

ASIATIC PAPERS

PART II

PAPERS READ BEFORE THE
BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

BY

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A few Notes on Broach
from an Antiquarian point of view.

(Read March 15th, 1907.)

In December last, Khan Bahadur Adurjee Muncherjee Dalal conveyed to me an invitation from himself and his colleagues, the Trustees of the Parsee Panchayet of Broach, to pay a visit to their city for the purpose of delivering there one or two lectures and a reading from the *Shah-nâme* of Firdousi. In response to this kind invitation, I paid a short visit to Broach from 31st December to 3rd January. While there, I made some inquiries on a subject suggested to me by our learned Secretary, Mr. Edwardes, some time ago, and on two or three other subjects suggested by the visit to the city. The object of this paper is to present a few notes on those subjects.

The following are the principal three heads under which I beg to submit my notes :—

- I.—The sites of the Dutch and English Factories.
- II.—The past history of Broach from a Parsi point of view and the part said to have been played in that history by the *Kabiseh* (i.e., the intercalary month) question of the Parsis.
- III.—The *Kabir Vad* and the *tiraths* or shrines on the Nerbudda near Broach.

I.

The first subject on which I beg to present a few notes is that of the sites of the first English and Dutch factories. Our Secretary had written to me, in June 1905, to make some inquiries from friends at Broach, about the site of the first English factory. On 28th June 1905, I had written to my friend, Mr. Ruttonjee Muncherjee Dalal, requesting him to make such inquiries. On 21st August 1905, he wrote to me in reply giving the results of his inquiries. During my short visit I took up the question myself and made some inquiries personally.

The *Broach Gazetteer* says : "In the year 1613, Broach was visited by Aldworth and Withington, English merchants, and in the next year (1614), on Withington's return from Sind, a house in Broach was hired for a factory. In 1616, Sir Thomas Roe obtained from the Emperor Jehângier permission for the English to establish a trading-house at Broach on very favourable terms. They were to be allowed to live near the Governor, and the decree commanded no man to molest them by sea or land or take any customs of them¹ The Dutch were not long of following the example of the English. In 1617 they also settled at Broach and established a factory.² But the Broach factory does not seem to have risen to much consequence. In the eighteenth century there was but one junior merchant³ and one book-keeper, with a few native servants under them⁴" (Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. II, p. 468.)

It appears from this account that the English (A.D. 1614) preceded the Dutch (1617) in founding their factory by about 3 years.

The site of the Dutch factory at Broach is well-known. There is no doubt about it. The large house⁵ in which it was situated is still known as the *Valandâni Kothi*, i.e., the factory of the Hollanders. In spite of the various changes which it seems to have

¹ Robert Orme gives the following version of Sir Thomas Roe in the matter of these concessions :—

"The two and twentieth (of July 1616) I received letters from Brampore, in answer of those to Mahobet Chan, who at *first* (request) granted my desire, making his firman to Barooch most effectual to receive our nation, and to give them a house near the Governor; strictly commanding no man to molest them by sea or land, or to take any *custome* of them, or any way trouble them under colour thereof. . . . The firman I caused to be sent to Surat (in order to be forwarded by the agency there to Broach): so that Barooch is provided for a good retreat from the Prince's injuries, and the custom given, whereby fifteen hundred pounds per annum will be saved besides all manner of searches and extortion."—(Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire of the Morattœs, and of the English concerns in Indostan from the year 1659, by Robert Orme (1805), pp. 371-72).

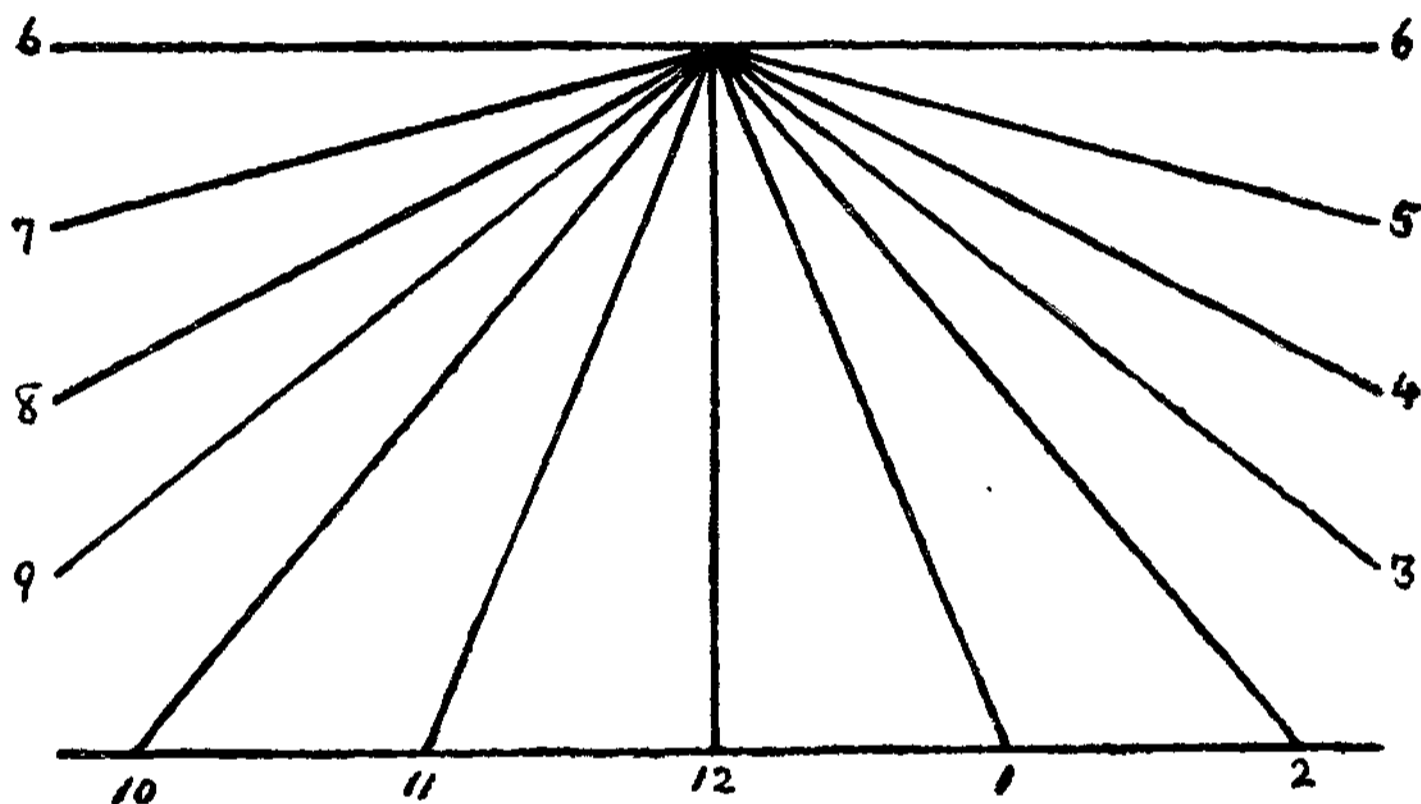
² Mr. Bendien, the Bombay Consul for Holland, has, after the above paper was read, kindly sent me copies of his articles on the Dutch in Broach. He gives Pieter Gillesen as the name of this first factor (*Vide* his articles on the Dutch factories in the *Neerlandia* of January and February 1907. *Vide* the February issue p. 26 for this reference).

³ Jan Willem Six "Secundo" in the inscription in his tomb. *Vide infra*, p. 67.

⁴ "The factory at Baroche was established in the year 1617, and is still continued, yet with very little circumstance, for there is but one junior merchant, and one book-keeper, who reside there as factors, and who have a few native servants under them."—"Voyages to the East Indies by the late John Splinter Stavorinus," translated from the Dutch by Wilcocke, Vol. III (1798), pp. 108-09.)

⁵ According to Mr. Bendien the factory bears on the gate "as an inscription" the initials of the Company. (The Dutch East India Company. V with an 'o' and 'e' in the legs of V.)

gone through, for being adopted for small residential quarters, it still bears an inscription on the inside of a wall. I give below the form of the sun-dial with the inscription on it as copied by me from a distance on 31st December 1906. The dial with an inscription is within the court-yard of the factory on the top of the inside part of a wall abutting on a public road. The inscription on it bears the Christian year 1700 and the name of F. J. Groenevelt (F. J. Groenevelt, Anno 1700). Above this inscription appear the initials of the Dutch Company.



