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BY

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The Ancient Name of Sanjân.

[Read 23rd August 1900.—Mr. James MacDonald in the Chair.]

Sanjân is a small town on the B. B. and C. I. Railway, 90 miles from Bombay. The object of this paper is to ascertain, whether it is the Sindân of the Arab geographers of the 10th and 11th centuries, as stated by the *Bombay Gazetteer* (Vol. XIV Thana), and, whether it is the town of Hanjamana (हंजमन), referred to in the three Silhâra grants¹ of the 10th and 11th centuries.

Sanjân is a town well-known in the history of the Parsees. As the *Bombay Gazetteer*² says, "it was here that, about the year 720, a band of Persian refugees settled." Kisseh-i-Sanjân, *i. e.*, the episode or story of Sanjân, is the name of a small Persian poem written, not in very elegant verses, by one Bahman Kekobâd Hormazdyâr Sanjânâ in the year 969 Yazdazardi (1000 A.D.).³ Therein are described the events that brought the Parsee emigrants to the town of Sanjân, and then led them to settle in the different parts of Gujarât.

I.

The *Gazetteer* says of this town :—

"By the Arab geographers of the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, Sanjân, under the name Sindân, is repeatedly mentioned as one of the chief ports of Western India. In the 10th century (915) it is described as famous for the export of an emerald equal to the best in brightness and colour, but harder and heavier, known as the Mecca emerald, because it passed through Arabia. It is also described as a great, strong city with a Jâma mosque. In the twelfth century it is

¹ (a) *Asiatic Researches* I, p. 357. Paper by General Carnac. (b) *Indian Antiquary* V, p. 276. Paper by Dr. Bühler. (c) *Indian Antiquary* IX, p. 33. Paper by Mr. K. T. Telang.

² Vol. XIV (Thana), p. 301.

³ It is translated into English verse by Lieut. Eastwick. *Journal, B. B. R. Asiatic Society*, Vol. I, p. 167.

mentioned as populous, the people noted for industry and intelligence, rich and warlike, the town large, and with a great export and import trade."

Let us examine how far this statement of the *Gazetteer* is correct. The writer of the above passage bases his description on the authority of the well-known Arab writers, Ebn Haukal (950 A. D.), Edrisi (1130 A. D.), Maçoudi (943 A. D.), Istakhri (950 A. D.) and others. As the writer has not given direct references to the works of these authors, except in the case of Maçoudi, it appears that he has taken for his authority the extracts of their works in Elliot's *History of India*.¹

Firstly, let us examine the references to Ebn Haukal. According to Elliot's manuscript Ebn Haukal gives the name of the following towns in Hind² :—Fâmhal, Kambâya, Sûrbârah, Sindân, Saimûr, Multân, Hadrawur, and Basmat. According to Gildemeister's manuscript,³ the names of the towns are Kâmuhul, Kambâya, Subâra, Asâvil, Hanâvil, Sindân, Saimûr, Bâni Battan, Jandarûz, Sandarûz. According to Ousley's manuscript,⁴ the names of the towns in Hind are Seidan (سیدان), Meimoun, Multan and Heidour.

Thus, we see, that one manuscript of Ebn Haukal gives, as principal towns in Hind, the names of 8 towns, another manuscript, those of 10 towns, and a third, of 4 towns. Again, we find a difference in the names of one and the same town in different manuscripts. This is due to the carelessness, at first, of the writer, and then of the copyists, in not putting carefully the diacritical points over the letters. We find, even the celebrated geographer Aboulfide (A. D. 1273 to 1331) complaining about it. He says, "The book of Ebn Haukal is a work of considerable length, in which the different countries are described with sufficient exactness. But neither are the names of places marked by the proper points, nor are their longitudes or latitudes expressed; this frequently occasions an uncertainty respecting the places, proper names, &c."⁵

¹ *History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 26-130.

² *History of India*, Vol. I, p. 34.

³ *Ibid*, note 1.

⁴ *The Oriental Geography of Ebn Haukal* by Sir William Ousley, p. 147.

⁵ Ousley's *Oriental Geography*, p. XVIII. "Il y manque la manière dont doivent se prononcer les noms de lieux." *Géographie D'Aboulféda* par M. Reinaud, Tome I, p. 1.

