

beyond before we reach the possible and probable date of the Aryan Invasion. Besides, such a subject opens out a new and distinct world of ideas, facts, speculations, and doubts, and postulates an amount of peculiar study and accumulated knowledge not to be found in the fourteen fascinating volumes of the Imperial Gazetteer of India. No one is so familiar as the author with the physical, racial, and intellectual features of the three hundred Millions of British India of the Nineteenth Century after the Christian era, and we are glad that he has restricted the orbit of his labours into a compass, where we can trust him implicitly, and without a doubt. Our critical attitude would necessarily be modified, if in one of his volumes we had to consider the questions: At what date was the Phoenician Alphabet imported into India? What are the dates of certain Inscriptions, and Manuscripts? The Twentieth Century may bring a solution to this and other questions: the Nineteenth has not done so. The author's narrative floats down a stream of absolute historic calm and certainty: let him be satisfied.

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PARSEE PRAKĀSH; being a record of important events in the growth of the Parsi community in Western India, chronologically arranged, from the date of their immigration into India to the year 1860 A.D. Compiled by BOMANJEE BYRAMJEE PATELL. Gujarāṭi. 4to; pp. xvi and 1052. (Bombay, 1888.)

This chronicle of the doings and progress of the Indian Parsis, so far as they have been recorded down to 1860, could have been compiled only by patient and enthusiastic research, and have been so conveniently arranged only by judicious appreciation and thorough knowledge of the wants of inquirers. Each event is briefly recorded, but with all necessary particulars, from the best available document and under its proper English date. And, if the document bears

a Parsi or Hindu date, that is also recorded; while the nature of the document and, sometimes, remarks as to its authenticity are added in footnotes. As the chronicle is intended chiefly for the information of the Parsi community, it is written in Gujarātī; but the preface is also given in English, and the original text of English documents is often quoted in the footnotes.

Among the authorities quoted are printed and manuscript books, statements of old travellers, legal and government records, family papers, newspapers, rivāyats, and inscriptions. Formerly it was the custom for priests to keep records of deaths and remarkable events occurring in their vicinity, or among their neighbours, but this class of record was never easily accessible, and is now supposed to be fast disappearing, so that it will probably be altogether lost if copies be not collected during the present generation.

This work was published originally in eleven parts, appearing at intervals extending over the ten years from 1878 to 1888. Including a supplement of additional information, which accumulated during the publication, the book records about 3,180 distinct events, and mentions the names of about 5,370 Parsi men and 360 Parsi women. It is also provided with a perfect index of subjects, and another of Parsi names, probably the most complete that exists.

As a specimen of this chronicle it will be sufficient to report its mode of dealing with some of the earlier events. It commences by recording the emigration of the first party of Parsis from Hormuz, at the mouth of the Persian Gulf, to the island of Dīw, south of Kāthiāwār. This is stated on the authority of the *Qiṣṣah-e Sanjān* (completed 22nd November, 1599, o.s.), but no dates are mentioned, because those stated in that book are very uncertain. In the *Hādesā-nāmu* (Bombay, A.D. 1831) Dastūr Frāmji Aspandīārji Rabāḍi quotes them as follows:—The emigrants first fled into Kohistān, where they remained a century, and afterwards travelled to Hormuz, where they dwelt fifteen years, and then sailed to Dīw, where they stayed nineteen years,

and again sailed in stormy weather to Sanjāñ. Here they were permitted to settle by the Hindū Rājā Jādirāña, who granted them a considerable tract of land on certain conditions.

The date of their arrival is uncertain, but the footnotes state that the Rev. Dr. J. Wilson thought that the Rājā might have been Jaydev, who reigned in Gujarāt A.D. 745–806 (see *Indian Antiquary*, 1872). Though Dastūr Aspandīārji Kāmdinji, of Bharuc, in his *Kadim Tārikh Pārsio-ni Kasr*, p. 149 (A.D. 1826), states that the Parsis landed at Sanjāñ in Samvat 772, Śrāvan sud 9, on Friday the second day Bahman of the fourth month Tīr, A.Y. 85; but in 1870 Seth K. R. Kāma, in his *Yasdaqardi Tārikh*, showed that these two dates did not correspond. The Indian Parsi date, second day of fourth month A.Y. 85, was really Friday, 25th September, 716, but the Hindu date seems to have been two or three months earlier, and this discrepancy can hardly be explained as a mere copyist's blunder. In his supplement, p. 837, the compiler gives further information about this date; in an old copy of the *Qissah-e Sanjāñ*, among the records belonging to the Udvārā assembly, there was written, in Samvat 1872 (A.D. 1816), a memorandum that the day of the landing of the Parsis at Sanjāñ was Samvat 895, on the first day of the fourth month, on a Sunday. This date, the first of the fourth month, A.Y. 208 (Indian reckoning), was 24th August, A.D. 839, which day was really a Sunday. All that can be said for this latter date is that it is more reasonable than the former one.

