were deprived of their husbands or relatives ceased to mourn;|| in more peaceable times, however, both sexes manifested their grief. When a message of death arrived, the men strewed dust on their heads, and when the husbands of women had been slain they came out without veils on their countenances, uttered various

(٦٨٥) * ولو ان ليلي الاخيلية سلمت على ودوني تربة وصقيني

للمت تسليم البشاشة او زقا اليها صدى من جانب القبر صايح

If Layla Allakyaliiyyah were to salute me, I, being covered by earth and the stones of the tomb, I would greet her with the salutation of joy, or the owl would croak at her from the side of the sepulchre, giving forth its voice.

(٢٤٣) † الا ليت شعري ما يقولن مخارق اذا جارب الهام المصيح هامتي

Would that I knew what Mukhárík will say when the owls who are addressed will reply to my owl.

‡ فقال لاهامة ولاعدوى ولاصفر

He said "There is neither *Hámet* nor *A'dva* nor *Çafar*."

عقيد لنجم الدين ابي حفص النفسى ٢٣٣ پ.

(٣٥٠) § فَاوصِيكُمْ يَا ابْنِي نَزَارُ فَنَابِعَا وَصِيَّةَ مَقْضَى النَّصِيحِ وَالصِّدْقِ وَالرُّؤْيِ

فَلَا تَعْلَمَنَّ الْحَرْبُ فِي الْهَامِ هَامَتِي وَلَا تَرْمِيَا بِالْبَيْلِ وَيَحْكَمَا بَعْدِي

I enjoin you two, sons of Nezár, to follow his advice who exhorts you with sincerity, truth, and love.

That my owl may not witness combat among the owls, do not ye two—woe be to you!—shoot arrows after my demise.

(٢٣٦) || معاذ آلالة ان تنرح نساونا على هالك او ان نصيح من القتل

God forbid that our women should mourn for a slain man, or that we should shout on account of the combat.

shouts of sorrow, rent their garments, scratched their faces,* and appear to have been in the habit of shaving off their own hair, as Lebid prohibited his daughters from doing so.† Before the time of Muḥammad a wife who had lost her husband, or was otherwise suffering great anguish, dyed some wool in her own blood and carried it on her head, so that it could be seen in spite of the veil; and this wool was called *Sikáb*. Women were also in the habit of actually wearing dust on their heads, and A'átikah expressly swears that she will never cease to do so.‡ Also mourning women were hired, who chanted and replied to each other in their lamentations,§ holding meanwhile in their hands strips of leather, called *Mijled*, with which they flagellated their own faces. The case was, however, quite different with a man who died unavenged,—he was not only not mourned, but even left

عشية قام النايحات وشققت جبوب بايدي ماتم وخذود (٣٧٣)

In the evening the wailing women stood, and the breasts as well as the cheeks were lacerated by the hands of the mourners.

† This is not from his *Mou'Uakah*, but from a longer poem:—

| | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| تمني أبتاي ان يعيش ابوهما | My two daughters wish their father to live [for ever]. |
| و هل انا الآ من ربعة او مضر | And am I different from the sons of Rebya'h or of Mudar? |
| فان حان يوماً ان يموت ابو كها | Then if one day your father should happen to die, |
| فلا تخمشا وجها ولا تحلقا شعر | Disfigure not your faces nor shave off your hair. |

لا ليت لا تنفك عيني حزينة عليك ولا ينفك جلدى اغبرا (٤٩٣)

I made an oath that for thy sake neither should my eye cease to grieve, nor my skin to be soiled with dust.

في كان لم يميت حتى صواك ولم تقم علي احد الا عليك التوايح (٣٩٣)

لين حسنت فيك المراني وذكروها لقد حسنت من قبل فيك الهدايح

As if no living being had died except thee, and wailing women had not stood near any one except thyself.

If threnodies about thee and their eulogies were beautiful, indeed ere this laudable virtues of thine were beautiful.

unburied ; so that an individual who knew that no one would avenge his death actually bids the hyenas to rejoice at their coming repast.*

In pre-Islamitic times all sepulchres appear to have been mere heaps of earth on which large stones were placed ; † under these the grave itself, four ells long and five spans broad, was situated ; ‡ the spot where the corpse was inserted being dug at the bottom into the side of it—very likely in order to shelter it better from wild beasts—was called, on account of its curved form, *Lahd*, § and closed with a large rock named *Hemiret* (a she-ass). It is doubtful whether destitute persons also were always interred in such a grave, and whether at the burial some friends descended into the pit to have a last look at the corpse and to see how it was finally disposed of, as was the case at the interment of Muḥammad, who was likewise buried in this ancient man-

٢٤٢) * لا تقبروني ان قبري محرم عليكم ولا كن ابشري ام عامر

Bury me not, because my grave is illicit to you ; but rejoice, mother of A'amer [i.e. hyena].

† *Tarafa*, 64 and 65 :—

ارئى قبر نحام بخيل بماله
كقبر غوي في البطالة مفسد
ترئى جنونين من تراب عليهما
صفايح سم في صفيح منضد

I see no difference between the tomb of the anxious miser gasping over his hoard, and the tomb of the libertine lost in the maze of voluptuousness.

You behold the sepulchres of them both raised in two heaps of earth, on which are elevated two broad piles of solid marble among the tombs closely connected. (Transl. Sir W. Jones.)

٤٣١) † عجباً لربع اذرع في خمسة في جوفها جبل اسم كبير

O wonderful ! That a hole of four ells by five [spans] should contain a mountain high, large [a hero] !

٤٦٦) § ابي ان تصبح رهين قرارة زليح الجوانب قعرها ملحود

O Obayyu ! If thou art in the morning pledged to a habitation the sides of which are smooth, and whose bottom has an excavation curved laterally.

ner. When obstacles intervened or the soil was too rocky, so that the just-described lateral hole could not be dug, one was excavated at the bottom in the middle of the pit and called *Zaryh*, by which name all other kinds of graves were called; in course of time, however, both came to be used promiscuously to designate any kind of sepulchre. When the burial was completed, the earth was heaped up on the grave, not only by the men, but also by the women,* and last of all a stone called *Cafyha* † was placed on the top of it. After the time of Muhammad more ornamental tombs were constructed, and often contained epitaphs; he also introduced prayers at burials. Coffins were never used, and are generally dispensed with to this day by all Muhammadans; the body was simply washed, anointed with aromatic substances, wrapped in a white sheet named *Kafan*, and thrust into the grave by friends who relieved each other in carrying the bier; ‡ it appears that even foes of the deceased laid aside their enmity and also shouldered his corpse by turns.§

(٤٢٣) * يَهْلِنُ عَلَيْهِ بِالْأَكْفِ مِنَ الثَّرِي وَمَا مِنْ قَلِي يَحْتِي عَلَيْهِ مِنَ الذَّرْبِ

The women throw dust on him with their hands, but it is not shed on him from hatred.

(٣٩٢) † وَمَا كُنْتُ إِدْرِي مَا فَوَاضِلُ كَفِّهِ عَلَيَّ الْبَاسِ حَتَّى غَيْبَتْهُ الْمَقَابِيعُ

فَأَصْبَحُ فِي لَحْدٍ مِنَ الْأَرْضِ مَيْتًا وَكَانَتْ بِهِ حَيًّا تَضِيقُ الصَّخَامِيعُ

And I knew not what the merits of his hands towards men were, until the stones of the tomb concealed him.

He was in the morning dead in a *Lahd* of earth, whilst when he was alive the plains were too narrow for him.

(٤٧٠) ‡ وَكُنْتُ أَرْجِي مِنْ حَكِيمٍ قِيَامَهُ عَلَيَّ إِذَا مَا الْبُغْيُ زَالَ أَرْتَدُّنِيَا

فَقَدِمَ قَبْلِي نَعَشُهُ فَأَرْتَدُّنِيَةً قِيَا وَيَجِي نَفْسِي مِنْ رِدَائِ غَلَانِيَا

I hoped that Hakym would stand near me when the bier departs and would carry it;

But his bier was brought before me and I carried him, and woe to my soul for the bier I carried!

(٣٧٧) § وَكُلُّ أَمْرِي يَوْمًا سِيرَكِبٌ كَارِهًا عَلَيَّ الْبُغْيُ اعْتَاقَ الْعَدِي وَالْأَقْرَابِ

And every man will one day be carried unwillingly on a bier, on the shoulders of friends and foes.

Ghouls were by the ancient Arabs considered to be demons living in deserts, leading men astray and killing them. Demons could assume various shapes, and there are stories of men having been married to some who had assumed the form of women; thus, for instance, A'mru Ben Yárbuh had one who had become a dutiful wife to him, but she having one day by the negligence of her husband looked at lightning with uncovered head, which was contrary to her nature, took flight. Genii sometimes appeared in the desert in the form of ostriches; thus, for instance, when Murarah and Murráh, the two brothers of Morayr, had been snatched away by demons, he swore that he would neither drink wine nor wash his head until he had searched for his brothers. Accordingly he took his bow and arrows, went to the mountains where his brothers had perished, and sought them for seven days, but in vain. On the eighth day he at last beheld an ostrich, which he shot, wounded and caused to fall; after sunset, however, he perceived the same ostrich standing on a rock and addressing to him the following words:—"O thou shooter at the black ostrich, may thy ill-directed arrows perish."* Then Morayr replied in the following verses:—"O thou who fliest away above the rock, how many tears hast thou caused! By thy killing Murarah and Murráh thou hast dispersed a company, and left sighing."† The demon remained concealed during a part of the night and then snatched away Morayr, who being weakened by fever had fallen asleep. On being asked by the demon how he could fall asleep in spite of his vigilance, Morayr replied, "The fever subjected me to sleep,"‡ and these words afterwards became a proverb. According to another account, however, Morayr recited on that occasion also the following verses:—"Alas, who will convey to the youths of my people the tidings of what befell me after separating from them? I waged war against the genii, seeking to avenge myself, to give them pure venom

* *Arabum Proverbia*, Froytag, tome i., p. 364:—

يا ايها آلرأمي الظليم الأسود ثبت مرأيتك ألتى لم ترشد

† *Ibid.*, p. 365:— يا ايها الهاتف فوق الصخرة كم عبرة هيجنها وعبرلا

بقتلكم ممرارة و ممرارة فرقت جمعاً وترك حصرة

الحمي اغر عذني للذوم: *Ibid.*

to drink, and after seven days one appeared to me in the form of an ostrich, whom I slew and left prostrate.”*

Some poets also suppose that every man had a genius, or familiar spirit, and even beautiful women were supposed to enjoy the privilege of being taught by one.†

A man could also invoke the aid of his genius, and on becoming unlucky or weak was considered to have been abandoned by him. Not only tribes of pure demons, but also such as occupied an intermediate position between men and genii, were believed to exist; there were also weak and low ones, and to this species entirely black dogs, as well as certain reptiles and scorpions, were considered to belong. Some genii live also in the air; this belief survived till the time of Muhammad, is countenanced by the Korán,‡ and has been perpetuated down to

* *Arabum Proverbia*, tome i., p. 365:—

| | |
|--|--|
| بِمَا لَا قَيْتَ بَعْدَ هَمِّ جَدِيحَا | أَلَا مَنْ صَبَّغَ فِتْيَانِ قَوْمِي |
| لَا سَقِيمَ بِهِ سَمَا نَقِدَا | غَزْوَتِ الْجِنِّ أَطْلُبَهَا بَثَارِي |
| فَارْمِيهِ فَا تَرْكُهُ صَرِيحَا | فَيَعْرِضُ لِي ظَلِيمًا بَعْدَ سَبْعِ |

† *Hamasah*, Freytag, p. 593

جَنِيَّةٍ أَوْ لَهَا جِنٌّ يَعْلَمُهَا رَمَى الْقُلُوبَ بِقَوْسٍ مَا لَهَا وَتَرٌ

“She is a genius, or has a genius who touches her to shoot at hearts from a bow which has no string [i.e. from her eyebrows].”

‡ Besides the whole *Surah LXXII.*, entitled *The Genii*, there are numerous passages in which they are mentioned, and the invocation of them reproved; they are considered to interfere a great deal in human affairs, and according to VI. 128 God will assemble them all and address to them the words, “O company of genii, ye have been much concerned with mankind,” &c.

Some rebellious devils were even in the habit of listening to the conversation of the angels in heaven, and guards were placed to keep them off:—

إِنَّا زَيْنَا أَلْسَاءَ أَلَدُنْيَا بَزِينَةَ الْكُرَاكِبِ وَحَفَظًا مِنْ كُلِّ شَيْطَانٍ مَارِدٍ لَا
يَسْمَعُونَ إِلَيَّ أَلْأَلَاءِ أَلْأَعْلَى وَيَقْذِفُونَ مِنْ كُلِّ جَانِبٍ دَحْوِرًا وَلَهُمْ عَذَابٌ
وَاصِبٌ إِلَّا مَنْ خَطَفَ أَلْخَطْفَةَ فَاتَّبَعَهُ شَهَابٌ ثَابِتٌ

“XXXVII. 6. We have adorned the lower heaven with the ornaments of the stars, 7. And we have placed therein a guard against every rebellious devil, 8. That they may not listen to the discourse of the exalted princes (for they are darted at from every side; 9. To repel them, and a lasting torment is prepared for them); 10. Except him who catcheth a word by stealth and is pursued by a shining flame.”

our times. Genii are afflicting men with various diseases, which it is usual to remove by incantations; they are also exorcised, and the ancient Arabs used certain plants, especially the *Húza*, to smoke them out, wherefore the very smell of it was considered to be a bad omen, and was figuratively used to designate any impending misfortune.* Valiant men were not seldom compared to demons,† to whom not only the common people, but also literary men, attributed anything extraordinary;‡ even cows, when they refused to go to their watering-place, were supposed to do so from the fear of genii, and lest they should perish of thirst a bull was driven before, in order to cause them to follow him.

Many things were believed to be unpropitious by the Arabs, whilst certain birds were also considered to portend evil, and others good. When an Arab augur, who was called *Zújar* (literally meaning ‘a driver away,’ because by doing so the direction of the flight of a bird, from which nearly everything appears to depend, is ascertained), began his soothsaying operation, he drew two lines called eyes, as if he could by means of them observe anything he liked; and when he had through these perceived something unpleasant he used to say, “The sons of vision have manifested the explanation.” § It is natural that birds which were known to settle on the backs of wounded camels and to hurt them should have been considered unlucky; such were the crow, and a kind of woodpecker, || but the former was also con-

* *Arab. Prov.*, ed. Freytag, tome i., p. 524:—

رَبِيعُ حَزَاءٍ فَالْتَجَاءُ

“Here is the odour of the *Húza* plant; flee therefore.”