Leaving aside the names of the other cities of Hind, we find, that the town, spoken of as Sindân in the manuscripts of Elliot and Gildemeister, is Seidan in Ousley's manuscript. But later on (p. 154), where the "distances of place" in Sind and part of Hind are spoken of, we find the name as Sindân *سندان* even in Ousley's manuscript. Thus, though there is a little uncertainty about the correct name of the place, we would proceed with our examination of the name, taking it to be Sindân.

According to Ebn Haukal, "Kambâya is one parasang distant from the sea, and about four from Sûbâra, which is about half a parasang from the sea. From Sûbâra to Sindân, which is the same distance from the sea, is about five¹ days' journey; from Sindân to Saimûr, about five; from Saimûr to Sarandip, about fifteen."² This is according to the manuscript of Elliot. Ousley gives these distances according to his manuscript as follows:—"Sourbah is near the sea: from Sindân to Sourbah is five merileh."³

We find from these two passages of the two different manuscripts of Ebn Haukal, that, what is spoken of as Sûbâra in one, is Sourbah *سورباہ* in the other. Sûbâra is probably a more correct reading. It is identified with the Sarpâraka of the copper-plate inscriptions, with the Sûrpâraka of the Mahâbhârata, and with the modern Sopârâ, near Bassein.⁴ Thus, according to Ebn Haukal, Sindân is five days' journey from modern Sopârâ. So, if the town of Sanjân in Konkan is the Sindân of Ebn Haukal, it is five days' journey from Sopârâ. A day's journey, or merileh (*مرحلم*) as it is called, is, according to Edrisi's Geography, 30 miles.⁵ So the distance by miles, between Sanjân and Sopârâ, would be about 150 miles. But we know, as a matter of fact, that it is not more than 52 miles, or more than two days' journey.

¹ As corrected by Elliot (Vol. I. p. 39 note). According to Gildemeister's manuscript it is 10 (*ibid.*). Ousley's text gives 5. Ousley's text differs a good deal from Elliot's.

² Elliot's History of India, Vol. I. p. 39.

³ Ousley's Oriental Geography of Ebn Haukal, p. 154.

⁴ Indian Antiquary, Vol. IX, p. 44.

⁵ "Évaluant la journée à 30 milles" (Géographie d'Édrisi par Jaubert, Tome II., p. 231, cinquième climat, première section). "60 milles ou 2 journées" (*Ibid.* p. 232). Ousley's Oriental Geography, Preface, p. XXII note.

Again, according to the above passage, Kambâya, which the *Gazetteer* identifies with Cambay, is one parasang, *i.e.*, about $3\frac{3}{4}$ miles from the sea, and four parasang, *i.e.*, about 15 miles from Subâra, which the *Gazetteer* identifies with the modern Sopârâ near Bassein. We know, as a matter of fact, that the distance between Cambay and Sopârâ is not so short as 15 miles. It is nearly 270 miles.

These calculations of distances tend to show, that the Sindân, referred to above by Ebn Haukal, is not the Sanjân of the Konkan, but some other town near Cambay. It is another Sindân, spoken of as Kachh Sindân in Elliot's History¹, and as the Cutch Sindân (Sandhan) by the *Gazetteer* itself.²

We will now examine the reference to the Arab Geographer Edrisi. He says, "From Subâra to Sindân is considered five days. Sindân is a mile and a half from the sea. . . . East of Sindân there is an island bearing the same name and dependent on India. It is large and well cultivated, and the cocoanut palm, kanâ and rattan grow there."³

We have seen in the case of the reference in Ebn Haukal, that if the Soubârâ referred to, is the modern Sopârâ, the Sindân, referred to as being five days' journey from it, is not the Konkan Sanjân. In the same way, the reference in this passage clearly shows, that the Sindân of Edrisi cannot be the Konkan Sanjân. Here it is said, that there is an island of the same name on the east of Sindân, but we know, as a matter of fact, that there is no sea at all on the east of modern Sanjân. The sea is on the west of it. Suppose, for argument's sake, that the writer meant to say the "west" instead of the "east." Such slips of words may occur.⁴ But then, even on the west of the Konkan Sanjân,

¹ I, p. 450, n. 2.

² Vol. XIV, p. 302, note 4.