The site of the first English factory is not known. But oral tradition, as heard there, says that the very house which was the seat of the Dutch factory was later on the place of the English factory. So, it appears that the English factory was, latterly, when the Dutch left it, transferred to this house. It is not known where it was when it was first founded.

The Dutch must have remained at least about 175 years at Broach. This appears from some of the dates on the tombs in their cemetery. This cemetery is situated about a little on the west of the village of Vijalpore, at a short distance from where the Parsi Towers-of-Silence stand. The *Gazetteer* says of the Dutch tombs that "these monuments bear dates ranging from 1654 to 1770."¹ It would have been well, had the *Broach Gazetteer* which appeared in 1877, published the inscriptions on the tombs which are falling in ruins.

¹ *Broach Gazetteer*, p. 559.

The Dutch cemetery is an interesting place to see, because the construction of the tombs in it seems to be different from what we see in the case of tombs in modern English cemeteries in India.¹ I give the photographs of two of them at the end of this paper. I am indebted for these to Khan Bahadur Adurjee Muncherjee Dalal of Broach. On entering from the west we find a tomb with a platform containing four seats. Then there is a block containing three tombs. This block seems to have had a tablet which is removed. There is another block containing six tombs, one tomb has the form of a Mahomedan dome over it. One can count the ruins of about 20 tombs besides a few masonry mounds. In close proximity we find a small ruin like that of a basin of water.

I beg to suggest that careful photographs of all the tombs and especially of the inscriptions may be soon taken. I have taken copies of the inscriptions.

I wrote about a fortnight ago to Mr. Couzens, the head of the Archæological Department, to ascertain, if the inscriptions are published by his Department in any report. I have not heard from him yet. This week I took my copy of the inscription to the Dutch Consulate here to get it translated. Mr. J. G. Bendien, the Consul, having gone to Holland, I saw Mr. Y. Von Rykoun, the head of the Holland-Bombay Trading Company. He could not give me a correct translation, because being in a foreign language and being very old, I have not been able, in a hasty visit, to copy the inscriptions well. I had requested a gentleman at Broach to kindly get a good photo taken of them, but he has not done so yet. However I learnt from Mr. Rykoun that the Dutch Consul, Mr. Bendien, had once visited the Dutch cemetery, and taken a photo of the inscriptions. He has published these in a Dutch paper in Holland. I have written to Mr. Bendien to send us a copy with its translation. When received it will be worth publishing in our journal.²

¹ Mr. Bellasis, while describing the old tombs in the cemeteries of Surat, assigns the following reasons for the grandeur of these old tombs: "The Agents of these several nations vied with each other to live in the greatest splendour Men who lived in such grandeur may naturally be supposed to have emulated each other in creating ostentatious tombs to commemorate their dead ; and thus we find the sepuchral ruins in the cemeteries of Surat, even at the present day, bearing witness to the large sums that must have been expended for these purposes." (Journal B. B. R. A. S. Vol. VI, pp. 146-47.) As Mr. Bellasis says, an idea of the grandeur of the Dutch tombs at Surat may be formed "by the fact of a bill being extant, charging Rs. 6,700 to the Dutch Company for mere repairs" (Ibid, p. 19).

² *Vide* Appendix to this paper. As I have latterly received copies of the Inscriptions more carefully taken by Mr. Bendien, the Dutch Consul, I give them in the Appendix. Mine being those by one not knowing the language are naturally faulty.

While on the subject of the inscriptions on the Dutch tombs, I beg to draw the attention of a future reviser or editor of a second edition of the *Gazetteer* of the Broach district to several errors in the copies of the inscriptions of two other tombs as given in the *Gazetteer*.

The *Gazetteer* gives the inscriptions on two tombs near the village of Vijalpore. I give my copy of the inscription of the tomb of one which I saw, *viz.*, that of Capt. W. Semple :—

Two Inscriptions corrected.

Beneath this stone
are deposited the remains of
Captain William Semple,¹
of His ² Majesty's 86th Regiment,
who was killed by
cannon shot
at the siege of Broach
on the 25th of August 1803.
Universally and most sincerely
regretted by all³ his
brother Officers.

To us, who are nearer the time, the mistakes may appear trivial, but after several centuries they, especially the mistake of "Her Majesty" for "His Majesty," may cause serious doubts about the date. A future student of historical data may, in the absence of other materials to put him on the right track, long linger in doubts about the date. If he takes the word "Her Majesty" to be correct, he may think, that perhaps the year 1803, given later on, may be a mistake for 1893 or for some other year. If he takes the date as correct, he may linger in doubts about the period of Her Majesty's reign.

I found similar carelessness on the part of either the copyist or the printers, in the matter of the inscription on the slab in the compound of the Civil Hospital within the fort on the grave of Brigadier David Wedderburn, who was killed while storming the city. He is the officer who is often referred to with curses and maledictions by Abas Alli in

¹ The name is not Sempie as given by the *Gazetteer*.

² The *Gazetteer* gives "Her Majesty," which is not, and cannot be, correct, as the year is 1803 when the late Queen had not come to the throne.

³ The *Gazetteer* omits this word.

his Urdu Kisseh-i-Broach to which I will refer later on. I give below a list of the errors and my amendments :—

Line of the inscription as given in the Gazetteer.	The Gazetteer's errors.	Correction.
Line 6	July 26th, 1861	July 22nd 1761.
„ 6	arrived ...	arrived here.
„ 8	Supreme Highness	Serene Highness.
„ 16	Kirk Denkun (?)	Kirch Denckern.
„ 16	Hillock ...	Hiltrup.
„ 18	Luxenburg	Lunenburg.
„ 20	pounds, was made	pounds, and was made.
„ 26	The troops	Their Troops.

To come back to the subject of the Dutch factory, the ancestors of Mr. Doolabhbai Hargovandass (डुलभभाई हुरगोवनदास,) who is now living, were in possession of a part of the Dutch factory building. One of these ancestors, Kisorebhai Tricumbhai (कीसोरभाई त्रिकुम्भाई), was the broker or agent of the Dutch factory. He had relations with the Dutch in connection with their four factories of Agra, Ahmedabad, Broach and Surat. When the English took Broach, they made the place too hot for the Dutch. So they left it, but the factors being indebted to the broker, Mr. Kisorebhai, they gave him the factory-house in settlement for their debt. Laloobhai Divan, whose name is mentioned more than once in the Urdu account of the Nawab of Broach, as one who played false to his master the Nawab, and secretly assisted the British, then had it in mortgage from the proprietor for a small sum. He is said to have obtained it under a threat, saying, that, if the then owner did not mortgage it to him, he (Laloobhai) would ask the British to loot it. They mortgaged it to him with a curse that the owner may not be happy. So, the curse was said to live long on the subsequent owners, who, all in turn, are said to have been ruined in their business. The building is said to have once passed into the hands of Mr. Merwanji Frazer of Surat and of Mr. Merwanji Framji Panday of Bombay. I give this account on the authority of a member of the family. I had no other means to verify it.

II.

The next subject which drew my attention during my visit, and on which I beg to submit a few notes, is its past history especially from a Parsee point of view. It is said that the Parsees had, in more than one place, some hand, however small it may be, in the establishment

of the British power in this Presidency. Now, in the case of Broach, the information has come to me as a surprise, that it was the religious dispute, which the Parsees had among themselves in the 18th century on the question of the Kabiseh or the intercalary day, that had something to do, though indirectly and though very little, with the conquest of Broach by the British. The fact has been recorded, not by a Parsee author, but by a Mahomedan author who was a favourite courtier of the Nawab of Broach.

Before coming to this subject, I will put down here in brief (A) a short outline of the history of Broach from a Parsee point of view and (B) of the events that had brought about the rule of the Nawabs in Broach.

Firstly, taking a bird's eye view of the history of Broach from (A) History from the point of view of the modern Parsees and the Parsee point of their ancestors, the ancient Persians we determine the following land-marks :—

1. Fireshtë dwells at some length on the early connection of India with the ancient Persians, beginning with the very early dynasties of the Peshdâdians and the Kiânians. He makes an Indian king Krishna a contemporary of the Iranian monarch Tahmurasp and then traces the relations, both friendly and hostile, subsisting at one time or another, between the Indian and the Persian kings. We would lay aside this narrative as one not standing on certain historical ground.