† رَابِعٌ عَلَى مَتُونِ الْخَيْلِ جِنًّا تَقِيدُ مَغَانِمًا وَتَقِيْتُ نَيْلًا (p. 316 *Hamasah*.)

“Thou sawest demons on horseback, who gain booty but lose it by gifts.”

‡ *Ibid.*:— وَتَدَّكَانَ اِرْبَابَ الْفَمَاحَةِ كُلَّمَا رَاوَا حَسَنًا عَدُوًّا مِنْ صِنْفَةِ الْجِنِّ

“And also those endowed with eloquence; whenever they saw anything beautiful, they accounted it to be the workmanship of genii.”

§ *Arab. Prov.*, tome i., p. 695, ابْنَا عِيَانَ اِظْهَرَا الْبَيَانَ In the beginning of the operation they were also in the habit of addressing an invocation to these two lines, or eyes:— اِبْنِي عِيَانَ اِظْهَرَا الْبَيَانَ “O sons of vision, manifest the explanation?”

|| *Ibid.*:— اَشْأَمُ مِنْ الْاِخْبِيلِ “More ill-boding than the woodpecker.”

sidered so for another reason—namely, because it implied separation. When a tribe strikes its tents and departs to new pastures, the crows alight on the spot of the abandoned encampment in search of food, and there is nothing passing in front, or crossing over from the right side to the left, and no beast with a broken horn or any other object more unlucky than a crow,* but the omen was increased when it happened to sit on a *Bún* tree and pulled out its own feathers.† As the *Bún*

* *Arab. Prov.*, tome i., p. 695:—^{د / ب / ن} اشأم من غراب الين “More ill-boding than the crow of separation.”

The left side was considered of sinister import, as with the Hindus, Romans, &c., thus:—

Ibid., tome ii., p. 709:—^{ا / ش / م} مرله غراب شمال “The crow of the left side has passed him.”

‡ (Hamasa, p. 103) انت هاجرة فلا البيت منسى
ولا انت زايرة يقربعيني ان ارى قصد القنا وصرعى كماء فى وعا انا
حاضره فان انج يا ليلي قرب فتى نجا وان تكن الاخرى فبين
احاذره رايت غرابا واقعا فوق بانه ينشش اعلى ريشه ويطايرة فكان
اغتراوبا بالقراب ونية بالبان

“Alas for the house which thou art about to leave! Neither shall the house be forgotten, nor thou its visitor. My eye will rejoice to behold the splinters of lances, and the armed warriors prostrated in the combat where I am present. Should I come out unhurt, O Layla, such will be the case also with many others; should, however, the contrary be the case, I apprehend separation from thee! I saw a crow alighting on a *Bún* tree which pulled out its upper feathers and scattered them into the air; but the crow portends removal, and the *Bún* separation!”

Also *Arab. Prov.*, tome i., p. 697:—

| | |
|---|---|
| ^{ا / ش / م} باخيار احبابى فقسنى الفكر | ^{ا / ش / م} اصاح غراب فوق اعواد بانه |
| ^{ا / ش / م} بين النوى تلك الاعيانه والزرجر | ^{ا / ش / م} فقلت غراب يا اغتراوب وبانه |
| ^{ا / ش / م} وهاجت مبا تلك الصباية والزرجر | ^{ا / ش / م} وهبت جنوب با جتنايب منهم |

“Has the crow croaked on the branches of the *Bún* tree giving news about my friends? It suggested thoughts, and I said, The crow means travel, and the *Bún* separation, such is the augury. The south wind blowing pointed out my departure from them, and the morning zephyr brought me longing and exile.”

tree* also implies separation,† the omen is taken from this signification, and applicable not only when a crow, but also when a dove, a bird of good luck, is perched on it;‡ but poets like plays on words, and hence the lapwing, whose name is *Hudhud*, also indicates the direction *Huda*;§ whilst the eagle called *U'kdb*, being nearly homophonous with *U'kb*, "the end," and the dove *Hamám* with *Humma*, "it was decreed," are on these accounts respectively considered to put an end to separation, and to imply that the meeting of friends is decreed.||

• ^سبَانُ et ^لالْبَانُ ^ححَبُّ ^بالبَانِ ^اGlans unguentaria, nux myristioa, Hyperanthora Moringa. Sprengol, *Hist. rei Herb.*, p. 261. In Avicenn. lib. II., p. 139 describitur Et *Salix Ægyptiaca* à Forsk. ^ببَانُ ^خخَلْفَانُ et appellatur. *Fl. Æg. Ar.*, p. lxxvi.

† ^لبَانُ ^فF, i. n, a, ^ببين, ^ييون, ^ببَنْوِيَّةُ (*de separatione longinqua*). ^لل, Distitit et segregata et distincta fuit res a re, &c. (Freytag.)

أقول يوم تلاقينا وقد سجت
 حماصتان علي غصنين من بان
 الآن اعلم ان القصص لي فخصب
 وإنما آلبين بين عاجل دان
 فقلت لخصني ارض وترفني
 حتي ونيت وهد السير اركاني

"I say on the day we met, and two doves cooed on two branches of the Bán tree, Now I know that the branch is anxiety to me, and verily separation among the hastening ones is approaching; then I again said, The earth abases and exalts me [as the ground falls or rises in travelling] until I get tired, and the journey has broken my supports."—*Arabum Proverbia*, Freytag, tome i., p. 697.

ق وقالوا تغني هدهد فوق بانة
 فقلت هدى نغدو به ونروح

"They said, The lapwing sings on the Bán tree; and I replied, It is a direction by which we travel in the morning and evening."—*Ibid.*

وقالوا عتاب قلت عقي من آلنوي دنت بعد هجر منهم و تروح
 وقالوا حمام قلت حم لغاوها وعاد لنا ربح آلوصال نفوح

"They said, An eagle. I replied, By it absence is terminated. She [the lady] approaches after separation from them, and comes. They also said, A dove. I replied, To meet her is decreed [by God], and again the odour of conjunction is perceived by us."—*Ibid.*

Many Arabs were from the most ancient times in the habit of burying their female infants alive, and a girl thus interred was called *Mauwudah*.* This inhuman custom, which was even considered to be honourable,† was no doubt the result of poverty, which compelled some to do away with their male offspring also in the same manner. The observance of female infanticide, however, declined gradually, and appears during the time of Muḥammad to have been confined only to the tribe Tamim, where it still lingered because a certain Kays, whose daughter was captured and afterwards refused to return, had sworn that he would bury alive any female infants which might thereafter be born to him, and he actually thus destroyed ten daughters. The first man who opposed the sepulture of little girls was Ḥa'ḥa'h Ben Najyah, the grandfather of Farazdaq, who having one day gone in search of two stray camels happened to fall in with some people about to bury an infant girl alive, and ransomed her with his two camels. He was a contemporary of Muḥammad, and when the latter was promulgating Islam he had thus redeemed already three hundred girls, wherefore Farazdaq sang, "It is my grandfather who impeded the burial of girls and saved their lives, lest they should be interred."‡ The custom of female infanticide by burial is strongly reprobated in the Korân,§ and

* *Arab. Prov.* tome i., p. 16:— أَضَلُّ مِنْ مَرُودَةٍ

"More lost than a female infant buried alive [or more astray than a *Mauwudah*]."

† دَفِنُ الْبَنَاتِ مِنَ الْمَكْرَمَاتِ "The burying of girls is a noble act."

Also تَقْدِيمُ الْحَرَمِ مِنَ النَّعْمِ "To send females in advance [into the next world, by burying them alive] is a benefit."—*Ibid.*, tome i., p. 228.

‡ *Hamasa*, p. 118 l. 6:—

وَجَدَى الَّذِي مَنَعَ الْوَالِدَاتِ وَ أَحْيَا الْوَالِدَةَ فَلَمْ تَوَدَّ
 § (٦٠) وَإِذَا بَشَرٌ أَحَدَهُمْ بِالْأُنْثَى ظَلَّ وَجْهٌ صَوْدَا وَهُوَ كَظِيمٍ
 يَذُرُّ أَرَى مِنَ الْقَوْمِ مَنْ سَوَى مَا بَشَرُ بِهِ أَيُّسُّكَ عَلَى هُونٍ أَمْ يَدُسُّ فِي
 التُّرَابِ الْأَسَاءِ مَا يُحْكَمُونَ

Jazu Ben Kulayb Alfaḳa'sy, in whose time women had become more plentiful, and who lived shortly after the time of Muḥammad, advised a man not to marry a certain girl, saying, "Do not therefore covet her, O son of Kuz! Because from the time the prophet arose, men have brought up girls."*

The pilgrimage to the Ka'bah of Mekkah, the kissing of the black stone, the running between Ḥafa and Merwah, the sacrificing of cattle, &c., were in use long before the time of Muḥammad, and, as is well known, only retained and assimilated to Islamism, but not introduced by him. Some customs, however, he thought proper to abolish, *e.g.*, the *Nasi*, which meant first the addition of an intercalary month, but afterwards also the transference of a sacred month to another month.†

"60. And when any of them is told the news of the birth of a female, his face becometh black, and he is deeply afflicted. 61. He hideth himself from the people, because of the ill tidings which have been told him; considering within himself whether he shall keep it with disgrace, or whether he shall bury it in the dust. Do they not make an ill judgment?" (XVI.)

اِذَا الشَّمْسُ كُوِّرَتْ ٢ وَاِذَا النُّجُومُ انْكَدَرَتْ ٣ وَاِذَا الْجِبَالُ
 سَيْرَتْ ٤ وَاِذَا الْعُشَارُ عُطِّلَتْ ٥ وَاِذَا الْوُحُوشُ حُشِرَتْ ٦ وَاِذَا الْبِحَارُ
 سُجِّرَتْ ٧ وَاِذَا الْكَلْبُورُ زُوِّجَتْ ٨ وَاِذَا الْمَوْءُودَةُ سُئِلَتْ ٩ بِأَيِّ ذَنْبٍ
 قُتِلَتْ

"1. When the sun shall be folded up, 2. And when the stars shall fall, 3. And when the mountains shall be made to pass away, 4. And when the camels ten months gone with young shall be neglected, 5. And when the wild beasts shall be gathered together, 6. And when the seas shall boil, 7. And when the souls shall be joined again to their bodies, 8. And when the girl who hath been buried alive shall be asked, 9. For what crime she was put to death." (LXXXI.)

فَلَا تَطْلُبْنَهَا يَا بَنِي كُوزٍ فَإِنَّهُ غَدَا النَّاسُ مِنْ قَامِ
 النَّبِيِّ الْجَوَارِيَا (Hamasaḥ, p. 117)*

† Korán, IX. 36. "Moreover the complete number of months with God is twelve months, which were ordained in the book of God, on the day whereon he created the heavens and the earth: of these four are sacred. This is the right religion: therefore deal not unjustly with yourselves therein. But attack the idolaters in all the months, as they attack you in all; and know that God is with those who fear him. 37. Verily the transferring of a sacred month to another month is an additional infidelity. The unbelievers are led into an error thereby. They allow a month to be violated one year, and declare it sacred another year, that they may agree in the number of months which God hath commanded to be kept sacred," &c.

The origin of the *Nasi*, literally "retardation," was as follows:—As the lunar year, unlike the solar, does not mark the seasons, it happened that the time of pilgrimage fell in one in which the harvests of the preceding year had almost been consumed and those of the current one had not yet been gathered in, so that the pilgrims experienced much difficulty in procuring food. To remedy this evil it was considered proper to fix the time for the pilgrimage, *i.e.* the 12th month of the year, to fall in the autumn, the season of the year when all provisions are more abundant; and this was done by adding a month at the end of every third year. The arrangement was sufficiently clumsy for an approximative concordance of the lunar with the solar year, because after each series of three years the beginning of the Arab year was now not in arrears as before, but 3 days 12 hours 18 minutes and 15 seconds in advance of the solar year,* but was serviceable enough for some time. The season of the pilgrimage did not shift so quickly as before, and coincided during the first few years with October and November. In the fifty-first year of the *Nasi* it fell still nearer autumn, in the beginning of September, when the harvests are gathered in Arabia. Thus the object sought was attained during at least half a century. Afterwards the time of the pilgrimage advanced gradually till it reached August, then July, June, and was in the 129th year of the *Nasi* (A.D. 541) in the summer solstice, so that gradually the purpose for which the *Nasi* had been instituted was entirely lost, and the perseverance of the Arabs in maintaining this defective luni-solar calendar, which can be explained only on the supposition that it had attained the force of a religious custom, required for its abolition nothing less than the establishment of a new religion and the authority of a prophet, who ordered the *Nasi* intercalation to be discontinued, and commanded a return to the old calendar in vogue before its adoption, according to which the year is eleven days shorter than by the solar reckoning, and therefore the months rotate through all the seasons of the year, and also the mean-

| | |
|---|-----------------------|
| * Because 3 solar years make | 1095d. 17h. 18m. 15s. |
| Three Arab lunar years—2 of 12, and 1 of 13 | |
| months—make..... | 1092d. 5h. 0m. 0s. |
| Difference..... | 3d. 12h. 18m. 15s. |

The institution of the *Nasi* began, according to Causain de Perceval, A.D. 413, and terminated with the mission of Muhammad, who abolished it. More on the subject may be seen in his *Essai sur l'Histoire des Arabes*, tome I., pp. 240 *seqq.*, but especially in the *Journal Asiatique*, Avril 1834, p. 342.

ing some of the months bear with reference to them become inapplicable,* whilst the rest, having no bearing on the season, present no incongruity.†

The men who enjoyed the privilege of announcing the *Nasi* at the end of the ceremonies of the pilgrimage just when the pilgrims were about to leave Mekkah were on that account called *Nasú*; on such occasions they announced likewise the transference of a sacred month to another month when they considered it proper. This has already been alluded to, and verses (IX. 36, 37) of the *Korán*, according to which the year is to have only twelve months, and no transference to take place, quoted. This transference was a later institution than the *Nasi*, but was called by the same name, and is said to have been introduced in order to accommodate the warlike Bedawi or nomadic Arabs, who considered the succession of three sacred months—*Dulka'dah*, *Dulhejjah*, and *Muḥarram*, during which all hostilities were forbidden—to be a grievance of such magnitude, that it was considered suitable to empower the *Nasú* men sometimes to transfer the sacredness of *Muḥarram* to the month *Ḥafar*, so that the latter became sacred and the former profane, whereby an interval of one profane month was secured for fighting.