³ Elliot's History of India, Vol. I., p. 85. Joubert also gives a similar version.

"De Soubara à Sendan, on compte également 5 journées. Sendan سندان a un mille et demi de la mer 'est bien peuplée, et ses habitants se font remarquer par leur industrie et leur intelligence ; ils sont riches et d'humeur belliqueuse. La ville est grande ; elle fait un grand commerce d'exportation et d'importation.' A'est de Sendan est une île du même nom, grande, bien cultivée, ou croissent le cocotier, le palmier, le cana et le rotting, et qui dépend de l'Inde." Géographie D' Edrisi par Joubert, Tome I, p 172.

⁴ *Vide* Indian Antiquary, Vol. IX, p. 44, col. 1, l. 4, for one such instance.

we have no island. So, it seems to be clear, that the Sindân of Edrisi is not the Sanjân of Konkan.

We now come to the direct references of the *Gazetteer* to the Arab writer Maçoudi. This writer, as it appears from his writings, had come personally to India, and so his references to Sindân and Soufâreh are not made with any second-hand knowledge. While speaking on the subject of the flux and reflux of waters, *i. e.*, on ebb and tide, he says :—

Voici ce que j'ai vu dans l'Inde, sur le territoire de la ville de Cambaye (کنبایتم), célèbre par ses sandales, nommées sandales de Cambaye, qui y sont d'usage, ainsi que dans les villes voisines, telles que Sendan et Soufâreh (Soufaloh) (سندان و سوفارة). J'étais à Cambaye dans l'année 303." ¹

In this passage, Maçoudi speaks of Sindân and Soufâreh, as towns in the neighbourhood of Cambay. In his quotation from Maçoudi, the writer of the *Gazetteer* ² makes Maçoudi say, that the town of Sindân was "near Sufâreh and south of Cambay." But we find from the above quotation, that Maçoudi, at least the manuscript of Barbier de Meynard, says nothing about Sindân being south of Cambay. However, that is not an important point. This reference, then, shows, that we must look for the town of Sindân somewhere near Cambay, and not at Sanjân in the Konkan. There is another reference to Sindân ³ in Maçoudi in Chap. XVI, where he speaks about an Indian Gulf. That reference also shows, that we must look for this Sindân near a gulf, somewhere near Cambay and not in the Konkan. A third reference, ⁴ wherein Maçoudi says, that the best emeralds came from

¹ Maçoudi par B. de Meynard, Vol. I., pp. 253-54.

² Vol. XIV, p. 302, note 4.

³ Maçoudi per B. de Meynard, Vol. I., p. 330, Chap. XVI. "Puis vient la mer Larewi, qui baigne les territoires de Seïmour, Soubareh, Tabeh, Sindan, Kambaye et autres, faisant partie de l'Inde et du Sind."

⁴ *Ibid*, Vol. III, p. 47. "Une province de l'Inde, le Sindân et les environs de Kambaye dans les états du Balhara roi de Mankir fournissent une espèce d'émeraude. . ."

Sindân, also points to the neighbourhood of Cambay for the situation of Sindân.

Now, we come to the references in Istakhri. Among the cities of Hind, he enumerates "Amhal, Kambâya, Sûbâra, Sindân, Saimûr, Multân, Jandrud, and Basmand."¹ Then speaking about the distances between the different places, he says: "From Kambâya to Sûrabâya² about four days, and Sûrabâya is about half a parasang from the sea. Between Sûrabâya and Sindân about five days."³ These distances given by Istakhri, which are the same as those given by the Arab geographers, Ebn Haukal and Edrisi, also tend to show, that the Sûrabâya and Sindân, referred to by him, are not the Sopârâ and Sanjân of Konkan, because the actual distance between them is not five days' journey, as stated by him. Istakhri⁴ further says, that there are Jamâ masjids in all the above towns of Hind enumerated by him. This reference to the Jamâ Masjid also shows, that it is not the Konkan Sindân or Sanjân that Istakhri refers to, but it is the Cutch Sindân. We will touch upon this point later on.