2. We have the authority of the Behistun Cuneiform inscriptions to say, that there was a closer connection between India and Persia, the former being one of the satrapies of the latter. But we would lay aside the consideration of that connection also, as we are not sure whether the influence of Persia extended so far as Broach.

3. But when we come to the Parthian times, we stand upon somewhat surer grounds. Fireshtë speaks of an Indian king Sinsârchand and says that he paid tribute to the Iranian king Godrez. Briggs says that this Sinsârchand was the Chandragupta of the Hindus and the Sandrocotus of the Greeks (Brigg's Ferishta, Vol. I.). Now we know, that there was a king of the name of Godrez among the Parthian line of kings. The Sinsârchand, with whom his relations are referred to, seems to be, not Chandragupta himself, but one of his successors.

Again in the second century before Christ some of the Bactrian kings are said to have sent expeditions to the south so far as Cutch and Gujerat (181-167 B.C.). Here then we see, that with the successes of these expeditions in Gujerat, Broach must have passed for some time into

the hands of the Parthian kings of Persia. It continued for some time under the Parthian rule. It is to this fact, that the Gazetteer of Surat and Broach refers, when it says: "About 1,800 years ago, Broach seems to have passed into the hands of Parthian princes, known by the name of Sâhas or Kshatrapas. Rudradâman's Girnâr inscription, dated in the year seventy-two, probably of the Sâka era (A.D. 150), states this distinctly, and the occurrence of Sâha coins in the Broach District confirms it."¹

Menander to whom Prof. Wilson assigns the date B.C. 126, was connected with Parthia. He held paramount authority in Saurashtra. According to the author of the Periplus his coins were current in Broach in the first century after Christ.²

4. Coming to Sassanian times, we find Wilford³ saying that Gand'harva, referred to in the Agni Purâna and known as the Gadhârupa in Indian history, was the same as Behrâmgour of Persian history. In my paper on "The Bas-relief of Behrâmgour at Naksha-i-Rustam, and his marriage with an Indian Princess",⁴ I have added a few points of similarity to those advanced by Wilford to prove the identity. Now, Wilford says of this monarch that Hindus "show to this day (1809), the place where he (Behrâmgour or Gadhârupa) lived about one day's march to the north of Broach, with the ruins of his palace. In old records, this place is called Gad'hendra-puri or the town of the lord of asses. The present name is Goshêrâ or Ghojârâ for Ghosha-râyâ or Ghosha-râjâ : for, says my Pandit, who is a native of that country, the inhabitants, being ashamed of its true name, have softened it into Ghoshera, which has no meaning."⁵ According to Firdousi, the throne of Kanaouj passed, by virtue of the last testament of Sangel, the Hindu king, to the Persian king Behrâmgour and his heirs. This confirms what Wilford says that "the dynasty of the Gardabhinâs is probably that of the descendants and successors of Behrâm Gur in Persia. The princes in the north-western parts of India were vassals of the Persian kings at a very early period ; and the father-in-law of Behrâm-Gur used to send a yearly tribute to them."⁶

The legend on a set of old Indian coins, popularly known as "Gadhia-ka paisâ," supports the fact of Behrâmgour's visit to India and his marriage with an Indian princess, the daughter of the king of

¹ Bombay Gazetteer, Surat and Broach, Vol. II, p. 464.

² Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. VII, pp. 35-36.

³ Asiatic Researches, IX, pp. 147-151.

⁴ Read before the B. B. R. A. S. on 17th Dec. 1894 Journal, B. B. R. A. S., XIX., pp. 58-75.

⁵ Asiatic Researches, IX, p. 151.

⁶ *Ibid*, p. 155.

Kanouj referred to by Wilford. Prinsep affords us very valuable help on this point. In his essay on Saurâstra coins he says that the type of the series of Indian coins known as Gadhia-ka paisâ is an "example of imitation of a Grecian original,"¹ and that "a comparison (of these coins) with the coins of the Arsakian and Sassanian dynasties of Persia, which are confessedly of Greek origin," satisfactorily proves that. Prinsep says on the subject of these coins : "The popular name for these rude coins—of silver and copper—is, according to Burnes, in Gujarât, 'Gadhia-ka paisâ,' 'Ass money,' or rather, 'the money of Gadhia,' a name of Vikramâditya. . . . The Hindus insist that this Vikrama was not a paramount sovereign of India, but only a powerful king of the western provinces, his capital being Cambât or Cambay : and it is certain that the princes of these parts were tributary to Persia from a very early period. The veteran antiquarian, Wilford, would have been delighted, could he have witnessed a confirmation of his theories afforded by the coins before us, borne out by the local tradition of a people now unable even to guess at the nature of the curious and barbarous marks on them. None but a professed studier of coins could possibly have discovered on them the profile of a face after the Persian model, on one side, and the actual Sassanian fire altar on the other ; yet such is indubitably the case, as an attentive consideration of the accumulation of lines and dots (on the figures of the coins) will prove. Should this fire-altar be admitted as proof of an Indo-Sassanian dynasty in Saurâshtra, we may find the date of its establishment in the epoch of Yesdijird, the son of Behrâm-Gor ; supported by the concurrent testimony of the Agni-purâna, that Vikrama, the son of Gadhâ-rupa, should ascend the throne of Mâlayâ (Ujjain) 753 years after the expiation of Chânakya or A.D. 441."²

A painting in the Âjanta caves refers to a Persian embassy to India. This also seems to refer to Behrâmgour, who, according to Firdousi, came in disguise as his own ambassador.

We have so far seen, that ancient Persians had some connection with the country round Broach, and that old tradition, as found in the Agni-purâna, and old coins proves that connection.

Now, we will speak of the connection of Broach with the early Parsee settlers in India.

(a) Div in Kathiâwâr was the first port where a band of refugees from Persia had landed in 761 A.D., and Sanjân the first place where they made their permanent settlement in 785 A.D. and built their first fire-temple in 790 A.D. They continued there for full 300 years.

¹ Essays on Indian Antiquities, by James Prinsep, edited by E. Thomas (1858), Vol. I, p. 335.

² *Ibid*, pp. 341-42.

Then they began to disperse in the different cities of Gujarat of which Broach was one.

The Kisseh-i-Sanjan, thus refers to this exodus from Sanjan ¹ :

بدینسان سال سیصد شد کم و بیش — وزانجا چند مردم شد کم و بیش
پراگنده شده در کشور هند — بهر جانب گرفته جای دلبنده
بدانکانیر بعضی رو نهادند — کسان در جانب بروج فتادند

Translation.—In this way, passed away 300 years, more or less (*i.e.*, about 300 years), as several persons, more or less, went away from that place. They were dispersed in the country of India and they got hold of (*i.e.*, took abode in) attractive places in all directions. Many went to Bânkânir. Some went in the direction of Broach.

(*b*) This was in 1096. Two hundred years after this event, *i.e.*, in 1270 A.D. they divided Gujarat into five *panthaks*, *i.e.*, ecclesiastical divisions for the performance of sacerdotal functions. This was to avoid differences and quarrels among the priesthood about the spheres of their work. The Kisseh-i-Zarthushtiân-i-Hindustân thus speaks of this event. ²

یکی روز هم دانای سنجان — جمع گشتند و بستند عهد ازجان
کنیم تقسیم مایان این هم جای — که هر جا هست بهدینان خوشترای
هم جارا بکرده پنج تقسیم — نخست سنجان که سرحدش بدان بیم
که حد او بود ای مرد خوشطور — ز رود پار تا آن رود دنتور
هم بهدین که چون در حد سنجان — بحکم موبدان باشند باجان
دگر تقسیم نوساری همی دان — بداده موبدانرا از دل و جان
ز رود پار تا آن رود بریاو — هم نوساریانرا اندر آن تاو
مجال کسی نباشد در اینجا — هم حد خود سازند ملجا
تو کوداره بدان تقسیم سیوم — ز بریاو تا اوکلسرای نیکو بوم
کنند آنجا هم کوداریان کار — بجان و دل هم موبد شوند یار
تو تقسیم چهارم ای نیکودان — بدان بهروچ کو گویم حد و پیمان
ز اوکلیسر که تا کنبایت دانی — هم سرحد بهروچیان بدانی
تو دانی تقسیم پنجم ای نیکو مرد — بگویم تا شد و معلوم ای رد
که کنبایت بگفته مرد دانا — بدینسان کرد شهر و ماوا
هم دانای سنجان اینچنین کار — بکرده تا نباشد کین و پیکار

¹ *Vide* my "A few Events in the Early History of the Parsees," p. 14

² *Vide Ibid*, pp. 16-17.