That there can have been no great uniformity in the names of the months among the pre-Islamitic Arabs may be surmised from the absence of unity of government, although there can be no doubt that at least in the district of Mekkah the names still current were used, and also the Sabæan inscription of *Hiṣn G'hurâb* interpreted by Lévy ‡ bears the date *Dulhejjah* 640 of an era approximately fixed by Halévy at 115 years before Christ; and therefore the date would be A.D. 525, which designates an event known also from other data to have taken place in that year. Halévy discovered the names of ten months in the Sabæan inscriptions; § not one of them, however,

* e.g. ربيع *Rabi'*, the 1st and 2nd (spring freshets, verdure); جمادى *Jumâda*, the 1st and 2nd (cessation of rain, dryness); رمضان *Ramaḍân* (great heat); ذولقعد *Dulka'dah* (opening of the soil); and ذولحجه *Dulhejjah* (time of the pilgrimage).

† It need scarcely be observed that the designations of our own months are also incongruous enough in our times, since the 8th, 9th, and 10th are actually the 10th, 11th, and 12th, not to mention others.

‡ *Zeitschrift d. D. M. G.* xxvi. p. 490.

§ See my "Sketch of Sabæan Grammar," *Indian Antiquary*, Feb. 1876, p. 40.

bears the least resemblance to the names purporting to be pre-Islamitic and given in the *Núsekh al-towarykh* as follows, and said to begin with the month Muḥarram:—Mutamiz, Nájiz, Khowwán, Wabçán, Ḥanyn, Hinnyn, Açm, A'ázel, Nátek, Wa'l, Warnah, Burak,* but those said to have been in use by the ancient race of the Şamudites, and to have begun with the month Ramaḍán, which they called Daymar, are:—Mújab, Muwajer, Maulad, Mulzam, Muḍdir, Hubar, Haubal, Muwáhá, Daymar, Aber, Khayfal, Minbal.†

The eras according to which the pre-Islamitic Arabs counted their years appear neither to have been current in the whole peninsula, nor to have been of long duration. Any important event, such as the reign of a king, a great war, or catastrophe of nature, served as an era till another event of great importance occurred, but Muḥammad ordered all acts and records to be dated from the year of his exile. Perhaps more light will be thrown on this subject when the great ruins of Yemen are excavated, and for the present only such dates as “the year of A'mmīkarib, son of Samhīkarib, son of Hatfarm^m,” or “the year of Samhīkarib, son of Tobba'kerib, son of Faḍḥ^m,”‡ and the like, have been discovered by Halévy. Strangely enough, it is always ‘the year,’ without specifying its number, so that the information must be considered rather scanty. Tabariş knows of no other events except the appearance of Adam on earth, of the deluge of Noah, and of Abraham's passage through the fire, from which eras were counted, but as the precise years when these events had taken place were not known, much confusion arose. He also states that afterwards every important event among the Arabs served as the starting point of an era. Thus at the time of Kossay B. Keláb a memorable event took place among the Beni Nezá and the Beni Ma'add B. A'dnán. At that time there was a yearly fair of seven days held at O'kaz, where Arabs from the Hejáz, from Syria, from Baḥrayn, from Yemama, and from all the other countries congregated. During a certain year at the time of this fair a war broke out among them, in which many people were killed. This was an important event, the rumour of which had spread over the whole world as far as the country of

* مؤتمز ناجز خوان وبسان حنين حنين اسم عادل نائق وعل ورنه برك
 † مرجب مرجر مولد ملزم مضدر هو بر هو بل مواها ديور ابر خيفل منبل

‡ See my “Sketch of Sabæan Grammar” in *The Indian Antiquary*, 1875, p. 41.

§ Zotenberg's *Tabari*, ii., pp. 453 seqq.

Rúm, to Persia, and to Mesopotamia. The Arabs called this year *A'm*, and began to count from it. When the Abyssinians came with an elephant to destroy the Ka'ba, and perished, the *year of the elephant*, being the birth-year of Muḥammad likewise, was the beginning of another era. Also the time when the Mekkans undertook to demolish and to rebuild the Ka'bah, when Muḥammad was fifteen years old, was the beginning of a new era among them, whilst the other Arabs continued to count from the year of the elephant.

Polytheism.

As in ancient times no other portion of Arabia had become powerful or had attained a high degree of civilization like Yemen, the history of which bears testimony to the prowess, and the inscriptions as well as the remains of aqueducts and buildings to the progress of the Hemyarites, it is natural to suppose that they must in various ways and also in a religious point of view have influenced other parts of Arabia. Yemen is said to have been colonized soon after the confusion of languages and the dispersion of the sons of Noah, by Kōḥtán the son of Eber;* and some of the Sabæans, *i.e.* Hemyarites, became eventually not only settlers in the territory of Mekkah, but even the guardians of the Ka'bah. When the tribe Khoza'h separated (*inkhaza'et*) from their fellow-countrymen after emigrating from Yemen in consequence of the rupture of the dams in the second century of the Christian era, they established themselves in Boṭn-Morr, near Mekkah, and obtained the name Khoza'h;† their power there appears soon to have declined; they are reproached with having sold the Ka'bah for a skin filled with wine when drunk,‡ and, having been expelled from Mekkah, were restricted to Boṭn-Morr. By this and similar intermixtures of the Arabs, their religious tenets were also propagated among each other, but no general form of religion appears to have prevailed over the whole peninsula; various forms existed by the side of each other, the chief being a vague polytheism based on no fixed system, except as far as suggested by the awe in which human beings generally stand of

* *Abulfeda Historia Antoislamica*, ed. Fleischer, p. 114.

† *Ibid.*, p. 186.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 186:—

باعث خزاعة بيت الله اذ سكوت

بَرَقَ خَمْرٌ فَبَيْتَ صَفْقَةَ الْبَارِي

supernatural and invisible powers, and by a desire for protection. Simple stones, like the rural Lingams of India, and in some instances even trees, enjoyed divine honours, which were by more advanced communities bestowed on statues of various forms, not seldom enshrined in temples and served by priests. Idols were sometimes made of ivory,* they were sometimes adorned with gold and precious gems, and for this reason beautiful women were often compared to them:—“And fair ones who strut about; they are like idols with long garments, and gilded; costly ones.”†

It appears to me that astrolatry could not have been one of the first stages of religious worship, although there is no doubt that as a whole the firmament, being at all times a magnificent and tremendous spectacle, but especially so in the unclouded regions of the East, must have made a deep impression on mankind; it required, however, some knowledge of astronomy and a great deal of observation to pick out even the brightest stars, to follow all their motions, and to constitute them objects of separate worship. Hence their adoration must have been introduced by learned men, and cannot have originated with the multitude; were this not the case, we ought even in India—where many kinds of aboriginal races, as yet uninfluenced by later systems of religion, still exist in a comparatively primitive state of nature—to meet with some forms of star-worship, but we find most of them adoring stones, like the ancient Arabs. The worship of the sun is much more intelligible, and must have preceded the adoration of particular stars in Arabia likewise, and the same holds true also of the moon. Besides the old names of men and places known to us from Arabic authors, such as “slave of the sun,” “house of the sun,” &c., also the Greeks have preserved several important ones, and Krehl‡ refers among others even to as ancient an author as Herodotus, who mentions *Nur-ullah*, “Light of God,” for the sun, as well as the moon-goddess, *Alilat*, which is no other than the Arabic “Al-ilahat.”

The notices concerning the various stars worshipped by a few Arab tribes in pre-Islamitic times are extremely scanty, and the number of

* *Hamasah*, ii. 248.

† *Ibid.*, p. 5. 6

والبيض يرقن كالدمي في الريط والذهب المصون

‡ *Ueber die Religion der vorislamischen Araber*, pp. 40 seqq.

stars thus honoured appears never to have exceeded ten or twelve. Here follows a list of them :—

Al-Dabaran (Hyades), said to have been worshipped by the extinct tribes Ṭasm and Jadis, for their power of procuring rain.

Al-Mushtari (Jupiter), considered to be a well-boding planet, and chiefly worshipped by the tribes Laḥm and Juzám. Jupiter was called the greater, and Venus (Zohrah) the smaller luck.

Sa'd and *Sa'id* were worshipped not far from Madinah, but nothing certain is known about them, and they may have been only synonyms of Jupiter, whose epithet was *Sa'd*, "luck."

Al-Ukaiḥir was an idol of four tribes, but no reliable information exists about it. The shaving of a man's head in honour of it was observed also towards other idols, is enjoined in the Korán to pilgrims to Mekkah, and is still kept up on that occasion.

Sohail (Canopus) was a deity of the tribe Ṭayyi, which also emigrated from Yemen after the inundation of Al-A'rem, and this star was, perhaps also on that account by later Arabs, considered ill-boding.

Al-Fuls in Najd was also worshipped by the just-mentioned tribe, and its territory was a kind of asylum for all sorts of criminals, like the cities of refuge among the Jews (Josh. xx. 7, 8).

Sh'ra (Sirius) was worshipped by the Kais Ben A'ilán, one of the largest Arab tribes in Najd and in the Hejáz. The words of the Korán (LIII. 50), "He [Allah] is also the lord of Sirius," allude to this deity.

U'tarid (Mercury) was the deity of the Tamimites.

Surayya, i.e. the Pleiades, were worshipped by the Maḥhij, the Kuraish, and the I'jád.

Kaṣra has come down to us as a mere name, and nothing else is known about it.*

The tradition that A'mru Ben Laḥy, who lived during the fourth century of the Christian era (as will afterwards appear), was the first who introduced idols into Arabia, and especially into the territory of Mekkah, is nearly as great an absurdity chronologically downwards as that according to which the Ka'bah was built by Adam himself is one upwards. On these and on many other subjects connected with the history and

* More about these stars may be seen in Krehl, pp. 9-27, who quotes authorities, none of which tend, however, to show that the worship of even one of these stars was current among many tribes. In Arabia, where no political union ever existed, a strong power like that of Muḥammad was needed to attempt a religious one.

religion of the pre-Islamitic Arabs no certainty exists, but we possess valid testimony that up to the present time idolatry has existed, and to some extent still exists, in Arabia; and Sir Lewis Pelly, who went in 1865 to Riyaz, says, "I gathered from roadside conversations to-day that there is an outcaste tribe on the desert-borders of Yemen, who have a religion apart of their own. They are called Awazem. The Muhammadans designate both them and the Selaibeas as outcastes, in that they have no chiefs or tribal organization or recognition. On asking why the Musalmáns, while forcibly converting the majority of the Arabians, spared the Selaibeas, the reply was that conversion is brought about by means of the heads of tribes, but that the Selaibeas having no chiefs, they could have been converted only by individual compulsion or persuasion, an operation which the Musalmáns were too impatient to put into practice. Moreover, the Musalmáns found the Selaibeas so useful as guides, and so harmless and subservient as a race, that it would have been bad policy to force or expel them. From what I have since learnt, I am inclined to infer that the Musalmán religion has not been accepted by the tribes of Central Arabia, as a whole, from any very remote date, and that some of them have been converted from idolatry to Wahabeeism without passing through any intermediate phase of Muhammadanism, and this within the last century, or even half-century. For instance, I am assured by a good Arab authority that the people of El-Howtah in Sedair were converted by the late Amír Fysul from idolatry to Wahabeeism direct within the last forty years; and there exist now, at the present time, sculptured caverns excavated in the Towey hills overlooking Sedair which formed the temples of the old Howtah religion. The Howtah people, it is added, still maintain these caverns inviolate from the intrusion of strangers. The same and other authorities assure me that near the town of Jelajel, a little to the northward of Howtah in Sedair, is a hill on the summit of which are the sculptured remains of an ancient place of worship. Again to the southward the El-Morreh tribe are very recent converts, and even now their Wahabeeism is admittedly forced, and their adherence to the prophet unstable. It is said that when irritated by the dominant government, the El-Morreh threaten to go over to what they call the religion of the Syed, that is to say, the religion which obtains in Nejrán, a province of Yemen."*

* Extract given from Sir Lewis Pelly's work in "*The Times of India*," March 18th, 1875.