I think, therefore, that the town of Sindân, referred to by the above Arab geographers, is not the Konkan Sanjân, but the town of Sindân in Cutch. It is the same, as the Sindân, referred to by Ibn Khurdadba, in his *Kitabu-l-Masâlik wa-l-Mamâlik*⁵, as being situated in the countries of Sind. It is the same as the Sindân referred to by Al Bilâdurî in his *Futuhu-l-Buldân*, as the town, where a large Jâmi masjid was built by Fazl, son of Mâhân.⁶

This reference to the Jâmi Masjid tends to show, that the Sindân referred to by the Arab geographers was not the Sindân of Konkan, as supposed by the *Gazetteer*, but the Sindân of Cutch. About this Sindân, where Fazl had built a large Jâmi Masjid, as referred to by Ibn Khurdâdba, Elliot says, that "the town here spoken of, is more

¹ Elliot's History of India I., p. 27.

² According to Abu-l-Fedâ, Sûfâra, Sûfâla, Sûbâra are variants. Elliot, *Ibid* I., p. 402.

³ Elliot, *Ibid* I., p. 30.

⁴ Elliot, *Ibid* I., p. 27.

⁵ Elliot, *Ibid* I., p. 14.

⁶ Elliot, *Ibid* p. 129, p. 450.

probably the Sindân or Sandân in Abrâsa, the southern district of Kachh."¹ Giving a reference to the statement of the above Arab author, Al Bilâduri, and to the above statement of Elliot, the *Gazetteer* on their authority says: "Besides the Konkan Sindân the Arab geographers of that time mention the Cutch Sandhân."²

Thus we see, that it is to the Cutch Sindân, that the Arab geographers refer to, when they speak of the Jâmi masjid as being in the town of Sindân and not the Konkan Sindân. So also the Arab geographers, Ebn Haukal³ and Istakhri,⁴ when they speak of mosques in the town of Sindân, refer to the Cutch Sindân and not the Konkan Sindân.

Thus, all the Arab authors, referred to by the *Gazetteer*, viz, Ebn Haukal, Edrisi, Maçoudi, and Istakhri, do not refer at all to the Konkan Sindân or modern Sanjân. I also think, that the Sufâra, Sufâla, Subâra, &c., referred to by them, is not the modern Sopârâ of Konkan near Bassein.

II.

Now, before coming to the second part of our paper, we will pause a little, and inquire, who it was that, according to the Parsee tradition, as noted in the Kisseh-i-Sanjân, first called the place (Konkan Sindân) Sanjân.

In the Kisseh-i-Sanjân,⁵ referred to above, it is said, that Sanjân was so named by the leaders of the Parsee emigrants who settled there. The poem says, that, after their final defeat at the hands of the Arabs in the battle of Nehâvand (in 641 A. D.), and after the death of their king Yozdajisd (in 651 A. D), the Parsees wandered for 100 years in the mountainous district (Kohistân) of Khorâssân, and then settled for fifteen years in the island of Hormaz. They then betook themselves to the shores of India, where they landed in Div in Kathiâwâr, and stopped there for nineteen years. Thence, they sailed to Gujarat, and landed at a place which they latterly named Sanjân. Thus, it was in the year 785 that the place was named Sanjân.

¹ Elliot, *Ibid* I., p. 450, n. 2.

² *Gazetteer*, Vol XIV, p. 302, n. 4.

³ Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. 147.

⁴ Elliot, I., p. 27.

⁵ The Revâyet of Dôrâb Hormazdyâr, that is being published, by Mr. Manockji Rustomji Unwâlâ, pp. 344—354. Journal of the B. B. R. A. S., Vol. I., pp. 167—191.

The poem says that the leader, a Dastur, of the emigrants went to the ruler of that place, who was named Jâdi Rânâ, and explained to him the circumstances, under which they had left their country, and had come to India, and solicited the favour of the allotment of a place where they could make their abode. The Râjâ, after making certain inquiries from the new-comers, and after making certain conditions, welcomed them to his shores and allotted them a piece of ground, where they could settle themselves. It was at first a desert-like place, but they soon turned it into a habitable place.