Translation.—“ One day all the wise men of Sanjan assembled and entered into a contract sincerely. (They said :) “ We will divide all these places where there are laymen of good thoughts.” They divided all these places into five parts. First is Sanjan, whose limit was in that direction. O men of good nature ! its limit is from the river Pâr to that of Dantur. All the laymen, when they are within the limits of Sanjan, may be willingly under the orders of the Mobads (thereof). Know the other division to be Naôsâri. It was given to the Mobads with all heart and life (*i.e.*, with a sincere heart). All (the country) from the river Pâr to the river Bariâv, was under the power of the Naôsariâns (*i.e.*, the Naosari Mobad). Nobody else would have any control therein. All would have security in their own jurisdiction. O good-natured man ! Know the third division to be Godareh from Bariâv to Aklesar. All the Godârians will officiate at that place, and all the Mobads may be friendly with their heart and soul. O man of good knowledge ! Know the fourth division to be Broach, whose limit and measurement, I will now tell you. Know that (division) to be from Aklesar to Khambâyet. Know all that to be the limit of the people of Broach. O good man ! Know the fifth division. O leader ! I will tell that to you, so that you may know it. Wise men have named it Khambâyet. In this way they have divided the towns and places. The wisemen of Sanjân have done this work (of division), so that there may be no quarrel and dispute.”

(c) A good number of Parsees must have settled in Broach before this date (1290 A.D.) of the division of *panthaks* or ecclesiastical jurisdictions. On the authority of a manuscript book of a Hindu gentleman at Baroda, Khan Bahadur Bomanji Byramji Patel, says that a brick Tower-of-Silence was built at Broach in Samvat 1365, *i.e.*, 1309 A.D. A brick tower even earlier than this is said to have been built there. I saw the ruins of a brick Tower-of-Silence on the 1st of January 1907. Though the outside of it shows very little difference from the modern towers, the inside seems to differ a good deal. For example we do not find in it different rows for males, females and children as are found in the modern towers.

(d) We learn from the Persian Revayets, that Broach continued to be a Parsee centre for several centuries. In the letters received from the Zoroastrians of Persia by the Parsees of India, in reply to their questions on various religious subjects, we find Broach specially named, as one of the Parsee towns. The following Revayets mention the name of Broach.

1. The Revayet of 847 Yazdardi (1478 A.D.) brought from Persia by Narimân Hoshang.

The Revayet of 850 Yazdazardi (1481) brought by Narimān Hoshang.

2. The Revayet of 1511 A.D. brought by an unnamed messenger.
3. The Revayet of 1533 brought by Kâus Kâmdin.
4. The Revayet of 1626 brought by Bahman Aspandyâr.
5. The Revayet of 1627 brought by Bahman Poonjieh.

Not only did Broach Parsees take a part in these enquiries on religious subjects, but, at times, they sent messengers to Persia for the purpose from their own town. For example Narimān Hoshang, the messenger who went to Persia in 1478 and 1481 was a Parsee of Broach. Again Kâus Mahyar, who went to Persia in 1597 A.D., and Kaus Rustam Jelal, who went in 1768, belonged to Broach.

Now I will give here a short outline of the events that had brought about the rule of the Nawābs, in the reigns of the last two of whom, the Kabiseh controversy of the Parsees seems to have raged a good deal, and is said to have had an influence on the state of affairs then prevailing.

(B) The rule of the Nabobs. In 1660 Aurangzeb got the city walls destroyed, because the city had long withstood his siege during the time of his war with his brothers. In 1675 the Mahrattas under Sivajee attacked the town and levied contributions. Finding the city without a wall for protection they returned in 1686 under Sivajee's son Sambhajee and plundered it. So, Aurangzeb ordered the city walls to be built again.¹

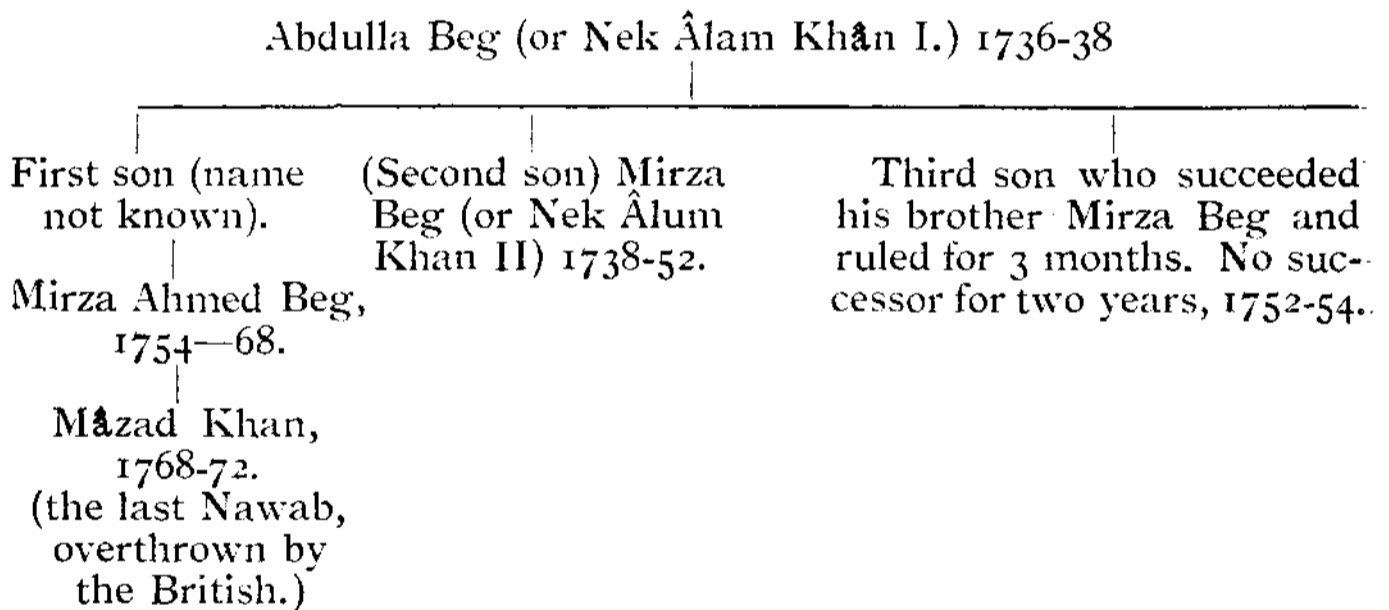
In 1696 Avory, an English pirate, had plundered several Mahomedan pilgrim ships. So, the English factory at Broach was closed like that at Surat and the British factors put into chains. In 1702 matters seem to have improved and the factory was again working. Before the middle of the 18th century the English and the Dutch both had withdrawn their factories. The Dutch returned sometime before 1772. In 1772 the English conquered Broach. It remained in their possession for about 10 years. In 1782 it was given to the Peishwa and in 1803 it was taken back by the British and is in their possession since that time.

¹ The *Broach Gazetteer*, II, p. 468.

Hamilton says. "In Aurangzeb's wars with his brothers, about the year 1660, this town held out a great while against his army. That season proving a dr one Aurangzeb's folks suffered much for want of fresh water and provisions, but at last he took it, and put all to the sword that had borne arms against him, and raz'd part of the walls, and pronounced a curse on them that should repair them again. But the Sivajee's incursions made him order the rebuilding then himself, and he christened it *Suckabant* or the dry city. (A new account of the East Indies by Capt. Alexander Hamilton, 1744, Vol I., p. 145.)