In a large country like Arabia, where, moreover, one portion of the population is settled whilst another is nomadic, there must always have been a vast difference of customs and beliefs, until the power which Muḥammad gradually attained enabled him to induce the majority of the inhabitants, partly by persuasion and partly by terrorism, to make profession of one and the same religion. Some tribes were also more civilized, and some were subject to influences from which others remained free. Hence some professed polytheism, some Judaism, and some Christianity, all of which finally gave way to Islām. But the Arabs of the desert have never been remarkable for their religious zeal, and are great latitudinarians to this day; they are indeed monotheists, but know little of their religion beyond that there is no God but Allah and that Muḥammad is his prophet. This is no doubt owing to their predatory and migratory habits, as well as to the aversion to any kind of restraint or serious task manifested at all times by wild children of nature. Some tribes entertained a belief in the resurrection; even that, however, they associated, like the American Indians, with gross ideas of physical life, and got their camels buried with them lest they might arise unmounted; whilst others did not indeed bury the camel with the deceased person, but tied it to the grave and cruelly allowed it to perish of hunger.* It was also customary when a man died or divorced his wife, for his eldest son to throw a cloth over her if he wanted her, or to give her in marriage to one of his brothers, but with a new dowry.†

The tradition has already been alluded to above according to which all Muhammadans believe that Adam himself built the Ka'bah or holy house of Mekkah, afterwards annihilated by the deluge, but again reconstructed by Noah; and it is said that A'mru Ben Lahy, who had obtained supremacy in Mekkah, went to Syria, where he saw the people worshipping idols; they gave him a statue of Hobal,‡ which he carried back and placed on the top of the Ka'bah. It was the figure of a man, made of red agate, holding in his hand seven arrows without heads, such as the Arabs used in divination. A hand was lost by accident, and the Kuraish replaced it by one of gold. Every

* *Shahrastāni*, p. ۳۴۰

† *Ibid.*, also *Kitāb Allāghani*, i., p. 10: — يتزوج الرجل امرأته ابیه بعدد

‡ Strangely enough, one of the sons of Yoktan bore a similar name, according to Gen. x. 28, יֶבֶט rendered "Obal" in the English version.

tribe had its own deity,* and among the 360 idols—equalling the number of the days in the pre-Islamitic year—which were placed in and about the Ka'bah, Hobal (“the god of chances :” conf. Hebr. *הבל* “lot, part”) was the chief, which also Abu Sofyan consulted before the fight of Ohod, and on gaining the victory over Muhammad he exclaimed, “Be thou exalted, Hobal, thy religion has conquered.”† The pre-Islamitic Arabs swore not only by their gods and goddesses, but also by the stones each tribe had set up around the Ka'bah ; thus we find one of the tribe Wáyel swearing, “By the stones of the Wáyel.”‡ All the exclamations used on approaching these stones were ordered by Muhammad to be superseded by the words, “There is no God but Allah,” whilst with reference to the idols the words uttered even in common conversation and mentioning them were abrogated, and such as “God is the greatest,” “May God be exalted,” &c. substituted. The ancient Arabs had also their animal sacrifices of cows, camels, &c. to their idols, which were abolished, and those now in vogue at the time of the pilgrimage introduced. Before the time of Islám camels were sacrificed also when the people swore an alliance in certain localities appointed for the purpose, and they used to dye their hands with the blood of the slaughtered camel, which custom appears to have given also origin to the name of the tribe Khosa'm.§ The Arabs dedicated camels to certain deities, allowed them to roam about freely, and marked them by cutting their ears, which custom is in the Korán (IV. 118) said to have been introduced by Satan. The names of the camels thus dedicated were Bahyrah, Saybah, Waçylah, and Hami (V. 102). The polytheistic ordinance of sacrificing camels was retained after the establishment of Islám, but as a symbol of obedience to God (XXII. 37), just like many other pre-Islamitic customs, *e.g.* kissing of

* If we are to believe the proverb, “When thou enterest a village, swear by its god,” *إذا دخلت قرية فاخلف باللهما* there must have been a separate tutelary deity in every hamlet.

† *Hamasa*, ii., p. 3, note.

‡ *Hamasa*, p. ۴۲۱ *واضاب وايل*

§ *Ibid.*, p. ۷۴ :—

زعم قوم ادهم سموا بذلك من النختم وهو اللطخ بالدم ويذكر انهم
 كانوا يهيرا وغمسوا ايديهم في دمه

the black stone, the running naked, the throwing of stones, &c., still observed in the pilgrimage.

A'mru Ben Lahy had with him also Asáf and Naylah in the shape of husband and wife. He invited the people to magnify them, to offer sacrifices to them, and to approach Allah through them,* and this was during the reign of Shápúr Zu-allaktáf.† Yaqut states that A'mru Ben Lahy did not bring these two statues, but merely ordered the people to adore them.‡ Also this appears extremely absurd to me, as adultery was at all times among the majority of civilized and uncivilized nations considered to be a crime striking at the root of conjugal happiness, and was punished among the Arabs; and as according to all the authorities the man Asáf had committed adultery with the woman Naylah within the Ka'bah itself, and both had on that account been transmuted into stone images, they could scarcely have been set up as objects for adoration; and had Yaqut, instead of making the above statement with reference to A'mru Ben Lahy, simply stopped short with the announcement that the statues had been set up to serve as an example how the crime was punished, the story would not be so absurd.

The god *Ares* was, according to Suidas,§ worshipped at Petra in the shape of a quadrangular stone four feet high and two broad; it stood on a golden pedestal; victims and libations of blood were offered to it. The whole temple was adorned with gold and filled with votive offerings. This god is called *Δουράνη* by Hesychius, and *Δουσαρή* by Stephanus Byzantius, and was, on the authority of Bochart, identified by Pococke, in his *Specimen Hist. Ar.* (2nd ed., pp. 106 *seqq.*) with the *Dulshará* (ذوالشري) of Arabic authors. Nothing certain is known about this god, and the conjecture that it represented the sun does not appear tenable to me, although "the lord of brilliancy, of illumination," as the meaning of ذوالشري is plausible enough.||

The Sabæan inscriptions abundantly prove that at least in Yemen the number of deities was prodigiously large, as there is scarcely one

* *Shahrastáni*, p. ۱۳۱

† Therefore after A.D. 365, and if A'mru B. Lahy was really the first man who introduced idolatry he must have lived much earlier.

‡ Yaqut, quoted by Krehl, p. 69.

§ Krehl quotes the Greek text, p. 49.

|| Krehl, p. 54.

of these documents which does not contain the name of some. There is much probability that in course of time it will be proved that not only the other Arabs, but even the Jews, had some idols in common with the Sabæans, and I think the Ashtaroth of the former* may now already be identified with the 𐤀𐤌𐤓 of the Sabæans. The case is quite different with the names we glean from Arab post-Islamitic authors, which are very few, generally lumped up by them just as they occur in the Korán,† and dismissed with the scantiest notices; these are *Wadd*, *Suwáa'*, *Yaghvú*, *Yau'k*, and *Nasr*; they are generally believed to have been worshipped already by the sons of Noah, and to have been given to A'mru B. Lahy.

Wadd is often mentioned in the Sabæan inscriptions, but its worship extended also northwards, and prevailed down to the advent of Muhammad, who ordered Kháled Ben Walid to destroy the idol (A. H. 8), which was in the shape of a man, and situated at Daumat-al-Jundal; it was a large statue dressed with the under and the upper garment, *i.e.* the *izar* and the *ridá*, girded with a sword, having a bow on the shoulders, with a receptacle in front containing a banner and a quiver filled with arrows.

Suwáa' was worshipped by the tribe Huẓayl in the form of a woman; they went on pilgrimage, and sacrificed cattle in its honour.

Yaghvú was represented in the form of a lion; it was a deity of the Mazhaj and of some other tribes dwelling in Yemen.

Yau'k was adored in the figure of a horse by the Hamdán tribe.

Nasr was, as also the name implies, represented by an eagle; it was a deity of the Hemyarites, as well as of the Kalla'.

U'zza ‡ appears to have been worshipped not only by the Koraysh, by all the Beni Kenánah and some of the Beni Selym, but also by several other tribes, among whom the name "slave of U'zza" was current. This idol was not a statue but a tree, a species of acacia, over

* Judges ii. 13; 1 Sam. vii. 3, xii. 10, xxxi. 10; 1 Kings xi. 33; 1 Chron. vi. 71. She is the same with Astarte, a powerful divinity of Syria, and the Venus of the Greeks. She had a famous temple in Syria, served by 300 priests; some medals representing her still exist.

† LXX. 22, 23. وقالوا لا تذرنا آلهاكم ولا تذرنا ودا ولا سواعا ولا يغوث
وبعوق ونسرا

‡ LIII. 19. افرايتم الات والعزى

which a temple was built; whilst according to others U'zza was a palm-tree. The Beni Ša'leb were in the habit of worshipping a large palm-tree in the vicinity of the town of Nakhlah. They annually celebrated a festival near it, when the young and the old people came out of the town and erected their idols round that tree; they moreover suspended on it the ornaments of their wives and clothed it with costly garments; they used to spend the whole day near the tree, to walk devoutly round it, and listen to the words which issued from it. Muḥammad himself had been a worshipper of U'zza and had sacrificed a sheep to her in his youth.*

Lát was a stone worshipped by the Beni Šaḳyf in Ṭayf. According to Ḳazvini it was a quadrangular white stone, but according to the traveller James Hamilton "a five-sided block of granite rising in a slant from the ground is pointed out as the idol of Lát. In its greatest length it measures about twelve feet, and four feet and a half to its highest edge."†

Manát was also a stone, but of a black colour, worshipped according to some by the Aws and Khuzraj, but according to others by the Huḍail and the Ḳudaid.

Besides the two just mentioned, the idol Sa'd, Ḍimár, and the black stone of the Ka'bah itself, no other lingams are as yet known, so that the present number of all of them appears not to exceed five.

There is also yet another example of tree-worship besides U'zza; namely, *Dát anváf*, near Mekkah, where all the rites mentioned above, such as suspension of cloths and arms, pilgrimages, &c. were performed; this may also have been a date-tree, but its species is not mentioned. All these tree-idols were considered female deities and daughters of Allah. Hence (LIII. 20, &c.), "What think ye of Lat, U'zza, and Manát that other third [goddess]? Have ye male children, and [God] female?"

Besides the idols now enumerated, and which appear to be of three kinds, namely, statues, stone blocks, and trees, no others have come to our notice, and as of the multitude of deities occurring in the Sabæan inscriptions nothing is as yet known except their names, it would scarcely be worth the while to give only a barren list of them. It may also be observed that, like the Romans, the Greeks, and other nations rejoicing in a very large Pantheon, the Arabs could not hold all their

* Quotation from Yaḳút by Krehl, p. 76.

† Quoted by Krehl, pp. 72-73.

gods in equal esteem, and even discarded some of them when there was occasion for it. Thus, for instance, according to a proverb in the collection of Maidani, when a certain Arab perceived a fox voiding urine on an idol or lingam which stood in the desert, he despised it as being a mere stock of stone and powerless, embodying his sentiments to that effect in a distich. The Benu Mulkán of the Kenánah tribe worshipped Sa'd, and one of them being disappointed in his expectations uttered the following verses:—"We came to Sa'd to comfort us, but Sa'd dismayed us, and we do not belong to Sa'd. Is Sa'd anything except a rock in the desert, which neither leads nor misleads?"*

The most celebrated temples with priests and soothsayers attached to them, in which sacrifices were offered, were the following:—The temple of *Zul Kholosa*, the Venus of the Arabs, analogous to Nailah, to زهره and to 𐤆𐤍𐤃; it was situated at Tebala and named the Ka'bah of Yemen; the *Bait Ghumdún* built for the planet Venus in Çana'a; † the temple of *Rayam* in the same town, and mentioned in some of the Sabæan inscriptions; the temple of *Rosa* situated in Najd; of *Zulka'bát* in E'rák at Sendád; of *Lút* in the Heja'z; of *Kodaid* on Mount Moshallah, not far from the sea-shore, or between Mekkah and Medinah; and of *U'zza* at Nakhlah.

These temples were of course all demolished or transformed into mosques, and only the caverns, together with certain ruins, are waiting for modern science and enterprise to bring them to light. The first care of Muḥammad when he attained power was to purge the Ka'bah of its idols. He rode seven times round it on his camel, always respectfully touching the black stone with his staff; then he entered the Ka'bah, and the first object he perceived was a wooden pigeon suspended from the ceiling; this he pulled down and broke. Angels and other figures worshipped by the Ḳoraysh were painted on the walls, among which was also Abraham represented as consulting fate with divining arrows in his hands. As already observed, 360 idols were kept there, all of them being fixed above the cornice with lead; each of these he touched with his staff, and it was immediately struck down by his followers. ‡ Then came the de-

* *Shahrastáni*, p. ۴۳۴ سعد فلا نحن من سعد ولا سعد
رهل سعد الا صخرة بتنوفة من الارض لا يدعولقي ولا رشد

† *Ibid.*, p. ۴۳۲

‡ *Hist. des Arabes*. Caussin de Perceval, tome i., p. 231.

molition of the temples in the vicinity of Mekkah ; that of U'zza at Nakhlah ; of Suwáa' at Rohat, two stages, or according to others three miles, from Mekkah ; that of Manát situated at Kodayd, and many others, soon met with the same fate.*

Among the Sabæans there were numberless gods, but very little is as yet known about them except their names. A'ttar and Almaqqahu are mentioned very frequently, and have also names of places attached to them, *e.g.* Almaqqahu of Hirran, of Na'mán, &c. There are also Haubis, Samhi'ak, Ma'el, Yattamar, Yattan of Aden, &c. The goddesses are just as numerous, and have sometimes not even a special name, *e.g.* the goddess of Ghadran, Dhat Ba'dam, Dhat Hamym, &c.

There is a god simply called "the celestial," אלה העליון whose usual epithet is "the master of the world," מלך העולם and also "god of affairs," אלה המעשר ; the sun-god *Shams* does not appear to have enjoyed higher honours than the others, as he is invoked in connection with A'ttar and others, seemingly without any distinction. Although a temple may have been dedicated to the service of one particular god, *e.g.* Almaqqahu, the statues of many others were also placed in it, *e.g.* of Alm, Sheynum, Hobal, Homar, &c.

Sometimes men dedicated their property, their persons, and their whole families to certain deities, to which they also made offerings. A votive tablet of bronze in the British Museum, in which the god *Sin*, chiefly worshipped in the town of Alm, is mentioned in connection with A'ttar, may be considered as a specimen of this kind of dedication, and reads as follows :—

"Šidqdhakar Barrâm, property (and) acquisition of the king of Ḥaḍramaut, son of Elisharh, has made to Sin of Alm a gift of the value of two (shekels) of gold, accurately weighed in red gold. This gift was destined for Sin, because he had heard him in conformity with his demand. Šidqdhakar has (moreover) placed in the possession of Sin of Alm and of A'ttar his father, and of the goddesses of the sanctuary of Alm, and of the gods and goddesses of the town of Shabwat, his person, his property and his children, and his acquisitions, as also the light of his eyes, and the memorial of his heart (namely), Martad^m, and Adhán^m, and Yana'm."[†]

* *Hist. des Arabes*, Caussin de Perceval, tome i., p. 243.

† Halévy, *Jour. Asiat.*, Déc. 1874, That a man should call himself the property and acquisition of a king is not more strange in reality than the appellation of slave, so usual in the East even now.

JUDAISM.