۱ بدشني در قبول افتاد يکجا
 زمين خوش بود آنجا کرد ماواي
 قبول افتاد مردم را در آنجا
 ز جنگل باز شهری شد هويدا
 هم جنگل بيابان بود ويران
 فرو آمد هم برنا و پيران
 چو دستور آن زمين نیکرا دید
 در آنجا بهر ماندن جای بگزید
 مر اورا نام سنجان کرد دستور
 بسان ملک ايران گشت معمور

Translation.—A place in the desert was accepted. The ground was excellent, and they made it their place of abode. The place was acceptable to all persons. A city was created, where there was formerly a desert. It was an uncultivated and an unpopulated desert. All the young and the old landed there. When the Dastur saw this good place, he found it to be a proper place for abode. The Dastur gave it the name of Sanjân, and it was made prosperous like the country of Irân.

According to this passage, then, it was the Parsees who had first named it Sanjân. Now the question is, why was it named Sanjân by the Parsees. One may say, that it was so named after a town of that name in Persia. As modern colonists name the new towns in their

¹ Mr. Manockji Rustomji Unwâlâ's printed Revâyet of Dârâb Hormazdyâr, p. 348, eouplet 2. Journal of the B. B. Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. I., p. 179.

adopted country after the names of the towns of their mother-country, e.g., New England, New York, so the ancient Parsees perhaps named their new place of abode Sanjân, after a town of the same name in their mother-country of Persia. We find, that there were several towns in Persia of the name of Sanjân. In Barbier de Meynard's Dictionary of the geography of Persia, under the head **سنجان** Sanjân (Sendjân), we find four towns of the name of Sanjân :—(1) A town near the gates of Merw; (2) a locality in the country of Bab-el-Abwab (Derbend); (3) a locality situated near Niçabour (Nishapour); and (4) a town in the district of Khawaf (Koraçân).

Now, as according to the Kisseh-i-Sanjân, after the fall of their empire at the hands of the Arabs, the Parsees had wandered for about 100 years in the mountainous country of Khorassan, before leaving the shores of Persia, one may say, that it is very likely, that they named their new place of abode, after the town of Sanjân in Khorassan, whose memory was fresh in their mind. The last line of the above passage from Kisseh-i-Sanjân is **بسان ملک ایران گشت معمور** i.e., it became prosperous like the country of Irân. This leads us to say, that it is probable, that the new town derived its name at the hand of the Parsees.²

III.

Now, we come to the second part of our paper. The *Bombay Gazetteer* says: "In three Silhâra grants of the tenth and eleventh centuries Sanjân is probably referred to under the name of Hanjaman."³ The writer of the *Gazetteer* does not say, on what grounds, he bases his statement. He does not suggest the grounds of probability. I beg to state here some facts, which supply the grounds for that probability.

The three Silhâra grants, referred to by the *Gazetteer*, are the following :—

¹ Dictionnaire Géographique, Historique et Littéraire de la Perse, par C. Barbier de Meynard, p. 323.

² We have a similar instance in the case of the name of the town of Nowsaree. According to the Parsee tradition, the Parsee emigrants there named the town Nao-sâri, i.e., New Sâri, because the climate there resembled that of the town of Sâri in Persia. The *Gazetteer* says that the story that "Navasari got its name from the Parris is incorrect, as Navsari is shown in Ptolemy's map."* But it is probable, that the Parsees, finding the name of the place similar to that of a town in Persia, persianized it a little.

* Nusarîpa. Ptolemæi Geographiæ Libri octo Græco-Latini, à Petro Montano recogniti. (Fol Amsterdam, 1605), p. 168.

³ XIV; p. 302.

The first grant, found in Thana, is that of the King Aricésari Dêvarâja of the Silhâra dynasty in Saka 939 (*i.e.*, A. D. 1018).¹

The words of the grant, referring to the city of Hanyamana as translated by Pandit Râmalochan and communicated by General Carnac, are as follow :—

“The fortunate Aricésari Dêvarâja, Sovereign of the great circle, thus addresses even all who inhabit the city Sri Sthânaca, his own kinsmen and others there assembled, princes, counsellors, priests, ministers, superiors, inferiors, subject to his commands, also the lords of districts, the Governors of towns, chiefs of villages, the masters of families, employed or unemployed servants of the King, and his countrymen. Thus he greets all the holy men and others inhabiting the city of Hanyamana.”²