Before 1722, Nizam-ul-Mulk was the Viceroy of Gujerat under the Moguls. During his viceroyalty, he had made Broach a part of his private estate. In 1722, he assumed independence in Deccan. In 1736, Abhasing was the Viceroy of Gujerat. At this time, Abdulla Beg, held Broach from the Nizam-ul-Mulk under the title of Nek Âlam Khân. He was the founder of the line of Nabobs who ruled for 36 years. He died in 1738 and was succeeded by his second son Mirzâ Beg who ruled up to the time of his death in 1752 under the title of Nek Âlam Khân II. Mirza Beg was succeeded by his brother who died within 3 months. On the death of his brother, the succession was in dispute for two years. At last Syed Idrus of Surat, who had great religious influence, espoused the cause of Mirza Ahmed Beg, a grandson of Abdulla Beg, and placed him on the throne. This Mirza Ahmed died in 1768 and was succeeded by his son Mazed Khan, the last of the Nawabs. The following table shows the genealogy of these Nawábs :—

Genealogical table of the Nawabs of Broach.



Now it was between this Mâzad Khan and the British that a dispute arose. The Gazetteer (Vol. II, p. 469) gives the following account of the dispute, prepared from the correspondence recorded in some of the volumes of the Secretariat Records :—

“The political connection of the English Company with Broach dates from their capture of Surat in 1759. There were certain claims of the Nawáb of Surat upon the customs revenue of the Port of Broach. These, together with a sum due to the English on account of an excessive levy of duties on cloth, amounting altogether to £15,000 (Rs. 1,50,000), the Nawab of Broach was called upon to pay. In the early months of 1771 a body of the Company's troop in the neighbourhood of Surat was engaged against the Kolis. In the hope that a military display might

induce the Nawáb to propose some settlement of the claims made against him, the chief of Surat was directed to transport this force by sea to the neighbourhood of Broach. These instructions the factors at Surat did not carry out.”

The Nabob and the English.

We see from this account that the *casus belli* was a claim of money upon the Nawáb by the English.

Now the native account of the fight of the English with the Nawáb, referred to above, throws some further light upon this matter, and says that a Parsee of Surat was partly at the bottom of this question. This native account is very interesting from a Parsee point of view, because, as said above, it suggests that the question of *kabíseh*, or of the calculation of an intercalary month, which had produced a schism among the Parsees of India in the 18th century and which has produced among them two sects—the Kadmis and the Shâhanshahis—had some connection with the above dispute between the English and the Nawáb of Broach.

The native account, which I beg to present, is that of a Mahomedan writer named Sayed Abbas Ali. He has written a short history of this dispute and the subsequent battle between the English and the Nawáb of Broach under the title of “Kisseh-i-Nawáb Majuzkhan Bahadur of Broach.”¹ It was written in Urdu. It has not been published and I have not been fortunate in seeing it in the original Urdu. But a Gujerati translation of it was published in 1869 by Mobed Byramji Fardoonji Vakil² of Broach under the title of ભરૂચના નવાબ મૈઝીખાનખાન બહાદુરનો કીસસી. Two hundred copies of it were published then. The translation being out of print, in 1894, Mr. Sorabji Framji Byramji Vakil, a grandson of the original translator, published a second edition. I am indebted to my friend Khan Bahadur Adarji Mancherji Dalal for a copy of it. I think that the Gazetteer refers to the above *Kisseh* in its account of “the local details of the capture” of Broach when it says that it gives it on the authority of “A life of Mâzad Khân,” by one of his courtiers. The name of the Nawáb, as given by the *Kisseh*, is Maozuzkhan while the English writer gives it as Mazad Khan. The difference is not very important when we know that the last letter dāl in the Urdu name, if written or read with an additional dot (*nukteh*), can be read ‘z’ instead of ‘d’.

¹ I give this title as given by the translator of the *Kisseh*. According to Mr. Sorabshaw Dadabhoy Fardoonji Munsiff of Broach, the author called his work “Kisseh-i-Gamgeenee,” i.e., “The Story of Sorrow,” probably because it described the downfall of the Nawáb’s régime. It was written in 1193 Hijri, i.e., 1785 A.D.

² Mr. Sorabshaw Dadabhoy Fardoonjee Munsiff in his letter, dated 5th January 1907, writes to me that he knew this translator. He was a priest and was practising in the Broach District Court in his full dress of *Jama Pichodi*.

The Nabob and the Kabiseh controversy.

Now the *Kisseh* gives the following account of the commencement of the dispute which, as said above, is interesting from a Parsee point of view :—

The Nawáb of Surat was Sayad Hakijuldin Khan. An Englishman, named Mr. Sam Gabriel¹, was the head of the English factory on behalf of the Company. Among the Parsees at Surat, there arose a great dispute about the calculation of time,² the difference of a month in calculation having arisen as the result of some letters received from Persia. There arose two parties. At the head of one, the Rasmi, who adhered to the old previous calculation was Minocher³. At the head of the other sect, the Kadmis, was Dhunjee⁴. The dispute had continued for some time⁵. During that dispute Dhunjee, the leader of the Kadmi sect of Surat, writes to the Nawáb of Broach to inquire into the matter of the question under discussion. He also wrote to his own Mulla⁶. The Nawáb, therefore, sent for the two *âkhuns* i.e., preceptors of the Parsees, 'one Dastur Kamdin⁷ by name and another Pâdashâ⁸. He asked them to tell correct facts as described in religious books. Dastur Kamdin after a long consideration said, that what Muncher, the leader of the Rasmis, said was correct and

¹ This Mr. Gabriel is Mr. Gambier of our historical writers.

² It was in 1720, that one Jamasp, known as Jamasp Velayati, came from Persia to India and pointed out the difference of one month between the calculation of the Zoroastrians of Persia and that of the Zoroastrians of India. In 1736, a layman, named Jamshed, from Persia, revived the question. In 1745, the Parsees of Surat had a regular schism for the first time. In 1768, Dhanjishaw Manjishaw sent Mobad Kâus Rustam Jalâl of Broach to Persia to study the question there.

³ Mr. Muncherjee Kharshedji Seth (1714-1784). He was the broker of the Dutch Factory at Surat. He had great influence with the Nawáb of Surat. He had twice been to Delhi to the Mogul Court for business purposes. Anquetil Du Perron (*Le Zend Avestâ* I, Partie I, p. CCCXV) speaks of him as the courtier (broker) of the Dutch and as the chief of the Parsees of Surat (*le premier des Parsees de Surat*).

⁴ Dhanjeeshaw Manjishaw (1713-1788). He was a great merchant of Surat and was the broker of the English factory. *Vide* foot-note No. 2 above.

⁵ In 1768, the dispute had taken a serious turn in Broach itself, and Dastur Kâmdinjee of Broach, the leading priest of the Shahanshahis or the Rasmis, was sent to jail. The new party there was headed by Kaus Rustam Jalal who was the father of Mulla Feroze and who was sent to Persia in the same year by Dhunjeeshaw Manjishaw. The Nawab of Broach referred the matter to the Panchayets of Naosari and Surat. After some discussion lasting for several months, the Panchayet of Surat wrote to Broach to continue in the Rasmi belief (*vide* "Parsee Prakash," I, p. 863).

⁶ *I.e.*, the high priest who led his sect. This was Kaus Rustam Jalal.

⁷ Dastur Kamdinjee Fardunjee (1731-1781) who belonged to the Shahanshahi sect. He was the father of Aspandiarjee, who published, in 1826, "કદીમ તારીખ પારસીઓની કસર."

⁸ According to the "Parsee Prakash" (Vol. I, p. 62) he was a well-known Kadmi priest of Broach. Homâji who is honoured by the Parsees of Broach as a martyr was hanged for killing Behanbai, the sister of Pâdashâh. She was a staunch Kadmi. A manuscript book on the Kabiseh controversy, in my possession, gives Pâdashâh's personal name as Rustomji. He was the great great grandfather of Mr. Burjorjee, the present Kadmi head-priest of the Mazagon fire-temple of Mr. Framji Patel.

what Dhunjee, the leader of the Kadmis, said was wrong. The Nawáb wrote accordingly to Dhunjee. So Dhunjee was enraged against the Nawáb of Broach for not having gained the opinion of the priests and for not having decided in the favour of his sect. He had a grudge against the Nawáb and he was on a look out to wreak his vengeance.