It is obvious that, considering the confusion of dates, facts, and genealogies by Muhammadan writers in whatever concerns pre-Islamitic matters, nothing positive can be ascertained from them alone if unsupported by collateral authorities. According to Ibn Khaldún, the children of Shus or Kush, the son of Cham, were the first immigrants into Arabia; and this appears also from the tenth chapter of Genesis, where we learn that later races, likewise formed from the posterity of Sem by Heber, such as the sons of Yoktan, settled in the East, and afterwards the descendants of Ismael and of Esau, whilst the Idumæans developed themselves in the north, and these Semites entirely absorbed in course of time the sons of Cham. Some Muhammadan writers have identified their Kohtán with Yoktan the son of Heber, whilst others maintain that they are two separate persons. But many flagrant discrepancies between Biblical and Muhammadan accounts, sanctioned even by the Korán, *e.g.* that Abraham intended to sacrifice Ismael and not Isaac, together with the confusion of other names and facts, induce us to be very careful how we use those accounts; and on the other hand the Muhammadans reciprocate the compliment by asserting that the Bible is corrupted.* It cannot be denied, however, that the Arabs were connected with the Jews from the earliest times; the Arabs often call themselves the descendants of Ismael, and Flavius Josephus designates him as the founder of their nation;† he is said to have begotten twelve sons, who inhabited all the country from the Euphrates to the Red Sea.‡ The sons and grandsons of Abraham by his concubine Keturah took possession of Troglodytis and Arabia Felix as far as it reaches the Red Sea,§ and Joseph was sold by his brothers to Arabs.||

Already Moses, when fleeing from Egypt to the land of Midian, there married Zipporah,¶ a Kushite (*i. e.* Arab) woman, more than fifteen centuries before our era, and is afterwards reproached by Aaron for having done so.** We find the Israelites represented victorious

* *Abulfeda Hist. Antislamica*, p. 7:—"Ex his satis patet recensionem Hebræam esse corruptam."

† *Antiq. of the Jews*, bk. i., ch. xii. 2.

‡ *Ibid.*, bk. i., ch. xii. 4.

§ *Ibid.*, bk. i., ch. xvi. 1.

|| *Ibid.*, bk. ii. 3.

¶ *Exod.* ii. 21.

** *Num.* xii. 1.

against the Ethiopians.* The enemies of King Jehoshaphat, the Arabs, bring him presents, flocks of 7,700 rams and 7,700 goats,† and Uzziah appears to have defeated the Arabs;‡ whilst on the other hand King Hezekiah expected to be aided by Tirhakah, the king of Ethiopia, against the Assyrian king Sennacherib, and is on that account reproached by him through Rabshakeh,§ in the eighth century before our era.

Although Josephus speaks only of Sabas as the founder of the Sabæans,|| and all difference among them is lost in the vernacular translations, the sacred writers clearly distinguish two kinds of Sabæans, always spelling the descendants of Kush with the letter *Samek*, ¶ and those of Yoktan with *Shin*,** which difference also the Arabs themselves have lost. The ancestor of the former was Ham,†† and of the latter Shem; ‡‡ there is, however, also a third, the son of Raamah, and a fourth the son of Keturah, Abraham's concubine.§§ In Ps. lxxii. the kings of Sheba and Seba are mentioned together, from which it would appear that two distinct kingdoms of that name existed in Arabia; but as localities, especially Auzál, Saba, and Hāgramaut, have been identified in Yemen, clearly bearing names of some of the sons of Yoktan, son of Eber, son of Shem, son of Noah, ||| it seems plain that the Sabæans of that part of Arabia were Yoktanites; and Dr. Wilson, who also adduces several of these identifications, fully concurs in this opinion.¶¶ The denomination of Sabæans, for a long time the only one known to foreign nations, subsisted till the time when the power became concentrated in the house of Hemyar, and then the second period commenced. The Hemyaritic dynasty shone with unequalled splendour in

* 2 Chron. xiv. 9.

† 2 Chron. xvii. 11.

‡ 2 Chron. xxvi. 7.

§ 2 Kings xix. 8, and Isa. xliii. 3; *ibid.* xlv. 14.

|| *Antiq. of the Jews.*, bk. i., ch. vi. 2.

¶ Gen. x. 7; Isa. xliii. 3; *ibid.* xlv. 14.

** Gen. x. 28; 2 Chron. ix. 1; 1 Kings x. 1; 1 Chron. i. 20.

†† Gen. x. 9.

‡‡ Gen. x. 22-26, and 1 Chron. i. 20-22.

§§ 1 Chron. i. 32.

||| Gen. x. 22.

¶¶ *Lands of the Bible*, vol. ii., pp. 741-746.

Arabia Felix, and then the name of Hemyarites, the Homeritæ of classic authors, began to supplant that of the Sabæans. This second period is that of the Tobbas.* As for the Kushite Sabæans, they are, by M. de Sacy as well as by C. de Perceval, believed to have passed about seven and a half centuries before our era into Africa, and to be the present Abyssinians.† The Cananæans passed, according to Herodotus, from Arabia Felix to Arabia Petræa, and went to Syria, where they became celebrated by the name of Phœnicians; so that also the race of Ham gradually disappeared from Arabia, where the Semites obtained full dominion, and absorbed all the small remnants the Kushites and Hamites had left.

The actual name of the queen of Sheba who is mentioned in the Korân‡ and in the Bible,§ in both of which she is made to pay a visit to King Solomon, is not given in either; Moslem authors finding no other queen in their lists except Balkis of Saba in Yemen were, by their desire to identify her with the queen of Sheba in the Bible, induced to push the period of her reign up to the time of Solomon, whereby they ruined the whole chronology preceding and following her period. This queen is believed to have been converted to Judaism, and married by Solomon, although it is now certain that she was born during the first few years of our era.

From what has preceded, it appears that although Judaism must have flourished in several portions of Arabia long before the Christian era, no reliable data occur on the subject, and that it existed side by side with polytheism, whose professors may, as is often the case in other countries, have been imbued with a very tolerant spirit. Nothing certain is known about the introduction of Judaism into Yathreb, *i.e.* Medinah, although it must have been early, since the tribes Aws and Khozraj, who dwelt there|| when the Hemyarite king Asad Abu Karib (A.D. 297-320) marched there from Yemen and conquered the town, are described as being Jews. This king was by two Jewish doctors, Hodal and Al-Nahám, converted to Judaism, which he propagated on his return among his subjects; but he is some time afterwards said to have made a profession of Christianity likewise. As the reign of

* *Essai sur l'Hist. des Arabes*, Caussin de Perceval, tome i., p. 55.

† *Ibid.*, tome i., pp. 45 *seqq.*

‡ *Surah* XXVII. 24, &c. § 1 Kings x. 1, and 2 Chron. ix. 1.

|| Caussin de Perceval doubts that these two tribes were domiciled there already when the above-mentioned expedition took place.

this king must, at least in part, have corresponded with that of Arde-shir Bábeq, the founder of the Sasanian dynasty, who died A.D. 238, Asad Abu Karib's conversion to Judaism must have taken place about that time. This period of Judaism, as well as that of the siege and taking of Najrán by Zū Nowás, A.D. 523, is well fixed, and implies that this religion must have been dominant for nearly three centuries, till A.D. 525, when the Christian Abyssinians conquered Yemen, and slew more Jews than Christians had been killed in Najrán by Zū Nowás, who appears to have been prompted more by a spirit of retaliation than of fanaticism. Tabari describes this event* in a somewhat vague manner as follows:—"Najrán was a town the inhabitants of which had believed in Moses. In that country there was a king named Yusuf, surnamed Zū Nowás. He was a giant who had numerous subjects. But Jesus the son of Mary had come into the world, and God had taken him up to heaven. Some apostles who had been with Jesus arrived in the town of Najrán, preached the religion of Jesus, and said to the inhabitants, The religion of Moses has been abrogated; another prophet has come, his name is Jesus; now you must believe in Jesus and abandon the religion and the law of Moses: and they made known to them the marvellous works of Jesus. These inhabitants of Najrán became believers and adopted the religion of Jesus. Two or three of the intimate courtiers of Zū Nowás happened to be at Najrán. The inhabitants of that town requested them and said, Enter into our religion or we shall kill you. The courtiers refused, and the people of Najrán slew them. This news reached the king; he marched forth with 50,000 men and arrived in Najrán. Pits were dug around the town and fire thrown into them. The king then took the inhabitants of Najrán, led them to the banks of these pits and said, Abandon the religion of Jesus, or we shall throw you into the fire; and it is said in the Korán, "The people of the pit of fire supplied with fuel have been killed" (Surah LXXXV. 4). I shall further on quote the same author, as he describes how the people of Najrán were converted to Christianity and afterwards destroyed by Zū Nowás.

In Muḥammad's time there existed some powerful Jewish tribes, to whom he showed much regard at first, as well as to the Christians (Surah II. 61); afterwards he became greatly embittered against both these religions, as appears sufficiently from many passages of the Korán. The

* Vol. i., p. 39.

Jews refused to make a profession of Islam, and Muḥammad succeeded only after great trouble in subduing some and exiling the rest.

CHRISTIANITY.

Arabia is one of those countries which had never been wholly or permanently subjugated by a foreign nation, but it yielded to spiritual influences, which cannot be kept out by any barriers, such as seas, mountains, or deserts. In their polytheism the pre-Islamitic Arabs were influenced by Egyptian, Chaldæan, Greek, and perhaps even Indian ideas, whilst they were for their monotheism indebted to Judaism and Christianity. We have already seen that no historical events recorded by secular authors attest the existence of the first of the just-mentioned two religions before the time of the Tobba' king Asad Abu Karib, who was a contemporary of Ardeshir Bábek and a convert to Judaism, although from the Biblical texts quoted above, and from the immigrations of the Jews into Arabia which had taken place at various periods before and after the destruction of the temple of Jerusalem, there can be no doubt that Judaism had prevailed both in the north and in the south of Arabia from early times. The same uncertainty as to historical data prevails concerning the spread of Christianity, which appears to have been opposed by the Jews long before the time of Zu Nowás. Very likely neither Judaism nor Christianity attracted much attention among the vast numbers of polytheists, and were confounded with each other as long as their professors had not increased to large numbers and had shunned worldly power. This is the reason why no historical data exist about their first developments.

Although Arabians were present already at the feast of Pentecost (Acts ii. 11), nothing very reliable is known about their churches until the time of the emperor Constantine, who sent A.D. 343 an embassy to the Hemyarite king Marsad A'bd Kellál (A.D. 330-350) with the intention of obtaining the alliance of the Hemyarites against the Persians. We learn that this embassy was headed by Bishop Theophilus, who converted many Hemyarites; but as there is no doubt that the number of Christians was already considerable in the fourth century, the assertion of Asseman (T. Wright's *Early Christianity in Arabia*, p. 35) that Theophilus did not actually convert the people, but merely induced them to adopt the Arian heresy, which he himself professed, is very plausible. The Jews, however remained hostile, but Theophilus built three churches—one in Zhafar, the residence of the king, whom he flattered himself with having converted; the second in

Aden, which was much resorted to by Greek and Roman merchants; and the third in the principal town of the Persian Gulf. The successor of the just-mentioned king, Walya'h (A.D. 350-370), was—just like the above-mentioned Asad Abu Karib—first a great Jew, then a great Christian, and ended by fluctuating between the two religions; but Muhammadan authors have recorded that whole tribes, such as the Bahrah, Tanukh, Taghlab, &c., had formerly been Christians, whose number was also considerably increased during the fifth century, when Yazdegird, the successor of Behram, carried on for twenty years his persecution, the chief cause of which had been the demolition of a fire-temple by a too zealous Christian bishop. During that period the emigration of Christians from Persia into Arabia was so large that troops were posted on the frontiers to check it.

Some allusion has already been made to the Christians of Najrán under the head of Judaism, and I shall here narrate their conversion in the words of Tabari* :— “The inhabitants of Najrán were all Arabs of the Beni Tha'leb. Whilst all the other Arabs who surrounded them were idolaters, they were Christians; but originally they had also been idolaters. This is how they became Christians. They had without their town a large palm-tree. Once every year they celebrated a festival, and on that day the people assembled round this tree; it was covered with brocade, all the idols were placed under the tree; processions were made round it, and invocations. A demon who dwelt in the tree spoke to the people. Then they offered sacrifices to the tree and retired. But a man from the country of Syria, a descendant of the disciples of Jesus, named Fimiûn (Euphenion) came to Arabia. He found this country plunged in idolatry, and dared not to profess his religion, fearing that he would be killed. Accordingly he travelled from town to town, gaining a livelihood; every day he received the price of his labours, bought food therewith and fed himself, then praised God and prayed. When the inhabitants perceived that he did not adore idols, he left his abode and went elsewhere, to the territory of Mossul, to Mesopotamia, to the Sowad, or to I'raq. One day, whilst walking alone, he was met by brigands, who said to him, Thou art [no doubt] a slave, and hast fled from thy master. They made him a prisoner, led him to Najrán and sold him there. Accordingly he was at the command of the man who had bought him; but in the evening he entered a room and spent the whole night in prayer.

* Tome ii. pp. 175 seqq.

keeping the door of the chamber shut. His master, having for one or two nights observed him doing this, wanted to know what he was doing in the room. Accordingly he entered towards midnight, and beheld the room illuminated by a light. He thought Fimiún had a torch; but looking more closely he perceived that he had none, and was amazed. The next day he called Fimiún and said to him, I saw thee last night praying, the whole room was lighted, and thou wast reciting something. Of what religion art thou? The other replied, I profess the religion of Jesus, the son of Mary, and I was reciting the Evangel, the book of God. The man said, Is this religion superior to ours? Fimiún replied, Assuredly my religion is superior to yours; because the latter is false, these idols and this tree are not gods. This man, the master of Fimiún, communicated these words to his fellow-citizens. The latter called Fimiún and questioned him. He explained to them the religion of Jesus, and it pleased them. They said to him, Who will guarantee us that thy religion is true, and ours false? The other said, I will ask my God to destroy this tree. They promised to embrace his religion in case this should happen. Fimiún went out of the town and betook himself to the tree, at the foot of which he took up his station and prayed. God commanded the wind before the eyes of all these people; and the tree was drawn out and completely uprooted. Then the people broke their idols and embraced the religion of Jesus; the man who had bought Fimiún restored him his liberty. Accordingly all the inhabitants of Najrán became Christians and learnt the Evangel. Fimiún remained there teaching them the Evangel, and the people sent him their children to learn it. In this manner the inhabitants of Najrán, the only ones among the Arabs, became Christians.