As Parsi priests are accustomed to recite the names of their ancestors on certain occasions, it would seem an easy matter to ascertain the average number of generations by which the present priests are separated from any common ancestor; and this is no doubt the case when the interval is not more than four or five centuries; but further back this traditional memory is often imperfect. An extensive pedigree of the Bharuc Dastūrs and their posterity was compiled by one of their descendants born in 1838; and

from this pedigree, with the assistance of some information contained in known colophons, it is possible to approximate to the date when Neriosang Dhawal (the Parsi priest who translated most of the Yasna and part of the Khurdah Avesta into Sanskrit) must have flourished; a matter which the compiler of the *Parsi Prakāsh* has not attempted to decide.

In a colophon appended to the Pahlavi Yōst-i Fryāno in Haug's MS. 6 at Munich, the copyist, Peshyotan Rām Kāmdīn, writing in 1397, gives his pedigree for ten generations¹ back to Rāmyār, the father of Hormazdyār, who is generally recognized as the first cousin of Neriosang Dhawal. These ten generations, detailed in a document 500 years old, have been a valuable extension, or confirmation, of the oldest portion of the pedigree. Another colophon, appended to the Pāzand-Sanskrit Arđā-Virāf in Haug's MS. 18 at Munich, was written by Rām Kāmdīn, the father of the aforesaid Peshyotan, in 1410.

The pedigree itself informs us that Peshyotan was an ancestor of its compiler in the nineteenth generation, and that its compiler was born in 1838; while the colophons state that Peshyotan wrote one MS. in 1397, and his father Rām wrote another in 1410. With these data it is easy to calculate the average length of a generation with great exactness. As nineteen generations of 24 years and 25 years would extend over 456 and 475 years respectively, or back from 1838 to 1382 and 1363 respectively, it is evident that the average generation must have been between these limits, and most probably about 24 years and 3 months, because in that case Peshyotan would have been 20 years old in 1397, and Rām 57 years old in 1410; the son being just old enough to be trusted to copy Pahlavi MSS., and the father just young enough to write without spectacles, which were very rare anywhere in those days.

Returning to the pedigree, corrected by the insertion of the three names accidentally omitted in the English translation

¹ All mentioned in the Pahlavi text, but three have been accidentally omitted in the English translation.

of Peshyotan's colophon, we find that Hormazdyār, the first cousin or contemporary of Neriosang, lived eight generations earlier than Rām, and eight generations of 24 years and 3 months take us back 194 years from the birth of Rām in 1353 to the probable time of the birth of Hormazdyār, or of Neriosang, about A.D. 1159. This leads to the conclusion that the Yasna must have been translated into Sanskrit about A.D. 1200, when Neriosang may have been 41 years old. The pedigree mentions only three generations before Neriosang, so it begins about A.D. 1086 with Sheheriyār and his son Shāhpur, from whom most of the priestly families trace their descent. Many early priests have probably been omitted, but whether before or after these two names is quite uncertain.

Shortly after their arrival at Sanjān, the immigrant Parsis built a fire-temple, and furnished it with the necessary apparatus for worship, which they had brought with them from Khurāsān. The date of its consecration, being doubtful, is given in a footnote as generally supposed to have been in Samvat 777, on the ninth day of the ninth month (A.Y.), which is a common mode of writing old dates in Indian Parsi MSS.; and this is the date on which its anniversary is still celebrated. But in some writings the 26th day of the second month is mentioned. These two dates are equivalent to 27th February, 721, and 18th August, 720, respectively.