Now it so happened, that some time after this event, the Nawáb stopped, at the Customs Office at Broach, some of the goods of merchandise belonging to Dhunjee, saying that custom duty was due on them. Dhunjee claimed exemption, but the Nawáb refused it and confiscated the goods. Dhunjee had to pay the custom dues. Dhunjee then went before Mr. Gambier, the head of the English factory at Surat, with whom he had great influence, and said that the Custom House of Broach was from the first under the control of the Port of Surat, that its income was about Rs. 1,00,000 per year, and that the Nawáb has not been paying it to the Surat factory for the last 40 years. Dhunjee succeeded in influencing Mr. Gambier, who wrote to the Nawáb of Broach claiming a sum of 40 lakhs as due from him to the Government of Surat which had the right of enjoying the customs duties at Broach. The Nawáb indignantly repudiated the claim. Thereupon Mr. Gambier declared war. Thus, it appears, that according to the native author, a religious dispute amongst the Parsees of the time had some connection with the fight between the Nawáb of Broach and the English.

We will now examine the Urdu *Kisseh* a little further, as it presents a few new facts from the Nawáb's point of view and throws some side light on the question of the fight between the British and the Nawáb.

The conquest of Broach.

Speaking of the fight, the Urdu *Kisseh* says that the Nawáb of Broach had asked assistance from Fatesingrao of Baroda, the Nawáb of Cambay, the Ruler of Dholka and the Raja of Rajpipla. Fatesing of Baroda is said to have had some sinister motives in sending his army for assistance. He was himself looking for an opportunity to seize Broach.

The English expedition to Broach was accompanied by 700 men belonging to the Nawáb of Surat under the command of the Bakhshi or paymaster.¹ About this Bakhshi, the *Kisseh* says that he was in sympathy with the Nawáb of Broach and had sent a secret message to him about the advance of the British.

As the English account says, the expedition ended in a failure. "The management of the expedition had been in many points

¹ *Vide* the Broach Gazetteer, II, p. 470.

contrary to the instructions of the Bombay Government, and had ended in so complete a failure ; the conduct of the officers concerned was made the subject of a committee of inquiry. The result of the inquiry was that Mr. Draper, the Chief of the factory at Surat, was removed and the other members subjected to severe reprimand and censure.¹ The native account gives a few details of the fight which, it says, lasted for 17 days.

The *Kisseh* says that Gambier sent a message with one Hirjee² seeking for peace. The Nawáb sent a message saying that " if you want peace I will not want war, but if you will want war I will not delay to fight."

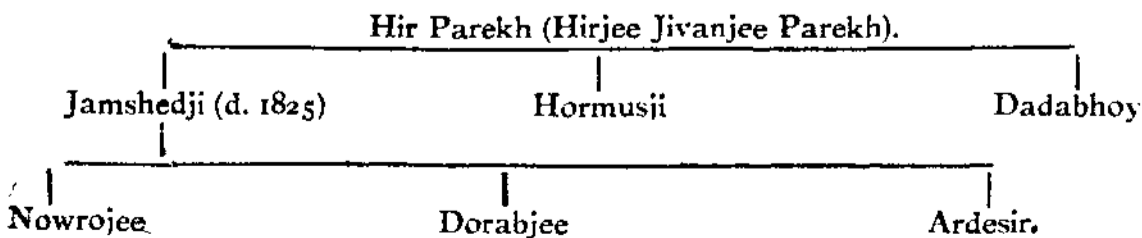
اگر صلح خواہی نخواہم جنگ
وگر جنگ جوی ندارم درنگ

Mr. Gambier returned to Surat and then sent a fresh demand of about 4 lacs of Rupees. He asked Laloo, the Dewan of the Nawáb of Broach, whom he had taken with him to Surat, Dhunjee, the Parsee broker of the English factory, and Muncher, the Parsee broker of the Dutch factory, to meet Kalooba, the Dewan of Fatesingrao of Baroda and suggest some means for recovering some money from the Nawáb of Broach. The result of their consultation was not known.

The Gazetteer says, " on the 30th July, 1771, the Bombay Government received a letter from the Nawáb of Broach, offering to visit Bombay with the view of settling in person the claims brought against him. Mázad Khan's proposal was accepted, vessels were sent to Broach, and,

¹ *Vide* the Broach Gazetteer, II, p. 470.

² We learn from the " Parsee Prakash " (I. p. 191) that this Hirjee was a well-known Parsee of Surat. His full name was Hirjee Jivanjee Parekh and he was known as Hir Parekh. He was the *karbhari*, *i.e.*, the household manager of Kaim-ul-Dawlla, the Nawáb of Surat. He had such a great influence with the Nawab that the people of Surat generally said that *हीरने क्या सो पीरने क्या* (*Hirné kyâ so pir ne kyâ*), *i.e.*, whatever was done by Hir was taken (by the Nawáb) to have been done by the Pir, *i.e.*, the spiritual guide. He seems to have died long before 1825 A. D., because his son Jamsedji, who was a great merchant, is reported to have died in 1825 A. D., at the ripe old age of 75. (" Parsee Prakash," p. 191.) His family was long known in Surat after his death. The following table gives the names of his sons and grandsons :—



setting out at the close of the stormy season, the Nawáb reached Bombay on the 4th November 1771. While in Bombay Mázád Khan was treated with every consideration."¹

Abás Ali's Urdu account says that it was the Government of Bombay that first invited him to go to Bombay. He refused at first, but being requested again, offered to go, not by land, but by sea and in full state. So ships were sent for him to Broach, in charge of Morley. One Parsee Nowrojee² accompanied him.

Abas Ali's account of the Nawáb's visit to Bombay is very interesting, especially now, when the particulars of the visit of the Amir of Afghanistan are just fresh in our mind. The Nawáb of Broach was then considered to be a personage of great position. The words અમલી નવાબ ભરૂચકે (Ambhi Nawáb Bharooch ke) *i.e.*, "I am also the Nawáb of Broach," form a proverb in the Gujarati language. When a person claims some honor or precedence and puts on airs of being a

¹ Gazetteer II, p. 470.

² We learn from the "Parsee Prakash," (I. pp. 97 and 98) that this Parsee Nowrojee was Nowrojee Nanabhoy Khambatta who died in 1804 A. D. at the ripe old age of 90. He was a forefather of Mr. Kharshedji Dinshaw Khambatta of Bombay. At first, he was an inhabitant of Bombay. From there, he had gone to Surat for trade. He was known among the Parsees as મોર્લીનાં નવરોજી (Morley nâ Nowrojee), *i.e.*, Morley's Nowrojee. This Morley is Mr. James Morley, the Resident of Broach, referred to by the Gazetteer (The Gazetteer of Broach, Vol. II, p. 471), and referred to by the *kisseh*.

Khan Bahadur Bomanjee Byramji Patel thus refers in his "Parsee Prakash," (Vol. I, p. 27), to the fact of this Nowrojee going to Broach with Morley.

“ત્યાંથી (સુરતથી) ઈ. સ. ૧૮૦૨ માં મી૦ મોરલી નામના ઈસ્ટ ઈન્ડીયા કંપનીના એક અમલદાર સાથે ભરૂચનાં નવાબ મોજુખાન પાસે જમીનને લગતું કંઈ લેહણું વસુલ કરવાને ભરૂચ આવ્યા હતા. એ પછી એવોએ પોતાનાં કુટુંબ સહીત ત્યાંજ મથક કીધું હતું. તથા ત્યાં મોરલીના નવરોજીને નામે આજખાતા હતા. ઈ. સ. ૧૮૦૩ માં ઇંગ્રેજ સરકારે ભરૂચ લીધા પછી તેમની છાવણીમાં ભેઠેતા માલ વીગેરે પુરૂં પાડવાતું કંટ્રાકટ એવણું લીધું હતું.”

Khan Bahadur B. B. Patel gives no authority for his above statement, but on enquiring from him, he says that he has given this statement as he had heard it at Broach.