“ In Najrán there was a chief, named Thámir, to whom a son, called A’bdullah, was born. When the latter had grown up, his father sent him to Fimiún that he might teach him the Evangel. The boy was his pupil for several years. Fimiún knew the ineffable name of God, and whatever he asked from God he obtained. When a sick man was brought to him, Fimiún invoked the aid of God, and the patient was healed by the power of this name. A’bdullah the son of Thámir asked Fimiún with many entreaties to teach him this name, but Fimiún refused and said, This name is one of the names of God and occurs in the Evangel, but I fear to teach it to thee lest thou mightest not be able to bear it: for thou art

as yet a child only, and mightest make an inconvenient request to God and perish thereby. A'bdullah being in despair of obtaining anything from Fimiún shut himself up in his room, and considered the means of arriving by himself at a knowledge of this name. He had heard Fimiún say that if the ineffable name of God were to be thrown into fire it would not burn. Therefore A'bdullah extracted from the Evangel all the names of God contained in it, and wrote them together, then he wrote each on a piece of wood and threw them into the fire. All the pieces of wood were burnt up except that on which he had written the ineffable name of God. In this manner A'bdullah obtained the knowledge of it. He paid a visit to Fimiún and told him what he had done. The latter said, O my child, as thou hast found it now, take care not to destroy thyself by invoking God through this name with a criminal intention, or for an inconvenient thing of which God disapproves.

“ When Fimiún died, A'bdullah took his place in Najrán and maintained the religion of Jesus. When a sick or blind person was brought to him he invoked God by this name and the patient was cured. Christianity took root in Najrán, and became so firmly established that no one remained who was not a Christian; whoever entered the town embraced Christianity or was put to death. But one of the Jews of Yemen came to Najrán with his two sons. The inhabitants seized them and said, Embrace Christianity or we shall kill you all. The two sons refused and were killed; the father embraced Christianity and was left alive, then he finished the commercial affairs for which he had come, and returned to Yemen, where he renewed his profession of Judaism. He waited on the king Zú Nowás and narrated to him everything about the people of Najrán, as well as the fate of his own sons. Zú Nowás became enraged, and solemnly swore on the Pentateuch and the religion of Moses that he would march at the head of an army to Najrán, destroy its churches, break its crosses, and burn all who refused to abandon Christianity and to be converted to the Jewish religion. He departed from Yemen with fifty thousand men, and proceeded to Najrán, carrying with him the Pentateuch. There he caused a pit to be dug for the inhabitants of this town, and burnt them. This king Zú Nowás and the Jews of Yemen are in the Korán named *people of the pit*, where God curses them in the terms, “ Perish the *people of the pit* ! ” &c., i.e. “ May these men of the pit be accursed, who came, dug a pit, sat down on its banks, and threw the people into the fire.”

“When the king Zū Nowás had with his numerous army arrived in Najrán, he caused all the churches to be demolished, and the crosses to be struck down and burnt; then he invited the inhabitants to embrace Judaism, but they refused. A’bdullah, the son of Thámir, had likewise been ordered to profess the Jewish religion, but he also refused. The king had him carried to the top of a mountain and precipitated therefrom. A’bdullah got up sound and safe, his body had not suffered. He made his appearance before the king and called on him to embrace Christianity. The king held in his hand a staff, with which he struck the head of A’bdullah and broke it; the blood flowed, A’bdullah died and was buried.

“Then Zū Nowás caused an enormous pit to be dug,—it was long like an abyss, of the depth of one lance, and very broad; he had it filled with combustible matter, which he caused to be set on fire. He made the inhabitants come forward one by one, and had all those who refused to embrace Judaism thrown into the fire. Nearly twenty thousand men were killed in this way, and the rest fled; the king destroyed whatever had remained of the town, burnt the crosses and the Evengels, and returned to Yemen.

“It happened in the time of O’mar Ben-al-Khattáb (reigned from Aug. 28, 634, till Nov. 4, 644) that when he invited the inhabitants of Najrán, who were Christians, to embrace Islám, they refused to accept it, but engaged themselves to pay double the capitation-tax exacted from Musalmáns.”

As the above account, although no doubt in many particulars exaggerated, about the people of Najrán, is not only given by the best Muhammadan historians, but the catastrophe of the pit is mentioned also in the Korán, no apology is needed for having in this place inserted all that Tabari has recorded about it; but the predominance of Judaism in southern Arabia, which was so great during the reign of Zū Nowás, naturally ceased with his fall, and in A. D. 525, when the power of the Abyssinians prevailed, its professors were at first subjected to great persecutions by their Christian conquerors; they were, however, of no long duration, and had ceased when St. Gregentius was the bishop and chief of the churches in Yemen. But Abrahah (reigned from A. D. 537 to 570), although doing his best for the promotion of Christianity, was much grieved that the idolatrous rites of the Ka’bah still drew annually multitudes of pilgrims to Mekkah, and had determined to keep the people of Yemen at home by constructing churches in every town.*

* Tabari, vol. ii., pp. 188 *seqq.*

“ He had built a cathedral at Çana’á, the like of which, in magnitude, in beauty, and in ornaments, could not be seen on the face of the earth. Its reputation had spread over the whole world. Abrahah wrote a letter to the Najáshy in which he said, I have built a church for the king, the like of which does not exist in the world. I have done so from gratitude, because God has restored me to the favour of the king. At the same time he sent him also the plan of the church. People came to it from Syria, and from all the countries wherever there were Christians, and something never seen nor heard of could be seen there, and everybody brought rich offerings. The news of it reached the Cæsar of Rúm, who likewise sent to it presents, alabaster, and stuffs from Rúm. He wrote to the Najáshy a letter worded as follows :— Thy lieutenant has done in Yemen a thing the like of which I have never done : the glory thereof is due to thee ; there is in no part of the world a similar edifice, and a similar church. The King of Abyssinia was pleased and sent a letter full of compliments and praises to Abrahah, who then wrote to the king, The Arabs have a temple in Mekkah which they call the temple of God ; they go there on pilgrimage, and walk in procession around the temple. The church built by me is a hundred thousand times superior in beauty to this temple. I shall order the people of Yemen to make pilgrimages and daily processions to this church to adore God there, and to address their prayers to Him from that place. I shall command the Arabs to betake themselves to this place, instead of going on pilgrimage to their temple. This will redound to the eternal glory of the king. The Najáshy was pleased. Then Abrahah proclaimed in Yemen that the Christians and the Jews were to come to pray in this church, and to perform their processions and pilgrimages there. Two Arab brothers of the tribe Solaym had come to Abrahah, and both of them were chiefs. They had been reduced by the Arabs, and being embarrassed in the Hejáz, the Tehamah, and in Mekkah, had come to Abrahah with a portion of their tribes. He had received them well, and they had remained. When Abrahah had resolved to invite the Arabs to perform their pilgrimages to the church, and to divert them from the Ka’bah, he showed much friendship to Muḥammad Ebn Kḥozaa’ al Zikráni, the first of the two chiefs above mentioned, and conferred on him the government of the Arabs of the Hejáz, as well as the sovereignty of Mekkah ; he placed a crown on his head and sent him to Mekkah, recommending him to compel the Arabs to come on pilgrimage to the church, and to

persuade them that this church was more beautiful than the Ka'bah, more illustrious and more pure ; that they had idols in their temple, that they polluted it, and that this church had never been defiled. Muḥammad departed with his brother Ḳays and with the people of his tribe. The news spread in Mekkah. The sovereignty of Mekkah pertained to the Ḳoraysh and to the various branches of this family, of the Kinánah tribe. At that time A'bd-ul-Mottaleb was the chief of the Ḳoraysh and of Mekkah. When Muḥammad arrived in the territory of the tribe of the Kinánahs, the latter posted a man named U'rwah on his way, who killed him with one stroke of his lance. His brother Ḳays took refuge with Abrahah in Yemen, and informed him of what had happened. Abrahah said, Must I then send some other person to induce them to come here ? I shall myself go and destroy their temple, then they will be embarrassed and will come if they like, or they will not come ; then I shall kill all the Kinánahs. Abrahah collected an army of fifty thousand men and made preparations to march to Mekkah."

This expedition proved, however, a failure, and Muhammadan authors who describe the miraculous destruction of Abrahah's army give lengthy details about it, as well as about Abrahah's elephant Mahmúd, who refused to march into Mekkah. It will suffice to state that this event, which began a new era, called the Year of the Elephant, took place during the birth-year of Muḥammad, and was promulgated by him in the Ḳorán, about fifty-four years after its occurrence, in Surah CV., the whole of which is here inserted :—" Hast thou not seen how thy Lord dealt with the master of the elephant ? Did he not make their treacherous design an occasion of drawing them into error, and send against them flocks of birds, which cast down upon them stones of baked clay, and render them like the leaves of corn eaten *by cattle* ?" As the Ka'bah was so thoroughly interwoven with the history and religion of the Arabs that Muḥammad was compelled to retain its idolatrous rites and to adapt them to the monotheism of Islám, it is no wonder that a miracle should have taken place for its preservation ; as, however, some historians also narrate that this was the first occasion on which the small-pox broke out with great virulence, they afford an indirect clue to the marks left by the stones dropping from the claws of the miraculous *Ababil* birds upon the bodies of the Christian army, and explain the probable reason of its sudden flight and partial destruction.

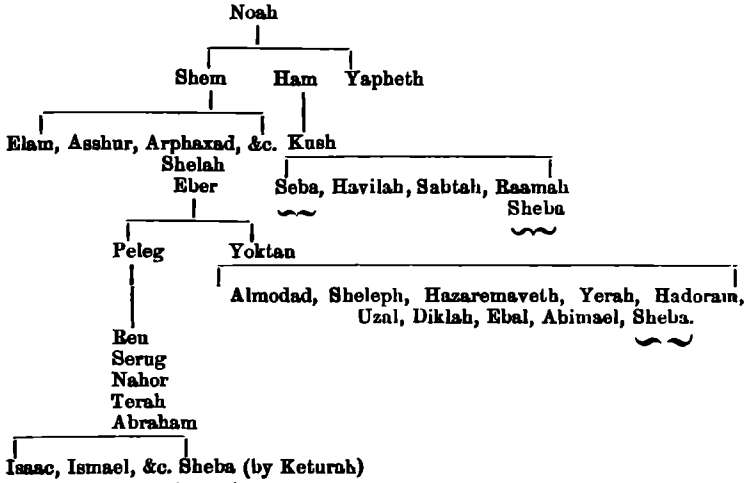
Without entering into any details concerning post-Islamitic events, it may here be observed that Muḥammad, faithful to his determination, which he inculcated also on his followers, that there should be but one religion in Arabia, worked zealously to extirpate both Judaism and Christianity, although in a few instances he granted protection, not only to certain individuals, but also to whole communities. The people of Daumat-al-Jandāi, not far from Medinah, were persuaded by A'bd-al-Rahman to give him the daughter of their chief in marriage and to abjure Christianity; they, however, soon relapsed, and were afterwards compelled by Muḥammad himself, who had already destroyed several churches, again to forswear Christianity and to profess Islam. After having stamped out Christianity in the north, Muḥammad turned his attention to the south, and made to the governor of Yemen, who had hitherto been a Persian tributary, friendly overtures, which were accepted not only by him, but also by Howadah Ben A'li, the Christian king of Yemamah, both of whom became converts to Islām. The same policy was continued by the successors of Muḥammad, and O'mar expelled even the few Jews who had still remained in Khayber. Both the Jewish and the Christian communities gradually vanished, although some existed here and there down to the tenth century and were under the spiritual care of priests. No persecution, however, could extirpate Judaism from Yemen and Ḥaḡramaut, where nearly half a million of Jews are still domiciled, in various villages and towns, the chief of which is Ḥana'á, with some thousands of Israelites, and a college where some of the most respected members of their community receive their education. The largest number of Arab Jews and Christians, however, do not live in Arabia proper, but in Syria and Mesopotamia.

THE MYTHIC HISTORY OF ARABIA.

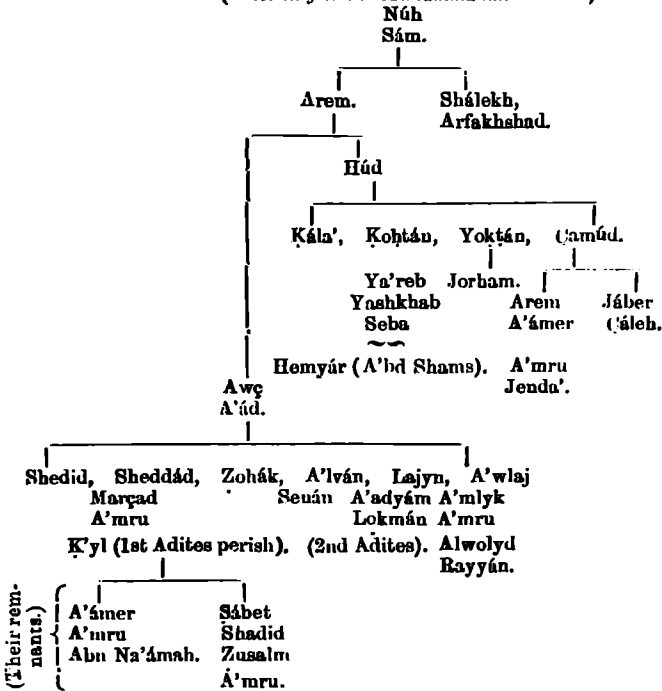
Great catastrophes—such as famines, inundations, conflagrations, storms, and battles—produce strong impressions, and traditions preserve them, whilst the well-known tenacity of the Arabs in the transmission of the pedigrees of their ancestors, in which they take much pride, from generation to generation, serves as a tolerable guarantee that their traditions, although partly mythical, are not pure inventions of the imagination. The fact that A'ád, Thamúd, Sheddád, Húd, and other very ancient personages are mentioned in the Korán, is also an evidence that traditions concerning them must have been still current among the people during the time of Muḥammad, else he would scarcely have made

so many allusions to them in the *Korán*; because had his hearers been ignorant of the events recalled by the prophet to their memory, he would have failed to captivate their attention, and therefore all these mythic accounts are very likely founded on a substratum of truth. The Arabs have incorporated into their traditions many Biblical persons and facts, after the example their prophet has set them, and these are consequently not only post-Islamitic productions, but also no part of Arabian history. All legends of this kind, which are numerous and run parallel with Biblical accounts from Adam down to the birth of Christ and after it, have been excluded from this paper, inasmuch as the various narratives of Muhammadan authors agree neither among themselves nor with the Bible, which they believe to have been corrupted by the Christians, as well as by the Jews. No actual concatenated history can be given, because in fact none exists, since the Biblical accounts have been incorporated in later times, and incongruously mixed up with the properly Arabian myths; and all that can be done is to put into chronological order the lives of the chief personages according to the current fashion, without being dismayed by the longevity and the startling dates coming to our cognizance. I here insert, however, a comparative genealogical table, from which a view of the persons constituting the mythic history of Arabia may be obtained, consisting on the one hand of a table compiled from 1 Chronicles i. 4-32, and on the other of the names of the persons as given by Muhammadan authors, who, as already stated, do not all agree. In both tables the first person is Noah, but it will be seen that although I am compelled to call these two tables comparative, they contain in reality not many points of contact. This mythic history, which may appropriately be called that of extinct races—as the A'ádites, Thamudites, and others perished by divine wrath—will contain only brief accounts; it extends from the creation of the world down to the eighth century before Christ, and will embrace only accounts of the most important personages.