The next events recorded are the visits of Parsis to the Kanheri Caves in Salsette, where they inscribed their names and the dates of their visits, in Pahlavi characters, nearly nine centuries ago. The dates given in the Parsee Prakāsh are not quite accurate, as they were published before these inscriptions had been fully translated in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. ix, pp. 265–8. There are four Pahlavi inscriptions still fairly legible, and, if the dates are inscribed according to *Indian Parsi* reckoning, they are as follows:—The earliest inscription is unfinished, but gives the names of fifteen Parsis who had come to the place on the first day of the seventh month, A.Y. 378 (10th October, 1009). The second

inscription (over a tank) gives a complete list of the same Parsis, with one additional, and is dated the 16th day of the eighth month, A.Y. 378 (24th November, 1009), probably the date of intended departure; but a second extra name is added, as if the person had died more than a fortnight later. Both these inscriptions must refer to one protracted visit. A third inscription, dated the 24th of the seventh month, A.Y. 390 (30th October, 1021), contains ten names, of which four also occur in the preceding inscriptions. The fourth inscription, on a stone found among the ruins of a built *dāgoba*, gives merely the year A.Y. 390 and the name Māh-Farnbag, the first mentioned in the third inscription, being evidently a record of the same visit. The names resemble those used in the later Sasanian times, and for the next six centuries, by the Parsis in Persia.

From Sanjāñ the Parsis spread to Bharuc, Khambāt, Aklesar, and other places in Gujarāt; and, according to a memorandum in an old book about the inheritance of property belonging to the Mōharji-Rāñā family, their ancestor Kāmdīn Zarathosht arrived at Nāgmañdal on the 24th of the first month, A.Y. 511 (3rd April, 1142). He remarked that its climate was like that of Sāri in Māzen-darān, the home of his ancestors, and hence he called his new home Nawsāri, or 'the new Sāri.'

Under the date A.D. 1184 a statement is quoted, from the preface to Westergaard's *Zendavesta* (1854), regarding an ancient colophon, found copied in the old Vendidad, with Pahlavi, at Copenhagen, from which it appears that a preceding copy of the same text was written in Sagastān, or Sīstān, for a Parsi priest named Māhyār, from the district of Aucak, on the bank of the water of Sind (probably Uch in the Panjāb), who had been six years in Sagastān, studying religious matters for his friends in India, and was about to return home with the information he had collected and this copy of the Vendidad, presented as a righteous gift. The epoch from which the date of this colophon was reckoned is not mentioned, but as we have only a copy of a copy of the original colophon, the epoch was probably

omitted by one of the copyists. The Iranian Parsi calendar completes its year thirty days earlier than the Indian one, and in old dates the years were usually reckoned in Iran from the *death* of Yazdakard, that is, from A.Y. 20. The date given in the colophon is the 17th of the fourth month of 554, and this would be 16th May, 1185, if reckoned from Yazdakard's accession, or 11th May, 1205, if reckoned from his death. Nothing further appears to be known of this colony of Parsis which existed at Uch in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Many priestly families are next traced to their ancestors in the footnotes; and the building of a brick *dokhmu* at Bharuc, by Seth Peshatanji, is mentioned as being recorded in an old book by a bard of Baroda. The date given is Samvat 1365, Jeth sud 2 (A.D. 1309); and the *dokhmu* appears to be still standing, though in a ruinous condition.

One of many documents, found in a collection of manuscript papers in the Meharji-Rānā library at Nawsāri, is an affidavit, signed by twenty-six Parsi laymen of Valsār, certifying that they had obtained a resident priest from the Nawsāri assembly. This document is dated Samvat 1471, Vaisākh sud 11 (A.D. 1414).

Shortly after this, Sultān Maḥmūd Begara, of Aḥmadābād, sent his kinsman Alafkhān, with a force of 3,000 men, to attack Sanjān, whose Rājā induced the Parsis to assist him with 1,400 men, under a leader named Ardeshr, who at first defeated the Musulmāns; but the latter, being reinforced, afterwards defeated the Parsis, killed Ardeshr, and captured Sanjān. These events are mentioned only in the *Qiṣṣah-e Sanjān*, and their date is doubtful, but the compiler, in his footnotes, gives reasons for placing them in the interval, 1458–1493, and probably near the beginning of it.

The same uncertain authority states that the surviving Parsis fled from Sanjān, with their families and sacred fire, into the hills of Bāhrot, where they remained twelve years, and then moved into the Vānsrā jungle for fourteen years longer, after which Cāngā Āsā, the chief Parsi layman at Nawsāri, induced them to take their sacred fire to Nawsāri