Now we find from the *kisseh* that the fact of Nowrojee going to Broach with Morley is correct, but the date of their arrival is not correct. In the first place, the Nawáb Maujuz-khan was dead long before 1802 when Morley and Nowrojee are reported to have gone to Broach to demand the land-dues said to have been due from him. The error in the date seems to have arisen from the fact of mistaking the first conquest of Broach by the British in 1772 A. D., for the second conquest in 1803. After the first conquest and after keeping it for about 11 years, Broach was ceded to the Peshwa in 1783 in accordance with a treaty known as the Treaty of Sálbai (the Broach Gazetteer, II, p. 474). For 19 years it remained in the hands of the Mahrattas and then it was reconquered in 1803. So, the fact referred to by Khan Bahadur B. B. Patel occurred in 1772 after the first conquest and not in 1803 after the second conquest. The Gazetteer Vol. II, p. 472 says, "On the news of the capture of Broach, Mr. James Morley was appointed resident, with Messrs. James Cheape and William Mahon, joint factors, for the management of the concern and for collecting the revenues of the town." So the event referred to in the "Parsee Prakash" must be that of 1772.

great man this proverb is applied to him. Now it seems that the Nawáb of Broach was feted and received with honour in 1772 in the same way as the Amir has been now. I cull the following account from Abbas Ali's version :—

When Mr. Morley reached Broach, the Nawab was still in mourning for the death of his *ustâd* or spiritual guide. Two days were wanting to complete the 40 days' period of mourning. So Mr. Morley saw the Nawáb two days after his arrival. Then the Nawáb consulted his courtiers about his proposed visit. Some advised him to go and others dissuaded him. But at length he resolved to go. He sent his *pâigah*, *i.e.*, infantry troops to Bombay by way of land. He took with him in the ships a retinue of 1,000 persons of whom about 100 were his courtiers, the author of the *Kisseh* being one of them. The Nawáb had 8 sons and 6 daughters. All these began to weep at the departure of the Nawáb, who left Broach with a salute from the English ships. The ships anchored at the mouth of the river for one night and then at Surat for another night. Then from Surat it took them two days and a half to come to Bombay. They stopped on the coast of Mahim and from there Mr. Morley sent a letter with the Parsee Nowrojee to the General (*i.e.*, the Governor) of Bombay informing them of their arrival. A *haveli*, *i.e.*, a palatial building near the *furjâ*, *i.e.*, the Custom House, belonging to a Mahomedan Mulla, was furnished with carpets, chandeliers, lamps, pictures, etc., and it served as a residence for the Nawáb. About 10 to 11 battalions lined the road in honour of the Nawáb. Members of the Council headed by Mr. Wedderburn formed a deputation to receive the Nawáb. The ships which had anchored at Mahim came to Bombay, salutes were fired from all the ships in the harbour at the time when the Nawab got down from his Fatehmâri (a kind of big boat) into a boat. On coming to the shore, the Nawáb was received with a salute from the guns in the fort. Among those that had met to welcome the Nawáb, were English *madams* who were like the houris of paradise. These ladies were all moon-faced. They looked like the garden of *chaman*, *i.e.*, joy, their cheeks were rosy and their statures were so straight that even straight cypresses would look down with shame. Their eyes were like those of the deer and their ringlets put the lookers-on to shame. The Nawáb was pleased to see them, and, they, in their turn, were pleased to see him and began to talk about him amongst themselves. They began to make *kookoo* (*i.e.*, to talk in a whispering tone) among themselves just as five or seven *mena* birds when they meet together. After their first surprise on looking at him they collected themselves and salaamed him.

The Nawáb then got into a golden palanquin. The *chobdars* announced his arrival and departure. He was escorted by his own

body-guards. When the Nawáb came to where the artillery was stationed he was saluted by the guns. The Nawáb then reached the house of the General.

The General welcomed the Nawáb and introduced him to his wife and daughter. Two persons acted as interpreters, one of whom was a Parsee. Mr. Hornby, the Governor (of whom the author of the *Kisseh* speaks as the General) expressed his delight at the Nawáb accepting his invitation. Tea was soon served and after a short time the Nawáb departed for his residence.

The next day the Governor paid a return visit.

Governor Hornby and the Nawáb both had issued strict orders to their soldiers and sepoy that they should avoid disputes and quarrels with one another. In spite of this caution, once an European had a quarrel with a man of the Nawáb. The latter dislocated the hand of his opponent. The Nawáb therefore ordered that a hand of his servant may be cut off in punishment. This coming to the ears of the Governor, he interceded and got the man pardoned.

The Nawáb was once invited by the Governor to a private interview. The Governor, his wife and daughter met him in their garden and had their tea there. At the time of the evening prayer (*nemâz*), one of the servants of the Nawáb, while spreading the shawl to serve as a carpet, broke a valuable chandelier of Mr. Hornby's house worth about Rs. 3,000.

The Nawáb stayed in Bombay for about two months and was entertained by Mr. Wedderburn and other members of the Council.

As to the political question, to settle which the Nawáb was called to Bombay, it was arranged that the Nawáb should pay a sum of Rs. 4 lacs by six-monthly instalments within 2 years. The Nawáb then left Bombay with all honors. Mr. Morley accompanied him as the British Resident at Broach. The Nawáb, not paying the first instalment within the time fixed, Mr. Morley left his court. Another expedition, headed by General Wedderburn, and aided by Mr. Watson went to Broach. In the fight that ensued, General Wedderburn was killed, but in the end, Broach fell into the hands of the English on 18th November 1772.

III.

The next subject of my notes is a visit to the well-known Kabirvad (*i.e.*, the Kabir banyan tree) growing on an island formed by the sacred Nerbudda. About 130 years ago, Forbes said that the tree with

The Kabirvad
and the *Tiraths*.

its 350 large and over 3,000 small stems occupied a space of about 2,000 ft. in circumference and sheltered about 7,000 men under it¹. Bishop Heber considered it to be "one of the most noble groves of the world." A writer in the Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay said that the tree struck him "with an awe similar to what is inspired by a fine Gothic cathedral." Some of these later writers refer to the fact that the different trunks of the tree are being washed away by the floods of the river. I saw it on the morning of 2nd January 1907, and I may say, that in no sight-seeing in my travels was I so much disappointed as in the case of the Kabirvad. From a spectacular point of view, the tree, as it now stands, is not worth a visit after a long drive. The idea that I formed of the tree on seeing it, fell too short of the ideal that I had formed of its greatness from what I had read of it. We happen to see more lovely groves of banyan trees in other parts of the country. Again, the state, in which the ground on which it stands and spreads, is kept, adds to our disappointment. If it be cleared of the short brushwood growth and kept clean, the disappointment would not be so great, and the ideal not so ruthlessly spoilt. As it is, there are not even a few yards which would attract you to rest and shelter there for a few hours after a dusty journey of about 2 to 3 hours.

Tradition says that Kabir, the great poet, philosopher, and moralist, happened to be at this place. The tree grew out of the twigs of a banyan tree with which he cleaned his teeth and which he threw there. The Kabirpanth is said to have a large number of followers, and one would naturally expect to see a large number of them at this place connected traditionally with his name. But that is not the case. Very few people of his sect are seen here. Even the temple there, known as the shrine of Kabir, is served by priests of sects other than the Kabir faith.

It was the sacredness of the Nerbudda that had drawn Kabir to its banks, and it is this sacredness that gives further sanctity and importance to this Kabirvad and its shrine.

We hear the following verse about the Nerbudda and three other sacred rivers of India:—

गंगा पाने.

जमना स्नाने.

नर्मदा दर्शने.

तापी स्मरणे.

¹ Gazetteer, p. 356.

i.e. The Gangâ (Ganges) gives sanctity by its water,
 The Jamna by its baths,
 The Nerbudda by its sight,
 The Tapti by meditation (on its banks).

The shrine of Kabirjee near the Kabir *vad* is one of the several *tiraths* or shrines on the banks of the Nerbudda. The following is the list of such *tiraths* as dictated to me by the priest of a Luxmi Narayen temple at Sukal-tirath :—

1. Survaneshwar सुर्वानेश्वर. It has an image of Mahadev. It is about 15 miles from Chandod.
2. Kunbeshwar कुंभेश्वर. It has an image of Hanumân. It is on the other side of Kaniâri.
3. Kumesomnath कुंभे सोमनाथ at Kaniâri.
4. Shekh Sohiji Mahâraj शेख सोहीज भाडाराज near Chandod.
5. Sukhdev सुख देव.
6. Vyâs व्यास.
7. Gangnath गंगनाथ near Chandod.
8. Hansoyâ Mâtta हुंसाया माता near Ambawi.
9. Bhandareswar Mahadeo ल'डारेश्वर भाडादेव near Senore.
10. Gunpati गणपती at Senore.
11. Karticksvami कार्तिके स्वामी near Sisodrà.
12. Kubereshwar कुबेरेश्वर near Kotal.
13. Kabirji कबीरज. It has an image of Kabir and it is under the shelter of the Kabir *vad*.
14. Vadrâsu वद्रासु near Mangleshwar.
15. Sukal-tirath.