COMPARATIVE GENEALOGICAL TABLES.
1 Chronicles i. 4-32.



(According to the Muhammadan authors.)



A'ád, 3185 B.C.

A'ád worshipped the moon, and lived with his descendants in the district Ahkáf, *i.e.* "sandhills," which begin from the coast of O'mán and extend to the borders of Yemen and Hazramaut. A'ád is said to have married 1000 wives and to have begotten 4000 children, each of whom whom was as tall as a palm-tree. He lived 1200 years and saw ten generations of his progeny. His eldest son, Shadid, became the king of his race; he was liberal and just. His subjects were so contented that they never quarrelled, and the judge whom he had appointed came after the expiration of one year to the court, stating that as no complaints had during all that time been brought before him the post ought to be abolished; but Shadid ordered him to draw his pay and to continue in the service. The second year, however, a case came before him in which a man complained that he had purchased a house, and had afterwards found a treasure in it, which he refused to keep, as he had bought only the house; and the seller refused to accept it, as he stated that he had sold the house with all its contents. One of these litigants, however, happened to have a son, and the other a daughter; accordingly the judge split the difference by marrying them to each other and giving them the treasure. In spite of all this justice and content in his realm, Shadid died an infidel, although he had in his latter days been visited by the prophet Húd, who exhorted him to follow the right way. His reign extended over 300 years.

Húd, 2937 B.C.

Húd, also called A'áber (Heber), was the son of Shálek, s. of Arfakhshad, s. of Sám, s. of Núh. He made at first a living as a merchant, but obtained at the age of 40 his mission as a prophet, and is by some named the second Kinán (Canaan), s. of Arfakhshad, and said to have begotten Shálek when he was 130 years old.*

Shedád, 2885 B.C.

This king is said to have conquered not only the E'rák, but even India and the greater portion of the world. In the invasion of Egypt, which is also attributed to him, Caussin de Perceval perceives traces of the irruption of the shepherds or Hyksos at least twenty centuries

* I consider it rather a merit that I do not enter into too many details, as they are apt to confuse and to overwhelm the main points; they are abundant and also contradictory enough in various authors. This prophet is also mentioned in *Surah* XXVI. 128-135 and elsewhere.

before the Christian era.* When Húd the prophet arrived at his court and proposed to him to worship God, he asked what reward he would obtain, and on being informed that paradise, with beautiful gardens, *huris*, &c., would become his habitation, he replied that being able to produce such a paradise on earth he could dispense with that which is in heaven. Accordingly he despatched a messenger to his cousin Zolhák, who had at that time conquered the empire of Jemshid, to bring all kinds of precious stones, perfumes, gold, silver, &c. ; and after having obtained the most costly substances also from every other country of the world, either by force or as presents, he ordered a pleasing locality in Syria to be enclosed by walls built of pure silver and gold, and containing 12,000 towers at intervals in its circuit. The roofs of the castles built within this paradise were supported by columns of crystal and adorned with jewels. The rivers there contained precious stones instead of sand, whilst the soil itself was formed of saffron in lieu of earth. The golden trunks of trees made hollow were filled with musk and ambergris, whilst male and female slaves, ready to perform service, attended in every castle, so that the garden of *Erem* with its colonnades was unsurpassed by anything created in the world.† When the news of the completion of this paradise was brought to Shedád, he left Házramaut with a numerous army, but had scarcely reached the vicinity of that delightful paradise, when a terrible voice from heaven struck the ears of the approaching multitude, and every one fell down dead ; whereupon also the paradise vanished. Shedád reigned 300 years.

Kála', 2792 B.C.

When Kála' the son of Húd came of age, he divided the earth among the tribes, assigning a country to each. He is named Kála' because that word means 'distributor.' Kohtán, the brother of Kála', colonized the greater part of Yemen, and invented the instruments of war ; Kohtán was also the first to whom his son Ya'ral addressed the royal salutation " May you avoid being cursed" and " happy morning." ‡ Yohtán,

* *Essai sur l'Hist. des Arabes*, tome i., p. 13.

† مسداق ارم ذات العماد التي لم يخلق مثلها في البلاد

‡ *Abyata-lla'na* اللعن ابيت and *ina'm çabâhân* انعم. Others translate the first formula by the words, *May you refuse malediction*, but it appears that it originated from the habit of the people to curse their king, and that an exception from it constituted a good sovereign.

another son of Hûd, and consequently brother of Kâla' and of Koḥtân, begat Jorham, the ancestor of the Jorhamites, so that Ya'reb and Jorham were cousins.

The first language used by Adam and his descendants was the Syriac, which was different from that of the prophet Hûd, who bore also the name of A'âber (Heber), wherefore it is called A'bri (Hebrew); but Ya'reb was the first who spoke Arabic, as he himself says:—"I am the son of Koḥtân, the foremost chief; O people, march in the van (of the language?), but the Bedâwis (wandering tribes) in the easy tongue, the plain speech, which is not difficult."* He settled in Yemen, and the Tobba's of that country are his descendants. Jorham was at first also in Yemen, but settled afterwards in Mekkah, where Ismael lived among the Jorhamites.

Jenda', 2654 B.C.

After the demise of A'âber Ben Arem Ben Sâm, Jenda' reigned in the district of Hejr between Syria and the Hejâz; he governed all the Samudite tribes, and was of a righteous disposition; when the prophet Çâleḥ arrived on his mission to the Samudites, Jenda' became his follower. He reigned 190 years, and is the last of the Samudite kings.

Çâleḥ, 2612 B.C.

Samûd the son of A'âber had two sons; one was Arem, and the other Jâber who begat Çâleḥ. As already observed, the Samudites lived in the country of Hejr between the Hejâz and Syria, and their habitations excavated in the rocks may still be seen; but they are low and their doors small, wherefore their stature must have been like that of ordinary men, if not shorter. Caussin de Perceval thinks that the Samudites are no others than the Troglodytes or Horreans mentioned in the book of Genesis, as living in Arabia from Mount Seir to the desert of Pharân, in which supposition he is strikingly supported by the exact resemblance of the Biblical name Chedorlaomer, who slew

* إنا ابن قحطان الهمام الاقبل يا قوم ميروا في الرعيل الاول

اما ابدو في اللسان السهل المنطق الابين غير مشكل

the Horites, and that of Ẓodar Allāḥmar, who became the cause of the destruction of the Samudites.*

When the people of the first A'ádites were destroyed by a terrible wind, some of them took refuge among the Aḥkáf sands, where they settled but worshipped idols. There they were visited by the prophet Çáleḥ, a cousin of A'áber Ben Arem, the reigning king of the Samudites; but the people asked for a miracle, and promised to believe him if he could call out of the rock a full-grown she-camel ten months big with a young one. Çáleḥ agreed, and invited the people to come near a large mountain on the confines of Syria, where he prayed God to create what he required; when the people heard a wailing issuing from the mountain like that of a woman in travail, and shortly afterwards a she-camel 100 cubits high and as many broad, able to step 150 cubits with each of its legs, came forth from the mountain, and gave birth to a young one nearly as large as herself; both also began immediately to roam about and to look for water and food; but in spite of this miracle the people would not believe. Hereupon Çáleḥ admonished them not to injure the camel,† and preached to them for thirty years, but in vain. The people enjoyed the advantage of a perpetual supply of milk from this camel, about which commentators retail many absurd stories, but they cut off its feet, and were destroyed with a terrible noise from heaven.‡

Marsad, 2585 B.C.

Marsad B. Shedád B. A'ád was a virtuous man who believed Húd; whilst Shedád refused to do so. He abandoned idolatry and worshipped God alone, but was, from dread of his father, under the necessity of concealing his religion, and professed it openly only after the death of Shedád. He always resided in the country of the Aḥkáf (sandhills), and governed with justice, but died during the lifetime of Húd. He was succeeded by his eldest son, A'mru B. Marsad, for a short while, and Marsad was in his turn succeeded by his eldest son, A'mru B. Marsad;

* *Essai sur l'Hist. des Arabes*, tom i., p. 26, and Gen. xiv. 4, 6. His memory has also survived in the two proverbs "أشام من أحمر نهد" "More ill-boding than Aḥmar [the red man] of the Samudites," and "أشام من عاقر الناقة" "More ill-boding than he who killed the she-camel [by piercing her with an arrow]."

† *Surah VII.* 71, &c.

‡ *Surah VII.* 76.

then came Kyl B. A'mru B. Marsad, but all these three reigns together amounted to not more than forty-four years. The A'ádites who would not listen to Húd perished by a terrible wind during the reign of Kyl.*

Destruction of the first A'ádites, 2541 B.C.

Húd preached to the first A'ádites, but in vain. They were the descendants of A'ád B. A'wç B. Arem B. Sám B. Núh, who was their king; their remnant were named the second A'ádites, and were the contemporaries of Çáleh.

When Húd despaired of the conversion of the A'ádites, all the dwellers of the Ahkáf of Dahná and Yabrayn (localities designating sandy regions), as far as Yemen and Hazramaut, fell under the displeasure of the Almighty, and were punished by famine and drought for seven years, but they nevertheless refused to make a profession of monotheism. On that occasion they were so distressed that Loçmán Allakber despatched Marsad B. A'fyr, with Kyl B. Ghafar, and Lakym B. Hezál, and Jehlah B. A'fyry, with many other chiefs of the people, to Mekkah to pray for rain. At that time the descendants of Tasm B. Lawuz, brother of A'mlyç, as well as the descendants of Jadys B. A'áber B. Arem B. Sám B. Núh, who were likewise A'ádites, resided in Yemamah, which bore the name of Jaww, whilst the descendants of A'mlyç B. Lawuç B. Sám B. Núh dwelt in Mekkah. When the deputies of the A'ádites arrived in that city they were kindly received and so hospitably treated that they forgot all about their prayers for rain. At last, however, they mounted a red hill which was at that time within the enclosure of the Ka'bah, and after they had there made their invocations three clouds appeared, one being red, one white, and the third black, and they heard a voice uttering the words, "Select one of these three clouds." One of the men said, "I take the black cloud, because it is full of water."† But the invisible herald replied, "Thou hast selected ashes. Not one of the family of A'ád will be left, and neither a father nor a son will remain."‡ Thereupon that black cloud departed to the A'ádites, who

* As Ismael died about 1800 years before our era, the catastrophe of the first A'ádites is conjectured by C. de Perceval to have taken place half a century later, i.e. in 1750 B.C.; but the difference between various authors is so enormous that the author of the *Násekhal towárikh*, whose dates in such an ocean of uncertainty are just as good as those of others, and which I have here adopted, places this catastrophe in the year 2541 B.C.

† اخذت السحاب السوداء فانها كثير الماء

‡ اخذت رمادا لا يبقى من ال عاد واحدا ولا يترك والدا ولا ولدا

“when they saw a traversing cloud tending towards their valleys, said, “This is a traversing cloud which bringeth us rain,”* and knew not that it would be their destruction; but *Húd answered*, “Nay, it is what ye demanded to be hastened, a wind wherein is a severe vengeance.”† The first person who became aware of the impending calamity was an old woman named Mahdu; as soon as her eyes lighted on the cloud she yelled furiously and fell down senseless. On recovering herself she exclaimed, “I perceived a flaming fire and a dreadful multitude coming towards us.” When *Húd* became aware of the approaching catastrophe, he collected his adherents, who were 4,000 in number, and drew with his finger a line around them, that they might remain safe therefrom, whilst all the rest of the people were destroyed. The storm lasted seven nights and eight days, and raged so furiously that it destroyed everything, not even the strongest building excepted. When the envoys returned from *Mekkah* they met a man on the road who informed them of the destruction of the people, and told them that he was going to *Egypt*. The envoys hereupon prayed to be joined to their tribe, as they could not endure life without their company. God heard their request, and all of them fell down on the spot, dead.

In the great calamity of the first *A'ádites* their king, *Marsad*, also perished, and was in the same year (2541 B.C.) succeeded by his grandson *Kyl*, who was followed by several kings; the last sovereign of the *A'ádite* dynasty (in whose time the people of *A'ád* again recovered themselves, became wealthy but remained as unbelieving as ever) was *A'mru B. Zu Salm*, and no one being found worthy to succeed after his death the people selected an obscure old man who had been converted by the prophet *Çáleh*. The time from the beginning of the reign of *A'mru B. A'ámer* till the extinction of the *A'ádite* dynasty in the old man just mentioned amounted to seventy-seven years.

Destruction of the people of Samúd, 2364 B.C.

Wherever the she-camel of *Çáleh* grazed, all the other cattle became so frightened that they dared not browse freely, and lost their strength gradually. This so vexed the people that they killed her, but when *Çáleh* reproached them they assured him that the deed had been perpetrated by some evil-minded scamps, without the consent of the

* *Surah XLVI.* 29.

† *Ibid* :- بل هو ما استعجلتم به ريح فيها عذاب اليم :-

people. He then told them that in case they were to bring back the young camel they would be forgiven. After searching for some time it was brought to Çáleh, but it brayed fearfully; whereupon he said, "Enjoy yourselves three days in your houses, the threat will not fail," and informed them that a great calamity would befall them on the fourth day, as the brayings had indicated three days. On this nine persons who had been concerned in the slaying of the camel went to kill Çáleh also, but were foiled in their attempt by angels who destroyed them. The people, who suspected that Çáleh had been the cause, determined to kill him, but were overtaken by a fearful storm, "and in the morning they were found in their dwellings *dead and prostrate.*"* The extinction of the dynasty of Jenda' the Samudite king took place in the same year, but he, being a believer, was at that time in Syria, and died forty years after the destruction of the Samudites.