The second grant referred to by the *Gazetteer*, is that of Chhittarâjadeva, Mahâmaṇḍalésvara of Konkau in Saka 948 (*i.e.*, 1026 A. D.)³. The plate of the grant belonged to Mr. Hormusji Cursetji Ashburner, and was found on his family property near Bhandup in about 1836. The donor of the grant is Chhittarâjadeva of the Silâhâra or Silâra dynasty, and the donee is one Âmadevaiya. The field granted “was situated in the village of Noura, now Nowohor, belonging to the *vishaya* or tâlukâ of Shatshashthî, the modern Salsette, and included in Shris-thânaka or Thânâ.”⁴ The words of the grant, where the town of Hanjaman is referred to, are as follow :—

“The great provincial chief, the illustrious Chhittarâjadeva addresses with salutations, worship, and respect all the assembled men of royal caste, ministers, Purohitas, councillors, chief and minor officials, whether connected with himself or strangers, as well as the lords of *râshtras* (zillâs), the lords of *vishayas* (tâlukâs), the lords of towns, the lords of villages, officials, and non-official persons, servants of the king, and *rayats*, likewise the citizens of the town of Hanyamana,⁵ belonging to the three (twice-born) castes and others as follows”⁶

¹ Asiatic Researches, Vol. I., p. 357.

² *Ibid.*, p. 361.

³ Indian Antiquary, Vol. V., p. 276, Sept. 1876—Article by Dr. Bühler.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 277.

⁵ The words in the Sanskrit text are हंयमननगरपौरत्रिवर्गप्रभृतींश्च *Ibid.*, p. 273, plate H. A., l. 11.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 280, col. 1.

The third grant¹ is that of the illustrious Mahâmaṇḍalésvara, King Anantadêva, the emperor of Konkan in Saka 1016 (i.e., 1094 A. D.). The donees are "two persons,— the great Minister Sri Bhabhāṇa Sreshṭhi... and his brother."² The subject of the grant is the release of the toll duties. The words of the grant are as follow :—

"Illustrious Mahâmaṇḍlésvara king Anantadêva, announces with salutations, honour, respect, and directions, to all princes, councillors, priests, ministers, principal and subordinate officers,— both those connected with himself and others, as also all heads of *râshtras*, heads of *vishayas*, heads of towns, heads of villages, royal officials specially appointed or not, country people, as well as townspeople of the town Hanjamana of the three classes and so forth"³

The translators of these three grants have thrown no light upon the word Hanyamana or Hanjamana. The translators of the first two grants, Pandit Râmalochan and Dr. Bühler, have said nothing about it. The translator of the third grant, Mr. Justice Telang, says about this word: "I do not understand this."⁴ Further on he says: "I can say nothing about Hanjamana."⁵

It is probable, that Hanjaman was another name, by which the Parsee town of Sanjân was known by the Hindu rulers and by the people. Two facts are disclosed by the Silhâra grants.

Firstly, the donors address the tenor of their grants in general terms to all the people of the country, to members of the royal family, to their high and low officials, to officials and non-officials, to all their *rayat*, and then make a special reference to the people of the town of Hanjamana. Why were these people not included in the general terms of the address in the general term '*rayat*'? What was the reason of separately addressing the people of the town of Hanjamana? Did not the people of that town form a part and parcel of the *rayat* of the donor-princes? The

¹ Indian Antiquary, Vol. IX., p. 33, February 1880—Article by the late Mr. Justice Telang.

² *Ibid.*, p. 38, col. 2.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 38, col. 1. The words in the text about the town of Hanjamana are हंजमननगर पौरतृ (त्रि) वर्गप्रभृतीश्च. *Ibid.*, p. 35, Plate III., l. 10, (l. 72 of the grant).

⁴ Indian Antiquary, Vol. IX., p. 38, n. 45

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 44, col. 1.

reason seems to be, that the Parsee emigrants, though they were the subjects of the ruling princes, formed a separate community of themselves. They founded and formed, as it were, a separate colony of their people. They were alien foreigners, not only in the matter of their origin and descent, but in their religion. Hence the necessity of addressing them separately as a foreign community.

Secondly, the inhabitants of this town of Hanjamana, which is named separately in the grants, are spoken of in the first grant as "the holy men and others inhabiting the town of Hanjamana." In the second grant, they are spoken of, as "the citizens of the town of Hanjamana belonging to the three (twice-born) castes." In the third grant also, they are spoken of, as "the townspeople of the town Hanjamana of the three classes."