Of all the *tiraths* or the shrines on the bank of the Nerbudda near Broach, that of Sukal-tirath is the best known. In the Vâyu Purâna, it is spoken of as the best of all the Tiraths in the northern banks of the Nerbudda (सर्व तीर्थेष्वनुत्तमम्)¹. It is about 10 miles from

(I) ॥ श्री मार्कण्डेय उवाच ॥

अतःपरं प्रवक्ष्यामि सर्व तीर्थेष्वनुत्तमम् ॥

रेवाया उत्तरे कूके शुक्ल तीर्थ युधिष्ठिर ॥ १ ॥

(as quoted in the विनंती पत्र of the temple)

i.e., Mârkanḍ Rishi says: O Raja Yudhishtira. Hear the account that I give you of the Tirath of Shikaltirath which is situated on the northern bank of the Nerbudda and is the best of all *tiraths* (रेवा Revâ is a name of the Nerbudda).

Broach. The place itself has three tiraths or shrines, of which the holiest is that of Hunkareshwar हुंकारेश्वर. The image in this shrine carries in its four arms the four emblems of Vishnu. In its two right arms it carries the padma, *i.e.*, the lotus and gada, *i.e.*, the sceptre or mace. In its two left arms it carries the chakra *i.e.*, the wheel or the disc, and the sankh, *i.e.*, the shell.

Tradition tells the following story about its discovery as a *tirath* :—

Chânakya, the King of Ujjain, was attacked with leprosy. It was thought to be the result of his sin.¹ So he thought of purifying himself of that sin, hoping that such a purification would cure him of his leprosy. In order to find out the most holy place, the pilgrimage of which could free him of his sin and cure him of his disease, he asked the crows, who had in those early times white feathers and not black feathers, to go to the death-god Yama and to tell him that king Chânakya was dead. On hearing this news, Yama gave instructions as to where his soul was to be led by his (Yama's) attendants for purification. The crows heard the instructions and returning to Chânakya said that the place of purification was somewhere on the Nerbudda, that he must sail down the Nerbudda in a boat with black sails, and that the place where the sails turned from black to white, might be taken as the place of purification. The king did accordingly, and while sailing down the Nerbudda, when he came down to the village of Sukaltirath, the sails immediately turned white. The king got out on the shore and bathed at that place in the sand and in the water of the Nerbudda and was purified of his sin and cured of his leprosy. When the death-king Yama knew of the trick played upon him by the crows at the instance of Chânakya, he punished the crows by cursing them and by changing to black their feathers, which were up to then white. It is for this reason that we have the black colour of the crows.²

This story of Yama, sin, leprosy, and the crows reminds us of the belief of the ancient Persians about leprosy. Herodotus says of the Persians (Bk. I. 138) :—

“Whosoever of the citizens has the leprosy or scrofula, is not permitted to stay within a town, nor to have communication with other Persians ; and they say that from having committed some offence against the sun a man is afflicted with these diseases. Every stranger that is seized with these distempers, many of them even drive out of the country ; and they do the same to white pigeons, making the same charges against them.”

¹ According to Herodotus (I. 138), the ancient Persians also considered leprosy to be the result of sin.

² *Vide* the Broach Gazetteer, p. 568.

We see from this passage of Herodotus that the ancient Persians also connected leprosy with sin. The white doves of this passage remind us of the white crows referred to in the above description of Sukaltirath. Again, the Yama in the above story of Sukaltirath is the Yima of the Avesta, the Jam of the Palhavi books and the Jamshed (Yima Khshaeta) of the later writings. It is in the second chapter of the Vandidad, which treats of a *vara* or stricture of Yima, that we find a reference to leprosy.

The Persians were so much afraid of the lepers, that we learn from the Classics, that Magebazus, a Persian satrap who was sentenced to be banished, took advantage of this fear prevailing among his countrymen and made his escape, pretending to be a leper.

We went to the opposite bank of the Nerbudda, where the Kabirvad stands on an island, from Mangleshwar (मंगलेश्वर). Here, at Mangleshwar, I met a Rajput, whose story showed us that there are many persons in India, persons of poor means, who travel thousands of miles along the whole country of India, from the Himalayas in the North to Rameshwar in the South, out of devotion to visit sacred places *tiraths* and to purify themselves. Mansing Rajput, of whom I speak, had travelled up to Badrinath, the well-known place of pilgrimage in the Himalayas. He had brought with him the sacred water of the Gangootri. He had kept the water in a sealed bottle and proposed to go one day to Rameshwar with that water. The sacred water of the Gangootri near Badrinath, when thrown by a pious devotee over the image of Mahadeo at Rameshwar, raises a little the size of the image, and that is a sure sign of the acceptance of the prayers of the devotee. Hundreds and thousands are said to travel the whole distance on foot. Again, there are many more hundreds and thousands who travel by train. They, at times, carry the sacred water with them in their bottles. But that is not the most acceptable way of devotion. The water is not to be taken in the train by which people of all faiths and of all kinds of impurities travel. So, they say, there are professional carriers who travel to and fro from Badrinath. They receive sealed bottles of the sacred water from different pilgrims with labels of their names attached to them, and, travelling on foot, carry the bottles to the destinations of the different travellers. They charge a certain rate per bottle for their work.

APPENDIX.

In the body of my paper I have referred to the visit of Mr. J. E. Bendien, the Dutch Consul in Bombay, to the Dutch tombs at Broach. In reply to my letter referred to above, Mr. Bendien has kindly sent me

Inscriptions on Dutch tombs.

copies of the issues of the Dutch journal "Neerlandia" of the months of January and February 1907, wherein he has published an account of his visit to the towns of Surat, Broach and Ahmedabad, each of which had a Dutch factory in the 17th and 18th centuries. In his letter to me, dated 4th April 1907, Mr. Bendien says about the tombstones: "The majority of the tombstones bear no inscriptions: particularly of the larger monuments, nothing can be deciphered, as the inscriptions, if they still do exist, partly are buried under cement or whitewashed."

When I read my paper, I submitted copies of the inscriptions as I had copied them in a hasty visit; but, as I find, that Mr. Bendien has given them in the above Dutch journal, I give his copies below. Mr. Bendien has kindly translated them for me, and I give his translation also. I thank him for the help he has given me.

INSCRIPTION I.

Hier rust Johannis Groenevelt,
 Die desen naam, voor Hem bestelt
 Niet lange Droegh, vermits D'Doodt
 Hem in ons aller Moeder schoot
 Diedt draagen: En Syn leven al
 Was maar 2 uyren in 't Getal
 Obyt en wiert geboren in Brootsch
 Den 10 Sept: 1666.

Translation.—Here lies Johannis Groenevelt who did not bear very long this name which was ordered for him, as death carried him to the lap of Mother Earth, and his life was only hours 2 in number. Died and was born in Broach on the 10th September 1666.

Mr. Bendien thinks that perhaps this was the first child of Mr. Groenevelt who first founded a regular factory at Broach and was its first director. We find his name on the sun-dial with the date 1700 A. D.

INSCRIPTION II.

"Hier rust Anna Marrienne Van Brondhout (?) 22 Maenden en 10 Daagen. Obyt 23 Augusty 1654."

Translation.—Here rests Anna Marrienne Van Brondhout 22 months, 10 days. Died 23rd August 1654.

INSCRIPTION III.

“Hier onder rust Antoni Christiaan, oud 23 Maanden en 12 Daagen. Obit den 20 May, Anno 1702.”

Translation.—Here rests Antoni Christian, old 23 months and 12 days. Died 20th May, year 1702.

Mr. Bendien observes in the above journal, that “It is not surprising that only the inscriptions on the children’s tombs are preserved. They were the largest in number in the cemeteries of Europeans in India.”

INSCRIPTION IV.

“Hic (? Hier) Jacet Jan Willem Six. In Zijn leven Secundo Alhier. Obyt den 32 (sic) Maart, Anno 1744.”

Translation.—Here lies Jan Willem Six. In his lifetime he was Second¹ here. Died the 32 (?) March, year 1744.

There is another inscription on an obelisk, on which Mr. Bendien can only read the name “Martinus.”

¹ Secundo means second merchant, *i.e.*, a junior merchant. Stavorinus seems to refer to merchants of this class as junior merchants. (*Vide* above, p. 43.)