Senán, 2361 B.C.

Senán B. A'lwán B. A'ád B. A'wç B. Arem was a brother of Zohák and a cousin of Shedád, and had by him been appointed king of Egypt, which he conquered by the aid of the descendants of A'mlyk, with whom he occupied Memphis, and reigned 134 years over the whole of Egypt, Nubia, and Sudán.

Building of the dam of Máreb, 2331 B.C.

Loçmán Allakbar, *i.e.* the greater, and "Lord of eagles," is Loçmán B. A'ádyán B. Lajjin B. A'ád B. A'wç B. Arem B. Sám B. Núh. He became a monotheist during the mission of Húd, but concealed his religion for fear of the wickedness of the people. When the curse of Húd had brought dearth upon the nation, and the deputation had gone to Mekkah to pray for rain, Loçmán B. A'ád and Marsad B. Sa'd were also of the number. But when the faith of these two men became known in Mekkah the A'ádite magnates scorned them, and prayed alone for rain; and for this reason these two men not only escaped perdition when the first A'ádites were destroyed, but were also divinely inspired to ask a favour from God. Marsad, in whose mind the miseries of famine were still uppermost, asked for wheat enough to last him for life, and obtained his wish; but Loçmán prayed that the duration of his existence might be as long as that of seven eagles, and his

* *Surah* XXIX. 36, and VII. 76.

request also was granted. He settled in Máreb, where he took a young eagle and kept it till it died; this he did with six of these birds in succession, and each of them lived seventy years. When he had taken the seventh young eagle, his nephew came and said, "Uncle, only this young eagle's life remains for you," but he was mistaken, as the seventh eagle actually lived fifteen hundred years, but when Loḳmán one day called the bird it did not move; on approaching it he found it very weak. Soon afterwards the bird expired, and Loḳmán also.

When Loḳmán settled in Máreb he found the soil to be very fertile, but observed that inundations sometimes destroyed the crops; therefore he picked out a suitable spot between two hills and built a dam capable of retaining a large quantity of water, constituting a lake one farsakh long and one broad. This dam, called *Al-A'rem* or *Sadd Mareb*, had thirty apertures, one above another, a cubit in diameter, which were one by one opened to let out the water for irrigation, according to demand. On account of the bountiful harvests thus produced, the town of Saba became also very populous. As the destruction of the dam of Mareb* occurred in the second century of our era, and falls, consequently, into a period more certain than the mythical times, I shall give some account of it in another paper, on "The pre-Islamitic history of Yemen."

Governed by Loḳmán and his descendants, the second A'ádites had an existence of one thousand years, and accordingly Ya'reb the son of Koḥtán who conquered them established his sovereignty in Yemen seven and a half centuries before our era.†

A'dnan, 764 B.C.

A'dnán is considered a scion of Ismael and an ancestor of Muḥammad. He was so valiant that unaided he put to flight eighty horsemen who attacked him in the desert, and also distinguished himself greatly on other occasions. He governed Baṭṭhá (Mekkah) and Yathreb (Medinah), where he was much respected. When he heard that Bukhtanaḩr (Nebuchadanozzor) meant to conquer Jerusalem he attacked him, but, being put to flight repeatedly, fled to Yemen, where he settled, begat one hundred sons, and spent the rest of his life.

* Also alluded to in Surah XXXIV. 14, 15.

† *Essai sur l'Hist. des Arabes*, par C. de Perceval, tome i., p. 18.

ART. IV.—*Report on some Hindu Coins.* By the late BHAU
DA'JI', Hon. Mem. R.A.S., &c., &c.

The coins (83), eighty-three, "found by certain boys in the village of Devláná, Táluká Báglán, near the side of a river," forwarded by H. N. B. Erskine, Esq., Collector of Násik, with his letter dated 22nd January 1870, are very important as furnishing the name of a new king of about the same age as Kumára Gupta. Eighty-two of the coins weigh fifteen tolas and thirty-eight grains, the average weight of a piece or single coin being thus thirty-three and a half grains. The coins are of silver, and vary in weight from thirty to thirty-four grains.

They are all from the mint of one king. They resemble the coins of Kumára Gupta considerably. The face is a good deal similar to that of Kumára Gupta, and as the execution of the coins of Kumára Gupta exhibits a deterioration of art when compared with the coins of the Kshatrapas, so is a similar defective workmanship to be detected in these coins. On the obverse of Kumára Gupta's coins there is a peacock, but in its stead there is on these coins an image of *Nandí*, or the bull. But it is as well to point out that in the coins of Skanda Gupta, the son of Kumára Gupta, there is sometimes on the obverse a *Nandí* or bull. I possess a coin of Skanda Gupta with a peacock on the obverse.

The *Nandí* is pretty well executed on the coins, in a squatting posture.

Around the *Nandí*, which is in the centre, are letters which are of the same age as those of Kumára Gupta's coins, and are equally difficult to decipher, as the diacritical marks are not given.

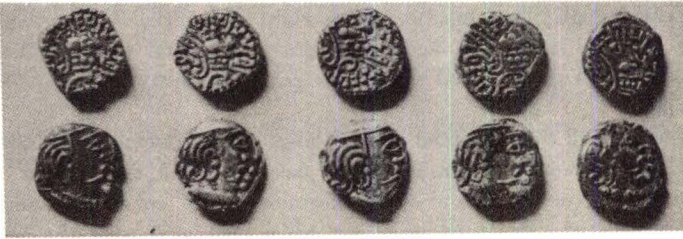
Selecting twelve coins, I have carefully cleaned them, and doubtful letters in one have been made out by more distinct impressions of the same in others. The legend is read by me as follows :—

IEUJYVYZJYVIZYJUCQJYJL

“ Rájá Parama Máheśvara ; Mánasa Nṛipa Deva Dhyána Śríkasa (?) ”

Who this Mánasa Nṛipa or king, “ the great devotee of Máheśvara, who derives his glory from contemplating God,” was, it is impossible at present to say. We are in perfect darkness with regard to the kings of the Dakhaṇ between the time of Gotamiputra, whose name occurs in the Cave Inscriptions, and that of Jaya Sinha Vallabha, the oldest Chálukya king whose name has been as yet discovered.

In my opinion the coins belong to a king, probably of the Dakhaṇ, about the end of the fourth century of the Christian era.



ART. V.—*On a Pre-historic Monument of the Western Coast of India.* By DR. C. MARCHESETTI.

Read 8th April 1876.

I think it not out of place to address your learned Society, which has always had for its object the investigation of scientific researches, on the subject of a new pre-historic discovery, which, on account of the locality where it has been made, is of special interest to India. This discovery is one of the most ancient monuments of the activity of the human race, a monument which carries us back to a period more remote than any other of the known traditions concerning the existence of mankind.

In the Portuguese province of Sattary, at a distance of about 48 miles from Goa, in the neighbourhood of a village called Cotandem, there exists a petrified forest extending over a surface of several miles. The trees of this forest are scattered partly over the side of a hill adjoining Captain Major's plantation, and partly in the valley along the borders of the river which runs along its base.

The geological formation is granitic, and is covered here and there with thick layers of laterite and trappite, especially in the lower grounds. The stems of the trees lie immediately over the granite, imbedded in laterite, and disappear in some places under more or less thick strata of recent formation,—a circumstance which supports the supposition that this forest is of greater extension.

Although the organic substance is entirely transformed into silicate, and the trunks are so hard that they emit sparks of fire when struck with a steel, yet their fibres are very well preserved; and, judging from their disposition and structure, a great portion of them belong to the family of the Monocotyledones, whereas a smaller quantity belong to the Coniferæ.

But all the trunks are not of the same degree of petrification. I have found important differences in them, especially in the hardness and thickness of their respective tissues, and also in the more perfect or imperfect preservation of their vegetable structures. Amongst

them there are pieces that are very light, with interstices between their fibres; also pieces of which the fibrous structure has almost completely disappeared; and, finally, pieces that have undergone a retrogressive metamorphosis, and which are reduced into a soft friable substance having the appearance of talc.

The latter are found mostly on the borders, and in the bed of the river above mentioned, where they have been more exposed to the dissolving action of the water.

A petrified forest has nothing very remarkable about it—several exist in different localities in India, viz., at Cutch, Saugor, Perim, and Pondicherry, to say nothing of the celebrated one near Cairo; but the forest it has been my good fortune to discover is interesting in a different point of view, namely, because many of the trunks of the trees of which it is composed *bear evident traces of the instruments which have been employed to cut them down.* A great many of the stems at one of their extremities show a clean diagonal cut exposing a polished surface of the part separated from the original member; whereas at the other extremity the surface is splintered and torn, which could not otherwise be, as in this instance the disrupted surface is opposite to the splitting direction,—in other words, to the grain of the wood.

In some instances I have found visible traces of the axe, the stems throughout their length showing incisions more or less deep, separating the fibres at intermediate distances.

Besides these large trunks there are many other small ones, which also present at one or both of their extremities a clean-cut surface.

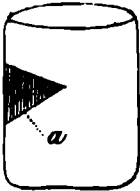
One might suppose that these polished surfaces have either been produced by accident, or else that they have been caused by friction while rolling down some declivity. But the following considerations will suffice, I think, to show that these suppositions are groundless. All bodies break with greater facility where their molecular resistance is weaker: therefore a fibrous substance can be cut or cloven into two pieces with much more ease in its splitting direction, and the part separated in that manner will show more or less even surfaces. Nevertheless none of the pieces I have met with are cut in the direction of the grain of the wood, but they all present deep incisions in a transversal direction, all of which cross the grain of the fibre at an angle of 45° to 90° .

The second supposition is also unsustainable, because the polished parts exist at the extremities only, consequently have a much smaller base than the trunks taken in their full length; and as every cylindrical

body when rolling or sliding down an inclined plane must obey the laws of gravity, and must roll or slide on its greatest surface, therefore the latter only should exhibit a polished appearance.

Lastly, we have nothing to do in this instance with crystallized bodies, which when being broken or split must obey the laws of the system of crystallization to which they belong; but we have to consider a process of silicious imbibition in a vegetable tissue which has preserved its primitive form. If, therefore, we take into consideration these several reasons, which exclude all others concerning the origin of the polished surfaces herein alluded to, we must come to the conclusion that they have been produced by a sharp cutting instrument.

In addition to the evidence adduced proving that in those remote times the Southern Kōṅkan was already populated, I have been fortunate enough to find a piece of petrified wood showing the method adopted by the people of those regions when engaged in felling the trees of their forests. In those distant ages it was the custom, in order to bring the trees down with greater facility, to cut out of their trunks



a triangular piece of wood of the shape of a wedge (*a*). It is therefore my opinion that this people had arrived at a high degree of civilization, and were in possession of metallic instruments (probably iron). With stone instruments it would be quite impossible to produce the deep clean cuttings that a great many of the pieces exhibit; and even admitting the existence

of iron tools, it is not easy, on first inspection, to understand how it was possible with the latter to make incisions of three inches broad.

In order to account for this peculiarity it is necessary to suppose that the wood was of a soft description, or, otherwise, that these deep incisions were not the result of one single blow, but have been produced by several succeeding ones in one and the same direction.

I may here mention certain habits of the people in connection with what precedes. The present inhabitants of the Coorg Hills are in the habit of using long knives of a singular shape, and whenever a marriage ceremony takes place the young men of the village make use of them to show their muscular strength, and the one who succeeds in cutting off at one blow the thickest plantain stem is proclaimed the hero of the day.

It is difficult to determine with precision the age of this fossil forest, because I have not found any other petrifications in the laterite formation in which it is imbedded; one thing is certain, that we have not to deal with one of those simple incrustations that we meet with every day in countries where rivers contain a large solution of bicarbonate of lime; but we have under notice a complete transformation of constituent elements, and a silicification for the perfection of which a very great number of years are required. That which undoubtedly proves the great antiquity of this fossil forest is the fact of its being overlaid in some places with strata of trappite and laterite.

Geologists do not agree as to the origin and age of the latter, so that the greater or smaller thickness of this formation cannot assist in ascribing any fixed period to it. But with regard to the former we have a leading feature to guide us through this dark nebula. Trappite, as is well known, is a volcanic product, and is to be met with everywhere on the flanks of the Western Gháts, though at the present time all traces of volcanic activity have completely disappeared from that region. "Sufficient time has elapsed," says Dr. H. J. Carter,* "since the last of its effusions were poured forth, to weather down its cones, efface its craters, dissipate its scorïæ, break up its plains, and transform its surface to such an extent that from arid, black, undulating volcanic waste, it has now become a tract of mountains, hills, and valleys, covered with verdure and cultivation, and, with the exception of the crater of Loonar, without a known trace of any vents to point out the localities from which the volcanic matter of which it is composed was ejected."

As the silicified trunks are overlaid with trappite, they must be older than the last volcanic effusions, and therefore I think I am authorized in attributing a very high antiquity to this petrified forest, and at the same time to conclude that at this distant period the Southern Konkan was already inhabited by a civilized people.

* *Geological Papers on Western India, &c.*, p. 701.

Table of Numerals prepared from Walabhi Copper Plate Grants by Pandit Bhagavanlal Indraji and presented by the Hon^{ble} Rao Sahib V. N. Mandlik, Vice President.

| | | | | |
|----|---|-----|---|---|
| 1 | — | 80 | ∞ | ∞ |
| 2 | | 90 | ∞ | ∞ |
| 3 | ≡ | 100 | ∞ | ∞ |
| 4 | 卐 | 200 | 卐 | 卐 |
| 5 | 卐 | 300 | 卐 | 卐 |
| 6 | 卐 | 400 | 卐 | 卐 |
| 7 | 卐 | 600 | 卐 | 卐 |
| 8 | 卐 | | | |
| 9 | 卐 | | | |
| 10 | 卐 | | | |
| 20 | 卐 | | | |
| 30 | 卐 | | | |
| 40 | 卐 | | | |
| 50 | 卐 | | | |
| 60 | 卐 | | | |
| 70 | 卐 | | | |