These special terms of reference, and especially the words "the holy men" in the first grant, tend to show that the people of the town belonged to the priestly class. In the second and third grants, the town is spoken of as belonging to "त्रिवर्णं *i.e.*, the three classes." Dr. Bühler, while translating the second grant, translates the word त्रिवर्णं by three castes, and adds the word "twice born" in brackets after the word "three." We are not in a position to know, why he adds this word, but, possibly, he thinks that the reference is to the three castes of Brâhmins, Kshatriyas, and the Vaishyas, who, are generally called Dvijas, *i. e.*, the twice-born. But we must bear in mind, that the word used in the grants is वर्णं not वर्ण, *i. e.*, class, not caste. Mr. Justice Telang has correctly translated it by the word 'classes'. Again, if the donors meant to refer to the three Hindu castes, there was no special necessity, as we said above, of separating the three Hindu castes of the town of Hanjamana, from the similar three castes in the other parts of the country or from the whole *rayat*.

I think, that the reference here is to the three classes of the priestly class of the Parsees.

In the Avesta, we find the Âthravans (the priestly class corresponding to the Brâhmins) called Thrâyavan.¹ This word is

¹ यथैवमिदं यथैवमिदं Yasht Khordâd 10 ; Yasht Beheram 46 ; Yasht Âbân 86.

variously translated by different translators. Dastur Edalji Sanjânâ, Spiegel, Harlez, Darmsteter, Kanga and Tebmuras have translated it in various ways. Anquetil has translated it "Chef pur des trois Ordres," *i.e.*, the "holy chief of three orders." Kânga has translated it त्रय पथवाणे, *i.e.*, of three religious orders. These three classes referred to, are the three grades of the priestly class—(1) the Dasturs, (2) the Mobads, and (3) the Herbad. These are the three grades of the priestly class referred to by the Saddar.¹

This word "thrâyavan" of the Avesta, then, corresponds to the त्रिवर्ग (trivarg) of the Silhâra copper-plate grants.

Thus, then, the town of Hanjamana seems to have been called the town of three classes, because, perhaps, the Parsee emigrants mostly consisted of the priestly class. We find from the Kisseh-i-Sanjân, that the leader of the emigrants, who went before the ruling prince (Jâdi Rânâ), was a Dastur. We also learn from it, that the prince, before allotting any land to them, liked to know something about their religion, manners, and customs. The Dastur explained these to the prince in Sanskrit. A description of this explanation is preserved among the Parsees, in the form of Sanskrit *shlokas*. From this, and from the description, given by the Dastur, as noted in the Kisseh-i-Sanjân, it appears, that the Dastur's narrative of some of their beliefs and observances may have led the king to think, that they all belonged to the sacerdotal class.

It is for this reason, perhaps, that the king and his successors took all the Parsee colonists to be of the priestly class. Hence, their town is referred to, as the town of the three grades (classes), in which the priestly class of the Parsees is divided. Again, the final reply of the Hindoo prince shows, that he was pleased with the new-comers as belonging to a holy class of foreigners. He thus blesses them according to the *shlokas* :—

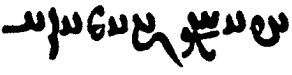
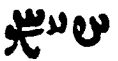
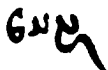
" O Parsees ! May God grant you a progeny of children. May He grant you success and victory. May the immortal Fire grant you victory. May you be free from sins. May you always be holy. May the Sun be auspicious to you for ever. Always revere the

¹ S. B. E. XXIV., West, Ch. XCIX, 3.

Sun. May your desires be fulfilled. Take whatever land you desire in my country. May your respect and honour increase. O Parsces! if any ignorant people will look at you (with an idea to injure you), I will smite them. May you be successful over them. May riches be your lot."¹

According to the Kisseh-i-Sanjân, the prince took great interest in their spiritual welfare and even helped them to erect a fire-temple, wherein he also gave some offering.

Now, the question arises, if, by the word Hanjamana, the Silhâra grants, referred to the new Parsee town of Sanjân, as pointed out by the *Gazetteer*, why was the town so called? What does it signify?