and settle there. An old Yasna, written at Nawsāri, A.D. 1658, was copied at Valsār, A.D. 1800, and in this copy it is stated that the Sanjāñ sacred fire arrived at Nawsāri on the 29th of the sixth Parsi month, in Samvat 1475 (28th June, 1419), which is not easy to reconcile with the preceding dates, and is probably not based upon a contemporary record, but upon mere tradition. The compiler of the *Parsee Prakāsh*, however, suggests (in p. 5, note 2) a means of approximately ascertaining the true date of the arrival of the Sanjāñ fugitives at Nawsāri by reference to information contained in the earliest Persian Rivāyats still extant. These Persian Rivāyats contain religious information and epistles, from Parsi priests in Persia, addressed to Parsis in India, in reply to written inquiries which the latter sent to Persia by special messengers from time to time. The earliest Rivāyats, of which copies are known to survive, were two brought back to India by Narēmān Hoshang, from the vicinity of Yazd, in 1478¹ and 1486,¹ and a Kitābat or epistle brought from the same neighbourhood, by four Iranian Parsi traders, in 1511.¹ In all three documents Cangah-shāh is mentioned as the chief layman at Nawsāri, and a Herbad Khurshēd, mentioned in the first Rivāyat as an important priest at Nawsāri, is further defined as Khurshēd of Sanjāñ in the other two documents. Both parties were evidently resident in Nawsāri for fully thirty-three years, but neither name is found in the next Rivāyat, written in 1527. From this we learn that an important priest from Sanjāñ had arrived at Nawsāri before 1478, and it is known that Sultān Maḥmūd came into power at Aḥmadābād in 1458, so that the capture of Sanjāñ must have been after that date. If we suppose that the Parsis were driven out of Sanjāñ about 1460, and took refuge at Nawsāri about 1470, they would have dwelt ten years in the jungly hills, instead of the legendary twenty-six. This

¹ These are the dates if reckoned from the accession of Yazdakard, but they would each be twenty years later if reckoned from his death, in which case the fugitives may have remained in the jungle for the full traditional period of twenty-six years, say from 1460 to 1486.

occasional correspondence with the Iranian Parsis continued for more than another century, and has contributed several lists of Indian Parsi names to the compiler's chronicle.

The first Parsi who settled in Bombay was Dorābji Nānābhāi, who came from Sumāri-gām at Surat, A.D. 1640, and remained in the service of the Portuguese authorities; being afterwards employed by the English to collect a tax levied on the cooly fishermen. He was the ancestor of the Kāwasji Paṭel family, and died in 1689. His younger son, Rustamji Dorābji, succeeded to his father's appointment, and in 1692, when all the Europeans and garrison were dying from a severe pestilence, and the Sidi of Jañjirā had landed troops and taken the Dugari Fort, he collected a number of cooly fishermen, and drove the enemy out of the island, which he held for a few days, till the arrival of reinforcements from Surat. For this good service the Paṭelship of Bombay was made hereditary in his family. He died on the 27th of the sixth month, A.Y. 1132 (11th April, 1764), aged 96, having been one of the principal members of the original Parsi Pañcāyat from its commencement.

Regarding Rustamji's wife and her family a tale, worthy of romance, is told under the date A.D. 1808. Her parents were Siyāvakhsh bin Dīnyār and his wife Firañgij, Iranian Parsis who had been forcibly converted to the Musulmān faith. They had two daughters, whom they had secretly brought up as Zoroastrians, and were intending to send them for marriage to the Parsis residing in India, when a German traveller appeared, who was a very respectable man; so Siyāvakhsh begged his assistance, and proposed to intrust him with his daughters, for conveyance to India and delivery to some trustworthy Parsi there, who would undertake to have them married. The German offered to marry one of the girls himself, and to deliver the other as requested. To this the girls and their parents assented, and the former travelled to Bombay with the German. Thence the German took one girl with him to his own country, leaving the other with a respectable Parsi shopkeeper, to give away

in marriage to some Parsi householder. His choice fell upon Rustamji Dorābji, to whom the girl, named Fīrojā, was married. She had four sons, three of whom died before her, at ages varying from 37 to 55; and she survived her husband nearly 44 years, dying on the 11th of the fifth month, A.Y. 1177 (15th February, 1808), aged 80.¹ It is rare for the combined lives of a man and his wife to extend into three centuries, as in this case, beginning in 1677 and ending in 1808, a period of 131 years; but the husband must have been 60 years older than his wife. From the age of the eldest son, at the time of his death, it is easy to see that the marriage took place in 1743, which is one step towards identifying the German traveller, if he were a man of any importance.

These desultory remarks will be sufficient to show that Mr. B. B. Patell has succeeded in collecting much valuable historical information regarding the Indian Parsis, which he should endeavour to extend and improve as opportunity offers. Wherever old and trustworthy documents survive, the influential Parsis should assist him to obtain permission to inspect them and note their contents for future compilation. He has nearly exhausted the documents with which I am acquainted, but some remaining information may be mentioned.

Perhaps the oldest document in India, containing a contemporary record of Parsi names, was one of the copper-plates of the Kottayam grant, made to the Syrian Church by a local Rājā in Travancore, probably early in the ninth century A.D., a facsimile of which was published in J.R.A.S., o.s., Vol. VII, p. 344. Fortunately this facsimile is fairly legible, as the plate, bearing the names of the witnesses, is said to be now lost. Ten of these witnesses signed their names in cursive Pahlavi, and all call themselves *Magavōko*,

¹ The compiler has probably found these facts recorded in family papers, and not in any newspaper, as supposed by M. D. Menant in his recent book entitled *Les Parsis*. In the *Parsee Prakāsh* there are two footnotes, referring to the *Bombay Courier* for other events recorded on the same page as this tale, with which latter they have no connection; and the *Bombay Courier* for 1808 has been searched in vain for any reference to this tale.

or Magian. The cursive character of the writing makes the names difficult to decipher, but the following translation is probably nearly correct :—

“I, the Magian (*Magarōko*) Yakrāno-r . . . -shifas, son of Shikōn-zarīr, am a witness. I, the Magian Ātarē-māhāg, son of Vēh-zufōn, am a witness to it. I, the Magian rejoicing the just (*arshān-shādak*), Marjo-vēh, son of Fulānik, am a witness to it. I, the Magian Gīlūmat, son of Bag-vēh, am a witness to it. I, the Magian Sāvag, son of Yākōpo, am a witness to it. I, the Magian . . . , son of Marjo-vēh, am a witness to it. I, the Magian Zarag, son of Yunānōn (the Greeks), am a witness. I, the Magian of the religion of Magianism, Farn-bag, son of Vindād-Aūharmazd, am a witness to it. I, the Magian Marjo-yakrāno, son of Bun-rashīdo, am a witness to it. I, the Magian Khūpo-marjo, son of Aharāi, am a witness to it.”

Two of the names are partially lost, owing to breakages of the copper-plate; and two of the Parsis, Sāvag, son of Yākōpo, and Zarag, son of Yunānōn, appear to have been sons of converts from the Greek or Syrian Church.

The colophons of MSS., besides furnishing dates, are fruitful fields for exploration, not only with regard to the names and ancestors of copyists, but also as to those of their employers in some cases. It is only within the last few years that the name of the man to whom the Parsis owe the preservation of the Pahlavi Yasna, Vendidad, and some other miscellaneous texts, has been discovered in some old MSS. His name was Cāhil, son of Sāngan, a Parsi layman of Khambāt, probably a trader, who must have died before A.D. 1323, after providing for two copies of each of the texts above mentioned, as a good work. A *roznāmah* is also appended to two of the colophons, mentioning the names of six of his ancestors and other dead relations, and the dates when they should each be kept in remembrance.

A complete list of copyists and their ancestors, with approximate dates for each name, might be both interesting and useful; and abundance of such materials accumulate in

the course of time. The Persian Rivāyats have been nearly exhausted, so far as names of Indian Parsis are concerned; but they also contain long lists of Iranian Parsis living at certain times, and some attempts at estimating their numbers.

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THE CHRONOLOGY OF INDIA, from the Earliest Times to the beginning of the Sixteenth Century. By C. MABEL DUFF (Mrs. W. R. RICKMERS). (Archibald Constable and Co., 1899.)

This remarkable compilation possesses the qualities which such a book should possess—a clear and well-considered plan steadily adhered to, a matured presentment of the matters entered, an informed selection of the authorities. A work on Chronology to be of use must, on its own merits, command respect and confidence as to general accuracy, and to my mind there is no doubt that Miss Duff's book (to give the author her best-known name) is entitled to both. The methods adopted for ensuring accuracy are unimpeachable, and the sources of information as nearly so as existing conditions admit. The references to the authorities are ubiquitous and of the highest value. The list of those who have actively assisted the author is of itself a guarantee of the care, knowledge, and research brought to bear on the subject.

The general plan of the work is "a table of events in chronological order" of ascertained facts and dates only, supplemented by an extremely valuable Appendix, consisting of Lists of Indian Dynasties, in which are included all the known names of the kings, with the dates of those only, as to whom positive information is available. There are also collated lists of the Pauranic Dynasties—Śaiśunāga, Maurya, Śuṅga, Kaṇva, Andhrabhṛitya. These Lists and Tables are made to work in together, so as to form a kind of index of dates to each other, in a highly commendable manner. In addition, there is a very long, complete, and most laborious index to the whole work.