Hanjamana  is an Avestaic word, meaning "an assembly." It comes from Avesta  "han," Sanskrit सन or सङ्, Lat. con, Gr. syn, meaning together, and  jam, Sanskrit गम to go. The literal meaning would be, "a place where people go together, i.e., meet." If the word could be rendered into Sanskrit, its equivalent would be सम गम or संगम, i.e., a place of junction or meeting. It is now used in the sense of "assembly." How are we then to account for the two names, Hanjamana and Sanjân? We can account for it in two ways.

Firstly, the early Parsees may have named their new town Sanjân, and possibly knew it also by the name of Hanjamana, i. e., an assembly, because all the emigrants met there together. The Hindu rulers, instead of calling the new town by its name Sanjân, which was, as it were, an alien name to them, being originally the name of a town in Persia, chose to know it by its second name, which pointed out its purpose, and the meaning of which they could easily understand, the word being similar to a corresponding Sanskrit word.

¹ Translated from a Gujarati version of the Slokas belonging to Mr. Manockjee Rustomjee Unwâlâ. For all the 16 slokas, *vide* Dastur Aspandyârjêe Kamdin's ક્રીમ તાલીખ પારસીઆની સ્તર (1826), pp. 129—146.

Secondly, the similarity of the two names, Hanjamana and Sanjân, suggests the idea, that possibly Hanjamana and Sanjân may be one and the same name. Hanjamana was the original name, given to the new town by the Parsees, and Sanjân was its later corrupted or Sanskritised form. The Avesta 'h' becomes 's' in Sanskrit, as in the case of the Avesta Hapta Hindu, which has become Sapta Sindhu in Sanskrit. So Sanjân may be the later Sanskritised form of Hanjamana, which would be at first Sangama in Sanskrit. But then, one would point to the Kisseh-i-Sanjân, saying, that according to that book, it was the early Parsees, who themselves gave the name of Sanjân to that town. But, we can explain that fact by saying, that the book, though written on the authority of oral traditions, was written as late as 1600 A.D., *i.e.*, about 900 years after the event. So the writer, instead of giving the original name of the town, as given by the early Parsees, gave the name, by which the town was known in his time.

APPENDIX.

There is one other Arab Geographer who also refers to one Sindân. It is Albiruni.¹ The passage referring to this town, as translated by Elliot, runs thus :

“After traversing the gulf you come to the small and big mouths of the Indus ; then to the Bawârij, who are pirates, and are so called because they commit their depredations in boats called Baira. Their cities are Kach and Somnât. From Debal to Tûlîshar is fifty parasangs ; to Loharânî, twelve ; to Baka, twelve ; to Kach, the country producing gum, and bâdrûd (river Bhader), six ; to Somnât, fourteen ; to Kambâya, thirty ; to Asâwal, two days' journey ; to Bahruj, thirty ; to Sindân, fifty ; to Sufârâ, six ; to Tâna, five.”

Prof. Dowson, the editor of Elliot's History, identifies the Bahruj of Albiruni with Broach, and says² “Albiruni makes the distance from Broach to Sindân fifty parasangs³ and from Sindân to Sufârâ

¹ Elliot's History of India, I., pp. 65—66, Albiruni's Text by Sachau, p. 102, l. 12.

² Elliot, I., pp. 402-3.

³ A parasang (or farsang) varies from 2½ miles to 4 miles in different countries. Ousley and Kinneir take it to be 3¼ miles. Elliot, *Ibid* I., p. 400, n. 1.

six parasangs. Abû-l Fida says that Sindân was the last city of Guzerât, and the first of Manibâr (Malabâr), three days' journey from Tâna. It is hardly possible to reconcile all these statements, but there seems to be sufficient evidence for making Sindân the most southerly. It was on a bay or estuary a mile and a half from the sea, and the modern Damân is probably its present representative. Subârâ was similarly situated at the same distance from the sea and finds a likely successor in Surat."

We see here, that Prof. Dowson tries to identify Sindân with Damân and Subârâ with Surat. The great dissimilarity in names suggests, that this identification is not correct. The distance of Sindân from Broach as given here is [50 (Sindân)—30 (Bahruj) = 20 days' journey, *i. e.*] about 600 miles. Again Prof. Dowson is wrong in inferring, that Albiruni makes the distance from Broach to Sindân fifty parasangs. Albiruni speaks of the distance of Sindân from Debal (and not from Broach) as fifty days' journey.